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Economics and Politics of International Financial Organizations

- 1. Normative and Positive Theory of International Organizations
 - 1.1. Theory of International Organizations
 - 1.2. Normative Theory
 - 1.3. Positive Theory
- 2. International Monetary Fund
 - 2.1. Introduction: What is the IMF?
 - 2.2. Who controls the IMF?
 - 2.3. IMF Conditionality
 - 2.4. Why do governments and the IMF enter into agreements?
 - 2.5. What are the effects of IMF programs?
 - 2.6. Which countries comply with IMF agreements?
 - 2.7. Should the IMF be reformed?
- 3. World Bank Group (IBRD, IDA, IFC, MIGA)
 - 3.1. Introduction: What is the World Bank?
 - 3.2. Who controls the World Bank?
 - 3.3. World Bank Conditionality
 - 3.4. Why do governments and the World Bank enter into agreements?
 - 3.5. What are the effects of World Bank involvement?
 - 3.6 Should the World Bank be reformed?
- 4. United Nations
 - 4.1. Vote trading in the UN
 - 4.2. UNCTAD and UNDP: Poor countries without political influence?
 - 4.3. The impact of the UN on development
- 5. World Trade Organization
 - 5.1. The Political Economy of the WTO
 - 5.2. The Role of Developing Countries in the WTO
 - 5.3. Consequences of the WTO
 - 5.4. Reforming the WTO
- 6. European Community/ Union
 - 6.1. The Political Economy of the EU
 - 6.2. The European Constitution
 - 6.3. Budget and Financing
 - 6.4. Trade Policy
 - 6.5. Development Aid
 - 6.6. EU Conditionality

1. Normative and Positive Theory of International Organizations

Relevant questions:

Do we need international organizations to secure/enhance cooperation among states? Why do states delegate part of their sovereignty to international organizations? Under which circumstances are/should international organizations be created? Is there a principal-agent problem in/ with international organizations? Why do international organizations rarely die?

1.1. Theory of International Organizations

Abbott, Kenneth W. and Duncan Snidal, 1998, Why States Act through Formal International Organizations, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42(1): 3-32.

1.2. Normative Theory

- Oudiz, Gilles, 1988, Macroeconomic Policy Coordination: Where should we stand? In: Giersch, H. (Ed.), *Macro and Micro Policies for more Growth and Employment*, Tübingen: 278-291.
- Stiglitz, Joseph, 2003, Democratizing the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank: Governance and Accountability, *Governance* 16 (1): 111-139.
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1.3. Positive Theory

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- Frattianni, Michele and John Pattison, 1982, The Economics of International Organisations, *Kyklos* 35: 244-261.
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- Joyce, Joseph P. and Todd Sandler, 2007, IMF retrospective and prospective: A public goods viewpoint, *Review of International Organizations*, forthcoming.

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- Vaubel, Roland; Axel Dreher and Uğurlu Soylu, 2007, Staff Growth in International Organizations: A Principal-Agent Problem? *Public Choice* 133, 3-4: 275-295.
- Dreher, Axel and Stefan Voigt, 2008, Does Membership in International Organizations Increase Governments' Credibility? A Test on the Effects of Delegating Powers, mimeo.

2. International Monetary Fund

Relevant questions:

What are the objectives of the IMF and to whom is the Fund accountable?

Do international political factors influence lending decisions?

What domestic political characteristics make countries more likely to enter into programs?

What are the effects of IMF programs on national sovereignty?

What are the political and economic determinants of compliance with programs?

Do IMF programs convince recalcitrant recipients to initiate reforms or do they enhance recipients' ability to resist pressures for reform?

Does the "seal of approval" have catalytic effects?

What new data are required to pursue research on the IMF, and what methodological approaches should be used to evaluate programs?

Why do governments and the IMF enter into agreements and with what effects?

Should the IMF be reformed and, if so, how?

