

American Foreign Policy Interests

Volume 32 Issue 2, 2010

Title: The United States, Iran, and the Greater Middle East

Author: Thomas R. Pickering

Abstract: This article presents the speech delivered by Ambassador Pickering at the annual dinner of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy on January 26, 2010. His analysis reflects a diplomat's point of view.

Title: Iran's Threat to the Strait of Hormuz: A Realist Assessment

Author: J. Peter Pham

Abstract: The Strait of Hormuz is arguably the most strategically significant transit chokepoint in the world with about one-fifth of global oil consumption passing through each day. Yet there are concerns fanned by provocative Iranian statements and actions that the narrow waterway may be blocked by Tehran either in order to increase its leverage in negotiations over the regime's nuclear ambitions or in retaliation for any military action against its nuclear facilities. The spike in petroleum prices resulting from such an occurrence could wreak havoc with economies around the world. However, a close examination of Iranian capabilities leads to the conclusion that although the threat should not be dismissed, it is not cause for alarm. This judgment is confirmed when consideration is given to the consequences that Iran might face should it actually provoke a crisis by attempting to block traffic through the strait.

Title: Dealing with Al Qaeda

Author: Fariborz Mokhtari

Abstract: When in college, a classmate of mine developed a severe rash. The school infirmary diagnosed a simple case of common roseola, a mild virus infection easily treatable. The classmate was to be released from the infirmary in a week, but the rash persisted into the second week. The physician in charge reconsidered his earlier conviction, calling for a battery of tests. It became clear by the third week that the patient had indeed been infected by the roseola virus and that the virus had been eliminated in the first week of treatment but that the medication had caused an allergic reaction. The cure had become the disease! Much of our dealings with Al Qaeda, with its confusion, doubts, and self-inflicted allergic reactions, resembles this episode.

Title: Central Asia in the Foreign Policy Strategy of Barack Obama's Administration: Results and Prospects

Author: Marat Shaikhutdinov

Abstract: This article deals with the Kazakh perception of the first year of Barack Obama's policy toward Central Asia. The author acknowledges the “difficult foreign policy legacy” inherited by the new administration, doubting whether the United States is ready for a “systematic and consistent” policy toward the area. He reviews American relations with all of the “stans” of Central Asia as well as the conflicting energy interests of powers involved in the Caspian Sea Basin. The author sees “incompleteness and imperfection” in U.S. policies in the tendency to react rather than to initiate and reproaches the new administration for not listening to voices from the region or even to U.S. experts

Title: The Geopolitics of the Caspian Sea Basin

Author: Michael Rywkin

Abstract: This article deals with the geopolitical situation in and around the Caspian Sea Basin. It concentrates on Putin's policies toward the region, with an emphasis on post-August 2008 (Russian-Georgian war) developments and brings to the readers' attention the historical background leading to the present state of affairs. It deals with Chinese inroads and analyzes U.S. interests and policies toward the region, underlining their weaknesses

6. Energy Security Issues in the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Author: Kuralai I. Baizakova

Abstract: This article deals with energy security issues, the legal status of the Caspian Sea, and the pipeline policies of the great powers and local states and Turkey's policies as well. In a nutshell, the author sees China as interested mainly in economic goals, Russia as preoccupied with maintaining stability, and the United States as committed to promoting democracy. Kazakhstan's role is seen as a link between Europe and Asia (up to the Pacific), maintaining a “global partnership” with all of the main players

Title: Afghanistan and Pakistan: Mr. Obama's War

Author: Frank G. Wisner

Abstract: Mr. Schwab, ladies and gentlemen, and old friends. I am pleased to be with you this evening. I am especially honored to share this occasion with former Ambassador to Pakistan Nicholas Platt. He could give my remarks with greater grace, facility, and wisdom than I can. I also want to acknowledge the role that the National Committee plays in facilitating discussion and study of important issues of American foreign policy. You have been kind enough to invite me to speak in the past. I have profited from my talks with you about United States diplomacy in the Balkans and the Kosovo settlement. We meet this evening at a time of extraordinary importance to the United States and our eight-year engagement in Afghanistan. President Obama is being called on to decide the next steps in America's involvement in the Afghan conflict and in our relationship with Pakistan. The president tells us he is taking the time he needs to consider our strategy.

Title: Afghanistan

Author: Amir Taheri

Abstract: With casualties mounting among U.S. and allied forces and a dramatic increase in attacks by the Taliban, the president has been under mounting pressure to define a new strategy for a war now in its eighth year. The debate over strategy started with at least three different approaches. The first, reportedly espoused by Vice President Joseph Biden, urges a reduction in the American military footprint in Afghanistan, combined with an increase in targeted attacks against suspected Al Qaeda bases in neighboring Pakistan. The second, believed to be supported by Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, advocates continued military commitment to ensuring security and stability in Afghanistan at about the present troop levels. The third approach is that of General Stanley McChrystal, named by President Obama to command U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan. McChrystal has been seeking a massive increase in the number of U.S. and allied troops in Afghanistan with the aim of implementing a "seize-and-hold" counterinsurgency strategy. The debate is far from over, for an increasing number of Americans are beginning to ask: Why are we there at all?

Asian Affairs,

Volume 41 Issue 1 2010

Title: The Pathan And His Land: Centre Of The World's Attention

Author: Humayun Khan - Humayun Khan was formerly the permanent Secretary of the Pakistani Foreign Ministry and Director-General of the Commonwealth Foundation.

Abstract: The culture of the Pathans, or Pushtuns is complicated, sometimes contradictory, and rooted in a traditional code. They inhabit a harsh land and have posed an administrative challenge for decades, hence the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). But after independence, the situation was relatively peaceful for thirty years until the Russian invasion of Afghanistan changed everything. The freedom fighters defeated the Russians, but brought with them the culture of religious extremism and violence which cause such problems today. Furthermore, many foreign fighters settled in the area, a ready pool of manpower for the current war. For a while US support for the war against terror strengthened the position of General Musharraf. But not for ever and the increasing threat to the state posed by the Pakistani Taliban has resulted in the new civilian government backing major offensives by the Pakistani military in the tribal areas.

Title: What Has Gone Right In Indonesia Over The Last Five Years?

Author: Charles Humfrey - Charles Humfrey served in the British Diplomatic Service in Tokyo (three times), New York and Ankara, before becoming ambassador in Seoul (2001-2004) and then Jakarta (2004-2008).

Abstract: The article considers Indonesia's democratic advance over the last five years, effectively the first term in office of President Yudhoyono. Focussing on the three threats which seemed most acute in 2004 - Fragmentation, Macroeconomic Instability and Terrorism, the author suggests that the handling of the post-tsunami situation in Aceh was a turning point which will need to be consolidated by decentralisation; that prudence by technocrats and responsibility by the political leadership ensured economic success; and that the terrorist threat was overcome, partly by a political recognition that a real threat existed which had to be faced, and partly by good police work

Title: How Japan's Post-War Relationship With Burma Was Shaped By Aid

Author: Patrick Strefford

Abstract: A relatively small group of Japanese war veterans has played a major part in creating a favourable image of Burma in Japan. In the early 1950s both Japan and Burma needed a swift agreement on reparations, the Japanese because the export markets and natural resources of South East Asia offered a real opportunity to rebuild the Japanese economy, Burma because economic policy was already faltering and financial aid was needed. The Reparations Agreement between Japan and Burma became the model for ODA agreements with other South East Asian nations and the Japanese committed large sums to Burma, yet the Japanese mercantilist approach was never compatible with the Burmese road to Socialism. Since the imprisonment of Aung San Suu Kyi, some in Japan have promoted a policy of solidarity towards Burma, while others, including the new Prime Minister, Hatoyama have advocated an approach based on concern for human rights

The Society's 2009 Tour Of Sarawak And Sabah, 26 September-14 October 2009

Author: Bill Norton

Abstract: An account of the Society's 2009 Tour to Sarawak and Sabah, focussing on biodiversity and the role of tropical forests in combating climate change. Mulu's famous Deer Cave was tone highlight of the visit to Sarawak. In Sabah, the party visited the Mount Kinabalu National Park and the Sepilok Orang-utan Rehabilitation Centre, as well as the Dunum valley. The deforestation of Borneo is of serious concern and the party were much encouraged by the prospects for the "Heart of Borneo" project

Why Has Democracy Been Less Successful In Pakistan Than In India?

