

**International Organization**  
**Volume 64, Issue 01, January 2010**

**Title: Emotional Beliefs**

**Author: Jonathan Mercer**

**Abstract:** A belief in alien abduction is an emotional belief, but so is a belief that Iran intends to build nuclear weapons, that one's country is good, that a sales tax is unjust, or that French decision makers are irresolute. Revolutionary research in the brain sciences has overturned conventional views of the relationship between emotion, rationality, and beliefs. Because rationality depends on emotion, and because cognition and emotion are nearly indistinguishable in the brain, one can view emotion as constituting and strengthening beliefs such as trust, nationalism, justice or credibility.

**Title: Toward Internationally Regulated Goods**

**Author: Asif Efrat**

**Abstract:** Contrary to the general trend of trade liberalization, specific goods—such as small arms, drugs, and antiquities—have come under increasing international control in recent decades through a set of international regulatory agreements. This article offers a theoretical framework of government preferences on the international regulation of these goods. Departing from conventional models of trade policy, the theoretical framework introduces negative externalities, rather than protection, as the motivation for restricting trade; it also takes moral concerns into account.

**Title: Proclaiming Trade Policy**  
**Author: Brandon Rottinghaus**

**Abstract:** This article examines presidential proclamations on trade policy, a category of presidential unilateral power that we call delegated unilateral power that is used frequently in creating or modifying trade policy, between the period 1974 and 2006 and tests the boundaries of the explanations predicted by the unilateral powers literature. We also find that the use of proclamations on trade policy is independent of the partisan balance in Congress. The use of proclamations modifying policies was the only tactic that comported with predicted actions from the unilateral presidency.

**Title: The Effect of Local Political Context on How Americans Vote**  
**Author: Joshua J. Dyck**

**Abstract:** Neighbourhood context could condition voting decisions, but systematic investigation of whether (how) the traits of a given locale shape individual voting decisions is sparse. We explore the possibility that local partisan balance affects turnout and the use of convenience voting in particular. Using comprehensive registered-voter lists from four swing states in the 2002 and 2006 elections, we find an intriguing asymmetry: Republican registrants are usually sensitive to partisan context, whereas Democrats are not. Republican election-day turnout rates generally decrease with the proportion of partisan registrants that are Democratic in the area.

**Parliamentary Affairs**

**Volume 63, Number 1, January 2010**

**Title: Parliamentary Constituency Boundary Reviews and Electoral Bias**

**Author: Galina Borisyuk**

**Abstract:** It is frequently canvassed by some politicians and political commentators that the current British electoral system is biased against the Conservative party because of variations in constituency size: seats won by the Conservatives at recent elections have been larger than those won by Labour in terms of their registered electorates, thereby disadvantaging the former. As a consequence, it is argued that equalisation of constituency electorates by the Boundary Commissions would remove that disadvantage.

**Title: A Question of Expertise**

**Author: Hugh Bochel**

**Abstract:** The expertise of its members is often cited as one of the distinctive features of the House of Lords. It is frequently argued that, in particular, because of its composition, and in particular the existence of the Crossbench Peers, debates in the Lords are more informed than in the Commons. Peers, it has been claimed, bring professional experience and expertise to the scrutiny of legislation, and have the time to maintain their expertise, in contrast to the Commons, where MPs, because of the demands of re-election and constituency business, are sometimes seen as being required to know a little about a wide range of subjects.

**The Taxing Problem: Future of the Cash Reserve Ratio  
Abstract**

There is an implicit tax in the application of the cash reserve ratio and when applied on a uniform basis between banks it is also regressive and discriminatory. The imposition of the CRR results in forgone income and it is estimated that a one percentage point increase in the ratio can reduce the multiplier effect on this income by 0.94 percentage points. This would translate in 2009 into forgone income equivalent to about 2.6% of total profits of the commercial banks. The problem is that non-payment of interest on CRR balances has magnified the tax impact of this instrument.

**Title: Inclusive Growth in Neoliberal India  
Author: Nirmal Kumar Chandra**

**Abstract:** The Congress-led United Progressive Alliance's commitment to inclusiveness is a facade that attracts the aam admi, but obscures the ugly reality – India is on track to become another oligarchy like post-Soviet Russia. The super-rich now have an important voice in the formulation of government policies. The government has failed to fulfil the common minimum programme agenda on inclusiveness. Its claim to have raised substantially the aggregate tax-gross domestic product ratio does not stand the test of scrutiny. The credit needs of small borrowers from agriculture and small-scale industry remain unfulfilled.

