

# THE FEDERALISM REPORT

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## From the Editors

In this issue of *The Federalism Report*, we welcome the partnership of the Research Committee on Comparative Federalism and Federation (RC 28) of the International Political Science Association (IPSA). We look forward to continuing cooperation with the IPSA Research Committee.

The International Association of Centers for Federal Studies (IACFS) held its annual meeting at the Institute of Federalism in Innsbruck, Austria, on November 13-17, 2002. The conference portion of the meeting was held jointly with the IPSA's Research Committee on Comparative Federalism and Federation.

Given that our global network includes practitioners as well as scholars, we publish in this issue an edited text of a speech delivered by State Duma Deputy Vladimir Ryzhkov of Russia at Georgetown University School of Foreign Service on April 19, 2002, under a grant from the National Endowment for Democracy administered by the International Republican Institute. The speech addresses recent developments in the Russian Federation, including changes instituted by Putin's administration. At 17 million square kilometers, Russia is the largest country in the world. This is one of the signal attributes of federal systems. The average land area of the world's 25 federal countries is 2.7 million square kilometers, compared to 0.6 for decentralized unitary countries and 0.3 million square kilometers for the world's 131 other, unitary countries.

In order to make *The Federalism Report* fully and broadly informative, we invite news from you about your relevant activities and publications. Send news, as well as address changes, to Dr. John Kincaid; Meyner Center for the Study of State and Local Government; 002 Kirby Hall of Civil Rights; Lafayette College; Easton, PA 18042-1785, USA. The fax is 610-330-5648; the e-mail address is <meynerc@lafayette.edu>.

CSF at the Meyner Center expresses appreciation for assistance from the Earhart Foundation in helping to support *The Federalism Report*. The views expressed herein are not necessarily those of the Earhart Foundation, Lafayette College, or Morehead State University.

John Kincaid, Editor  
Michael W. Hail, Associate Editor

## CSF Notebook

Robert B. and Helen S. Meyner Center for the Study of State and Local Government

### The Russian Federation: Diversity versus Unity

By Vladimir Ryzhkov

State Duma Deputy

Russia is the only post-communist federation. The first was Czechoslovakia, but it was soon separated into two independent countries. Another example is East Germany, but it rejoined Germany. So, no other post-communist country is a federation - not Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Ukraine, Belorussia, the Balkan republics, Hungary, or Bulgaria. This is an important point because there are specific political processes in Russia and specific results of Russia's decision.

For instance, governors in Russia are a strong political class and political force, much stronger than *akims* in Kazakhstan or heads of administration in Ukrainian provinces, Belorussian regions, or Bulgarian regions. It's comparable to Brazil, where governors also are strong. The second big result of making Russia a federation is that Russia has 21 so-called national republics: Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Chechnya, and so on. These republics have very specific features.

The third important result is the different models of development in different regions. For instance, the Ulyanovsk *oblast* and the Novgorodskaya *oblast*, display completely different social and economic models. Mikhail Prusak, the Turkmenbashi governor of the Novgorod region, created a liberal economic model and special conditions for investors. Hence, Novgorod has the biggest foreign investment per capita in Russia, more than Moscow. The Ulyanovsky region, which was headed by former Communist first secretary, Goryachev, until two years ago, was a socialist, soviet-style model. He regulated the prices, everything. Consequently, Ulyanovsk is in the midst of an enormous crisis, in budget, housing, infrastructure, and so on. Federalization, therefore, allowed Russia's regions to create absolutely different social and economic models, and thus absolutely different results.

If one asks why Russia is a federation when other post-communist countries are unitary, the answer is simple. Russia is going through the same historical process it had in the 1920s, after the Bolshevik Revolution. A federation was created for the first time in Russia's history in 1918 as a part of the Bolsheviks' party program. Why? Because in contradiction to the Tsar's policy, to the Romanovs' imperial policy, the Bolsheviks promised ethnic minorities in the Russian empire more freedom than they enjoyed

before. As a model for freedom, the Bolsheviks promised them federalism.

During that time, young, national elites in Bashkiria, Tatarstan, and elsewhere, including Ukraine, created nationalistic movements and demanded autonomy and independence. In some cases, such as Ukraine and Georgia, they created their own state. In others, they simply achieved autonomies. The first autonomy was Bashkortostan, Bashkir republic, in Russia. After that came Tatarstan, Mordovia, Chuvashia, and so on.

But the one-party, totalitarian system was created soon after unification of the Soviet Union, and federalism then existed more or less in name only. It was called federalism, but it was a unitary state. Rules were centralized by the Communist party, the Soviet state; therefore, there were no serious differences between the constituent units. However, some important underlying differences created potentials for future sovereignty.

For instance, in Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan, there were national elites who were powerful inside these Soviet republics. In every republic, the usual practice was to name as first secretary a Kazakh, for example, while the second secretary was Russian. At the same time, they had national theaters, national newspapers, national radio programs in national and ethnic languages, and national cultures. It was a paradox. The rules were those of a unitary state, but the practice in the Soviet republics was more or less nationalistic. The same situation existed in Soviet Tatarstan, Soviet Bashkortostan, and so on.

For instance, Oleg Morozov, leader of the Regions of Russia faction, worked for the Republic Committee of the Communist Party in Kazan, Tatarstan, during Soviet times. He is Russian, but the first secretary was a Tatar. So it was a combination of unification and nationalization. Inside the Soviet system, constantly, very quietly and gradually, national elites and national cultures were growing (e.g., Tatar culture and Chuvash culture). Hence, when the USSR collapsed in 1991, strong nationalistic movements appeared in Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Chechnya, and other republics. The only answer possible was federalism, and Boris Yeltsin was a genius president when he said that the republics could take as much sovereignty as they could digest because it was the only way to save Russia as a state.

After that, the so-called *Federativny Dogovor* or Federative Treaty was signed in 1992. This treaty created a strange combination of constitutional federalism and treaty federalism—a federation of a whole nation and a

federation of different nations. We had 48 treaties between the federal government and regional administrations. This was a paradox. However, it existed for just one year because in December 1993, after the *coup d'état* in October 1993 in Moscow, there was a national referendum, which approved the current constitution of the Russian Federation. This constitution established a new, in principle, constitutional federation. There is a reference to the *Federativny Dogovor* in the concluding chapters of this constitution, but in practice, it's nominal because this constitution established the main rules of the current federation. (In addition, 24 of the 48 federal-regional treaties were cancelled during the past two years.)

The Russian Federation, therefore, was created in the early 1990s as a result of strong national movements in former Soviet republics. The only way to keep Russia as a state was to give the republics real autonomy, self-government, and the possibility to create their own policies. Many people in Russia now criticize Yeltsin for this type of federation. It was a bad decision, they say, because (1) the state is inefficient, (2) the regions have too much sovereignty and too much freedom, and (3) there is inequality between the regions. Yet, the only pragmatic decision at that time was to create a not symmetrical, not equal, not very well organized, but functional federation.

What do we have now? We have a strange federation because we have 89 very different subjects in the federation. One of them is Chechnya, which is a difficult point because Chechnya is inside Russia but also outside Russia. It's a special problem for us. We have other very different subjects of the federation. For instance, Avenkija, which is in the central Krasnoyarsk region, has a population of about 25,000, and a territory bigger than France. Moscow, another subject of the federation, has 9 million people. Both of these subjects of the federation have the same responsibilities and the same rights. Moscow and Avenkija each have two senators, two members of the Council of Federation, the right to elect at least one member of the Duma, and so on. Some people say that we have to enlarge the subjects of the federation and make them more or less equal to each other. But this is not such a big problem. Here in the United States, you have California, which has a population of about 34 million, and you also have North Dakota or Rhode Island. Germany has Bayern, which is huge, bigger than many European countries, and it has the city of Hamburg, which has the same status as a federal *Land*. So, it's not a problem. I am glad that yesterday, when Putin delivered his speech to the Federation Council, he said nothing about enlarging the subjects of the federation.