Author: Kunal Mukherjee

Abstract: Why does the post-Independence history of democracy in Pakistan contrast so sharply with that of India? The article suggests that there were historical factors to do with the vision of Pakistan as a Muslim state, differential inheritances at partition, with India inheriting the colonial state's unitary centre, the challenge of managing a diverse population separated by thousands of miles etc. In addition, the security problems with India amplified the role of the army and weakened the civilian politicians, many of whom were hardly democrats to start with. There were other external factors, principally US policy which saw Pakistan in a global geo-political context.

Australian Journal of International Affairs,

Volume 64 Issue 2 2010

Title: Burma and North Korea: conventional allies or nuclear partners?

Author: Andrew Selth - Andrew Selth is an Australian Research Council Research Fellow at the Griffith Asia Institute, Griffith University

Abstract: During the third quarter of 2009, there was a spate of reports in the news media and on the Internet accusing Burma and North Korea of engaging in a range of activities that potentially threatened regional security. It was claimed that the Naypyidaw regime had developed a close relationship with Pyongyang that included North Korea's sale to Burma of conventional weapons, assistance in the development of Burma's defence infrastructure and arms industries, and even collaboration on a nuclear weapons program. Given the lack of hard evidence, however, these reports raised more questions than they answered. Burma's nuclear status remains unknown. Another puzzle is why no government or international organisation has yet made an official statement on this particular issue, despite all the publicity it has attracted. Should it be determined that Burma does indeed have a secret nuclear weapons program, then a key question would be whether the generals are likely to be any more receptive to international concerns than they have been in the past, on other issues

Title: Global and regional orders and the changing geopolitics of energy

Author: Stuart Harris -

Abstract: Attention by international relations scholars to the transformation underway stemming from the rise of China has not been matched by that given to the transformation underway in the international energy system. This article looks at three dimensions of that transformation: the end of cheap oil and the rising trend of energy prices; the changing role of the traditional international oil companies and the rise of national oil companies; and the growing energy importance of the Middle East and Russia. It looks at how these changes have already affected or are likely to affect three strategic relationships: US-Middle East; US-China; and Europe-Russia-US. It concludes that more attention needs to be given by scholars to what will be major changes in global geopolitical relationships with considerable consequences for the foreign policies of the major powers

Title: How was Howard's war possible? Winning the war of position over Iraq

Authors: Matt McDonald

Abstract: While a range of accounts have engaged with the important question of why Australia participated in military intervention in Iraq, few analyses have addressed the crucial question of how this participation was possible. Employing critical constructivist insights regarding security as a site of contestation and negotiation, this article focuses on the ways in which the Howard Government was able to legitimise Australian involvement in war in Iraq without a significant loss of political legitimacy. We argue that Howard was able to 'win' the 'war of position' over Iraq through persuasively linking intervention to resonant Australian values, and through marginalising alternatives to war and the actors articulating them

Title: Human security in Australia: public interest and political consequences

Authors: Juliet Pietsch

Abstract: The new human security paradigm has reconceptualised security beyond traditional physical threats to encompass 'lifestyle' concerns, such as health and environmental security. This article uses national survey data collected in Australia in 2007 to examine how public opinion views this new paradigm and to evaluate its political consequences. The results show that the public makes a clear distinction between all four types of human security—health, the environment, national security and the economy. Longitudinal analysis shows that health and the environment have gained greater prominence with the public since 1990. Each dimension of human security has only limited roots in the social structure. However, each has important consequences for the ideological orientation of the public, and for party support. The authors conclude that as 'lifestyle' concerns become more prominent for the public, parties of the right will have to adapt to the new paradigm in order to ensure that they are not electorally disadvantaged

Commonwealth & Comparative Politics,

Volume 48 Issue 2 2010

Title: What's in a name? India's tryst with secularism

Author: Ian Copland

Abstract: It has always been the claim of India's politicians that their country is a 'secular' state. However, although the Preamble to the Constitution of 1950 proclaims India to be 'democratic', it makes no mention of secularism. Fobbed off at the time as of no consequence, this omission was quite deliberate and reflected an awareness on the part of the designers of the constitution, notably Nehru and Ambedkar, that its provisions under 'freedom of religion' did not amount to what they understood to be 'real' secularism, namely the kind of polity famously embodied in the 1791 First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Title: Temple and dam, fez and hat: the secular roots of religious politics in India and Turkey

Author: Srirupa Roy

Abstract: This essay offers a comparative examination of the historical processes through which secularism was adopted and consolidated in India and Turkey. It examines the historical choice and the ideological practices that worked to establish secularism as an essential component of national identity in each country at their time of founding (Turkey in 1923 and India in 1947) and shows how this reinforced rather than defused the political salience of religion in both cases. The rise of religious political movements in later years is related to the presence and persistence of these pre-existing, secular repertoires. As the article argues, in India and Turkey, the ascendancy of religious politics is built on secular foundations

Multiparty elections and land patronage: Zimbabwe and Côte d'Ivoire

Authors: Catherine Boone Norma Kriger

Abstract: This paper aims at some general understanding of the phenomenon of politicians using land rights as a patronage resource in attempts to mobilise electoral support. Using Zimbabwe and Côte d'Ivoire as case studies, it argues that the increasing visibility of land as a patronage resource in African multiparty elections may be at least partly explained by the convergence of three specific constraints and incentives confronting politicians. First, weak legal restraints on rulers' ability to allocate land rights create opportunities for politicians to use land as a patronage resource. Second, competitive multiparty elections mean that politicians must work to mobilise constituency support in order to win. Third, the dwindling fiscal capacity of the state can heighten the attractiveness of land as a patronage resource. Land can be offered as a patronage resource even when state coffers run low

Democratic consolidation in Ghana: the role and contribution of the media, civil society and state institutions

Author: Peter Arthur ^a

Abstract: Following a democratic transition in 1992, Ghana has made significant efforts to promote a liberal democratic culture and system of government. This paper provides an analysis of the extent to which Ghana's liberal democratic process is being consolidated, focusing on the role and contribution of the media, civil society and state political institutions to this process. It is argued that the country has made significant strides towards its goal of consolidating a democratic process and culture. This is evident in the five successive elections that it has held since 1992, in improvements in human and political rights, in the independence of various institutions of government such as the Electoral Commission and in the significant role played by the media and civil society organisations. Nonetheless, there are a number of constraints and challenges that need to be addressed in order to sustain the gains that the country has chalked up in the democratic consolidation process

Title: From quasi-revolutionaries to capitalist entrepreneurs: how the P/NDC changed the face of Ghanaian entrepreneurship

