



# PARADIPLOMACY REVISITED: THE STRUCTURE OF OPPORTUNITIES OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AND REGIONAL ACTORS

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## 1. PARADIPLOMACY AND THE NEW MEDIEVALISM

In the past three decades a major transformation of world politics took place which led to a growing interconnectedness between different countries and the merging of space and time. What has been referred as globalization has created major challenges to nation-states, but simultaneously allowed the liberation of subnational authorities from centralized national state structures. The restructuring of spatial relationships between national centres and peripheries created new opportunities for subnational authorities. At the centre of this transformation is the end of the rigid structures imposed by the centralizing nation-state. Indeed, until the 1970s one of the main characteristic was the expansion of the intrusive state. The level of public spending was increasing considerably, creating major problems for economic efficiency and economic growth. According to Bob Jessop there was a major transformation of the welfare state from the Keynesian Welfare National State (KWNS) to the Schumpeterian workfare post-national regime (SWPR). The privatisation and contracting out of welfare services were important aspects of this transformation. According to Jessop underlying these changes towards a lighter workfare state which was based on the principles of employability was the reorganization of labour, a fisco-financial squeeze of the KWNS, the re-emergence of neo-liberalism against neocorporatism and statism and the rise of new social and economic problems that challenged the old modes of



regulation.<sup>1</sup> The state had to become more competitive in relation to other states. Philippe Cerny speaks of a changing architecture of politics, having at its centre the way state restructures itself and relates to the world economy and subnational units.<sup>2</sup>The emergence of the competition state of the 1980s was an important factor in creating a favourable structure of opportunities for subnational governments.

The decentralization efforts since the 1970s allowed for the regional actors to play an important role in the world economy. The region and its location factors became a more flexible unit to deal with the emerging thrusts of globalization. There is always a danger to conflate the political and cultural revival of the regions with changing economic strategies of the nation-state to push forward regionalization, but the reality is that starting in the second half of the 1970s regionalism and regionalization became intrinsically linked. The late studies of Stein Rokkan on regional cleavages document this emergence of regionalism across different countries of Europe.<sup>3</sup> Similarly the Quebec quest for independence and the Scottish referendum were important signs of a growing consciousness of regionalisms. In the Canadian case led to major problems to achieve a constitutional settlement in 1982 and afterwards. What happened is that the centralizing nation-state had reached the end of the road. New more flexible ways of delivering services, which included the need for regionalization began to be looked at. Such a process of restructuring the state and its subnational units is still not finished and is part of this transformation of the late twentieth century. There has been so far a huge difficulty to label this

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<sup>1</sup> ) Bob Jessop, *The Future of the Capitalist State*.(Cambridge:Polity Press 2002),pp.140,174-177; see also Fritz W. Scharpf, *The Viability of Advanced Welfare States in the International Economy: Vulnerabilities and Options*. In: *Journal of European Public Policy*, 7,2 June(2000),pp.190-228

<sup>2</sup> ) Philippe G. Cerny, *The Changing Architecture of Politics. Structure, Agency and the Future of the State*.London:SAGE 1990



new age. According to Manuel Castells we are in the informational age and the regions can be regarded as flexible enough structures to build efficient networks for economic growth. This economic understanding of the region as a flexible unit has been used successfully by many regions in northern Italy and in Spain. Slovenia's independence and upgrading from a region to a state follows this logic of economic self-consciousness. Similarly, in Italy the emergence of *Lega Nord* and the creation of the myth of the 'Padanian state' fall into this category of using the economic dominance to achieve independence from a state which is distributing the wealth to other regions. This restructuring of the state in relation to the periphery is related to the coming together of regionalism and regionalization. It pushed the boundaries of the rights of the regions in a period, when the state as we have known until now was and probably still is in a crisis.

The transformation was not only at national level, it was global. Throughout the 1980s we saw already the rise of new technologies which created a less divided global space. Niklas Luhmann brought to the fore the idea that we are in a interconnected 'world society' in which national societies have become irrelevant, because they belong to the same world wide society.<sup>4</sup> In this sense, an integration of the global and local became one of the main features of this late twentieth century transformation. The so-called 'glocalization' made the regional and local an expression of the emerging global culture. Regional identities define themselves in the context of a global capitalist market. Although some distinctive elements could be found in different regions, they all were expressions of the same tendency towards a shared global culture.<sup>5</sup> World society means also that through the global

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<sup>3</sup> ) Stein Rokkan, Derek W Urwin., *Economy, Territory, Identity. Politics of West European Peripheries*. London: SAGE Publications 1983

<sup>4</sup> ) Niklas Luhmann, *Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft. 2 vols.* (Frankfurt a. Main: Suhrkamp 1998), pp. 145-171

<sup>5</sup> ) Richard Münch, *Dialektik der Kommunikationsgesellschaft*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp 1991



immigration waves, the increase in speed, the merging of space and time and convergence towards a global culture, there has been a de-nationalization of societal processes going on. According to Michael Zürn, this denationalization of societal processes is accompanied by a governance beyond the nation-state which strengthens democracy and social welfare through the dominance of international organizations. What we are experiencing is a double movement of fragmentation and integration.<sup>6</sup> In this sense, Zürn is very close to what James Rosenau calls *fragnegration*, which wants to show the interconnectness of the two processes in different dimensions of the global governance system.<sup>7</sup> The exponential growth of non-statal actors such as non-governmental organisations, transnational corporations and naturally subnational actors led to a de-hierarchization of world politics. Instead a multilayered network society emerged which clearly changed considerably the structure of opportunities once monopolized by states.<sup>8</sup>

Already in the 1970s, Hedley Bull in his classic study identified the main aspects of this transition of world politics. He characterised as 'neo-medievalism' in reference to the middle ages, which preceded the modern nation-state. Nevertheless, this neo-medievalism is not a regression to the middle ages, but a qualitative new age in which the nation-state is challenged from above and below. The centralized, rigid organized nation-state is replaced by a more multi-layered flexible governance system which allows subnational authorities to become engaged in international relations: He defines this as follows:

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<sup>6</sup> Michael Zürn, From Interdependence to Globalization. In: Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons (eds.), *Handbook of International Relations*. (London: SAGE 2002), pp. 235-254; particularly p. 245

<sup>7</sup> ) James N. Rosenau, Strong Demand, Huge Supply: Governance in an Emerging Epoch. In: Ian Bache, Matthew Flinders (eds.), *Multilevel Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004), pp. 31-48; particularly p. 34-35

<sup>8</sup> ) *ibid*, p. 36; see also Manuel Castells, *The Network society*. (London: Blackwell 2000)



All authority in medieval Christendom was thought to derive ultimately from God and the political system was basically Theocratic. It might therefore seem fanciful to contemplate a return to the medieval model, but it is not fanciful to imagine that there might develop a modern and secular counterpart of it that embodies its central characteristic: a system of overlapping authority and multiple loyalty.

It is familiar that sovereign states today share the stage of the world politics with 'other actors' just as in medieval times the state had to share the stage with 'other associations' (to use the medievalists' phrase). If modern states were to come to share their authority over their citizens, and their ability to command their loyalties, on the one hand with regional and world authorities, and on the other hand *with sub-state or sub-national authorities*, to such an extent that the concept of sovereignty ceased to be applicable, then a neo-medieval form of universal political order might be said to have emerged.<sup>9</sup> (Bull, 2002(3):245-246)

Bull's are very important, because of the central aspects of the state, internal and external sovereignty, can no longer be taken for granted. In relation to the European Union William Wallace characterised as a being a partial polity which is part of a wider develop towards 'post-sovereign' politics through the use of collective governance. It means that sovereignty itself became increasingly reinterpreted in terms of a shared good, due to the fact that problems are becoming global and no longer national.<sup>10</sup>

This 'post-sovereign' politics changes the nature of international relations. International relations has been replaced by global politics and the

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<sup>9</sup>) Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society. A Study in World Order*. (Basingstroke: Palgrave 2002), pp.245-246.

paradigm of global governance. Fulvio Attina speaks already from an emerging global political system which is in transition. In this emerging global politics, regional actors gained significance alongside states, global civil society actors such as non-governmental actors and international regulatory organizations, international organizations and transnational actors. It means that states have no longer the monopoly over world issues as it was common during the Concert of Europe in the nineteenth century<sup>11</sup>, but they have to share it with other non-statal actors. Although this has created a complex multi-level and multilayered system of global governance, the restructuring is still ongoing and creating tensions and misunderstandings from time to time. It is always quite difficult to map out the transformations that happened in the past three decades, nevertheless one can summarize as it table 1.