Recommended books:

- De Gregorio, José; Barry Eichengreen; Takatoshi Ito and Charles Wyplosz, *An Independent and Accountable IMF*, Geneva Reports on the World Economy 1, Genf/London 1999.
- Vreeland, James, 2003, *The IMF and Economic Development*, New York: Cambridge University Press
- *Vreeland, James, 2007, The International Monetary Fund: Politics of Conditional Lending, Routledge.

2.1. Introduction: What is the IMF?

- Dreher, Axel, 2004, A Public Choice Perspective of IMF and World Bank Lending and Conditionality, *Public Choice* 119, 3-4: 445-464.
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- *Joyce, Joseph P., 2004, Adoption, Implementation and Impact of IMF Programmes: A Review of the Issues and Evidence, *Comparative Economic Studies* 46: 451-467.
- *Stone, Randall and Martin Steinwand, 2008, The International Monetary Fund: A Review of the Recent Evidence, *Review of International Organizations*, forthcoming.
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- Willett, Thomas D, 2001, Understanding the IMF Debate, The Independent Review, v.V, 4: 593-610.

2.2. Who controls the IMF?

- Aldenhoff, Frank-O., 2007, Are economic forecasts of the International Monetary Fund politically biased? A public choice analysis, *Review of International Organizations* 2, 3: 239-260.
- Dreher, Axel and Nathan M. Jensen, 2007, Independent Actor or Agent? An Empirical Analysis of the Impact of US Interests on IMF Conditions, *The Journal of Law & Economics* 50, 1: 105-124.
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- *Faini, Riccardo and Enzo Grilli, 2004, Who Runs the IFIs? CEPR Discussion Paper No. 4666.
- *Fratianni, Michele and John Pattison, 2005, Who is Running the IMF: Critical Shareholders or the Staff? In: P. de Gijsel and H. Schenk (eds), *Multidisciplinary Economics: The Birth of a New Economics Faculty in the Netherlands*, Berlin: Springer, 279-292.
- Oatley, Thomas and Jason Yackee, 2004, American Interests and IMF Lending, *International Politics* 41, 3: 415-429.
- Thacker, Strom, 1999, The High Politics of IMF Lending, World Politics 52: 38-75.
- *Vreeland, James, 2007, *The International Monetary Fund: Politics of Conditional Lending*, Routledge, Chapter 2.

2.3. IMF Conditionality

- Calvo-Gonzales, Oscar, 2007, Ownership and conditionality in IMF-supported programs: Back to Per Jacobsson's time, *Review of International Organizations*, forthcoming.
- *Dreher, Axel, 2006, IMF Conditionality: Theory and Evidence, IEO Background Paper, International Monetary Fund, Washington, DC (forthcoming).

- Dreher, Axel and Roland Vaubel, 2004, The Causes and Consequences of IMF Conditionality, *Emerging Markets Finance and Trade* 40, 3: 26-54.
- Marchesi, Silvia and Jonathan P. Thomas, 1999, IMF Conditionality as a Screening Device, *Economic Journal* 109: C111-C125.
- *Mayer Wolfgang and Alex Mourmouras, 2007, IMF conditionality: An approach based on the theory of special interest politics, *Review of International Organizations*, forthcoming.

2.4. Why do governments and the IMF enter into agreements?

- *Barro, Robert J. and Jong-Wha Lee, 2005, IMF-Programs: Who Is Chosen and What are the Effects? *Journal of Monetary Economics* 52: 1245-1269.
- Bird, Graham and Dane Rowlands, 2006, Should it be curtains for some of the IMF's lending windows? Mimeo.
- Knight, Malcolm and Julio A. Santaella, 1997, Economic Determinants of Fund Financial Arrangements, *Journal of Development Economics* 54: 405-36.
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- Vreeland, James, 2001, The institutional determinants of IMF programs, mimeo.