Author: Darko Kwabena Opoku

Abstract: Flt. Lt. J.J. Rawlings and his fellow 'revolutionaries' waged a sustained campaign against established Ghanaian entrepreneurs, insisting that they were corrupt. This narrative is misleading. The prime motive of these self-styled revolutionaries was to de-capitalise political opponents - a goal that they largely accomplished through control and manipulation of the state apparatus. During the 1990s, the same people who had launched a quasi-revolutionary campaign against Ghanaian capitalists became the most successful businesspeople in Ghana. This paper sheds light on a profound, yet ultimately transitory, revolution in Ghana that has largely escaped detailed scholarly examination

Contemporary Security Policy

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The Fourth Wave in Deterrence Research

Author: Jeffrey W. Knopf

Abstract: Following the end of the Cold War and accelerating after 9/11, a new wave of research on deterrence has emerged. Building on an earlier characterization by Robert Jervis, this work is here designated the fourth wave. The fourth wave reflects efforts to grapple with the change from a relatively symmetrical situation of mutual deterrence that characterized the Cold War to the asymmetric threats that dominate the current security environment for the United States and many other states. Despite widespread doubts that have been expressed in public about whether the most threatening actors today are deterrable, the fourth wave is nearly unanimous in finding that deterrence remains relevant, even with respect to terrorism. Beyond this basic consensus, the fourth wave also includes vigorous debates, particularly regarding alternative strategies for dealing with WMD-seeking rogue states. Because few analysts expect deterrence to be foolproof, especially in dealing with non-state actors, much of the work has focused on finding ways to improve the prospects for deterrence at the margins. Overall, the most important result of the fourth wave has been to reveal the value of moving toward a broader concept of deterrence that incorporates non-nuclear and even non-military sources of leverage. Proposals to use information and discourse as bases for deterrence are especially innovative and worthy of further research

Title: Counter-insurgency in the Grey: The Ethical Challenge for Military Conduct

Authors: Jonathan Dowdall M. L. R. Smith

Abstract: This study examines contemporary counter-insurgency (COIN) warfare in terms of military ethics. The intention is to reflect upon the changing face of COIN conduct in the light of serious ethical challenges resulting from modern trends affecting combatant status, and the deployment of military force in a multipurpose framework. It shall engage with what many commentators have termed the 'grey area' of the Just War tradition: the ambiguous and challenging interim zone that lies in between the more clearly defined forms of COIN conduct. The resultant analysis shall suggest the need for a more nuanced form of ethical conduct, orientated around restraint, more flexible discriminatory principles and a proportionality framework closer to domestic policing than formal warfare. In particular, this analysis suggests that by hybridizing the military imperative with the policing model of the continuum of force a more effective, less vague and more ethically coherent construct can be produced. By embracing these concepts, military practitioners may overcome ambiguous and unhelpful moral guidance and tailor their conduct more closely to the challenges of the contemporary COIN environment. Such actions will assure they act as justly as possible in the face of 'grey area' ethics

Nothing to Report: The Lost Promise of the UN Register of Conventional Arms

Author: Paul Holtom

Abstract: This essay examines recent developments in UN Register of Conventional Arms and their implications for the norm of transparency in international arms transfers. It focuses in particular upon data made available in national reports to the Register for years 2005-2008 and the outcome of the 2009 meetings of the UN Group of Governmental Experts (GGE) on the 'continuing operation of the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms and its further development'. The paper notes that the norm of transparency in international arms transfers is not under serious threat despite the decline in reporting to the Register. It also suggests that despite some positive developments in 2003 and 2006 with regard to the prospects of expanding the Register's scope, and in the process increasing its relevance, the 2009 GGE was unable to recommend the creation of a new category in the Register for reporting international transfers of small arms and light weapons

State Collapse and Islamist Extremism: Re-evaluating the Link

Authors: Zachary Devlin-Foltz Binnur Ozkececi-Taner

Abstract: When states collapse, so do the most obvious obstacles to violent extremism in their territory. Extremists seem free to recruit and operate from these areas without interference from state security forces. In reality, however, state collapse creates as many constraints as opportunities for extremists. This paper problematizes the commonly held view that there is a strong link between state collapse and the rise of extremism, in particular Al Qaeda-linked extremism, that creates security threats worldwide. By comparing the *Union of Islamic Courts* (UIC) in Somalia and *Al Qaeda in Iraq* in Iraq, the paper discusses the implications of state collapse for Islamist extremism. Our empirical analysis suggests that although there is a correlation between state collapse and an increase in Islamists' appeal and influence, state collapse does not necessarily *generate* more violent ideologies. Rather, state collapse *allows* those committed to violence under all circumstances to ally more moderate elements. If the population comes to see the Islamists as destabilizing rather than securing, they may turn on them, leading the moderate Islamists to either break with the extremists, or follow them to the political margins. Similarly, extremists may grow weary of moderate actions, demanding that the group increase its violence and, again, forcing moderates to choose between the extremists' vision and broad political support. Therefore, our main finding is that contrary to the commonly held view, the population of a collapsed state, rather than an extremists' hotbed, can, in fact, be a potentially powerful anti-extremist force

Whither *State*? The Institutional Politics of American Nation-building Policy

Author: Robert Daniel Wallace

Abstract: This article discusses the difficulties associated with military-led stability and nationbuilding operations and argues that the United States' current policy negatively affects defence capabilities, unduly influences how stability operations are prioritized and conducted, limits State Department capacities, and allows the military to be seen as the 'face' of American foreign policy. Several options exist for the United States to adequately address this issue to include the working within the established system, a reassignment of leadership responsibilities, or restraining the American tendency to intervene. The United States' military has proven that it is capable of conducting nation-building operations, but at the cost of global misperception, painful inefficiency, significant risks to United States' overall defence capabilities, and the issues of civilian control that follow from reliance on warriors in the role of diplomats

Contrasting Explanations for Peace: Realism vs. Liberalism in Europe and the Middle East

Author: Benjamin Miller

Abstract: This article focuses on a fourfold distinction among international relations approaches to security and peace (offensive realism, defensive realism, defensive liberalism and offensive liberalism), which is applied to understand differing regional dynamics of conflict resolution, particularly in two key regions: Europe and the Middle East. The shift from realist to liberal assumptions, it is argued here, is the foundation for conflict resolution. The combined effect of the realist mechanisms produced 'cold peace' in Europe, while the liberal strategies warmed the peace considerably, eventually producing a 'high-level warm peace'. More specifically, it was overlooked offensive liberal mechanisms which made an especially major contribution to the emergence of warm peace on the continent through the successful imposition of democratization on the key state for European security, Germany. Defensive liberal strategies then played a very useful supportive role in warming the regional peace. In the Middle East, in contrast, some of the conditions for the application of the realist approaches emerged after the 1973 war, and even then only in the Israeli-Egyptian context, and somewhat more broadly after the end of the Cold War and the 1991 Gulf War. But the conditions for liberal strategies are still missing even though a defensive liberal strategy has been tried in the 1990s and an offensive liberal strategy was applied since 2003. Thus, only a cold peace could emerge, and even that only partially due to the relative weakness of the realist mechanisms in the Middle East in comparison to the Western European case during the Cold War.