One problem, though, is that the federal system is not clear. The first example is divisions between the local and regional governments. For instance, we have more than

13,000 municipalities. Each has its own budget. But 98 percent of them receive support from their regional government because they have no capacity to be self-sufficient. The donations from their regional government are usually between 50 and 90 percent. Is this self-government, or just a budget organization?

Another problem is that there are no clear rules on their relationships. The governor can change the rules every year. One year, he can give municipalities 50 percent, another year, 80 percent, the next year, 0, because there are no rules in this sphere. The same problem exists between the regions and the federal government. In Yeltsin's era, there was a kind of compromise between the governors and President Yeltsin, the Federation Council, and the federal government. That is, in the conciliated budget of Russia, 50 percent of all the revenue went to the federal budget; 50 percent went to the regional budgets. In Putin's era, we have 63 percent to the federal budget and just 37 percent to the regional and local budgets. Today, there is more budget centralization in Moscow. As a result, there was never such a dramatic crisis with the regional and local budgets as there is this year.

For instance, in November 2001, Putin increased salaries for public servants by 60 percent, just from December of last year. Fifty-six regions were not able to pay these salaries. As of 1 January 2002, 35 regions could not pay these salaries. Now, 10, maybe 12, regions still do not pay these salaries. So it's a real crisis of regional budgets. There are no clear rules of inter-budget relations between the federal and regional governments. It's especially a problem for the regional governments because it's impossible to create long-term policies in the regions and in local governments.

The third problem is unclear responsibility. For instance, we have a special law about privileges for veterans—housing prices, telephone prices, electricity prices, water prices, public transportation privileges, and so on. Yet, in this federal law, there is no division of responsibility, which order of government is responsible for what. If a veteran doesn't receive these privileges, no one knows who is responsible.

Why did we adopt this kind of law if we did not divide the responsibility? There are many explanations. The first is populism. Deputies in every country want to vote good things for the people without accounting for them. The second explanation is Soviet tradition. It was typical of the Soviet style to adopt laws without accounting for them, without money, without dividing the responsibilities. The third explanation is a deficit of professionalism. We have a very short parliamentary tradition, and we are still not as professional as the U.S. Congress, the German *Bundestag*, or the French National Assembly. Hence, we have many laws that give the people privileges without money and

without clear definitions of who is responsible. Putin created a special commission, headed by Dmitri Kozak, deputy head of the presidential administration, last year. This commission is tasked with creating practical proposals for improving Russian law. Perhaps we will soon have a clearer picture of what we have in these laws.

So, we have federalism without clear rules in budget relations between the regional and local governments and between the federal and regional governments. We have federalism without clear divisions for many social and economic issues. We have federalism with very different types of political culture in different regions. In Novgorod and Tatarstan, and in Chechnya, or in the Khabarovsk region, one sees different political cultures and societies. For instance, the Chuvash republic, where Nikolai Fedorov is president, is Russia's most mono-ethnic republic because 70 percent of its population is Chuvash. They do not speak Russian in small villages and within their families. They speak Chuvash. This republic is in the Volga region. It's just one night by train from Moscow, but it's an absolutely specific culture.

Consequently, Russia is also a fair of political systems. We have presidential republics, some parliamentary republics, mixed republics, four-year terms, five-year terms, only majoritarian elections in some regions, and mixed systems. It's a unique federation where one finds different political systems in neighboring regions, and different electoral party systems.

Even so, people everywhere do speak Russian in public; so, the Russian language and culture are still strong enough to help keep us as a united nation, as a civil nation. But we have a threat of disorder because we have many potential nations inside Russia. These nations are very strong, potentially, because they have language, literature, newspapers, and history. For instance, 2003 will be the 1000-year jubilee of Kazan. If they have cities older than Moscow, it means they have their own history and mythology. Thus, it's a proto-nation and a proto-state.

Many people think we must unify Russia because it's impossible to rule the country efficiently because it's too complicated. However, it's a good thing to have a complicated system because Russia itself is so complicated— ethnically, geographically, economically, and culturally. Any attempt to unify the country will create crises. We need very delicate, rational, and accurate governing of this type of federalism. We have to preserve the number of regions. We have to preserve the opportunity for them to create their own budgets, political systems, elections, and policies in the social, economic, education, and culture spheres. This will guarantee us stability.

Lastly, along with centralization of the budget, Putin proposed some other reforms. The first was reform of the Federation Council. We have had three models of the

council. The first council was elected in December 1993 on the same day as the Duma. It was reformed after two years. From 1995 until 2002, the Federation Council included governors and speakers of the regional parliaments. Now we have the third model, namely, two representatives from each region in the Federation Council. One is appointed by the governor; the second is appointed by the regional parliament. As one of my friends in the Federation Council said, "I have one voter— my governor." It's a good joke because it shows the weakness of this system. If you can appoint any person, and if you can "dis-appoint" him at any time, then it's impossible for this chamber to be influential and respectable.

In Germany, for instance, the *Bundesrat* has the same principles of appointment. But under the Basic Law, some responsibilities are unique to the *Bundesrat*. For instance, it's impossible to adopt the budget of the Federal Republic of Germany without the *Bundesrat's* approval. This constitutional requirement gives it a very big influence on German policy. In Russia, if the Federation Council voted against the budget, but there were 300 votes for it in the Duma, it would be enough to adopt the budget for the next year without the Federation Council. Politically, therefore, the Federation Council is now the weakest it has been in the last ten years because its members are not elected by the people.

There are two problems with this situation. The first is that according to the Constitution, the Federation Council has some crucial responsibilities (e.g., war). Only the council, according to the Constitution, can give "agreement" to the president on war, on using Russian soldiers abroad. Only the Federation Council appoints the judges of the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Arbitration Court. The council appoints the general prosecutor of Russia. The Federation Council appoints five members of the Central Election Commission, which consists of 15 people. The council appoints half of the Federal Audit Chamber. Last but not least, the Federation Council has the impeachment power as a final decision in this long procedure. So, one can see a contradiction between the influence, authority, and political respectability of this chamber now.

The second problem is that in Yeltsin's era, the Federation Council was a guarantor of political stability because it was a conservative chamber. It balanced out a radical Duma, when the Duma fought against Yeltsin. It also was very influential, and it allowed for the involvement of regional elites in federal policymaking. There was interaction between the president, government, Duma, and the regions every day. Now the council has lost absolutely because nobody respects it.

So, we have two big problems as a result of Putin's reform; yet, what did he do? He created the so-called

*Gossoviet*, the State Council, which is not a constitutional institution and consists of all the governors. But it is inefficient; it has only four meetings a year. The governors discuss sports issues, for example, such as the Olympic Games, and they have policies on agriculture, for instance, but they just talk because they have no responsibility to decide.

This institution does not replace the former Federation Council because the council was very influential, and it had important responsibilities and rights. It's a problem now for Mr. Putin. I voted against this reform because it's a mistake. The new speaker of the Federation Council, Sergei Mironov, has said many times that it was not a very good decision but a necessary one, and that soon we will again reform the council. I would prefer that members of the Federation Council be elected by the people.

