

## **International Security**

**Summer 2012, Vol.37, No.1**

### **The Jihad Paradox: Pakistan and Islamist Militancy in South Asia**

**Author-**S. Paul Kapur

#### **Abstract**

Islamist militants based in Pakistan pose a major threat to regional and international security. Although this problem has only recently received widespread attention, Pakistan has long used militants as strategic tools to compensate for its severe political and material weakness. This use of Islamist militancy has constituted nothing less than a central component of Pakistani grand strategy; supporting jihad has been one of the principal means by which the Pakistani state has sought to produce security for itself. Contrary to the conventional wisdom, the strategy has not been wholly disastrous. Rather, it has achieved important domestic and international successes. Recently, however, Pakistan has begun to suffer from a “jihad paradox”: the very conditions that previously made Pakistan's militant policy useful now make it extremely dangerous.

### **The Terrorism Delusion: America's Overwrought Response to September 11**

**Author-** John Mueller

#### **Abstract**

The reaction of Americans to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, has been massively disproportionate to the actual threat posed by al-Qaida either as an international menace or as an inspiration or model for homegrown amateurs. An examination of the activities of international and domestic terrorist “adversaries” reveals that exaggerations and distortions of the threat have inspired a determined and expensive quest to ferret out, and even to create, the nearly nonexistent. The result has been an ill-conceived and remarkably unreflective effort to react to an event that, however tragic and dramatic in the first instance, should have been seen to be of only limited significance at least after a few years. Not only has the terrorism delusion had significant costs, but the initial alarmed perspective has been so internalized that anxieties about terrorism have persisted for more than a decade despite exceedingly limited evidence that much fear is justified.

**Europe Asia Studies**

**Volume 64, Issue 6, 2012**

**Russian in Post-Soviet Central Asia**

**Author-William Fierman**

**Abstract**

Since the collapse of the USSR, Russian-language skills have declined significantly throughout Central Asia among the titular and other local ethnic groups. Nevertheless, even in countries with minute Slavic minorities, Russian continues to be used for many different types of communication, and enjoys a high level of prestige, including in higher education and in top levels of professional, economic and political spheres. The use of Russian in elite domains and its association with high quality in Central Asia stands in contrast to the situation in the former Soviet republics of the Baltic and South Caucasus.

**Farm Restructuring and Land Consolidation in Uzbekistan**

**Author- Nodir Djanibekov**

**Abstract**

In this article we investigate the potential for and limitations of land consolidation as a tool for rural development in transitional environments, focusing on the Khorezm region in Uzbekistan, Central Asia. We frame our analysis in a broader evaluation of land consolidation as a tool for economic development based on European experiences. It is argued that both the European tradition and the Uzbek case indicate that land consolidation as an isolated measure may trigger many unfavourable side-effects, and that in a transitional environment it requires even more careful tailoring of measures and embedding in various institutional settings.

**International Studies Quarterly**

**Volume 56, Issue 2, June 2012**

**Rethinking Hegemony: Uneven Development, Historical Blocs, and the World  
Economic Crisis**

**Author-Richard Saull**

**Abstract**

The 2008–2009 global economic crisis has revived debates concerning the decline of American hegemony and the rise of China. This article engages with these debates on two levels. First, through situating the 2008–2009 crisis in longer-term development trends in the world economy, I suggest that the empirical evidence of American decline is more ambiguous and that the crisis itself is not, necessarily, an indicator of decline, but rather an organic feature of uneven development with more open political consequences. Secondly, I offer a revised neo-Gramscian perspective on American hegemony by highlighting the contradictions between the structural logic of uneven development and the neoliberal historical bloc. Through this I provide an alternative overview of the evolution of American hegemony over the last 30 years pointing to the likely continuation of American/neoliberal global hegemony.

**Arms, Intelligence, and War**

**Author- Scott Wolford**

**Abstract**

How do states respond to uncertainty over their opponents' military strength? We analyze a model of crisis bargaining in which, prior to negotiation, an uninformed state chooses how to allocate scarce resources across armaments and intelligence gathering. Arming improves military capabilities, while intelligence gathering improves estimates of the other state's military capabilities. Our model thus allows both the distribution of power and the level of uncertainty in the crisis to be determined endogenously. We derive some notable results. First, the relationship between information revelation and war is conditional on beliefs held before the information is received, as more accurate information can reduce the probability of war for optimistic states but *increase* it for pessimistic ones. Second, the allocations that minimize the probability of war are often not those made in equilibrium.