Title: Realism at the Limits: Post-Cold War Realism and Nuclear Rollback

Author: Halit Mustafa Emin Tagma

Abstract: Realists have been all but silent on the issue of nuclear disarmament, largely because giving up military capabilities seems counter-intuitive to realism's logic. The nonproliferation literature, on the other hand, has treated the insights of realist theory as failing to come to grips with the complex nature of a state's decision-making processes. The non-proliferation literature has produced rich empirical details of nuclear rollback; however, much of this literature lacks a general theoretical framework to provide generalizable explanations and predictions. This article advances two defensive realist hypotheses on state behaviour to explain nuclear rollback. It argues that states may voluntarily reduce their own capabilities in order to survive in an anarchic order when, in the absence of a secure second-strike capability, they make the rational decision to give up their nuclear arsenals. However, the absence of a secure second-strike capability is a necessary but not sufficient condition for nuclear disarmament. The absence of a dyadic existential threat is also a necessary condition for a state to give up its nuclear weapons. Together these two conditions, from a defensive realist perspective, are jointly necessary and sufficient for nuclear disarmament. The findings suggest that incentives for disarmament, from a realist perspective, can be made by taking into account the strategic interaction that states find themselves in vis-à-vis their environment and capabilities

Contemporary South Asia

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Title: Violence, the everyday and the question of the ordinary

Author: Rebecca Walker

Abstract: Batticaloa district on the eastern coast of Sri Lanka has been one of the most disrupted and devastated areas of the island since civil war began in the early 1980s. Ethnically and culturally diverse, it has been under the control of different military actors; however, none had maintained full control, until May 2009 when the Sri Lankan Army successfully defeated the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. While political, social, developmental, and humanitarian issues in the East receive much scholarly attention, local actors are often cast through the dichotomy of victim and agency that often ignore the details and textures of daily life, which tell us not only about violence but also aspects of the everyday that negotiate through and outside of violence. Taking the question of the ordinary as the driving concept, this paper explores what is meant by an 'ordinary life' for Tamil-speaking communities in Batticaloa where people suffer, survive, and resist within the *endurance* of the everyday. Highlighting the spaces in which relationships can be strengthened, this paper argues that a capacity for hope, for building trust, and safety, however fragile and tentative, is as much an integral part of a conflict situation as the more obvious capacity for fear and silence.

The perils of being a borderland people: on the Lhotshampas of Bhutan

Author: Rosalind Evans

Abstract: This article responds to Baud and van Schendel's call for research into the history of borderland people in order to redress 'the imbalance of "state-centred" studies'. It does so by providing a study of borderlands from the periphery, analysing the experiences of the Lhotshampas - a borderland people of Bhutan - who migrated there from Nepal and India a few generations ago. In response to the Bhutanese Government's efforts to promote a homogeneous national identity during the 1980s, Lhotshampa political leaders campaigned for increased political and cultural rights. The suppression of their early protests by the Bhutanese authorities ushered in a period of instability and conflict in the south, eventually resulting in the exodus of tens of thousands of refugees who have been living in camps in Nepal since the early 1990s. Through the use of secondary literature and refugees' memories, the article investigates the perspectives of ordinary villagers caught between the Bhutanese state and local elite political activists. It highlights the important role that oral histories can play in furthering our understanding of social and political dynamics in borderland areas.

**Diplomacy & Statecraft,
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Purposes Just and Pacific: Franklin Pierce and the American Empire

Author: Kenneth Nivison

Abstract: The Administration of Franklin Pierce has frequently been the object of study for historians of antebellum domestic politics, but few have examined the contribution of the Administration's foreign policy initiatives and objectives. This paper demonstrates that Pierce's foreign policy drew from the same partisan well as his domestic politics: a strict interpretation of power under the Constitution and a strong sense of racial paternalism that had come to define the ideological core of Democratic Party by the 1850s. In the arena of foreign affairs, these two ideological principles worked at cross-purposes, as the adherence to small government hampered efforts to exercise paternalism abroad. Whilst Pierce and his lieutenants thus claimed few actual foreign policy achievements, they nonetheless provided a blueprint for an American empire founded upon racial paternalism that would emerge with a much larger and stronger American government at the close of the nineteenth-century

Title: They Need a Few Beatings and a Bit of Kicking Around and Then You Couldn't Beat Them: Canadian Diplomats Judge Australia and Australians, 1939-1945

Author: Galen Roger Perras

Abstract: Three Canadian High Commissioners—C.J. Burchell, Victor Odium and T.C. Davis—served in Australia from 1939 to 1945. Political appointees all, the three men shared generally disparaging and patronising views of Australia and Australians. These views were the product, in part, of a less than close and sometimes acrimonious relationship between these two distant Dominions and Canadian condescension. But American diplomats and even many Australian elites also tended to view the Australians as friendly if uncomplicated people with few organisational or political skills. Unsurprisingly, such views did little to aid the development of close ties between Australia and Canada during the Second World War. They also engendered equally sharp comments about Canada and Canadians from Australian officials.

Title: The Baruch Plan and the Quest for Atomic Disarmament

Author: David W. Kearn Jr.

Abstract: Arms control has emerged as a central component in the diplomatic approach unveiled by the Obama administration. With a long-term goal of abolishing nuclear weapons, interim steps include the revision and potential expansion of existing treaties and a strengthening of the non-proliferation regime, including a potential Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT). Such a treaty would mandate that member states submit to rigorous inspection and cataloguing of their stocks of nuclear materials in return for assistance in the development of civilian nuclear programs. This approach, whilst ambitious, is not new. In this article I explore the development, negotiation and ultimate failure of what is often referred to as “the Baruch Plan,” the first attempt to cooperatively control atomic energy under the auspices of the newly formed United Nations. The failure of the Baruch Plan provides important lessons for scholars and practitioners, and underscores the inherent challenges of arms control cooperation

Title: The Assassination of King Abdallah: The First Political Assassination in Jordan: Did It Truly Threaten the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan?

Author: Ronen Yitzhak

Abstract: King Abdallah was assassinated as a result of his relationship with Arab leaders. The opposition included three leaders: the Mufti Hajj Amin al-Huseini, King Faruq and Ibn Saud. Jordanian intelligence knew about the conspiracy and warned King Abdallah, but he decided to visit Jerusalem as originally planned and there he was assassinated. After the assassination on 20 July 1951, the Jordanian government was faced with two dangers that threatened the Hashemite regime in Jordan. The first, a Palestinian rebellion the purpose of which was the replacement of the Hashemite regime with a Palestinian one; the second an invasion of Jordan by either Syria or Saudi Arabia or both countries together, and their possible control of it. However, the dangers turned out to be neither tangible nor serious and the Hashemite regime remained in power

Title: Through the Looking Glass: The Helsinki Final Act and the 1976 Election for President

Author: Sarah B. Snyder

Abstract: The controversy surrounding the 1975 Helsinki Final Act made it an enduring issue in the 1976 campaign, and the political backlash against President Gerald R. Ford damaged his electoral chances. Ford's signature of the agreement, his continuation of *détente*, and his foreign policy more broadly may not have been decisive issues in his contests with Ronald Reagan and then Jimmy Carter, but they certainly were prominent throughout the election. Examining the influence of the Final Act on Ford's election campaign illuminates the extent to which a number of candidates sought to use popular opposition to the agreement to their advantage. Furthermore, it reveals how the 1976 presidential candidates, and Ford in particular, struggled to address growing questions about *détente*, human rights, and morality in foreign policy. Ford's failure to defend his

signature of the Final Act adequately raised concerns about his foreign policy and personal leadership with the electorate

Title: The Diplomacy of Impasse: the Carter Administration and Apartheid South Africa

Author: Alex Thomson

Abstract: This article seeks to explain the diplomatic impasse that developed between the United States and South Africa during later 1970s. Although the Carter Administration's foreign policy towards Pretoria was more confrontational than its predecessors, it failed to bring South Africa to account over apartheid. The critical rhetoric and diplomatic symbolism used against the Republic was intensified, yet Carter continued to reject the use of punitive economic sanctions. Instead, the United States supported the notion of an international corporate presence in the Republic, regarding such business contacts as a force for change. It is argued that this dichotomy between a short-term strategy of confrontation and a longer-term strategy of continued economic engagement ultimately undermined Carter's South Africa policy. Exploiting the contradictory and confused signals emanating from Washington DC, the Republic's government chose to simply weather Carter's political storm, and a diplomatic stalemate ensued.