Another reform was the so-called seven federal districts, or the seven super-governors. It's a strange story because Putin likes this system, but he likes it because he created it. No one else likes it. Maybe seven super-governors are fine; I'm not sure. The problem is, imagine for instance, the Siberian federal district. I am from there. It's a modern state, as a territory. The center is Novosibirsk. The distance between Novosibirsk and Norilsk, for instance, is 3,000 kilometers, and there is no direct flight between Novosibirsk and Norilsk. If Mr. Drachevsky, the presidential representative in Novosibirsk, wants to visit Norilsk, he has to go to Moscow and then to Norilsk. It's the only way, and this is often the case. This structure has 300 employees in Novosibirsk and a very nice building, but it's just a new bureaucratic level over the regions, with no budget or responsibilities.

Look at the Ingusheti elections, now a scandal in Russia. In Ingushetia's presidential elections, the first round was won by Amirkhanov, who is a member of the Duma. He was not supported by the Kremlin and central Governor Kazantsev in Rostov. His candidate was General Zyazikov. He came in second. The winner of the first round took 31 percent; Zyazikov, the runner up, took 17 percent. The next day, people from the general prosecutor's office and a special subdivision of the Ministry of the Interior conducted a terrible search of Amirkhanov's office. Who initiated this search? Governor Kazantsev from Rostov because his candidate lost the first round.

The result of these reforms is more arbitrariness. If previously we sometimes had this kind of *proizvol* from the governors, now we have it from both the governors and the super-governors. This is not an improvement of Russia's political system.

Yesterday, Putin said again in his annual message to the Federal Assembly that he was glad we created this institution because the federal power became closer to the regions. Can you imagine? People in Novosibirsk became

closer to Norilsk? I don't think so. He also said that it might be good to give the seven super-governors more control and responsibilities over appointment policy. Control responsibilities over what? Nobody knows.

What, then, do we have from Putin's tower of power? We have a new Federation Council that is not responsible. We have seven super districts, which are just a new bureaucratic level without responsibilities and efficiency. We have budget centralization that creates crises in local and regional budgets, and we have no clear rules among the federal, regional, and local governments. I hope Mr. Kozak's commission will be more efficient.

### First Global Dialogue International Conference

The first international conference of the Global Dialogue on Federalism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century will be held in historic Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA, on March 21-24, 2003. The Global Dialogue is co-sponsored by the Forum of Federations and the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies. The conference, which will include scholars, practitioners, and youth, will focus on the Global Dialogue's first theme, Constitutional Origins, Structure, and Change in Federal Democracies.

The federal constitutions theme is being coordinated by John Kincaid, director of the Meyner Center at Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania, and by G. Alan Tarr, director of the Center for State Constitutional Studies at Rutgers University, Camden, New Jersey. The country coordinators for this theme are Cheryl Saunders on Australia, Kris Deschouwer on Belgium, Celina Souza on Brazil, Rainer Knopf and Anthony M. Sayers on Canada, Jutta Kramer on Germany, Akhtar Majeed on India, Juan Marcos Gutierrez González on Mexico, Ignatius Akaayar Ayua on Nigeria, Marat S. Salikov on Russia, Nico Steytler on South Africa, Nicolas Schmitt on Switzerland, and G. Alan Tarr on the United States. Inquiries about attending the conference should be directed to Dr. **G. Alan Tarr**; Center for State Constitutional Studies; Rutgers University; 411 Cooper Street; Camden, NJ 08102, USA. Tel: 856-225-6084 Ext. 43; Fax: 856-225-6628; E-mail: [tarr@camden.rutgers.edu](mailto:tarr@camden.rutgers.edu).

### Scholars' News

**Richard L. Cole, John Kincaid, and Andrew Parkin** conducted a pioneering survey of public opinion on federalism in Canada and the United States. The results were published *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 32:4 (Fall 2002). The survey both continues Cole and Kincaid's trend surveys based on the former U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations' polling

questions and extends the survey to Canada. A new question also was asked about respect for one's province or state in the Canadian and American federal systems, as well as questions about Canada-United States border trade and security. On trust and confidence in government, for example, 46.5% of Canadians, compared to 68.0% of Americans, expressed "a great deal" or "fair amount" of trust and confidence in their federal government. The aggregate levels of such trust for provincial or state government were 50.8% in Canada and 64.8% in the United States; for local government, the trust levels were 64.1% in Canada and 67.3% in the United States.

**John Kincaid** recently published "The 2000 Presidential Election: National and Local Politics in American Federalism," *Indian Journal of Political Science* 62:2 (June 2001); "Federalism in the United States of America: A Continual Tension Between Persons and Places," *Politische Vierteljahrsschrift* 32 (2001); "Issues of Federalism in Response to Terrorism," *Public Administration Review* 62 (Special Issue 2002) with Richard L. Cole; "Introduction," *Handbook of Federal Countries, 2002*, ed., Ann L. Griffiths (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002); and "Public Opinion on Federalism in the United States and Canada: The Aftermath of Terrorism," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 32 (Fall 2002) with Richard L. Cole and Andrew Parkin.

He also presented papers on "Federal Models and the European Union" at the annual meeting of the European Community Studies Association, Congress of Humanities and Social Sciences, Toronto, Canada, June 1, 2002; "Trends in American Federalism" at the annual Conference of the Federation of Tax Administrators, Nashville, Tennessee, June 5, 2002; "Constituent Diplomacy of U.S. States" at the conference on "Außenpolitik von Regionen," Europäischen Zentrum für Föderalismusforschung, Tübingen, Karlsruhe, Germany, June 20-22, 2002; "The State of American Federalism, 2001-2002" at the annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 31, 2002, with Dale A. Krane; and "Smashing the Twin Relics of Barbarism—Slavery and Polygamy: Rejecting Territorial Multiculturalism in American Federalism" at the annual meeting of the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies, Innsbruck, Austria, November 15, 2002.

**Dr. Bruce McDowell** continues to direct a wildland-fire management study being conducted by the National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA). The most recent report, *Wildfire Suppression: Strategies for Containing Costs*, was published on November 15, 2002.

Its main recommendation is establishment of a new, federal matching grant to encourage intergovernmental sharing of responsibilities for fighting wildfires more cost effectively and for striking at two of the main causes of rising wildfire costs: (1) unnaturally dense vegetation and dead litter on fire-prone land and (2) increasing numbers of communities being built in wild areas without adequate precautions against fire hazards.

Two previous NAPA reports issued in 2001 addressed ways to improve safety when intentionally burning wildlands to thin out overgrowth and to enhance interagency and intergovernmental implementation of national wildland-fire management policies. Large fires often burn across the boundaries of federal agencies, local governments, and even states; consequently, intergovernmental and interagency response strategies are essential.

The next phase of NAPA's study will address ways to improve intergovernmental and interagency relationships in planning and implementing wildfire-hazard mitigation and in preparing for and responding to wildfire emergencies.

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*Richard L. Cole, John Kincaid, and Andrew Parkin***CSF 2003 APSA Panel**

CSF at the Meyner Center, with the assistance of Kim Hendrickson, plans to host a roundtable at the August 27-31, 2003, meeting of the American Political Science Association in Philadelphia on two diametrically opposed conservative views of the U.S. Supreme Court's federalism jurisprudence: Robert F. Nagel's *The Implosion of American Federalism* (2001) and John T. Noonan's *Narrowing the Nation's Power* (2002).

