WAR & PEACE

CONTENTS

A MESSAGE FROM OUR PARTNER: THE EUROPEAN UNION SOCIETY

It is my pleasure, as president of the EU Society, to co-present this issue of *Leviathan* on the subject of War and Peace. A significant portion of the contributions herein were penned by members of our Society, and we encourage all those interested in the study of the European Union to come along to our events and get involved. We thank the *Leviathan* team for their effort and look forward to working with the journal again in the future.

From the Mongol invasion, to the Thirty Years' War, to the horrors of the twentieth century, the European continent has been a stage for unthinkable devastation. These experiences should remind everyone that peace must never be taken for granted, and that we should never again find ourselves on the side of complacency. I leave you with the words uttered by President Barroso when he accepted the Nobel Prize on behalf of the European Union: "Peace cannot rest only on the good will of man. It needs to be grounded on a body of laws, on common interests, and on a deeper sense of a community of destiny."

Marko John Supronyuk
European Union Society President
Facebook.com/EUSocietyEdinburgh

Announcing the Politics and International Relations Society's New Project: The Buchanan Institute

The Buchanan Institute is Edinburgh's first student-led policy think tank. By delivering public policy proposals written by students at the University of Edinburgh to policymakers in government, the public sector, the private sector and non-profit organisations, the Buchanan Institute connects students and their ideas to those who can affect change.

Please join us for a Conference on Drug Policy Reform on 1st March in Rainy Hall, New College. More details are available on our Facebook page, https://www.facebook.com/thebuchananinstitute.

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EDITOR IN CHIEF

Welcome,

If one were to take a walk around George Square, asking students of politics or international relations on this campus *what* they hope to do with their degree, many students I know, many of you reading this now, with a sheepish grin for fear of sounding trite, might answer something like "because I want to do my part in building a more peaceful world."

This issue also comes at a particularly potent moment to discuss issues of war and peace. The centennial of the First World War provides an opportunity to ask uncomfortable questions. Though formal global empires have crumbled, do we live in a world free of imperialism? Though we now have a United Nations tasked with providing a forum capable of maintaining peace, is the world a more peaceful place? Has the likelihood of Great Power war actually diminished?

By exploring questions of war making and peace building, inevitably, we must ask, what causes war? Is violence innate to mankind and empathy something we must impose upon ourselves? If institutions like the United Nations cannot impose an order of peace on the world, can ideational forces? Can religion? In Gospel of Matthew, Christ says in the Sermon on the Mount, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they are the children of God." In Muhammad's Last Sermon, Muslims are implored to "Hurt no one so that no one can hurt you." How, then, do we make sense of 35 Christians killed in bomb blasts in Baghdad churches on Christmas Day, 2013? How can we explain the slaughter of 22 Muslims fleeing violence in the Central African Republic on 19 January by a Christian militia?

This issue takes a critical look at how wars are fought, how, or if, peace is built, and whether or not any individual can, actually, make an impact.

The cover to this issue, a cavalry charge by the Royal North British Dragoons (The Scots Greys) at the Battle of Waterloo, is an 1881 painting by Lady Elizabeth Butler called 'Scotland for Ever.' The image screams nationalism, it romanticises war, and conjures an image of heroism in the face of death. We chose to feature it because the painting was used in propaganda by both the British and Germans in the First World War. That seems a fitting irony for a look into the hypocrisy and terror of war.

This glorious image of Scots charging to battle, dressed in the regalia of Empire seems quite removed from the political reality of early 21st century Scotland. As we debate Scotland's constitutional future and place in the world ahead of next September's referendum on the question of Scottish independence. In anticipation of the referendum, *Leviathan* will publish our third and final instalment of the 2013-14 academic year, featuring a broad analysis of issues in the referendum debate by students, academics, and politicians. We hope that it can serve as a non-partisan, academic, voter's guide on all policy areas touched by the possibility of an independent Scotland.

Thanks to the Department of Politics and International Relations and the Politics and International Relations Society for their continued generous support of *Leviathan*. Additionally, as our loyal readers may have noticed, this is the first issue of *Leviathan* ever to partner with another Society here at the University of Edinburgh. We would like to thank the European Union Society, our partners for this issue, for their contributions. Additionally, we very much appreciate the contribution of John Clifford, friend of the EU Society, and Austrian Honorary Consul to Scotland.

Finally, I would like to thank all student-staff members of *Leviathan* and all students who contributed to this issue. The issue you have before you represents their capabilities and hard work

Yours,

Maxwell Greenberg
Editor in Chief

Past issues of Leviathan can be found on http://www.leviathanjournal.org.

2

Meet The Staff

Maxwell Greenberg — Editor In Chief

Maxwell is a third year Politics student at the University of Edinburgh. A native of south-eastern Pennsylvania, he has professional experience in campaigns, government, and law. At University, he founded the North American Society, a community for Americans and Canadians abroad, and currently serves as its Chairman. Additionally, he has been elected twice to represent students in the Edinburgh University Students Association, most recently as the representative for International Students. As the Editor-in-Chief of Leviathan*, he sits on the Committee of the University of Edinburgh's Politics and International Relations Society. Maxwell likes warm-roasted salmon, elections, maps, and hometown pride.*

Marko John Supronyuk — Senior Editor

Marko is a third year student of International Relations and Law and scholarship holder at the University of Edinburgh. An American of Ukrainian descent, he has worked as a fellow to Congressman Brad Schneider and a political intern to Governor Patrick Quinn. During his time at university, he has served as president of the European Union Society, vice president of the Politics and International Relations Society, and a student ambassador for the University of Edinburgh admissions office.

Adrie Smith — Creative Director, Production Team Leader

Adrie is a fourth year student studying International Relations. She has worked in Washington, D.C., Edinburgh, Boavista (Cape Verde), and most recently in Geneva with the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. Her academic interests include international security, war studies, and international development. She is currently looking to pursue a career after university in international development. Her hobbies and interests include feline appreciation, alphorns, and botany.

Lynn Marissa Davies — Deputy Senior Editor

Lynn is a third year student of English Literature and History. A Scottish-born Briton of Eurasian descent, she spent her formative years as an expatriate in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, and Cairo, Egypt. Having lived within the margins of distinct and unfamiliar cultures, she takes particular interest in hegemonic value systems and the role of mass media within them. In addition to her work with Leviathan*, she is a volunteer befriender and a student leader of the Peer-Assisted Learning Scheme.*

Alex Marinaccio — Secretary, Middle East Editor

Alex is a third year undergraduate student from the United States. He studies International Relations with language courses in Arabic. Alex is the vice president of the Edinburgh University North American Society, a student-led society responsible for promoting North American culture and history. In addition, he works for the University of Edinburgh's department of Student Recruitment and Admissions as a student ambassador, participating in talks and panel discussions for the benefit of prospective students.

Naomi Jefferson — Treasurer, Fund Raising Director

Naomi is a third year International Relations student who lives in Hawaii despite growing up in the Boston area. She regularly contributes to the journal as a writer and holds a particular interest in the politics of gender within international relations. Alongside her work within Leviathan*, she is the Vice-President of the University's North American Society.*

Tanya Turak — Events Coordinator

Tanya Turak is a second year History student at the University of Edinburgh. An American and French dual national, she is affiliated with the European Union Society and the North American Society. She is very excitable, startles easily, and does, indeed, enjoy long walks on the beach.

Paul Togneri — Deputy Fundraising Director

Paul is a second year Politics student from Edinburgh and has a keen interested in domestic and international politics. Prior to University, he was employed as Senior Press Officer for the SNP in the Scottish Parliament and on national election campaigns. Alongside his current work in the Scottish Parliament and the European Parliament, Paul also serves on the committees of the North American Society and the European Union society, where he is Vice President.

Photography by Charlotte Klein
Facebook.com/CharlotteKleinPhotography

MEET THE STAFF

LENE KORSEBERG   EUROPE AND RUSSIA EDITOR

Lene studies Law and International Relations at the University of Edinburgh and Pedagogy at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. Alongside her work at Leviathan, *she is also section editor and treasurer for* The Student, *the University of Edinburgh newspaper. She has written for several other publications, including BroadwayBaby during the 2013 Edinburgh Fringe.*

MUHAMAD IQBAL   ASIA PACIFIC EDITOR

Iqbal is a third year student of Law and International Relations at the University of Edinburgh. Originally from Malaysia, he has since lived in Egypt, the United States, and Switzerland where he was an intern for an NGO at the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva. In addition, he has interned at the Scottish Parliament and is currently the vice-captain of the university's boxing team. He is a committee member on the North American Society and a contributing writer to Edinburgh Flipside. *Currently, he also works as a General Assistant at the University of Edinburgh's Business School.*

SARAH MANAVIS   DEPUTY EVENTS COORDINATOR

Sarah Manavis is a second year student at Edinburgh studying English Language and History. She is from Dayton, Ohio and has a deep-rooted love of international politics. Sarah is the president and co-founder of Flipside, *Edinburgh's first satirical news source. She is also a culture and news writer for* The Student *newspaper, former Secretary of the Feminist Society, and a presenter for FreshAir radio during term as well as during the Fringe Festival. Sarah is currently working for the UK's Foreign and Commonwealth Office as Edinburgh's sole student representative.*

ANNIE KOWALESKI   DEPUTY CREATIVE DIRECTOR

Annie is a second year Law and Politics student at the University of Edinburgh with an interest in international security. An American of Taiwanese-Polish descent, Annie has also lived abroad as an expatriate in Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai, China. Apart from Leviathan, *Annie also acts as Secretary for the Model United Nations society and has previously interned for the Polish Ministry of Economy and U.S. State Department.*

ANU PAULIINA HIEKKARANTA   AFRICA EDITOR

Anu is a third year student of Psychology and has worked in fundraising at UNICEF National Committee of Finland. She also has experience in non-profit management and fundraising with The Finnish Red Cross, Save the Children, and WWF. Anu is an editor at the Edinburgh University Undergraduate Psychology Journal, the publicist for the Edinburgh University Psychology Society, and is a part of the research team of the Edinburgh University Young Scientific Researchers Association (EUYSRA).

JESSICA KILLEEN   NORTH AMERICA EDITOR, PRODUCTION TEAM MEMBER

Jessica is a first year Politics student. Having lived in London, Paris, Los Angeles, and Nashville, she has been involved in mentoring at-risk Nashville youth, Model United Nations, Freshman Mentor Society, and Youth in Government. In high school, she was the youngest-ever Editor-in-Chief of her student newspaper. Besides her work for Leviathan, *she is also involved in the Rifle Society.*

CONSTANTINE IVANIS   LATIN AMERICA EDITOR

Constantine is a second year Economics and Politics student from Washington D.C. Aside from being on the editorial team for Leviathan, *Constantine is also on the committee for the United Nations Association Edinburgh Youth, the treasurer for the Edinburgh University North American Society, and the second year Student Representative on the School of Economics Academic Audit Committee. Constantine has previously worked as a research intern with the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency at the U.S. Treasury Department and as a policy and communications intern with Magnet Schools of America, a non-profit organization representing magnet schools on Capitol Hill.*

PHOEBE LEUNG   PRODUCTION TEAM MEMBER

Phoebe is currently a second year Politics student and is very interested in the media industry. She has worked for charities like UNICEF and Save the Children and has also campaigned for human rights issues in the past.

Asia Pacific

REGIONAL EDITOR

Attesting to the diverse and oftentimes, tumultuous contour of the region, 2014 has already seen numerous events that threaten to tear the fabric of Asian politics and affairs. In Malaysia, a battle simmers, underlined by ethnic and religious tensions surrounding the usage of the word 'Allah' by different groups.[1] Just north, Thailand faces its own crisis with protesters taking to the streets in a war against corruption and unaccountability.[2] Neighbouring Myanmar is seeing reports emerging from human rights groups accusing the Burmese military of utilizing rape as a tool of war to destroy and demoralize ethnic communities.[3] To the west, Bangladesh faces international condemnation with elections marred by violence and low voter turnout.[4]

Northward on the East Asian theatre, South Korea, China and Japan are finding themselves in the midst of a territorial dispute in the South China Sea.[5] This occurs as China attempts to regulate fishing in the disputed area, to the objection of other countries in the Asia-Pacific region.[6] In domestic affairs, the country's treatment of the wife of Nobel Peace Prize Winner Liu Xiaobo has just come to light, with her health and well being fast deteriorating under house arrest.[7]

Westward, India has promised Pakistan its retribution in the event of any disputes on the Line of Control separating the two neighbours.[8] In further addition to that, Pakistan is now having to keep a watchful eye on the Taliban coming from over the border in Afghanistan, as recent killings conducted by the military network have targeted high profile leaders.[9] Continuing further west, tensions mount in Central Asia with armed skirmishes between Tajik and Kyrgyz guards taking place amidst unresolved border delimitation issues.[10]

These disputes paint a turbulent picture of a continent characterised by high densities of both people and cultures. As peace slips seemingly further and further away from the grasp of these nations, only time can tell whether war lies in the horizon for each of them.

Muhamad Iqbal

India versus Pakistan: Inventing the Enemy

DAVID KELLY explores the persistent rivalry between South Asia's nuclear-armed superpowers

In *Inventing the Enemy*, Italian essayist Umberto Eco describes a curious encounter he once had in the back of a New York taxi. The taxi driver, a Pakistani immigrant, abruptly asked Eco who Italy's enemies were. More than a little bemused, Eco declared that Italy had no real enemies to speak of – an answer which did not satisfy his persistent driver. According to Eco, "he wanted to know who were our historical enemies, those who kill us and whom we kill".[1]

Reflecting on this bizarre conversation and drawing on diverse sources ranging from Cicero to Shakespeare, Eco comes to a somewhat disturbing, though fascinating, conclusion. He argues that all nations need enemies – actual or invented, real or imagined, material or spiritual. Having enemies, he writes, helps us "not only to define our identity but also to provide us with an obstacle against which to measure our system of values and, in seeking to overcome it, to demonstrate our own worth. So when there is no enemy, we have to invent one".[2]

During the Cold War, American propaganda proclaimed that the US was everything that the Soviet Union was not, and vice versa. The US fought for free markets and free peoples against godless, totalitarian Communism. The USSR fought for the international working-class against exploitative, corrupted American capitalism. With the end of the Cold War, Eco claims, America was "in danger of losing its identity". It needed to find a new mission and a new enemy, which the tragedy of 9/11 provided – the War on Terror and Osama Bin Laden.[3]

Nonetheless, it is not difficult to compile a list of rivalries and antagonisms that exist between nations – the United States and Canada, France and Germany, Norway and Sweden – that are entirely peaceful. Despite past hostilities and present irritations, they are friends and allies. Their 21st century battles are confined to the sporting arena. Of course, counter-examples do exist – not least Israel and Palestine or North and South Korea. However, neither of these conflicts, arguably, constitutes a fundamental threat to the peace of the entire world or the lives of over one billion people. The most neglected and underestimated threat to world peace lies on the fault line between two states with a recent history scarred by recurrent, bloody wars, border disputes and sectarian tension, now armed to the teeth with nuclear weapons.