Title: Conflicting Patterns of Thought in the Russian Debate on Transition: 2003-2007

Author: Joachim Zweynert

Abstract: This article is a continuation of two essays by the same author on Soviet and Russian economic debates between 1987 and 2002 published in *Europe-Asia Studies* in 2006 and 2007. In the most recent phase of these debates, between 2003 and 2007, as in previous phases, the questions raised went far beyond the usual realm of economics. The questions raised included whether Russia should attempt to become a 'Western' country marked by democracy and a market economy serving the individual interests of its citizens or whether it was more important to become a great power again; whether Western patterns of political and economic life are suitable for Russia or whether the attempt to import foreign institutional structures is doomed to failure, making it necessary for Russia to find her own way. The discussion here is based on a qualitative content analysis of the most important economic journals and selected monographs

Title: The Battle over Privileges and Pension Reform: Evidence from Legislative Roll Call Analysis in Poland

Abstract: Pension reform is among the most economically pressing and politically controversial issues worldwide. Numerous countries have achieved noteworthy results, but for others overcoming opposition to reform remains an elusive task. This article argues that opposition does not necessarily come from the left, but also from parties connected with privileged occupational groups. Focusing on a distinction between the diffuse and concentrated costs of reform, the article analyses the formation of pro-reform and anti-reform coalitions in a two-dimensional space and discusses how particular configurations of the party system relate to reform outcomes and sustainability. The argument is tested using legislative roll call data from Poland

Title: Sources of Income, Mental Health and Quality of Life in Rural Russia

Authors: David O'Brien Stephen Wegren Valery Patsiorkovsky

Abstract: This article reports on a survey examining sources of income and their effects on the mental health and subjective quality of life of residents in nine rural Russian regions. Using conventional measures of depressed mood and respondents' assessments of the quality of their lives in different domains, the authors find that the emergence of a mixed economy, that generates income from salary and wages and household enterprises, as well as government transfers, has produced differentiation in the subjective psychological as well as material quality of rural residents' lives

Title: Forewarned is Forearmed: How the Hungarian Crisis of 1956 Helped the Romanian Leadership

Author: Johanna Granville

Abstract: This article examines how the Hungarian crisis and Soviet interventions strengthened the position of the Romanian communist leadership. First, it eroded the respect of several Bucharest officials for the Soviet army, reinforcing their desire to see Soviet troops leave Romania. Second, the crisis brought back memories of earlier historical events that seemed to provide 'proof' of Hungarian bellicosity, which the Romanian leadership used to discriminate against ethnic Hungarians in Romania. Third, the crisis aroused fears of Transylvanian irredentism, which Bucharest used to control the population. Fourth, by incarcerating Imre Nagy, Bucharest leaders could witness his suffering, which motivated them to avoid his fate

Title: Space, Kinship Networks and Youth Transition in Provincial Russia: Negotiating Urban-Rural and Inter-Regional Migration

Author: Charles Walker

Abstract: This article addresses orientations towards place and opportunities for rural-urban and inter-regional migration amongst graduates of vocational colleges in Ul'yanovsk *Oblast'*. Given the inaccessibility of the housing market and decline in the provision of student and workplace accommodation, kinship networks have become the principal means to negotiate any form of migration. However, while in some cases such networks provide 'bridges' to opportunities elsewhere, a general lack of networks, alongside the 'bonding' effects of kinship networks at the local level, acts as a significant constraint on young peoples' prospects for geographical, and social, mobility

Title: Religion and Reconciliation in Bosnia & Herzegovina: Are Religious Actors Doing Enough

Author: Janine Natalya Clark

Abstract: The article explores the question of whether and how religion is being used in Bosnia & Herzegovina (BiH) to promote and foster reconciliation. Based primarily on 20 semi-structured interviews with representatives of the three main faiths in BiH—Islam, Orthodoxy and Catholicism—the article's central contention is that religion is a potentially valuable, yet fundamentally under-utilised peace-building tool in BiH

**Global Society,
Volume 24 Issue 2 2010**

Title: Beyond the “Norm Entrepreneur” Model: Rwanda, Darfur, and Social Sanction among UN Diplomats

Author: David Ambrosetti

Abstract: When investigating why state decision makers opt for intervention in the heart of armed violence abroad, many scholars refer to new humanitarian norms appearing among state officers, particularly within the UN. In these approaches, “norm entrepreneurs”, and the high risks of public opprobrium they are supposed to induce, stand at the front stage of normative change. Compliance with newly promoted normative ideas seems totally bereft of professional risks, though. This paper intends to bring back in a dimension of norms that is central in sociology: social sanction. Investigating how social sanctions are practically enacted among diplomats at the United Nations precisely provides useful data to detect the many norms that prosper beyond—and before—normative enterprises, and to assess why the humanitarian idea and the recent “responsibility to protect” still have weak normative effects, practically speaking. The international failures in Rwanda and more recently in Darfur deserve re-examination in this prospect.

Title: “They Have Achieved a Lot Because we Have Paid Them to do a Lot”: NGOs and the International Community in the West Balkans. Perceptions of Each Other

Author: Ase Berit Grødeland

Abstract: Strengthening civil society has had a prominent place in the international community's strategy for the West Balkans. Rather than creating an independent and sustainable NGO sector, however, it has made local NGOs largely dependent on the international community for funding and other assistance. This article examines the international community's perceptions of local NGOs and vice versa, drawing on findings from 60 in-depth interviews with representatives of the international community and 18 focus groups with NGO representatives in Bosnia & Herzegovina, Macedonia and Serbia. While the international community is fairly positive towards the NGO sector, the NGOs are more critical of the international community, and particularly so in Macedonia. Perceptions are shaped by a number of individual and organisational factors as well as by the international community's overall agenda in the region

Title: Issue Frames and the Political Outcomes of Transnational Campaigns: A Comparison of the Jubilee 2000 Movement and the Currency Transaction Tax Campaign

Author: Noha Shawki

Abstract: Since the end of the Cold War, a large number of transnational advocacy networks (TANs) have launched campaigns focusing on a number of different global issues. Some of these campaigns have been quite successful in influencing global public policy, while others have not. What accounts for differences in TANs' ability to shape the global policy process? How can we explain the variation in TAN campaign outcomes? To answer these questions, I draw on the concept of framing, which has been used to explain social movement mobilisation and outcomes, and apply it to two TAN campaigns that have had different outcomes: Jubilee 2000 and the Currency Transaction Tax campaign. I argue that effective framing strategies, i.e. the use of issue frames that resonate with international norms and values and provide compelling analyses and policy proposals, is one explanation for the variation in the outcomes of these two TAN campaigns.