**TABLE 1.THE TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY**

PERIOD	1945-1989	Post-1989
STATE	Sovereign State	Post-Sovereign State(Wallace)
WELFARE PROVISION	Keynesian Welfare National State(Jessop)	Schumpeterian Workfare Post-National Regime(Jessop)

<sup>10</sup> ) William Wallace, Post-Sovereign Governance:The EU as a Partial Polity.In:Helen Wallace, William Wallace, and Mark A. Pollack(eds.), *Policy-Making in the European Union*.(Oxford:Oxford University Press 2006),pp. 483-503;particularly pp.491-494.

<sup>11</sup> ) Fulvio Attina.Il sistema politico globale. Introduzione alle relazioni internazionali.(Bari:Editori Laterza 2003),pp.154-165; for the role of regions in the global political system see Brian Hocking, Patrolling the ‚Frontier‘:Globalization, Localization and the ‘Actorness’ of Non-Central Governments.In:Francisco Aldecoa, Michael Keating(eds.), *Paradiplomacy in Action. The Foreign Relations of Subnational Governments*.Special Issue of *Regional and Federal Studies*,vol.9.Spring 1999,1,pp.17-39; for the Concert of Europe see K.J.Holsti *Governance Without Government:Polyarchy In Nineteenth Century European International Politics*.In: James N. Rosenau and Ernst-Otto Czempiel(eds.),*Governance Without Government:Order and Change in World Politics*.(Cambridge:CUP 2000) pp.30-57

<b>SUBNATIONAL GOVERNMENT</b>	Dominance of national structures and centralization	De-nationalisation of subnational government
<b>SOCIETY</b>	National Societies	World Society (Denationalisation of societies)
<b>ECONOMY</b>	National economies	Global Economy
<b>WORLD POLITICS</b>	System of International Relations	Global Governance

In short in this informational age, flexible forms of governance are replacing the rigid governmental structures of nation-states. The rise of stateless nationalism in Spain, Belgium and Canada cannot ignore this reality. In a globalized world nationalisms have to be regarded as important identity instruments to resist the melting pot of cosmopolitanism. If they are successful is another question.

## 2.TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF PARADIPLMACY

One of the main problems of paradiplomacy, is that its combination of formal and informal elements makes it quite difficult to grasp.<sup>12</sup> A typology is quite difficult to develop, because there are so many and diverse actors involved that any analysis leads to simplification of the process. Robert Kaiser made a brave attempt to establish such a typology. He developed the typology

<sup>12</sup> ) for a thorough discussion see Michael Keating, Regional and International Affairs: Motives, Opportunities and Strategies. In: Francisco Aldecoa, Michael Keating (eds.), Paradiplomacy in Action. The Foreign Relations of Subnational Governments. Special Issue of *Regional and Federal Studies*, vol.9. Spring 1999, 1, pp.1-16.



based on the forms that paradiplomacy adopt in the global governance system. He differentiated between three types:

1. *Transborder regional paradiplomacy* which includes formal and informal contacts between neighbouring regions across national borders( what we refer here as cross-border cooperation)

2. *Transregional paradiplomacy* which he defines as cooperation with regions in foreign countries. And

3. *Global paradiplomacy* which comprises political-functional contacts with foreign central governments, international organizations, private sector industry, interest groups.<sup>13</sup>

Such typology is quite comprehensive, because it includes all the other non-statal actors that have emerged as global civil society, which is also multilayered and multilevel. Indeed, International Organizations are very keen to adjust to the growing demands of this global civil society<sup>14</sup>. Former secretary-general of World trade Organization(WTO) Mike Moore described in his book *World Without Walls*, the attempts of his organization to create channels of dialogue with the growing number of International Non-

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<sup>13</sup> ) Robert Kaiser, *Paradiplomacy and Multilevel Governance in Europe and North America:Subnational Governments in International Arenas*.In:*Participation*,vol. 27,2003,nr.1,pp.17-19; particularly p.18

<sup>14</sup> ) Mary Kaldor, *Global Civil Society. An Answer to War*.(Cambridge:Cambridge University Press 2003); Helmut Anheier, Marlies Glasius and Mary Kaldor(eds.), *Global Civil Society 2001*.(Oxford:Oxford University Press 2001); Ronnie D. Lipschutz, *Reconstructing World Politics:The Emergence of Global Civil Society*. In: *Millenium*, Vol.21, 1992,n° 3, pp.389-430; see also Martin Shaw, *Global Society and International Relations*.(Cambridge:Polity Press 1994)



Governmental Organizations(INGOs) which are following the world trade negotiations.<sup>15</sup>

It means that the two first types are probably the ones where the regions have a stronger input, while the latter maybe be reserved to other groups other than territorial organizations. The typology shows also the limits of regional paradiplomacy and what has to be left to the political functional contacts. Another important aspect of this article, is that the structure of opportunities within a country and regional integration project matters. He compares the USA and Germany and finds major differences in their approaches to paradiplomacy. The structure of opportunities for regional actors and other organized civil society actors has increased considerably in the European Union due to the multilevel governance system which emerged since the mid 1980s. In contrast, the North Atlantic Free Trade Area is much more limited in its scope. According to Kaiser, paradiplomacy is framed by the nature of multilevel governance. There are substantial differences between the paradiplomacy of the states in the NAFTA and Germany within the European Union<sup>16</sup>