Last September, I stood on that fault line, on the border between India and Pakistan, in a small, otherwise unremarkable village called Wagah. The famous Grand Trunk Road that passes through Wagah is the only road border crossing between India and Pakistan. In 1947, as the British retreated from the jewel in their imperial crown, the Radcliffe Line, demarcating the territory of the newly independent states, was hastily drawn right through the middle of the village, cutting Wagah, and the green fields of the Punjab, in two. Today, the eastern half of the village is Indian, the western side Pakistani.

Every evening, in one of the most colourful, boisterous and downright bizarre pieces of pageantry on the planet, Indian and Pakistani border guards conduct an elaborate flag-lowering ceremony. Thousands of people gather to cheer on the extraordinary spectacle, as tall soldiers, sporting thick moustaches, peacock-style headgear and large guns, stamp and holler as ostentatiously and aggressively as possible. It has to be seen to be believed.

The events at Wagah could be seen as a sign of progress. In order to keep everything in symmetry, both sides have to work together. Indian and Pakistani technicians maintain constant communication throughout the performance to keep everything running in sync. Since 2006, the ceremony now concludes with a curt but symbolic handshake. The happy, singing crowds of flag-waving families could be mistaken for a crowd at an entirely benign India-Pakistan cricket international.

However, the ceremony – and the border – is symptomatic of a fundamentally dysfunctional relationship. There is no comparable border ceremony between peaceful, allied neighbours. No military personnel stalk the US-Canada border, large swathes of which are entirely unmanned and unmarked. There is complete freedom of movement of people and goods between France and Germany. There are no crowds cheering menacing, armed men. Immigration controls between Norway and Sweden do not exist and customs checks are only sporadically enforced. North America, Western Europe and Scandinavia are textbook examples of what Karl Deutsch called the "security community".[4] Levels of mutual trust, cooperation and interdependence are so high as to render war utterly inconceivable. Not so along the Radcliffe Line.

Since independence, India and Pakistan have fought three wars – in 1947, 1965 and 1971 – and one unofficial conflict in 1999. Both nations maintain a heavily militarised border.[5] On the Indian side, as you travel from the holy city of Amritsar towards Wagah, countless large cantonments stand by the roadside. Much of the Indian Army is stationed in Punjab. The movement of people and goods across the border is restricted and slow. Security is tenuous. In 2013 alone, fifty-five Indian security personnel were killed along the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir,[6] where an anti-Indian insurgency remains lethal. Pakistani personnel have violated the ceasefire line over two hundred times in the past year.[7] Several Pakistani personnel have also died. In short, the border area, from Punjab in the south to Kashmir in the north, remains a highly volatile region. Some see it as the most likely theatre of a future nuclear war.

Elements within the Pakistani military and intelligence agencies appear determined to sabotage any peace process that might threaten their power. India continues to accuse Pakistan of complicity in the 2008 terrorist attacks on Mumbai which killed a hundred and sixty-four people. Pakistan still resents India's military and political support for the Bangladeshi nationalist struggle in 1971. The sectarian violence of Partition, which claimed the lives of over a million people and turned six million Muslims, four and a half million Sikhs and many Hindus into refugees, continues to haunt the collective memory.[8] While they are not at war, India and Pakistan are not yet at peace. The sins of their fathers and grandfathers still await acknowledgment, never mind an apology.

However, newly elected-Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif insists that he wants peace.[9] But we have been here before. Past attempts at achieving a lasting and comprehensive peace settlement, of completing the process of normalising relations, have all failed.[10]

The nature of Partition caused Indian and Pakistani identity to develop in divergent directions. Pakistan is over 96% Muslim,[11] while India is mostly Hindu with significant Sikh, Buddhist, Christian and Muslim minority populations. In 1956, Pakistan declared itself to be an Islamic Republic, while India has always been a secular state. During the Cold War, Pakistan allied with the West, while India was a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement and a tacit partner of the USSR. Until very recently, Pakistan has been ruled by its military, while India is the world's largest democracy.

"The epitome of difference," Eco observes, "is the foreigner".[12] In each other's eyes, India and Pakistan personify the foreigner, the 'Other'. During my journey around northwestern India, this sense of difference, often mixed with pugnacious, jingoistic rhetoric, was palpable. Of course, the great irony is that Pakistanis and Indians were not foreigners until 1947, prior to which they had lived side by side in a single state. The notion of Pakistan did not even exist until it was invented in the 1930s by a handful of quixotic Punjabi Muslims studying thousands of miles away at Cambridge University.[13]

But do we accept Eco's analysis? He appears excessively pessimistic and deterministic – "It seems we cannot manage without an enemy... The need is second nature even to a mild man of peace".[14] He neglects the positive and peaceful dimensions of many national identities.

Or does he? From Eco's argument we can extrapolate an alternative that reflects modern reality. Contemporary civic nationalism has transformed the old idea of the nation, marked by ethnic exclusivity and martial chauvinism, into one of a political community united, not by blood, but by ideas and values. For the aforementioned "mild man [or woman] of peace" the enemy shifts from "a human object to a natural or social force that in some way threatens us and has to be defeated, whether it be capitalistic exploitation, environmental pollution, or third-world hunger".[15] Nations need not be forged by war or defined against a demonised 'Other'.

In other words, Eco acknowledges that the invented enemy is not geographical, national or spatial by necessity. We choose our enemies. War is a choice.

Which begs the question: would Wagah still be divided by hubris and barbed wire if India and Pakistan saw their enemies as poverty, corruption and disease, instead of each other?

David is a second year Politics student at the University of Edinburgh.

EUROPE & RUSSIA

The year 2014 will mark exactly a century since the outbreak of the First World War, a terrible event that changed not only the history of warfare, but also the history of Europe and the world, forever. Few people alive today can say that they remember it. Soon enough, the same will be true of the Second World War. Sixty-five years have passed since September 1, 1939, and the generation old enough to remember the tragedies of that war is sadly turning too old to tell their tale.

A regular question asked, but rarely answered, in school history books is the following: will we ever experience war in Europe again? As the articles in this issue of Leviathan show, the signals are mixed. Despite its obvious troubles, even the most wholehearted sceptic should recognise the role of European integration, and more specifically the European Union, in securing peace and stability in Europe over the last six decades. However, recent years show that this stability is fragile, as can be seen by the United Kingdom's serious, but perhaps not too realistic, threats about leaving the Union. One can question whether the EU still has the power to secure peace and stability, or whether its presence now creates more hostility than it manages to reduce.

However, when discussing the topic of war and peace in Europe, it is perhaps even more interesting to look to the east. In this issue of Leviathan, several of the articles deal with the recent events in Russia, Ukraine, and the former Yugoslavian countries more generally. Although arguably relatively peaceful compared to many other uprisings seen around the world, one cannot overlook the fact that such protests, if they are not being taken seriously by the authorities in question, can lead to more violent clashes between the government and the demonstrators in the future.

In fact, although time has passed since the two world wars, the legacy of the Cold War and Soviet domination in Eastern Europe still stands all too clear. The events now seen in Ukraine and elsewhere serve as powerful reminders that all is not well in this part of the world, something that new generations of Europeans should not lightly ignore.

Lene Kirstine Korseberg

THE EUROPEAN UNION: SOCIETY VERSUS CAPITAL?

JOHN CLIFFORD

What is economics? A science invented by the upper class in order to acquire the fruits of the labour of the underclass.
-August Strindberg (1849-1912)

At a time when Greece is brought to its knees and measured by economic values alone, is Greece, per former EU Commissioner Peter Mandelson, the author of its own misfortune or has the European project lost sight of its founding ideals?

In the beginning culture did not exist, though it is through culture that we define our values. In the beginning the environment did not exist, though if we do not cultivate with respect the garden in which we live, it will no longer support us: "only idiots and economists believe that infinite growth is possible in a finite world" (Austrian economist Egon Matzner 1938-2003). But, in the beginning, the people did exist: the focus of the European Economic Community was on economics but this was to a higher social end.

Amidst the wording to establish the EEC, just 12 years after the devastating war in which millions had perished, are numerous references to the peoples of Europe and their wellbeing:

The Treaty of Rome of 25 March 1957 resolved to lay the foundations of an ever-closer union among the peoples of Europe; to ensure the economic and social progress of their countries by common action; to eliminate the barriers which divide Europe, affirming as the essential objective of their efforts the constant improvement of the living and working conditions of their peoples; to strengthen the unity of their economies and to ensure their harmonious development by reducing the differences existing between the various regions and thus pooling their resources to preserve and strengthen peace and liberty.

A noble purpose in keeping with the German Basic Law: "Germany is a social and democratic state." Or the Austrian Constitution: "Austria is a social and federal state." Both state a hierarchy, which puts society before economics, people before money, and anchor this in a constitutional formulation beyond the easy reach of the Government of the day. As the democratic leaders in central Europe emerged from the concentration camps and wartime occupation, they seemed to echo John Maynard Keynes:

"We should not overestimate the importance of the economic problem, or sacrifice to its supposed necessities other matters of greater and more permanent significance."

A Europe-wide, just society would ensure that no more would the continent be torn apart as between 1939 and 1945. The Treaty of Rome also called upon other peoples of Europe who share their ideal to join in their efforts. Yet it faltered at the first hurdle when French President de Gaulle vetoed the membership of Britain, whom he saw as a vehicle for US influence. Britain would first have to loosen its transatlantic ties lest it undermine the emerging acquis communautaire. Economics alone did not reign supreme.

The EEC gloriously achieved its first goal of bringing together the once divided and warring nations of Europe. The economic route proved a suitable vehicle to circumnavigate the deep attachment to outdated notions of sovereignty lingering from the heyday of the 19th century Europe des Patries. This had blindly led to the Great War 1914-1918, in part an almighty scrap over the resources of colonies in Africa and the Middle East. But, through the humiliation by the victors, France, UK and US, of Germany it also sowed the seeds of the 1939-1945 War.

Was the founding of the EEC to be a development of genuine social significance or was "this fat pale continent, which talks about itself all the time" (Jean Paul Sartre) entering a new level of hypocrisy, as certain founding and future member states sought to cling to their colonies and develop ingenious new (neo-colonial) ways to exploit the weak in the world of the strong?

Within the EEC itself, later EC, eventually the EU, the substantial elimination of barriers to trade irrevocably interwove the lives and affairs of nations, bringing theretofore undreamed of prosperity to significant sections of the community.

In the spirit of Keynesian economics, a mixed economy was pursued - a strong private sector but with a significant regulatory role for government/EEC and, in times of recession, actual intervention. Such a social market economy thrived in the EEC. But Keynesian economics, which had served as the standard economic model in the postwar economic expansion of the EEC, was thrown into question in the mid 1970s. The Chicago School and the neo-liberals pushed the power of the markets, with scant regard for the social principles that were a cornerstone of the European project. By its very nature, the power of the markets was haphazard, belief in them described by David Jenkins, former Bishop of Durham (to the Edinburgh Fabian Society in 1988) as akin to believing in the Virgin Mary. Indeed there are financiers who would confess to whistling in the dark and making it up as they go along.

British governments, never happy with the Social Chapter, had their own opt-out. The overriding importance of business was promoted by British EU-Commissioners, not least Peter Mandelson. Free trade was the catchword in world trade negotiations, though what this means for the Third World, or for the wider European society, one can only guess. But of course these things now count for naught where business and profits reign supreme.

Have we unwittingly been witnessing a take-over of the European Project? Have we created an economic order that allows corporations to exercise the power to usurp the sovereignty of democratically elected governments through a system of transatlantic trade agreements? Governments who cringe before the "edicts" of self-selected credit rating agencies? Whom do these agencies serve?

At the very least, they promote the ascendancy of the financial sector, which conveys the financial system into every nook and cranny of society (see Costas Lapavitsas), including areas of life once characterised as basic human rights, such as health, housing, education, areas that were once relatively immune. Higher levels of taxation to fund them were once regarded, at least in some countries, as the mark of a decent society. Now they are taboo.

Vide again John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946):

"Capitalism is the astounding belief that the wickedest of men will do the wickedest of things for the greatest good of everyone."

In the present Eurozone crisis it is worth noting that after the Single European Act (1986/7), steps towards tax harmonisation were to be an essential pre-condition for the European Currency. It has been pointed out that such steps unsurprisingly did not find favour with those forces specialised in assisting the wealthy to avoid paying taxes and hiding their wealth through a network of sub-tax-havens worldwide. No prizes for guessing where this spider's web of financial intrigue is centred.

No democratically elected government, Greek or any other, could radically increase its tax take without losing power. It could, however, present higher taxation imposed by the EU (actually by the Member States themselves, behind the closed doors of the European Council) as the price of the benefits the EU brings. But this device was never on offer. Financial institutions continued to help Greek shipowners to spirit away their wealth from a country where many never earned enough to pay tax anyway.

These same institutions displayed little reluctance in lending to Greek governments and individuals to help them get by in a poor country. And now Mandelson blames the Greeks as "the authors if their own misfortune." The same Mandelson who had hobnobbed with the tax-avoiding financial elite in their exclusive Greek hideaways. The astonishing thing is that their activities are still legal, for, some would say, these are not far removed from tax evasion.

Might one not heed Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis, who himself paid a high price for his resistance of the fascist junta which ruled Greece between 1967 and 1974?

"European governments not only fail to organise a collective defence of European people against the markets, but, instead, try to 'calm' the markets by imposing policies that remind us of the way governments tried to confront" (appease?) "nazism in the '30s. They organise 'debt wars' between the peoples of Europe, just as when they were driven from the belle époque to the World War 1:

"The offensive of the markets initiated a war against Greece, an EU

member-state, whose people played a decisive role in the resistance against barbarity and (in) the liberation of Europe in World War 2. . . . This campaign presented Greece as a country of lazy and corrupted citizens, while attempting to blame the "PIIGS" of Europe and not the international banks for the debt crisis.

