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**Contemporary Security Policy**  
**Volume 32, Issue 1, April 2011**

**ARMS CONTROL FOR THE 21ST CENTURY**

**Author-Neil Cooper**

**Abstract**

In the past two decades there has been an extensive reconceptualization of security and its associated practices, but there has been scant attention to questions of arms and their control. This article, and those which follow, seek to start a conversation about the control of the means of violence. We begin by drawing on the metaphor of arms control as science fiction in order to highlight notable features of the classical arms control literature. The article then discusses the ways contemporary arms control practice has evolved from a Cold War focus on parity and mutual vulnerability to a global control architecture characterized by the pursuit of absolute security via an ever-expanding range of non-proliferation initiatives aimed at rogues, rebels and terrorists. Consequently, in its post-Cold War, post-9/11 mode, contemporary arms control practice has been transformed into a form of global counter-insurgency. We suggest that the term *controlling the means of violence* (CMV) better captures the wide range of control initiatives that can be deployed to limit the instruments of armed violence. Finally, we summarize the arguments set out in the rest of the special issue and outline the future directions for research and activism suggested both by the papers collected in this volume and the broader discussions in the conferences that gave rise to them.

**The Arms Control Challenges of Nanotechnology**

**Author- Jim Whitman**

**Abstract**

The military potential of nanotechnology was anticipated by its proponents from the early stages of its development, and explicit programmes for this purpose are now well established. However, the impact of nanotechnology on arms control is very unlikely to be merely additive. Instead, it threatens to undermine the arms control paradigm, for reasons explored in this paper. These include the place of nanoscience and nanotechnology as the principal enablers of technological convergence; the extension from dual-use to multiple-use dilemmas arising from new materials and processes, and their integration into economic development and competitiveness; low entry-level infrastructural requirements (already a feature of biotechnology); and a blurring of the distinction between offensive arms and capabilities likely to be viewed as threatening.

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**Contemporary South Asia**  
**Volume 19, Issue 1, March 2011**

**Memory, modernity and history**  
**(The landscapes of Geoffrey Bawa in Sri Lanka, 1948–1998)**

**Author-Robin Jones**

**Abstract**

This paper discusses the landscape garden of Lunuganga, Sri Lanka, designed by the architect Geoffrey Bawa for himself after 1948. It assesses this space as a site of memory and a location where modernity and history are negotiated. The present paper theorizes the making of Lunuganga in relation to the production of modernity in Sri Lanka and negotiation of the island's relationship to colonial and pre-colonial histories. The island of Sri Lanka has a long history of the development of cultural landscapes. Bawa's landscapes can be located within these traditions. Furthermore, the time he spent in Europe furnished him with an understanding of the picturesque landscape tradition. Lunuganga could be described as a site where these (colonial) histories and vernacular traditions re-staged or re-presented the modern in contemporary Sri Lanka. Bawa's landscapes can also be 'read' as 'sites of memory', where, although of the modern era, the past is recalled.

### **The repatriation of 1973 and the re-making of modern South Asia**

**Author- Antara Datta**

#### **Abstract**

In the aftermath of the 1971 war, nearly 250,000 people found themselves stranded in various parts of the subcontinent. These 'trapped minorities' became hostages in a complex negotiation process that highlighted how questions of citizenship and belonging remained unresolved in post-Partition South Asia. By studying three groups - the non-Bengalis, the Bengalis and the prisoners of war in a comparative perspective, this paper revisits the question of who was welcome within certain borders and on what terms. It argues that these decisions depended not just on the state's policies towards 'outsiders' but also upon its own relationship with its minority communities.

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### **International Relations** **Volume 25, Issue 1, March 2011**

### **E. H. Carr, Dostoevsky, and the Problem of Irrationality in Modern Europe**

**Author- Kuniyuki Nishimura**

#### **Abstract**

Despite a number of recent studies of Carr's classical theory of international relations, scholars still virtually ignore his early biographical works, especially the one on Dostoevsky. By recovering the connection between Carr's view on international politics and that on Dostoevsky, the present article attempts to advance our understanding about the meaning of Carr's realism-utopianism dichotomy. What Carr tried to do in *The Twenty Years' Crisis* was to transcend the nihilistic relativism that appeared as a corollary of the rise of the problem of human irrationality. Carr learned from Dostoevsky the epochal meaning of this problem as well as vital insights for generating his own solution to it. Thus arguing, the present article aims at renewing our awareness of the significance of context in the inquiries into early International Relations as well as adding another contribution to the recent revisions of classical realism.

