

## **Parliamentary Affairs**

**Volume63, Issue3, July 2010**

### **Moats, Duck Houses and Bath Plugs**

**Author- Gillian Peele**

**Abstract:** New developments in information and communications technology (ICT) have the capacity to transform the working lives of politicians and to restructure the relationships between elected representatives and electors in a parliamentary democracy. They also give more meaning to the process by which principals (electors) hold their agents (MPs) to account by enhancing the quality and quantity of information available. The article examines the way in which British MPs in the 2005–2010 Parliament used ICT (specifically their websites) to explain to their constituents the use of allowances during the expenses scandal that surfaced in 2009.

### **Title: Chronicles of a Death Foretold**

**Author- Colin Hay**

**Abstract:** Thirty years on, and in the context of a new crisis, it is time to return to the Winter of Discontent and to the mythology that it has generated. In this paper, I show that the Winter of Discontent was in many respects a manufactured crisis—lived, experienced and responded to through a very particular construction of the events. And I show that such a construction of events is difficult to reconcile with the evidence itself. The Winter of Discontent, I suggest, *did* mark the passing of Keynesianism, corporatism and the post-war consensus.

**Title: China's Roads to Influence**

**Author: Jonathan Holslag**

**Abstract:** This paper argues that although the People's Republic of China is promoting crossborder networks as a new regional common good, it is driven by both the fear of losing influence to other powers and the desire to create an open economic order in pursuit of Chinese interests. As in most forms of communication, it also appears in this case that the strongest player is best positioned to use these channels to its own advantage.

**Title: District Magnitude, Social Diversity, and Indonesia's Parliamentary Party System from 1999 to 2009**

**Author: Jungug Choi**

**Abstract:** This study analyzes the party system in Indonesia's parliamentary elections since 1999. It argues that neither district magnitude nor social diversity accounts for the dramatically increased number of parties in votes at the district level over time; the increase may stem from the introduction of popular presidential elections and the rise of new issues.

**Title: Government Waste in China: Situation, Causes, and Countermeasures**

**Author: Bonai Fan, Ming Zhang, Chen Fang, Jing Wang**

**Abstract:** The administrative expenditure of China has been growing rapidly in the past decades. This paper examines the forms and causes of government waste hidden in the high levels of administrative expenditure. Based on the findings, several specific policy suggestions are made.

**Title: A Deliberative Approach to the Tibet Autonomy Issue: Promoting Mutual Trust through Dialogue**

**Author: Baogang He**

**Abstract:** This paper reviews and compares three deliberative approaches to conflict, and applies the deliberative approach to the Tibet issue. It examines the case of a deliberative workshop, its achievements and limits. Deliberative dialogue appears to have improved knowledge and mutual understanding, enhanced mutual trust and deliberative capacities, and produced moderating effects

**Title: China's Rise in Antarctica?**

**Author: Anne-Marie Brady**

**Abstract:** China has begun a new phase in its Antarctic engagement. Beijing has dramatically increased Chinese scientific activities on the frozen continent and is looking to take on more of a leadership role there. This paper draws connections between China's expanded Antarctic program and debates on its foreign and domestic policies.

**Title: Is Hong Kong Democratizing?**

**Author: Dexter S. Boniface, Ilan Alon**

**Abstract:** We argue that the transition to Chinese authority has not undermined democratic governance in Hong Kong and that voice and accountability have improved since the handover. We seek to explain this surprising result and conclude with a discussion of the implications of our findings for China, Taiwan, and cross-strait relations.

**Title: Non-Traditional Security in China-ASEAN Cooperation: The Institutionalization of Regional Security Cooperation and the Evolution of East Asian Regionalism**

**Author: David Arase**

**Abstract:** The institutionalization of China-ASEAN non-traditional security cooperation is underappreciated, even though its significance should be apparent to Western analysts. Appreciating China-ASEAN non-traditional security cooperation leads to the realization that it has strategic significance, and that the broader China-ASEAN multilateral process is the most institutionally developed expression of East Asian regionalism today.

**Title: Thailand on the Brink: Resurgent Military, Eroded Democracy**  
**Author: Paul Chambers**

**Abstract:** Thailand's current partisan turmoil is paralleling growing authoritarianism and democratic decay. This article examines contemporary Thai civil-military relations, the state of armed forces unity, and potential outcomes. It argues that amid heightened political uncertainty and diminished democracy, the only surety today is an enhanced role for Thailand's armed forces.

