This is the second volume in a two-volume series on democratic consolidation in Eastern Europe. The series focuses on three major aspects of democratic consolidation in Eastern Europe: institutional engineering, transnational pressures, and civil society. This volume analyses the external parameters of democratic consolidation in 13 European countries: how different international actors and various economic, cultural, and security types of transnational pressures have shaped democratic politics in the region. The aim is to contrast a set of democracy theories with empirical evidence accumulated in Eastern Europe over the past 10 years. The volume tries to avoid complex debates about definitions, methods, and the uses and misuses of comparative research. Instead, it establishes what has really happened in the region, and which of the existing theories have proved helpful in explaining these developments. The Introduction sets out the distinctive features of the post-communist wave of democratization, examines the aims and methods of major international actors, and considers the determinants of their impact on the political development of Eastern Europe. The volume is divided into two parts. The first part presents a conceptual and comparative analysis. The second consists of detailed studies of individual countries undergoing democratic consolidation. Case study chapters deal with the following countries: Estonia and Latvia, Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Macedonia, the states of former Yugoslavia, Belarus, and Ukraine, and finally Russia. The concluding chapter identifies a set of variables responsible for the enormous impact of external factors on democratic consolidation in Eastern Europe. It conceptualizes the interplay of internal and external factors impinging upon democracy, and shows the interplay of different positive and negative types of external pressures, such as conditionality.
The Role of International Actors in National Accountability Processes
Naomi Roht-Arriaza

in The Politics of Memory and Democratization
Published in print: 2001 Published Online: November 2003
Item type: chapter
Publisher: Oxford University Press DOI: 10.1093/0199240906.003.0002

The response of an incoming government to past crimes and gross violations of human rights depends primarily on a combination of domestic political, military and socioeconomic factors. However, international influences and institutions play an increasing role in shaping and affecting these processes. International efforts are in turn shaped partly by the perceived success or failure of domestic attempts to deal with the past. This chapter focuses on three areas in which these mutual influences manifest themselves: first, it examines the impact of international and transnational activity on the work of national courts, truth commissions, reparation schemes and political discourses about the past; second, it looks at the possibility of simultaneous actions in multiple arenas, since transnational justice also takes the form of legal actions brought in the national courts of one country against civil or criminal defendants based in another; the third area of influence discussed is the creation of new international institutions for accountability, although the extent to which these international efforts have influenced political or social reconstruction within societies is still unclear. The different sections of the chapter are: Introduction; Human Rights Institutions and Norms; Transnational Justice: The Pinochet Precedent; International Justice: The ‘Ad Hoc’ Tribunals and the ICC (International Criminal Court); and Conclusion.

The States System of Europe, 1640–1990
Andreas Osiander

Published in print: 1994 Published Online: October 2011
Publisher: Oxford University Press DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198278870.001.0001

This book looks at the four major European peace congresses: Munster and Osnabrück (1644–1648), Utrecht (1712–1715), Vienna (1814–1815), and Paris (1919–1920) and shows how a prevailing consensus on certain structural concepts — such as the balance of power or national self-determination — has influenced the evolution of the system and determined its stability or lack of stability. It argues that the structure
of the international system is neither a given quantity nor determined primarily by conflict between international actors, but essentially the result of a general agreement expressed in ‘consensus principles’; these influence the identity of the international actors, their relative status, and the distribution of populations and territories between them. The book concludes with a review of the period since 1920.

The Impasse of Third World Democratization: Africa Revisited
Georg Sørensen

in American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies, and Impacts
Published in print: 2000 Published Online: November 2003
DOI: 10.1093/0199240973.003.0014
Item type: chapter

Argues that although many Third World countries have experienced democratic openings, a large part of them are stuck in the initial phases of a democratic transition. International actors have contributed to this outcome in the following ways: (1) failing to appreciate the role of nationalism and political community; (2) overemphasizing economic and political liberalism; (3) supporting elite-dominated democracies. It explores the connection between democratization and state strength, citing examples of transitions in Africa.

