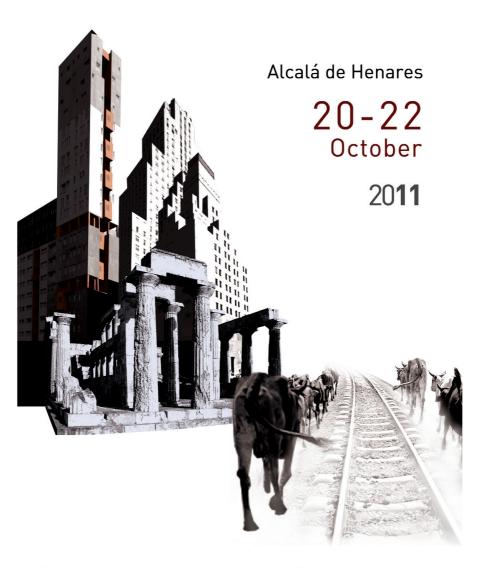
# The Sixth Transatlantic Studies Conference

North and South:

The United States, European Union, and the Developing World





















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#### INTRODUCTION

The Consortium for Transatlantic Scholarship (CTS) has issued a call for papers for its Sixth Annual Conference on Transatlantic Scholarship titled, "North and South: The United States, European Union, and the Developing World".

The United States and the European Union have often had different and divergent relations with the developing world. The relationship has been influenced by colonialism and imperialism, the war on terror, cultural exchanges, development programs, and more.

With this in the background, this conference seeks to explore both the past and the future of the relations involving the United States, the European Union (its individual members and as an organization), and the developing world.

While the conference will focus on the post-Cold War period, papers, poster sessions, and panels related to the above background issues and themes are welcome that

- develop historically-based arguments
- concentrate on examining and tracking the "trilateral" relations
- compare the different forms that US and European military, political, economic, legal, and cultural influence takes (and has taken) abroad, be it as a decisive factor or only as a contribution to driving change elsewhere
- investigate specific themes over time that have had differing impacts and drawn differing responses from various nations involved.

The *lingua franca* of the conference is English.

Organizing institutions include the Consortium for Transatlantic Scholarship; the Instituto Franklin, Universidad de Alcalá, Spain; the University of Central Missouri, USA; and the University of South Dakota, USA.

#### **Contact Information:**

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### The Sixth Transatlantic Studies Conference:

# North and South: The United States, European Union, and the Developing World

## Instituto Franklin – Universidad de Alcalá 20-22 October 2011

## Thursday, 20th October

10.00-12.00 Registration at Instituto Franklin - UAH

**12.00-12.30 Opening of Conference and Welcome** (Paraninfo)

12.30-13.30 Invited Plenary Lecture:

Allan J. Katz, US Ambassador to Portugal

Moderator: Tim Schorn (University of South Dakota)

### 13.30-14.30 Wine Reception at Trinitarios garden

16.00-17.30 Panel Sessions. Session 1

A. US/EU Cooperation and Competition I (Cervantes Room)

- i. Semenov, Oleg and Tolkachev, Vitalii (Nizhny Novgorod State University, Russia). "The Mediterranean Region as an Area of US-European Competition"
- ii. Podraza, Andrzej (Catholic University of Lublin). "Addressing security threats and challenges in developing countries: A comparison of Strategies of the US and EU."
- iii. De Honores, Nancy W (Texas A&M University). "English as a Transatlantic/ US Official Language: American Attitudes."

Moderator: Donald Wallace (University of Central Missouri)

- B. Afghanistan and the International Community (J. Guillén Room)
- i. Abad, Gracia (Antonio de Nebrija University). "China's turn in Afghanistan?"
- ii. García Cantalapiedra, David (Universidad Complutense-Instituto Franklin). "US Withdrawal from AF-PAK: Perception and Possible Regional Impact."
- iii. Priego, Alberto (Universidad Pontificia de Comillas). "The US Withdrawal from Afghanistan and its Consequences for Pakistan."

Moderator: Rosi García-Barroso (Instituto Franklin - UAH)

### 18.00-19.00 Alcalá de Henares Guided Tour.



### Friday, 21st October

### 9.00-10.30 Panel Sessions. Session 2

- A. US/ EU Cooperation and Competition II (Cervantes Room)
- i. Korobeynikova, Larisa (Tomsk State University). "Soft Globalization Against Imperialistic Politics."
- ii. Serrano, Carmina (Universidad Complutense de Madrid). "Using Antitrust to Improve Access to Pharmaceuticals in the North and South."

Moderator: Ana Lariño (Instituto Frankin - UAH)

- B. Turkey and Europe (J. Guillén Room)
- i. Ikiz, AmetSalih (Mugla University). "European Union-Turkey Relations."
- ii. Stroescu, Oana-Camelia (AlexandruIoan Cuza Unviersity). "Turkish Crisis of March 1987. A Comparative View of the Greek Daily Newspapers 'Eleftherotypia' and 'Eleftheros Typos.'

Moderator: Manuel Ramón (Instituto Franklin - UAH)

#### 10.30-11.00 Coffee Break

### 11.00-12.30 Panel Sessions, Session 3

- A. US Foreign Policy and Latin America (Cervantes Room)
- i. Sánchez Padilla, Andrés (Universidad Complutense de Madrid). "US Policy towards Latin America through Spanish eyes. 1880-1894."
- ii. Montero Jiménez, Jose Antonio (Universidad Complutense de Madrid). "The Creation of the Cold War: American Diplomacy in Mexico 1945-1955"
- iii. Derwich, Karol (Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora). "Instruments of US Anti-drug Policy-The Case of Colombia."

iv. Vélez, Alejandro (St. Mary's University). "An Upcoming Free Trade Agreement between Colombia and the United States of America: Features, Winners and Losers, and the North-South Divide."

Moderator: Olga Villegas (Instituto Franklin - UAH)

- B. International Responses (J. Guillén Room)
- i. Schorn, Timothy (University South Dakota). "Self-Determination and the Demise of NATO."
- ii. Ilu, Musa (University Central Missouri). "The Arab Revolution in the Time of Globalization: A Critical Evaluation of European and American Responses to Social Change)."

Moderator: Donald Wallace (University of Central Missouri)

- C. Culture in a Transatlantic Context (R. Alberti Room)
- i. Hernández, Nalliely (UNED). "The Science Conception on Richard Rorty's Proposal: A Cultural Distinction."
- ii. Dorobek, Andrzej (State School of Higher Education in Plock). "Anglo-American Rock Music as a Relevant Factor of Cultural and Sociopolitical Changes in the Communist Poland."

Moderator: Esther Claudio (Instituto Franklin - UAH)

13.00-14.00 Plenary Lecture: Stanley Sloan (L. Rosales Room). "The Transtlatic Security Relationship in Changing International Environment".

Moderator: Julio Cañero (Instituto Franklin - UAH)

### 16.00-17.30 Panel Sessions. Session 4

- A. Spain/US Relations (R. Alberti Room)
- i. Delgado, Lorenzo (CSIC). "The Deployment of US Public Diplomacy in Francoist Spain."

- ii. León Aguinaga, Pablo (Georgetown University). "Friend Leader and Model: US Propaganda and the Spanish People."
- iii. Morera, Coral (Universidad de Valladolid). "Bush vs Clinton: First US Presidentials Post- Cold War."
- iv. Tascón-Fernández, Julio and Misael Arturo López Zapico (University of Oviedo). "US Political and Economic Influence over the Late-Francoist Spain: Doing Business Abroad During the Oil Crisis."

Moderator: Cristina Crespo (Instituto Franklin - UAH)

- B. Human Rights (L. Rosales Room)
- i. Katz, Joanne (Missouri Western State University). "Restorative Justice: A Changing View of Crime and Punishment throughout the World."
- iii. Wallace, Don, Melanie Ilett, and Amber Scroggs (University of Central Missouri). "A State's Legal Obligation to Protect the Exercise of Human Rights: A Negative US Approach in a Positive World."

Moderator: Tim Schorn (University of South Dakota)

#### 17.45-19.15 Panel Sessions, Session 5

- A. Developed Actors in Developing Worlds (R. Alberti Room)
- i. Parra, Andrea (University of Liege-The Comparative Regional Integration Studies Institute of the United Nations University). "UE: A Transatlantic Actor of ACN Integration."
- ii. Freire, Maria Raquel (University of Coimbra). "Russia in Central Asia: A Policy of Reassertion."
- iii. Michelsen, Niall (Western Carolina University). "The Transatlantic Partners Face the Chinese Challenge in the Global South."

Moderator: Saturnino Aguado (Instituto Franklin - UAH)

- B. Terrorism (L. Rosales Room)
- i. Beck, Lauren (University of Central Missouri). "From 'Moros en la Costa' to Muslims in the Neighborhood: Representing Islam in Spain today."
- ii. Crespo, Cristina (Instituto Franklin Universidad de Alcalá). "'No a la Guerra' and War on Terror: Spanish Views on the New Transatlantic Strategy."