**Third World Quarterly**

**Volume 33, Issue 7, 2012**

**The End of the Libyan Dictatorship**

**Author-Yahia H Zoubir**

**Abstract**

The 42-year dictatorship in Libya finally collapsed in October 2011; it took the Western-backed armed uprising seven months of intensive fighting to defeat Qaddafi's loyalist forces. The fall of the Qaddafi regime is a welcome development in the Middle East and North Africa region. But, unlike Tunisia or Egypt, Libya does not have a standing army or a reliable potential force that can bring the necessary stability for a political transition. The tribal nature of the country and the difficulty of disarming the rebels and other groups pose serious challenges to the new authorities in Tripoli. Unless these issues are handled effectively, Libya will undergo a long period of unpredictability.

### **Remodelling the Global Development Landscape: the China Model and South–South cooperation in Latin America**

**Author- Monica DeHart**

#### **Abstract**

China's explosive growth and growing international influence have prompted policy makers and scholars to question how that country will reshape the global development landscape. While Western observers have used the concept of the China Model to describe China's development strategies and the potential threat they pose to Western liberal traditions, Chinese policy makers have promoted South–South cooperation to emphasise China's goal of a harmonious world order based on nation-state sovereignty and mutual benefits. This article explores these two competing organising principles with a focus on how each concept frames global development politics and China's relations with its development partners. Drawing on ethnographic research on China's new relationship with Costa Rica, I examine the assumptions and effects of these concepts in terms of how they shape specific development encounters. These examples suggest the intransigence of historical development inequalities and identities, which both support and limit China's global impact in significant ways.

### **Israel Affairs**

**Volume 18, Issue 3, 2012**

### **The international assault against Israel**

**Author-Michael Curtis**

#### **Abstract**

This article deals with the insidious propaganda campaign against the state of Israel by official and unofficial international organizations, human rights groups, the media and academic institutions, in addition to Palestinian and Arab spokespersons, to challenge the legitimacy of the Jewish state and to demonize it. The campaign is to some extent code for thinly veiled antisemitism, but it also results from a number of factors: admiration of third-worldism and disapproval of democratic systems and values, and

adopting as meaningful and relevant to criticism of Israel modern post-modernist thought, cultural relativism and multiculturalism.

**De-legitimization currents in Europe**

**Author- Manfred Gerstenfeld**

**Abstract**

Substantial parts of the European mainstream perceive Israel as a Nazi state due to the extreme way it has been de-legitimized. This is part of much larger and deeper pockets of fragmented and new criminal European ideologies. These attitudes toward Israel and Jews have become an indicator of the continent's moral decadence. If the far-from-hypothetical scenario of a genocidal nuclear attack on Israel comes true, the actual murderers will most probably be Muslims. Yet many influential Europeans will be collaborators and accomplices in nurturing such a scenario through their actions and omissions. Against this backdrop, it is important to realize that it is still possible to fight de-legitimization in an organized and effective way.

**Journal of Conflict Resolution**

**April 2012; 56 (2)**

**Horizontal Inequality, Crosscutting Cleavages, and Civil War**

**Author-Joshua R. Gubler**

**Abstract**

In this article, the authors bring together research on horizontal inequality, geographic dispersion of ethnic groups and crosscutting cleavages to present a more holistic theory of ethnic structure and civil war onset. The authors argue that rebel leaders are thwarted in their mobilization efforts in highly crosscutting societies due to a lower probability of potential combatants identifying with nationalist goals, decreased ability to exert social control, and diminished in-group communication. Using cross-national data from over 100 countries, the authors provide evidence that civil war onset is an average of nearly *twelve times* less probable in societies where ethnicity is crosscut by socioeconomic class, geographic region, and religion.

## **The Impact of Human Rights Organizations on Naming and Shaming Campaigns**

**Author- Rosa Aloisi**

### **Abstract**

Given the myriad of human rights abuses that occur globally and daily, why are some nations on the receiving end of a substantial amount of international opprobrium, while others receive far less attention and condemnation? The authors contend that the increasing presence of human rights organizations in such states is the critical link between the local and the international. Increases in the number of such groups contributes significantly to the generation of Amnesty International urgent actions, one of the most-often-utilized tools in naming and shaming campaigns against human rights abusing regimes. The authors find strong support for nearly all their hypotheses.