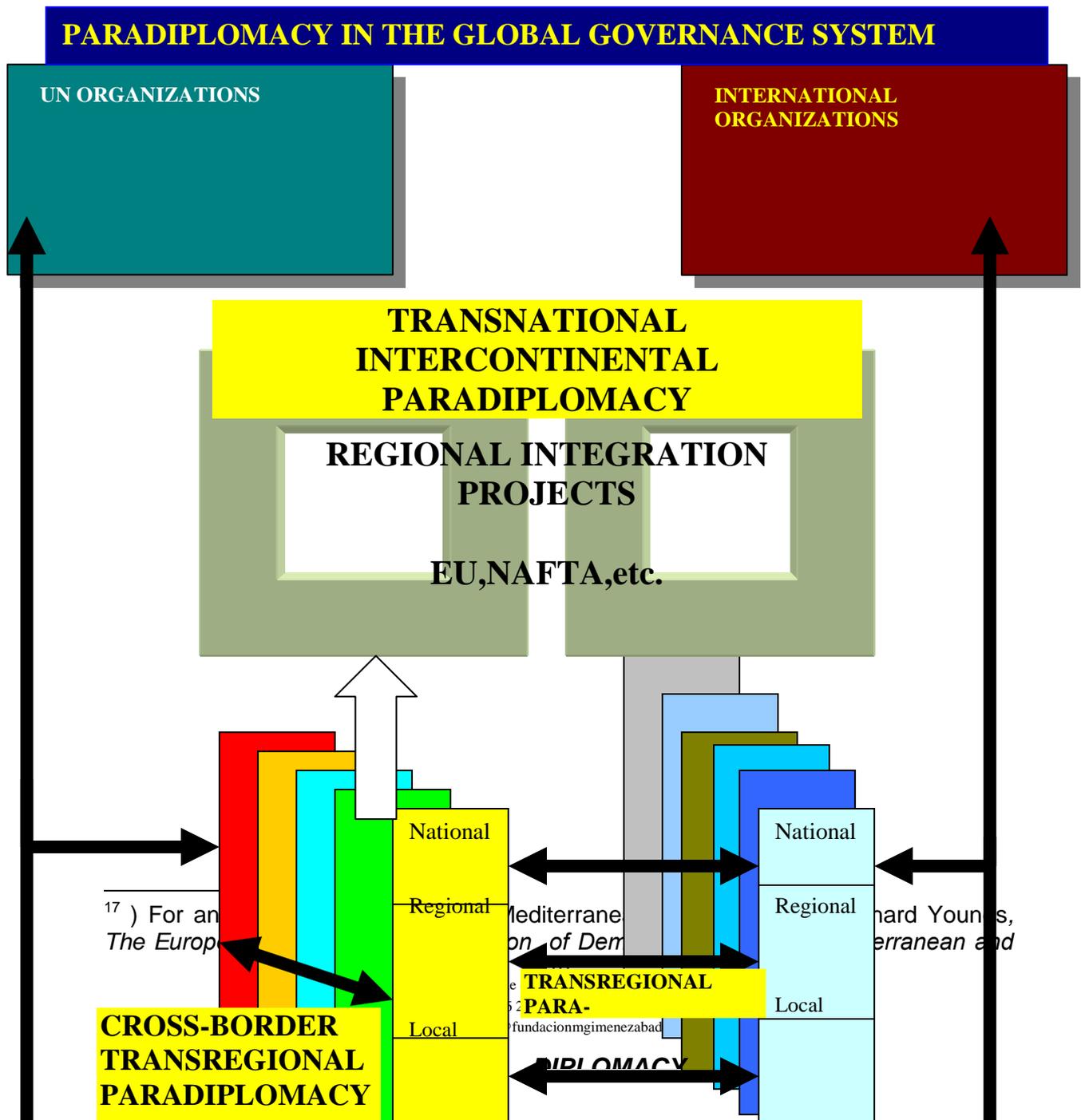
Kaiser's typology misses probably one level of paradiplomacy which is between the global and the regional. This is *transnational paradiplomacy*, which is framed by cooperation between national governments, but within this context different interest groups, universities, local and regional authorities take part in common projects. The best example is the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership which attempts to create a long term Mediterranean Free Trade

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<sup>15</sup> ) Mike Moore, *A World Without Walls. Freedom, Development, Free Trade and Global Governance.*(Cambridge:Cambridge University Press 2003)

<sup>16</sup> ) Robert Kaiser, *Subnational Governments in International Arenas-Paradiplomacy and Multilevel Governance in Europe and North America.* Fifth Symposium of the International Political Science Association (IPSA) on "Globalization, Nations and Multi-level Governance: strategies and challenges", Montréal, Québec, October 24-26, 2000. Powerpoint Presentation

Area. The gatekeeper for such paradiplomacy are the national governments, but the real actors come either from civil society or subnational governments.<sup>17</sup> In this regard, the European experience through supranational steering seems to be a valuable experience to look at.



## GLOBAL PARADIPLOMACY

### PRIVATE GLOBAL PLAYERS

- Transnational Corporations
- Media
- International Banks
- Intern. Regul. Agencies

### NATIONAL AND GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY

- NGOs
- Interest organizations
- Science

Adjusted from Dirk Messner and Franz Nuscheler, World Politics-Structures and Trends. In: Paul Kennedy, Dirk Messner and Franz Nuscheler (eds.) *Global Trends and Global Governance*. (London: Pluto Press 2003), p. 143

### 3. EUROPEAN RESTRUCTURING AND SUBNATIONAL GOVERNANCE : MULTILEVEL GOVERNANCE, PARADIPLOMACY AND THE EUROPEAN DOMESTIC SPACE

#### *3.1. The EU Interreg Programme as Strategic Tool for European Integration*

Two days before the visit of Portuguese President Anibal Cavaco Silva between 25 and 27 September 2006 in Spain, the Portuguese newspaper *O Sol* presented the results of a survey which asked if Portugal should unite with Spain. The big surprise was that 28 percent of the respondents would be happy to do so, and 70 percent would be against it. Moreover, 97 percent agreed that



an eventual formation of one country would benefit Portuguese economy considerably. Most of the respondents would prefer a Republican form of government(64 percent), and only 24 percent would support a monarchy. Nevertheless, the supporters of the monarchy would overwhelmingly support King Juan Carlos. Furthermore, 42 percent advocated that Madrid should be the capital of the hypothetic country while 41 percent named Lisbon.<sup>18</sup> This is quite astonishing, because conservative elites in Portugal were very keen to keep the separation of the two countries through a mythology of dislike for the neighbour. In the past three decades, the borders between the countries have become more blurred. Indeed, the border regions are spearheading a silent movement of cross-border cooperation which is having now cultural effects. According to figures of the Junta de Extremadura the number of people learning Portuguese in Spain and Spanish in Portugal has increased considerably.

There is a growing recognition that the border regions of Minho, Trás-Os-Montes, Beira Alta e Baixa, Baixo and Alto Alentejo and Algarve on the Portuguese side have a lot in common with Galicia, Castilla-León, Extremadura and Andalusia. Longstanding cooperation have helped to make these border regions more accessible. The long history of living back to back has led to a neglect of these regions. Still today it is extremely difficult to travel from one side of the border to the other. The centralizing policies of the Portuguese and Spanish problem led to few transport linkages between the two countries. The main problem is the transport linkage between the border regions.

Many people work on the other side of the border, commuting is quite dense between Norte Portugal and Galicia. This led to the establishment of a EURES, a European Employment Service, which is design to help these cross-border migrants. Quite instrumental in this quest were the Inter-regional Trade

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<sup>18</sup> ) El Pais, 23 September 2006,p.8.



Union Councils(ITUC) which consist of representatives from the Portuguese Socialist General Union of Labour(*União Geral do Trabalho-UGT*), the Communist General Confederation of Portuguese Workers(*Confederação Geral dos Trabalhadores Portugueses-CGTP-In*) and its Spanish counterparts the General Union of Labour(*Unión General de Trabajo-UGT*) and the Workers Commissions(*Comisiones Obreras-CCOOs*). In spite of many problems, ITUCs were established also between the Beiras and Castilla-León, between Alentejo and Extremadura and Algarve and Andalucía.<sup>19</sup> It shows that paradiplomacy is not only comprise regional governments, but also interest groups and new supranational agencies such as the EURES. The role of the ITUCs which was dormant for many decades gained new vitality only in the 1990s. This was a conscious decision of the European Trade Union Confederation(ETUC), because of the growing cross-border cooperation. In spite of the fact that the INTERREG programme is being phased out and less funding is available, the number of cross-border initiatives has increased considerably. Although strategically, the INTERREG programme plays a major role in sustaining such cooperation, dynamic regional actors have achieved to soften and in many cases eliminate the hard borders between the European countries. It means that cross-border cooperation and their focused para-diplomacy is creating new dynamic spaces<sup>20</sup>, which can be characterised as islands of European integration. One is experiencing a de-nationalisation of spaces and a restructuring towards Europeanized flexible spaces. Similarly, to the Portuguese-Spanish case, cross-border cooperation has been an important instrument to transform mentalities and integrate many subnational authorities within the multilevel global governance system.

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<sup>19</sup> ) José M. Magone, *Iberian Trade Unionism.Democratization Under the Impact of the European Union*.(New Brunswick, N. J.:Transaction 2001)chapter 9

<sup>20</sup> ) Gerard Delanty and Chris Rumford, *Rethinking Europe. Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization*.(London:Routledge 2005),pp.134-136.



Although cross-border cooperation between rich regions such as Catalonia and French Regions may not be so dependent on EU structural funds, the INTERREG programme fosters also a mentality of functional and professional cooperation through different projects. Although the funding is insufficient, one has to recognize that it is strategically placed and may in the end contribute to the building up of the single European market. Such spill-over effect can be recognised the longer cooperation takes place between regions, in spite of their economic level.