**Federalism Under fire: Conservative Critiques of the Rhenquist Court**

Chair: John Kincaid, Lafayette College

Panelists: Lino Graglia, University of Texas  
 Michael Greve, American Enterprise Institute  
 Kimberly Hendrickson, Rhodes College  
 Richard Morgan, Bowdoin College

Respondent: Robert F. Nagel, University of CO, Boulder

**In Memoriam**

Former U.S. Representative **L. H. Fountain** passed away on October 10, 2002. Fountain, born in Leggett, North Carolina, in 1913, was a pillar of support for the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR). He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1952, where he served for 30 years. Often called "the father" of the ACIR, he introduced the bill in the House to establish the ACIR, which began operations in 1959, and he served as a member of the ACIR for 22 years. Among his many activities, he also served as chairman of the House Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations and Human Resources, and as a member of the President's Advisory Committee on Federalism in 1981-82. When Fountain retired from the House, the ACIR lost a crucial congressional champion.

**Charles S. McCoy**, professor emeritus at Pacific School of Religion and the Graduate Theological Union, died on November 3, 2002, at age 79. Covenantal or federal theology lay at the core of his life and scholarship, and one of his last publications was "Federalism: The Lost Tradition?" *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 31 (Spring 2001). His many books included *Fountainhead of Federalism: Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenantal Tradition* (1991) coauthored with J. Wayne Baker and *Corporate Ethics: A Prime Business Asset* (1988). He was a participant in the Covenant Workshop co-directed by Daniel J. Elazar and John Kincaid. He was long active in the Civil Rights Movement, serving, for example, as a founding executive of Christian Action with Reinhold Niebuhr and helping to organize the Mission to Mississippi with the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1961.

**Goodbye Yugoslavia**

On February 4, 2003, Yugoslavia's Parliament (by votes of 26-7 in the upper chamber and 84-31 in the lower chamber) endorsed a new constitution for a reconstituted union named Serbia and Montenegro. The new constitution, which was brokered by the European Union, established a loose union of the last two remnants of the former Yugoslavia, requiring them to maintain their union for at least three years. Afterward, Montenegro and Serbia can conduct referendums on independence and, thus, choose to go their separate ways. Belgrade remains the capital, but essentially, the two republics are united by only a small administration concerned with foreign affairs and defense. The other previous republics of Yugoslavia included what are now Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, and Slovenia.



# International Association of Centers for Federal Studies



# IACFS

NEWSLETTER  
BULLETIN  
d'INFORMATION  
RUNDSCHREIBEN

## 2002 IACFS/IPSA Meeting

The 2002 IACFS directors' meeting and conference was held in Innsbruck, Austria, on November 13-17, 2002, and attended by more than 50 scholars. The meeting was hosted by the Institute of Federalism and the University of Innsbruck, with financial assistance from the International Centre for European Studies (CIFE). The institute's director is Professor Dr. **Peter Bussjäger**. The 2002 IACFS conference was held jointly with the Comparative Federalism and Federation Research Committee (RC-28) of the International Political Science Association (IPSA). The theme for the conference was "The Homogeneity of Democracy, Rights, and the Rule of Law in Federal or Confederal Systems."

## Draft Minutes of International Association of Centers for Federal Studies (IACFS) Directors' Meeting, November 14, 2002, Innsbruck, Austria

### Present

John Kincaid (President), Center for the Study of Federalism at the Meyner Center for the Study of State and Local Government (USA)

Cheryl Saunders (Vice President), Center for Comparative Constitutional Studies (Australia)

Ellis Katz, IACFS Secretary-Treasurer (USA)

Peter Bussjäger, Institute for Research in Federalism (Austria)

Anna Gamper, Institute for Research in Federalism (Austria)

Rudolf Hrbek, Europäisches Zentrum für Föderalismusforschung (Germany)

Jutta Kramer, Institute for Federal Studies University of Hannover (Germany)

Ferdinand Kinsky, Centre International de Formation Europeenne (France)

Peter Leslie, Institute of Intergovernmental Relations (Canada)

Ahktar Majeed, Center for Federal Studies (India)

Hans-Peter Schneider, Institute for Federal Studies University of Hannover (Germany)

Slava Shealo, Center for Comparative Federal Studies (Russia)

Nico Steytler, Community Law Centre (South Africa)

G. Alan Tarr, Center for State Constitutional Studies (USA)

Alan Trench, The Constitution Unit (United Kingdom)

Ronald Watts, Institute of Intergovernmental Relations (Canada)

Samuel Wilson, Institute for Public Economics (Canada)

**1. Welcome** – President Kincaid opened the meeting at 9:15 a.m. by welcoming the members and by thanking Peter Bussjäger and the Institute for Research on Federalism for hosting the meeting and conference.

**2. Determination of Quorum** – President Kincaid noted that twelve centers were present, more than enough to meet the quorum requirement of two-thirds of active IACFS members.

**3. Welcome** – Dr. Bussjäger welcomed the members to Innsbruck.

**4. Approval of Meeting Agenda** – The draft agenda for the 2002 meeting was approved.

**5. Approval of 2001 Cyberspace Meeting Minutes** – Ronald L. Watts moved that the minutes be approved. Cheryl Saunders seconded the motion. The motion passed unanimously.



## 6. Projects and Publications

### 6.1 Publication of Conference Proceedings

- Tübingen Meeting 1999 – Rudolf Hrbek reported that he expects the papers to be published by Spring 2003.
- Nice Meeting 2000 – Ferdinand Kinsky reported that the project had been turned over to CIFE's new director and that he had no report at this time.
- Innsbruck 2002 – Peter Bussjäger reported that he plans to publish the papers by the end of 2003, but publication will depend on the cooperation of the paper givers.

**6.2 Federalism Bibliography** – Ron Watts reported (1) that the major work had been completed; (2) that the bibliography can be accessed at <http://www.cnfs-reef.net>; and (3) that additional funding is available to update the bibliography. Watts reported that the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations at Queens University is prepared to undertake the updating only if there is sufficient interest among the IACFS members and they cooperate in the project. There was general agreement (1) that member centers will submit material for the bibliography on a regular basis, (2) that each member center will add a link to the bibliography on its website, and (3) that the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations will circulate a request for new material, as well as guidelines for submitting new material, to the IACFS members on an annual basis. Watts agreed to convey this sentiment to Harvey Lazar, director of the institute.

**6.3 IACFS Website** – Ferdinand Kinsky of CIFE, which maintains the website, had no report at this time. President Kincaid will contact Frederic Lepine about the status of the website. (See also discussion under 6.4, IACFS booklet, below.)

**6.4 IACFS Booklet** – President Kincaid asked whether a new IACFS booklet should be prepared and published. Cheryl Saunders raised the possibility of putting the brochure on-line, using the IACFS website. There was much discussion about the pros and cons of electronic versus regular publication. It was finally decided (1) that we should publish a brief IACFS pamphlet, (2) that we should publish a more detailed booklet on the IACFS website, and (3) that the Secretary should work with the IACFS members to prepare a model for a hard-copy pamphlet, and with the IACFS members and with Frederic Lepine of CIFE to prepare a longer brochure for the website. These models should be available for

consideration by the IACFS at its 2003 meeting. Given that the IACFS expects to admit new members at its 2003 meeting, we should not publish any hard version before that time, although we should certainly have hard copies of the new pamphlet available at the 2004 meeting in Brussels.

**6.5 Federalism Report** – President Kincaid reported that funding is available to publish the *Federalism Report* twice a year, probably in January and June. The *Report* is sent to approximately 2,000 individuals and libraries. President Kincaid requested that the IACFS member centers submit material for the *Report* on a regular basis. He will remind the members of the need to submit material in a timely manner.