### **Shades of Green**

### **Engaged Pacifism, the Just War Tradition, and the German Greens**

**Author- Daniel Brunstetter**

#### **Abstract**

The German Green Party's evolution from an absolute pacifist party to what we call engaged pacifism during the period from 1992 to 2005 deserves the attention of just war scholars because such an evolution shows how and why pacifists can come to accept - and limit - the use of force. Because the German Greens' values are embedded in pacifist principles linked to Germany's strategic culture - a presumption against war, fear of state power politics

and escalation, and a deep sensitivity to war's destructiveness – their foreign policy outlook is defined by an alternative logic encompassing different strategies and goals compared to the just war tradition. The Kosovo crisis and the War on Terror demonstrate how the Greens' engaged pacifism offers a form of critical solidarity with the just war tradition by serving as a check on certain interpretations of the jus ad bellum criteria.

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Asian Survey  
Vol. 51, No. 2, March/April 2011

**The Relationship between India and Indonesia**

**Author-David Brewster**

**Abstract**

This article examines the evolution of relations between India and Indonesia. It argues that there are grounds to believe that this relationship may develop into a broadbased security partnership over time. Whether this occurs sooner rather than later will depend on the extent to which both countries see an imperative to turn their numerous complementary interests into practical deeds.

**The Security Dilemma in the U.S.-China Military Space Relationship**

**Author-Baohui Zhang**

**Abstract**

The U.S.-China military space relationship has been driven by the security dilemma in international relations. China pursues military space capabilities in part to counter perceived national security threats posed by the U.S. quest for space dominance and missile defense. However, the current strategic adjustment by the Obama administration and the altered situation at the Taiwan Strait have moderated the bilateral security dilemma, offering an opportunity for arms control in outer space.

**Human Security and Development in the Lao PDR**

**Author- Kearnin Sims**

**Abstract**

Development in Laos has occurred slowly, with uneven distribution and significant negative effects. This article challenges the simplistic assumption of human development and human security as mutually reinforcing processes. It suggests a holistic approach addressing simultaneously competing demands from the perspective of the most vulnerable sectors of society.

**Sino-Vietnamese Relations in the Early Twenty-first Century**

**Author- Joseph Y. S. Cheng**

**Abstract**

Sino-Vietnamese relations since the mid-1980s represent an interesting case for studying how economic considerations can transform two conflicting states into peaceful accommodation in an asymmetrical bilateral relationship. The Chinese leadership's pursuit of a peaceful international environment for economic development has been followed by its Vietnamese counterpart.

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**February 2011, 42: 1**

**A kinder, gentler counter-terrorism**

**Author-Jonathan Gilmore**

**Abstract**

The current US counterinsurgency approach, introduced in 2006, has been highlighted as representing a significant shift in the US military's approach to operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Restraint in the use of force, a focus on development projects and increased awareness of local cultures might be interpreted as signalling the emergence of a more reflective and empathetic US military, with greater acceptance of human security principles. This article contests such an interpretation, arguing that US counterinsurgency contains a range of characteristics that render it an unsuitable tool for addressing the underlying social and political problems of Iraq or Afghanistan, as well as an inappropriate platform for the realization of human security principles. Counterinsurgency retains a significant role for high-impact war-fighting, remains firmly embedded within the narrative of the War on Terror, and is likely to lead to the disempowerment of local populations.

**Towards a theory of external democracy promotion**

**Author-Jonas Wolff**

**Abstract**

A few years ago, it was a common complaint that the international dimension of democratization and, in particular, the external promotion of democracy were largely neglected by scholars of comparative politics and international relations. By now, academic research has begun to catch up with the growth of foreign and development policies explicitly aiming at the international promotion and protection of democratic regimes. Yet, what is still a largely unexplored desideratum is the challenge to theoretically grasp 'democracy promotion' as an aim and strategy of democratic foreign policies – that is, to embed the empirical research on democracy promotion in theoretical perspectives on international relations. This article sets out to contribute to filling this gap by developing a classification of competing theoretical approaches. First, research on the democratic peace – the one major research program concerned with democratic foreign policy – is used to derive potential motives behind the promotion of democracy.

**Author–Özlem Elgün**

**Abstract**

In spite of its long history among scholars of international conflict, empirical evaluations of diversionary theory have produced contrasting—even contradictory— results. We offer three reasons for these differences: choice of unit of analysis; failure to model the reciprocal relationship between threats to the survival of political leaders on one hand, and international conflict participation on the other; and measurement error in operationalizations of the independent variable—the incentive of leaders to divert. We construct an empirical test that addresses all of these concerns. Our analysis of data from Latin America during the period 1960–99 reveals robust evidence in support of diversionary theory. The results also expose the biasing effects associated with the failure to control for reciprocal causation and measurement problems.

