Progress and Pitfalls in the Study of Political Violence

Author- Michael J. Boyle

Abstract-

The study of political violence has undergone dramatic changes in its orientation, scope, and empirical approach over the last twenty years. The increasing availability of micro-level data and the growing methodological sophistication of researchers have led to a proliferation of high quality studies on different types of political violence, such as genocide, ethnic cleansing, inter-state war, insurgency, civil war, and repression. However, the cost of this increased sophistication has been fragmentation of the field into highly specialized studies of types of political violence, themselves often divided by theoretical assumptions and methodological approaches. As a way of encouraging the cross-pollination of ideas across the study of political violence, this special edition has asked leading scholars in the field to produce "state of the field" survey pieces on each type of political violence and to identify directions for future research. This introduction lays out the rationale for this special edition, highlights some of the key themes and findings in the included articles, and identifies several insights from this literature that will also be applicable to the study of terrorism.

Self-Determination, Secession, and Civil War

Author- Monica Duffy Toft

Abstract-

The end of the Cold War led to the creation of almost two dozen new states, resulting from groups that advanced claims based on the legitimacy of national self-determination. These claims ranged from modestly increased autonomy to secession and independent statehood. As a result, and because a number of these claims escalated to violence, scholarly research into self-determination and secession has increased tremendously over the past two decades, with scholars examining the fate of these movements and associated violence and wars, from onset to the termination of associated violence and wars. This article assesses the state of the academic literature as it relates to the links between self-determination, secession, and civil wars. It begins with a discussion of what exactly is understood by such key concepts as ethnicity, self-determination, secession, and secessionist war. It then turns to the conditions and factors that have been identified in the literature to explain the emergence of self-determination and secession and why violence and war become potential outcomes.

Maritime Piracy in Nigeria

Author- **Antoine Pérouse de Montclos**

Abstract-

Focused on maritime piracy in the oil-producing Niger Delta (Nigeria), this article addresses three main questions. First, how can we measure the escalation or decrease of criminal violence at sea? Secondly, what is the relationship between piracy and the (permanent) crisis of the state in Africa? Finally, what is the relationship between violence at sea and conflicts onshore? Actually, there are not enough data to monitor the real trend of maritime piracy in Nigeria. Another difficulty is that statistics and the international community focus on attacks against "big" commercial boats and the oil industry. As a result, they ignore "small" trawlers and fishermen who are the first victims of pirates in terms of homicides. Moreover, quantitative monitoring does not give details on the political economy of piracy. Too often, security analysts provide simplistic explanations that point to usual stereotypes on Africa: poverty, the failure of the state, etc. But the problem is more complex. The modernization of maritime piracy is different from a quantitative growth and has a lot to do with the local dynamics of political conflicts and crime in the oil-producing coastal states of Nigeria.

Piracy and Armed Robbery at Sea in Southeast Asia

Author- **Karsten von Hoesslin**

Abstract-

Piracy and armed sea robbery in Southeast Asia remains very much alive and active despite its reduction in the international media spotlight since the dramatic proliferation of hijackings off the Horn of Africa. Although some littorol states have made significant successes in capturing and prosecuting pirates and gang robbers, the maritime crime continues to outpace law enforcement initiatives. Piracy and armed sea robbery in the region therefore remains highly fluid and dynamic. This article focuses specifically on piracy and armed robbery in the Singapore Strait as well as the southern South China Sea examining seasonal patterns, trends and modus operandi, as well as the criminal syndicates behind the incidents.

The Role of Social Networking Sites in Civic Activism in Russia and Finland

Author- **Boris Gladarev**

Abstract-

This essay compares the role of the social networking sites, Facebook in Finland and Vkontakte in Russia, in organising civic activism. It is based on data collected about two successful campaigns mobilised by local residents against urban building projects in St Petersburg and Helsinki in 2009. Though in both cities these sites were important channels for transmitting information and organising and coordinating the campaigns, their role was clearly limited in terms of impartial, democratic discussion of the issue of common concern: the sites were rather used to build and reinforce emerging collective identities and to create consensus within the movement. In contrast to the situation in Helsinki, Vkontakte also had a central role in creating and maintaining ties between formerly isolated campaigns against building projects elsewhere in St Petersburg, thereby helping to build a 'network of grassroots resistance' in the city.