**Title: The Socratic Narrative: a Democratic Reading of Plato's Dialogues**  
**Author: Arlene W. Saxonhouse**

**Abstract:** Plato wrote dialogues. While there has been attention to the dramatic elements of Plato's dialogues by a number of scholars, there has been much less attention to the narrative style of the dialogues. I argue that we should consider whether the dialogues are recited or presented like dramatic works with each character speaking his own words—or as a mixture of these narrative forms. By employing this interpretive tool to read the Republic, I illustrate how paying attention to the narrative style enables us to see a democratic Socrates who undermines readings of the Republic famously offered by Karl Popper and Leo Strauss. Plato appears then as neither a defender of the "closed society" nor an advocate of the elite rule of the wise over the many.

**Title: Approaching Others: Aristotle on Friendship's Possibility**  
**Author: Bradley Bryan**

**Abstract:** The essay sheds light on Aristotle's understanding of friendship and its relation to political life. The author challenges the usual view that Aristotle postulates three distinct kinds of friendship. Instead the author argues that Aristotle understood there to be only one kind of friendship, and that other "friendships" were to Aristotle "unfinished" and thus not friendship at all. Aristotle shows that the relation between friendship and politics is grounded in friendship's possibility for human beings, and not as something cherished for its actuality. By looking at proper friendship as possibility and not actuality, we could only ever interpret the infamous statement attributed to Aristotle—"my friends, there are no friends"—not as illuminating of what friendship is but rather as a nostalgic diagnosis of the decay of the possibility of friendship, and hence of politics. By extension, and more poignantly, interpreting Aristotle's work on friendship in this light, we stand ready to reinterpret the mobilization of Aristotelian friendship for contemporary understandings of democratic practice.

**Title: Reconstructing Dewey on Power**  
**Author: R.W. Hildreth**

**Abstract:** One of the most enduring criticisms of John Dewey's political thought is that it is unsuspecting of power. This essay responds to this critique by advancing the claim that power is an integral but implicit element of Dewey's conception of human experience. Given Dewey's indirect treatment of power, this essay has two primary tasks. First, it reconstructs and develops an explicit conception of power for Deweyan pragmatism. Second, it evaluates the extent that Dewey's political and social philosophy is able to criticize power relations. Taken together, I aim to provide a more coherent and realistic defense of the political dimensions of Dewey's democratic theory. This defense moves Deweyan pragmatism toward a democratic politics that neither elides conflict nor evades power.

**Title: Violence, Weak Ontology, and Late-Modernity**

**Author: Stephen K. White**

**Abstract:** This essay responds to the characterization Ted Miller offers (in his December 2008 essay in *Political Theory*) of the kind of nonfoundationalism I have referred to as "weak ontology," and that Gianni Vattimo frequently calls "weak thought." Miller argues that such a position embodies, first, a philosophy of history in which strong ontologies (e.g., religion) are assessed categorically as passé, and, second, are associated essentially with violence. I show that while these characterizations may be appropriate for Vattimo's thought, they are not for weak ontology as I understand it. Finally, I suggest that the former might more usefully be categorized as "antifoundationalism" and the latter as "nonfoundationalism."

**Title: Debating American Grand Strategy after Major War**

**Abstract:** After its victory in World War II, it was clear that United States should move beyond the disastrous policies of the 1930s, but it was less clear how. Ultimately, a lasting postwar strategy was forged under President Truman. Appreciating how Truman moved well beyond Roosevelt's guiding assumptions is essential to understanding the evolution of American grand strategy. One sees that wartime planning and grand strategy formulation can prove quite inadequate for dealing with postwar challenges. An administration cannot be locked into assumptions, but must constantly test them. Thus, the Truman administration eventually developed and adopted containment and moved far beyond FDR's approach. More substantively, the fundamental geopolitical lesson of World War II and the early Cold War was that the United States must assume the essential balancing role relative to other major powers.

**Title: Reassessing U.S. Strategy in the Aftermath of the Korean War**

**Abstract:** This article examines the reassessment of U.S. strategy that Dwight D. Eisenhower directed after replacing Harry S. Truman in the White House in January 1953, as he worked to bring the Korean War to an end and then confronted the problems remaining in its aftermath. Despite much of the rhetoric of the early Eisenhower administration, the outcome of that reassessment fit more closely the objective of containment than key strategic formulations of its predecessor. Why was this so? How did the orientation apply to ending the war in Korea and sustaining the U.S. position there and elsewhere after the armistice? What insights, if any, do the process of reassessment and its outcome provide for the present? Answers to these questions serve to emphasize the dynamic and contingent nature of American strategy in the early Cold War and the importance of flexible, engaged leadership in the White House.

