

## Abstracts

*Gerald Schneider / Julia Schiller*

### **Goethe is not everywhere**

An Empirical Analysis of the Locational Decisions in the Foreign Cultural Policy of Germany

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This article examines whether the locational decisions of the Goethe Institute follow the official mission to advance German culture or whether they are rather influenced by competing societal interests. Our macro-quantitative evaluation clearly shows that power and economic considerations largely explain the world-wide presence of this organisation which plays a central role in official German foreign cultural diplomacy. The Goethe Institute largely focuses its activities on economically developed and trade-oriented states. By contrast, development criteria and the human rights record of the host countries have almost no influence on the distribution of the branches. The recent closure decisions were largely determined by the desire to minimize conflict, since the reductions were mainly undertaken in countries where the organisation is currently represented by more than one branch. This reduction is at odds with the mission of the Institute, according to which, logically, reductions should be made in small countries rather than in some of the targeted states.

*Reinhard Wolf*

### **What Makes Victorious Allies Stick Together?**

Comparing the Influence of Power Politics,  
International Institutions and Domestic Variables

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The cohesion and disintegration of victorious alliances primarily depend on the compatibility of state preferences arising out of the parochial interests of domestic coalitions. Research on four historical cases demonstrates that the degree of international institutionalization hardly influenced the aftermath of wars between great power, whereas the distribution of power affected it only to the extent that international capabilities were concentrated on few powers with antagonistic domestic systems. Accordingly, the interests and alignments of domestic actors appear to have the greatest impact on the most fundamental configuration of international politics, that is, the pattern of great power relations. This finding increases the plausibility of liberal IR theory. It weakens the credibility of realism and questions at least

those variants of institutionalism which contend that international norms and rules strongly affect national preferences. For political practitioners these findings imply that they should not take the disintegration of victorious great power coalitions for granted. Rather, they are well advised to take active measures to preserve successful security partnerships. To that end they should not so much focus on building international institutions, but rather aim at the spread of democracy while giving support to foreign elites which favor international cooperation.

*Sven Behrendt*

**The Israeli-Palestinian Secret Negotiations in Oslo 1993**

A Constructivist Interpretation

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In September 1993, the Middle East peace process witnessed a historic breakthrough when the PLO and the State of Israel mutually accepted one another and signed a Declaration of Principles (DOP). The mutual acceptance and the DOP were the result of a secret negotiation process between Israelis and Palestinians in Oslo from January to September 1993. But how can one explain negotiations leading to mutual acceptance, if mutual acceptance itself is a pre-condition for negotiations? This contribution argues that the first phase of the Oslo secret negotiations can be defined as a discursive process which served to establish the rules of the subsequent bargaining process between the two sides. After a comparison with other channels of communication between Israel and the PLO, the article concludes that the existence of a discursive process in Oslo was an important, if not necessary condition for the success of the negotiations.

*Thomas Faist*

**Beyond National and Post-National Models**

Trans-state Spaces and Citizenship

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Trans-state spaces are pluri-local and cross-border sets of relatively dense, continuous and stable ties between and among persons, networks, communities and non-state organizations. There are various forms of trans-state spaces, such as kinship groups, issue networks, trans-state companies and diasporas. Ties of immigrants in trans-state spaces are an important point of departure for understanding membership in a mobile world. So far, the discussion on multiple membership has been dominated by the »national« and »post-national« models. On the one hand, we find national models that tie citizenship more or less exclusively to membership in one nation-state. According to this view, citizenship requires the eternal loyalty of a citizen

to a state, and thus rules out polygamy. On the other hand, post-national understandings of membership in polities try to show that important human, social and civil rights are guaranteed by supra- and international institutions. However, neither model deals with the problem of how to conceptualize the various cross-border ties of immigrant applicants to citizenship. The concept of trans-state spaces helps us to understand the nature and extent of interstitial ties entertained by immigrants. A detailed analysis shows that the potential costs and benefits for the main actors involved are distributed thus: high benefits for immigrants and emigration states, and negligible costs for immigration states.

*Christian Joerges*

**Transnational Deliberative Democracy or Deliberative Supranationalism?**

Comments on Rainer Schmalz-Bruns' Conceptualisation of Legitimate Governance Beyond the Nation-State

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The essay contrasts two conceptualisations of legitimate governance beyond the constitutional state, which both use the label of »deliberative supranationalism«. Whereas Rainer Schmalz-Bruns, who envisages a non-state, non-national form of constitutionalism and a reflexive institutional politics, presents his approach as a systematic elaboration of the concepts of deliberative democracy based in particular on recent contributions by Joshua Cohen, Michael Dorf and Charles Sabel, the author of this contribution has, in collaboration with Juergen Neyer, presented a reconstruction of institutional innovations and decision-making practices as observed in the European market-building project. Contrary to the perceptions and critique of Schmalz-Bruns, this reconstruction was not intended to defend some sort of technocratic paternalism; it should rather be understood as an alternative to Giandomenico Majone's conceptualisation of Europe as a »regulatory state« governed by non-majoritarian institutions. The innovative and normative qualities of this project, it is argued here, can only be identified and preserved if one takes its experimental status seriously, i.e. if one recognises the need for, and the possibility of, institutional innovations, grants the autonomy such processes require and intervenes only on the basis of (new) experiences.

*Frank Biermann / Udo E. Simonis*

**Institutional Reform of Global Environmental Politics?**

The Political Debate on the Establishment of a »World Environmental Organisation«

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The idea of establishing a »world environment organisation« has gained ground among the scientific and political communities in North America, Europe and Japan. The establishment of a new special organisation of the United Nations has been called for by – to name a few – the Executive Director of the World Trade Organisation, the French President and the German Government, first under Kohl and now under Schroeder. This article elaborates and supports the argument for a World Environment and Development Organisation within the United Nations system that would integrate the UN Environment Programme, the Commission on Sustainable Development and the secretariats of the major environmental conventions. The article also suggests a possible organisational structure. It is hoped that the paper will help to carry the debate from politics to political science by stirring up some controversy – how could students of International Relations respond, based on their theories and empirical knowledge, to the proposal of establishing a global environmental organisation?

*Thomas Gehring / Sebastian Oberthuer*

**World Environment Organisation: What on Earth for?**

Co-operation Theory and the Debate on the Institutional Re-organisation of International Environmental Politics

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The article responds to proposals to overcome the institutional fragmentation of international environmental co-operation by establishing a world environment organisation, at the same time solving several major problems that plague international environmental co-operation. To this end, international organisations are conceptualised as governance institutions characterised by their particular decision-making processes. In this perspective, important existing international environmental regimes have already crossed the threshold of becoming »organisations«. Furthermore, it is argued that the fragmented framework characteristic of international environmental co-operation as compared to other policy areas is a result of the specific structural conditions of international politics on the environment. Subsequently, the two central dimensions of the argument, i.e. organisation of collective decision-making procedures and delimitation of the issue areas governed, are merged to derive three models of a potential world environment organisation. The concluding assessment shows that such an organisation, from the view of co-operation theory, cannot be expected to contribute significantly to solving the major problems of international environmental politics.