From Blogging Central Asia to Citizen Media

Author- **Cai Wilkinson**

Abstract-

This essay examines the development of one regional blogosphere, the Central Asian 'Stanosphere', through a focus on the *neweurasia* blog project. The *neweurasia* project began in 2005 as an English-language volunteer-run blog project about the former Soviet republics of Central Asia and the Caucasus, rapidly becoming one of the most visited blogs about the region. Following this auspicious start, over the next five years *neweurasia* developed into a multi-language locally driven project with more than 80,000 unique page views on average per month. Despite its indisputable successes, the project was often a steep learning curve for all involved. In this essay, we examine *neweurasia*'s evolution from 'blogging Central Asia' towards a citizen media project, and reflect on some of the issues and challenges encountered. On the basis of our discussion, we reflect upon how *neweurasia*, and citizen media in general, can maximise its impact on the nascent Stanosphere, in the process helping to give Central Asia a voice in the global blogosphere.

A Vintage Model of Terrorist Organizations

Author- João Ricardo Faria

Abstract-

A dynamic model of a terrorist organization is presented with the defining feature being that a succession of operatives is recruited at different points in time. Consequently, a government's counterterror policy must be tailored according to the vintage structure of the terrorist group that it faces. This implies that past history of counterterror policy and attacks matter for the formulation of current and future policy. The authors present the necessary steps to formulate and solve a vintage model, and to deal with the delay differential equations that naturally arise from the vintage structure. The resulting analysis captures the implications of a diverse set of phenomena such as Internet recruiting, training delays for logistically complex plots, age distribution of operatives, and the sensitivity of government impatience/cabinet composition to terrorist events for the inner dynamics of terrorist organizations and counterterror policy. Directions for future research are also suggested.

Foreign Direct Investment and Territorial Disputes

Author- Hoon Lee

Abstract-

This study evaluates the relationship between foreign direct investment (FDI) and interstate conflict, focusing on four prominent causal mechanisms: the declining benefits of territorial conquest, increasing preference similarity, increasing opportunity costs of violence, and improved information signaling. Empirical analyses show that new territorial issues are less likely to arise as global levels of FDI increase, although monadic and bilateral FDI flows have no effect on states' decisions to start new issue claims. Higher bilateral FDI flows between two disputants significantly reduce the chances for escalation to high

levels of violence over issues and improve the chances for peaceful management. Increasing global levels of FDI also reduce the chances for severe militarized conflicts. Opportunity costs are an important mechanism linking FDI and states' conflict management practices, as the pacifying effect of bilateral and monadic FDI on militarized conflict becomes stronger in dyads with a history of militarization over the issues at stake.

The Rise of Leftist– Populist Governance in Latin America

Author-Karen L. Remmer

Abstract-

Over the past decade the contours of political party competition in Latin America have been dramatically altered by an upsurge of support for leftist-populist parties and the related weakening of established parties on the center and right end of the political spectrum. Drawing on both aggregate and individual–level evidence, this article explores the roots of this swing of the political pendulum. Contrary to the conventional wisdom, which attributes the rising "pink tide" to citizen dissatisfaction with market–oriented policies, economic performance, and/or social inequality, the analysis focuses on the role played by improving external economic conditions during the early 2000s, which relaxed the preexisting constraints on policy choice, enhanced the credibility of anti–status quo political actors, and created new opportunities for the pursuit of statist, nationalist, and redistributive political projects and associated challenges to U.S. hegemony.

Legislative Institutions and Corruption in Developing Country Democracies

Author- Vineeta Yadav

Abstract-

This article extends the research on institutional sources of corruption by investigating whether legislative institutions play a significant role in driving corruption in developing country democracies. The author argues that when legislative rules (a) give parties control over agenda setting and (b) allow parties to strip legislators who vote against the party line of their legislative mandates, parties can exercise valuable influence over the legislative policy process, which allows them to engage in practices leading to higher corruption. The author derives two testable hypotheses linking higher party influence over agenda setting and voting in the legislature to higher corruption and test them by using a new data set on legislative rules for 64 developing country democracies from 1984 to 2004. The empirical results corroborate the hypotheses and remain robust when controlling for alternative explanations, employing different estimation techniques, and using different measures of corruption.