**6.6 Other Possible Projects** – Jutta Kramer raised the possibility of the IACFS working with the United Nations. The consensus was that previous efforts to develop a relationship with the UN had not been successful and, pending some new developments, further efforts are likely to prove fruitless. Ferdinand Kinsky reported that CIFE is working on a new project, "Federalism as a Model for Corporate Governance," and wanted to know if any other center is moving in this direction. It was reported that while no other centers are working on similar projects, it is an intriguing idea. Hans-Peter Schneider suggested that working with business organizations might be useful for fund-raising. Ron Watts reported that the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations has several representatives from the business community on its board. Hans-Peter Schneider then raised the possibility of including regionalism within the range of IACFS interests. Cheryl Saunders believed that this interest was already assumed. Schneider then raised the possibility of changing the name of the IACFS to include a specific reference to regionalism. Nico Steytler raised the possibility of including decentralization as well as regionalism. Alan Trench feared that making a specific reference to regionalism would open the door to geographers, and that while he has nothing against geographers, this might change the nature of the organization. President Kincaid reminded the members that the IACFS statement of principles is already broad enough to include attention to both regionalism and decentralization. The consensus was that the IACFS is already broad enough, and that attention to "federal principles" certainly includes both regionalism and decentralization.

**7. Financial Report**—(1) The Treasurer reported a balance of \$7,663.27, including funds transferred by Anne Mullins, the previous Treasurer. (2) The Treasurer distributed an "IACFS Payment Record" showing that most centers were up-to-date with their dues payments. (3) In response to a question, the Treasurer said that cash payments for dues are acceptable but that the IACFS does not have the capacity to handle credit-card payments. (4) The Treasurer reported that an additional problem is that the bank sometimes charges a \$15.00 fee for electronic transfers. Ron Watts moved, and Hans-Peter Schneider seconded, that a \$15.00 fee be added to dues payments for electronic transfers. Alan Trench offered an amendment that if the bank does not charge such a fee, the additional \$15.00 be refunded. The motion, as amended, passed unanimously. (5) The Treasurer then distributed copies of the IACFS membership list and contact information and asked for additions and corrections. Several corrections were offered and a revised list will be distributed with these minutes. (6) President Kincaid then raised the question of what to do with the funds in the IACFS treasury. The only reported expenditures were a \$500.00 subvention to *The Federalism Report*, and about \$30.00 in expenses reported by the Secretary-Treasurer. Several possibilities were raised, and it was finally decided that the President should have discretion to expend funds for: (a) a \$500.00 subvention to *The Federalism Report*, (b) small expenses by the Secretary-Treasurer, (c) preparation and publication of a new IACFS pamphlet, estimated at \$2,000.00, (d) subventions of up to \$1,000.00 to publish IACFS conference papers—when necessary, and (e) subventions of up to \$1,000.00—again when necessary—to centers hosting the IACFS annual meeting.

## 8. Future IACFS Conferences

**8.1 2003 Conference**—Ahktar Majeed reported that the 2003 IACFS conference will be hosted by the Centre for Federal Studies in New Delhi, India, on November 14-16, 2003, in conjunction with the "Distribution of Responsibilities in Federal Democracies" theme meeting of the Global Dialogue. The IACFS conference will be built around this theme. Rudolf Hrbek suggested that the proposed dates might pose a problem because of academic schedules in Europe. Nico Steytler then raised the possibility of a fixed date for all future IACFS meetings. While everyone agreed that this is a good idea, it was not feasible. Ron Watts asked if Majeed

planned one conference (Global Dialogue) or two (Global Dialogue and IACFS). The consensus was the program should have three parts: (1) a one-day IACFS business meetings, (2) a 1 to 1.5 day IACFS conference, and (3) a Global Dialogue conference. Once this was agreed to, the question was what would be the theme of the IACFS conference. It was agreed that the IACFS conference will focus on a theme related to the Global Dialogue, but will not be identical to it. Majeed will formulate an exact title for the IACFS conference and will invite papers. He will also set the precise dates for the meeting as soon as possible.

**8.2 2004 and 2005 Conferences**—Both Nico Steytler and Ron Watts offered to host the two meetings. The Community Law Centre in South Africa plans to host the 2004 meeting. The Institute of Intergovernmental Relations in Canada will likely host the 2005 meeting.

## 9. Review of Current IACFS Membership Statutes

**9.1 Centre d'Etude du Federalisme, Brussels**, has not paid dues since 1998 and has not responded to repeated communications. Ron Watts moved and Jutta Kramer seconded that it no longer be considered a member of the IACFS. Passed unanimously.

**9.2 Centre for European Politics and Institutions, Leicester**, has not paid dues since 1997 and has not responded to repeated communications. Ron Watts moved and Alan Tarr seconded that it no longer be considered a member of the IACFS. Passed unanimously.

**9.3 North Australia Research Unit, Darwin**, no longer exists and should no longer be considered a member of the IACFS.

**9.4 Siberian International Center for Regional Studies, Novosibirsk**, Ron Watts reported that Vyachaslav Seliverstov remains interested in IACFS membership and recommended that no action be taken at this time.

**9.5 South Australian Centre for Economic Studies, Adelaide**, has decided not to renew its membership in the IACFS and will no longer be considered a member.

**10. Applications for IACFS Membership**—President Kincaid reported that there were no applications at this time.

## **11. Expressions of Interest in IACFS Membership**

**11.1 Center for Democracy and Regionalism, Director Tsothe Bakuria, Caucasus, Russia, founded 1999**, contacted President Kincaid about three weeks ago, but no one had knowledge of or information about this organization.

**11.2 Centre for European Union Studies, Director Michael Burgess, University of Hull, Hull, United Kingdom**, had expressed interest in IACFS membership about three years ago but had never filed a formal application. Everyone was enthusiastic about membership, and both Ron Watts and John Kincaid will follow up.

**11.3 European Expression, President Panayotis Gennimatas, Athens, Greece**, sent a representative to the last IACFS meeting and is expected to send a representative to this meeting as well. President Kincaid will follow up.

**11.4 Institute for German Studies, Director Charlie Jeffrey, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom**, expressed interest in the IACFS some years ago but never filed a formal application. Ron Watts will follow up when he sees Jeffrey in January 2003.

**11.5 Instituto Brasileiro de Administracao Municipal, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil**, had been a member of the IACFS many years ago and evidently expressed some interest in renewing its membership. No one had any information about IBAM, but all agreed that we should actively recruit members from Latin America.

**11.6 Instituto de Studi sulle Regioni, Rome, Italy**, expressed interest in IACFS membership a few months ago but has not filed a formal application. Hans-Peter Schneider reported that the organization is highly regarded but that it may be affiliated with the Department of Home Affairs and, thus, a government entity.

[The meeting adjourned at 12:30 for lunch and reconvened at 2:05 p.m. Barbara Brook, Forum of Federations; Gisela Farber, Deutsche Hochschule für Verwaltungswissenschaften Speyer; and Paul King, Forum of Federations, joined the meeting.]