Moderator: David García-Cantalapiedra (U. Complutense de Madrid)

### 21.30 Closing dinner at Parador de Alcalá de Henares



### Saturday, 22<sup>nd</sup> October

### 10.00-11.30 Panel Sessions I. Session 6

- A. Political Economy (R. Alberti Room)
- i. Aguado, Saturnino (Instituto Franklin Universidad de Alcalá). "Macroeconomic Aspects of the US Economic Crisis of 2007-2009 and its impact on the Developing World."
- ii. Renouard, Joe (The Citadel). "Revisiting the New International Economic Order (NIEO): Transatlantic Perspectives."

Moderator: Cristina Crespo (Instituto Franklin - UAH)

- B. Colonialism in a Transatlantic Context (L. Rosales Room)
- i. Riley, Charlotte Lydia (University College London). "A great deal of trouble with the Americans? British colonial Development in the context of the Marshall Plan, 1947-1951."
- ii. Talib, Roslan (UniversitiSains Malaysia). "From Transatlantic to Malacca Straits; Making Colony in the East-historical Cultural Relationship."

Moderator: Esther Claudio (Instituto Franklin - UAH)

# 12.00-13.00 Plenary Lecture: Julian Lindley-French (L. Rosales Room). "The Transatlantic Relationship and the European Crisis"

Moderator: José A. Gurpegui (Instituto Franklin - UAH)

13.00-13.30 Closing Ceremony (L. Rosales Room).

### **ABSTRACTS**

### Abad, Gracia

### Antonio de Nebrija University

China's Turn in Afghanistan?

During different periods and with different approaches both the Soviet Unión and the United States have attempted to secure their control of Afghanistan or, at least, to increase their leverage over the Central Asian country. Now it seems to be China's turn. In the context of the US announcement of its plans to withdraw from Afghanistan this year, the PRC is going to enjoy an unparalleled opportunity to enhance its role in Afghanistan and the Central Asian region as a whole. In order to do so, however, China will have to carry a much greater share of the burden to counter the threats posed by Islamist and Transnational Crime Organizations and movements in the area. This paper will try to show how, in spite of those challenges; Beijing is likely to take advantage of this opportunity. In fact, it seems resolved to do so, as the contributions it is already making to increase the development, security and stability levels in Afghanistan -it is involved in training programs for the Afghan forces, development of infrastructures and projects alike-show. To deal with these issues, the paper relies on the use of both, published and secondary sources as well as primary sources and official and unofficial statistics.

### Aguado, Saturnino

#### Instituto Franklin - Universidad de Alcalá

Macroeconomic Aspects of the US Economic Crisis of 2007-09 and Its Impact on the Developing World

The paper will study, in three parts, some macroeconomic aspects that crucially explain the present US economic crisis and its impact on the Developing World. In the first part, attention will be paid to the origins of the neoconservative economic policies held in the USA, mostly, in the last three decades. Particularly, we will study the three most important pillars of economic policy used by republican presidents since the

election of Ronald Reagan in 1980: The so called Laffer and Ricardian Equivalence Theories, according to which lower taxes wouldn't create fiscal deficits in the USA, and the Starve the Beast Theory by which government spending in the USA would go down easily.

We will also present the exceptional years of the presidency of Bill Clinton, in which all the above policies were reversed and ,instead, a policy of fiscal responsibility led, for the only time in recent US economic history, to quite important fiscal surpluses in the last two years of the Clinton presidency.

In part two of the paper, the present crisis will be presented with a careful study of the main economic reasons behind it. Particularly we will focus on the macroeconomic causes of the recession and will present them in the following order: First, the expansionary monetary policies followed by the Fed after the crisis of 2000-01. Secondly, the irresponsible fiscal policies adopted in most of the three-decade period and, particularly, by the new president George W. Bush. In third place, the so called "global savings glut", an excess of savings globally that in part created the crisis by the abundance of cheap money going mostly from Developing countries to the US and other developed ones.

In the third part of the paper, we will present the impact of the Great Recession on the Developing World. Special emphasis will be placed on the connection via the unbalancing of the external accounts of developing countries vis a vis developed ones. The effect of this crisis on the Developing World will be compared with the effects of the recurrent crisis of the late 90s. At that time, a kind of "sudden stops" in foreign lending precipitated the crisis in many countries whose currencies were quite fixed to the US Dollar (Mexico, Thailand, Indonesia, Argentina...). The economic boom of the first years of 2000 facilitated for these countries the build up of foreign reserves, quite in excess of levels considered optimal. This time, when the crisis erupted in the USA and other advanced countries in 2007, most of the Developing Countries were prepared, with such a high level of reserves, to cushion it and continue growing at high levels despite the recession created in the Developed World. Is this a normal state of affairs? Probably not, as the Third World wouldn't be financing the First, but this has been the situation in the first decade of the new century and probably it will be maintained, as long as the US won't change its fiscal policies in the near future.

### Beck, Lauren

### **Mount Allison University**

From Moros en la Costa to Muslims in the Neighbourhood: Representing Islam in Spain Today

After the fall of Granada in 1492, many Muslims were forced to convert to Catholicism. Due to the imposition of religion and language, distinct cultural characteristics were suppressed and outward signs of Islam replaced with those that conformed to Spanish Catholicism. The alreadydifficult to encounter material about Spanish Islam in the New and Old Worlds during the sixteenth century became even scarcer after the expulsion of Muslims. After 1614, it took centuries for Spaniards to acknowledge that Muslims lived in their neighborhoods, and they did so without the cultural infrastructure that had supported them before the fall of Granada, namely mosques, madrasas, and spaces of administration and commerce. These outward signs are present today in Spain as historical monuments to the successful advancement of Catholicism during the medieval period. The mosque-cathedrals of Seville and Córdoba embody a fusion of styles and time periods. Spaces no longer used by Muslims, who have few mosques and madrasas in Spain and instead use private places for worship, the situation has not changed much over these last few centuries. Spain today is a democratic nation. Its stake holders in tourism and transportation attempt to slough off the country's recent issues with domestic and international terrorism, and it also forms the point of entry for undesirable immigration into the greater entity of the European Union, to which it belongs. The migrants share religious and at times linguistic characteristics in common with Spain's traditional enemies, some of which have been mass-distributed as markers for potential terrorists against western interests by media outlets such as newspapers in North America and Europe. The migrant population is not unlike the morisco population before it, and the Muslim population of the Americas during the Spanish exploration and colonization of these territories: their representation is controlled in massproduced media. Our historiography is greatly influenced by the latter group of sources, those contaminated by Christian animosity toward Muslims. This anti-Islamic representation has retained its value as a

politically-motivated discursive strategy favouring western interests over those of a constituted Islamic world. This paper will identify some of the strategies governing the representation of Spain's enemies in light of contemporary concerns about Islam in Spain, particularly with respect to unauthorized immigration and domestic and international terrorism. Through comparison of text and image, it will be demonstrated that Spain today continues to employ the same discourse that reconfigured its early modern enemies (Muslims, Aztecs, and Protestants) into fierce entities threatening its national security, in order to prevent attacks upon its soil and to control its national image. Particular attention will be paid to the American, Global and Spanish media representation of Muslim culture and worshipping practices, and archival evidence supports the conclusion that this discourse is a western phenomenon dating from the medieval period that now bridges the Atlantic.

### Crespo, Cristina

### Instituto Franklin - Universidad de Alcalá

"No a la Guerra" and War on Terror: Spanish views of the New Transatlantic Strategy

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in the United States changed the way of understanding the world and recent history. It would be highlighted the need to redefine the new world order and above all, foreign relations between countries. After terrorist attacks, the United States received an immediate response of unconditional support by its European allies. Terrorists were not only attacking the US, but against the West - according to statements, previous attacks and threats by terrorists against other European governments. As a result, the US President will soon state the "War on Terror" mission. In his own words, "Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there." The concept of "War on terror" linked to counterterrorism strategies represents a unique opportunity for political support by the Spanish president, José María Aznar, as Spain was a democratic country example that suffers and actively combats terrorism. In this way, Aznar Administration started to implement a political strategy that aimed at a better positioning for Spain on the international sphere. So, the main challenge would be to get a more transatlantic approach to the United States - A internally contradicted strategy with the Spanish public opinion identity of traditionally anti-Americanism. Despite having public opinion against the War on Terror and the actions derived from it, it will

be the perfect time to maintain a level of influence over the state hegemonic United States. The president's political support of the Spanish Government to the invasion of Iraq provoked numerous demonstrations flagged with the slogan "No War" throughout the country. Public opinion was positioned against the support for military action against Iraq, 70% of the population according to polls of the CIS. The lack of information in Spanish citizenship discredited, but not de-legitimized the actions of government and Spain's presence in Iraq. Arising from new scenes shown of anti-Americanism, demonstrations were also backed by various opposition political parties. What at first seemed like an opportunity to encourage Spanish international position, it might influence the electoral defeat of the party in power a year later.