**Title: American Grand Strategy from the Cold War's End to 9/11**

**Author: Jeremi Suri**

**Abstract:** Grand strategy is about making sense of complexity; it is the wisdom to make power serve useful purposes. After the end of the Cold War, American policymakers sought to create a new grand strategy for the United States, but they failed in this endeavor. They failed because of difficult domestic and international circumstances. They also failed because of conceptual limitations. This article traces the efforts at strategy formulation in the administrations of George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton, and it analyzes their shortcomings. Bush had process without purpose; Clinton had purpose without process. The article encourages readers to think about how future strategists might improve upon this legacy with clearer and more disciplined attention to priorities, capabilities, and trade-offs. Making grand strategy in a democracy is not easy, but it is necessary. The absence of effective grand strategy in the 1990s contributed to the crises of the early twenty-first century.

**Title: American Grand Strategy after Iraq**

**Author: Sarah Kreps**

**Abstract:** To the extent that a grand strategy can be discerned in the first year of the Obama Administration, its defining features are not a break from the past but continuity. As the President himself has analogized since taking office, crafting grand strategy is like parallel parking. He has only been able to make changes to grand strategy around the margins since a number of existing commitments limit his freedom of action. This article first identifies the structural determinants of grand strategy, pointing to the international distribution of power, American bureaucracy, and public as the key sources of strategic constraint and opportunity. It then shows how shifts in these factors—comparatively less U.S. power, an overstretched military organized around counterinsurgency operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, and an American public weary from an aggressive grand strategy—produced a shift in grand strategy that predated the 2008 election and that remains consistent with the current strategic setting. It is for these reasons that the 2008 “change” election has produced considerable continuity in American grand strategy.

**Title: The ‘Mega-Eights’: Urban Leviathans and International Instability**

**Author: P.H. Liotta, James F. Miskel**

**Abstract:** Grand strategy is about making sense of complexity; it is the wisdom to make power serve useful purposes. After the end of the Cold War, American policymakers sought to create a new grand strategy for the United States, but they failed in this endeavor. They failed because of difficult domestic and international circumstances. They also failed because of conceptual limitations. This article traces the efforts at strategy formulation in the administrations of George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton, and it analyzes their shortcomings. Bush had process without purpose; Clinton had purpose without process. The article encourages readers to think about how future strategists might improve upon this legacy with clearer and more disciplined attention to priorities, capabilities, and trade-offs. Making grand strategy in a democracy is not easy, but it is necessary. The absence of effective grand strategy in the 1990s contributed to the crises of the early twenty-first century.

**Title: COIN Machine: The British Military in Afghanistan**

**Author: Theo Farrell, Stuart Gordon**

**Abstract:** This article assesses the British military effort in Afghanistan looking at three key elements in the campaign: strategy, military operations, and the inter-agency “Comprehensive Approach.” We start by recognising the scale of the challenge that has faced the British: of all the provinces in Afghanistan, Helmand is the toughest to stabilize and secure. We then examine the evolution of all three elements above and find significant improvements in each: a flawed strategy has been corrected; the military have received more resources and become significantly better at COIN; and there is significant progress in the development of the inter-agency approach. In short, what the Americans will find in Helmand is a British COIN machine; a little creaky perhaps, but one that is fit for purpose and getting the job done. We briefly conclude on the prospects and the key to success: namely the development of a more coherent international strategy that accommodates the challenges posed by both Afghanistan and Pakistan.



**Title: China, Nuclear Security and Terrorism: Implications for the United States**

**Author: Steven Grogan**

**Abstract:** This article outlines Chinese strategic nuclear forces and the Chinese philosophical approach to nuclear security. It then focuses on the domestic conditions in China which could precipitate vulnerabilities to its nuclear forces. From information about internal security conditions in China, specific internal threats to Chinese nuclear security will be derived. Based on these threats, several outsider and insider scenarios will be outlined involving a variety of terrorist or terrorist related behaviors. These notional scenarios will include everything from overrun or attack, to diversion, to cyber terrorism, to sabotage. The article will then cover what these scenarios and the possible Chinese reaction to them may mean for the security, military and diplomatic strategies of the United States.

**Title: Life after Oil: Economic Alternatives for the Arab Gulf States**

**Author: J. E. Peterson**

**Abstract:** There have been three economic transformations of the Arab Gulf. Yet the obstacles today remain eerily similar to those of forty years ago. Oil reserves are finite and nonoil resources in the gulf states—minerals, arable land, skilled population, and even capital for some countries—are scarce. Thus the path to economic diversification is especially difficult. While half of the six Gulf Cooperation Council countries enjoy sizable surplus income at present, the other three face immediate requirements for replacing oil income. The various strategies chosen to prepare for a viable economic future differ according to the group, and the task is further complicated by authoritarian regimes and inefficient state planning.