**12. IACFS Outreach Activities – A Global Dialogue on Federalism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Practices, Perspectives, and Prospects – Joint Project with the Forum of Federations** – President Kincaid presented a detailed report on the progress of this project, and reminded the members that the project has identified

a number of federalism themes that will be explored in 10-12 countries. Each theme has a Theme Coordinator and Country Coordinators for each of the 10-12 countries explored within each theme. Generally, each theme will be examined in five “developed” federal countries – Australia, Canada, Germany, Switzerland, and the United States – and 5-6 other federal countries which will vary from theme to theme. A theme handbook will be published for each theme. Progress so far is as follows:

- An **Editorial Board** has been established, with John Kincaid as Senior Editor, Cheryl Saunders as Co-Chair, and including J. Isawa Elaigwu, Thomas Fleiner, and Ron Watts as IACFS members.

- **Theme 1. Constitutional Origins, Structure, and Change in Federal Democracies.** John Kincaid, G. Alan Tarr, and Robert Williams are joint Theme Coordinators. Country Coordinators have been selected as follows: (1) Australia – Cheryl Saunders, (2) Belgium – Kris Deschouwer, (3) Brazil – Celina Souza, (4) Canada – Rainer Knopf and Anthony M. Sayers, (5) India – Ahktar Majeed, (6) Mexico – Juan Marcos Gutierrez Gonzales, (7) Nigeria – Ignatius Akaayar, (8) Russia – Marat Salikov, (9) South Africa – Nico Steytler, (10) Switzerland – Nicolas Schmitt, and (11) United States – G. Alan Tarr. Germany will be a 12<sup>th</sup> country in the study but a country coordinator has not yet been selected. President Kincaid reported that work on this theme is the most advanced, and it could serve as a model for the other themes. Tarr reported that a country workshop on the United States is scheduled for November 22-23 of this year and that he expects the international theme conference to be held in March 2003.

- **Theme 2. Distribution of Responsibilities in Federal Democracies.** Ahktar Majeed is the Theme Coordinator. Although the countries to be included in the study have been selected, no country coordinators have been chosen yet.

- **Theme 3. Legislative and Executive Governance in Federal Democracies.** Cheryl Saunders is the Theme Coordinator, but the countries to be included in the study have not been finalized.

- **Theme 4. Fiscal Federalism.** President Kincaid reported that the Editorial Board is working with the World Bank to select a Theme Coordinator.

- **Theme 5. Foreign Relations in Federal Systems.** Hans Michelmann has been selected as Theme Coordinator, but the countries to be included in the study have not been selected yet.

- The remaining themes are (1) Parties, Interest Groups, and the Politics of Civil Society in Federal Democracies, (2) The Role of Local Government in Federal Systems, (3) High Courts in Federal Democracies, (4) Intergovernmental Relations, (5) The Political Economy of Federal Democracies, (6) Federalism and Ethnic Conflict/Minority Nationalism, (7) Making and Unmaking Federalism Worldwide, and (8) Debating the Theory and Practice of Federal Democracy. They will all be pursued in later years.

#### *Discussion.*

- Ferdinand Kinsky reminded the members that the European Union is discussing issues of constitutionalism and federalism and urged that the theme handbooks include the EU. Hans-Peter Schneider and Rudolf Hrbek agreed. Kinsky argued that while the EU may not become a federal state in the classic sense, it does have elements of federalism that should be included in the handbooks. Hrbek believes that readers will expect the handbooks to include the EU. Jutta Kramer and Nico Steytler disagreed, but Alan Tarr suggested that the option of including information on the EU should be kept open. President Kincaid reminded the members that the question of what countries are included in any given theme handbook is to be decided by the Editorial Board. He also talked about the problem of space and that there will be some attention to the EU in some of the volumes that include countries that are members of the EU. Peter Leslie suggested that the major thrust of the handbooks should be on established federal systems, but that we should remain flexible enough to at least address questions concerning the EU. Ron Watts assured the group that this question of how to handle the EU had been considered, and will continue to be considered by the Editorial Board.

- Peter Leslie pointed out that the theme conferences are timed to coincide with the publication of the handbooks. He raised the possibility of having the conference precede publication so that the handbook could benefit from the conference discussion. He also raised the question if the IACFS should be looking at the

remaining federalism themes now, rather than waiting until later. Cheryl Saunders said that the Editorial Board had looked at the timing of the conferences very carefully and had decided that it will be best if the conferences coincide with publication. She was confident that there is sufficient review built into the process already. Ron Watts added that the Editorial Board is looking at the second set of theme handbooks, but that we really need the experience of the first set of themes before proceeding with detailed discussion of the second set of themes. President Kincaid suggested that it is not too early for the IACFS members to express their interest in serving as Theme Coordinators for the second set of themes.

- Hans-Peter Schneider asked if there might be money available for translation in the event that some of the country coordinators chose to write in their native language. Barbara Brook replied that this is a matter to be decided between the Theme Coordinator and the Country Coordinator. Because translation would probably cost about \$1,500, she believed that some funding for translation might be available within the coordinators' existing budget.

**13. Other business** – Gisela Farber distributed information about the Research Institute for Public Administration at the German University of Administrative Sciences Speyer.

**14. Adjournment** – Ron Watts moved and Ferdinand Kinsky seconded that the meeting be adjourned. The motion passed unanimously, and the meeting was adjourned at 3:40 p.m.

Respectfully submitted by  
Ellis Katz  
Secretary-Treasurer

#### **2003 IACFS Meeting**

The 2003 IACFS meeting will be hosted by the Center for Federal Studies, directed by Akhtar Majeed, Hamdard University, New Delhi, India, on November 14-16, 2003.

## American Political Science Association

### Organized Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations

Chairperson (2002-2004)	Council (2000-2003)	Council (2001-2004)	Council (2002-2005)
Dale Krane University of Nebraska Omaha, Nebraska	Laura Jensen University of Massachusetts Amherst, Massachusetts	Frances Berry Florida State University Tallahassee, Florida	Brian Galligan University of Melbourne Melbourne, Victoria Australia
Secretary-Treasurer (1995-2003) Michael A. Pagano University of Illinois Chicago, Illinois	Michael Rich Emory University Atlanta, Georgia	Richard Cole University of Texas Arlington, Texas	Denise Scheberle University of Wisconsin Green Bay, Wisconsin
	Frank Thompson State University of New York, Albany, New York	Deborah McFarlane University of New Mexico Albuquerque, NM	James Fossett State University of New York Albany, New York

#### Draft Minutes of the 2002 Annual Membership Meeting

1. **Annual Meeting.** The Organized Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations met for its 2002 annual membership meeting on Saturday, August 31, at 12:35 p.m. at the Hilton Hotel in Boston, Massachusetts. Paul Posner (U.S. General Accounting Office), Chair, presided.

2. **Minutes.** The minutes of the 2001 meeting were distributed and approved.

3. **Treasurer's Report.** The treasurer's report was presented by Michael Pagano (Illinois-Chicago). Revenues for 2001-02 were \$1,078.17; expenses were \$1,111.73. The ending balance as of 30 June 2002 was \$2,742.62. The financial report was accepted. Pagano noted that the report does not include the Section's costs of helping to print and distribute *The Federalism Report*, which would be approximately \$400, nor for the plaques, another \$300.

4. **2002 Program.** Michael Rich (Emory), program chair for the 2002 meeting, informed the Section that it was allocated only four panels, one fewer than for the 2001 meeting and three fewer than for the 2000 meeting. Through co-sponsorship with four other

sections (Policy, Public Administration, Urban, and Politics & Society of Western Europe), the Federalism Section is listed as sponsoring or co-sponsoring seven panels. Rich reported that only one-third of the total submissions were from members of the Federalism Section; and 23 of 412 active members submitted a proposal. The acceptance rate for submissions to the Federalism Section was 12 percent, according to Rich.

