

## **Studies in Conflict & Terrorism**

**Volume 36, Issue 3, 2013**

### **The Organizational Dynamics of Far-Right Hate Groups in the United States: Comparing Violent to Nonviolent Organizations**

**Author- Steven Chermak**

#### **Abstract-**

Few studies have explored the factors that distinguish violent from nonviolent far-right hate groups. We examine four categories of factors on hate groups: (1) Organizational capacity, (2) Organizational constituency, (3) Strategic connectivity, and (4) Structural arrangements. Age and size, groups in conflict, groups led by charismatic leaders, groups that advocated for leaderless resistance tactics, and region increased a group's propensity to commit violence. Groups that published ideological literature were significantly less likely to be violent. By identifying factors that distinguish violent from nonviolent groups, this study helps us better understand characteristics of violent far-right hate groups in the United States.

### **The Effects of Cleric Statements on Suicide Bombings in Pakistan, 2000–2010**

**Author- Bridget Rose Nolan**

#### **Abstract-**

This article explores the relationship between suicide bombings and public cleric statements in Pakistan between 2000–2010. It establishes that bombings and statements increase over time, that cleric statements vary according to the bombing target, and that police and military targets most frequently garner clerics' attention. An adaptation of Kaplan, Mintz, and Mishal's (2006) maximum likelihood estimation method determines whether cleric statements affect the bombing rate. The analysis shows that pro-suicide statements have a far greater effect on the bombing rate than anti-suicide statements, both in the magnitude of increased bombings and by the length of time over which they exert influence.

## **Comparative Political Studies**

**March 2013; 46 (3)**

### **Explaining Left–Right Party Congruence Across European Party Systems**

**Author- Ana Maria Belchior**

Abstract-

Empirical studies on representation have been based mainly on the descriptive analysis of levels of political or ideological congruence between MPs and voters. Very few studies focus on explaining congruence, and those that have done so do not explore all the explanatory dimensions. This article contributes to filling this gap by testing whether three theoretical models can explain left-right congruence among European parties. These models explore causality at the micro or individual level (the characteristics of voters and MPs), the meso level (party characteristics), and the macro or system level (party system and institutional characteristics). Based on data from the PIREDEU project, the study examines the party systems of the 27 countries of the European Union with reference to the 2009 European Parliament elections.

Elections and Ethnic Civil War

Author- Lars-Erik Cederman

Abstract-

Existing research on how democratization may influence the risk of civil war tends to consider only changes in the overall level of democracy and rarely examines explicitly the postulated mechanisms relating democratization to incentives for violence. The authors argue that typically highlighted key mechanisms imply that elections should be especially likely to affect ethnic groups' inclination to resort to violence. Distinguishing between types of conflict and the order of competitive elections, the authors find that ethnic civil wars are more likely to erupt after competitive elections, especially after first and second elections following periods of no polling.

**Foreign Policy Analysis**

**Vol 9 Issue 1,2013**

**The Reluctant Peacekeeper: Governmental Politics and Germany's Participation in EUFOR RD Congo**

**Author- Klaus Brummer**

### **Abstract-**

This article addresses the ambiguity of the governmental politics model (GPM) concerning the selection of policy options by political actors. It argues that the GPM's core proposition in this respect ("Where you stand depends on where you sit") can be conceptualized by integrating its substantive claims into the two-stage process of the poliheuristic theory of decision making (PH). This is accomplished through the introduction of a "noncompensatory *organizational* loss aversion variable" in the first stage of PH, according to which decision makers reject all options that are unacceptable for their organization irrespective of their benefits in other decision-making dimensions. In the second stage, the decision makers scrutinize the remaining options more thoroughly with respect to several decision dimensions, including organizational interests. This article uses Germany's decision to participate in EUFOR RD Congo, a military operation of the European Union in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), to probe the plausibility of the revised GPM.