### De Honores, Nancy W Texas A&M University

English as a Transatlantic/ US Official Language: American Attitudes

The use of English as a Transatlantic/U.S. Official Language (TEOL) in the European countries, the United States, and the developing countries is an issue of social, political and public concern. Citizens of the U.S. care about current legislation regarding this fact. English entered the United States back in 1651, with the arrival of the Mayflower and British immigrants forming the first American Colonies. Years later, more than twenty languages were spoken in daily life, including Dutch, French, German, and several Native American dialects. The first Constitution was written in English and German. However, as time evolved, the survival and expansion of English over all other languages grew evident as a factor of unity. Debate claiming the official nature of English in the U.S. began in 1780, when John Adams proposed to the Continental Congress that an official academy should be created to "purify, develop, and dictate usage of English." His proposal was rejected as undemocratic and as a threat to individual liberty. The debate has continued throughout the years to contemporary times. While media propagates a majority of supporters to make English the Official Language of the U.S., still peoples' attitudes towards favoring/disfavoring the legislation show ambiguity. This research examines the support and opposition for a law making English the official language of the United States, and the impact this decision exercises nationally and internationally. I consider two questions: Who is more likely to favor/oppose English as official language? And, How is English appreciated and used in Europe and the

developing nations? A descriptive analysis will be structured answering both questions and positions. The study is of major sociological significance, because it provides specific indicators with new reliable evidence about who is more likely to support a law favoring English as official language within American society. It shows particularly how decisions affect social, political and legal means of communication. It adds theoretical significance providing a new resource of reference based on recent research about a growing group of individuals who advocate English as the unique link for unity in the country and the world. To answer the questions based on who favors EOL legislation, the analysis was oriented towards six independent variables tightly interconnected: 1) Age; 2) Education; 3) Gender; 4) Geographical location; 5) Political orientation, and 6) Religious affiliation. The study provided important factors to consider when writing or researching in the EOL issue. Political orientation (Republicans/ Non-Republicans) and Religious preference (Protestant and Non-Protestants) were good predictors. In addition, findings on the implications related to legislation favoring English, as official language in the US is highly advantageous, English is a source of cultural unity, warm relationships, communication, and the lingua franca among the peoples of the European Union, and some developing countries of the world. In the U.S., a country commonly known as the "melting pot," hundreds of languages are spoken by diverse ethnic groups, who share special nationalistic and linguistic characteristics, each group favoring its own, but English is the link that unites them as a national family and as productive individuals.

### Delgado, Lorenzo

#### **CSIC**

The Deployment of US Public Diplomacy in Francoist Spain

In 1939, the Franco dictatorship did not hesitate to adopt fascist symbology and to join in a common cause with the Axis nations, even thought it implication in the later world war was limited. In 1945, the regime sought to silence this past and dodge the international condemnation it had fallen under, with the United States being one of the detractors of that "suspicious neutral country." In 1953, the cold war context led to the signing of a bilateral agreement that allowed the United States to implant military bases in Spanish territory. Both countries had done a political conjuring trick and formalized an alliance of convenience. The United States had gone from enemy to ally in a relatively short time.

Spanish public opinion, in general terms, had scant notions of the American country. Gravedigger of the Spanish overseas empire in 1898, last stronghold of the democracies in the two world wars, rival of Spain in Latin America, first world power since the end of the last military conflict. A rich, materialistic, pragmatic country. In the decade of the fifties, the fortuitous arrival of Americans caused uncertainty due, above all, to a lack of knowledge. How could the affection of these people be won in order to guarantee a good welcome for American military presence in Spain? How could an understanding between the main democracy of the world and a dictatorship forged in a bloody civil war be justified?

The task of persuasion corresponded to the information and cultural services that the United States had in Spain, and their expansion was supported by the integration of Spain into the US strategic device, with the cold war as the backdrop. A fundamental part of this work was directed toward convincing the people who had decision-making capacity and influence, either within the circles or power or on a broader social dimension. In a country with the communications media subjected to government censure, with no parties or free unions, with no fundamental liberties acknowledged beyond vague rights that could be suspended at any time, this path of action did, in fact, make sense.

### Derwich, Karol

### Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora

Instruments of US Anti-Drug Policy: The Case if Colombia

The problem of illegal production and smuggling of drugs is not new for the United States. It was the Richard Nixon administration that declared American war on drugs as the first one. Narcobusiness was recognized as a threat to the US national security in the 1980s. After the end of the cold war the geopolitical situation in global international relations has changed significantly. The drug problem was recognized by American decision makers as one of the most important. Today the problem is closely related to the fragile or failed states. Not accidentally the biggest production of drugs takes place in such countries as Colombia or Afghanistan and the smugglers use territories of such states as Haiti, Mexico or some African countries. Those are countries where government often does not control parts of territory and that fact affords possibilities for different illegal activities. In my paper I would like to

analyze the instruments of anti-drug policy realized by the United States. As a superpower, the United States use very broad range of instruments of foreign policy. In my opinion anti-drug policy is very special area of foreign policy that makes possible to use a lot of measures. The importance of narcobusiness as a threat to national security makes that the United States often engage in different activities in countries that are perceived as a source countries. I would like to present the analysis of American engagement in combating narcobusiness in Colombia. The choice of Colombia gives a perfect opportunity to make a comprehensive study of instruments that are used by the United States in combating narcobusiness not only in that particular country but also in other states perceived as fragile ones. In its engagement in Colombia the United States use the broad spectrum of political, economic and military instruments. In my paper I would like to present the most important instruments and try to estimate their effectiveness. The paper will present a part of my researches realized in Colombia at the beginning of this year.

### Dorobek, Andrzej

### State School of Higher Education in Plock

Anglo-American Rock Music as a Relevant Factor of Cultural and Sociopolitical Changes in the communist Poland

The text outlines the history of Polish rock in the communist times, i. e. from its birth in 1959 to the end of the "Soviet" Poland forty years later (with occasional references to the Stalinist period, when jazz, as an "American poison", was virtually forbidden). Polish rock is presented here as developing from the artificial pop-rock and roll-native folklore crossover, known as "big beat", to relative "progressive" independence in the 1970's and to being the leading voice of sociopolitical discontent in the 1980's (overshadowed by martial law, introduced in 1981). The text shows that, throughout this time, the Polish youth and their music looked to the West for solace and inspiration; from this perspective, some visits of Anglo-American stars to Poland shall be recollected (Marlene Dietrich including in her repertoire one of Polish "big beat" hits, riots at The Rolling Stones' first concert in Poland) - in order to show that, for Polish audiences, they were actually much more than purely musical events. In this context, Joan Baez's third visit to Poland in 1989, as homage to the finally victorious Solidarity, acquires a meaning that is both symbolic and inadvertently ironic: considering Baez's earlier attacks upon Ronald Reagan - the governor of California, who, as the US President, turned out to be a virtual architect of the Polish independence. Along the way, a wealth of relevant examples illustrating the political oppression of Polish rockers in the 1960s and 1970s - as well as some unexpected adventures of English or American musicians with the communist authorities - shall be quoted.

### Freire, Maria Raquel University of Coimbra

Russia in Central Asia: A Policy of Reassertion?

Russian foreign policy remains multi-vectorial and pragmatic, with the main Russian foreign policy documents stating the post-Soviet space as an area of primacy, including Central Asia. In fact, particularly after Primakov's Eurasians' foreign policy, and an increased involvement of external players in the area, Russian interest in Central Asia gained new strength - it has even been coined as a new 'Monroeski Doctrine'. Russia has been pursuing a reassertion policy in Central Asia, seeking to regain influence and promoting itself as the 'security manager' in the area. However, the Russian approach, combining assertive and soft policies has been both successful in projecting Russian goals, and limited in attaining the desired influence over increasingly autonomous courses that some of these republics have been following. The Central Asian countries form a heterogeneous regional area, with distinct political cultures, different levels of social and economic development, and differentiated foreign policy goals. The security complex where these countries (mis)alignments take place, with pressures coming both from within (internal challenges) and from the outside (regional arrangements and the involvement of external players), particularly with regard to the geopolitics of energy and transnational security dynamics, renders the area political-security and strategic relevance. Defined by Russia as fitting its traditional area of influence, the way Russia deals with the Central Asian countries is differentiated, underlining the more proximity or distance in the relationship between the authorities in Moscow and these governments. This paper looks at Russian foreign policy towards Central Asia with a focus on security issues, including transnational terrorism, border management and energy security, in a bi-directional way, i.e. regarding Russian policies and the (re)actions of these states towards Moscow. The paper argues that the increased Russian assertiveness in the area has been raising disparate dynamics,

simultaneously promoting and limiting its goals, thus rendering Russian influence course a limited character. Additionally it also discusses the limits to intra-regional cooperation and eventually the fostering of informal integration processes that could enhance security, besides the existing dysfunctional or non-encompassing international organizations dealing with security matters in the area, as a further factor that should be taken into this equation of projection versus limitation of Russian politics towards the area.