The INTERREG Programme consists of three strands:

- INTERREG A: Cross-border cooperation
- INTERREG B: Transnational cooperation
- INTERREG C: interregional cooperation

This growing cooperation at different levels shows that paradiplomacy may be controlled by the model of multi-level governance. Cooperation between regions and non-statal actors of different regions and countries has become a normal process which is funded by the European Union. Paradiplomacy within the EU multilevel governance system just neutralises the ambitions of the regions towards creating their own foreign policy. The number of cross-border working communities has increased considerably since the 1980s. The integration of the regions neighbouring member-states of the European Union is today a normal process. Through the INTERREG and other cross-border policies such as the European Neighbourhood Policy , Tacis, Phare and the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership are framing and probably structuring the overall mobilization of non-statal and subnational actors. This structuring and framing has the intention to flexibilize the overall rigidity of previous structures embedded in national political systems. In many ways, the



global network society identified by Manuel Castells<sup>21</sup> is changing the political culture of nationally embedded structures towards the European integration process and ultimately towards the creation of the single European market which its own cultural framework. One of the characteristics of this framing and structuring is that is an open-ended project. In many ways it is inclusive, because it wants the neighbouring regions such as the Community of Independent States, the Maghreb, the Mashreq and the Middle East to be extensions of the culture of the single European market. This is regarded as a strategy to create security and stability around the European Union. Probably, one would agree with Cris Shore that the European Commission has become an important elite, similar to those of national formation process, to push forward an imagined community around the project of European integration.<sup>22</sup> These elites structure and frame the boundaries of such identity. The open-ended and open-minded approach towards diversity, which includes the protection of regional languages, allows for the integration of regional identities in the world society, of which European societies are part of.

The development of the European Neighbourhood Policy which will replace the former distinctive geographic programmes in the Mediterranean and in relation to the Community of Independent States(CIS), is a good examples of a structuring and framing of inner and outer space. The INTERREG programme itself will have linkages to these external policies, meaning that the partnership principle will become more shared between the two sides of the transnational border. It means also that there is a growing convergence of the

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<sup>21</sup> ) Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society. Vol. I:Information Age:Economy, Society and Culture*.(London:Blackwell 2000)

<sup>22</sup> ) Cris Shore, *Building Europe.The Cultural Politics of European Integration*.(London, New York:Routledge 2000),pp.32-37.



instruments use for the internal and external space.<sup>23</sup> The 'Partnership principle', 'Twinning' became an important instrument to blur the borders between insiders and outsiders and allow for the borders to be soften up in order to disseminate the European model of society.

According to Ingeborg Tömmel the European Commission allied itself with the regions to challenge the gatekeeper monopoly of the member-states contributing so to the ongoing restructuring of the European political space. She clearly recognised that the integration of the regions and local authorities through the Committee of the Regions was not so much a rise of third level in the EU, but actually "a diversification of the actual system of decision-making and consensus-building and, thus, in the long run towards the emergence of new modes of governance."<sup>24</sup>

The calls of different member-states before the most recent budget negotiations shows that the expansionary structural policies of the EU were undermining a nationally defined regional policy. In the end, the cohesion countries and the central and eastern European countries were able to keep these policies, in spite of the substantial cuts.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> ) Battistina Cugusi and Andrea Stocchiero, The Partnership Principle in Cross-Border Cooperation. Concept Paper. Centro di Studi di Politica Internazionale, Compart Project, INTERACT Programme, January 2006

<sup>24</sup> ) Ingeborg Tömmel, The Transformation of Governance: The European Commission's Strategy for Creating a 'Europe of the Regions'. In: Regional and Federal Studies, vol.8, nr.2, Summer 1998, pp.52-80, particularly p.71; see also Francesc Morata, Regiones y Gobernanza Multinivel en la Unión Europea. In: Francesc Morata (ed.), Gobernanza multinivel en la Unión Europea. (Valencia: tirant lo blanch 2004), pp.19-50.

<sup>25</sup> ) ) Tímea Palvolgyi, Cohesion Policy Contested: The Debate on the Future of EU Regional Policy. In: Attila Agh (ed.), Agh (eds.), *Europeanization and Regionalization. Hungary's Accession*. (Budapest: Hungarian Centre for Democracy Studies 2004), pp.113-134, particularly pp.126-130



After almost two decades of stronger regional involvement at European Union level, one has to acknowledge that the strategy of the European Commission has been quite successful. There are now over 50 different INTERREG cooperation agreements which comprise over 120 regions. Several neighbouring countries are involved in projects of the European Union. This dense network of regions is being also complemented by larger networks such as the Arco Latino, which wants to create a sustainable Mediterranean and re-equilibrate the relationship of Europe towards the Mediterranean. The Arco Latino consists of 66 members from Spain, Italy and France. It is engaged in the creation of a polycentric Europe, comprising 8 004 municipalities and 45.316 Million people. The INTERREG programme was certainly a major factor leading to the creation of the Arco Latino in Montpellier.<sup>26</sup> What it achieves is to integrate several strands of the INTERREG programme and create synergies which benefit the whole region. There is also the strategic long term vision that, if the Mediterranean Free Trade Area takes off in the next decades, there is the possibility to strengthen the region towards richer regions of Europe.<sup>27</sup> They built a very light network structure to coordinate the different projects. Moreover, Arco Latino is also linking up with other associations such as the Conference of Peripheral and Maritime Regions(CRPM), Euromed Committee of Eurocities. An Intermediterranean Commission was set up to facilitate the exchange of experiences and lessons. Moreover, the Arco Latino has contacts and meetings with the Union of Baltic Cities and the Baltic Bridge.<sup>28</sup>

In an excellent book, Stefano Bartolini expanded the theoretical thinking of Stein Rokkan to the present transformations in the European continent. He

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<sup>26</sup> ) Arco Latino, *Informe de Mandato, 2002-2004*. Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona 2004, pp.11-13.

<sup>27</sup> ) *ibid*, pp.37-39.

<sup>28</sup> ) *ibid*, pp.41-42. On Baltic cooperation see James Wesley Scott, Cross-border Cooperation in the Baltic Region. In: *Regional and Federal Studies*, 12,4(2002), pp.134-153.



clearly identified a huge process of change taking place, which is softening up the internal borders through EU policies and growth in complexity in such 'internal paradiplomacy' and the rising of external borders. He characterises this process as follows:

In studying European integration, we retrace the ruins of previous attempts to integrate this part of the world. The half-a-century long process of new large-scale territorial integration is characterised by a progressive lowering of internal boundaries and the slow rise of new external boundaries. The process liberates conflicting and conflicting and contradictory energies and requests for exit and, at the same time, new demands for closure. Which specific systemic boundaries are lowered internally and which are raised externally is, and will be, of paramount importance for the internal forms of voice structuring and institutional differentiation. As usual, the specificity of the process that is unfolding before our eyes seems so complex and momentous as to defeat any comparison with previous historical phenomena of the same genus.<sup>29</sup>

The unbound enlargement is a major factor preventing a closure in the definition of the external borders of the European Union. One can argue that internal and external paradiplomacy is flourishing in this ongoing process of European transformation.

In sum, what we are witnessing is a softening up of the borders between countries in order to facilitate the network-building between them. Within two decades the density of regional and city networks has changed the nature of



cross-border and transregional cooperation. What once was regarded as paradiplomacy is now part of European domestic politics.