Russia's Caucasus Wars

Author- **Stephen Blank**

Abstract-

The North and South Caucasus (or Transcaucasus) are among the most volatile places in the world today. The potential for conflict among or between its states and non-state terrorist movements is high, with conflicts either occurring or frozen. Russia, although by no means the only factor behind these conflicts, is clearly one of the governments most responsible for the current state of unrest that characterizes these two regions. This article examines Russia's current dispositions and strategies in regard to the conflicts in these regions and the high stakes for which Moscow is playing here even though it is clearly incapable of imposing a legitimate and enduring regional security order throughout the North and South Caucasus.

An Agenda for U.S.–China Oil and Gas Dialogue and Cooperation

Author- **Jonathan Chanis**

Abstract-

The United States is becoming more oil and gas secure, and China is becoming less oil and gas secure. This evolution will profoundly impact U.S.–China relations. While oil and gas should become less of a destabilizing factor in U.S.–China relations, more of the global tension associated with it will shift to China and its relations with other states. However, even with less U.S.–China competition for oil and gas, each side may still seek to engage in actions incompatible with the other's perceived national interest. If the United States were to try to aggressively exploit its new position or if China were to pursue a second, more intense round of its "going out" strategy, the consequences for both sides could be very negative. Accordingly, it would be preferable if each side worked to find ways to turn what often has been understood as a zero-sum competition into a positive-sum opportunity for both. Despite a major obstacle to such cooperation, several potential areas for mutually beneficial engagement exist and are outlined in this article.

African Affairs

Volume 111 Issue 445 October 2012

The new politics of Zimbabwe's lowveld

Author- **Ian Scoones**

Abstract-

This article explores the contests over land and resources in the lowveld of Zimbabwe, focusing on three case studies – Nuanetsi ranch, the Save Valley and Chiredzi River conservancies, and Gonarezhou National Park. Each case examines who gained and who lost out over time, from entrepreneurial investors to well-connected politicians and military figures, to white ranchers and large numbers of farmers who have occupied land since 2000. We identify a dynamic of elite accumulation and control over resources that has been resisted by alliances of land invaders, war veterans, and local political and traditional leaders.

Ethnicity, violence, and the immigrant-guest metaphor in Kenya

Author- **Sarah Jenkins**

Abstract-

Kenya's enduring ethnic violence is frequently explained with reference to the mobilization of ethnicity from above, and relatively little attention has been paid to the participation of ordinary people. Focusing on the violence that followed the 2007 general elections, this article explores how bottom-up processes of identification and violence interacted with incitement from above. It argues that autochthonous discourses of belonging and exclusion engendered an understanding of ethnic others as 'immigrants' and 'guests', and these narratives of territorialized identity both reinforced elite manipulation and operated independently of it. Kenya's post-election violence can thus be understood as a bottom-up performance of narratives of ethnic territorial exclusion operating alongside more direct elite involvement, organization, and incitement.

India and Internally Displaced Persons

Author- **Vinai Kumar Singh**

Abstract

The aim of this article is to analyse the international and national legal avenues that exist to address the rights and needs of internally displaced persons. Although the 1998 UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement are not legally binding, an increasing number of human rights proponents and scholars have argued in recent years that the instrument is likely to assume a legal significance beyond its status as a mere declaration of principles. From a normative perspective, there are two issues of which to be aware covered by the Guiding Principles and Indian land acquisition laws: the proportionality test (Principle 6(c) of the UN Guiding Principles), and the right to property and restitution, which has increasingly been considered vital for the realization of the rights of internally displaced persons.

Transfer of International Protection and European Union Law

Author- **Steve Peers**

Abstract

The European Union has adopted legislation that makes it possible for refugees and beneficiaries of subsidiary protection to obtain long-term resident status and to move within the Union. This article examines the particular issues applying to the acquisition of this status for persons with international protection, and to their position if they decide to move between member states.