### **Foreign Policy Votes and Presidential Support in Congress**

**Author- David Lanoue**

### **Abstract-**

This paper explores the role of foreign policy votes on presidential support in Congress. We postulate that a selection effect is inherent in this topic. Failing to consider that certain factors will influence whether a president takes a position on an issue in the first place can yield misleading results. For instance, presidents might not take positions during lame duck years or when their popularity is low. They might be more willing to take positions on international votes, votes requiring super majorities, or those that take place during a honeymoon period. In turn, this decision regarding position-taking can bias the outcome. We also capture the relationship between Congress and public opinion in our models as it is important to consider that the Congress is listening to its constituents as well. If the public identifies international problems as the most important to the nation, Congress might be more willing to vote in favor of the president on international votes. Testing key vote data from 1953 to 2003 for each chamber, we show that presidents are more likely to take positions if the vote is international, if the public identifies the "most important problems" as international ones, and if the vote requires a super majority for passage. They are less likely to take positions if they are up for reelection and are lame ducks. In turn, international votes, the percentage of the public identifying international problems as the most important, and the size of the president's majority have positive effects on presidential support. These findings are obscured if selection is not taken into account

## **International Political Sociology**

**Volume 6, Issue 4 December 2012**

### **Securitization of Migration in Greece**

**Author- Georgios Karyotis**

#### **Abstract-**

The field of security is largely controlled by elites who, by virtue of their authority, are able to create an image of an enemy which is largely independent of the objective significance of a threat. However, a narrow focus on speech acts and discourse analysis to study such processes of securitization is inherently inadequate. This article provides a panoramic account of Greek migration politics during the 1990s. It shows that securitization can be discursive or nondiscursive, pre-mediated or subconscious, and beneficial or detrimental for securitizing actors. Elite interviews and an in-depth analysis of contextual factors help make sense of these dynamics.

### **Global Injustice Memories**

**Author- Thomas Olesen**

#### **Abstract-**

Within a relatively short span of time, and culminating with the tenth anniversary of the genocide in 2004, the 1994 Rwanda genocide has become a key global injustice memory. At the core of this process is a double-sided conception of injustice: on the one hand, the genocide in itself clearly constitutes a major injustice; on the other hand, injustice claims have been expanded to encompass actors outside of Rwanda who observed the horrors without instigating sufficient action to halt, or at least mitigate the effects of, the unfolding genocide. It is the fact that moral and political responsibility for the genocide has been so powerfully expanded to third parties in a spectatorship position that most vividly testifies to the global character of the Rwanda injustice memory. The article identifies and analyzes four areas in which the transformation of the Rwanda genocide from national event to global injustice memory has occurred: institutionalization, expressions of regret, analogical bridging, and cultural products. The article argues that

the transformation of non-Western events into global injustice memories has so far been insufficiently explored within International Relations and global political sociology.

## **Contemporary South Asia**

**Volume 21, Issue 1, 2013**

### **Producing entrepreneurs in Sri Lanka's post-tsunami economy**

**Author- Kamal Kapadia**

#### **Abstract-**

This article analyzes the construction and operation of the discourse and accompanying practices of entrepreneur development after the Asian tsunami of 26 December 2004 in Sri Lanka. Entrepreneur development formed the core of aid agencies' strategies to rehabilitate livelihoods after the tsunami. Based on a year-long research project in 2005 that included ethnographic and survey components, I analyze the process through which aid agencies converged on entrepreneur development as the answer to livelihoods rehabilitation, an approach that failed to produce a corresponding reduction in poverty and economic insecurity. I also study the reasons why poor people and the rural social movement Sarvodaya embraced this discourse. I argue that while entrepreneurship was perceived by aid groups to be a way out of poverty, poor people and Sarvodaya embraced it because they perceived self-employment as a path out of relations of patronage, and as an opportunity for building self-reliance. These differing rationales generated considerable challenges for Sarvodaya, as they attempted to work with larger aid groups. I conclude that aid agencies do exercise considerable power in the context of disasters, yet their discourses have staying power only in so far as they articulate with other processes shaping people's lives, livelihoods and ambitions.

### **Nation-building or state-making? India's North-East Frontier and the ambiguities of Nehruvian developmentalism, 1950–1959**

**Author- Bérénice Guyot-Réchard**

#### **Abstract-**

Few Indian regions evoke political, economic, and cultural marginalisation as much as North-East India. Solutions to its political instability often assume that, provided the vicious circle of underdevelopment and violence can be broken, the region will eventually build a stable relationship with the Indian nation-state. This understanding in turns rests on a long intellectual genealogy that associates development with the state and the nation. By examining development schemes in the North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA, today's Arunachal Pradesh) in the 1950–1960s, a hitherto scarcely administered region where these were the primary mode of state-building, this

article cautions against the tendency to see the Indian state's developmental ambitions as an instrument of nation-building. Instead it argues that, in North-East India at least, state-making and nation-building have not historically gone together, and that developmentalism played an important part in this rupture. On the ground, tribal development did little for NEFA's integration into the Indian nation..