### Garcia Cantalapiedra, David

### Universidad Complutense - Instituto Franklin

US Withdrawal from Af-Pak: Perceptions and Possible Regional Impact

According to the Obama Administration, US military will start a progressive withdrawal from Afghanistan in July 2011, with the goal of a complete withdraw in 2014. As this policy will be reviewed before this deadline to re-asses the viability of such action, this action could have a strong impact on US credibility and commitment on AF-PAK and in the Central-South Asia Region, and in perceptions of the different actors (states and NSA) in the region. The 2014 deadline will also have to do with the ongoing negotiations with same Taliban groups carry out since some time ago. From a political point of view, the deadlines could make sense, but probably, from a "on the field" point of view, reconstruction and COIN development and success, will have an impact very difficult to assess in advance.

### Hernández, Nalliely

#### **UNED**

The Science Conception on Richard Rorty's Proposal: A cultural Distinction

In this paper I try to show and clarify two different conceptions that the philosopher Richard Rorty uses about science and its cultural development. I argue that one of them corresponds or is close to the European tradition and the other is related to some considerations about the Northern American (U.S.A.) thought. The first conception is a result of his interpretation of Modern epistemology as the centre of philosophical development which regards science as the prototype of the whole culture (describing general principles of validity). This

interpretation demands to give up the scientism that characterizes the heritage of Modernity to contemporary thinking. The second one is a conception that allows for a re-description of human being in new ways, as is the case of the Darwinist theory (or the Freudian theory). I suggest that it can be interpreted as a secular proposal demanded by the religious heritage to the contemporary thinking in the United Sates. I will analyze if there is a tension between these two versions of science in his proposal. If this is not the case, I will try to show a complementary, evolutionary or any other kind of relation. Finally, I will try to show that these different uses can be interpreted as two cultural differences between Europe and North America that Rorty uses in his proposal to achieve his deconstructionist goals and how they can lead him to one same perspective in the pragmatist view.

### Ikiz, Ahmet Salih Mugla University

European Union-Turkey Relations

In this study may aim is to provide information about European Union Turkey relations in chronological order. Preference will be given the improvements in Turkish society. During the explanation special emphasis will be given to the Turkic Republics since those countries regarded as substitute to the European Union after the collapse of USSR. As Globalization the term Europeanization started to use after 1980's. In wider sense it consist history, religion, politics and culture. European Union studies are rather minimal description of Europeanization. That means the geographical borders of European Union or countries sharing similar European values such as application of human rights in every aspect of daily life. So during the time period of enlargement of European Union there was a discussion of which definition will be more feasible. In some cases human rights applications would be a part of Europeanization process for pre membership process; Turkey is the most well known example.

### Ilu, Musa

### **University of Central Missouri**

The Arab Revolution in the Time of Globalization: A Critical Evaluation of European and American Responses to Social Change

In this study may aim is to provide information about European Union Turkey relations in chronological order. Preference will be given the improvements in Turkish society. During the explanation special emphasis will be given to the Turkic Republics since those countries regarded as substitute to the European Union after the collapse of USSR. As Globalization the term Europeanization started to use after 1980's. In wider sense it consist history, religion, politics and culture. European Union studies are rather minimal description of Europeanization. That means the geographical borders of European Union or countries sharing similar European values such as application of human rights in every aspect of daily life. So during the time period of enlargement of European Union there was a discussion of which definition will be more feasible. In some cases human rights applications would be a part of Europeanization process for pre membership process; Turkey is the most well known example.

### Katz, Joanne

### Missouri Western State University

Restorative Justice: A changing View of Crime and Punishment throughout the World

Restorative justice has been integrated within the justice systems throughout the United States and Europe over the last four decades. Its roots in the United States began as a result of a Canadian experiment in 1973. Starting with Mennonite volunteers in Kirchner, Ontario, victims and offenders met to discuss the impact of the crime committed by a group of juveniles. Through this first dialogue, the idea that offenders would be held accountable to the actual victims of their misdeeds seemed revolutionary. Instead of the "state" taking charge once a crime was committed, the actual stakeholders were instead given the opportunity to define the harm which was done, and to determine how the offenders could repair the damages. In this way, many previously held beliefs about crime and punishment were redefined, and the concept of accountability was enlarged to encompass a process which did not focus

on punishment. Restorative justice is based on the concept of relationships; that in living within any community, one is responsible to its members. To maintain ones place within the community, a person who commits a crime must understand that he has broken the sacred bond which exists for all its members. Within this framework, an offender must understand his place in the community, and resolve to repair the harm created by his actions. In restorative justice, there is no such thing as a "victim-less" crime. Rather all malfeasance results in harm within the larger context of the world we all share. Restorative justice has been integrated into the criminal justice systems throughout Europe. Like the United States, it has been seen as a reform movement, looking for new ways to hold offenders accountable, and give victims a voice in response to the harm they suffered as a result of crime. Northern Ireland is a great example of this, in looking at the reforms of the criminal justice system as a result of the Peace Agreement. Today in Northern Ireland, the government has adopted its use for juvenile crime. In addition, at the community level, restorative justice has been a way to adapt to a post-Peace Agreement society where previously much crime control was community-based, outside of a criminal justice system which often felt unfair to the Catholic population. Restorative justice is growing throughout the developing world. In South America, the first Juvenile Restorative Justice summit took place in Peru in 2009. Out of this, a protocol to be used for restorative justice throughout South America was adopted, and hopefully will be used as nations integrate it into their criminal justice systems. Within Africa, transitional justice, adapted from restorative justice principals, has been used to help survivors of civil wars (ie: Rwanda) create a society where former enemies can live side by side. This presentation will follow the development of restorative justice in the United States and Europe, and present information about its continuing growth throughout the developing world. It will examine the significance of restorative justice as a movement changing the traditional model of the criminal justice system.

### Korobeynikova, Larisa

### **Ege University**

Soft Globalization against Imperialistic Politics

The paper presents an attempt to examine the relations among US, EU and the Developing World in terms of the author's conception of 'soft globalization'. This conception constructs a normatively attractive

alternative to certain imperialistic desires in contemporary world politics. The process of modern globalization - which combines the different forms that WE and EU military, economical, political, legal and cultural influence takes abroad - is a decisive factor of contemporary world politics. The author argues that the conditions for relationship among the main contemporary agents of world politics - i.e. US, EU and the Developing World - do not require any unification in the form of Empire, but instead the creation of non repressive mechanisms of political regulation - this is what it is meant by 'soft globalization' (a mental idea of globalization). As a matter of fact, globalization occurs nowadays only in a strictly material form, which has both positive and negative dimensions. Positive dimensions: the spread of Western advanced forms of social life. Negative dimensions: the clash of different ethnic and religious minorities, determining cases of terrorism and extremism. Historically, globalization - in the Empire form - was already observed at the time of the Roman Empire. Indeed, at this time, processes of development inside the Empire could be seen as manifestations of globalization in its highest cultural shape. But Ancient Rome was also a social and political experiment that assumed in the end the form of a purely material globalization - and historically brought about the irreversible crash of the Roman Empire itself. Contemporary fluctuations referring to the process of globalization can be registered in US's attempts of material domination inside this or that existing cases of civilization. The main idea stressed in the paper is that only a spiritual form of globalization could in the end be successful. Soft globalization opens the opportunity to escape the US Empire's overstrains in the process of development of contemporary 'trilateral' relations.

### León Aguinaga, Pablo Georgetown University

Friend, Leader and Model: US Propaganda and the Spanish People (1953-1963)

In September 1953, the Spanish and U.S. Governments ratified their postwar rapprochement with the signing of three bilateral agreements in Madrid. Anti-communism had served as a meeting point between the world's leading liberal democracy and an authoritarian regime and former ally of the fascist powers. The hitherto isolated Franco dictatorship gained international recognition—between 1955 and 1963, Spain joined the UN, IMF, OEEC and GATT—and U.S. economic and technical aid counterbalanced the European opposition to Spanish

membership in the NATO and the EEC. In exchange, the United States gained the right to build and operate an extensive network of military bases and installations in Iberian soil. The alliance was renewed under similar terms in 1963, thereby signaling continuity in U.S. policy in spite of the new administration now ruling at Washington and the significant changes that had occurred in the Spanish, bilateral and international context. The flow of American troops, goods and companies in Spain during those years had a considerable impact in Spanish society and public opinion. U.S public diplomats undertook the mission of selling the benefits of American aid—soon labeled as cooperation—and countering important anti-American feelings coming out of the new friendship between Madrid and Washington, America's growing cultural presence, and the general trend of U.S. foreign policy. This paper will identify and explore the main argumentative lines used by the USIS in Spain during the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations.