"Shortly, this offensive evolved into a financial one, which caused the submission of Greece under a status of limited sovereignty and the intervention of the IMF to the internal affairs of the Eurozone.

"When they got what they wanted from Greece, the markets targeted the other, smaller or larger countries of the European periphery. The aim is one and common in all cases: The full guarantee of the interests of the banks against the states, the demolition of the European welfare state, which has been a cornerstone of European democracy and culture, the demolition of European states and the submission of the remaining state structures to the new 'International of Money'.

"The EU, which was presented to its peoples as a means for collective progress and democracy, tends to become the means of terminating prosperity and democracy. It was introduced as a means of resistance to globalisation, but the markets wish it to be an instrument of this globalisation."

No wonder, it has been said, the United States supports continued British membership of the EU - as a kind of fifth column for free market policies devoid of social content. Writes Richard Tawney in Religion and the Rise of Capitalism:

"If economic ambitions are good servants, they are bad masters… A civilisation which has brought to the conquest of its material environment resources unknown in earlier ages, but which has not learnt to master itself…

"The most obvious facts are the most easily forgotten. Both the existing economic order and too many of the projects advanced for reconstructing it break down through their neglect of the truism that, since even quite common men have souls, no increase in material wealth will compensate for arrangements which insult their self respect and impair their freedom. A reasonable estimate of economic organisation must allow for the fact, that unless industry" (one might say society) "is to be paralysed by recurrent revolts on the part of outraged human nature, it must satisfy criteria that are not purely economic."

What matters more? Money or people? Capital-ism or social-ism? Christian Democrat Ludwig Erhard, German Minister of Economics behind the Wirtschaftswunder, which set the German social state on the road to becoming the economic powerhouse of Europe, advocated economic planning. Not the untrammelled free market of the USA.

The original purpose of the EEC was to create a fair and just European social

order. Is this to be forgotten? Once again, the usual suspects in Britain peddle their mendacious twaddle about refashioning the EU as little more than an unregulated free trade area, as if that is what was intended in the beginning. Have they not heeded the warning of 2008? As we approach the 300th anniversary of the South Sea Bubble of 1720, are we headed the same way again?

"O wad some Power the giftie gie us
to see oursels as ithers see us!
It wad frae monie a blunder free us,
An' foolish notion."
Robert Burns 1759-1796

Often quoted by Rt Hon George Reid, former Presiding Officer of the Scottish Parliament.

Is it surprising that in other parts of the EU, in certain circles, the view grows that, if Britain indeed seeks to dismember the carefully honed acquis communautaire, it should just leave and let the rest of Europe get on with the project? Once more, Costas Lapavitsas:

"Ultimately, financialisation will not be reversed without an ambitious programme to re-establish the superiority of the social over the private, the collective over the individual in contemporary society. Reversing financialisation is about reining in the rampant capitalism of our day."
And a last word to Pope Francis:

"People continue to defend trickle down theories which assume that economic growth… will bring about greater justice in the world. This opinion expresses a naive trust in the goodness of those wielding economic power"

Is it too late to reconnect the European Union with its founding principles, putting people before money, the social before capital?

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THE NEED FOR A TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY PERESTROIKA?

FILIPPA SOFIA BRAARUD explains why diplomatic light should be shed on the countries around the Black Sea

Over two decades have passed since we saw the end of the Cold War, yet the world is still witnessing an intense tug-of-war between leaders on each side of the Caucasus region and the Black Sea, currently represented by the demands of the Eurasian Economic Commission's Customs Union on the one side and the European Union's calls for cooperation through the Eastern Partnership (EaP) on the other.[1] The two major political poles are aiming for the same countries in a mutual line of fire, leaving them increasingly irresolute and alienated. As can be understood from the uprising of masses calling for transparency and justice in several of the Eastern European countries, the people have indeed fought fiercely to give evidence of their general verdict on the matter. Examples of such uprisings include the massive demonstrations which occurred at the Independence Square in Kiev, Ukraine at the end of 2013,[2] the Georgians' call for cancellation of the 2014 Sochi Games,[3] and the Eastern Europeans' opposition to Russian backing of de-facto authorities in their territories.[4] Their leaders, on the other hand, do not seem willing to listen attentively.

Occurring upon the smouldering grounds of history-bound territorial conflicts, these new developments make the countries around the Black Sea, especially Moldova, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, look like a belt of political firecrackers ready to re-ignite. When attempting to understand the current situation in these countries, it is indispensable to take a close-up, retrospective view on their history and geopolitical situation. There are numerous signs indicating that they are indeed emerging from hibernation following the post-Soviet era, now making them ready to shake off their former political influences and take the reins of their countries in their own hands.

The reformation of the political status quo is notably epitomised in Moldova, a country where European aspirations have been increasingly prevailing since the 1994 Constitution of Moldova was signed, making European Union integration a matter of high priority.[5] This is also reflected in the Moldovan Parliament. The Liberal Democratic Party (PLDM), a party that supports European integration, has gone from 15 to 32 seats since 2009, contrary to the Party of the Communists (PCRM), who has seen a reduction from 60 to 42 seats in the same period.[6] A plan that sought to improve the border and customs procedures and elevate them to EU standards was also called for and established at the joint request of the Presidents of both Moldova and Ukraine in 2005. The European Union Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine (EUBAM) was consequently established later that year.[7]

What is known as the Transdniestrian conflict could however cause problems in terms of Moldova's approach to the EU, impeding the fulfilment of the Copenhagen criteria of territorial stability. The Transdniestrian conflict is effectively a territorial dispute dating back to 1990, which later escalated into the 1990-92 War of Transdniestria. The ground for the dispute is the mutual claim of the sovereignty over the break-away territory of Transdniestria , located between the river Dniester and the Moldovan borders to Ukraine.[8] After 1992, the appeasement initiatives of the Organisation of Security and Co-Operation in Europe (OSCE) and other international mediators such as the UN, have kept the region in stability; however the Transdniestrian de-

facto authorities have maintained control hitherto.[9] These authorities, based in the capital of Tiraspol, have since the break-up of the Soviet Union been provided with Russian petroleum, funding and military aid. This has, as a corollary, made the international community perceive the region essentially as a Russian attempt of maintaining a 'foothold' on Europe's doorstep.[10] This theory has also been backed by the fact that the Russian Federation, calculating its own political gain, declared both the regions of South Ossetia and Abkhazia as independent states in 2008, without making a similar declaration regarding Transdniestria.[11]

In Ukraine, the current status quo is tense and filled with stirring suspense about the Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych's next steps forward in the debates with both the Custom's Union and the Eastern European Partnership. It is worth noticing that the deal with the EU is the one supported by Ukrainians at the Independence Square in Kiev. The protestors demanded an integration deal, mobilising in waves up to 100,000 protesters, tearing down statues of Lenin and demanding rectification of the democratic deficit.[12] Yanukovich's regime has notably been criticised for the controversial countermeasures and violent treatment used to deter the demonstrations, leading amongst others the US to warn Yanukovych that sanctions will be imposed if the bloodshed is not stopped.[13] The implication of the world community's concern about Ukraine's path forward may also be one of the factors urging Yanukovych to come to a conclusion rapidly.

When dealing with the Georgian position, the essential concern to address is that the separatist breakaway territories of Abkhazia and South Ossetia have, ever since the breakout of the Georgian War in 2008, been elements deterring Georgian political stability.[14] This also undermines its suitability within a European framework, especially preventing it from fulfilling the Copenhagen criteria if Georgia were to make such an attempt.[15] During the Abkhazian conflict, genocide was perpetrated towards Georgians of different ethnicities, leading to the death of over 30,000 civilians.[16] In the aftermath of this ethnic cleansing, the perpetrators have been internationally condemned and a UN General Assembly passed a resolution on the 'Status of internally displaced persons and refugees from Abkhazia, Georgia'.[17] The Georgian Parliament's unanimous passing of the genocide resolution in 2010 also resulted in the call for cancellation of the 2014 Olympic Games in the Russian city of Sochi, on the ground that it is exploiting nearby Abkhazi people in the execution of the massive project, further suppressing and violating Georgians' and Caucasians' rights and sovereignty.[18] Evidence of the increasingly destabilised situation in the entire region notably emerged in form of two suicide bombings ultimately claiming 34 lives on the 29th and 30th of December, in the city of Volgograd.[19] Radicalised separatist groups and individuals from the entire North Caucasus region have been seen to arise as the Sochi games draw closer, and groups like the Caucasus Emirate have claimed to "expend maximum force in disrupting the games".[20]

The Georgian position was expressed by President Mikheil Saakashvili in 2010. Understood as a major political declaration in opposition to the Customs Union, supposedly in favour of European integration, he proclaimed that:

"In terms of human and cultural space, there is no North and South Caucasus,

there is one Caucasus that belongs to Europe and will one day join the European family of free nations, following the Georgian path."[21]

These two contested Russian-backed territories have, in the wake of the 2008 war, been recognised as independent states, most notably by Russia, Nicaragua, Nauru, Tulavu, and Venezuela, as is also the situation with the Armenian de-facto authorities in an enclave located in Azerbaijan, the much contentious issue of Nagorno-Karabakh.[22]

In fact, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is probably the most combustible and tension-filled territory at the present time. To provide a historical overview of the situation, this contentious landlocked territory has, since the breakup of the USSR in 1991, been inhabited by a majority of Armenians. The latter has claimed the de-facto independence of the territory as it lays an enclave within the Azerbaijani territory, now separated by a highly fortified Line of Contract, a sort of "Iron Curtain" of the Caucasus region.[23] The Azerbaijani authorities claim the area to be a part of Azerbaijani territory.[24] However, they have not wielded power over it since 1991, when the tensions escalated into the outbreak of the Nagorno-Karabakh War, in which the Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh fought an intense war backed by the diaspora Armenians and the Armenian government itself, against the Azerbaijani authorities.[25] The war resulted in a backlash, with the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh occupying a further 9% of the Azerbaijani territory, which they have retained control over to this day.[26] Ever since the Russian-brokered peace agreement managed to calm the military situation in 1994, the Organisation of Security and Co-Operation in Europe (OSCE) MINSK group has held the peace-negotiating and arbitration process going between the Armenian and Azerbaijani authorities until the entry of 2014.[27]

Time works against a peaceful outcome of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. The de-facto authorities in the region have indeed had the intention to prolong the peace-brokering process in the MINSK group until time legitimises the annexation of the Azerbaijani territories, simply hoping for "time to heal old wounds".[28] However, the Azerbaijani government has claimed that it will not let its integrity remain infringed for long.[29] What is worth taking into consideration is that, since the 1994 violations of the Azerbaijani sovereignty, it has emerged rapidly as one of the most prosperous petroleum states, centralised around the petroleum imperium of Baku.[30] The Azerbaijani petroleum from the Caspian Sea makes them dominant to a stagnating Armenian economy, leaving the entire national budget of Armenia inferior to the Azerbaijani military budget.[31] This overarching threat has made Armenians feel alienated and occasionally radicalised, exemplified by their attempts to re-build the official airport in Nagorno-Karabakh.[32] Since 2012, the airport has been renovated and is now operative, solely waiting for the Armenian clarification allowing the first official flight to emerge from the airport.[33] Azerbaijani authorities have, consequently, made an official declaration in sharp jargon, clarifying that any such attempt from the Armenian government of materialising a flight in the aerial zone over Nagorno-Karabakh would lead to military reprisals, reigniting the currently appeased situation on the Line of Contract.[34]

In the hypothetical scenario of a full-scale war over the Nagorno-Karabakh region, one can only speculate as to what the military butterfly effect would be in the territories lying as smouldering firecrackers along the Black Sea. Most probably, we would witness a revival of military cluster bombs in the form of Russian and European military repercussions, creating instability around both the Black and the Caspian Sea, and giving states like Turkey, Iran, and the corollary grounds to get involved. Perhaps what this region needs next is a perestroika in the context of the twenty-first century.

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Middle East

REGIONAL EDITOR

The Middle East is nearly synonymous with conflict. Peacebuilding efforts in the region abound, and with the wave of revolutions and counter-revolutions that have been consuming global attention for the past three years, stability is still a distant prospect.

The situation in Syria is particularly dire. With rebel infighting killing hundreds of people, many Syrians have begun to see militants – many linked to al Qaida – as having hijacked the uprising. As Islamist and moderate rebel factions continue to fight amongst themselves, the position of President al-Assad's regime has only been enhanced.[1] Unless the moderate rebels are able to overcome their extremist counterparts, there is little chance of any military solution in favor of the opposition.

In Mali, al Qaeda-linked militants have begun to surge in the country's northern region. Although supply lines were cut during the 2012 French invasion, jihadists – many previous enforcers of former Libyan ruler Gadhafi – have begun to regroup, proving their resilience. With 3,000 French soldiers stationed in the country, the continued escalation casts doubt on President Hollande's claim that two-thirds French soldiers will return home by the end of January.[2]

In Iraq, an apparently defeated al Qaeda has resurged, plaguing the country with prison breaks, political assassinations, and car bombings. Since the U.S. withdrawal two years ago, al Qaeda-linked militants have retaken control of the city of Fallujah, a past flashpoint of conflict during the 2003 U.S.-led invasion.[3] With Iraqi security forces seemingly unable to hold together control of the country, and no appetite for a revamped Middle East engagement by the American public, there remains little doubt that militants will again hold Iraq in their grip.[4]

Sadly, it appears that conflict and violence shall remain bywords for the Middle East and North Africa.

Peace, Democratisation, and Islam

MARCO BAUDER *writes on the Odd Paradigm of Secularism, Islamism, Conflict and Consensus in Modern Turkey*

Since the Republic of Turkey arose out of the crucible of the First World War, democratisation has been slow to take root, and the country's existence has been marked with numerous insurrections and military coups. Founded by Mustafa Kemal as an extremely secular republic, the Republic of Turkey over the subsequent decades, mostly through its guardians in the Turkish military, would overthrow any government that did not meet its approval.[1] Within the topic of this article, this is significant for two reasons. Firstly, it is counterintuitive to the usual western instinct that secularisation is a natural step on the way to democratisation.[2] Secondly, over the past two decades, it has become increasingly apparent that this military-secular complex is the driving force behind Turkey's war against the Kurds, a people that comprise up to one fifth of Turkey's population.[3] This trend has seen reversal under the Justice and Development Party (AKP), and Prime Minister Erdogan.[4] Though the party has many critics, and is considered to be at least mildly Islamist by many foreign and domestic observers,[5] this article will nevertheless suggest that seeing AKP as an Islamic Party, or equating Islamism to an anti-democratic force is a misconception. It is more useful to see AKP has a populist, socially conservative party in the vein of the German CDU (albeit more conservative), rather than a party seeking an "Islamic state", whatever such an alarmist buzzword may actually mean.