## **East European Politics and Societies**

February 2013; 27 (1)

### **Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe One Hundred Years On**

**Author- Grzegorz Ekiert**

#### **Abstract-**

In the twenty years since communism's collapse, scholars of postcommunist Central and Eastern Europe have increasingly converged on the insight that *long-run continuities* reaching back to the nineteenth century are crucial in shaping some of the most important contemporary macro- and micro-level political outcomes in the region. Today's political cleavages, political discourses, patterns of partisan affiliation, institutional choice, and the quality of democracy itself all appear to correlate to a remarkable degree with patterns from the "deep past." To date, social scientists, however, have not sufficiently reflected on what might explain this finding and how to study the impact of the general phenomenon of the long-run in the region.

### **Choosing Violence in Irregular Wars** **The Case of Anti-Soviet Insurgency in Western Ukraine**

**Author- Serhiy Kudelia**

#### **Abstract-**

Do warring sides in asymmetric conflicts always know what type of violence they use against civilians? This article relies on the case study of an anti-Soviet insurgency in Western Ukraine between 1944 and 1953 in order to demonstrate how selective violence used by insurgents can become indiscriminate under the influence of a counterinsurgency strategy rather than their conscious choice. It challenges two major theories of coercive violence that refer to exogenous factors to explain shifts in the character of violence and shows how insurgents may recognize such a shift only once they see its counterproductive effects.

Using recently declassified documents, this article demonstrates how the insurgents' decision to engage in a violent campaign against Soviet-led collectivization gradually turned the rural base of insurgency against them. Apart from shedding a new light on the Soviet-Ukrainian conflict in the late 1940s, the article has broader implications for the studies of insurgency campaigns and the reasons for civilian defection to the incumbent side.

### **Australian Journal of International Affairs**

**Volume 67, Issue 2, 2013**

#### **Australia and the challenges of order-building in the Indian Ocean region**

**Author- Andrew Phillips**

##### **Abstract-**

This article considers the regional order-building challenges that Australia presently confronts in the Indian Ocean region (IOR). The author argues that while regional stability within the IOR constitutes an increasingly important Australian security interest, policy makers will struggle to translate the order-building strategies they have previously pursued in East Asia into an Indian Ocean context. In East Asia, Australia has historically pursued a 'dual track' order-building strategy centred on its participation in a US-dominated 'hub and spokes' alliance system alongside multilateral regional engagement. The absence of an equivalent alliance system or an established tradition of multilateral security diplomacy conversely precludes an extension of this strategy into the IOR. Growing tensions between the USA and China and between China and India, meanwhile, further complicate IOR security dynamics, while underscoring the urgent need for a more coherent approach to regional order-building. With these challenges in mind, the author concludes by proposing a range of bilateral, minilateral and multilateral initiatives that Australia should pursue to stimulate the emergence of a more cooperative IOR security environment.

#### **China, India and Pakistan: models for an intermediate stage towards disarmament**

**Author- Rajesh Basrur**

##### **Abstract-**

As the USA and Russia seek to reduce their nuclear arsenals en route to universal disarmament, they are hamstrung by the lack of a doctrinal basis for minimum

deterrence. The cold war debate between Albert Wohlstetter and Patrick Blackett remains valid today. Though Wohlstetter's ideas, which produced large arsenals, remain influential, an examination of the history of nuclear rivalries shows that Blackett's thinking—offering security with more compact arsenals—is closer to reality. The minimalist doctrines and practices of China, India and, to a lesser extent, Pakistan offer useful lessons for the USA and Russia. But the Asian powers themselves need to iron out the inconsistencies in their thinking, which harbours elements of Wohlstetter's thought, if they are to be truly useful models that the bigger powers can emulate.

## **African Affairs**

**Volume 112 Issue 447, April 2013**

### **Remembering Nyerere: Political rhetoric and dissent in contemporary Tanzania**

**Author- Felicitas Becker**

#### **Abstract-**

This article examines the changing uses of political rhetoric around the burial of Julius Nyerere in 1999. It argues that the ruling party uses rhetoric as a means of 'soft power', but also documents how this rhetoric, though geared towards legitimizing Nyerere's successors, employed tropes that were rejected by some people and were used by others to critique leaders who were perceived to lack the selfless integrity attributed to Nyerere. The article compares funerary songs by a government-sponsored band, popular at the time of Nyerere's death, with memories of Nyerere in rural areas in the early to mid-2000s.