General Remarks
Andreas Osiander

in The States System of Europe, 1640–1990: Peacemaking and the Conditions of International Stability
Published in print: 1994 Published Online: October 2011
DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198278870.003.0001
Item type: chapter

This introductory chapter points out various aspects of the problem of stability in international politics. In line with established usage in international relations theory, it will refer to autonomous centres of decision-making in international affairs as ‘international actors’. The sphere of international politics is often perceived to be a conspicuously less stable environment than the average domestic political system. Precisely because they are so conspicuous, manifestations of conflict and disorder in international politics have been studied more extensively than the phenomenon of relative system stability. But even the structure of the international system usually displays considerable overall stability.
over long stretches of time. In analysing international politics, one very important thing has to be remembered. This is that the international system has no physical reality. Ultimately, the international system exists exclusively in the mind. It is what people think it is. It is a mental construct, resting entirely on shared assumptions.

The Foundations of Formal Ascertainment of International Law: The Social Thesis

d'Aspremont Jean

in Formalism and the Sources of International Law: A Theory of the Ascertainment of Legal Rules

Published in print: 2011 Published Online: January 2012 Publisher: Oxford University Press
Item type: chapter

Chapter 7 has broached some avenues to revitalize the current law-ascertainment criteria in international law by moving away from intent but did not provide any indication as to the foundations of such formal law-ascertainment criteria. This is the object of chapter 8 which argues that any set of formal yardsticks of law-ascertainment shaped through ordinary language would remain inextricably beset by the indeterminacy of language if it were not grounded in the social practice of those who apply them. This chapter thus turns to the foundations of law-ascertainment in the theory of the sources of international law and, trying to offset the anti-theoretical bent of the international legal scholarship, demonstrates the possibility of constructing a theory of formal law-ascertainment grounded in the social practice of law-applying authorities. In doing so, this chapter seeks to rejuvenate the social thesis as it has been elaborated in English analytical jurisprudence by borrowing from a variety of thinkers like Wittgenstein and Tamanaha. This brings it to argue that the concept of international law-applying authorities must be broadened as to include a whole new series of international actors. It also points to the vainness of the question of the validity of international law as a whole. It simultaneously shows that the social thesis, if adequately rejuvenated in the framework of the theory of sources of international law, can continue to benefit from the insights from sociological studies, critical legal studies, third world approaches or feminist critiques and is surely not incompatible with them.
Introduction
Marc Weller

in Contested Statehood: Kosovo's Struggle for Independence
Published in print: 2009 Published Online: May 2009
Publisher: Oxford University Press
DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199566167.003.0001
Item type: chapter

The introductory chapter contextualizes the Kosovo crisis within the wider international debate, questioning whether recent action signifies a return to 19th-century power politics or is evidence of an emerging post-modern constitutional order underpinned by universal values. It argues that the Kosovo crisis cuts to the heart of the current international system, and that interpretation of recent events will impact significantly on six core areas of the international order: the relationship between the state and its constituents, state governance, human rights, the problem of opposed unilateral secession, hierarchies and competencies among international actors, and the issue of state consent. A brief analysis of each of these issues lays the analytical foundations for subsequent discussion.

Kosovo
Patrice C. McMahon

in The NGO Game: Post-Conflict Peacebuilding in the Balkans and Beyond
Published in print: 2017 Published Online: January 2018
Publisher: Cornell University Press
DOI: 10.7591/cornell/9781501709234.003.0005
Item type: chapter

This chapter turns to the effects of international peacebuilding in Kosovo from approximately 1999 until 2012. It also provides some background on the history of this troubled region during the 1990s. The chapter argues that international actors were “vast and richly endowed and full of capabilities”; and despite the fact that many Kosovars, Albanians, and Serbs alike did not agree or support many of their goals, internationals were determined to reconcile society and create a multiethnic democracy in Kosovo. In the process, however, international actors and specifically the scores of NGOs that descended on the region crowded out, rather than complemented, existing institutions.
In shaping the institutions of a new country, what interventions from international actors lead to success and failure? This book's investigation into Kosovo, based on national survey data, interviews, and focus groups, leads to some surprising answers. It highlights efforts to build the police force, the central government, courts, and a customs service. The book finds that central administration and the courts, which had been developed under local authority, succumbed to cronyism and corruption, challenging the premise that local “ownership” leads to more effective state bureaucracies. The police force and customs service, directly managed by international actors, were held to a meritocratic standard, fulfilling their missions and winning public respect. On the other hand, local participation and contestation supported democratic institutions. When international actors supported the demobilization of popular movements, they undermined the ability of the public to hold elected officials accountable.