Questions were raised about how the APSA counts attendance at co-sponsored panels. Samuel Beer (Harvard) suggested that we think about co-sponsoring more with our European counterparts.

Deil S. Wright (North Carolina-Chapel Hill) suggested that the Section consider a pre-conference panel at next year's meetings in Philadelphia. Dale Krane (Nebraska-Omaha) noted that a panel could be held in an historical building and the Section could invite representatives from the NGA, NCSL, NLC, city, state, federal government, and the press.

Krane raised the question of the need to sponsor receptions and instead use the savings for the program. Beryl Radin (Baltimore) suggested that we continue sponsoring receptions because it shows our collegial side.

5. **Website.** Posner announced that the prototype is up at Rockefeller Institute, Albany, and can be accessed at [www.apsafederalism.org](http://www.apsafederalism.org) (the URL in the minutes of the 2001 annual meeting is incorrect). The cost of the website is \$150, which will be paid by the Rockefeller Institute. Posner asked the membership for input on the content of the site. Krane said that a committee will be formed to oversee the website and will include members from the Executive Committee, ensuring geographical representation. The committee will be asked to identify the goals and mission of the website, which will in turn influence the design of webpage. The website should include links to international sources and sites also, as well as to ASPA's Section on Intergovernmental Administration and Management, <http://www.ujc.edu/cuppa/pa/siam/Default.htm>.

6. **Elections.** The nominating committee (Frank Thompson, Bruce Wallin, and Paul Posner) recommended Dale Krane for Chairperson and Denise Scheberle (Wisconsin-Green Bay), Brian Galligan (Melbourne, Australia), and James Fossett (SUNY-Albany) to serve a three-year term on the Executive Committee. The motion was approved unanimously.

7. **Awards.** The award for the best paper is presented to the author of the best paper on federalism presented at the 2001 annual meeting. The "best paper" committee was chaired by Beryl Radin. The award was made to **William Gormley, Jr.** (Georgetown) for his paper, "An Evolutionary Approach to Federalism in the U.S."

The "best book" award is presented to the author of a book on federalism and intergovernmental relations published at least ten years ago that has made a lasting contribution to the study of federalism and intergovernmental relations. The "best book" committee was chaired by William Gormley. The award was given to **Samuel H. Beer** for his award-winning book, *To Make a Nation* (Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1993).

The Daniel J. Elazar Distinguished Federalism Scholar Award, which recognizes contributions to the study of federalism and intergovernmental relations, was

chaired by Richard L. Cole (Texas-Arlington) and presented to **Timothy Conlan** (George Mason). Cole noted the distinguished career of Professor Conlan as a prolific scholar and a long-time staff member of the now-defunct U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

8. **New Business.** In his final act as Section Chair, Posner challenged the members to (1) engage younger scholars and bring them into the section, (2) branch out into the international arena, (3) expand membership, and (4) form solid partnerships with other sections.

In response, John Kincaid (Lafayette College) suggested that a letter be sent to everyone who presented a paper under a Federalism Section-sponsored panel. The Section should also make sure we are not penalized for co-sponsoring panels. Additionally, the Section should make sure we separate comparative federalism from international federalism. Posner raised the issue of whether the Section should increase its fees from \$3/capita to \$5.

**Dale A. Krane**, the incoming Section Chair, asked for a round of applause for **Paul Posner**, who completed his two-year term at the business meeting. The members expressed their appreciation to Paul for a job well done.

9. **Adjournment.** The meeting was adjourned by Posner at 1:25 p.m.

Respectfully submitted by  
Michael A. Pagano  
Secretary-Treasurer



## Comparative Federalism and Federation Research Committee (RC28) of the International Political Science Association (IPSA)

<u>Chairperson</u>	<u>Publications</u>	<u>Executive Council</u>	
Robert Agranoff USA	Rudolf Irlbek Germany	Dirk Brand South Africa	Preston King UK
<u>1st Vice Chair</u>	<u>Programs</u>	Frank Delmartino Belgium	Luis Moreno Spain
Michael Burgess UK	Franz Gress Germany	Alain G. Gagnon Canada	Cheryl Saunders Australia
<u>2nd Vice Chair</u>	<u>Past-Chair</u>	Ben Hoetjes The Netherlands	Ronald L. Watts Canada
Uwe Leonardy Germany	Lloyd Brown-John Canada	John Kincaid USA	

### IPSA Comparative Federalism Research Committee Joins *Federalism Report*

The Comparative Federalism and Federation Research Committee (RC28) of the IPSA joins *The Federalism Report* with this issue. *The Report* will be a RC28 vehicle for reaching beyond its membership to encourage broader participation in its activities. RC28 is one of the more active of the IPSA's 52 research committees, meeting every year, either in its own conference, at the World Congress, or in a joint conference with the IACFS. Normally, this sequence occurs on a three-year rotating basis. The Committee's 2001 conference was on "Federalism and Decentralization," held in Jávea (Alicante) Spain, with 25 members attending. RC28 also issues occasional publications and has just launched a new program on "Federalism: State of the Discipline" as a part of a broader IPSA effort. The Committee will continue to publish its semi-annual web-based newsletter, which contains more detailed Committee news, publication and conference announcements, conference-paper abstracts, dialogues on less visible federal countries, and extended book-review essays. Click on RC28's newsletters at [www.in.edu/~speaweb/IPSA](http://www.in.edu/~speaweb/IPSA) for a detailed look at our activities.

### 2002 Joint IACFS/ISPA-RC28 Conference

Nearly 60 participants, including 16 RC28 members, met in Innsbruck, Austria, from November 13-16, 2002, to discuss the theme "The Homogeneity of Democracy, Rights, and the Rule of Law in Federal and Confederal Systems." The joint meeting was hosted by the Institut für Föderalismus, Innsbruck, Austria. Meetings were held in the seventeenth-century University of Innsbruck Main Building. Countries represented at the conference included Austria, Australia, Canada, Germany, United States, Italy, Greece, India, France, South Africa, Russia, Spain, Switzerland, and United Kingdom.

Papers and discussions included modernization and nationalism, homogeneity by bottom-up federalism, the theory of autonomy, subnational constitutional "space," the rule of law and secession, theory and practice in federalism, compounded federal democracy, homogeneity and democracy, federating nation states, and national identity and cultural diversity. Each paper was met with considerable interest and lively debate that carried into the social aspects of the meeting. In addition, the RC28 ran a mini-program of two panels on (1) federalism and natural resource/energy policy,



and (2) federal theory/comparative political parties in federal systems. The sessions were held coterminous with the IACFS business meeting as an experiment in dual programming in the once-in-three-years format. The RC28 also held its 2002 business meeting. Paper abstracts will be posted in the Vol.17, No.2 RC28 Newsletter, and the joint 2002 conference papers will be published by the institute in Innsbruck.

### RC28 World Congress Panels

The next World Congress of Political Science (IPSA) will be held in Durban, South Africa, from June 29 to July 4, 2003, at the International Congress Centre. Further information about the conference can be found on the IPSA's website [[www.ispa.ca](http://www.ispa.ca)]. The RC28 will organize two panels on general topics of federalism, with the following themes encouraged but not required: federalism and regionalism, federal theory, fiscal federalism and intergovernmental relations, and federal systems in international/supranational arrangements. If you wish to participate (i.e., panel chair, discussant, presenter), please contact one of the co-organizers: **Robert Agranoff**, at Indiana University, USA [[Agranoff@indiana.edu](mailto:Agranoff@indiana.edu)] or **Dirk Brand**, with the Government of Western Cape, South Africa [[DBrand@pawc.wcape.gov.za](mailto:DBrand@pawc.wcape.gov.za)].