**Title: The New Religious Policy in China: Catching up with Systemic Reforms**  
**Author: James W. Tong**

**Abstract:** China's new religious policy expands the institutional autonomy of religious organizations, limits the power of religious affairs bureaus, and provides for administrative appeal, judicial challenge, and sanctioning errant officials. As such, it is an effort of the Chinese government to integrate religious policy with its systemic socioeconomic and political reforms.

**Title: Factors behind the Historic Defeat of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party in 2009**  
**Author: Ko Maeda**

**Abstract:** This study seeks to identify the factors that caused the historic defeat of Japan's longdominant party in the 2009 election. Employing district-level data, I show that a large national swing occurred that overrode district-specific characteristics, and that the electoral coordination of opposition parties helped bring about victory.

**Title: Nail-Houses, Land Rights, and Frames of Injustice on China's Protest Landscape**  
**Author: Steve Hess**

**Abstract:** This article highlights the way in which Chinese protestors resisting home eviction and demolition have begun to develop innovative, media-savvy tactics for winning public sympathy for their causes and framing their plights as unjust, and considers the political implications of this trend.

**Title: Was 2005 a Critical Election in Taiwan?: Locating the Start of a New Political Era**  
**Author: Dafydd Fell**

**Abstract:** This study applies the concept of critical elections to Taiwan's recent political history. Instead of 2008, it is argued that 2005 deserves the title of a critical election. Political developments in 2005 laid the foundations for the Kuomintang's return to political dominance

**Title: The Rise and Fall of Anti-American Sentiment in South Korea: Deconstructing Hegemonic Ideas and Threat Perception**  
**Author: Heon Joo Jung**

**Author:** This article examines anti-American sentiment in South Korea by taking a closer look at the ways in which hegemonic ideas of anti-North Korea and pro-U.S. have been deconstructed. It argues that the extent to which South Koreans perceive a North Korean threat exerts a significant influence on anti-American sentiment in South Korea.

**Title: The Politics of Budgeting in Japan: How Much Do Institutions Matter?**  
**Author: Gene Park**

**Abstract:** In the past decade, the Japanese government has revamped its budget institutions twice. This paper examines how these changes have changed the configuration of power among the actors in the budget process. It also explores the implications of these changes for the management of the nation's finances.

**Title: Economic Voting in Taiwan: The Significance of Education and Lifetime Economic Experiences**  
**Author: Eunjung Choi**

**Abstract:** An analysis of the 1996 and 2004 Taiwan presidential elections demonstrates that the voters' overall economic experiences under the dominant Kuomintang and level of education mediated the effect of short-term economic conditions on individual vote choice before and after the first power transition.

**Millennium - Journal of International Studies**  
**August 2010; 39 (1)**

**Title: Emotions Before Paradigms**

**Author-Wesley W. Widmaier**

**Abstract:** Emotional forces shape not only market tendencies to ‘manias, panics and crashes’, but also policy debates as they predispose agents to definitions of state and societal interests. Nevertheless, IR scholars often downplay emotional influences, casting them as secondary to coalitional or cognitive forces. In this article, I address these limitations by disaggregating intersubjective understandings into popularly resonant traditions of thought and elite-based paradigmatic frameworks.

**Title: America in Space**

**Author- Barry Buzan**

**Abstract:** Popular culture can be used as a mirror to reflect on how societies think about themselves. Here *Star Trek* and the recent version of *Battlestar Galactica* are used to reflect on how America views its own destiny, its relationship to technology and its place in the universe. Space and ‘final frontiers’ are particularly resonant in American culture, and these two television series provide numerous benchmarks by which to contrast the optimistic and outgoing America of the 1960s with the darker and more paranoid America of post-9/11.

**Journal of Palestine Studies**  
**Spring 2010, Vol. 39, No. 3,**

**Title: "The Most Moral Army in the World": The New "Ethical Code" of the Israeli Military and The War on Gaza**

**Author: Muhammad Ali Khalidi**

**Abstract:** This article examines the content of and justification for a new "ethical code" designed for the Israeli army to take into account the "fight against terror." It argues that the code contains two innovations: it includes acts aimed exclusively at military targets in its definition of "terrorism," and it contains a principle of distinction that prioritizes the lives of citizen combatants over those of noncitizen noncombatants, contrary to centuries of theorizing about the morality of war as well as international humanitarian law. The article suggests that the principle of distinction played a direct role in Israel's offensive in Gaza in winter 2008–2009, as demonstrated by a preponderance of testimony indicating that Israeli military commanders explicitly instructed soldiers to give priority to their own lives over those of Palestinian noncombatants.