Turkey's political history can be seen as a struggle between conservative Islamic and secular forces. However, an analysis along these lines leads to unexpected results, as in recent times, the social conservative movement of the AKP has been the leading force of democratising in Turkey. AKP was formed as the fifth spiritual successor to a long line of Islam-influenced parties in Turkey.[6] However, its rule has since its creation been characterised by moderation and an ability to work within the system, in strong contrast to some of the previous parties, particularly the Welfare party of Necmettin Erbakan, its immediate predecessor.[7]

Since its founding, AKP has insisted that it is not an Islamist party but rather a social conservative one. This has served partially as a paper shield to prevent the intervention of the military, but has also caused a paradigm shift, moving Turkey's socially conservative Islamic forces to work within the secular system set out by the constitution. Though founded on a secular bedrock by Mustafa Kamal, an undeniable fact about Turkey is that it has a history and tradition closely linked with Islam. Under the Ottoman Caliphs, modern-day Turkey was at the heart of a vast Islamic Empire that existed for over 600 years. Even today, over 99.8% of the population are Muslim and, more importantly, almost homogenously Sunni Muslim.[8] This made the success of Islamic parties entirely unsurprising, but in contrast to other states with Islamic conservative movements, whenever the aforementioned movement has been stymied by the authoritarian forces of secularism, it has returned more moderate, and willing to work within the system.[9] Whereas two previous parties have been ousted by military coups for being "too Islamic",[10] and a further two of its predecessors banned by the constitutional court for the same offence,[11] AKP has so far managed to govern for a decade without such events occurring, which suggests that it is has managed to find an acceptable level of moderation.

The fundamental point is that AKP, unlike its predecessors, is now no longer an Islamic movement, in the sense that Hezbollah or even the more moderate Muslim Brotherhood is. Due to its actions and its strategic repositioning, AKP has now come closer to being a social conservative party in the form of the German CDU. It may be more conservative than its counterpart; however this may simply be due to the fact that the religious fervour from which the conservatism partially stems is far stronger and more defined in Turkey than in Germany. The share of the actively religious population is simply larger, which translates into more votes.[12]

Armed with these moderate social conservative and liberal market policies, AKP has found an electoral niche by being a broad centre-right catch-all party. This has enabled it to triumph at three elections, all of which have been deemed adequately free and fair by observers.[13] Though far from perfectly democratic, Turkey runs a relatively democratic system, and has made great progress towards the European model of a modern state, not least when one considers that the last military intervention in government was in 1997, and

the last outright coup as recently as 1980.[14] Over the past 90 years, Islamism has been repressed in Turkey, and secular parties thrust into power by the military when necessary. Now AKP has cobbled together a coalition of social conservatives and economic liberals and fused this with an open approach to the international community and a focus on reconciliation with the country's minorities, particularly the Kurds and Alevis.[15] This has made for a powerful electoral combination through a mixture of economic success[16] and moderate socially conservative policies, such as removing the ban on headscarves in some universities and public service jobs.[17]

Simultaneously, by backing down on policies against which there was a public outcry, AKP has further burnished its democratic credentials, as exemplified by deferring to the public on the policy to criminalise adultery and abortion.[18] These are the actions of a pragmatic party operating within a democratic system in order to be re-elected. While it can be claimed that AKP has an Islamic agenda, it can then equally be claimed that CDU or the US Republican party is pursuing a "Christian agenda" by opposing more liberal abortion laws and gay marriage. However, it is only the former of these epithets that provokes an adverse reaction. Is the AKP building an Islamic state in Turkey? Most likely not. Is AKP an agent of the forces of social conservatism? Most certainly yes. Why is it surprising to us that a political party panders to its voter base with its policies?

Setting aside the subjective term of Islamism, it has to be acknowledged that Turkey under Erdogan's AKP has experienced an unprecedented wave of democratisation. While maintaining Turkey's secularism, successive military interventions in government did hinder a tide of increasing democratisation and modernisation. Through AKP, this cycle appears to have been broken, and Turkey has finally made consistent progress towards a more democratic model. During the early years of the Erdogan government, AKP used the EU accession process to advance a series of measures, which both liberalised Turkey and made the AKP government more secure from military intervention.[19] Some of the most notable of these include subjugating the military to the civilian power, removing some of the legal obstacles preventing women from fully exercising their rights, and engaging positively with the nation's minorities, especially the ethnic Kurds in the Southeast.[20]

In controlling the powerful and meddling military, by reducing the number of military personnel in both the National Security Council and the civil service ,[21] the AKP has taken Turkey one step closer to a stable democracy. However, this change comes from an unexpected quarter, as such a forceful assertion of democratic principles is not commonly seen in parties labelled "Islamists", specifically when looking at other examples in the region, such as Hezbollah or even Turkey's own far-right Felicity Party.[22] The peace process initiated by the AKP government between the Turkish state and the Kurdish rebels further speaks of democratisation and modernisation, as opposed to any move in the other direction. Whereas successive secular governments have pursued military campaigns against the Kurds, in the last decade there have been successive moderations of Turkey's attitude towards the Kurds, many measures of which have increased the scope of freedom of expression in Turkey.[23] Kurds and other minority groups are now allowed to campaign in their own language, and under the most recent package by AKP, would have substantially less difficulty of attaining seats in Parliament under the new 5% hurdle.[24]

The most recent "democratisation package" proposed by Erdogan has generally been of a drastically liberalising nature,[25] and even directly contrary to

Islamic principles; certainly it has gone far further than any secular government has managed in the last 90 years. Particular policies include a proposed return of Syriac Christian monastery, and much harsher penalties for abusing or assaulting anyone based upon their race, ethnicity, religion, gender, or sexuality. The latter, in particular, should prove conclusive in determining that AKP is making efforts to democratise Turkey. It may be a cynical move to regain votes after the damaging Ghezi Park protests,[26] but this argument does not disprove the point; it merely recognises that AKP is acting pragmatically to remain in power.

Further indications of the non-Islamisising nature of AKP can be seen in its foreign policy. Mustafa Kamal Ataturk's vision of a strong, secular Turkey has been a cornerstone of the Turkish Republic, yet it is the socially conservative party of Erdogan which has taken Turkey closest to becoming a full member of the European Union.[27] Though the negotiations have barely begun, the progressive engagement with the European Union, and the mere fact that ascension negotiations have in fact begun are emblematic of AKPs aggressively liberal foreign policy.[28] In two further issues, Turkey under the AKP has shown its liberalising foreign policy credentials. Firstly, almost singularly among majority Muslim states, it has enjoyed cordial relations with Israel. Though these soured somewhat during the last years, relations between the two states still remain warm, even going so far as to form a military cooperation agreement .[29] Secondly, the AKP government backed Kofi Annan's plan to resolve the on-going territorial dispute in Cyprus; a plan eventually rejected by Greek Cypriots .[30] Though ultimately unsuccessful, the plan did show Turkey's willingness to engage positively with the international community and pursue a compromise with states that have drastically different political and social views. Foreign policy analysis then lends further credence to the claim that Turkey is moving towards more peaceful interactions with its neighbours and the international community as a whole.

This has lent an odd schizoid quality to Turkish politics that is still not quite understood. Though never explicitly expressed as such, the European model of modernisation sees the secularisation of the state as a vital prerequisite for development and democratisation. Whether this is the product of our slow climb from the Dark Ages through the Renaissance and Enlightenment, or simply deduction based upon the fact that all developed European (for purposes of this essay those belonging to the EU) have embraced secularism, is a debate for another time. What matters here is that in the recent past, the driving force behind liberalisation, democratisation, and peace has been a party that is inherently conservative in outlook. Much more convincing is the idea that AKP has proven to be a pragmatic social conservative party that is determined to remain in power in a democratic system. Regardless of what AKP's end goals may be for Turkey, it is clear that Turkey cannot be viewed on a simple linear secular/democratic vs. Islamist/archaic spectrum. For better or for worse, Turkey has under AKP governance become more democratic, less fraught with internal conflict, and, arguably more egalitarian than previously. Many actors pull Turkey in different directions for different reasons and only time will tell what the future holds. But for now, the author is content to judge parties by what he has seen them do, not what others suggest they may do.

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Power politics and the future of humanitarian intervention

GIULIO BIANCHI

The United Nations stands to protect not just the governments represented in the General Assembly, but every citizen of the world. Although the U.N. was not initially shaped to deal with intra-state conflicts, the 2005 Responsibility to Protect report outlined the circumstances which would allow humanitarian intervention to take place.

Bashar al-Assad's government openly violated the human rights of the Syrian population, and according to the UN's R2P policy, the Syrian case merits humanitarian intervention. First, this article will take a realist stance by explaining how states have prioritized their interests by vetoing Security Council resolutions and accepting only a watered down and incomplete agreement banning the use of chemical weapons. Second, this article will explain that power politics is not the only factor trumping concerns over human rights as the Syrian civil war is a complicated and almost unsolvable puzzle even for the voices supporting intervention on the Security Council. Third, the war theory concept of proportionality will be used to explain that interests may not be the only factor undermining human rights concerns. Fourth, the impact of different interpretations of state sovereignty in shaping Security Council debates will be taken into consideration as an alternative explanation to the power politics argument. Despite the fact that power politics have played an important role in blocking a humanitarian intervention in Syria, other factors related to the historic, internal, and diplomatic complexities of the Syrian Civil War have played a decisive role in shaping Security Council debates.

The inaction of the Security Council in the face of more than 100,000 civilian deaths would seem to confirm Martin Wight's "realisation of the impotence of ethical

principle to operate unaided in a world of power".[1] It is evident that the Syrian population is facing a serious humanitarian crisis as there are now two million refugees (mostly internally displaced) and Syrians' human security is constantly endangered.[2] In his autobiography, Kofi Annan describes Syria as a "maelstrom in which also swirled the jealously guarded interests of dozens of regional players, including Turkey, Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Iran (…) compounded by the diverging interests of Russia, China, the United States and the EU".[3]

The deadlock of the Security Council for the first two years and six months of the Syrian Civil War was imposed by Russia's authoritative veto power and China's support for Moscow's decision. On three occasions Putin blocked resolutions that condemned Assad, and on others watered down agreements.[4] Syria has always been a strong Russian ally in the Middle East. Assad offered the Putin administration a long lasting relationship as a large scale weapons buyer and a location for a Mediterranean base in Tarsus. Assad has also played an important role in weakening Islamic extremism and counterbalancing the U.S. presence in Israel.[5] On the other hand, NATO led countries have a strong interest in limiting the regional destabilisation that this conflict has caused.

The Syrian Civil War has posed serious security threats to Israel by arming Jihadists and Hezbollah fighters and by polarising the Middle East into two different sectarian factions: pro-Sunni and pro-Shiite. Therefore, NATO powers have a strong interest in ending the war by supporting the best amongst the worst parties - the Free Syrian Army. As NATO powers and Russia support different parties in the Syrian Civil War, these conflicting interests have had a major implication in Security Council debates.

After more than two years of almost complete inaction, on the 27th of September 2013, the Security Council reached a consensus on resolution 2118.[6]
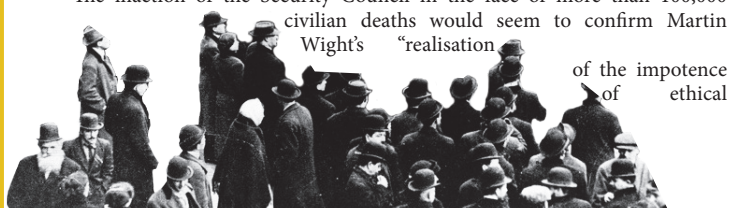
The resolution demands that Syria abandon its chemical weapons programme, that inspectors be allowed to destroy their arsenal, and that the two fighting parties should attend a conference to initiate a peaceful political solution.[7] Although this resolution is the most concrete solution launched by the Security Council after the failed Annan negotiations in 2012, this resolution has been watered down by Putin's strong interests in avoiding a direct condemnation of the Assad regime. Therefore, this resolution is not a game changer. This is reflected in Ban Ki-moon declaration; "we cannot be satisfied with destroying chemical weapons while the wider war is destroying Syria".[8]

Arguably, this resolution could be interpreted as a diplomatic opening from Russia, yet it also appears to be a tactical response to the U.S interventionist spirit that followed Assad's use of chemical weapons in late August. By presenting a partial solution to the Security Council, Russia has weakened interventionist voices. Putin framed an agreement that excludes a Chapter VII resolution, yet accommodates U.S. President Obama's concerns regarding his promise to impede the use of chemical weapons.[9] However, many other human rights concerns have not been addressed by this resolution. The fact remains that a large number of civilian deaths occurred before chemical weapons were introduced in August 2013.[10] As long as one permanent member of the Security Council protects a perpetrator of human rights violations, the Security Council will be unable to reach a consensus on decisive solutions.

The internal complexity and historic exceptionalism of the Syrian Civil War have also played an essential role in shaping the Security Council's debate. Arguably, the Syrian civil war does not offer a clear debate where good and evil can be readily identified. Assad's regime undeniably committed more human rights abuses than the Free Syrian Army, yet the opposition has split into three parties which do not all promise human security to Syrian citizens. Extremist Islamic groups with transnational ambitions obtained weapons from the Gulf States, leading to a strong risk of terrorism, instability, and the possibility of spillover effects similar to those experienced in Mali following the Libyan war.[11] While the Assad regime offers no viable options to re-establish peace, the opposition is too fragmented and radicalised to merit military support from the United Nations.