(Social) Policy and politics at the international level

Bob Deacon

In a highly globalised world, understanding the policy making process is not complete without looking into international policy making. International policy has two dimensions: 1) influence of international policy process on national policy; and 2) influence of international policy making processes at the supranational levels such as the regional and global level. This chapter examines the two dimensions of international policy through the example of social policy. It discusses how international actors impact upon national social policy and the emergence of supranational social policy of global social regulation, global social redistribution, and global social rights. The chapter first reviews some of the conceptual and analytical frameworks drawn from international relations, political economy literature, and policy transfer. It then explains the complex nature of the international institutional
framework and the density of the set of international actors involved in international policy making. The chapter ends with an overview of this multilayered and multi-actor international policy process, and with some comments on what this implies for any political strategy aiming to engage with international social policy making process.

Introduction
Christopher Phillips

in The Battle for Syria: International Rivalry in the New Middle East
Published in print: 2016 Published Online: May 2017
Publisher: Yale University Press
DOI: 10.12987/yale/9780300217179.003.0001
Item type: chapter

This introductory chapter discusses the complexity of the Syrian conflict and the multiple factors driving and shaping it. It argues that from the start, external factors have been essential in enabling and facilitating both regime and opposition actions. The war's character, scale and scope has been greatly impacted by these factors. The brutality of the Assad regime combined with the incompetence and disunity of the opposition led to a violent and intractable civil war. The role of international actors tends to be presented as secondary: they are sucked in once the war has begun, to pursue their own regional or global agendas. As a result, until the various external actors involved either have their goals sufficiently satisfied or cut their losses and leave the stage, the war is likely to continue in some form.

Power, Corruption and Drug Crop Cultivation
David Mansfield

in A State Built on Sand: How Opium Undermined Afghanistan
Published in print: 2016 Published Online: September 2016
Publisher: Oxford University Press
DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190608316.003.0002
Item type: chapter

Chapter 2 reflects on the wider literature on state-building and political geography, as well as scholarly work on political settlements, bargains and coalition-building. It offers the theoretical underpinnings for a framework to analyze opium bans not simply as a function of coercion but as the product of complex socio-economic and political processes that vary by both terrain and state-societal relations, and involve a multitude of local, sub-national, national and international actors, each with different and competing interests. This chapter highlights the role
that international actors can play in shaping and distorting the political coalitions that are formed in order to impose a ban on opium poppy and how fragile and prone to rupture these coalitions are in areas where economic and political power is diffuse and contested within the rural population. This chapter also examines the structural drivers of rural rebellion and why some areas are particularly prone to violent unrest and resistance to state efforts at encapsulation.

**Experimentalism and the limits of uploading**

Gráinne de Búrca

in Extending Experimentalist Governance?: The European Union and Transnational Regulation

Published in print: 2015 Published Online: September 2015
Item type: chapter

While the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD), which was the first major international human rights treaty to be signed by the EU, has a notably experimentalist character, the participation of the EU does not seem to have been a strong determinant of these elements of the Convention. Instead, the experimentalist character of the CRPD seems to be explained largely by the prominent role played by disabled persons, disability NGOs, and national human rights institutions within the negotiation process. The EU appears to have treated the international negotiations and treaty-making process as a potential channel for ‘uploading’ its own preferred position, and its own disability-discrimination regime. Nevertheless, the EU has, since the coming into force of the CRPD, been quite active in ‘downloading’ this instrument, implementing the Convention and its provisions within EU law and policy.

**East meets West: CEE countries, monetary institutions and the European Social Model**

Serena Romano

in The political and social construction of poverty: Central and Eastern European countries in transition

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Item type: chapter
Chapter four deals with the wide range of internal and external pressures for change which were experienced by CEE countries and the relative implications on the construction of poverty in the second phase of transition. Firstly, there is a brief review of the emergence of internal pressures for welfare change and the role of post-industrial social, economic and demographic dynamics, which had a massive impact on the reconfiguration of social policy following the dissolution of the planned economy. The subsequent section reopens the debate on the alleged opposition between “old” and “new Europe” based on the premise that new member states from the CEE region could have jeopardised the European Social Model. In the last section of this chapter the interventions of monetary institutions, the purpose of which was to create a residual social safety net and the role of the EU as a “silent” actor in the construction of social cohesion are examined.