### **3.2. Subnational presence at supranational level**

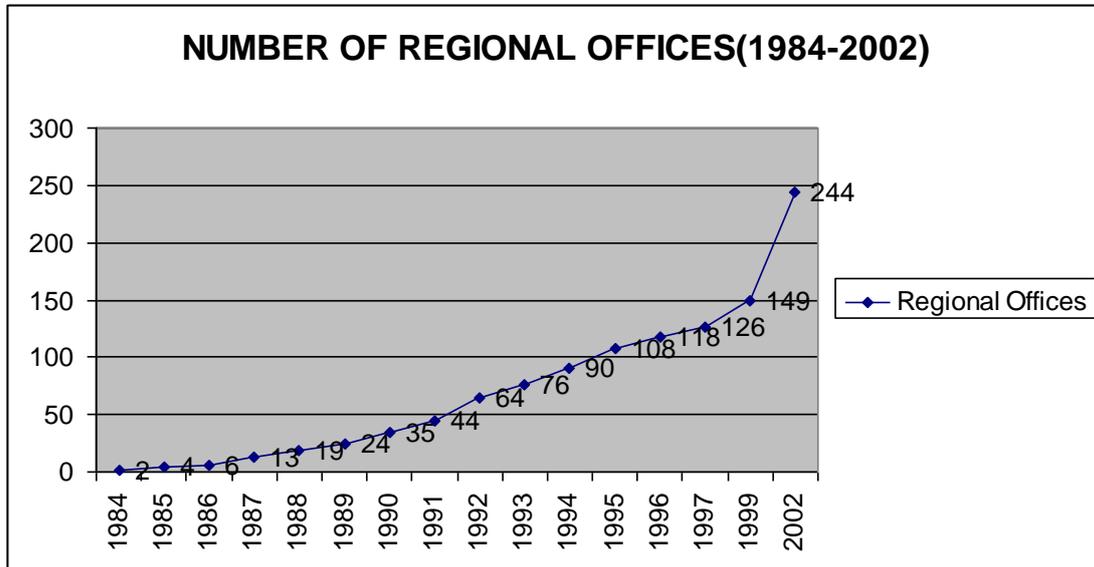
Lots of optimism were linked to the establishment of regional representation offices since the mid 1980s. Gary Marks and his team brought forward the thesis that regions were able to use the multilevel governance system to have different access points. This multiple crack strategy was certainly very important in the beginning. One of the main reasons was that the restructuring process was in its beginning and the structure of opportunities was more open, than is today.<sup>30</sup> The number of regional offices has been growing steadily since the mid 1980s. Spanish and German regions were the first to establish such offices, but today a great majority of countries has subnational representatives in Brussels.

## **FIGURE 2: REGIONAL OFFICES IN BRUSSELS**

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<sup>29</sup> ) Stefano Bartolini, *Restructuring Europe. Centre Formation, system building, and political structuring between the nation-state and the European Union.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005), pp. xviii

<sup>30</sup> ) Gary Marks, François Nielsen, Leonard Ray and Jane Salk, *Competencies, Cracks and Conflicts: Regional Mobilization in the European Union.* In: Gary Marks, Fritz W. Scharpf, Philippe C. Schmitter, Wolfgang Streeck (eds.), *Governance in the European Union.* (London: SAGE 1996), pp. 40-63; particularly pp. 43-45.



Sources: Lorenza Badiello, La Representacion Regional en Bruselas.In:Francesc Morata(ed.), *Gobernanza multinivel en la Unión Europea*.(Valencia:tirant lo blanch 2004),pp.328; J.M.Magone, The Third Level of European Integration:New and Old Insights.In:J.M.Magone(ed.), *Regional Institutions and Governance in the European Union*.( Westport,CT:Praeger 2003),p.12; ,Isabelle Smets, Les Regions se Mobilisent- Quel "Lobby Regional" a Bruxelles?In:.,Paul H Claeys, Corinne Gobin, Isabelle Smets, and Pascaline Winand(eds.),*Lobbying, Pluralism and European Integration*.(Brussels: European Interuniversity Press 1998),p.322.

One of the major aspects of this regional representation in Brussels is that each country has a different approach towards such representation. While Portugal has no representation in Brussels, Spain, France, Germany and the UK have very extensive networks of such offices. In an excellent study Lorenza Badiello showed how the structure of opportunities is different for each country. The EU Multilevel governance system is certainly characterised by a diversity of linkages which are coming together through fusion mechanisms. Her study also tells us about the complex system of networking between subnational, national and supranational institutions. Such networking is quite developed among German, Austrian, Spanish and UK regions, while some



other countries such as Portugal and Greece do not need to take into account the regional input.<sup>31</sup> It seems that a major shift in attitudes happened since 1986. When the first offices were established by Spain, the offices of Catalonia and Galicia, in 1986, relations with the EU were regarded as being part of foreign policy<sup>32</sup>, but today European politics, due to the Europeanization processes and the fusion between the different levels of the EU political system became domestic politics.<sup>33</sup>

The establishment of the Committee of the Regions and Local Authorities(CoR) was an important mechanism to control this paradiplomatic activity of the early days. After almost a decade the CoR has become a quieter institution, but very useful for the European Commission, because of the diverse composition and its consensual political culture. According to Ricard Ramón, the CoR has lost some of its initial attractiveness, because the regions in federal and quasi-federal states were able to gain more importance within their own states.<sup>34</sup>The Spanish case shows that the autonomous communities have been gaining more and more importance since the 1980s. Most recently has been the reforms of 2004, which allowed for a stronger participation of the regions at Council of the European Union level. Regions have their representatives in the national permanent representation, and in certain instances they have more expertise in certain policy areas, than the national government. A good example is Scotland , which accounts for two thirds of

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<sup>31</sup> ) Lorenza Badiello, La Representacion Regional en Bruselas.In:Francesc Morata(ed.), *Gobernanza multinivel en la Unión Europea*.(Valencia:tirant lo blanch 2004),pp.327-368;pp.349-368

<sup>32</sup> ) *ibid*,pp.354-355.

<sup>33</sup> ) Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union*.(Basingstroke:Palgrave 1999)

<sup>34</sup> ) Ricard Ramón, El Comité de las Regiones:El largo camino hacia la institucionalización de la Europa multinivel.In: Francesc Morata(ed.), *Gobernanza multinivel en la Unión Europea*.(Valencia:tirant lo blanch 2004),pp.285-325,particularly p.322.



fish in the UK catch, and therefore has a strong input in the Fisheries policy of the British government.<sup>35</sup>

In a study by Gary Marks, Richard Haesly and Heather Mbye it becomes clear that the overall pattern of representation of subnational authorities in Brussels is quite asymmetrical and extremely dependent on the ambition of the region and local authority concerned. The budgetary situation of a particular region is an important factor leading to a stronger engagement and influence in the supranational governance system. The study found out also that weaker regions tend to have joint offices, while stronger regions have more autonomy in defining their aims backed up by financial and human resources. They also found out that there are three main activities for regions at supranational level. By far the most important is influencing EU decision-making through all possible mechanisms. This is followed by what the authors call 'liaising' local actors with counterparts of the same country or other countries, national institutions EU institutions and other actors present at supranational level. The third main activity is networking and information gathering.<sup>36</sup> The growth in complexity at supranational level means that only regions and local authorities with strong human and financial resources can be efficient in these three roles. The more powerful regions such as Catalonia, the Basque country, North-Rhine Westphalia have a stronger experience and also more ambition in pushing forward the agenda of their governments and business community.<sup>37</sup> According to the authors, local authorities, which tend to work together in joint offices are

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<sup>35</sup> ) Hussein Kassim, The United Kingdom. In: Hussein Kassim, B. Guy Peters, and Vincent Wright (eds.), *The National Co-ordination of EU Policy. The Domestic Level.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2000) pp.22-53; particularly p.33.

<sup>36</sup> ) Gary Marks, Richard Haesly, and Heather A.D. Mbye, What Do Subnational Offices Think They are Doing in Brussels. In: *Regional and Federal Studies*, vol.12, nr.3, Autumn 2002, pp.1-23; particularly p.7

<sup>37</sup> ) *ibid*, p.12.



also very efficient in pursuing their interests.<sup>38</sup> Particularly, the English local authority offices and the Scandinavian ones have established strong linkages to the European level.