The British Nuclear Experience

Author- **John Baylis**

Abstract-

Part One of this article, which appeared in the last edition of *Diplomacy and Statecraft,* argued that the origins and early development of British nuclear weapons was largely driven by the particular ideas and beliefs of a relatively small political, scientific, and military elite. It is also argued that these beliefs, which developed into a "deterrence state of mind" amongst the elite, derived in part from a traditional strategic culture that emphasised the importance of producing the most sophisticated weapons of the day to protect Britain's diplomatic and security interests in a largely anarchic international system. Part Two argues that these ideational factors, based on a "realist" perspective of international security held by Britain's political-military leadership, have remained of crucial importance through to the present day.

Shoring Up Iraq, 1983 to 1990: Washington and the Chemical Weapons Controversy

Author- **Zach Fredman**

Abstract-

President Ronald Reagan's White House leaned toward Baghdad during the Iran–Iraq War because it sought to prevent an Iraqi defeat. Though the White House deemed Iraqi chemical weapons use abhorrent, it found the implications of an Iranian victory or expanded Soviet influence in the Middle East far more alarming. Newly released documents from the Iraqi state archives now allow an exploration of the chemical weapons controversy from both Iraqi and American perspectives. This evidence, along with sources from American archives, demonstrates that Washington and Baghdad had radically different assessments of the Iran–Iraq War. American officials hoped to mould Iraq into a useful ally, but Saddam interpreted American support as subterfuge. Saddam's hostile view of American intentions indicates that Washington had less

influence over Iraqi behaviour during the 1980s than both contemporary American officials and many scholars writing since have realised. To insist that Washington could have deterred Iraqi chemical weapons use overstates American clout.

Journal of Environmental Law

Volume 24 Issue 2 July 2012

Criminal or Administrative Law to Protect the Environment? Evidence from Western Europe

Author- **Michael G. Faure**

Abstract-

This article studies the scope of criminal and administrative law enforcement of environmental violations in four Western European jurisdictions. The Flemish Region and the United Kingdom have, until mid-2009, largely relied only on criminal sanctioning while administrative sanctions, which have also been in use since mid-2009, have already been widely used in the Netherlands and Germany. This article considers whether, given a fixed budget for the relevant national environment agency, single (criminal) or multiple (criminal and administrative) enforcement instruments are adequate to induce compliance.

Access to Justice in Environmental Matters—Does the European Union Comply with its Obligations?

Author- **Charles Poncelet**

Abstract-

This article examines whether the European Union (EU) has duly implemented its obligations regarding access to justice in environmental matters. On the one hand, a couple of directives have been revisited so as to oblige Member States to foster better access to justice in accordance with the Aarhus Convention. Through recent significant decisions, the EU judiciary has partially filled the legislative gap by showing its willingness to grant EU citizens effective remedies. On the other hand, the EU courts remain hardly accessible, if not inaccessible, to both individuals and environmental

associations.

Race and Class
April–June 2012; 53 (4)

Malcolm X at the Oxford Union

Author- Saladin M. Ambar

Abstract-

This article examines Malcolm X's affirmation at the Oxford Union of the proposition put forward by US Senator Barry Goldwater at the Republican National Convention in 1964: 'Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice; moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue.' At Oxford, black nationalism, American conservatism and liberal conceptualisations of rights were all on display, as Malcolm X explored new potentialities in American and black political thought. The paper seeks to uncover some of the less explored dimensions of this moment of transition in US and UK racial politics, even as Malcolm extended his arguments into the broader context of decolonisation in Africa and the extension of rights to Africans and other marginalised groups throughout the world. With the 1964 elections in the US and UK serving as background, the author seeks to illuminate the ways in which the rhetoric and theories implicit in the debate represented both atavistic and new arguments for reconciling the impulse for both racial and civic recognition in modern society.

Black longshoremen and the fight for equality in an 'anti-racist' union

Author- Jake Alimahomed-Wilson

Abstract-

This paper uncovers the contradictions between official 'anti-racist' union principles and local practice by exploring the ways that racism shaped a racially progressive union's politics. Using interview material, it centres on the past and present experiences of African American union members working as longshoremen in southern California.