### **International Studies Review**

**Volume 14, Issue 2, June 2012**

## **Is the EU Collapsing**

**Author- Wallace J. Thies**

### **Abstract**

This paper argues that the conventional wisdom about the European Union (EU) is wrong. It questions whether the EU is now or ever has been on the brink of collapse. And it offers reasons for believing that an international organization made up entirely of liberal democratic states will exhibit great resilience and impressive staying power. We can never say never when discussing the prospect of an EU collapse, but we can make a strong case that the democracies that comprise the EU will continue to find ways to muddle through.

## **Regional Integration and the Private Authority of Banks in West Africa**

**Author- Okechukwu C. Iheduru**

## **Abstract**

A lacuna in the networked global economy and private regulatory authority literatures—hence the main theoretical contribution of this article—involves situations where regulatory authority is ceded or outsourced to nonstate business actors that, in addition to their commercial mission, espouse and actually integrate their profit motive with political and economic missions that can enhance or undermine regional integration effectiveness. Such identity-based, dual-mission regional business actors are more likely to promote regional economic integration than their foreign counterparts because these firms often define the region as the centerpiece of their investment decisions. The melding of their “region-centricity” with the profit motive may suggest the capacity of states and nonstate actors to “tame” or “regionalize” globalization or even challenge the existing global order. The empirical evidence is drawn from an unlikely source, that is, cross-border, dual-mission regional banks in West Africa to whom governments and INGOs have ceded or “outsourced” critical central banking regulatory authority, empowering or enabling them to (i) act as regional development banks through public–private partnerships; (ii) create and regulate financial instruments as surrogate common currency and regional payments systems; and (iii) cross-border supervision of regional bank subsidiaries and branches.

## **The British Journal of Politics & International Relations**

**Volume 14, Issue 3, August 2012**

### **Lights, Camera, Election: Celebrity, Performance and the 2010 UK General Election Leadership Debates**

**Author- Philip Drake**

## **Abstract**

The 2010 general election was the first in the UK in which a series of televised leaders' debates were broadcast. This article takes forward research on mediated political performance and the relationship between celebrity and politics through an analysis of these debates. By discussing how the candidates perform ‘personality’, the article highlights the use of performance in constructing informality and a personalised audience address, contrasting these with where candidates engage in conventional political speech-making. The article also examines the strategic use of language, particularly where it is designed to align speakers with the public in opposition to the political establishment. The article argues that celebrity should not be viewed as an innate quality but instead as an interpretative set of frames, the terms of which are established through performance. The article concludes by reflecting upon the implications that can be drawn about the relationship between performance, framing and political celebrity.

## **Employing Gramsci in Support of Laski on the Problems of British Idealism**

**Author- Peter Lamb**

### **Abstract**

In the early to mid-20th century Laski was a prominent critic of British Idealist political philosophy. Laski's political thought helps reveal weaknesses in the Idealism of Green and Bosanquet, who did not pay sufficient attention to divisions within society. Social unity, state sovereignty and the general will are among the concepts upon which Laski focused. The strength of Laski's criticism can be enhanced by drawing upon Gramsci's influential political thought. Laski and Gramsci were concerned with similar processes in the politics of capitalist countries. A Gramscian method justifies drawing the concept of hegemony from Gramsci's work and using that concept in support of Laski's arguments.

### **Race and Class**

**July-September 2012; 54 (1)**

## **Outward bound: transnational capitalism in China**

**Author- Jerry Harris**

### **Abstract**

This article explores the development of statist transnational capitalism in China by examining the economic activity of large state-owned economic units in energy, finance and manufacturing and their relationship to other transnational capitalists through links in foreign direct investment, joint ventures and stock investments. It also analyses the divisions within China between the neoliberal export sector and the neo-Keynesian transnational fraction that advocates higher wages and more internal consumption, and how this links to other fractions of the transnational capitalist class globally.