The strength of a region is determined by its constitutional and real position in the respective country.<sup>39</sup> The diversity of national political systems which range from federal(Germany, Belgium, Austria) to unitary(Portugal, Greece) shows that the structure of opportunities is very asymmetrical across the European Union. Nevertheless, as already mentioned, constitutional change in different countries such as in the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Spain, Belgium and most central and eastern European countries has enhanced the position of the regions. In spite of a negative referendum on introducing federalism in Italy in July 2006, Italian regions gained more powers and autonomy through small constitutional changes affecting title V. The inclusion in a State-regions council recognises the input of subnational actors in the European integration process.<sup>40</sup> The position of the autonomous communities in Spain has been increasing since the constitutional process was completed in 1978. The latest developments were introduced by the Zapatero government allowing for the establishment of a conference of presidents similarly to the Austrian, Swiss and German cases. Moreover, the regions have now also some input in the decision-making process in the Council of Ministers. The Committee for European Affairs(*Comision de Asuntos Relacionados con la Comunidad Europea-CARCE*) was upgraded and allowed for a coordination of the positions of regions. Moreover, the different sectoral conferences(*conferencias sectoriales*) link national and regional governments

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<sup>38</sup> ) *ibid*,p.13

<sup>39</sup> ) *ibid*,p.15.

<sup>40</sup> ) Marco Olivetti, *Il Potere Estero delle Regioni*.In:Alessandro Alfieri(ed.), *La Politica Estera delle Regioni*.(Bologna:il Mulino 2004),pp.17-54;



according to policy areas.<sup>41</sup> According to a study by Tanja Börzel, the performance of the sectorial conferences is very asymmetrical. Europeanization plays a major role in enhancing the importance of some sectorial conferences against other.<sup>42</sup>

Probably, the most dramatic transformation happened in Belgium. The introduction of a federal structure in 1993 after decades of devolution and restructuring led to the emergence of three foreign policies, the national, the Flemish and the Walloon ones.

Peter Bursens brings to the fore, the complexity of the Belgian process. Although the coordination of Belgian foreign policy is undertaken by the federal government, there is no hierarchy between the different units of the country.

Let me now turn to the more particular setting of foreign relations within the Belgian federation. The new 1993 Constitution introduced the '*in foro interno in foro externo*' principle. This means that – completely in line with the absence of hierarchy – all government levels have the right to conduct foreign policy with respect to the competencies they possess within the Belgian federation. However, to prevent Belgian foreign policy from becoming totally scattered and chaotic, the Constitution has put the overall coordination responsibility with the federal level .... This implies that the overall foreign policy orientations are

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<sup>41</sup> ) José M. Magone, *Contemporary Spanish Politics*(London:Routledge 2004),pp.122-125.

<sup>42</sup> ) Tanja Börzel *States and Regions in the European Union. Institutional Adaptation in Germany and Spain*.(Cambridge:CUP 2002) ,pp.196-208; Tanja Börzel, From Competitive Regionalism to Cooperative Federalism:The Europeanization of the Spanish State of Autonomies.In:*Publius.Journal of Federalism*.vol.30,2,pp.17-42.



formulated by the Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs.<sup>43</sup>

According to the studies of Bart Kerremans and Jan Beyers Belgium foreign policy now involves six actors which are more or less at the same level: two regions, two cultural communities and the Flemish region-cultural community, additionally it is the central national government. The process only works, because all parts have the same maximalist and positive attitude towards European integration. Moreover, the small size of the country allows for fast informal gatherings to smooth tensions or problems before final common decisions.<sup>44</sup>

Nevertheless, the process of devolution may not be finished just yet. There is a strong possibility that Belgium may become in the mid to long term a confederation which has two separated Flemish and Walloon foreign policies.<sup>45</sup>

The growing cooperation of national parliaments of the European Union through COSAC has led also to major demands for similar structures for regional parliaments. A similar structure with the acronym CALRE (*Conference des Assemblées Législatives Régionales Européennes*) was established to

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<sup>43</sup> ) Peter Bursens, How Multi-Level are IGCs? The Belgium Federation and the 2000 Conference. In: *Regional and Federal Studies*, vol.12, nr.3, Autumn 2002, pp.181-204; particularly p.188.

<sup>44</sup> ) Bart Kerremans, Determining a European policy in a multilevel setting: The case of specialized coordination in Belgium. In: *Regional and Federal Studies* 10, nr.1 (Spring), pp.36-61; Bart Kerremans, Belgium. In: Hussein Kassim, B. Guy Peters, and Vincent Wright (eds.), *The National Co-ordination of EU Policy. The Domestic Level*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2000), pp.182-200; Bart Kerremans and Jan Beyers, The Belgian Permanent Representation to the European Union: Mailbox, Messenger, or Representative? In: Hussein Kassim, Anand Menon, B. Guy Peters and Vincent Wright (eds.), *The National Co-ordination EU Policy. The European Level*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001), pp.191-210.

<sup>45</sup> ) Pascal Delwit et Jean-Benoit Pilet, Fédéralisme, institutions et vie politique. Stabilité, instabilité et retour. In: Marie-Thérèse Coenen, Serge Govaert, Jean Heinen (eds.), *L'État de la Belgique. 1989-2004; Quinze Années à la Charnière du siècle*. (Bruxelles: Edition de Boeck 2004), pp.43-79



integrated regional parliaments and give them a better possibility to influence European policy.<sup>46</sup>

The German *Landtage* are adjusting their structures to have a stronger say in European affairs<sup>47</sup>, similar restructuring processes of parliaments are happening in other countries, especially in Spain, Belgium, Austria and the United Kingdom. In the later, European affairs have been an important battleground for the assertiveness of Wales and Scotland. There is a genuine increase in engagement in both parliaments after devolution in 1997. In Scotland, both the executive as well as the Scottish parliament were very keen assert themselves and play a role in the European Union decision-making process. Scotland House in Brussels is an extremely active regional office, which has wide support among the Scottish political elites.<sup>48</sup>

The Welsh Committee of European Affairs had to learn to deal with the new situation. The first legislature of the Welsh Assembly was very much a learning process how to best use the resources to influence EU decision

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<sup>46</sup> ) on the growing importance of regional and national parliaments in European decision-making see Hendrik Vos, *Het Vlaams Parlement en Europa: over democratie en de Europese rol van regionale Parlementen*. In: Norbert de Batselier(ed.), *Levende Democratie. De kracht van een parlement in de 21ste eeuw*. (Tielt:lanoo 2004), pp.194-228; particularly p.228.

<sup>47</sup> ) A. Lenz, R. Johne, *Die Landtage vor der Herausforderung Europa: Anpassung der parlamentarischen Infrastruktur als Grundlage institutioneller Europafähigkeit*. In: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, B6,2000, pp.20-29.

<sup>48</sup> ) the best study so far is Amanda Sloat, *Scotland in Europe. A Study of Multi-Level Governance*. (Oxford: Peter Land 2002); see also a comparative study with Catalonia Elisa Roller, Amanda Sloat, *Devolution in the European Union: The Role of Subnational Authorities in Scotland and Catalonia*. In: José M. Magone(ed.), *Regional Institutions and Governance in the European Union*. (Westport, CT: Praeger 2003), pp.75-95



making.<sup>49</sup> There is a stronger support for the European Union in Scotland and Wales than in England.

According to Stelios Stavridis the Catalan parliament has been engaged in many international issues related to the Mediterranean. Moreover, the Catalan Parliament has established many contacts with cogeneris across the European Union, particularly Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg in Germany, Scotland in the UK and the Flemish region in Belgium. Moreover, links to Quebec include a parliamentary dimension. According to Stavridis, both Quebec as well as Catalonia refer to each other as models to learn from.<sup>50</sup> In the Flemish parliament, a consultative committee on foreign and European affairs was established which monitors the process of European integration and liaises with the Flemish executive and the national institutions.<sup>51</sup> The institutionalization process has been slower in the Walloon region, its parliament due to its separation from the French community is weaker and less self-confident.<sup>52</sup> Indeed, the Flemish Parliament regards itself as representing a new political culture against the pre-1993 Belgian state. The building of the Flemish parliament is made out of glass to demonstrate its transparency and accountability.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> ) J. Barry Jones, *Wales and the European Union: Refining a Relationship*. In: José M. Magone (ed.), *Regional Institutions and Governance in the European Union*. (Westport, CT: Praeger 2003), pp. 119-133.