International Affairs

Pragmatism or what? The future of US foreign policy

Author- DAVID MILNE

Abstract-

This article discusses the intellectual sources of the presidential candidates' foreign policies. In the case of Barack Obama, the article examines the formation of his worldview, his intellectual inspirations, his most significant foreign policy appointments and the diplomatic course he has pursued as president. Mitt Romney's foreign policy views are harder to identify with certainty, but his business and political career—as well as the identity and dispositions of his advisory team —all provide important clues as to the policies he will pursue if elected in November 2012. The article finds much common ground between the two candidates; both are results-driven pragmatists, attuned to nuance and complexity, who nonetheless believe—in agreement with Robert Kagan—that US geostrategic primacy will continue through the span of the twenty-first century. The gulf between the candidates on domestic policy is vast, but on foreign policy— Romney's bellicose statements through the Republican primaries served a purpose that has passed —there is little between them.

Justifying sacrifice: Barack Obama and the selling and ending of the war in Afghanistan

Author- TREVOR McCRISKEN

Abstract-

Since taking office, United States President Barack Obama has attempted to refocus and revitalize the US war against terrorism. The centrepiece of this effort has been an increased emphasis on the war in Afghanistan, which he has characterized as the real frontline of the war on terror—as opposed to the 'distraction' of the Iraq war. After years of fighting under the Bush administration, Obama has had to 'sell' to the US public the renewed effort in Afghanistan and bordering Pakistan in order to maintain support for his policy. In speeches and other public pronouncements, Obama has drawn heavily on the idea of 'sacrifice' to justify the deepening of the commitment to the war, arguing that the costs of the war are necessary in order to keep the US safe from further terrorist attacks. This article explores this symbolic engagement with the sacrifices being made in the name of keeping the United States 'safe' from terrorism. It considers whether this approach resonates with public and elite opinion; it also considers the sustainability

of underlying public support for the war and analyses how Obama has adapted his approach in order to fulfil his goal of drawing the US intervention to a close. While Obama appears to have judged well the price that the US public is willing to pay to defend against terrorism, it is argued that there are major risks involved in using the central principle of sacrifice when justifying the war. Obama has risked creating a 'sacrifice trap' whereby the more emphasis is placed on the sacrifices being made, the more necessary it becomes to demonstrate outcomes that make those sacrifices worthwhile. Obama's ultimate objective of withdrawing US forces from Afghanistan may yet be undermined, therefore, by the justifications he has given for the continued importance of the commitment.

Europe Asia Studies

Volume 64, Issue 9, 2012

Post-Soviet Ethnic Relations in Stavropol'skii *Krai*, Russia

Author- Andrew Foxall

Abstract-

According to the Russian NGO SOVA Center, 20 people were killed and at least 148 were injured in racist and neo-Nazi attacks in 2011 in Russia. Although a decline on 2007 (when 89 people were killed and at least 618 injured), the figure remains worryingly high. These people, as well as many others who are not included in these statistics, are victims of Russia's violent geographies of ethnic relations. Through research conducted over the course of two years in 2008 and 2009, supplemented by an analysis of research conduced by NGOs and independent researchers, I document post-Soviet ethnic relations in Stavropol'skii *Krai*.

Suicide Bombing: Chechnya, the North Caucasus and Martyrdom

Author- Cerwyn Moore

Abstract-

This essay analyses Chechen-related suicide attacks, locating them within the historical and political context of the anti-Russian insurgency in the North Caucasus and the different factions of the anti-Russian armed resistance movement in the period between the first and second Russo-Chechen wars. The core of the essay is an analysis of the different character of two waves of

suicide operations, (2000–2002) and (2002–2004). The first wave was linked to nominally Islamist groups, whereas the second set of attacks were linked to Operation Boomerang devised by Shamil Basaev. Finally, the essay considers other attacks that do not fit into either of these two waves of terrorism.

Hope and Fear: Intelligence and the Future of Global Security a Decade after 9/11

Author- **Kristan Stoddart**

Abstract-

This article explores a number of debates that have dominated intelligence studies since the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. It examines a number of inherent tensions, involving individuals and institutions, which threaten the long-term compatibility of the national security state with liberal democracy. The notion as to whether or not the use of extreme coercive measures (such as torture) can ever be justified is examined, as is the question as to whether such measures are self-defeating. The piece examines how liberal democracies seek to protect themselves in the light of rapid changes via a globalised media, the Information Revolution, and the proliferation of advanced technology and weapons of mass destruction amongst state and non-state actors. These issues are discussed with particular reference to the use of intelligence in Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, North Korea and other global trouble spots. Finally, the article speculates on the future of the increasingly enmeshed relationship between policy-makers, intelligence agencies and the media. It is concluded that, without a clear agenda for the modification of the mechanisms for accountability and oversight, this triangular relationship will, despite its interdependence, be fraught with increasing difficulties.