Title: Questioning Thomas Pogge's Proposals to Eradicate Global Poverty

Author: Eduard Jordaan

Abstract: Moral cosmopolitanism has often been criticised for being too demanding and not offering a viable solution to the problem of extreme global poverty. Thomas Pogge has responded to both these concerns by arguing that it is possible to eradicate most global poverty through relatively light international-level actions. Pogge's proposals can be divided into two broad categories: financial transfers to the poor and international institutional reforms (which include changing the rules of global trade and restricting the ability of undemocratic governments to borrow internationally or sell off their country's natural resources). However, Pogge's proposed international-level actions are unlikely to eradicate global poverty as he has underestimated the tenacity of poverty-causing local practices. More specifically, this article will question the workability of Pogge's plans against the backdrop of sub-Saharan Africa. Confronted with a gap between what Pogge's proposed international-level reforms are able to accomplish and what they aim to accomplish, the final part of the paper considers Pogge's three options (or some combination of them): one, settle for a more modest reduction of global poverty; two, expect greater endeavour from the poor and their governments; or (and) three, demand a deeper involvement and sacrifice from citizens of well-off countries

Title: Celebrity Activism in International Relations: In Search of a Framework for Analysis

Authors: Asteris Huliaras

Abstract: The article examines the growing celebrity activism in world politics and attempts to develop a framework for analysis. It briefly reviews the relevant literature on the emergence of influential individuals as transnational activists. Then, it analyses the factors that account for the specific growth of celebrity activism and evaluates its impact on public awareness, the mobilisation of resources and government decisions. Finally, the article tests this framework by focusing on two case studies: Princess Diana's contribution to the campaign to ban anti-personnel landmines and Mia Farrow's activism in respect to China's policy towards Sudan.

Title: From Apathy to Action: Promoting Active Citizenship and Global Responsibility amongst Populations in the Global North

Author: Erin K. Wilson

Abstract: Efforts to address social and global problems such as poverty, mass hunger and mass-atrocity crimes are hindered significantly by apathy and low levels of active civil and political engagement amongst populations in developed countries. Social change non-government organisations (NGOs), such as Oxfam Australia, Oxfam Hong Kong and Médecins Sans Frontières, have recently employed innovative, creative, experience-based strategies in their efforts to promote active citizenship and greater global responsibility amongst populations in the Global North. These techniques are based on two key assumptions: that experiences change attitudes and that changes in behaviour will follow changes in attitudes. Yet the effectiveness of these newer techniques and the accuracy of the assumptions on which they are based remain largely untested. This article explores these assumptions and discusses the innovative, creative techniques that they have generated in NGO public education efforts. The article examines the theoretical literature on the problem of apathy and on the use of creative techniques to overcome apathy. It further discusses the practical application of these techniques through an examination of Oxfam Australia's "Refugee Realities" project. This discussion is based on preliminary evaluation research conducted by Oxfam Australia and the author's own experiences as an actor/volunteer on the project. The article suggests that creative, experience-based public education strategies are effective in challenging and confronting public attitudes towards issues of global injustice. Further research is needed, however, to determine whether these encounters result in long-term changes in attitudes and whether they contribute to moving individuals and communities from apathy to action

Intelligence and National Security

Volume 25 Issue 1 2010

Title: Evaluating Special Branch and the Use of Informant Intelligence in Northern Ireland

Author: Jon Moran

Abstract: This article examines the use of informants, predominantly by police Special Branch, in Northern Ireland both before and following the peace. After setting out the development of the police as the dominant organization in handling informants and the centrality of informant intelligence to counter terrorism, the article discusses some of the serious ethical criticisms which have been raised concerning the use of informants. These include the protection of informants who committed serious crimes including murder. The article evaluates these criticisms in context and calls for a more situated, nuanced account of the costs and benefits of informant intelligence in Northern Ireland

Title: Congressional Oversight of Intelligence: Is the Solution Part of the Problem?

Author: Jennifer Kibbe

Abstract : After presenting evidence that the current system of congressional oversight of intelligence is failing, this article analyzes how the system has been undermined by a toxic combination of problems: the intelligence committees' inherent informational disadvantage in relation to the executive branch, the jurisdictional morass in which the committees must operate and their own internecine partisanship. The article discusses a range of specific changes that could be made, but concludes that the critical ingredient in strengthening the oversight system is to emphasize the development of strong, nonpartisan committee leadership

Title: Intelligence Learning and Adaptation: Lessons from Counterinsurgency Wars

Author: John A. Gentry

Abstract: Critics of US intelligence focus extensively on the alleged inability and unwillingness of intelligence agencies to learn and adapt. Analysis of eight counterinsurgency wars suggests instead that external factors largely influence the intelligence-related performance of whole governments, including organizational structures, unity of effort and command, adequacy of resources, and leadership quality. Assessment of the performance of US intelligence since 9/11 indicates that the same variables influence the performance of US intelligence, suggesting that the US intelligence reform debate focuses too narrowly and on the wrong factors

Title: US Blunders in Iraq: De-Baathification and Disbanding the Army

Author: James P. Pfiffner

Abstract: In May 2003 Paul Bremer issued CPA Orders to exclude from the new Iraq government members of the Baath Party (CPA Order 1) and to disband the Iraqi Army (CPA Order 2). These two orders severely undermined the capacity of the occupying forces to maintain security and continue the ordinary functioning of the Iraq government. The decisions reversed previous National Security Council judgments and were made over the objections of high ranking military and intelligence officers. The article concludes that the most likely decision maker was the Vice President

Israel Affairs
Volume 16 Issue 2 2010

Title: 'Forthcoming three months represent best remaining opportunity for accomplishment': Israeli diplomacy and the 1948 US presidential election (part II)

Author: Henry D. Fetter

Abstract: President Truman's de facto recognition of Israel on 14 May 1948 did not resolve the critical issues of de jure recognition, the new state's boundaries, the arms embargo, and financial assistance. In an ironic convergence with their frequent adversaries in the US State Department who often alleged that politics was driving Palestine policy, Israeli diplomats anticipated that favourable action from the Truman administration on these issues would be forthcoming in the course of that year's presidential election campaign. This article examines Israel's efforts to secure those objectives in the context of that year's presidential politics and the ongoing tug of war between White House and State Department. Despite persistent and determined advocacy, the mobilization of considerable support from American Zionists, and an apparently favourable political environment, Israel diplomacy was unable to overcome Truman's deference to State Department resistance to Israeli aspirations in the months leading up to his unexpected victory at the polls on 2 November 1948. It would be the success of Israeli arms, not the quest for Jewish votes, that proved to be the key to realizing the unfinished agenda of 14 May

Title: The Israel Air Force in the 1967 and 1973 wars: revisiting the historical record

Author: David Rodman

Abstract: The Israel Air Force (IAF), according to conventional wisdom, constituted the decisive element in Israel's victory in the 1967 Six Day War, but had much less of an impact on the state's triumph in the 1973 Yom Kippur War. The present article takes issue with this line of thinking, contending that, while the IAF's contributions to the Israeli victories in both wars were quite significant, airpower actually was more important in the latter triumph, but not decisive in either one. The article reaches this conclusion through an in-depth comparison of the IAF's accomplishments (or lack thereof) in both wars

Title: Israel and the West Bank, 1948-1951

Author: Tancred Bradshaw

Abstract: This article accounts for Israel's failure to take the historical opportunity to invade the West Bank during the 1948 war. It also considers the nature of British support for Jordan between 1948 until the death of King Abdullah in 1951. British interests in Transjordan were determined by strategic factors that were outlined in the 1948 Anglo-Transjordan Treaty. Although the British were bound by the treaty to come to Jordan's assistance in the case of an invasion, in practice this would have been very difficult to

achieve short of invading Israel from Egypt. This paper argues that the Israelis failed to invade the West Bank in 1948 because they were deterred by the possibility of British intervention and because of divisions within the Israeli political establishment

Title: The role of the educational system in retaining Circassian identity during the transition from Ottoman control to life as Israeli citizens (1878-2000)

Author: Nirit Reichel

Abstract: The purpose of this article is to examine the role played by the educational system of Kfar Kama in maintaining Circassian identity: how this has been expressed in different periods and what methods have been used as agents of conservation, as an agent of change? What factors have influenced the educational system? What methods did schools choose to employ? The article examines the decision-making processes regarding the school at Kfar Kama, the role of the internal system in determining educational policy, the results of the dialogue with the national state educational system, and what arrangements have been made to enable retention of Circassian culture by the Ottoman, British and Israeli governments