2.5. What are the effects of IMF programs?

- Atoyan, Rouben and Patrick Conway, 2006, Evaluating the impact of IMF programs: A comparison of matching and instrumental-variable estimators, *Review of International Organizations* 1: 99-124.
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- Przeworski, Adam and James Vreeland, 2000, The Effect of IMF Programs on Economic Growth, *Journal of Development Economics* 62: 385-421.
- Smith, Alastair and James R. Vreeland, 2006, The Survival of Political Leaders and IMF Programs, in Gustav Ranis, James Vreeland, and Stephen Kosack (eds.), *Globalization and the Nation State: The Impact of the IMF and the World Bank*, New York: Routledge.
- Vreeland, James, 2003, The IMF and Economic Development, New York: Cambridge University Press, chapter 5.
- *Vreeland, James, 2007, *The International Monetary Fund: Politics of Conditional Lending*, Routledge, Chapter 4.

2.6. Which countries comply with IMF agreements?

- *Bird, Graham, 2007, The implementation of IMF programs: A conceptual framework, *Review of International Organizations* 3, 1: 41-64.
- Bird, Graham; Mumtaz Hussain and Joseph P. Joyce, 2004, Many Happy Returns? Recidivism and the IMF, *Journal of International Money and Finance* 23, 2: 231-251.
- Bird, Graham and Thomas D. Willett, 2004, IMF Conditionality, Implementation and the New Political Economy of Ownership, *Comparative Economic Studies* 46, 3.
- Dreher, Axel, 2003, The Influence of Elections on IMF Program Interruptions, *The Journal of Development Studies* 39, 6: 101-120.
- Edwards, Martin, 2001, Sticking with Yes: Domestic Institutions and IMF Compliance, mimeo.
- Ivanova, Anna; Wolfgang Mayer; Alex Mourmouras and George Anayiotos, 2005, What Determines the Implementation of IMF-Supported Programs? In: Ashoka Mody and Alessandro Rebucci (eds.), *IMF-Supported Programs: Assessing Program Design, Implementation, and Effectiveness*, Washington DC: International Monetary Fund, forthcoming.
- Mercer-Blackman, Valerie and Anna Unigovskaya, 2004, Compliance with IMF Program Indicators and Growth in Transition Economies, *Emerging Markets Finance and Trade* 40, 3: 55-83.
- Schadler, Susan (ed.), 1995, IMF Conditionality: Experiences Under Stand-By and Extended Arrangements, Part I: Key Issues and Findings, Occasional Paper 128, Washington: International Monetary Fund.

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- Schadler, Susan, 1996, How Successful are IMF Supported Adjustment Programs? *Finance and Development* 33: 14-17.
- *Vreeland, James, 2006, IMF Programs Compliance: Aggregate Index versus Policy Specific Research Strategies, *Review of International Organizations* 1, 4: 359-378.

2.7. Should the IMF be reformed?

- *International Financial Institution Advisory Commission, IFIAC, 2000, Report of the International Financial Institution Advisory Commission. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Krueger, Anne O., 1997, Wither the World Bank and the IMF? *Journal of Economic Literature* 36(4): 1983-2020.
- *Krueger, Anne O., 2006, A response to Allan Meltzer, *The Review of International Organizations* 1, 1: 61-64.
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- Vreeland, James, 2003, *The IMF and Economic Development*, New York: Cambridge University Press, chapter 7.
- *Vreeland, James, 2006, Self Reform: The IMF Strategy, Yale University, mimeo.
- *Vreeland, James, 2007, *The International Monetary Fund: Politics of Conditional Lending*, Routledge, Chapter 6.

3. The World Bank Group (IBRD, IDA, IFC, MIGA)

Relevant questions:

What are the objectives of the World Bank and to whom is it accountable?

Do international political factors influence lending decisions?

How did the role of the World Bank change over time?

What domestic political characteristics make countries more likely to enter into programs?

What is the difference between IMF and World Bank?

What are the effects of World Bank involvement on national sovereignty?

(How) can we measure whether the World Bank is successful?

Why do governments and the World Bank enter into agreements and with what effects?

Should the World Bank cooperate with other international organizations? If so, how?

Should the World Bank be reformed and, if so, how?