### Morera, Coral

### Universidad de Valladolid

Bush vs Clinton: the first US presidentials after the cold war

This communication explores the information policy pursued by the Spanish press in the U.S. elections of 1992. We try to know the main and secondary discourses in the most important newspapers of that moment: La Vanguardia, ABC and El País, in order to identify the attitude of the press in the first elections after the Cold War. It was the first U.S. presidential which not had to choose a leader who was facing the Soviet block because there were no blocks; those elections also finished with twelve years of republicanism. What happened in the United States seems to guarantee first page in the rest of the world, but this certainty is even greater regarding its presidentials. The complexity of that matter and its global impact, although guarantee the attention, take on more aspects of judgment and appraisal than a description treatment. The speech of the press is important for its social, political and cultural influence. Because the media are responsible for playing a particular picture of history and because those elections left an scenario in which the United States became a single block, knowing the attitude of the press and the treatment that Europe received stage a great interest.

### Michelsen, Niall

### Western Carolina University

The Transatlantic Partners Face the Chinese Challenge in the Global South

This paper will explore how the Transatlantic Partners (US and the European Union) have responded to the expansion of Chinese capital flows into the Global South. The fact of growing Chinese aid and investment (and presumably influence) flowing to the Global South is undeniable, although the ultimate purpose of that growth is subject to varying interpretations. Even though the purposes of Chinese actions are not positively known, the responses that the Transatlantic Partners adopt are identifiable. This paper will begin with an exploration of the general types of responses available, ranging from no responses, to positive responses, to negative responses. For example, the Partners might consider Chinese capital flows to be generally innocuous and as unworthy of response. Or the Partners could see the Chinese activities in a positive-sum fashion in keeping with the classical economic view. Thus, Chinese investments and aid should draw in other foreign investments and aid, since the capital invested by China will spark activities and offer economic opportunities for others. Economic growth draws in investments which promote further growth. Or, the Partners could see the Chinese activities as threatening in any number of ways, including but not limited to, the possibility that China might seek to create a sort of colonial relationship which would exclude others from economic access. The paper will not begin from a particular normative stance in relation to either the Chinese capital flows or to the propriety of the responses undertaken by the Partners. Its focus is on the pattern of behavior exhibited by the Transatlantic Partners. The research will look at two countries in each of three prominent areas of the Global South: Latin America; Africa; South Asia. The countries examined will be the ones that thus far China has made the largest investments. This will lead to an examination of the flow of Partner capital to the immediate region, including China's friends, over the period since 2002 when Chinese investments in the Global South proliferated. That flow will be examined to reveal answers to the following specific questions. First, are the Partners bandwagoning or balancing or doing nothing? Bandwagoning represents cases where the Partners follow Chinese capital flows into the same target. Balancing represents cases where the Partners increase capital flows in the region where the target country is located. Second, are the Partners acting in a coordinated fashion or at

cross-purposes? Third, if coordination is absent or not complete, does a pattern of tacit alliances within the Partners emerge? For instance, does a bipolar system emerge, most likely with the US on one side and the Europeans on the other? Or does the US find itself in step with some European states, but not all? A final question will be if elections and the changing of governments have an impact on those behaviors and the resulting patterns?

### Montero Jiménez, José Antonio Universidad Complutense de Madrid

The Creation of the Cold War. American Public Diplomacy in Mexico 1945-1955

The beginning of the Cold War led to a thorough reconsideration of Mexico's role in U.S. foreign policy, which seriously affected the planning and execution of America's public diplomacy in that country. Between 1942 and 1945, Mexico had been a key ally in Washington's war effort, both as a supplier of strategic materials and as a nation whose ascendancy could be used to influence other republics within the Western Hemisphere. Having in mind Mexico's long tradition of anti-Americanism, U.S. propagandists thought it best to refrain from an excessively informational and belligerent approach when crafting the messages for the Mexican population. Thus, while the World War lasted, American public diplomacy towards its southern neighbor had a predominantly cultural and collaborative taste that was also very useful for America's hemispheric purposes. The links U.S cultural warriors forged with certain Mexican politicians, businessmen and intellectuals allowed them to use Mexico's cultural preponderance over the Spanishspeaking nations. In those years, Mexico also acted as a field of experimentation for different initiatives that American diplomats ended up using in all parts of the Globe – libraries and cultural centers, English teaching, exhibitions, film-making... All these factors had made of Mexico a primary target for the U.S. cultural and informational apparatus. The situation started to change after 1945, as a result of the important adjustments that took place in the overall geopolitical scenery as a consequence of the mounting rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. In those early years of the Cold War, American decision-makers did not see Latin America as a relevant region in the fight against Communism. Therefore Mexico lost its importance as both a seller of war materials and an influence over the rest of the continent.

Washington began to neglect its public diplomacy in Mexican territory, letting it to lose contact with the country's feelings and social reality. Bypassing all analyses of the Mexican situation, the U.S. cultural cold warriors applied in Mexico the same informational and strongly anti-Communist methods that were used in the rest of the world. That way the USIS destroyed most of the cultural initiatives initiated during the war and broke the links with some local groups that had been very influential in previous projects. This paper focuses on how those changes led to results contrary to the U.S. purported intentions, arousing suspicions among the Mexicans as to the real motives of American foreign policy. A situation that caught U.S. policymakers by surprise when, years later, the Cuban Revolution took Communism to the other side of the Atlantic.

### Parra, Andrea

### University of Liège

UW: A Transatlantic Actor of CAN Integration

I propose an intervention. It is about the complete results of the first part of a research called: "The European Union and the influence of its actions in Latin-American integration". This research belongs to the Doctoral works of the unit of international relations of the University of Liege -Belgium. It concerns three international and interregional actors: the European Union (EU), the Andean Community of Nations (ACN) and the United States (US). In fact, being European interregional strategy towards the CAN, traduced (among others) by the encouragement of Latin-America integration, this research wonders about the nature of the EU's actions for satisfying this ambition, their degree of influence and their efficiency in this goal. The working hypothesis is that the EU's interregional strategy, of stimulation of Latin American integration, has evolved. It has moved from an idealized vision of total integration for ACN (at every level) towards a complex and pragmatic approach. This approach is complex in that it advances in two ways. Politically the EU-ACN relations are region-to-region. Economically, they become into a region-to-country dialogue. The result of the Trade Agreement EU -ACN, witnesses of that. Taking into account these results and entirely adhering to the assertion "interregionalism, as practiced by the EU, has the purpose of building and consolidating regional orders, whereas the US regional activities rather have the purpose of preventing strong regional formations to grow" (Hetnne, 2007), we demonstrate that the

European interregional behavior gets comparable to the US one. It has Americanized. This Americanization implicates a triangular relationship among EU, ACN and US. It affects not only the characteristics of Latin-American integration but also the European approach to its own initiatives of stimulation of this phenomenon. It has given place to a combination of interregional strategies that we have called "complex interregionalism". This name has been given to this phenomenon because it combines two kinds of interregionalism (pure and hybrid one) simultaneously. This intervention is divided in two main parts and a conclusion. 1. The first part concerns the introduction of the concepts of pure and hybrid interregionalism. 2. The second part concerns, the European interregional strategy. It is presented and compared to the US' towards ACN. By this contrasting exercise, a double and complex EU's interregional behavior is verified. It is a region-to-region political dialogue and region-to-country economical one. The results of the negotiation of the Free Trade Agreement EU-ACN are used as the illustration of this statement. In fact, this treaty, at the beginning conceived to stimulate ACN regional integration, became a factor of erosion of the Andean unity. It permits to identify an Americanization de facto of the European interregional strategy. 3. Conclusions. This conclusion part is sub-divided in two. First, we present the conclusions about the complex interregionalism of EU towards ACN. Second, we open a discussion about the deep reasons of the European interregional behavior. The objectives of the two European approaches to the ACN strategy of integration. Has it been imposed by the international needs? by the necessity of building other regions as valuable interlocutors? or by the commitment to development?