Title: The mythical post-2005 Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip

Authors: Avi Bell Dov Shefi

Abstract: Consistent with the resolution of the government of Israel and the proclamation of the Military Commander, in 2005 Israel withdrew all Israeli military forces from Gaza, forcibly removed all Israeli civilians, and dismantled its military administration in the entirety of the Gaza Strip. In addition, Israel abandoned its presence in the 'Philadelphi Corridor' - the border area between the Gaza Strip and Egypt. Notwithstanding this complete withdrawal from Gaza, a number of legal advocacy groups, UN organs and other observers have continued to opine that Gaza is under Israeli occupation. This article examines the validity of claims that Israel still 'occupies' Gaza under the laws of war and occupied territory. The article concludes that such claims are without any basis in international law. It should be emphasized that this article assumes, *arguendo*, that prior to 2005, Gaza was territory belligerently occupied by Israel; it does not enter into the disputes about whether Gaza should have been considered occupied territory from 1967 to 2005

Title: Female soldier-teachers: army, education and a new state

Author: Tali Tamdor-Shimony

Abstract: This article deals with the topic of female soldiers teaching in Israeli primary schools in immigrant communities in the periphery in the 1950s and 1960s. At that time there was a great shortage of teachers, owing to the enormous increase in the number of pupils in the education system, in the wake of the great waves of immigration. Ben-Gurion decided that the army must forgo this quality labour force, suitable for service as officers, to meet the education needs of the outlying areas. The soldier-teachers were young girls, most of them born in the country, who had gone through the Hebrew education system, had 12-14 years of schooling and perceived their teaching in immigrant settlements as voluntary pioneering work. They were the representatives of the two main socializing agents of the new state - the army and the education system. The IDF considered them to be soldiers, lent out to perform civilian tasks, and paid their salaries and was responsible for their living conditions, including their lodging, while the Ministry of Education perceived them as bearers of knowledge, teaching children living in the periphery. However, the female soldier-teachers, living within the immigrant communities, also functioned in other capacities, such as advising their pupils' older sisters and assisting the families in various ways. Some of the schoolgirls also saw them as examples of educated independent women. Through their activity, these soldier-teachers actually embodied the multifaceted formative ethos of Israeli society: Jewish sovereignty, intermingling of exiles and immigrant absorption (the melting pot version), formal gender equality (military service for women), and commitment by the modern state to provide basic education for all its citizens

Journal of Strategic Studies

Volume 33, Issue 1 February 2010

Title: Saddam's Perceptions and Misperceptions: The Case of 'Desert Storm'

Authors: Kevin M. Woods Mark E. Stout

Abstract: A large collection of captured documents from the very highest levels of the Iraqi government offers a chance to gain insight into why Saddam Hussein was unwilling and unable to alter his strategy on the eve of the 2003 war that toppled his regime. This paper explores some of the perceptions and misperceptions that Saddam Hussein took away from the 1991 Gulf War and shows how they affected his decisionmaking on the eve of the war in 2003. It concludes with some thoughts on the policy implications of these findings

Title: Economic Development and Military Effectiveness

Author: Michael Beckley

Abstract: What makes some states more militarily powerful than others? A growing body of research suggests that certain 'non-material' factors significantly affect a country's ability to translate resources into fighting power. In particular, recent studies claim that democracy, Western culture, high levels of human capital, and amicable civil-military relations enhance military effectiveness. If these studies are correct, then military power is not solely or even primarily determined by material resources, and a large chunk of international relations scholarship has been based on a flawed metric. The major finding of this article, however, suggests that this is not the case. In hundreds of battles between 1898 and 1987, the more economically developed side consistently outfought the poorer side on a soldier-for-soldier basis. This is not surprising. What is surprising is that many of the non-material factors posited to affect military capability seem to be irrelevant: when economic development is taken into account, culture and human capital become insignificant and democracy actually seems to degrade warfighting capability. In short, the conventional military dominance of Western democracies stems from superior economic development, not societal pathologies or political institutions. Therefore, a conception of military power that takes into account both the quantity of a state's resources and its level of economic development provides a sound basis for defense planning and international relations scholarship.

Title: Whose Hearts and Whose Minds? The Curious Case of Global Counter-Insurgency

Authors: David Martin Jones M. L. R. Smith

Abstract: Traditionally regarded as a secondary activity in military thinking and practice, the notion of counter-insurgency (COIN) has undergone a remarkable renaissance. This analysis traces the origins of this renaissance to two distinctive schools: a neo-classical school and a global insurgency school. The global insurgency school critiques neo-classical thought and presents itself as a more sophisticated appreciation of current security problems. An examination of the evolution of these two schools of counter-insurgency reveals how the interplay between them ultimately leaves us with a confused and contradictory understanding of the phenomenon of insurgency and the policies and strategies necessary to combat it.

Title: Small Wars in the Age of Clausewitz: The Watershed between Partisan War and People's War

Author: Beatrice Heuser

Abstract: Around the time of Clausewitz's writing, a new element was introduced into partisan warfare: ideology. Previously, under the ancient regime, partisans were what today we would call Special Forces, light infantry or cavalry, almost always mercenaries, carrying out special operations, while the main action in war took place between regular armies. Clausewitz lectured his students on such 'small wars'. In the American War of Independence and the resistance against Napoleon and his allies, operations carried out by such partisans merged with counter-revolutionary, nationalist insurgencies, but these Clausewitz analysed in a distinct category, 'people's war'. Small wars, people's war, etc. should thus not be thought of as monopoly of either the political Right or the Left.

**Journal of Strategic Studies,
Volume 33 Issue 2 2010**

Title: 'An Alliance Forged in Blood': The American Occupation of Korea, the Korean War, and the US-South Korean Alliance

Authors: William Stueck Boram Yi

Abstract: The US occupation of Korea from 1945 to 1948 was not notable for its success. The volatile interaction between the occupiers and the occupied provided an important context for its relatively rapid conclusion and for Washington's ineffective employment of deterrence in the lead-up to the June 1950 North Korean attack on South Korea. This essay describes the volatile interaction between Americans and Koreans on the peninsula and the circumstantial, psychological, and cultural factors behind it. The essay concludes by analyzing the psychological impact of the Korean War on the relationship and how this and later cultural changes have made possible an enduring alliance between the United States and the Republic of Korea

Title: China and the Dispatch of the Soviet Air Force: The Formation of the Chinese-Soviet-Korean Alliance in the Early Stage of the Korean War *

Author: Zhihua Shen

Abstract: China's entry into the Korean War, together with the involvement of the Soviet Air Force, constituted not only the base of Chinese and Soviet joint assistance to North Korea but also the formation of the Sino-Soviet-North Korean triangular alliance. Recently declassified Russian Defense Ministry archives show that Stalin wavered on dispatching the Soviet Air Force for fear of a direct confrontation with the US/UN forces. It was 12 days after Chinese troops entered the war that Stalin finally allowed the Soviet Air Force to provide air cover. New documents that shed light on this enormously significant historical process demonstrate that the Sino-Soviet-North Korean triangular relationship was extremely delicate and weak

Title: Branding an Aggressor: The Commonwealth, the United Nations and Chinese Intervention in the Korean War, November 1950-January 1951

Author: Robert Barnes

Abstract: The crisis following China's intervention in the Korean War led to a significant rift between the United States and the Commonwealth at the United Nations (UN). This article examines the conditions under which the Commonwealth became united and was able to directly influence UN decision-making. It concludes that, when united, the Commonwealth could not easily be ignored by Washington, and thereby acted as an agent of constraint upon the Western superpower