**Title: The Polarization of the Palestinian Political Field**

**Author: Jamil Hilal**

**Abstract:** Arguing that the polarization of the Palestinian political field did not start with Hamas's takeover of the Gaza Strip in 2007, the author analyzes the factors that have eroded the cohesiveness and vitality of the Palestinian polity, namely, the paralysis of Palestinian political institutions, territorial and social fragmentation, and egregious outside interference. In this context, and in the absence of an internal Palestinian debate about the objectives of holding elections under occupation, the author shows that the timing and circumstances of the 2006 legislative elections were bound to precipitate the current state of disarray. Finally, he considers the way forward, highlighting the potential of public pressure in promoting national reconciliation.

**Title: The Palestinian Economy and Future Prospects: Interview With Mohammad Mustafa, Head of the Palestine Investment Fund**

**Abstract:** Dr. Mohammad Mustafa is chairman and CEO of the Palestine Investment Fund (PIF) and an economic adviser to Palestinian Authority President Mahmud Abbas. PIF, the leading investor in Palestine, is a publicly limited company fully owned by the people of Palestine. It was established in 2003 with the transfer of assets managed by the Palestinian Authority. Financially and administratively autonomous, it is governed by an independent board of directors and a general assembly representing civil society, nongovernmental organizations, academia, and the public and private sectors. In pursuit of its mandate—which is to strengthen the local economy through investments that foster sustainable economic development while maintaining and increasing existing national reserves—PIF owns direct majority and minority stakes in companies and follows a business model based on public-private partnerships. Currently, PIF has approximately \$800 million in assets under management and is leading a \$4 billion investment program aimed at stimulating

economic growth and creating over 100,000 new job opportunities within the next five years.

**Title: Remembering Hasib Sabbagh (1920–2010)**

**Author: Walid Khalidi**

**Abstract:** Hasib Sabbagh, who died on 12 January 2010 after a long illness, was arguably the preeminent Palestinian entrepreneur in the business and contracting fields in the post-1948 period. Born to an old and distinguished Greek Catholic family of Safad in Eastern Galilee, Sabbagh established the Consolidated Contractors Company (CCC) in 1945 in Haifa with several partners after graduating in engineering from the American University of Beirut. Under his dynamic leadership and with the cooperation of his life-long partner, Said Khoury, the CCC (which Sabbagh reconstituted in Lebanon after the fall of Palestine) evolved from a modest local enterprise into the giant global multinational corporation that it is today. Using the CCC as his base, he began as of the early 1970s to devote his great energy to the service of Palestine, not only through his philanthropic ventures promoting social and educational causes, but also through his behind-the-scenes political mediation and reconciliation efforts. The following reminiscences trace the unusual partnership and friendship between the author, whose orientation was largely academic, and Sabbagh, whose approach reflected his big-business milieu. The two met in 1972 around the time when Sabbagh was embarking on his public service phase. They became fast friends and remained so until Sabbagh's death, joined by their common dedication to Palestine. The memoir includes Sabbagh's own account of his departure from Palestine in 1948 and sheds light on some relatively little known activities of the Palestinian business and academic elite in the post-1967 period.

**Title: Trip Notes on a Return to Israel and The West Bank: Reflections on U.S. Peacemaking, the Security Mission, and What Should be Done**

**Author: Philip J. Dermer**

**Abstract:** The following document, previously unpublished, was written in March 2010 by a recently retired ( June 2009) U.S. Army colonel with thirty years experience in the Middle East, including tours of duty and advisory roles (in both military/security and civilian domains) from North Africa to the Persian Gulf. The subject of the informal report is the author's first two trips as a "civilian" to Israel and the West Bank, where he had served two tours of duty, most recently as U.S. military attaché in Tel Aviv during Israel's 2005 unilateral disengagement from Gaza and the formation of the U.S. Security Coordinator's (USSC) mission to reform Palestinian Authority (PA) security forces.

**Title: Agricultural Sector Performance and a Green Revolution in Africa**  
**Author-Olu Ajakaiye**

**Abstract:** It is broadly recognised that vigorous agricultural growth is essential for African development, both in support of aggregate economic growth and a structural transformation of the economy towards industrialisation, and of poverty reduction and improved food security. For the first, this is because agriculture is a large sector, with important multiplier effects on other sectors of the economy, competitive advantage given the current state of institutional development, and is necessary to support internationally competitive labour costs for the rest of the economy due to incomplete tradability of food. For the second, this is because a vast majority of the poor are rural people who depend on agriculture for their livelihoods, and access to food importantly depends on local production.