**Funerals and Elections**

**(The Effects of Terrorism on Voting Behavior in Turkey)**

**Author– Arzu Kibris**

**Abstract**

This article empirically analyzes the effects of terrorism on the electoral choices of the Turkish voters in the 1991 and 1995 general elections. It relies on a unique data set that includes the date and the place of burial of Turkish soldiers and police officers who died in the fight against the terrorist organization PKK. The author uses the number of these security force terror casualties at the district level as a measure of the level of terrorism that the people of that district have been exposed to and analyzes whether and how exposure to terrorism affects people’s electoral choices. The results indicate that Turkish voters are highly sensitive to terrorism and that they blame the government for their losses. Moreover, exposure to terrorism leads to an increase in the vote share of the right-wing parties who are less concessionist toward the terrorist organization’s cause compared to their left-wing counterparts.

**Great Powers and Strategic Hedging**

**(The Case of Chinese Energy Security Strategy)**

**Author- Brock Tessman**

**Abstract**

We present the strategic hedging framework as a structural theory of interstate competition. Strategic hedging extends the logic of traditional balance of power theory in order to account for a wider range of foreign policy behavior, while maintaining a strong emphasis on structural incentives that critics found lacking in the soft balancing approach. We provide a four-step identification mechanism that allows the analyst to spot potential cases of strategic hedging and then to filter out behavior that is better categorized as hard balancing, normal diplomatic friction, or simple power maximization. We use the case of Chinese energy security strategy as an illustrative case study and employ the identification mechanism to demonstrate its viability as a strong example of strategic hedging. Given the importance of energy security within the context of Sino-American relations, this paper not only contributes to the development of new structural theory in international relations, it presents a new interpretation of an important policy issue.

### **Ellery Stowell and the Enduring Dilemmas of Humanitarian Intervention**

**Author- Luke Glanville**

#### **Abstract**

Ellery Stowell's detailed study of humanitarian intervention, published in 1921, rewards a close reading today. In this article, I consider two broad themes of his work that continue to be of particular relevance. First, his discussion of the rightfulness of humanitarian intervention is grounded in a concept of responsible sovereignty which is remarkably similar to present-day notions of "sovereignty as responsibility" and "the responsibility to protect." I suggest that this points to an enduring intimate relationship between sovereignty and responsibility which both advocates and critics of intervention for the protection of populations today have a problematic tendency to either ignore or forget. Second, his argument that external actors possess not merely a right but an obligation to intervene to enforce the protection of populations has clear parallels with the present-day notion that the society of states bears a "responsibility to protect" populations. I observe that, while much has changed, advocates of "the responsibility to protect" continue to struggle to overcome some of the same dilemmas about the "imperfect" nature of this obligation that confronted Stowell.

**International Studies Quarterly**

**Vol 55 Issue 2, June 2011**

### **Weak States and Institutionalized Bargaining Power in International Organizations**

**Author-Christina J. Schneider**

#### **Abstract**

When and how can weak states increase their bargaining leverage in international organizations? I argue that during phases of routine bargaining, distributional outcomes depend on the states' political and economic leverage and less on the formal allocation rules, so they are unfavorable to weak

states. This changes in phases of extraordinary bargaining, which are occasioned by significant reform such as enlargement. States that expect distributional conflict from enlargement can threaten to block accession negotiations and increase their membership benefits even if they are politically weak. Statistical and qualitative analyses of distributional bargaining in the European Union support the theoretical claims.

### **Terrorism, Democracy, and Credible Commitments**

**Author- Michael G. Findley**

#### **Abstract**

What explains the variation in terrorism within and across political regimes? We contend that terrorism is most likely to occur in contexts in which governments cannot credibly restrain themselves from abusing their power in the future. We consider a specific institutional arrangement, whether a state has an independent judiciary, and hypothesize that independent judiciaries make government commitments more credible, thereby providing less incentive for the use of terrorism. Using a recently released database that includes transnational and domestic terrorist events from 1970 to 1997, we estimate a set of statistical analyses appropriate for the challenges of terrorism data and then examine the robustness of the results. The results provide support for the credible commitment logic and offer insights into the different ways that political institutions increase or decrease terrorism.