Furthermore, the Syrian Civil War is taking place in a decade that stigmatized humanitarian intervention. In 2011, China and Russia approved a resolution to take "all necessary means" to intervene in Libya, but soon felt deceived by the U.N.'s decision to accept a NATO-led regime change.[12] On the other hand, following the war in Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. has taken a more isolationist stance in foreign policy. According to the Pew Global Attitudes data, this strategy has drastically increased approval ratings of the US president. Between 2008 and 2011 there was an increased from 22 per cent to 41 per cent in Russia, 11 per cent to 35 per cent in Egypt, and 10 per cent to more than 80 per cent in France and Germany.[13] The Syrian Civil War is a unique scenario which offers no straightforward solutions, therefore generalisations and predictions on the future of human rights concerns should not be made from this war. These so called "talismanic cases", as defined by Morris;[14] "attract the most attention; they treacherously present the greatest chance for good ethical intentions to have bad humanitarian outcomes; and they are soluble only by the taking of extreme measures."

One of the most vociferous debates blocking intervention in Syria has been focused on the concept of sovereignty. On the one side, Beijing and Moscow believe the principle of non-intervention to be sacrosanct and have coordinated to remain in line with their political approach of vetoing resolutions.[15] In an op-ed published in the New York Times, Putin also declared that he considers an invasion without the approval of the Security Council an act of aggression, a hypocritical statement considering the recent Russian invasion of Georgia.[16] On the other side, Obama declared that "sovereignty cannot be a shield for tyrants to commit wanton murder, or an excuse for the international community to turn a blind eye to slaughter".[17] The existence of this debate appears paradoxical considering the existence of the 2008 Responsibility to Protect (R2P) principle which under pillar three states that "it is the responsibility of member states to respond collectively in a timely and decisive manner when a State is manifestly failing to provide such protection".[18] The R2P agreement was a direct response to civil wars and events such as the Rwandan genocide. Gareth Evans explains; "sovereignty was essentially a license to kill" while the U.N. acted as a passive spectator. Today, Russia and China use their veto power arguing that they support Assad's sovereignty right.[19] As Morris[20] explains; throughout two years of Security Council debates on the Syrian Civil War, the first pillar of the R2P principle was cautiously mentioned only by seven members, while the third pillar remained unspoken. The lack of interventionist arguments shaped in terms of the R2P principle prove its contentious nature and the absence of a strong acceptance of this liberal principle. Therefore, intervention in Syria has also been blocked by the absence of a consensus on whether Syrians' human security should be prioritized over sovereignty. The R2P principle is experiencing a decisive phase in its life. The Syrian Civil War could be the turning point that leads to its slow decline or a moment to strengthen this principle by internalizing it in Security Council debates.

To complicate matters even further, the debates analysing intervention strategies must take into consideration the high costs of a military intervention against Assad's regime. Interventionist powers have to adhere to the proportionality rule of war, thus as John Forge[21] explains; "the costs of war must not greatly exceed the benefits." Assad controls a vast arsenal which includes highly modern artillery and aircrafts purchased from Russia.[22] Assad's military strength has limited the number of possible solutions to the Syrian civil war because air campaigns and no-fly zones, while successful in Libya, are difficult to implement against Assad's anti-aircraft systems.[23] Military intervention in densely populated war zones as Homs and Aleppo would involve high levels of collateral damage and casualties. In addition, military intervention could be prolonged for many years because of the Sunni and Shia dimension of this conflict. Assad's legacy with the Alawite sect grants him the support of the Shiite government of Iran and of Hezbollah fighters. A NATO led intervention in support of the Sunni Free Syrian Army could spark Hezbollah and Shiite extremism against a defined pro-Sunni enemy. Syria is a tortuous ground for military intervention because the benefits of implementing a humanitarian intervention do not clearly surpass the costs of allowing an "autonomous recovery" to take place.[24]

The Russian and Chinese use of the veto power to block Security Council resolutions would seem to confirm the theory that these countries are impeding intervention to protect their interests. This article argues that although power politics have played an important role in blocking resolutions and watering down agreements, interests are not the only factor trumping human rights concerns in Syria. This conflict is indisputably a complex scenario due to the high costs of intervention, a lack of solutions to the conflict and the absence of a consensus on the debate that prioritizes human security to sovereignty. The "talismanic" nature of this conflict should restrain generalizations on the future of humanitarian intervention and human security in intra-state wars. To solve conflicts as unique as the Syrian Civil War, the United Nations faces a decisive challenge in its history; it will have to modernize its approach to conflict resolutions by prioritizing human rights concerns over every other concern.

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A War for Peace?
HAMISH KINNEAR writes on Egypt and the 1973 October War

The Prussian general Carl von Clausewitz stated in his well-known thesis On War that war should be conceived of as merely the "continuation of politics by other means";[1] thereby suggesting that war may be seen as part and parcel of regular political policy. Though written in the context of the Napoleonic wars the observation appears to be just as apt when considering the Egyptian motivations for the October War of 1973.

In 1967 Egypt, along with Syria and Jordan, had been comprehensively defeated by Israel in the Six day War, losing thousands of men and military materiel, as well as the territorial loss of the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula up to the east bank of the Suez Canal. The Israelis had taken control of the Sinai's oil fields and set up a heavily fortified defensive perimeter on the east bank of the Suez Canal, creating a series of forts named the Bar Lev line.

Some months after the conclusion of the disastrous Six Day War the Arab League issued the famous three no's: "no peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, no negotiations with it." A continued state of belligerency with Israel was agreed upon, with Egypt launching "the Attrition war" – a three year series of cross-canal artillery exchanges which limped to an inconclusive halt in 1970, a year which saw the death of Egypt's president Gamal Abdul Nasser. Nasser's successor Anwar Sadat was anxious to prove his legitimacy in the wake of his charismatic predecessor's death, and what better way to prove himself to the Egyptian people than a war against their mortal enemy – Israel. Egypt, both shaken and angered after the Six Day War,[2] wanted revenge. Sadat thus set himself to preparing for war, finding a willing ally in the Syrian president Hafez al-Assad, who wished to regain the Golan Heights from Israel.

However, the planning for the conflict was to be precise and, taking into the account of the dangers of wild rhetoric and grand military gestures that had been commonplace under Nasser, the military/political aims were limited. Sadat and his government believed that if Egypt was able to launch a successful surprise attack, it would capture the attention of the world superpowers

and shock Israel enough to arrive at more favourable peace terms.[3] Paramount amongst these concerns was the repatriation of the Sinai from Israeli occupation, which had represented a glaring source of shame for Egyptians since 1967.

After three years of Egyptian military build-up, the stage for war was set, and on October 6th, 1973 Egypt launched its assault, achieving almost total surprise. The first days of the war brought astonishing success for the Egyptians. Utilising the latest in Soviet weaponry, which included SAM anti-aircraft missile systems and laser guided hand-held rocket launchers, the Egyptian army was able to both inflict heavy casualties on Israeli tanks and aircraft while succeeding in crossing the canal swiftly and securing the east bank.[4]

The rapid crossing of the Suez by the Egyptian army and the heavy losses sustained by the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) had a massive psychological impact on the Israeli populace. The IDF, which had seemed so invulnerable after the Six Day War, had been completely surprised by the joint Egyptian-Syrian assault.[5] The Israelis population and government no longer felt so secure, a fact which was to be of immeasurable usefulness to Egypt in the later peace negotiations. However, despite the initial flush of success for the Egyptians their fortunes in the war began to decline ten days into the war. The Israelis succeeded in crossing the canal in the south, managing to surround the Third Egyptian army and establish a strong foothold on the South-Western bank of the Suez Canal. Serious fighting came to an end not long after the 28th of October, due to a ceasefire agreement hastily drawn up by the combatants and the two superpowers. Though both Israel and Egypt broke the ceasefire in turn, serious fighting had ended.

In military terms the result of the war was therefore inconclusive, and both sides still claim victory.[6] Egypt had had significant success in the early days of the conflict but their fortunes significantly declined some weeks into the war. Though the Israelis had succeeded in occupying positions on both the western and eastern sides of the bank by the time of the U.N brokered ceasefire they had suffered very heavy losses and, due to worries about suffering any more, had withdrawn all their forces from the west bank of the canal some months after the ceasefire.

However, Sadat and his government had succeeded in showing the world superpowers that Egypt was capable of launching a successful attack. The Israelis, though successful in fighting back, had suffered very heavy losses and the psychological impact that this had on the Israeli populace and government was of immeasurable value to Sadat and his government. For now the Egyptian military had proven itself as a force to be reckoned with.[7] During the rest of the 1970's Sadat was therefore empowered to demand more and concede less in the peace negotiations with Israel which reached a conclusion with the Camp David agreement of 1979.

These agreements involved two separate processes, one in which peace between Egypt and Israel was discussed and another in which a comprehensive peace settlement between the Arab world (including Palestine) and Israel was fleshed out. The first process, of course, was agreed upon and a settlement which guaranteed peace between Israel and Egypt concluded.[8] This led to the withdrawal of Israel (and its nascent settler population) from the Sinai Peninsula, which was occupied instead by a U.N peacekeeping force. This was accompanied by a huge aid package. Egypt had secured its borders once again and could thus direct its attention to the economy, which had been battered by decades of war against not just Israel, but also France, Britain and Royalist North Yemen. Sadat's war aim - Peace with Israel on terms far more favourable than those offered after the Six-Day War- had been achieved.

However, the second process, a comprehensive peace settlement, never truly materialised and thus Egypt became the first and only Arab nation to recognise the state of Israel, an act which drew ire from the rest of the Arab World. The effect on Arab nationalism was devastating.[9] Egypt was, and still is, the beating heart of the Arab World and its withdrawal from the previous Arab norm of the "three no's" set back, perhaps permanently, the cause of a united Arab Nation. The idealism of earlier years and its manifestations –including the short-lived union of Syria and Egypt in the United Arab Republic of 1958- in which Nasser and other Arab revolutionary leaders had talked of unifying the Arab World had been abandoned.

More significant, however, was Egypt's effective withdrawal of meaningful support for the Palestinian cause, as it withdrew from its leadership role in the Arab world and came under pro-Israeli American tutelage. Before the war Sadat had promised the leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation Yasser Arafat that he would press for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and the establishment of an autonomous Palestinian state. Instead, Sadat and his government went for a unilateral peace settlement, leaving left of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to be controlled by the Israelis. The Israeli government was thus dealt a free hand for the illegal building of settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories, an issue now proving to be one of the most intractable problems of the current peace "process" between the Israelis and Palestinians.[10]

Thus Sadat's government had succeeded in launching a limited war, one which had succeeded in restoring Egyptian self-confidence by means of its first flush of success but also in shaking the Israelis just enough to empower their bargaining hand in the negotiations that followed. The benefits for Egypt in the peace treaty that eventually emerged were manifest; in securing its sovereignty it allowed itself to restore the war-weary economy to health. It was therefore, in a way, a "war for peace." However, in signing the treaty Egypt had reneged on its leadership role in the Arab World. This was much to the detriment of the Palestinians of the West Bank now living alongside 350,000[11] illegal Israeli settlers, whose presence owes at least something to the American-sponsored carte blanche delivered to Israelis by the Egyptians following the 1979 treaty.

Failing to Create Peace

LAURA KANDLE explores why the Helmand Campaign failed to stop the drivers of the 'War on Terror'

The Helmand province campaign began in 2006. The campaign was part of NATO's ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) mission. It operated off of a criteria directed by the three pillars of "security, governance, and development" from the Afghan National Development Strategy.[1] Despite having a strategy that aimed to create steady and irreversible progress in the region, counterinsurgency tactics in Helmand have fallen short of success. The inability of British military and other allied forces to produce resounding peace and stability in the province reflects many of the problems with Western counterinsurgency today.

The Helmand campaign suffers from multiple tactical deficiencies. There is a persistent mentality embedded in the British military to win through battle rather than by developing tactics that navigate the complex nature of insurgency in the Helmand province.[2] British intelligence of enemy activity has been consistently lacking throughout the campaign.[3] To make matters worse, force dispersal tactics have worked to spread out an already inadequate amount of on the ground troops. This rendered military forces incapable of holding territory long enough to secure the province for lasting development and governance.[4]

The ongoing production of opium in the Helmand province constitutes one of the most obvious failures of NATO and British forces attempt to establish the grounds for peace. The illegal opium trade in Afghanistan allows for the funding and persistence of the Taliban insurgency and has played a significant role in the corruption of the Afghan government.[5] Despite ongoing British counterinsurgency efforts to curb the agricultural production of poppy, the Afghanistan opium harvest hit a record high in 2013, with the highest rise in production occurring in the Helmand province.[6] Counterinsurgency tactics failed to eradicate opium production in the province in large part because military forces could not uproot the Taliban insurgency. Thus the possibility of developing a stable environment in which to begin new agricultural production could not be introduced.

Currently, the ISAF mission is due to end in 2014 alongside the withdrawal of US troops and the transition of security responsibilities to the Afghan government.[7] Afghan security forces are set to outnumber the Taliban in Helmand in 2014. However, the endemic corruption, already low public confidence, and the presence of the Taliban in every district does not bode well for the future of the country.[8] Herrick 19, the last British deployment in Helmand, is small, spread out over five bases, prepared for fighting only if necessary, and rarely patrols.[9] Certainly there have been some marked improvements in development and governance in the province due to ISAF and US counterinsurgency measures, but the question of whether or not the Afghan government can handle the transition and keep these gains looks to not have a positive answer.

Counterinsurgency has in large part failed to curb the persistence of terrorist groups such as the Taliban in Afghanistan. A reappraisal of counterinsurgency tactics is needed if such measures are to be successful in future wars and conflicts.

Breaking Up: The United States and Saudi Arabia

HALLAM TUCK: Understanding the Future of the Strategic Relationship between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia

For thirty-odd years the strategic relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia has had a powerful effect on the trajectory of the Middle East. The dual foundations for this odd marriage are decades of shared desire for regional stability and the closeness only the possession of mutual enemies can bring. First united against the Soviet Union during the Cold War, the alliance came to the fore of US regional policy during the Gulf War in 1990-1. Since then the threat of Al Qaeda and Iran's nuclear weapons programme have provided new incentives for co-operation between the world's most powerful democracy and one of its most conservative, authoritarian governments. The convulsions of the Arab Spring, however, have made it much more difficult for the two countries to find common ground. The violent unrest in Syria and Egypt, and the easing of relations between Iran and the West have shown how remarkable it is that such an alliance could last so long. President Obama and his successors must decide whether the costs of direct involvement in Middle Eastern affairs are worth the benefits of predominant influence. As the Obama Administration devotes fewer resources to denying terrorists operating space in the Middle East, and changing markets make the US less reliant on Gulf oil, the strategic relationship between Washington and Riyadh will become more and more fragile.