## **Life and death in the borderlands: Indian sovereignty and military impunity**

**Author- Shubh Mathur**

## **Abstract**

This article looks at the operation of Indian national security and counter-insurgency laws in the border regions of Manipur and Kashmir. It focuses, in particular, on the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA; in effect in Manipur since 1980 and in Kashmir since 1990), which gives the army wide-ranging powers of search, arrest, seizure, destruction of houses and the right to shoot to kill to maintain public order, without civilian or judicial oversight.

## **Europe Asia Studies**

**Volume 64, Issue 5, 2012**

### **The Patrimonial Logic of the Police in Eastern Europe**

**Author- Stephan Hensell**

#### **Abstract**

The police in Eastern Europe are often regarded as politicised, poorly trained and corrupt. This article argues that the police follow a patrimonial logic. Neo-patrimonialism is mostly understood as an authoritarian regime with a personal ruler at the top. By contrast, here a concept will be suggested which reformulates patrimonialism as the practice of the acquisition of offices and material resources. Based on this, two case studies analyse the police administration in Albania and Georgia. The findings suggest that patrimonial practices play a central role in the recruiting and financing of law enforcement officers.

### **Postmodern Geopolitics? The European Union Eyes Russia**

**Author- Ian Klinke**

#### **Abstract**

The discourse on EU–Russia relations amongst practitioners, think-tank experts, journalists and academics has congealed around a postmodern–modern binary. It is frequently argued that whereas Russia is caught up in a ‘modern’ framework of fixed territory, national identity and traditional geopolitics, the European Union is driven by a ‘postmodern’ spatial mindset that transcends these ‘backward’ values. This article argues that the EU’s supposed postmodern geopolitics remains enmeshed in a very modern temporality—a consciousness of time that valorises the present over the past. It also detects a problematic disillusion with the postmodern and questions its implicit normativity.

## **The Round Table**

**Volume 101, Issue 3, 2012**

### **Divorced from Political Reality**

**Author- Dominic Fenech**

#### **Abstract**

Divorce legislation was enacted in Malta in 2011 following a consultative referendum. Until then the biggest barrier to divorce had been the perceived influence of the Catholic Church, expressed not just in its presence in many spheres of public life, but in historical reminders of the political costs of challenging its status and doctrines. The process leading to the introduction of divorce showed: that the political parties still feared confronting the Church; that the Church itself had been losing ground as a politically coercive or persuasive force; and that the biggest challenge to its status and relevance was coming from below, as a result of people's changing attitudes and lifestyle. This contrasts starkly with the history of Church–State relations and its landmark political–religious conflicts, involving the ecclesiastical establishment on the one hand, and secularising political forces on the other. Retracing the history of political–religious strife, this paper seeks to evaluate the changing quantity and quality of ecclesiastical power in Malta, up to the point when the divorce question exposed its limits, though not its end.

### **The Commonwealth as a Force for Good**

**Author- Hugh Segal CM**

#### **Abstract**

In this, one of his earliest public addresses as Canada's Special Envoy for Commonwealth Renewal, the author explains the basis of his country's relationship with the Commonwealth and stresses the need for urgent and sustained action on the recommendations of the Eminent Persons Group if the full potential of this association of nations is to be realised. He commends the progress that has already been made in a number of areas, but argues that unless the focus on human rights, democracy and the rule of law is maintained, the Commonwealth may not be able to maintain its reputation as a compelling force for good.

**Third World Quarterly**  
**Volume 33, Issue 3, 2012**

**The Anti-Politics of Development: donor agencies and the political economy of governance**

**Author- Wil Hout**

**Abstract**

This article discusses the attempt undertaken by several development aid agencies since the turn of the century to integrate political economy assessments into their decision making on development assistance. The article discusses three such attempts: the Drivers of Change adopted by the UK's Department for International Development, the Strategic Governance and Corruption Analysis (sgaca) developed by the Dutch Directorate General for International Cooperation and the new thinking on political economy analysis, policy reform and political risk advanced by the World Bank. On the basis of a political-economic interpretation of development agencies, two main factors are found to hinder the successful application of political economy assessment. In the first place, the agencies' professional outlook leads them to see development in primarily technical terms. In the second place, the nature of incentives for development professionals leads them to resist the implementation of political economy analyses.