### **Sovereignty matters: Africa, donors, and the aid relationship**

**Author- William Brown**

#### **Abstract-**

This article critiques the predominant opinion that aid undermines the sovereignty of African states. This claim implies not only that a recipient state's policy autonomy is curtailed by development assistance, but also more fundamentally that the politico-legal independence of the state itself is being challenged. While the former is often the case, the latter is not. Drawing a conceptual and analytical distinction between sovereignty as a right to rule and national control over policy and outcomes, the article develops a more accurate identification of the areas in which aid, as a

particular form of external influence, does and does not have an impact on recipient states.

## **International Security**

**Spring 2013, Vol. 37, No. 4**

### **How New and Assertive Is China's New Assertiveness**

**Author- Alastair Iain Johnston**

#### **Abstract-**

There has been a rapidly spreading meme in U.S. pundit and academic circles since 2010 that describes China's recent diplomacy as “newly assertive.” This “new assertiveness” meme suffers from two problems. First, it underestimates the complexity of key episodes in Chinese diplomacy in 2010 and overestimates the amount of change. Second, the explanations for the new assertiveness claim suffer from unclear causal mechanisms and lack comparative rigor that would better contextualize China's diplomacy in 2010. An examination of seven cases in Chinese diplomacy at the heart of the new assertiveness meme finds that, in some instances, China's policy has not changed; in others, it is actually more moderate; and in still others, it is a predictable reaction to changed external conditions. In only one case—maritime disputes—does one see more assertive Chinese rhetoric and behavior. The speed and extent with which the newly assertive meme has emerged point to an understudied issue in international relations—namely, the role that online media and the blogosphere play in the creation of conventional wisdoms that might, in turn, constrain policy debates.

### **First Things First: The Pressing Danger of Crisis Instability in U.S.-China Relations**

**Author- Avery Goldstein**

#### **Abstract-**

Since the mid-1990s, much has been written about the potentially disruptive impact of China if it emerges as a peer competitor challenging the United States. Not enough attention has been paid, however, to a more immediate danger—that the United States and a weaker China will find themselves locked in a crisis that could escalate to open military conflict. The long-term prospect for a new great power rivalry ultimately rests on uncertain forecasts about big shifts in national capabilities and debatable claims about the motivations of the two countries. By contrast, the danger of crisis instability involving these two nuclear-armed states is a tangible near-term concern.

**International Affairs**

**Volume 89, Issue 2, March 2013**

**State and society in Iraq ten years after regime change**

**Author- TOBY DODGE**

**Abstract-**

This article examines the rise of a new authoritarianism in Iraq ten years after the invasion that removed Saddam Hussein. It traces the centralization of political and coercive power in the hands of Iraq's Prime Minister, Nuri al-Maliki. From his appointment in 2006, Maliki successfully moved to constrain the power of parliament and the independent agencies set up by the American-led occupation to oversee the state. He removed key politicians and civil servants who stood in his way. This authoritarian centralization reached its peak with Maliki's control of Iraq's special forces, its army and its intelligence services. The article analyses the civilian institutions of the state, concluding that political corruption has greatly hindered their reconstruction. The result is an Iraqi state with an over-developed armed forces, very weak civilian institutions and a dominant prime minister. Against this background, the sustainability of Iraqi democracy is in question. The article concludes by assessing the ramifications of Iraq's postwar trajectory for military interventions more generally.

**The Obama approach to the Middle East: the end of America's moment**

**Author - FAWAZ A. GERGES**

**Abstract-**

As Obama begins his second term, this article takes stock of his foreign policy approach towards the Middle East. It lays out four big arguments. First, Obama's foreign policy in the Middle East has demonstrated more continuity with the past than real change. While shifting his approach significantly from Bush's, Obama has adopted a centrist–realist approach towards the region, consistent with the dominant US foreign policy orientation. Second, from Palestinian–Israeli peace to Afghanistan, Obama's conduct testifies to the

structural–institutional continuity of US foreign policy. More than in any other region in the world, presidential policy in the Middle East is hampered by institutional, bureaucratic and domestic politics. America's dysfunctional political culture has imposed severe constraints on Obama's ability to pursue an even-handed approach towards the enduring and preeminent Palestine question. Third, despite Obama's lofty rhetoric about a new start in relations between the United States and Muslim countries, the Middle East does not rank very high on his agenda. Putting America's fiscal house in order and renewing its long-term economic strength have been Obama's priorities. From the outset, Obama has been shifting US foreign policy priorities away from the Middle East to the Pacific and Asia where he and his aides believe that America's future lies. Finally, the article argues that the US finds itself in a similar position to that of Great Britain after the Second World War, at the beginning of the end of its hegemonic moment in the Middle East. The end of American hegemony in the region stems from internal and external causes, including an awakened public opinion in the Middle East, the emergence of geostrategic and geo-economic regional powers with assertive foreign policies, America's relative economic decline and the high costs of war, and the shift in US foreign policy priorities to the Asia–Pacific region.