3.1. Introduction: What is the World Bank?

- *Dreher, Axel, 2004, A Public Choice Perspective of IMF and World Bank Lending and Conditionality, *Public Choice* 119, 3-4: 445-464.
- Gilbert, Christopher; Andrew Powell and David Vines, 1999, Positioning the World Bank, *Economic Journal* 109: 598-31.
- Vaubel, Roland, 1996, Bureaucracy at the IMF and the World Bank: A Comparison of the Evidence, *The World Economy* 19: 195-210.

3.2. Who controls the World Bank?

- Andersen, Thomas B.; Henrik Hansen and Markussen, Thomas, 2006, US politics and World Bank IDA-lending, *Journal of Development Studies*, forthcoming.
- Dreher, Axel and Jan-Egbert Sturm, 2006, Do IMF and World Bank Influence Voting in the UN General Assembly? KOF Working Paper 137, ETH Zurich.
- *Dreher, Axel; Jan-Egbert Sturm and James Vreeland, 2006, Development Aid and International Politics: Does membership on the UN Security Council influence World Bank decisions? *Journal of Development Economics*, forthcoming.
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- Frey, Bruno S. and Friedrich Schneider, 1986, Competing Models of International Lending Activity, *Journal of Development Economics* 20, 3: 225-245.
- Kaja, Ashwin and Eric Werker, 2008, Institutionalized Insiders: Board membership and loan commitments at the World Bank, mimeo.

3.3. World Bank Conditionality

Dreher, Axel, 2002, The Development and Implementation of IMF and World Bank Conditionality HWWA-Discussion Paper 165.

3.4. Why do governments and the World Bank enter into agreements?

- Dasgupta, Dipak and Dilip Ratha, 2000, What factors appear to drive private capital flows to developing countries? And how does official lending respond? Policy Research Working Paper Series 2392, The World Bank.
- Morrison, Kevin M., 2004, The Determinants of World Bank Flows to Africa, 1977-1998, Presented at 2004 International Studies Association.
- Ratha, Dilip, 2005, Demand for World Bank Lending, Economic Systems 29(4):408-421.
- Schneider, Friedrich; Bruno S. Frey; Henrik Horn and Torsten Persson, 1985, A Formulation and Test of a Simple Model of World Bank Behavior, *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv* 121, 3: 438-447.

3.5. What are the effects of World Bank involvement?

- Abouharb, M. Rodwan and David L. Cingranelli, 2006, The Effects of Structural Adjustment Agreements on Government Respect for Workers' Rights, 1981-2003, mimeo.
- Boockmann, Bernhard and Axel Dreher, 2003, The Contribution of the IMF and the World Bank to Economic Freedom, *European Journal of Political Economy* 19, 3: 633-649.
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- *Easterly, William, 2005, What did structural adjustment adjust? The association of policies and growth with repeated IMF and World Bank adjustment loans, *Journal of Development Economics* 76, 1-22.
- Edwards, Sebastian, 1997, Trade Liberalization Reforms and the World Bank, *American Economic Review* 82(2): 43-48.
- Nielson, Daniel and Tierney, Michael, 2003, Delegation to International Organizations: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform, *International Organization* 57, 2: 241-276.

3.6. Should the World Bank be reformed?

- *Einhorn, Jessica, 2006, Reforming the World Bank, Foreign Affairs, January/February.
- *International Financial Institution Advisory Commission, IFIAC, 2000, Report of the International Financial Institution Advisory Commission. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- *Krueger, Anne O., 1997, Wither the World Bank and the IMF? *Journal of Economic Literature* 36(4): 1983-2020.
- *Meltzer, Allan H., 2006a, Reviving the Bank and the Fund, *The Review of International Organizations* 1, 1: 49-59.
- Stiglitz, Joseph E., 1999, The World Bank at the Millennium, *Economic Journal* 109: 577-597.
- Williamson, John, 1999, What Should the Bank Think About the Washington Consensus? Institute for International Economics, July.

4. United Nations

Relevant questions:

Who controls the UN?
Do the UN's development activities promote development?
Can the UN be reformed?
What is the difference between UNCTAD and WTO?
Is the UNCTAD more than a think tank?
Is the UNCTAD successful? How can success be measured?
Should the UNCTAD be reformed?