Underlying the strain in US-Saudi relations is a regional political environment that has become more hostile to Saudi influence. The Arab Spring, both by fostering mass political movements and promoting democratic reform, has caused a series of headaches for Saudi policymakers. The early revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt deposed two heads of state who were closely tied to Saudi interests. The fall of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, a key ally to both Riyadh and Washington, was a critical turning point. King Abdullah's alleged attempt to persuade President Barack Obama to allow Mubarak to remain in power was followed by a Saudi guarantee to replace any aid withheld by the US in the event that Mubarak refused to step down.[1]

Saudi Arabia's mistrust for the Muslim Brotherhood has been reinforced by the continuing collaboration between Saudi leaders and the Egyptian military. Saudi Head of Intelligence Prince Bandar bin Sultan has made no secret of his own direct involvement in the coup.[2] The divergent responses of US and Saudi leaders to the ousting of Mohamed Morsi's government further strained strategic ties. Saudi leaders, welcoming the Brotherhood's exile, quickly pledged a $12 billion aid package, worth quadruple the amount of US and EU aid combined.[3] Where Saudi leaders acted to decisively support their own interests on Egypt's domestic political stage, the US has been hesitant to support the deposition of a democratically elected government. As a sign of disapproval the Obama administration withheld the delivery of Apache attack helicopters, Harpoon Missiles and F-16 Warplanes in addition to $260 million aid package.[4] This did not mean, however, the complete withdrawal of US support for the Egyptian military. Programmes aimed at training Egyptian military personnel continued unabated, as did US counterterrorism efforts seeking to secure Egypt's borders and solidify control over the Sinai Peninsula.[5]

The Obama Administration's mixed response to the turbulence in Egypt is broadly symbolic of its response to political instability across the broader Middle East. The result has been a fragile balance in tone, alternating between symbolic moral support and self-interested intervention. This is indicated by the Obama Administration's disastrous 'red line' declaration in the Syrian conflict, the mixed response to regime change in Egypt and the often confusing rhetoric deployed to explain the US relationship with Iran. The failure of US nation-building efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq and the immense unpopularity of direct involvement at a time of domestic economic distress has made it difficult for the Obama administration to intervene further. Although Washington and Riyadh will maintain strategic partnerships, if the US continues to pursue a 'light footprint' in the Middle East, Saudi Arabia will be left alone to jockey with Iran for local dominance.

In this regard the violence in Iraq and Lebanon and the continuing brutality in Syria are dark premonitions of the possible clash between Saudi Arabia and Iran. In Syria, three years after fighting began, 130,000 people have been killed and nine million civilians have been forced to relocate, many to refugee camps in Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon where they face shortages in housing, food and medical care.[6] In Turkey these camps have become havens for radical Islamist and al-Qaeda linked rebel groups like the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and the al-Nusra front.[7] The fissures within Syrian rebel groups and the stagnation of peace talks underline the fact that the contours of the conflict have hardened along the lines of the rivalry between Iran and Saudi Arabia. Moderates within the Syrian Opposition have been increasingly squeezed out, while Iran has continued to provide substantial assistance to Bashar al-Assad through the elite Quds force and Shiite militants from Hezbollah in Lebanon.[8] On the opposing side Saudi Arabia has pledged millions of dollars of aid and training to Jaysh al-Islam, a conglomerate of Syrian rebel groups neither as radical as the ISIS or Al-Nusra nor as willing to cooperate with the west as the National Coalition for Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces.[9]

The tragic fact is that the increasing polarization of Syrian rebel groups, as Riyadh continues to apply pressure, will only mean more violence. As the opposition continues to splinter, Saudi leadership will be forced to fight against both Assad and the hardline al-Qaeda affiliates. Yezid Sayigh of the Carnegie Foundation has argued that by relying on Syria's Sunni rebels Saudi Arabia risks re-learning the lesson of Afghanistan, where the unification of disparate mujahideen groups were left unable to govern Kabul, thereby paving the way for the Taliban and Al-Qaeda.[10]

Saudi Arabia has also been left feeling isolated by Secretary of State John Kerry's recent diplomatic efforts. The agreement between the US and Russia to remove and destroy Syria's arsenal of chemical weapons, brokered by Kerry and Russian Foreign minister Sergei Lavrov, forestalled the possibility of US airstrikes and greater military support for the Syrian rebels. Former Saudi Intelligence Chief Prince Turki al-Faisal has been among the loudest critics of the Obama administration's 'red line' in Syria, telling the New York Times that "We've seen several red lines put forward by the President, which went along and became pinkish as time grew, and eventually ended up completely white."[11] Even more damaging to US-Saudi relations was Kerry's agreement to halt Iran's nuclear program, trading $6-7 billion in sanctions relief in exchange for Iran's promise to stop enriching uranium beyond 5 percent, dilute its stockpile of uranium enriched to 20 percent and stop building new centrifuges or enrichment facilities.[12] The Saudi leadership has decried the deal as disastrous, suggesting that it puts the entire region at risk, giving Iran's economy a much needed boost at the worst possible time. As the Sunni leaders in Riyadh face off against Iran's Shiite leadership, Saudi Arabia is also profoundly wary that the gains of Shiite militants across the region might be solidified into a greater degree of Iranian hegemony.

Understanding the factors driving the US and Saudi Arabia apart in the medium to long-term, it is also useful to remember that there are still crucial factors preventing the short-term deterioration of the relationship. As Saudi Arabia and Iran compete for influence, it is well within Riyadh's interests to press the US to maintain its commitment to keep the Persian Gulf navigable. From a similar perspective, if the US wants to continue its operations in Yemen it will need to maintain the CIA bases in Saudi Arabia necessary for drone flights.[13] Even more importantly, Riyadh's policy of denominating oil sales in US dollars and the reinvestment of Saudi profits from energy sales into U.S. securities and assets has been a major, if unnoticed source of strength for the dollar.[14] Nikolas Gvosdev of the U.S. Naval War College has pointed out that the lack of a viable alternative currency to the dollar means that this economic relationship will likely continue.[15] Moreover, Gvosdev argues that Saudi Arabia cannot afford to exert pressure on the U.S. by manipulating the price of oil, since the kingdom desperately needs energy revenue to sustain welfare services, and any hike in oil prices would push the US to develop nontraditional energy sources like shale gas.[16] The Saudis may shift their currency holdings out of the dollar and begin to purchase weaponry from other states, but as they commit more resources to conflicts abroad and maintaining stability at home, they will rely ever more heavily on energy revenue.

One easily drawn conclusion is that if the US continues to extricate itself from its involvement in the Middle East it's diplomatic efforts must become much nimbler. Many commentators have argued that the transition to a 'G-Zero' world will force all countries to hedge their bets. A US pullback in the Middle East will mean more sectarian violence, as conflicts spread to neighboring countries like Iraq and Lebanon, driven by the Saudi-Iranian rivalry. More directly, the US-Saudi security partnership's long-term longevity will be determined by calculating whether the benefits of narrowing post-9/11 security strategy are worth the risk of being unable to influence future Syria-like conflicts. If so, the US-Saudi relationship will become a lot less important.

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INTERNATIONAL

ON WAR & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

MUHAMAD IQBAL: Closing the Gap Between Theory and Practice

In his treatise On War, Clausewitz asserts the existence of a divide between the realms of practicality and theory. He mentions his conceptions of "friction" in war, alluding to the numerous difficulties that hinder the realization of any plans, as well as a "fog", preventing a soldier from having a clear grasp of his surroundings. As a result of these factors, what would otherwise be true during intellectual contemplation, safe within the classroom away from danger and absent of these distorting influences, will not hold the same sway when presented during wartime.

This essay examines the concepts of "curtains of theory" and the "Fundamental Decision Dilemma" in order to argue that a similar distortion of perception occurs within the study of International Relations. Where this carries several implications for the study of IR, this essay then examines the purpose of theory within IR. Following that, an argument will be made supporting a proactive duty on the part of IR theorists to construct explanations of IR that may be as applicable to the real world as possible. However before tackling this question, a point will first be made to ensure that an understanding of Clausewitz's ideas is made clear. This is meant to lay the theoretical foundation of what will then be applied to the study of IR.

Writing a series of essays in a post-Napoleonic Europe, Clausewitz sought to produce a coherent theoretical framework through which his readers would be able to understand war in all its complexities.[1] In developing his theory for war, he did not intend to construct a theory "that can serve as a scaffolding on which the commander can rely for support at any time".[2] Rather, he merely intended to gather general observations from his personal experiences of war that would be universally applicable to all wars.[3]

In doing so, the ideas presented by Clausewitz are of a positive rather than a normative nature. His arguments encompass topics such as his theory on the very nature of war, the dynamics of war and politics, and his ideas on the concept he calls "friction" in war, which is especially pertinent to this essay[4]. These ideas and arguments put forth in On War have in turn been recognised as "a great… and amazingly coherent body of ideas";[5] "an unfinished Opus",[6] and some scholars have even credited On War as being "one of the two best books ever written on the subject", along with Sun Tzu's Art Of War.[7]

Nevertheless, in restricting the scope of discussion on this topic, this piece will focus primarily on the notion just mentioned – that is, Clausewitz's explanation of "friction". For, in order to fully grasp what this essay has described as the theoretical-practical divide in IR theory, there first needs to be a delineation of Clausewitz's explanation of the factors that "distinguish real war from war on paper".[8]

Central to understanding why "the light of reason is refracted in a manner quite different from that which is normal in academic speculation"[9] is Clausewitz's concept of "friction". Stating that while everything "in war is simple", even "the simplest thing is difficult".[10] He asserts that countless unforeseen factors come together collectively to divert outcomes from initial expectations. As Beyerchen says about friction, Clausewitz intended not only to convey the idea that in war, things may deviate from what had been originally planned, but to also explain why they do so.[11]

In analysing the "other factors" that Clausewitz imputes the cause of friction to, the concept of the "fog of war" emerges.[12] Describing war as the "realm of uncertainty", he states that "a fog of greater or lesser uncertainty" surrounds the factors governing action in war, making judgment more difficult.[13] Again, not intending his work to be an exhaustive guide on war but a mere guide to the study of war, Clausewitz utilises examples to illustrate his point in order to spare his readers from having to "deal with the whole range of minor troubles that must be faced in war".[14]

Nevertheless, Clausewitz's concept of friction is an important point to grasp in understanding the divide between the theoretical and the practical, as will be discussed further. In analysing parallel concepts that apply to the study of IR, this essay utilises the "curtains of theory", as expressed by former undersecretary of state David D. Newsom.[15] In addition, the concept of the "Fundamental Decision Dilemma" will be employed to further illustrate the relevance of Clausewitz's claim for IR. These expressions are meant to mirror the descriptions he makes of "friction" and the "fog" in On War. Subsequently, the causes behind this distortion of perception will be examined along with the implications this carries for the study of IR.

When determining whether "the light of reason" operates differently in the "battlefield of International Relations", the concept of the "Fundamental Decision Dilemma" emerges.[16] Just as friction describes the countless factors that alter the perception of "war on the battlefield" from "war in academic speculation", the concept referred to here portrays the "enormous complexity of the real world" separating IR theory from the realm of practical policy-making. Among the complexities identified as part of the "Dilemma" were factors such as the effect of stress on the quality of decisions; the idea of "trade-offs", related to leaders having to arrive at decisions with significant time constraints and limited information; and not least, the structures and processes associated with decision-making, further blurring and obscuring reason in the practitioner's realm.

In contrast to the difficulties associated with the "Fundamental Decision Dilemma", the study of IR deals with the simplification and reinterpretation of reality.[17] As a result, flawed analyses may often lead to explanations with "unreal" assumptions that fail to predict events that "do not follow the neat

patterns used to construct theories".[18] Following this, it shall be affirmed that the study of IR does indeed differ from what may be experienced by the practitioners of policy-making in the field of IR. Hence the "curtain of theory" relied on by this essay for expositional purposes refers to exactly this – the causes and origins of the gap between the lessons offered by the study of IR and the experiences of practitioners engaged in actual policy-making.

This gap is perpetuated by academics' fear of the "misuse of scientific knowledge", thus encouraging their detachment from the fray of politics. This has also led to theory being brushed aside by policy-makers as "abstract" and "irrelevant"; or as Joseph Nye writes in The Washington Post, academic theorising is saying "more and more about less and less".[19] Just as Clausewitz argues that, "every war is rich in unique episodes" and is thus variable in each and every instance, policy-makers feel the need to only work with "models that grasp the different internal structures and behavioural patterns of each state and leader", while discarding theories that fail to account for such differences and nuances.[20] Furthermore as Walt points out, "policy makers are less interested in explaining a general tendency than in figuring out how to overcome it".[21]

It may be so that, the more scholars seek "policy relevance" in order to shed the "curtain of theory", the more difficult it would be for them to maintain "intellectual integrity".[22] For it is not uncommon to find "academic studies" being manipulated to fit various political agendas, when it is policy-making that should be conversely influenced by scholarly input. Yet at the same time, this raises a question concerning the very role of theory within the study of IR. For if it is not to influence the real world for the better, very little use remains for theorists of IR; not just in the world of policy-making, but also in society as a whole.

As Nye continues to argue, "academics might be considered to have an obligation to help improve on policy ideas when they can".[23] To examine this view, this essay returns to an analysis of Clausewitz in order to draw the structure around which the true purpose of IR theory shall be framed. Subsequently, this essay will echo Nye's contention in asserting that IR theorists do indeed carry a duty for the construction of theories that best represent reality in order to both, "enhance and enrich academic work" and to "assist central policy-makers" in decision-making.[24]

Explicitly stating his reasons for writing, Clausewitz argues that theory is meant to "clarify concepts and ideas that have become… confused and entangled".[25] In other words, Clausewitz hoped that he would be able to accomplish the construction of "a body of objective knowledge, a theory, of war".[26] Moreover, being of the military background that he was, for Clausewitz this meant that theory had to be "rooted in experience" and that theorists should avoid associating themselves with "psychological and philosophical" ambiguities.[27]

Similarly, this essay argues that where IR theory is "saying more and more about less and less", the direction of this field of study should be reassessed and redirected. As had previously been stated about Clausewitz, even though On War was not meant to be prescriptive in nature, the implications coming forth were indeed intended to be useful to the student of war, "in his efforts at self-education and to help him develop his own judgment".[28] Likewise for the benefit of IR studies, the discourse on IR theory should refocus itself on the goal of achieving "policy relevance" instead of further isolating itself behind the "curtain of theory".