### **Foreign Affairs**

**Volume 92, Number 2, March/April 2013**

#### **Capitalism and Inequality**

**Author-Jerry Z. Muller**

#### **Abstract-**

Inequality is rising across the post-industrial capitalist world. The problem is not caused by politics and politics will never be able to eliminate it. But simply ignoring it could generate a populist backlash. Governments must accept that today as ever, inequality and insecurity are the inevitable results of market operations. Their challenge is to find ways of shielding citizens from capitalism's adverse consequences -- even as they preserve the

dynamism that produces capitalism's vast economic and cultural benefits in the first place.

### **Japan's Cautious Hawks**

**Author- Gerald L. Curtis**

#### **Abstract-**

The election of the hawkish Shinzo Abe as Japan's prime minister has the world worrying that Tokyo is about to part with its pacifist strategy of the last 70 years. But Japan's new leaders are pragmatic, and so long as the United States does not waver in its commitment to the country's defense, they are unlikely chart a new course.

### **Diplomacy & Statecraft**

**Volume 24, Issue 1, 2013**

### **Decolonisation and the “Federal Moment”**

**Author- Michael Collins**

#### **Abstract-**

Post-1945 decolonisation involved the universal acceptance of nation-statehood as the alternative to imperialism. Nationalism vanquished its transnational competitors, notably imperialism and Marxism. Alternatives to imperial rule that avoided sovereign states on national lines, such as federations in the later 1940s and 1950s, have received less attention from historians. Federations involved alternative ways of thinking about sovereignty, territoriality, and political economy. British interest in creating federations, for example the Central African Federation (CAF) in 1953, offers some new perspectives on the strength of imperial ideology and the determination to continue a missionary imperialism after the Second World War. Federal thinking and practice was prominent at this time in other European empires too, notably the French and Dutch ones. The federal idea was also an aspect of the emerging European community. This is suggestive of a wider “federal moment” that points to the importance of linking international, trans-national, imperial, and world historical approaches.

## **Recognising and Responding to Relative Decline**

**Author- George C. Peden**

### **Abstract-**

It became increasingly apparent in the 1950s that Britain was in long-term relative economic decline. However, during far-reaching reviews in 1959–1963 of future policy, the Foreign Office and the Treasury could not agree that timely strategic retrenchment would be an appropriate response. Ministers believed that Britain would remain a world Power; the British economy continued to be handicapped by higher levels of defence expenditure than those of other western European Powers; and it took an economic crisis to force a decision to withdraw from east of Suez.

## **Asian Survey**

**Vol. 53, No. 1, February 2013**

## **Pakistan in 2012: An Assertive Judiciary in a Pre-Election Year**

**Author-Anas Malik**

### **Abstract-**

In the lead up to Pakistan's national elections scheduled for 2013, the judiciary and the legislature have clashed over the reopening of corruption cases against President Zardari. Prime Minister Gilani was forced from office, and the crisis abated due to his successor's actions. The Supreme Court ruled that military intelligence illegally interfered with an earlier election. Fiscal crises, sectarian violence, insurgency, and slow economic growth continue to pose serious challenges. U.S. aid was resumed after NATO supply lines were re-opened, but tensions remain over U.S. drone strikes. The Pakistani rupee sank to a record low. The country's democratic transition is still young, and consolidation may promote solvency and improve governance.

## **India in 2012: Spiraling Down**

**Author:- Maya Chadda**

### **Abstract-**

The year 2012 began for India with a steep decline in the economy, disarray in politics, and paralysis in policy. While there were more immediate causes for this state of affairs,

each malady reflected a deeper dilemma created by widespread corruption, a weakening central state, declining discipline within the ruling coalition, a loss of economic momentum caused by an unresolved balance between equity and growth, and a failure to harness popular support for reforms. Each dilemma called for a fundamental change in the power equation between different parts of the state and between state and society.