Title: Casualty Reporting and Domestic Support for War: The US Experience during the Korean War

Author: Steven Casey

Abstract: The common argument that public support for war is casualty sensitive ignores the fact that casualty figures are not revealed automatically. While the military decides when, and to whom, to release such information, political elites can question, even condemn, how the government goes about this business. After briefly exploring how the US military operated during the two world wars, this article focuses on American casualty reporting during the Korean War, arguing that the way the figures were revealed often sparked enormous political controversy, which at two crucial moments helped to undermine domestic support for this distant war

Title: POWs: The Hidden Reason for Forgetting Korea

Author: Charles S. Young

Abstract: Despite recent attention, the Korean War (1950-53) remains underappreciated and further explanation of its 'forgottenness' is needed. Korea originally faded to gray because there was no satisfying victory. National security planners had ample reason to try and rehabilitate the war in the mind of the public, but had little success. This was because a primary accomplishment of the second half of the war - forcing the enemy to accept so-called voluntary repatriation of POWs (prisoners of war) - was semi-secret and never declared as a major war aim. Since the nation was never united around securing voluntary repatriation, there was little raw material for creating a memory of success

Ocean Development & International Law

Volume 41 Issue 2 2010

Title: The International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea: Procedures, Practices, and Asian States

Author: Zou Keyuan

Abstract: Although most international disputes are resolved through political means, particularly bilateral negotiation and consultation, international adjudication and arbitration are indispensable as an important component of dispute settlement. While there are various institutions that can serve as a venue to solve law of the sea disputes, the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS) is the specialized judicial organ designed specifically to handle such disputes. This article is limited mainly to the procedure and practices of the ITLOS, though some comparisons will be made between it and other judicial institutions. In addition, East Asian states' attitudes toward and practices in judicial dispute settlement will be examined based on a number of recent cases submitted to the ITLOS

Title: Verifying Compliance with Ballast Water Discharge Regulations

Authors: Dennis M. King Mario N. Tamburri

Abstract: U.S. and international rules have been proposed to reduce the risks associated with invasive aquatic organisms by requiring that ships' ballast water be treated to kill or remove living organisms and achieve certain standards before being discharged. Enforcing these rules requires verifying when a discharge violates these standards. A preliminary comparison of verification systems indicates that mandatory reporting and inspecting treatment equipment do not provide an acceptable level of confidence and that sampling and analyzing enough ballast water to achieve acceptable confidence is prohibitively costly. The most cost-effective alternative that achieves an acceptable level of confidence involves indirect measures of ballast water using sensors that indicate whether discharge standards are met

Title: Korean Peninsula Maritime Issues

Author: Suk Kyoon Kim

Abstract: In the unique situation of the Korean Peninsula, which is still technically in a state of war, maritime issues are increasingly becoming critical in the relations between South Korea and North Korea. While cooperation in maritime affairs has helped to ease tensions and paved a way to reconciliatory efforts, maritime disputes adjacent to the Northern Limit Lines in the West and East Seas and maritime security issues such as South Korea's engagement in the Proliferation Security Initiative remain a source of conflict. This article looks at maritime affairs on the Korean Peninsula—a leading area of cooperation between the South and the North as well as a potential conflict flash point

The Round Table

Volume 99 Issue 407 2010

Title: Restructuring Federal-State Relations in Malaysia: From Centralised to Co-operative Federalism?

Author: Francis Kok Wah Loh

Abstract: The coming to power of the Pakatan Rakyat (PR) opposition coalition in five states following the 2008 election has interrupted the one dominant party political process that has prevailed for more than 50 years, and that facilitated the Barisan Nasional (BN)'s domination of the centre and penetration into the states and local authorities. Nowadays, the PR-led states of Selangor and Penang in particular have challenged federal domination as never before. The old ways of bullying weaker and poorer opposition-led states such as Kelantan and Sabah in the 1990s have been rejected. The new balance of federal-state relations has allowed the BN-led states of Sabah and Sarawak to press for decentralisation of decision-making, increased development allocations, and a greater say in determining local issues. Hence, in spite of the absence of constitutional reforms *vis-à-vis* federal-state relations, some restructuring of those relations is underway. However, the regular occurrences of controversies suggest that Malaysia has still not transited from a centralised federalism to a more co-operative one

Title: Pakistan Rakyat: What is Different This Time?

Author: Kian Ming Ong

Abstract: Pakistan Raykat or the People's Coalition is the third attempt by the main opposition parties in Malaysia to form a coalition to challenge the electoral dominance of the Barisan Nasional (BN) or the National Front. This paper argues that in spite of the internal and external challenges faced by Pakatan Rakyat, including ideological differences, the institutional weaknesses of Parti Keadilan Rakyat and the continued attempts by the BN to destabilise the government in Pakatan Rakyat-controlled states, this opposition coalition will probably outlast its predecessors. The opposition's successes in the post-March 2008 by-elections have increased the vote-pooling incentives for these parties to stay together. The formalisation of Pakatan Rakyat as a registered political party mirroring the BN will increase the longevity of the opposition coalition even if it does not enjoy the same kind of electoral success in the next general election

Title: Malaysian Chinese Association Politics a Year Later: Crisis of Political Legitimacy

Author: James Chin

Abstract: This paper looks at the politics of the Malaysian Chinese Association, the main party representing the Chinese community, in the ruling Barisan Nasional, one year after the March 2008 general election. Recent developments over the last few months indicate that the party has lost its political legitimacy. The paper argues that the crisis of political legitimacy can be traced back to the ideology of Ketuanan Melayu and the introduction of the New Economic Policy in 1971.

Title: Crises of Identity in PAS and Beyond: Islam and Politics in Post 8 March Malaysia

Author: Kikue Hamayotsu

Abstract: Controversies and frictions related to Islam since the political ascendancy of the opposition coalition, Pakatan Rakyat, after the 8 March 2008 general elections have revealed multiple crises of identity not only in PAS (Islamic Party of Malaysia) and Pakatan Rakyat, but also in broader Malaysian society. It is argued that the pattern of frictions within PAS and Pakatan Rakyat has to do with the diminishing place of Muslim-Malay identity and interests in the avowedly multi-ethnic Pakatan Rakyat regime. It is suggested that these frictions are largely attributed to the distinctive character and emphasis of the Islamisation enterprises sponsored by the ruling regime under the United Malays National Organisation since the 1980s and growing Muslim anxiety and frustration about their position within the Malaysian polity

Title: The Pakatan Rakyat Selangor State Administration: Present and Future Challenges on the Road to Reform

Author: Tricia Yeoh

Abstract: Dubbed the 'political tsunami', the 8 March 2008 elections in Malaysia gave overwhelming results. Selangor is one of the five states now governed by the Pakatan Rakyat coalition. This was a significant win, being the most urban and lucrative state of the country. It has been considered a model state for the Pakatan Rakyat in its desire to position itself as an alternative federal government. This has been the mandate of the new Selangor government, but its execution has been accompanied by numerous obstacles. This paper analyses the distinctive reform measures undertaken by the state government, the challenges faced, ensuing political transformation, and long-term prospects for Pakatan Rakyat in Selangor

Title: Occupying the Internet: Responding to the Shifting Power Balance

Author: Jacqueline Ann Surin

Abstract: This paper examines how the internet and information communication technology have resulted in a shift in power with regard to who defines and controls content for consumption. Individuals can now take on established institutions in defining and constructing reality; and with the much lower entry point for just about anybody to be a publisher, the traditional media are being contested as never before. At the same time, this shift in power has meant it is also easier to hold media accountable—not a bad thing at all for democracy