To this end, several suggestions have been made in attempts to bridge the gap dividing the realms of practice and theory.[29][30][31][32] In ascribing a concrete role for theory to the study of IR, questions arise as to what exactly the right answer may be. Overwhelmingly, scholars seem to agree that said gap requires addressing, but there lacks a consensus over how to solve it. In one instance, Joseph Nye's appeal for heightened interaction between academic theory and policy practice, either by way of research programs or fellowship exchanges may be a welcome step in the right direction. On another, Stephen Walt's call for academics to "alter the prevailing norms of the… discipline" is another desirable advance. Yet still, Thomas Weiss' recommendations for engagement penetrate the issues underlying this topic with far better insight than this essay could do. Nevertheless, the solutions put forth by these scholars are indeed useful, and attention should be paid to the reclamation of IR study for policy relevance.

Identifying whether "the light of reason" refracts differently on the battlefield than is otherwise normal in the "academic speculation" of IR, this essay began by highlighting Clausewitz's concepts of "friction" and "fog" as delineated in his writing. Recognizing these phenomena, the concepts of the "curtain of theory" and the "Fundamental Decision Dilemma" were then pushed forward to parallel the ideas espoused by Clausewitz in depicting the theoretical-practical divide in IR study. Following this, the essay finally shifted to an examination of the purpose of theory and the implications of this theoretical-practical divide on the study of IR.

This essay concludes with the proposition that where academic analysis on the subject of IR differs from what may be experienced by practitioners of policy-making, it is the duty of academia to encourage and support a culture conducive to scholastic literature with real-world relevance. In limiting the normative nature of theory, academics need not worry about the risk of their intellectual integrity being prejudiced; rather, formulation of such theory would only serve to strengthen the relationship between the study and the decision-making realms of IR.

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The War on Women's Reproductive Rights

NAOMI JEFFERSON analyses the Republican Party's war against abortion and reproductive rights

Although the United States is often known for its involvement in various conflicts overseas, domestic battles, such as the War on Women, continue to rage on internally. The War on Women is a phrase used to describe the politically driven efforts by the Republican Party to restrict women's access to abortion and, more broadly, reproductive rights. The war metaphor captures the aggression of the series of legislative attacks led by right-wing ideologues across the country against women's rights..

A broad range of policy initiatives has been deployed in an attempt to restrict women's reproductive rights. One example is mandatory ultrasound laws. The Republican majority legislatures of Arizona, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Virginia all enacted these laws in the past year, entailing that women seeking an abortion must undergo an ultrasound procedure.[1] The procedure is medically unnecessary, thereby making the ultrasound simply an attempt by the right wing to discourage women from going through with an abortion.[2]

Another example includes the vast amount of legislation passed to defund Planned Parenthood, a non-profit organisation that provides reproductive health services. The rhetoric of politicians such as former presidential candidate Mitt Romney have reinforced the notion that Republicans will continue their attempt to limit abortion, exemplified by the defunding of Planned Parenthood.[3] Legislative attacks have followed the hostile rhetoric, as states such as Texas have slashed budgets for women's reproductive health, thus limiting the services that Planned Parenthood can provide for women.[4] Right-wing politicians have attempted to justify these attacks, claiming that the government should not fund organisations that provide abortion procedures. However, these politicians ignore the fact that abortion only makes up about three percent of the services Planned Parenthood offers.[5] Thus, defunding also limits women's access to other health services such as breast exams, as well as tests and treatments for sexually transmitted diseases. The legislative attempts to defund Planned Parenthood serves as a direct attack, not simply on reproductive rights, but also on women's health more generally.

Other policy attacks launched in the War on Women include the attempt to pass Personhood bills, as well as mandates for providers to tell women unproven facts about abortion. The mandate, pushed through the Republican legislature in Kansas, forces abortion providers to read a list of "facts" to the women seeking advice, including the "fact" that having an abortion is linked to breast cancer.[6] These unproven sets of statements, denied by the medical community, is another political and morally unethical attempt by the right-wing to limit abortion. The legislation serves as another tactic by which Republicans wage the War on Women.

Last summer, the governor of Texas Rick Perry called a special Emergency Session of the Texas legislature in order to quietly push through legislation restricting the locations where women can access abortion procedures.[7] The legislation eventually passed through, significantly limiting access to abortion within the state. However, this was only after the filibuster by Texan state senator Wendy Davis brought national attention to this particular piece of legislation.[8] Although the bill managed to pass in Texas, Davis was able to ignite a counter-force to try and fight the attack on abortion. This movement is significant because it was able provide a defence to a largely one-sided War on Women. If the right-wing faction in the United States continues to wage its war, it should expect a strong and politically driven counter force to defend against their legislative attacks.

These examples show the various political manoeuvres taken by Republicans to conduct their political attacks, making the metaphor of war a justified comparison. The widespread nature of these legislative attacks show the ability of the right-wing in America to coordinate politically in order to continue passing pro-life policies. Although this war does not include physical attacks, one should not overlook the significance of what is currently being waged. As long as these attacks persist, women's rights in general will continue to be in jeopardy. As Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg notes; "the emphasis must be not on the right to abortion, but on the right to privacy and reproductive control".[9] The War on Women's reproductive rights should not, and cannot be, ignored.

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The Globalisation of War

THOMAS WARREN asks whether a shrinking world could mark the end of global conflicts

To some, the concept of globalisation can be considered in terms of multinational corporations, cheaper products, and efficiency. Those who are less economically liberal might see it as the reason why small businesses suffer, jobs are harder to find, and national identities are diminishing. But in spite of these differing stances, few would question its impact to date. Globalisation has enabled immigrants to represent over 10% of the developed world's population, allowed for the creation of 379 regional trade agreements and put Coca-Cola in all but two countries (Cuba and North Korea, unsurprisingly).[1][2][3] But is it too wild to claim that globalisation is on its way to ending world conflict?

Yes and no. The fact that war has evidently been present since the dawn of humanity is somewhat daunting, and putting an end to that in the foreseeable future seems hopelessly utopic. But the number of wars are declining. Since as recently as 1990, the number of major armed conflicts has been reduced by half.[4] Furthermore, since the end of World War II, only two interstate wars have been fought in Europe[5] – an accomplishment that many have argued was brought about by wider and deeper economic integration within the continent.

The Economic and Monetary Union is the largest trader of merchandise and commercial services in the world, responsible for almost a quarter of the world's exports and over a fifth of its imports.[6] The economic interdependence of its 28 member states is crucial to the absence of armed conflict. The free movement of goods, services, capital, and labour between all members means that any military engagement would incur enormous costs. With 18 of these members integrating further still and adopting the Euro as a single currency, the incentives to remain at peace are greater now than at any period before.

Furthermore, the trend looks set to continue. Over the last 60 years the Economic and Monetary Union has only become increasingly more complex. More legislation has been passed involving more countries with a broader set of aims. As this snowballs into a greater interdependency among member states, the possibility of war inevitably decreases.

These developments extend beyond the boundaries of Europe, however. In fact, the case can be made for much of the developed world. As the globe becomes smaller and integration increasingly binds nations together, even if not yet to the extent of European integration, war appears ever distant.

It is in the case of the developing world that this notion stalls slightly, with the rapid movement towards economic dependency not as apparent here as it is across Europe and North America. The key difference between the developed and developing world, particularly in Africa, lies not with interstate conflicts but with the presence of civil wars. These need more than economic integration as a form of deterrence since dependency doesn't hold within borders. It is here that the recent rise of democracy in the western world has been pivotal. High levels of poverty, failed political institutions, and economic dependence on natural resources are all responsible for Africa's relatively high incidence of war, and the best way to reduce these and to prevent further civil wars is to institute democratic reforms.[7]

It is democracy that brings about economic integration, and for the least developed nations reform here is necessary. Nevertheless, there is evidence that the developing world is becoming involved in the web of global interdependency. Between 1996 and 2006, developing countries' share of world exports rose from 19.5% to 30%.[8] This globalisation of trade will only encourage a decline in interstate conflict. Admittedly democratic reform is easier said than done, but once such structures are in place globalisation should take hold. It is then that the question posed initially may not sound so absurd.

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When Rhyme Loses Its Appeal

WASAY RASOOL: *How prosperity at home can lead to legitimising conflict abroad*

Conflict and war are tied to state making, a never-ending process. The need to secure resources and territory for peace and prosperity at home has been at the heart of legitimising war abroad for centuries. Even behind what are today considered the most egregious reasons for war, there is almost always an underlying relationship between state and economy that takes hold of any nation addressing geopolitical concerns. A complex interaction between state policies and market opportunities has been the syntax to the diction of state making before and certainly since the Industrial Revolution and the beginning of the 20th century. This has been at the root of countless conflicts, large and small. One conflict that has greatly shaped the modern depiction of war is World War II, which is widely considered to have occurred due to racism and anti-Semitism. There is no doubt that the Nazi party committed gross injustices and that prejudice was a cornerstone in their ideology, but when it comes to legitimising a war that took the lives of nearly 70 million people, a much more convoluted goal of security and peace presents itself as the reason that people collectively accept war as the way forward. The case of Germany in the interwar period during the 1930s is crucial to examine, especially because the causes of legitimising German expansion during World War II are repackaged in many contemporary conflicts.

Germany in the 1930s was a country with a booming motor industry facilitated by investments in highways, waterways, and railroads. The construction industry alone increased employment by over 30%.[1] Of course Nazi Germany was an authoritarian state rooted in autarkic principles. Hitler isolated himself from Europe in terms of trade and geared the country for a military rearmament. He believed that Europe was on a course of increased conflict for power and dominance in the region, and that German expansion would be the course of economic development in the country. Unemployment, around 30% after the 1929 market crash and the German hyperinflation crisis, was almost eradicated during pre-war production and manufacturing.[2] But even as the steel and textile industries grew, Hitler realised that Germany could not be completely self-sufficient because it lacked raw materials. He would have to trade with select partners, within German influence, and find others means of resource security. Therein lies the key issue. As an authoritarian, autarkic regime, isolated as Germany was in this hypermodern state, it could not escape its geopolitical. Complete self-sufficiency would prove to be an economic model for failure. One would not be entirely wrong in claiming that state policies shaped the course of economic development within Germany after the rise of Nazism, but that would not be entire story. It was the market opportunities that the Third Reich did pursue that laid the foundations for peace and prosperity at home and looming war abroad.

Universities, laboratories, and individuals brought the industrial revolution to Germany. Initially lagging behind other Western European states, by 1850 Germany had a strong railway system, which drove a strong steel industry. German unification in 1871 saw many industries consolidate and nationalise.[3] Germany was a leader in industrialization before and after World War I, but critical challenges would present themselves before World War II. Timothy Snyder outlines some of these challenges beginning with the context for German expansion. Blamed for World War I, reparations were stifling for Germans after the Treaty of Versailles. Germany lost people, an army, and territory.[4] Snyder highlights that economic growth began before the Nazis were in power and that it was caused by key political action.

"Thus it was the democratic German government that signed the Treaty of Rapallo with the Soviet Union in 1922, restoring diplomatic relations, easing trade, and inaugurating secret military cooperation" (Snyder, 9).

"In 1928, after the German economy had shown several consecutive years of growth, the Nazis took only twelve seats in parliament with 2.6 percent of the votes cast" (Snyder, 16).

One can clearly see the foundations of interaction between state policy through treaties and market opportunities in the "easing trade" that occurred. A critical juncture followed, the 1929 crash and the Great Depression, which served as a springboard for Hitler and the Nazis.

Returning to the fundamental geopolitical challenges Germany faced in the 1930s, Snyder asserts that even though Germany was at least potentially, the most powerful country in Europe, it was not self-sufficient in terms of food supply. "They counted calories because they didn't have enough of them. The entire scheme of controlling Eastern Europe, the world homeland of the Jews, had everything to do with controlling land which (sic) was fertile. That was the primary imperial objective of the Nazi regime" (Snyder, Symposium).[5] Addressing the ecological and geopolitical concern of Europe's food crisis along with the need for raw materials in Germany meant enacting key state foreign policies with regional countries and taking advantage of market opportunities that would exist in mutual understanding with those countries. Germany focused on establishing an institutional sphere of influence in Southern Europe and the Balkan states through its growing military power. Germany extracted resources from these areas and would give manufactured goods to the states in its sphere. In 1938, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Greece transacted 50% of all their foreign trade with Germany.[6] The market still had incentives for firms to continue operating, though it favoured big business. In Big Business in the Third Reich, Arthur Schweitzer discusses the monopolies and cartels whose maximised profits depended on unequivocal support for the regime.[7] In the mid 1930s, an annual rise in nominal wages also gave employees the power to choose to leave an employer for another company with better wages if they wished.[8]

Of course German expansion became a lot more convoluted and grim as the economy and labour supply tried to keep up with intense military expenditure and wartime preparations up to 1939. The key point in the case of Germany is that at its height of authoritarian development in Europe in the 1930s, it enacted an interactive system of making state policy and taking advantage of regional market opportunities to not only help growth, but also mitigate the risks associated with ecological and geopolitical factors. Factors such as the raw materials/food crisis and a lack of a strong military after the First World War spurred manufacturing and development in Germany. These concerns led to legitimising the expansionist policies at the start of what became World War II.

The case of interwar Germany has various relevant elements for contemporary conflict analysis. Germany in the 1930s shows how it is not just the institutions or people in power who shape prosperity and conflict. It is policy and opportunity, and the interaction of the two to address the problems a state decides it faces. In the modern era of global governance, this is true more than ever before. Ecological insecurity as result of food and water prices/shortages is again becoming the basis for impending conflicts around the world alongside climate change and energy concerns. This ties into the issue of inequality and consumption as developed countries begin to question where their energy is going to come from and developing countries wonder the same about food. "Post colonial entropy", as Parag Khanna suggests, is the idea that countries no longer colonise other countries; instead, they buy them out.[9]

Over the last decade, states like the United States and China (in conjunction with corporations) have increasingly taken opportunities to secure resources and food outside of their borders by leasing land in countries like South Sudan and Mozambique, respectively. These areas in Africa have experienced an uptick in conflict over recent years. A conversation has been sparked about whether these actions can be considered imperialistic land grabs or if they hold progressive mutual opportunity for the countries involved. More recently the Land Matrix Global Observatory showed that the data on land grabs may have been exaggerated for publicity in recent years, but there is no doubt that a nexus of opportunity and resource is emerging around the allocation of water, food, and energy.[10] This will be an enormous challenge for global governance and will undoubtedly lead to conflict. The case of interwar Germany provides many aspects to consider when thinking about how states are and should be going about security in state making, and how peace and prosperity can be attained without conflict. At TEDGlobal in 2009, speaking about countries trying to attain resources, Parag Khanna referenced a particularly harrowing (in context) message from Mark Twain, "History doesn't repeat itself, but it does rhyme."