### Podraza, Andrzej

### Catholic University of Lublin

Addressing security threats and challenges in developing countries: a comparison of strategies of the United States and the European Union

I propose an intervention. It is about the complete results of the first part of a research called: "The European Union and the influence of its actions in Latin-American integration". This research belongs to the Doctoral works of the unit of international relations of the University of Liege – Belgium. It concerns three international and interregional actors: the European Union (EU), the Andean Community of Nations (ACN) and the United States (US). In fact, being European interregional strategy

towards the CAN, traduced (among others) by the encouragement of Latin-America integration, this research wonders about the nature of the EU's actions for satisfying this ambition, their degree of influence and their efficiency in this goal. The working hypothesis is that the EU's interregional strategy, of stimulation of Latin American integration, has evolved. It has moved from an idealized vision of total integration for ACN (at every level) towards a complex and pragmatic approach. This approach is complex in that it advances in two ways. Politically the EU-ACN relations are region-to-region. Economically, they become into a region-to-country dialogue. The result of the Trade Agreement EU -ACN, witnesses of that. Taking into account these results and entirely adhering to the assertion "interregionalism, as practiced by the EU, has the purpose of building and consolidating regional orders, whereas the US regional activities rather have the purpose of preventing strong regional formations to grow" (Hetnne, 2007), we demonstrate that the European interregional behavior gets comparable to the US one. It has Americanized. This Americanization implicates a triangular relationship among EU, ACN and US. It affects not only the characteristics of Latin-American integration but also the European approach to its own initiatives of stimulation of this phenomenon. It has given place to a combination of interregional strategies that we have called "complex interregionalism". This name has been given to this phenomenon because it combines two kinds of interregionalism (pure and hybrid one) simultaneously. This intervention is divided in two main parts and a conclusion. 1. The first part concerns the introduction of the concepts of pure and hybrid interregionalism. 2. The second part concerns, the European interregional strategy. It is presented and compared to the US' towards ACN. By this contrasting exercise, a double and complex EU's interregional behavior is verified. It is a region-to-region political dialogue and region-to-country economical one. The results of the negotiation of the Free Trade Agreement EU-ACN are used as the illustration of this statement. In fact, this treaty, at the beginning conceived to stimulate ACN regional integration, became a factor of erosion of the Andean unity. It permits to identify an Americanization de facto of the European interregional strategy. 3. Conclusions. This conclusion part is sub-divided in two. First, we present the conclusions about the complex interregionalism of EU towards ACN. Second, we open a discussion about the deep reasons of the European interregional behavior. The objectives of the two European approaches to the ACN strategy of integration. Has it been imposed by the international needs?

by the necessity of building other regions as valuable interlocutors? or by the commitment to development?

### Priego, Alberto

#### Universidad Pontificia de Comillas

The US Withdrawal from Afghanistan and its consequences for Pakistan

In March 2010 in Afghanistan, the current US Secretary of Defense, Robert Gates stated that American troops would withdraw from Afghanistan by July 2011. However he added that a significant number of soldiers would remain in the Central Asian country, at least till 2014. Afghanistan should assume, step by step, its responsibility and provide security and stability to its citizens but it's Pakistan that will be lost out with American withdrawal. If Afghanistan needs the US military presence Pakistan cannot live without it because the latter is much more dangerous, unstable place than the former. In the 2014 scenario, Pakistan will have to assume important security responsibilities such as border control, fight against radicalism or a real counternarcotics policy for which it does not seen to be prepared. The US withdrawal from Afghanistan will create a chaotic situation not only in Afghanistan but also and overall in Pakistan. Sources: Primary and secondary sources concerning Afghanistan as well as press, scientific and non-scientific documents from national and international sources (European Union, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan, Ministry of Defense of Pakistan, Department of Defense, NATO etc...

### Renouard, Joe

### The Citadel

Revisiting the New International Economic Order (NIEO): Transatlantic Perspectives

This is a case study of one of the most significant efforts to alter the international economic system. In the 1970s and 80s, a group of less-developed-countries (LDCs) proposed the New International Economic Order (NIEO) and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (CERDS) as an alternative to what they considered the neo-colonial aspects of international trade and the multilateral lending regime. Scholars like Alan P. Dobson, Craig Murphy, Robert Cox, and Robert A.

Mortimer have addressed NIEO/CERDS as a North/South issue and as part of the East/West cold war conflict, but we have yet to see a study that places the NIEO within the context of transatlantic consultation and European integration. I contend that NIEO/CERDS was a unifying factor for the states of the European Economic Community at a time when they were moving toward integration. It was also a source of transatlantic cooperation during a particularly low point in U.S.-Europe relations. NIEO/CERDS grew, in part, from the belief that the post-1945 international aid philosophy had not lived up to its promises. Developing nations had largely given up on the American, European, and Soviet models of development. Some began to emulate China, Yugoslavia, and Cuba, while others sought something altogether different. Mexican President Luis Echeverría first proposed CERDS in 1972, and it quickly became the centerpiece of a broader move to create a New International Economic Order. The Charter proclaimed a nation's right to form producer cartels, nationalize foreign businesses, control its own natural resources, and bind commodities to the prices of manufactured goods. To Western European and North American leaders, these proposals were far too radical. (Less controversial were its calls to alleviate debt, reduce technology costs, and regulate multinational corporations.) At the Sixth Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly (1974), the "Group of 77" LDCs pushed the Charter through. The vote was split along North/South lines, with the U.S., Canada, and the other industrialized states either voting against or abstaining. Passage of the Charter set off a decade-long North/South debate over the efficacy of trade, aid, and international lending. I believe that this is an illuminating case study one with long-term consequences - for understanding the problems of international development, poverty, multilateral lending, and economic cartels. I am basing my study on recently released European and American materials, including presidential and prime ministers' papers, the EEC Archives, the Archives of European Integration, records of the House of Commons, OECD records, British Cabinet Memoranda and Conclusions, and United Nations reports and proceedings. These records reveal a high level of interest in preventing the creation of cartels like OPEC, as well as more pragmatic attempts to solve the problems of international development. The governments of North America and Western Europe were essentially unified in their efforts to repel the NIEO. Yet although these leaders succeeded in preventing a rearrangement of the economic status quo, in the long run they accepted some LDC proposals via creation of the World Trade Organization and through regional agreements like NAFTA.

### Riley, Charlotte Lydia

### **University College London**

A Great Deal of Trouble with the Americans? British Colonial Development in the context of the Marshall Plan 1947-1951

The period after the Second World War was a time when Britain began to reconsider its approach to the Empire; in the context of the Cold War and the loss of the Indian subcontinent, it became necessary to redefine the role of the metropole in imperial rule. The economic, political, cultural and ideological relationship between the development of the African territories and the reconstruction of the British economy after the Second World War is therefore a fertile area of research. My paper addresses the question of how scarcities affecting international, British and colonial production markets affected the allocation and expenditure of British development aid. I will examine this question specifically within the context of European recovery after the Second World War and the British attempts to develop the African colonies in this period. The immediate aftermath of the Second World War saw physical devastation and economic dislocation across Europe. By 1947, Britain was suffering from severe inflation, a loss of capital and a dollar shortage which severely limited international purchasing power. The Marshall Plan, an American initiative for reconstruction, which provided \$13 billion to sixteen countries between 1947-51, catalyzed European recovery. Britain received \$2.7 billion, by far the largest share of any single nation; \$98 million of this money was spent on colonial development. The Marshall Plan created new tensions within the Anglo-American relationship, not least because it imposed a structure of cooperation between Britain and continental Europe, which faltered over British desires to maintain sovereignty and their position with the Empire-Commonwealth. My paper examines how far colonial development in Africa in this period was a short-termist and exploitative response to the reconstruction needs of the metropole, and how far it was a genuine attempt to correct years of colonial neglect in British Africa. Was Britain using Africa as a cheap source of raw materials, or as a producer of valuable dollar-earning commodities? Or was the Attlee government motivated by an ideological commitment to improving conditions in the colonies, improving social welfare and economic infrastructure - even attempting to develop colonial nations towards independence? I will contextualize this analysis against other European powers and their colonial development policies during this period, and will examine the role that Marshall Plan

cooperation played in determining British colonial policy. I will also look at the attitude of the United States to British colonial development in this period, with particular focus on President Truman's 'Point Four' plan for technical assistance for developing countries. I will also consider the incipient Cold War and the tensions that international relations in this period induced in British colonial relationships.

### Sánchez Padilla, Andres

### Universidad Complutense de Madrid

US Policy towards Latin America through Spanish Eyes, 1880-1894

International relations between the Western countries and the developing world were quite different before the First World War than they are now. The years from 1870 to 1914 were the era of imperialism in world politics. The United States participated officially in the imperial quest of the West after 1898, when it acquired for the first time overseas territories, in the Caribbean and in the Pacific areas as well. However, little effort has been done to know about the real U. S. policies towards Latin America before 1898, when most of Latin American countries could be described as developing countries, but not colonies, and when the United States was not a great power yet. This paper focuses on the Pan American policies of the U. S. governments between 1880 and 1894 according to Spanish officials. It seems appropriate to analyze the U. S. policies in Latin America through the lens of Spanish diplomats because Spain was a European country and a interested witness of Latin American politics.