### Request for Scholar Award Nominations

The Distinguished Federalism Scholar Award Committee consists of Franz Greß, John Kincaid (chair), and Ronald L. Watts. If you wish to nominate one or more scholars for this award, please send your nominations to John Kincaid at [meynerc@lafayette.edu](mailto:meynerc@lafayette.edu) no later than March 25, 2003.

### How to Join the RC28

If you wish to join with nearly 100 other federalism scholars who are members of the Research Committee please contact the chairperson, Robert Agranoff, at [[Agranoff@indiana.edu](mailto:Agranoff@indiana.edu)]. Dues for the RC28 are \$45.00 U.S. for a three-year period. Checks should be made payable to the IPSA Federalism Research Committee and mailed to Agranoff, at the School of Public and Environmental Affairs, Indiana University;

1315 E. Tenth St.; Bloomington, IN 47405, USA. Individual membership in the IPSA is recommended but not required, contact [[ipsa@alcor.concordia.ca](mailto:ipsa@alcor.concordia.ca)]. IPSA membership includes a subscription *The International Political Science Review*.

### Research Committee on Federalism and Federation Background

The Research Committee was organized in 1983. It is devoted to exploring scholarly knowledge about federations and federal arrangements in a comparative perspective. Its members are from six continents and include political scientists, lawyers, economists, political geographers, and political sociologists from many federal and nonfederal countries. Knowledge about federalism is researched and exchanged about specific countries as well as cross-national phenomena. Publications produced from RC28 conferences have included:

C. Lloyd Brown-John, ed., *Centralizing and Decentralizing Trends in Federal or Non-federal Countries* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993);

Bertus De Villiers, ed., *Evaluating Federal Systems* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1997); and

Robert Agranoff, ed., *Managing Diversity: Asymmetry in Federal Countries* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2000).

## Institute for Regional Analysis and Public Policy

The Institute for Regional Analysis and Public Policy lecture series included an Annual Political Science lecture featuring a nationally prominent scholar focused on research in intergovernmental relations and federalism. The annual talk is co-sponsored by the Martin School of Public Policy and Administration at the University of Kentucky. Professor Laurence J. O'Toole, Jr. delivered the 2002-03 lecture to students, faculty and staff February 7, 2003 at both Morehead State University and the University of Kentucky.

Professor O'Toole is the Head of the Department of Public Administration and Policy in the School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Georgia, and he is author of several works including *Advancing Public Management: New Developments in Theory, Methods, and Practice*, with co-editors: Jeffrey Brudney and Hal G. Rainey, and *American Intergovernmental Relations*. Larry O'Toole focuses much of his energy on issues of policy implementation in complex institutional settings, the impact of public management on government performance, and numerous aspects of environmental policy.

His talk was titled "Public Management in Intergovernmental Networks: Matching Structural Networks and Managerial Networking." O'Toole addressed research on the effectiveness of intergovernmental management, and developed an evaluative model asking the question, "does management matter and does it matter differently in more highly complex networking settings?"

After developing a statistical model to demonstrate the impact of effective public management, a study developed in conjunction with Kenneth J. Meier, utilizing public school management data from Texas was presented to illustrate the effects and answer the question, "do public managers contribute to performance?" This research utilized a simplified model but the evidence strongly suggests a positive relationship between management and program results.

O'Toole asked, "Do you see the impact of management changing when the districts are highly dependent on their network vs. less so?" He concluded that networking management matters more in the high state aid districts, and the more the district is dependent on state aid, the more networking matters for the great majority of the dependent variables. Quality on the other hand, matters less for most of the performance measures in the high aid districts than it does in the low aid districts.

O'Toole noted that, "It may be that the network wants the general quality measure, that is that managers that are in general good at managing don't do very well in more complicated settings or do less well than they would in a more simple setting. And then, interestingly, the stability measures, the stability of personnel including the top manager, has a more positive impact in the high aid that is the more densely network settings. This is interesting because a lot of the literature on intergovernmental relations and networking is amorphous, suggesting that in this network complicated world, all things are moving and it's very dynamic and volatile, and there's not much discussion of stability. These findings suggest that stability of personnel, retaining people in place helps more to contribute to performance in a world where the organization is more dependent on its intergovernmental surroundings. Maybe because once those people have been around a long time they build trust in their intergovernmental network. People around know them, they begin to trust them and they're able to do better in their environment." The research illustrated that when funding diversity is low, managerial networking has a bigger positive impact for a great majority of the dependent variables, suggesting that in a simpler setting, networking outward contributes more to performance. O'Toole noted that "It may be in the more complicated cases, managers have to spread their effort around in so many places or there may be so much goal conflict across levels of government that their impact is diluted. Quality also matters more in simpler settings. Stability and especially management stability matters more in the more highly diverse or complicated settings."

O'Toole concluded his talk with several significant research findings. O'Toole noted, "We can say that managers' networking behavior is not the same thing as the network structures in which they sit. One is behavior; another is a structure in which you're involved, and both of them seem to be important in explaining these results. Networking matters and networking structures matter but not exactly in the same way. Second, stability, at least of personnel, is not a contradiction to networks and networking. It may actually contribute to performance in network settings." And finally, "We might want to think about the intergovernmental networks in more creative ways. Dependence on one government isn't the same thing as dependence and diversity on multiple governments; the impacts of these things are different."

The complete talk is available at the IRAPP website at: <http://irapp.morehead-st.edu>.

## More Federalism News

### New Books of Interest

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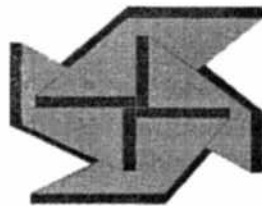
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<b>Federalism and Quality-of-Life Advantages</b>			
Quality-of-Life Characteristics	Country Type		
	Federal N=25	Decentralized Unitary N=35	Other N=131
Electoral Democracy in 2002	76.00%	80.00%	55.70%
Free or Partly Free in 2002	92.00%	88.60%	67.90%
High Level of Civil Liberties in 2002	72.00%	88.60%	57.30%
Average Corruption level in 2002 (1 = High, 9 = Low)	5.2	4.2	4.3
Average Economic Freedom Level in 2002 (1 = High, 5 = Low)	2.8	2.9	3.1
GDP per Capita (\$US) in 2001-2002	\$13,431	\$7,930	\$6,742
Average Life Expectancy in 2001-2002	69.5	67	64.2
Human Development Index in 2002	0.76	0.69	0.69

Data collected and contributed by John Kincaid.



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Editor:

John Kincaid, Lafayette College

Associate Editor:

Michael W. Hail, Morehead State University

Production Editor:

Jeremy L. Hall, University of Kentucky

Institute for Regional Analysis and Public Policy  
Morehead State University  
100 Lloyd Cassity Building  
Morehead, KY 40351

TEL (606) 783-5419  
FAX (606) 783-5092  
E-mail: [m.hail@morehead-st.edu](mailto:m.hail@morehead-st.edu)  
<http://irapp.morehead-st.edu>

The Center for the Study of Federalism  
Robert B. and Helen S. Meyner Center for the  
Study of State and Local Government  
002 Kirby Hall of Civil Rights  
Lafayette College  
Easton, PA 18042-1785

TEL (610) 330-5598  
FAX (610) 330-5648  
E-mail: [meynerc@lafayette.edu](mailto:meynerc@lafayette.edu)  
<http://www.lafayette.edu/Publius/>