Rebalancing Rights and National Security: Reforming UK Intelligence Oversight a Decade after 9/11

Author- **Ian Leigh**

Abstract-

The UK government has accepted the case for strengthening the oversight of the security and intelligence agencies in its 2011 Green Paper on *Justice and Security* and in the draft Justice and Security Bill 2012. While welcome these proposals are, however, seriously deficient in neglecting the potential contribution of oversight to the protection of human rights. This article argues that democratic oversight should play a significant role in strengthening the protection of human rights by way of audit of policies and review of operations of the agencies, with regard to international intelligence cooperation and where the storage and use of personal data by the services is concerned.

Terrorism and Political Science

Author- Matt Haunstrup Qvortrup

Abstract-

This article shows empirically, theoretically and statistically that domestic (or 'home-grown') terrorism in Western Europe occurs more frequently in countries with majoritarian political systems (typically first-past-the-post electoral systems and single-party governments) than in countries with consensus political systems (typically countries with PR electoral systems and coalition governments). Based on a survey of all domestic terrorist incidents in Western Europe from 1985 to 2010, the article shows strong negative correlations between consensus institutions and levels of terrorism; that is, the more disproportional the political system is, the higher the levels of terrorism are likely to be. Thus domestic terrorism tends to occur when minorities are excluded from the decision-making process on matters they find important. These findings indicate that constitutional engineering provides a more promising model of counterterrorism than the prevailing orthodoxy.

Exploring Variations in Intra-party Democracy: A Comparative Study of the British Labour Party and the Danish Centre-Left

Author- Robin T. Pettitt

Abstract-

When it comes to the prospects for intra-party democracy, the view of the academic literature and many practitioners is generally very bleak. Intra-party democracy is either declining or was never there in the first place. This article will argue that this is not an accurate reflection of what is going on in political parties. Rather than being in either universal long-term decline or permanently and unavoidably absent, intra-party democracy varies between parties. Some parties

are indeed more or less permanent oligarchies, just as some have seen a decline in the strength of their internal democracy.

Democratic Political Leadership in the New Media Age

Author- Ludger Helms

Abstract-

This article looks into the ambiguous effects that 'mediatisation' in its various forms has had, or may have, on the conditions for good democratic political leadership by prime ministers and presidents in established western democracies. For the purposes of this article, good democratic political leadership is defined in terms of three fundamental criteria: authenticity, effectiveness and responsibility. Whereas the 'new media age' offers political chief executives some distinct opportunities with regard to all three criteria, these tend to be outweighed by a wealth of media-related constraints which in sum make good democratic political leadership considerably more difficult and demanding than ever. Understood as a publicly responsible profession, contemporary political science, and comparative executive leadership research more specifically, faces two inter-related tasks: to penetrate empirically the notorious smokescreens of executive politics, and to provide the public with reasonable standards for evaluating the performance of executive leaders.

Israel Affairs

Volume 18, Issue 4, 2012

The failed Palestinian–Israeli peace process 1993–2011

Author- Raphael Cohen-Almagor

Abstract-

This article examines the major developments that have taken place since the signing of the Oslo accords in September 1993. It analyses the major mistakes made along the way by both sides, showing that brinkmanship is a very dangerous policy when one or both sides are willing to pay a high price in blood. Finally, it offers a blueprint for breaking the deadlock roughly based on the Clinton parameters of 2001 and the subsequent Israeli–Palestinian Geneva Accords.

The US, Hezbollah and the idea of sub-state terrorism

Author- **Hussain Sirriyeh**

Abstract-

The article discusses the different views regarding the controversial concept of terrorism, noting that there are many definitions of this concept with no internationally agreed definition. It then examines the US attitude and policy towards terrorism prior to the coming of the Obama administration. It continues by describing the Obama administration's general policy towards the Greater Middle East region and appraises its position on the concept of terrorism and the action of Hezbollah.