### Semenov, Oleg & Vitalii Tolkachev Nizhny Novgorod State University

The Mediterranean region as an area of US-European competition

The Mediterranean region was a zone of European domination for quite a long time. Morocco and Algeria were colonies of France, and Tunis was under its protectorate. Libya was an area of Italian interest, and Egypt was supervised by Great Britain. However at the beginning of XXI century an interstate competition of the European countries has grown into the inter-regional rivalry. Its essence is in struggle for the control in the southern Mediterranean between Europe and the USA which compete not only between each other, but also defend from Russian and

Chinese expansion. Rivalry for resources and the markets in 1990's has developed both US and European plans directed on strengthening their influence via multilateral cooperation. In 1995 so-called Barcelona process, a forum on the EU-Mediterranean cooperation with mutual opening of home markets, was initiated by EU and North Africa states as well as Israel, Jordan, Egypt, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon and Croatia. As a retaliatory measure the USA there and then announced plans for developing partnership with Maghreb, so in 2004 there appeared a democratization and liberalization project for the Big Near East. Barcelona process has appeared incapable to overcome contradictions for achieving objects in view as European own problems of internal competition have become aggravated. French plan on creating a Union for the Mediterranean has caused the big indignation within the EU. Sarkozy wanted to spread the economic influence on former colonies and other states of the North Africa and, having transformed Paris into the leader of the Mediterranean region, to raise authority of France on the world. In 2008 the Union for the Mediterranean was created but due to the stalling of the Middle East Peace Process important meetings within the limits of the Union froze, though already accepted programs continue to be executed. The USA have not repeated European mistake, covering such different regions as the North Africa and the Near East, and concentrated their efforts in the Maghreb states. In December, 2010 the assistant of US Secretary of State on economy, energy and trade José Fernandez announced new US economic strategy in Maghreb named «North African economic partnership», based on intensive cooperation with Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia. The closed social network for dialogue of young businessmen and leaders of Maghreb countries with colleagues from the United States will also be the instrument of cooperation. Thus, the USA emphasize on economic partnership basing on well-educated youth so in the near future Europe may be compelled to adjust to the American plans of developing Mediterranean. If the European Union cannot find the adequate answer to Washington, it will be a question not of rivalry from the USA but of catastrophic easing of the European influence in the nearest neighborhood.

### Serrano, Carmina

# Universidad Complutense de Madrid

"Using Antitrust to Improve Access to Pharmaceuticals in the North and South."

Antitrust is used as a weapon against marketing restrictions on both patent-bound pharmaceuticals and generics; these restrictions hinder access to pharmaceuticals in economies that must count on the EU and US markets for medicinal procurement. The pharmaceutical sector is of great importance: -Economic; it constitutes the second most important industry after the defence industry; -Strategic; germ warfare components come out of large pharmaceutical companies ("Big Pharma"); -Humanitarian. Statistics are conclusive: "two thirds of the people affected by HIV live in sub-Saharan Africa and the lack of accessibility to antiretroviral treatments causes 3 million deaths per year. Infectious diseases bring about 43 % of deaths in third-world countries, against 1 % in rich countries"; one of the main causes of such an alarming difference is the non-availability of anti-infection medicines. Aren't we before a poignant ethical question? Antitrust protects patients against the power of Big Pharma who use cunning (legal yet unfair) commercial strategies to restrict the launching of generics and ultimately free trade of pharmaceuticals, inter alia: enforcing exclusive rights and its ius prohibendi, limiting product destination, refusing to sale, using different brands, containers or displays in different territories. The situation worsens when the marketing authorization holder sells products in less developed countries at prices "as high, or higher, than those in developed countries because only a small wealthy segment of the population in developing countries can afford new medicines." The US administration acknowledges the need to enforce antitrust to fight two key practices which stretch the enforceability of the patent beyond patent expiry: evergreening and pay-for-delay settlements. Senator Obama sponsored the Kohl-Grassley bill to ban these anticompetitive settlements. The antitrust institutions incumbents are determined to curtail them. The European Commission believes that prolonging patent protection "can also have the side effect of removing incentives to innovate as competition from generic products encourages the creation of new products." Despite accusations of judicial activism, the European Court of Justice has played a paramount role deciding on the free movement of goods vs. the principle of exhaustion of rights. The Losec case, a turning point in a common practice used by patent holders, was followed by a change in legislation which forbade imposing restrictions to generic drug entry by withdrawing product registration. With regard to international legal instruments, the Bolar exception of the TRIPs Agreement allows generic versions to be placed on the market before the expiry of the patent on the original product. A controversial alternative to circumvent such restrictive market are parallel imports; they owe their existence to the difference in prices of medicines between countries: the pharmaceuticals are imported in a country and resold in another at a lower price where the same product is being sold at a higher price. Advocates of this grey market fight for the international recognition of the principle of international or worldwide trademark exhaustion and for the establishment of a definite regulation of parallel imports, ultimately a matter of public health.

### Stroescu, Oana-Camelia

# Alexandru Ioan Cuza University

Turkish Crisis of March 1987. A Comparative view of the Greakk Daily Newspapers "eleftherotypia" and "Eleftheros Typos"

The paper revisits the main characteristics of the Greek-Turkish relations, taking as its point of departure the 1987 Greek-Turkish dispute over the Aegean continental shelf, as at that moment, a list of mutual grievances on issues of high politics still remained intact. The article examines also how the Greek daily newspapers "Eleftherotypia" and "Eleftheros Typos" covered this crisis. An effort is made to analyse the position of the above mentioned newspapers on the Aegean crisis of March 1987 and to show if it uses the main stereotypes of the Greek-Turkish conflict.

# Talib, Roslan

# **University Sains Malaysia**

From transatlantic to Malacca Straits: making colony in the East-historical cultural relationship

The capture of Malacca, Malaysia by Portuguese fleet commanded by Alfonso d' Albuquerque in 1511 was inspired by the prosperity and reputation of the town. Malacca was too important to escape Portugal's driving spirit. The Portuguese initiated the European Age of Discovery in the late fifteen century. The discoveries of Vasco de Gama had opened

up a new sea route to the East to the fleets of Portugal. Their motivations were both spiritual and commercial. Albuquerque who remained in the conquered town until 1512, quickly reorganized Malacca; he built an imposing fortress as fortification strategy. When that great fortress called A Famosa was completed, the vital Strait between Malay Peninsular and Sumatra, Indonesia and all the shipping that passed through it were at the mercy of the Portuguese. For more than a century, Goa in India, Malacca, and later Macao in China were the three strong points of a great triangle of shipping route; the Portuguese virtually controlled the flow of European goods to the East, and of Chinese, Indonesian, and Indian goods to the West. During 16th the century, the character of Malacca changed considerably. Within the walls of the fortress, manned by three hundred Portuguese soldiers and Asian auxiliaries, a European town of bricks and stones arose, which rapidly took on religious as well as a military character. There were fourteen churches, two hospitals, and schools run by the priests. Outside the walls of the city stretched the suburbs in which the Asian merchants lived in their own quarters, very much as they had done under the Malay Sultanate. For one hundred and thirty years Malacca was governed by the Portuguese; but before the end of that period the Portuguese power in the East was on the wane. Portugal was drained of men and treasure and was too small a country to hold and maintain all she had won. With the arrival of the Dutch in the eastern waters, the position was changed. In 1640, the Dutch Governor General, Anthony van Dieman planned an attack on Malacca by sea and by land. Malacca was finally taken from the Portuguese in 1641 by the Dutch with the Malay help. It took nearly six month of hard fighting before the city, weakened by the famine and plague, finally surrendered on honorable terms. By this time the city had almost been destroyed, only 3,000 out of a population of 20,000 remained, and of these only 200 were Europeans. For nearly two centuries and a half Malacca had lived great days of glory, both during the Malacca Sultanate and Portuguese rule, but with the fall of Malacca to the Dutch a new chapter began in its history. The great days of Malacca had already come to an end.

# Tascón, Julio & Misael Arturo López

#### Universidad de Oviedo

US Political and Economical Influence over the Late-Francoist Spain. Doing business abroad during the oil crisis

The context of political uncertainty -Spanish transition to democracycoinciding with a global economic crisis -oil shocks- worried the United States that adopt a more precise control of the Spain's country risk. At the same time, the U.S. Administration was trying to help the affiliates of having a U.S. parent company (MNC's) to achieve a type of returns accordingly with their previous level of competitiveness (periodical round-up reports, U.S. Embassy in Madrid, NARA, College Park, MD). Spanish economic growth model -during the sixties until 1973 - relied mainly upon the compensatory contribution of tourism, inmigrant remittances and foreign investment. This financial soundness allowed, for some time, to pay the oil crisis bill and postpone the inevitable adjustment policy (Carreras / Tafunell, 2004, 342). There is little doubt that the compensatory items mentioned above were inevitably affected by rising oil prices. Stagflation affected the results of economic activity and of course it's worthy of note the case of international tourism inwards, very well known for Europe in general and Spain in particular (Krugman / Obstfeld, 2006). Fund-raising through foreign direct investment did not generate indebtedness, despite the fact that U.S. FDI were always identified as a loosing sovereignty paradigm. However, the contemporaries perception about US foreign investment was increasingly identifying its advantages for the Spanish economy (ICE, 1974 / Tascon, 2008, 53-75). The bilateral US-Spain 1976 Treaty (as well as the 1969-70 renovations) correctly reflects the concern of the U.S. administration for screen the business atmosphere in Spain in order to find opportunities suited to the interests of U.S. MNC's. Those interests were linked to the economic liberalization already felt by the Spanish entrepreneurs as needful. After the Marshall Plan and about the midfifties, exactly since 1957, the European Economic Community (EEC) became the U.S. savings largest recipient abroad. The encouragement of direct investment for Americans consisted mainly on the possibilities to grant the accession to 160 million people market, as well as they needed to avoid the common tariff of Europe. Spain was playing the role as Europe's new industrial frontier in which U.S. interests were positioned with a clear advantage. Our main objective is to analyze the repercussions of the oil crisis, began in 1973, for the Spanish case and we

intend to isolate the effects of a differential component attributable to the troubled Spanish political reality. We will study the impact produced throughout the crisis in the trade relations among Spain and the United States. The hypothesis to be discussed is whether the Spanish-U.S. economic relations began to experience difficulties since 1973 or, on the contrary, both countries were already plunged in a change of cycle that was just accelerated but not caused by the energy crisis.