**Title: Defense Reform and the Caucasus: Challenges of Institutional Reform during Unresolved Conflict**

**Author: Geoffrey Wright**

**Abstract:** The attempt of the Georgian government to reform and restructure its military forces in the past ten years demonstrates the difficulty of conducting Western-style defense reform in postconflict states, which have not seen a formal end to armed conflict. Western-style reforms were intended to bring Georgia greater peace, stability, and accountability, with the added benefit of training additional soldiers to support regional peacekeeping operations. Domestic political imperatives within Georgia, however, demanded that the government restore the territorial integrity of the state by "reintegrating" South Ossetia, Abkhazia, and Adjara. In this context, additional organizational and doctrinal interoperability of Georgian forces was desirable, but only to the extent that it enabled Georgian forces to meet these primary domestic political requirements. For Georgia, a country with a weak military tradition and unresolved domestic conflicts causing political controversy at home, military reform was not just an abstract step toward democracy but a potential means to an end of resolving those same conflicts by force or threat of force.

**Title: Has "Greater" Vanished from the Balkan Vocabulary? Fragmentation and Cohesion in Southeastern Europe**

**Author: David Binder**

**Abstract:** Talk of a "greater" this or that Balkan nation-state has subsided in recent years as the region experienced the creation of ever more minirepublics—a total of eight on the territory of former Yugoslavia. This trend toward fragmentation was initiated by petty nationalists and fostered by the United States and European powers that found it convenient and desirable to dominate and exploit a bunch of fiefdoms. The outside powers reinforced the new system of minirepublics by inviting candidacy in their continental economic organization, the European Union, and their now global security organization, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. But is "greater" gone forever from the Balkan vocabulary? It might be prudent not to banish the concept. Think of the phrase of the late Willy Brandt spoken in 1989: "Jetzt wächst zusammen

was zusammen gehört"—"Now grows together what belongs together." Applied to the Balkans in coming decades the ethnic Albanians now living in at least five Balkan states and the ethnic Serbs living in five states, as well, are developing growing kinship with their fellow nationals beyond the current frontiers and local allegiances that currently separate them.

**Title: Cyprus: Economic Consequences of Reunification**

**Author: George C. Georgiou**

**Abstract:** This essay analyzes the economic consequences of the proposed reunification of Cyprus and concludes that, based on the framework presently being negotiated, the much-publicized economic peace dividend will not materialize for the majority of Cypriots. The economic costs and benefits of such an agreement will inevitably be unequally divided, with the Greek-Cypriot majority bearing the brunt of the economic burden with no political or security offset.

**Title: The Gaza War and the Changing Strategic Landscape in the Middle East: An Assessment**

**Author: Gawdat Bahgat**

**Abstract:** On 27 December 2008, Israeli forces attacked Gaza to stop missile attacks by Hamas. The military operation lasted twenty-two days and ended with a fragile cease-fire. This study seeks to provide an assessment of all involved parties' stances. The author argues that some parties gained more than others, but the operation dealt a heavy blow to an already fragile peace process. Indeed, the Gaza war has further reinforced the current and growing polarization between the Palestinians and the Israelis. The continuing disagreement between the Palestinian factions and the election of a right-wing Israeli government suggest that the prospects for peace in the foreseeable future are dim.

**Title: Carrots, Sticks, and Bombs: The End of Libya's WMD Program**

**Author: Randall Newnham**

**Abstract:** The question of how to deal with so-called rogue states, especially those trying to obtain weapons of mass destruction (WMD), is currently of central importance to the world. Advocates of military action, who predominated immediately after 9/11, have lost credibility in recent years. Yet they have claimed one clear success: Libya's decision to renounce WMD in late 2003. The Bush administration believed that this decision was based largely on fears of US military action. This essay, in contrast, argues that other factors were crucial, notably the impact of years of economic sanctions and the lure of economic incentives. Thus the Libyan case, far from supporting a military approach to "rogue states," in fact argues for a patient policy of diplomacy and economic carrots and sticks.

**Title: Africa: The Piracy Hot Spot and Its Implications for Global Security**

**Author: J. Ndumbe Anyu and Samuel Moki**

**Abstract:** The authors contend that the pervasiveness of piracy on the African coasts is threatening global security. Within Somalia, it is causing a disruption of food supplies, fostering internal conflict, and increasing the prices of basic commodities. Globally, it is orchestrating a dramatic rise in maritime insurance premiums and maritime insecurity, disrupting international commerce, increasing the possibility of an environmental disaster, and encouraging a nervous, emerging relationship with terrorism. Piracy must be stopped. To achieve this objective, the authors recommend revamping the international law on piracy, maintaining adequate coastal security along the hot spots on the African coasts, using military force, establishing safe maritime lanes, training crews on security measures, stationing armed guards on ships, and most importantly, reestablishing political stability in Somalia.