<sup>50</sup> ) Stelios Stavridis, *The Catalan Parliament and the Mediterranean: A Preliminary Assessment*. Institut Universitari de Estudis Europeus, Observatori de Política Exterior Europea, Working Paper nr. 41, Marzo 2003, pp. 5-6.

<sup>51</sup> ) Flemish Parliament, *30 Years Flemish Parliament*. (Brussel: Flemish Parliament 2002), pp. 16-17.

<sup>52</sup> ) Parlement Wallon, *Reglement*, 22 Juillet 2004: Committee of European Affairs is defined by Art. 26; see André Lecours, *When Regions Go Abroad: Globalization, Nationalism and Federalism*. Paper presented at the conference 'Globalization, Multi-Level Governance and Democracy: Continental, Comparative and Global Perspectives' Queen's University, May 3-4, 2002, pp. 9-13.

<sup>53</sup> ) Karen Celis and Alison Woodward, *Flanders: Do It Yourself and Do It Better? Regional Parliaments as Sites for Democratic Renewal and Gendered*



### **3.3. The external projection of European regions**

Although still under researched European regions have also global ambitions. So far most engagement has been dominated by EU 'internal diplomacy', nevertheless globalization has transformed regions into dynamic and pro-active economic units which need to look for new markets. Regional trade and industrial interest groups are interested in expanding to new markets. One good example, is the 1988 founded four motor Europe consisting of Lombardy, Catalonia, Rhone-Alps and Baden-Wuerttemberg. Many other regions became associated to this dynamic group such as Wales and even Quebec. The four motor Europe decided in 2002 to form a Club pushing forward the interest of these more conscious regions. Moreover, they have an interest in revitalising the Committee of the Regions and Local Authorities. Most of the agenda has to do with economic issues. The four motor Europe planned to establish an office in China in order to expand their markets.<sup>54</sup> This collective attempt to become more proactive and have a global projection is actually supported by some governments which see their possibilities quite limited. As Peter Bursens shows in Belgium there is national governmental support for transregional alliances which may help individual regions to enhance their global projection.<sup>55</sup>

The Catalan Generalitat is a good example of policies of internal projection. The Directorate of External Relations played an important role in pushing over the years the boundaries of paradiplomacy. It has representations

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Representation. In: José M. Magone (ed.), *Regional Institutions and Governance in the European Union*. (Westport, CT: Praeger 2003), pp. 173-191; particularly p. 177.

<sup>54</sup> ) Giandonato Caggiano, *Il Networking e I Gemellaggi delle Regioni*. In: Alessandro Alfieri (ed.), *La Politica Estera delle Regioni*. (Bologna: il Mulino 2004), pp. 147-160; particularly pp. 157-159

<sup>55</sup> ) Bursens, op. cit. pp. 192-194.



across the world which are primarily devised to promote economic interests and expand Catalan products to new markets. In the global governance system, the Catalan political elite regard the European Union and the wider Europe as their main arena, but they recognise the importance to be part of the global economy.<sup>56</sup> Most of the work towards external projection of Catalonia was done by former president Jordi Pujol, but also Pascual Maragall is extremely committed to such a strategy.

According to Alex Wright, Scotland has a representative in the American embassy since this decade, but even this fact has led to some media speculation that this would start an independent Scottish foreign policy. What unleashed these speculations was the fact that in spring 2001 First Minister Henry Mcleish had a brief meeting with President George W. Bush during his visit to 'tartan day' in the United States.<sup>57</sup>

In sum, the European multi-level governance was able to domesticate most of the activities of European regions. One of the main reasons, is that the proactive actions of the European Commission have transformed this European space into an 'internal' paradiplomacy space. Such hyperactivity of European regions differs considerably from the rest of the world. Paradiplomacy is also exploding, but it is less integrated into a particular project.

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<sup>56</sup> ) Alexander Barniol, *GlobalisatioPan, identity and constitutional powers. The international projection of the Generalitat de Catalunya*. Unpublished MA dissertation, Hull University, 2001; see also Miquel Caminal Badia, *Catalunya, Espanya i Europa*. In: Miquel Caminal Badia, Jordi Matas Dalmases (eds.), *El sistema polític de Catalunya*. (Barcelona: tecnos 1998), pp. 405-427; particularly pp. 413-419

<sup>57</sup> ) Alex Wright, *The Internationalization of Scottish Politics: Who Governs Scotland?* In: José M. Magone (ed.), *Regional Institutions and Governance in the European Union*. (Westport, CT: Praeger 2003), pp. 97-117; particularly p. 114



#### 4. BEYOND EUROPE: SOME COMPARATIVE NOTES ON PARADIPLMACY OF THE REGIONS IN OTHER REGIONS OF THE WORLD

The European Union multilevel governance takes an important proactive role in the shaping of global governance. The main transformation is from hierarchical Westphalian governmental structures to horizontal flat network governance. Such processes can be found across the world, nevertheless the EU has pushed the boundaries of transformation. The project is very ambitious and still in transition. In this context, similar processes in the North American Free Trade Area are less far-reaching. In a comparative study, Joachim Blatter compares the impact of cross-border cooperation in North America and Europe, and it seems the most important difference between what is happening in the North Pacific along the Canadian and US coast and along the US-Mexican border in the two Californias on one side, and the cross-border cooperation in the Upper Rhine Valley along the German, Swiss and French Borders and the cross-border cooperation in Lake Constance between Germany, Austria and Switzerland on the other side is about the symbolic-inductive nature of European projects.<sup>58</sup> In his research, he clearly shows that the European cross-border projects are more institutionalized (Upper Rhine Valley) and in more harmony and having a common identity (Lake Constance) than the North American counterparts which are either characterised by antagonism due to the contestation of bioregionalist groups (Cascadia) or relying merely on instrumental institutions designed to transform the still existing economic

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<sup>58</sup> ) Joachim Blatter, Beyond Hierarchies and Networks: Institutional Logics and Change in Transboundary Spaces. In: *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions*, vol. 16, nr. 4, October 2003, pp. 503-526; pp. 514-515; see also Joachim Blatter, Netzwerkstruktur, Handlungslogik und politische Räume: Institutionenwandel in europäischen und nordamerikanischen Grenzregionen. In: *Politische Vierteljahresschriften*, vol. 42, 2, pp. 193-222.

development gap between the two sides.<sup>59</sup> The problem with this typology is that probably, the two European case studies are not representative of the European Union. Probably, the inclusion of cross-border cooperation from the Portuguese-Spanish experience or Polish-German experience would create some similarities in this respect. Nevertheless, one has to acknowledge that overarching power of European integration plays a motivating factor for such cooperation in Europe and is a major difference to what is happening in North America.<sup>60</sup> In spite of concerns in relation to the typology, Blatter identified an important aspect of transformation, that we have already mentioned, and this is the transition from the rigid hierarchical structures to more elastic network structures. He clearly is against characterising the present emerging structures of cross-border cooperation as loose coupling, as some German political scientists have theoretized recently.<sup>61</sup> He regards the emergence of the new network processes as part of the interactions between political and other actors. He refers it as 'elastic coupling' to characterise the flexible nature of the way networking and cooperation is undertaken.<sup>62</sup>

Blatter comes to the conclusion that Europe and North America are developing in different directions in the restructuring of the Westphalian model:

Territory is no longer the only imaginable basis for creating and defining primary political communities and institutions. Nevertheless, it

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<sup>59</sup> ) Joachim Blatter, *Debordering the World of States: Towards a Multilevel System in Europe and a Multi-Polity System in North America? Insights from Border Regions*. In: *European Journal of International Relations*, vol.7(2), 2001, pp.175-209; particularly p.193-194.