The Problems and Dilemmas of Helping to Build Protection Capacities

Lise Grande

in Protection of Civilians

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Publisher: Oxford University Press
DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198729266.003.0019
Item type: chapter

This chapter considers the problems and dilemmas of building national capacity to protect civilians. Although most international effort to protect civilians focuses on military intervention, humanitarian relief, or promotion of human rights, State responsibility for the security and safety of the people within their borders is the end-goal of the ‘protection chain’. The chapter examines the strategies that international actors use to help build States’ capacities to protect their own people, questioning whether the approaches being used are effective, and, if not, what are the preferred alternatives. There are two primary competing approaches: rigorously pursuing the security and safety of civilians; or working to establish institutions of governance and justice as State-building priorities. The chapter recommends that priority be given to building the capacity of a State to ensure the safety of its population, arguing that a ‘security-first’ approach is the most pragmatic means of achieving the protection chain’s end-goal.
From November 2010 until December 2013, Ireland was transformed from an EU member state into a programme country. International actors and agencies played a pivotal and contested role in the Irish experience of austerity as a result of the Great Recession. This chapter distinguishes between the interconnected dynamics of the two bailouts—the Irish bank bailout in September 2008 and the bailout of the sovereign in November 2010. The bank bailout was a unilateral decision of the Irish Government taken under duress in crisis conditions. There was no attempt to Europeanize the issue and it is impossible to assess whether such an attempt would have improved the quality of the decisions taken. International agencies, particularly the ECB, were pivotal in Ireland entering a programme and repaying unsecured senior bondholders. The ECB’s ‘hard power’ stemmed from the fragility of the Irish financial system and dependence on ELA funding.

Introduction
Arnim Langer, Graham K. Brown, and Hanne Albers

This introductory chapter looks into a currently under-researched aspect in the field of peacebuilding, namely the timing and sequencing of peacebuilding reforms and interventions. It argues that while there are relatively uncontroversial conclusions emerging from the literature about desirable policies and practices in post-conflict societies, much less is understood about the extent to which the timing and sequencing of post-conflict policies affect the outcome of post-conflict transitions. The chapter sets out the case for studying these issues and formulates a number of specific research questions that the authors set out to answer. Besides discussing the central research questions, this introductory
Processes of Constitutional Transitions in the Face of Territorial Cleavages
Cheryl Saunders

This chapter discusses the implications of territorial cleavages for the process of constitutional transition by drawing on the experiences of various countries such as Bolivia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Nepal, Philippines, Scotland, Spain, Sri Lanka, and Ukraine. It first considers four variables that are likely to affect the process for constitutional transition within a state in which there are significant cleavages along territorial lines: the nature of transition, the nature of territorial cleavage, the challenges confronting statehood, and the involvement of international actors. It then examines four dimensions of the processes of transition that may be influenced by territorial cleavages: phases of the transition process, agenda setting, deliberation and ratification, and implementation and other matters. Finally, it explains how constitutional transitions are shaped by the postponement of final decisions on key matters through deliberate ambiguity, incomplete prescription or reliance on the future operation of rules on constitutional amendments.

Timing and Sequencing of Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Peacebuilding Efforts in South Sudan
David J. Francis

The civil war in South Sudan raises the all-too familiar problem of the crisis of state formation and nation-building in post-colonial Africa. Based on extensive field research in Sudan and South Sudan between 2005 and 2013, this chapter argues that the international response to post-
independence nation-building and post-liberation-war peacebuilding was not predicated on coherent and consistent timing and sequencing. If anything, the case of South Sudan illustrates that the rather inconsistent, uncoordinated post-war peacebuilding and statebuilding, as well as the lack of domestic legitimacy and ownership of the post-liberation-war peacebuilding and nation-building interventions, aggravated the fundamental grievances leading to the outbreak of the December 2013 civil war. What is more, South Sudan demonstrates how events on the ground and the pursuit of the strategic interests of the key national, regional, and international stakeholders framed and determined the nature, scope, timing, and even the sequencing of post-war peacebuilding and nation-building.

The Helmand Food Zone
David Mansfield

in A State Built on Sand: How Opium Undermined Afghanistan

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Chapter 9 examines the many disparate institutions that were behind the effort to ban opium production in the “Helmand Food Zone” between 2008 and 2013. It examines how drug control became such a pressing priority for so many institutions and how reductions in cultivation became intimately tied to the wider statebuilding effort and individual performances of international and national actors. It documents how the ban on opium was imposed across the canal command area of Helmand and the way that a combination of agricultural inputs, crop destruction and increased state presence in the form of social provision and a significant uptick in national and international military forces, established the conditions for a reduction in opium poppy cultivation.