**Title: Implications of Climate Change for Agricultural Sector Performance in Africa**  
**Author- Rashid M. Hassan**

**Abstract:** The paper analysed how climate change (CC) has shaped African agriculture in the past and how it might impact on African farm economies in the future and what adaptation strategies African farmers have adopted to cope with these changes. The analyses covered all key farming systems and agro-climates of Africa in 11 countries in which data were collected from over 10,000 farm household surveys. Results provided evidence that African agriculture and the welfare of its rural population are vulnerable to CC. The highest risk of future CC damages is associated with specialised crop and livestock farming (mono systems) particularly under dryland conditions in arid and semi-arid regions. This indicates how difficult it is to achieve an African green revolution under the current high reliance on dryland systems (more than 95% of the land) given predicted harsh future climates (warmer and dryer projections) for most of the dryland areas in Africa.

**Title: "The Most Moral Army in the World": The New "Ethical Code" of the Israeli Military and The War on Gaza**

**Author: Muhammad Ali Khalidi**

**Abstract:** This article examines the content of and justification for a new "ethical code" designed for the Israeli army to take into account the "fight against terror." It argues that the code contains two innovations: it includes acts aimed exclusively at military targets in its definition of "terrorism," and it contains a principle of distinction that prioritizes the lives of citizen combatants over those of noncitizen noncombatants, contrary to centuries of theorizing about the morality of war as well as international humanitarian law. The article suggests that the principle of distinction played a direct role in Israel's offensive in Gaza in winter 2008–2009, as demonstrated by a preponderance of testimony indicating that Israeli military commanders explicitly instructed soldiers to give priority to their own lives over those of Palestinian noncombatants.

**Title: The Polarization of the Palestinian Political Field**

**Author: Jamil Hilal**

**Abstract:** Arguing that the polarization of the Palestinian political field did not start with Hamas's takeover of the Gaza Strip in 2007, the author analyzes the factors that have eroded the cohesiveness and vitality of the Palestinian polity, namely, the paralysis of Palestinian political institutions, territorial and social fragmentation, and egregious outside interference. In this context, and in the absence of an internal Palestinian debate about the objectives of holding elections under occupation, the author shows that the timing and circumstances of the 2006 legislative elections were bound to precipitate the current state of disarray. Finally, he considers the way forward, highlighting the potential of public pressure in promoting national reconciliation.

**Title: The Palestinian Economy and Future Prospects: Interview With Mohammad Mustafa, Head of the Palestine Investment Fund**

**Abstract:** Dr. Mohammad Mustafa is chairman and CEO of the Palestine Investment Fund (PIF) and an economic adviser to Palestinian Authority President Mahmud Abbas. PIF, the leading investor in Palestine, is a publicly limited company fully owned by the people of Palestine. It was established in 2003 with the transfer of assets managed by the Palestinian Authority. Financially and administratively autonomous, it is governed by an independent board of directors and a general assembly representing civil society, nongovernmental organizations, academia, and the public and private sectors.

**Title: Remembering Hasib Sabbagh (1920–2010)**

**Author: Walid Khalidi**

**Abstract:** Hasib Sabbagh, who died on 12 January 2010 after a long illness, was arguably the preeminent Palestinian entrepreneur in the business and contracting fields in the post-1948 period. Born to an old and distinguished Greek Catholic family of Safad in Eastern Galilee, Sabbagh established the Consolidated Contractors Company (CCC) in 1945 in Haifa with several partners after graduating in engineering from the American University of Beirut. Under his dynamic leadership and with the cooperation of his life-long partner, Said Khoury, the CCC (which Sabbagh reconstituted in Lebanon after the fall of Palestine) evolved from a modest local enterprise into the giant global multinational corporation that it is today. Using the CCC as his base, he began as of the early 1970s to devote his great energy to the service of Palestine, not only through his philanthropic ventures promoting social and educational causes, but also through his behind-the-scenes political mediation and reconciliation efforts. The following reminiscences trace the unusual partnership and friendship between the author, whose orientation was largely academic, and Sabbagh, whose approach reflected his big-business milieu. The two met in 1972 around the time when Sabbagh was embarking on his public service phase.

**Title: Trip Notes on a Return to Israel and The West Bank: Reflections on U.S. Peacemaking, the Security Mission, and What Should be Done**

**Author: Philip J. Dermer**

**Abstract:** The following document, previously unpublished, was written in March 2010 by a recently retired ( June 2009) U.S. Army colonel with thirty years experience in the Middle East, including tours of duty and advisory roles (in both military/security and civilian domains) from North Africa to the Persian Gulf. The subject of the informal report is the author's first two trips as a "civilian" to Israel and the West Bank, where he had served two tours of duty, most recently as U.S. military attaché in Tel Aviv during Israel's 2005 unilateral disengagement from Gaza and the formation of the U.S. Security Coordinator's (USSC) mission to reform Palestinian Authority (PA) security forces.