**White Turks, Black Turks? Faultlines beyond Islamism versus secularism**

**Author- Seda Demiralp**

**Abstract**

According to popular views, contemporary Turkish politics is defined by the ideological conflict between Islamist and secularist parties. However, the focus on the Islamism versus secularism dichotomy, a common bias in the studies of Muslim countries, disguises a deeper faultline between the old urban elites and the newly rising provincial actors. This article highlights the need to see beyond the 'Islamism–secularism' divide and to consider the complex relations of power between alienated social groups in Turkey. It analyses the intricate and multi-layered forms of 'othering' in the urban secularist discourse, which perpetuates the inequalities and contention in society. Instead of taking the 'Islamism–secularism' divide as given, the article analyses the construction of secularist and Islamic identities and considers how this dichotomous discourse has empowered the urban parties to control the provincial. Finally, implications for the reconciliation of antagonised social groups are presented.

**Journal of Peace Research**

**March 2012; 49 (2)**

**Structural determinants of human rights prosecutions after democratic transition**

**Author-** Hun Joon Kim

**Abstract**

Over the last three decades, a growing number of countries have experienced a transition from authoritarianism to democracy, and the new governments have been increasingly expected to address past human rights violations. While the academic literature on the impact of human rights prosecution is relatively well developed, the literature on the causes of such prosecution is still sparse. Why do states pursue criminal prosecutions against former state officials on the charge of human rights violations? This article answers this question by testing three key theories: the balance of power between old and new elites, transnational advocacy networks, and the diffusion theory.

**UN intervention and the duration of international crises**

**Author-** Kyle Beardsley

**Abstract**

This article examines the effect of UN actions on the duration of international crises. Four different types of action – assurance, diplomatic engagement, military involvement, and intimidation – and three different outcomes – compromise, victory, and stalemate – are considered. After building on the existing literature to develop expectations of how a third party like the UN shapes crisis trajectories, hypotheses are tested using the International Crisis Behavior (ICB) data and a new events dataset on UN activity.

## **Journal of Conflict Resolution**

June 2012; 56 (3)

### **Disaggregating Noncompliance: Abstention versus Predation in the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty**

**Author-** Matthew Fuhrmann

#### **Abstract**

Why do states make disingenuous treaty commitments? Under what conditions will countries refrain from entering cooperative agreements with which they do not expect to comply? This article addresses these questions by analyzing how states that are pursuing nuclear weapons treat the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT). The authors develop a distinction between two types of noncooperative behavior. The first is cheating while part of the NPT (predation) and the second is pursuing nuclear weapons outside of the treaty (abstention). The authors' argument is that democratic proliferators are more likely to abstain because executives in democracies are domestically constrained to a greater degree than authoritarian leaders. Statistical tests in a sample of all countries with active nuclear weapons programs from 1968 to 2004 provide evidence in favor of our argument.

### **Globalization, Economic Freedom, and Human Rights**

**Author-** Axel Dreher

#### **Abstract**

Using the KOF Index of Globalization and two indices of economic freedom, the authors empirically analyze whether globalization and economic liberalization affect governments' respect for human rights in a panel of 106 countries over the 1981–2004 period. According to their results, physical integrity rights significantly and robustly increase with globalization and economic freedom, while empowerment rights are not robustly affected.

**International Perspectives on the Communist Party of China**

**Author-David Shambaugh**

**Abstract**

*As the world anticipates the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in October 2012, international scholars and specialists of the CPC have been assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the Party and positing a series of forecasts about its potential future evolution. This article reviews and categorises this scholarship. It argues that since 2009, political and inner-Party reforms that had been pursued since 1997 have stagnated and retrogressed, and that the CPC needs to return to a proactive political reform agenda in order to tackle the many pressing social, economic, intellectual and political challenges that it faces.*

**Revising Reform: China's New Leaders and the Challenge of Governance**

**Author- Bruce J. Dickson**

**Abstract**

*With new leaders about to come to power in China, the ruling Communist Party is making significant changes to its development model. This article looks at three key trends: the promotion of “national champions” and “indigenous innovation” to create distinctive Chinese brands that can compete in foreign markets; an emphasis on more domestic consumption and less reliance on exports and infrastructure spending as the engine of growth; and experiments with various political reforms at the local level that are designed to help the Party govern better.*