Recommended book:

Karen A. Mingst and Margaret P. Karns, 2000, The United Nations in the Post-Cold War Era, 2nd edition, Boulder: Westview Press.

4.1. Vote trading in the UN

- Bennis, Phyllis, 1997, The United Nations and Palestine: partition and its aftermath UN stance on Palestine's displacement by creation of Israel, *Arab Studies Quarterly* 19(3): 47-77.
- *Dreher, Axel; Jan-Egbert Sturm and James Vreeland, 2006, Does membership on the UN Security Council influence IMF decisions? Evidence from panel data, KOF Working Paper 151, ETH Zurich.
- Dreher, Axel; Jan-Egbert Sturm and James Vreeland, 2006, Development Aid and International Politics: Does membership on the UN Security Council influence World Bank decisions? *Journal of Development Economics*, forthcoming.
- Dreher, Axel and Bernhard Boockmann, 2006, How Do Nation States Vote? Human rights and budget resolutions in the UN General Assembly, mimeo.
- *Dreher, Axel, Rainer Thiele and Peter Nunnenkamp, 2008, Does US Aid Buy UN General Assembly Votes? A Disaggregated Analysis, *Public Choice*, forthcoming.
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- Eldar, Ofer, 2004, Vote Trading in International Organizations, New York University School of Law, mimeo.
- *Kuziemko, Ilyana and Eric Werker, 2006, How much is a Seat on the Security Council Worth? Foreign Aid and Bribery at the United Nations, *Journal of Political Economy* 114, 5: 905-930.

4.2. UNCTAD and UNDP: Poor countries without political influence?

Gibbs, Murray and Victor Ognivtsev, 2004, International Trade, in: United Nations, Beyond Conventional Wisdom in Development Policy. An Intellectual History of the UNCTAD 1964-2004, New York/Genf 2004: 3-31.

UNCTAD: UNCTAD History, Structure and Membership, Unctad 2002.

4.3. The impact of the UN on development

Eberstadt, Nicholas, 1997, The impact of the UN's 'Development Activities' on Third World Development, in: Ted G. Carpenter (Ed.), *Delusions of Grandeur: The United Nations and Global Intervention*: 213-225.

5. World Trade Organization

Relevant questions:

Why seemed an international trade agreement to be necessary after 1945?

Is unilateral liberalization not enough? What is reciprocity?

Was the GATT successfull? How can success be measured?

Why was the WTO established?

Has the Uruguay Round and the creation of the WTO been successful?

How are WTO-rules enforced?

One country, one vote?
Erosion of non-discrimination?
"Single Undertaking" or "variable geometry"?
How could the WTO be more efficient?
Should the WTO be more transparent?
How could the WTO be more democratic?

Recommended book:

WTO, 2003, Understanding the WTO, Geneva.

5.1. The Political Economy of the WTO

*Finger, Michael J., 1991, The GATT as an International Discipline over Trade Restrictions: A Public-Choice Analysis, in: Roland Vaubel and Thomas D. Willett (Ed.), *The Political Economy of International Organizations*, Boulder, Westview: 125-141.

Moser, Peter, 1990, The Political Economy of the GATT, Grüsch.

5.2. The Role of Developing Countries in the WTO

- Bown, Chad, 2004, Developing Countries as Plaintiffs and Defendants in GATT/WTO Trade Disputes, *The World Economy* 27(1): 59-80.
- Hoeckman, Bernhard, 2003, Economic Development and the WTO: Back to Basics? *Intere-conomics* 5: 232-234.
- Hoeckman, Bernhard; Constantine Michalopoulos and Alan Winter, 2004, Special and Differential Treatment of Developing Countries in the WTO: Moving Forward after Cancun, *The World Economy* 27(4): 481-506.
- Narlikar, Amrita and Diana Tussie, 2004, The G20 at the Cancun Ministerial: The Developing Countries and their Evolving Coalitions in the WTO, *The World Economy* 27(7): 947-966.
- Srinivasan, T.N., 2001, Developing Countries and the Multilateral Trading System after Doha, Yale Discussion Paper 842.
- Stiglitz, Joseph and Andrew Charlton, 2004, A Development Round of Trade Negotiations? Mimeo.