# **Timothy Schorn**

# **University of South Dakota**

Self-Determination and the Demise of NATO

NATO intervention in order to protect the sovereignty and well-being of people in Libya, Afghanistan, Bosnia, and Kosovo has challenged the cohesion and efficacy of what was considered the most successful multilateral defense organization in history. The move from collective self-defense to out-of-area intervention has undermined the consensus that enabled the creation of the body in the first place. What are the ramification of these military activities on the political will of the NATO members? Do the interventions signal a new raison d'etre for NATO or are they the beginning of the end of the alliance. These and other questions will be addressed in this paper.

# Vélez, Alejandro

# St. Mary's University

An Upcoming Free Trade Agreement between Colombia and the United States of America: Features, Winners and Losers, and the North-South Divide

An upcoming Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between the US and Colombia has been preceded by contentious debate in the US on the part of labor unions and human rights groups. Nonetheless, many see long term benefits for both countries, especially in an era of intense competition for markets and investment opportunities. This paper will examine the genesis and debate of this agreement including its various backers and critics. Subsequently, the paper turns its attention to the nature and possible impacts of this agreement in light of the major imports and imports of both countries. This analysis will encompass issues beyond the traditional economic aspects. There will be

examinations of other aspects of international trade. These will include gender equity and poverty abatement impacts of the FTA between First and Third World countries in light of similar treaties such as NAFTA. The paper will conclude with an examination of the political economy of trade and treaties in an era of rising power by emergent areas of the world. Note: I am going to invite a colleague in Colombia as co-author in order to expand on many aspects of this treaty as seen by analysts in Colombia.

# Wallace, Don, Melanie Ilett, & Amber Scroggs University of Central Missouri

A State's Legal Obligation to Protect the Exercise of Human Rights: A Negative US Approach in a Positive World

The presence of a positive legal obligation for government to protect individuals from being the victim of the criminal actions of another person has a legal basis in most schemes of human rights protection. The commentary and jurisprudence of the UN Human Rights Committee,[1] the European Court of Human Rights, [2] and both the Inter-American Human Rights Court[3] and Commission[4] has consistently delineated an obligation on the part of the state to take affirmative steps to protect an individual's right to life, rather than merely ensuring that the state itself does not arbitrarily deprive persons of their life. Various human rights instruments, such as the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights impose obligations on its member states to "adopt ... measures to give effect to them."[5] However, the United States Supreme Court sees itself constrained by the language of the Constitution, which obligates the state to not deprive a person of life without due process of law, has just as consistently adopted a contrary rule that government actors have no constitutional requirement to protect individuals from the criminal behavior of others. In Castle Rock v. Gonzales[6] the Court ruled that a city's police department could not be successfully sued since there was no violation of constitutionally protected rights for the failure to enforce a restraining order, which had led to the murder of the three children of Jessica Gonzales by her estranged husband. Notably this stance in the U.S. led Jessica Gonzales to seek a favorable ruling from the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (headquartered in Washington, DC) to the effect that the US is in violation of its international legal obligations by not taking steps to guarantee the exercise of the human right to life. Beyond the legal dimensions of these

differing perspectives on first generation human rights obligations, regarding civil and political rights, this variant U.S. approach is associated with a domestic political rejection of positive legal obligations for second generation legal obligations, regarding social, economic, and cultural rights. This paper will examine these varying approaches to this fundamental human rights issue concerning the extent to which human rights obligations merely restrict the exercise of State power, or rather obligate States to take effective steps where necessary to guarantee the full and free exercise of human rights. This examination will be conducted by analyzing pertinent commentary and case law from human rights jurisprudence representing the UN, the US, Europe, Africa, and the Americas. The importance of this examination underscores what in some respects is an ambiguous distinction between positive and negative obligations.

Notes: [1] Human Rights Committee, General Comment No. 31, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/74/CRP.4/Rev.6 (2004). [2] E.g., Kontrová v. Slovakia, European Court of Human Rights, no. 7510/04 (2007); Opuz v. Turkey, European Court of Human Rights, no. 33401/02 (120); Tomašić v. Croatia, European Court of Human Rights, no. 46598/06 (2009) [3] E.G., Garibaldi v. Brazil, Inter-American Court of Human Rights, Series C. No. 203 (2009). [4] E.g., Caputi v. Ecuador, Inter-American Commission of Human Rights REPORT N° 36/08, CASE 12.487; (July 18, 2008, Decision on Merits) [5] Article 1, African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, adopted June 27, 1981, OAU Doc. CAB/LEG/67/3 rev. 5, 21 I.L.M. 58 (1982), entered into force Oct. 21, 1986. [6] Castle Rock v. Gonzales, 545 U.S. 748 (2005).

#### **INSTITUTO FRANKLIN - UAH**

The Instituto Universitario de Investigación en Estudios Norteamerianos Benjamin Franklin of the Universidad de Alcalá (Instituto Franklin - UAH) has its roots in 1987 when the University established a center for the study and research of North America. From 1987 the Instituto Franklin focused on developing new ways of institutional collaboration between Spain and North America through specific initiatives based mainly on sponsoring different research projects, the organization of international meetings and conferences, and developing academic programs for American students. In 2001 Instituto Franklin changed its status to "Research Institute" (Law 15/2001, February 1st; BOCM February, 8th 2001, no 33, p.10).

### Mission

The mission of Instituto Franklin - UAH is to serve as a cooperative platform that unites Spain and North America with the objective to promote awareness and knowledge about the diversity of cultures that pertain to those territories. This mission is carried out through collaborations between Universidad de Alcalá and American higher education institutions, public or private agencies, and associations in order to foster understanding and constructive collaboration on both sides of the Atlantic.

# **Objectives**

To work towards a better understanding of both continents –Europe and America– in order to form future citizens and leaders prepared for the actual global society.

To promote cooperation between Universidad de Alcalá and US higher education institutions, facilitating the academic mobility of professors, researchers, and students developing academic programs together and establishing joint lines of research.

To develop academic programs for American students based on academic and administrative excellence.

To establish international forum debates and networking through the organization of international conferences and seminars.

# **Academic Programs**

Instituto Franklin - UAH offers a variety of programs:

<u>PhD in American Studies</u>, addressed to students who wish to acquire a deepest knowledge on the United States and work on their Doctoral dissertation.

<u>Spanish Studies Program</u> is an undergraduate program for students who want to improve their Spanish, take courses in other areas like History, Politics, Business..., and want to develop their intercultural and personal skills.

<u>Teach & Learn in Spain Master Program</u> offers native English speaking students the opportunity of studying a Master's program from the Universidad de Alcalá under a scholarship scheme, while doing an internship in schools of the Comunidad de Madrid.

# **Research Projects & Scholarships**

Instituto Franklin - UAH funds different research projects and scholarships about North- America or comparative studies about North- America and Spain. Every year Instituto Franklin - UAH dedicates around 150.000€ to research projects and scholarships.

# **Publications**

Specialized, printed and digital, publications represent one of the most important activities at Instituto Franklin - UAH in order to acknowledge researches for the benefit of scholars and the general public. There four publication lines: the journal CAMINO REAL, the collection of translated novels "Colección Camino Real", the editions of the collection "Biblioteca Benjamin Franklin", and monographic issues of "Tribuna Norteamericana."

# **International Conferences and Seminars**

The venue of Instituto Franklin - UAH, at the heart of Alcalá de Henares, and the history and attractiveness of this city (birthplace of Cervantes) declared World Heritage Site in 1998 make it an ideal location for such conferences and seminars.

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*Stanley Sloan.* Founding Director of the Atlantic Community Initiative. He was employed by the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress in a variety of analytical and research management positions from 1975-1999, including head of the Office of Senior Specialists.

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