### **Democratization and Stability in East Asia**

**Author- Jennifer Lind**

#### **Abstract**

Anticipating future political transitions in East Asia, many scholars worry that Chinese democratization and Korean unification will fuel regional instability. To inform this debate, this article examines theories that make competing claims about the stability of these potential transitions: theories within the “democratization and war” school and economic interdependence theory. I compare the predictions of these theories in the cases of previous East Asian transitions in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. Process-tracing evidence shows that (i) xenophobic nationalism or logrolling by political coalitions were not present and that none of these countries pursued bellicose foreign policies during their democratic transitions. Evidence from these cases undermines the broad formulation of democratization and war theory and is consistent with a more recent, narrower version of this theory. Second, (ii) process tracing reveals the stabilizing processes of economic interdependence in all of these cases. Third and finally, contrary to prevailing views that warn of instability during future transitions, (iii) both the narrow version of democratization and war theory and economic interdependence theory forecast stability during the upcoming political transitions in China and Korea. These findings support foreign policy strategies of economic and institutional engagement toward China and the Korean peninsula.

### **International Relations in the US Academy**

**Author- Daniel Maliniak**

**Abstract**

Using two new data sources to describe trends in the international relations (IR) discipline since 1980—a database of every article published in the 12 leading journals in the field and three surveys of IR faculty at US colleges and universities—we explore the extent of theoretical, methodological, and epistemological diversity in the American study of IR and the relationship between IR scholarship and the policy-making community in the United States. We find, first, that there is considerable and increasing theoretical diversity. Although US scholars believe and teach their students that the major paradigms—realism, liberalism, Marxism, and constructivism—define and divide the discipline, most peer-reviewed research does not advance a theoretical argument from one of these theoretical traditions. There is no evidence, moreover, that realism and its focus on power relations among states dominate, or since 1980 ever has dominated, the literature. Second, although three times as many IR scholars report using qualitative methods as their primary approach, more articles published in the top journals currently employ quantitative tools than any other methodological approach. Third, there exists little epistemological diversity in the field: American IR scholars share a strong and growing commitment to positivism.

**Studies in Conflict & Terrorism**

**Volume 34, Issue 6, June 2011**

**The Sources of Terrorist Financing**

**Author-Michael Freeman**

**Abstract**

Terrorism costs money. Although the costs of specific operations may be relatively inexpensive, terrorist organizations require much larger budgets in order to function. But how do terrorist groups acquire funding? What explains the variation in the particular sources used by different groups? This article develops a theory of terrorist financing that identifies criteria by which we can evaluate the different sources of terrorist funding, particularly in terms of their advantages and disadvantages to the terrorist group. These criteria are then applied across a typology of four primary types of terrorist financing: state sponsorship, illegal activity, legal activity, and popular support.

**The “New Terrorism” and its Critics**

**Author- Ersun N. Kurtulus**

**Abstract**

This article attempts to fulfill a lacuna in the literature on terrorism by providing a systematic response to the widespread criticism of the concept of “new terrorism.” According to this conceptualization, the “new terrorism” is characterized by religious motivation, networked organizational structures, tendency to launch mass casualty attacks and possible use of weapons of mass destruction. This conceptualization is criticized by scholars who argue that religiously motivated terrorism has always existed; that increased frequency of mass casualty attacks is due to other factors; that traditional terrorists were also indiscriminate in their targeting; and that there is nothing new about terrorist attempts to use WMDs or horizontal terrorist networks. These critics are

not convincing on three counts: they adopt a rudimentary notion of “new” which is hardly appropriate for detecting or understanding social change; they employ inappropriate categories and labels, which make it impossible to distinguish the characteristic features of new terrorism from those of the old; and several critics create a straw man version of the “new terrorism” argument by resorting to reductionist interpretations.

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### **Strategic Analysis**

**Volume 35, Issue 3, May 2011**

#### **The United States in Central Asia**

**Author-Sébastien Peyrouse**

##### **Abstract**

This article focuses on the evolving place of the US in the Central Asian arena, analysing how US interests have changed in this region since the 1990s. It studies how strategic relations were transformed around the NATO Partnership for Peace, the growing cooperation in the Caspian Sea, and the building of a regional security architecture surrounding Afghanistan. It also analyses Washington's difficulties in promoting ‘civil society’ and the limits of the US economic engagement in the region. It concludes that the United States must show more interest in societal development, and demonstrate its willingness to respond to Central Asian needs and perspectives.

#### **Pakistan's Strategic Thinking**

**Author-Sumita Kumar**

##### **Abstract**

The strategic outlook of the political, bureaucratic and military elites in Pakistan was shaped by historical exigencies, geopolitical location, Pakistan's self-perception, and its Islamic credentials. Pakistan's military-dominated leadership formulated strategies towards regional and extra-regional powers based on its threat perceptions. The strategies adopted have not necessarily resulted in fully achieving the objectives for which they were formulated.