5.3. Consequences of the WTO

- Antkiewicz, Agata and John Whalley, 2006, BRICSAM and the Non-WTO, *Review of International Organizations* 1(3): 237-262.
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- Rose, Andrew K., 2004, Do We Really Know That the WTO Increases Trade? *American Economic Review* 94(1): 98-114.
- Subramanian, Arvind and Shang-Jin Wei, 2005, The WTO Promotes Trade, Strongly But Unevenly, CEPR Discussion Papers 5122.

5.4. Reforming the WTO

- Glania, Guido, 2004, Various Approaches for Institutional Reforms within the WTO, Außenwirtschaft 59: 7-28.
- Hoekman, Bernard and Michael Kostecki, 1995, The Political Economy of the World Trading System: From GATT to WTO, Oxford 1995, S. 9-46.
- Irwin, Douglas, 1995, The GATT in Historical Perspective, *American Economic Review* 85: 323-328.
- Jackson, John, 1994, Managing the World Trading System: The World Trade Organization and the Post-Uruguay Round GATT Agenda, in: Peter Kenen (Ed.), *Managing the World Economy, Fifty Years after Bretton Woods*, Washington.
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- Pauwelyn, Joost, 2005, The Sutherland Report: A Missed Opportunity for Genuine Debate on Trade, Globalization and Reforming the WTO, School of Law Duke Law School Legal Studies Paper No. 68.
- Sally, Razeen, 2004, The End of the Road for the WTO? A Snapshot of International Trade Policy after Cancún, *World Economics* 5(1): 1-14.
- Schott, Jeffrey, 1994, The Uruguay Round: An Assessment, Institute for International Economics, Washington.

Winters, Alan, 1990, The Road to Uruguay, Economic Journal 100: 1288-1303.

6. European Community/ Union

Relevant questions:

Why did the European Constitution fail? Who has the power in the EU? Does EU conditionality work? Does it work better than those of the IFIs? Is EU aid effective?

6.1. The Political Economy of the EU

- Josling, Tim and H. Wayne Moyer, The Common Agricultural Policy of the European Community: A Public-Choice Interpretation, in Roland Vaubel and Thomas D. Willet (Ed.), A Public Choice Analysis of International Organizations, Boulder, Westview: 286-305.
- *Vaubel, Roland, 1994, The Public Choice Analysis of European Integration: A Survey, *European Journal of Political Economy* 10: 227-249.

6.2. The European Constitution

- Benedetto, Giacomo and Simon Hix, 2007, Explaining the European Parliament's Gains in the EU Constitution, *Review of International Organizations* 2, 2: 115-129.
- Crombez, Christophe, 2007, The Commission: Mediator or Bystander in the Negotiations for a European Constitution? mimeo.
- Hug, Simon and Tobias Schulz, 2007, Referendums in the EU's Constitution Building Process, *Review of International Organizations* 2, 2: 105-113.
- König, Thomas and Daniel Finke, 2007, Reforming the Equilibrium? Veto Players and Policy Change in the European Constitution-building Process, *Review of International Organizations* 2, 2: 153-176.
- Lenz, Hartmut; Han Dorussen and Hugh Ward, 2007, Public Commitment Strategies in Intergovernmental Negotiations on the EU Constitutional Treaty, *Review of International Organizations* 2, 2: 131-152.
- Schmidtchen, Dieter and Robert Cooter (Eds.), 1997, Constitutional Law and Economics of the European Union, Cheltenham, Lyme.
- Tsebelis, George, 2006, Agenda Setting in the EU Constitution: From the Giscard Plan to the Pros Ratification(?) Document, mimeo.
- *Vaubel, Roland, 1997, The Constitutional Reform of the European Union, *European Economic Review* 41: 443-450.

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