<sup>60</sup> ) Blatter, *Beyond Hierarchies and Networks*, op.cit., p.515.

<sup>61</sup> ) see for example Klaus Eder And Hans-Jörg Trenz, *The Making Of A European Public Space at the Case Of Justice And Home Affairs*(111-134) and Hubert Heinelt, Tanja Kopp-Malek, Jochen Lang And Bernd Reissert, *Policy-Making In Fragmented Systems: How To Explain Success*(135-153). In: Beate Kohler-Koch(ed.), *Linking EU and National Governance*(Oxford: OUP 2003)

<sup>62</sup> ) Blatter, *ibid.*, p.513.

would be too easy to ‘write off’ the nation-state or the territorial basis of politics in general. In Europe, the process of regional cross-border institution-building shows the quite typical modern features of institutions with a rather clear-cut geographic basis and multi-sectoral goals and tasks. The European system of ‘multi-level governance’ is being complemented by another — rather weak but comprehensive — layer of institutions of governance and identity formation.

In contrast to this, in North America regional cross-border cooperation follows much more the logic of *spaces of flows* — but the new, quite ‘fluid’ institutions in respect of geographic space and time are not strong enough to play a significant role in policy conflicts with distributive consequences across the national border. In these cases the ‘old’ territorial identities and loyalties prevail. Therefore, we can conclude that here ‘de-bordering the world of states’ means complementing the single territorial polity (nation state) with non-territorial polities (transnational socio-economic exchange networks or transnational ideological coalitions) which are relevant only in specific policy dimensions but have a significant mobilizing capacity. Such a system of ‘multi-polity governance’ does not question the Westphalian system of sovereign states directly, since the states are not challenged by similar territorial units (same kind of polities), but presents a much more radical path of system change.<sup>63</sup>

This explains the limited possibilities for the province of Quebec within the Canadian Federation. André Lecours clearly shows that Quebec is involved in many activities in order to push its global reach, but the structure of opportunities is less favourable than those in Europe in particular Wallonia in Belgium. According to Lecours, Quebec has no international relations

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<sup>63</sup> ) Blatter, *Debordering*, op.cit., pp.201-202.



competences in contrast to regions in Belgium. The strong activity of Quebec is due to its nationalist identity which is strengthened by the distinctiveness within the Canadian federation. There is a strategic vision of Quebec, which defines this province as a 'small nation'. Quebec's main arena of paradiplomacy is the close relationship to France and the *Francophonie*.<sup>64</sup> The Quebec government uses very often the structure of opportunities offered by globalization. Prime Ministers of Quebec tend to go the World Economic Forum in Davos in order to promote the region, but also Quebec as a distinctive entity in the Canadian Federation. Moreover, crossborder cooperation within the NAFTA framework plays a major role in enhancing the international role of Quebec. Lachapelle and Paquin speak of the rise of a new regionalism which draws its strength from the strong economy of Quebec. This identity-economy is naturally informing the overall identity of this stateless nation. NAFTA and Globalization have been major new structures of opportunities to extend the international and global reach.<sup>65</sup>

Quite interesting are developments in Russia which the centralist legacy is trying to assert itself after a decade of disorganisation during the 1990s. The government of Vladimir Putin pushed forward legislation to control better regional attempts to develop an independent foreign policy. As an example one can mention the Muslim-dominated Republic of Tatarstan, which clearly expanded considerably its global reach. Most of the agreements are of economic nature, but the political dimension is always quite important in this respect. Tatarstan declared itself as being a sovereign state in 1990, backed by a referendum in 1992, although Moscow clearly regards it as a breach of the constitution. The control of Putin over the regional governors and the change

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<sup>64</sup> ) Lecours, op.cit., pp.12-13.

<sup>65</sup> ) Guy Lachapelle, Stéphane Paquin, Quebec's international strategies: mastering globalization and new possibilities of governance. Paper presented at the Conference



of the Federation Council were steps to curtail the autonomy of regions. Tatarstan challenged the position of the Russian government in relation to Kosovo, which was one of support for Milosevic and Serbia. In contrast, Tatarstan supported the plight of the Kosovo Albanians.<sup>66</sup> Similar tensions exist in relation to other regions, such as the Pskov region on the border to Estonia and Latvia. These two new member-states of the European Union were former Republics of the Soviet Union and diplomatic tensions occur regularly, jeopardizing the cooperation with the Pskov region.<sup>67</sup> In spite of these problems, it shows that there is a will within the different subnational units of Russia to explore this growing phenomenon of paradiplomacy.

In terms of paradiplomacy is also important to consider the transregional/transcontinental projects that are leading to a strengthening of diplomacy in which regions may be also involved. The Euromediterranean partnership and the EU-Mercosur Free Trade Area are contributing to a change of the borders between continents. These projects are still too new to make an assessment, but time may show ways for regions from different continents to work together. Spanish regions will be at the forefront in both these projects. The cultural proximity will allow to create networks, synergies and expand to all forms of cooperation. Civil society of these different regions are already engaged in a dialogue of cooperation.<sup>68</sup>

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Québec and Canada in the New Century: New Dynamics, New Opportunities. Queen's University, School of Policy Studies, 31 October-1 November 2003.

<sup>66</sup> ) Gulnaz Sharaftudinova, Paradiplomacy in the Russian Regions: Tatarstan's Search for Statehood. In: *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 55, Nr. 4, 2003, pp. 613-629; particularly pp. 621-622

<sup>67</sup> ) Gulnara Roll, Tatiana Maximova, Eero Mikenberg, The External Relations of the Pskov Region of the Russian Federation. Schleswig Holstein Institut fuer Friedensforschung, working paper 63, 2001

<sup>68</sup> ) Romeo Pérez Antón, Actores de la sociedad civil, globalización y Unión Europea. In: Forum Euro-Latino Americano (ed.), *O Novo Multilateralismo. Perspectiva da Uniao Europeia e do Mercosul*. (Lisboa: Instituto de Estudos Estratégicos e Internacionais 2001), pp. 211-232; Frédéric Volpi, Regional Community Building and the Transformation of International Relations: the Case of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. In: *Mediterranean Politics*, vol. 9, Nr. 2 (Summer 2004), pp. 145-164; Stelio



In sum, since the 1980s paradiplomacy has been rising across the world. Regional actors have been very important in changing the attitude towards it. The rise of complexity in restructuring processes across the world is creating a new world architecture which will lead inevitably to global governance. States will not disappear and will still be *primi inter pares*, but their sovereignty will be perforated, if not shared with subnational actors.

## 5.CONCLUSIONS:GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AND PARADIPLMACY OF REGIONS

In the past three decades, the world architecture changed considerably. The 'debordering of states' and the 'denationalization of societies' led for the emergence of a new structure of opportunities which allowed regional actors, interest groups and other civil society actors to become part of the global governance system. Such transformations of regional-continental, transcontinental and global governance will continue to progress until a balance is reached. One of the consequences is that sovereignty is now perforated<sup>69</sup> and being replaced by new forms of organisation that William Wallace calls post-sovereign.

European regional actors are in the enviable position that the European Commission is interested in pushing forward a strategy of softening up the internal borders of the European Union. Moreover, there is a genuine will to

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Stavridis, The Parliamentary Forum of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership:An Assessment.In:*Mediterranean Politics* vol. 7,nr.2,(Summer 2002),pp.30-53. see also José M. Magone, *The New World Architecture. The Role of the European Union in the Making of Global Governance*.(New Brunswick,N.J.:Transaction 2006) chapter 9 and 10



push the boundaries of the European model to the neighbouring countries without integrating them as new members.

Regions may have escaped the confines of the nation-state, but multi-level governance structures at regional-continental and global level have created more elastic structures in order to keep them undertaking mainly domestic politics.

Zaragoza, 5 de octubre de 2006.

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<sup>69</sup> ) Stephen Tierney, Reframing Sovereignty? Substate National Societies and Contemporary Challenges to the Nation-State. In: *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, vol.54, January 2005, pp.161-183.