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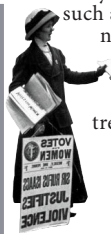
The Definition of War

PAOLA TAMMA examines the nature of war

What are wars and why are there any today? The answers to these two seemingly simple questions have been changing to keep up to date with the expansive diversification of the world of international relations and its ugliest aberration, wars.

Carl von Clausewitz, a Prussian general and a military theorist living in the 18th and the 19th century, defined war as "an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will."[1] He was a man of his time, concerned with matters such as the Siege of Mainz or Napoleonic wars, where enemies were other national armies captained by emperors and kings. Hence very much physical, easily identifiable, and whose defeat was based on very concrete measurable things such as number of troops defeated, or territories won – matters which were then verbalised in peace treaties. It may sound cynical given the brutality of wars at all times, but Clausewitzian wars were neat Manichean affairs, where the aggressor and the victim could be easily pinpointed, and whose prime motivation was to oppose great powers in the quest for supremacy. International relations were a game for few, powerful states or empires, disputing over their relative shares of the world. If "War is simply the continuation of political intercourse with the addition of other means",[2] then it is clear it is a state-led matter, in which society bears the brunt of the consequences, but on which it is not even questioned.

Today, this sounds very much irrelevant. Wars are in some respects diametrically opposite to what they used to be. It is not easy to tell who is fighting against whom; more often than not, the conflict is not an opposition between two countries, but the two sides are heterogeneous, and often count in their ranks a variety of different actors. Let's take the

definition of 'armed conflict' from the Armed Conflict Dataset Codebook of 2013,[3] as "a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in a 6 months period". It is clear from this definition that Clausewitzian clarity has long been foregone. The only thing that holds still is, apparently, the use of armed force. To classify as armed conflict, the confrontation needs to be between a government and another party, be it itself a government or not, and be triggered by a struggle for control of government or territory, and 25 people need to die because of the battle. This is already a broad definition, but one could push it even further.

No longer a simple game between foreign policies, wars diversify. Themnér and Wallensteen take four potential cases into account in their database. First, the extra systemic armed conflict, such as colonial wars of independence, where the government side is fighting to retain control of an external territory. Second, the interstate armed conflict of the most classical type. Third, the internal armed conflict between the state and opposition groups. Fourth, the internationalised internal armed conflict,[4] recent examples of which are Lybia, Syria, and Mali. Moreover, conflict needs not to be between states at all: it could also take place between criminal factions, as in mafia wars in Italy that count many more than 750 dead since 1861.[5]

War-related casualties are much higher than the number of those dead in battle. It may be the case that a conflict does not touch the arbitrary threshold of 25 dead in a 6 months period, but the victims of side effects (disruption of economic activity, food and water shortages, epidemics, suicides, and other causes) force us to reconsider the weight of a 'small' armed conflict.

Not only the have the actors changed, but also their motives. This is the most crucial point, since a war that is fought for affirming's one power will have a very different epilogue from a war evolved from the social frustration of populations.

Many of today's conflicts are not explained by power struggles between great powers as during the 'hot spots' of the Cold War in Korea, Indochina, Afghanistan, Angola, etc. Some say we are going towards a 'clash of civilisations,' where conflicts are the expression of cultural struggles between clusters of nations united by a shared identity (and particularly the Arab world, the Latin American civilization, and the Asian renaissance all turned against the West).[6] This interpretation may be hyperbolic, especially in its conclusion. Basing himself on conflict statistics, Huntington affirms that Muslim nations are more bellicose than the rest, due to their burgeoning demographics and faltering growth, but especially thanks to the responsiveness of societies to the call for mobilisation in the name of Islam.[7] Huntington's analysis does bring attention to two points. First, the sides to a conflict are no longer states with neatly drawn borders, but complex alliances

between societies, political movements and/or entrepreneurs of violence, taking up arms as an act of frustration with failure of Western-induced state-building and neo-liberal economics. The actors of international relations are no longer exclusively the 193 sovereign states recognised by the UN, but the 7 billion individuals populating our planet and their associative forms. Secondly, it follows that wars are no longer power games but bursts of violence from wounded societies. They are not decided in cabinets but triggered off in the streets, as breakouts of long-nurtured resentment.[8] The multitude of the unemployed and the impoverished is the matter of today's wars, such as the Arab spring that spread virally in Tunisia, Egypt, Lybia, and elsewhere.

Multilateral forums and great powers, it seems, have a hard time coming to terms with this new anatomy of war, since their responses continue to be geared for a world of sovereign independent states. To realist how misunderstood today's wars are, it is enough to state that the approved resources for UN peacekeeping in the fiscal year of 2013-14 are about $7.54 billion,[9] while the US' military spending adds up to $682 billion.[10] Military interventions into complex conflicts with socio-economical, ethnic, or religious rationales are unlikely to bring a durable peace, as the grim record of UN interventions shows. Destroying crucial military targets while trying to minimise civilian casualties does not go to the root of the issue, and the death of a warlord does not restore peace. Indeed, war is often a tragic survival strategy through which young men and women are given the delusory identity of soldiers.[11] The reiteration of unsuccessful military actions may well produce the opposite effect: that is, radicalise the struggle by providing a clear enemy for violent factions, and strengthen warlords and war-related economies.

To conclude, today's wars cannot be ended in cabinets or tribunals. They tend to be low-intensity, low-casualty, and prone to relapse. Solutions are to be found first of all in the clear definition and acceptance of this new anatomy of war, fought by complex coalitions and fuelled by social struggles. This recognition will lead to the obvious reality that peace building is not a matter of silencing arms. Aid itself is not a solution, as it fosters dependency and rent seeking.[12] Instead, the focus of peacekeeping, preventive or otherwise, should be the health and economic and personal security of the demeaned, war-torn populations. This focus does not require tardy and piecemeal acts of force, but genuine collaboration on global issues such as resource scarcity, demographic growth, and governance of transnational economic problems. In an interdependent world, wars are no longer "our neighbors affair." They urgently demand global comprehensive responses and durable solutions.

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Erosion of the State?

MIKE Y. suggests that private military companies pose a threat to the effectiveness and accountability of war

With the Afghanistan and Iraq wars, Private Military Companies (PMCs) have proliferated exponentially. Ten times more contractors were used in Iraq than in the Gulf War.[1] Their growth reflects post-9/11 paranoia, which demands ever-greater security, even though this is counter-productive.[2] Stemming from lobbying and the military-industrial complex,[3] PMC board members are often former service personnel with privileged access to government, enabling them to persuade ministers to privatise services that might not have been otherwise sub-contracted.[4]

At $100,000,000,000 globally,[5] PMCs represent the latest marketisation of the state.[6] They are part of neo-liberal privatisation, where corporations are deemed superior to states, and politicians work with businesspersons to place everything in private hands.[7] Often convenient politically, their growth has produced many "cowboys", who are far from cheap and effective .[8] These PMCs, in other words, become liabilities.

With this in mind, we can now turn to the question of whether PMCs should exist in the first place. By virtue of its sovereign nature the state has a monopoly on the sole, legitimate use of force.[9] PMCs, arguably, represent a threat to this sovereign character. Though not mercenaries[10] (that would violate the United Nations Mercenary Convention – PMCs only assist in reconstruction phases),[11] they actively employ force in roles including policing and military training. PMC operations can be seen to challenge the notion that states alone hold "monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force".[12] If, as Weber argues, this definition alone represents the essential characteristic of state sovereignty,[13] PMCs implicitly challenge the notion that states are sovereign; and if so, according to Hobbes, they should be dissolved.[14] However, the question of whether the use of force is solely permitted to states and their institutions, such as police and the army, is contestable.

If the use of force is solely state purview then PMCs challenge the sovereign nature of states. If, however, the use of force can be sub-contracted to non-state actors, then PMCs do not challenge sovereignty. Weber argues that it is permissible that "physical force is ascribed to other institutions or to individuals…[where]…the state permits it".[15] As such, states may contract military operations to PMCs without yielding sovereignty. However, Locke

disagrees. He argues that states can never confer sovereign powers to a sub-contractor, for by doing so they would lose the sovereign right to rule.[16] Deciding which theory has greater merit is problematic.

Fortunately however, such analysis was taken on by the Israeli Supreme Court in 2009. The court ruled it "unconstitutional"[17] for the Israeli state to award prison contracts to a private entity. A verdict favouring Locke's view of state ability to sub-contract force was reached because force/violence "is one of the most fundamental and one of the most invasive powers in the state's jurisdiction. Thus when the power to incarcerate is transferred to a private corporation whose purpose is making money, the act of depriving a person of [their] liberty loses much of its legitimacy. Because of this loss of legitimacy, the violation of the prisoner's right to liberty goes beyond the violation entailed in the incarceration itself". Weber's views of the state sub-subcontracting its monopoly on force to a third party can thus be ignored, or at least it can be understood that Weber meant 'institutions' or 'individuals' of the state in his works. Based on this interpretation, there is in reality no disagreement between him and Locke. Although the case referred to discusses private prisons rather than PMCs, the verdict is predicated upon the same issue: that the state can never award the right to the legitimate use of violence to market entities, for this would mean they relinquish their own right to sovereignty. PMCs therefore violate constitutional law, as they usurp the position of a state. Their existence is not legal, seeing as states do not have the legitimacy to sub-contract their monopoly on the use of force, which is awarded to them by the people.[18, 19, 20]

Legitimacy questions aside, PMCs are clearly heavily used. Why do they exist? And what is their utility? Theoretically cheap to employ, with a lobbying culture assisting their rise, and with the deaths of private-contractors unproblematic for politicians, PMCs apparently offer governments a good deal. They produce and train personnel far faster than a state could muster.[21] PMCs argue that they perform their role better and more cheaply than government.[22] By bidding for contracts, face-value costs are suppressed. As they are contractors there are no long-term concerns of pensions, healthcare or severance payments.[23] On paper, PMCs are cheap and rapid to deploy. The corpse of a privateer, quietly shipped home, does not embarrass a

government, unlike the media-covered ceremony of a dead soldier's return.[24] It is thus politically expedient for politicians to utilise PMCs, whose losses comparatively do not matter, in spite of their typically higher body count (in 2011 440 private US contractors died vs. only 418 US soldiers, the latter of whom face far more hostile conditions)[25], as politicians permanently seek to have a war which sees the body-count of their own soldiers brought to zero.[26] PMCs are therefore also theoretically appealing; they are cheap, easily made ready, have no long-term costs, and contractor deaths are irrelevant. Often however, this theoretical advantage is not realised. We must now turn to the issue of effectiveness.

Distinction should be made between the professional bodies, and the "cowboy" entities such as Blackwater. The former typically have long track records and demand significant service experience from recruits.[27] The latter are a product of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, hiring en masse, requiring little to no experience.[28] They represent an unaccountable threat to themselves and others.[29]

Professional bodies have a good history. Organisations including Executive Outcomes proved highly effective in Sierra Leone, where 150 contractors forced 15,000 militiamen to cease hostilities and enter negotiations with the government in a matter of weeks.[30] Cheap and effective, professional PMCs prove their worth.[31]

"Cowboy outfit" PMCs, on the other hand, are the true threat, as these groups have flooded the market in Iraq in Afghanistan, often lacking skills and an understanding of how to conduct war and the basics of COIN (counterinsurgency).[32] In addition, they are completely unaccountable.[33] Unlike national armies, cowboy PMCs recruit broadly and there is a lack of training and discipline amongst staff.[34] US-style PMCs lack proper knowledge of weapons safety and the mind set conducive to soldiering, peacekeeping and strengthening relationships with and within communities[35] – an integral part of COIN theory, as Johnson and Madin stress.[36]

Cowboy PMCs are ill advised in war. They do not understand the basic tenets of war theory, and thus conduct themselves inappropriately, harming themselves and local communities.[37] As Sun Tzu stresses, knowledge of the "enemy" is especially vital for winning a war.[38] This goes doubly for COIN, where one must know one's environment in order to build trust and support in generating lasting security.[39] Particularly endemic to "US-style" companies,[40] PMCs apparently do not understand the importance of being part of the community. They separate themselves by hiding in fortified compounds, they drive heavily armoured cars, they do not attempt to engage with the locals, and they fail to normalise interaction with the civilian population.[41] In remaining alien, PMCs violate Sun Tzu's command to "Be Subtle! Be Subtle!".[42] They estrange locals, and fail to build the trust required for pacific reconstruction.[43] Their overt character makes them an easy target for insurgents, ensuring that violence continues within their area of responsibility (AOR).

The key issue behind this operational incompetence is the lack of regulation of PMCs. They face next-to no accountability, being neither an international regulatory body[44] nor a national regulator body in states they operate in (that is, Afghanistan and Iraq).[45] Indeed, in Iraq, the Iraqi Coalition Provisional Authority (IPA) was explicitly prohibited from having Iraqi jurisdiction over PMCs.[46] Regulation from the states who run these PMCs (the US and UK) is near non-existent, as the case of Blackwater proved,[47] even when they are caught violating the Geneva Convention.[48] Blackwater, though formally disbanded, was re-launched by those in charge as 'Academi'. It was kept intact and the continued involvement of senior management was assured.[49] With no real oversight to limit their activities or punish their abuses, PMCs enjoy near free rein to the excessive use of violence, commit crimes and carry out abuses for which national soldiers would be seriously reprimanded.[50] The result is that PMCs cause serious setbacks in attempts to "win hearts and minds", damaging overall strategic military efforts by states employing PMCs.[51] It therefore becomes very hard to make a case for their utility.

As we have seen, PMCs make up an interesting and difficult phenomenon. A serious case can be made for them being unconstitutional and irreconcilable with state sovereignty. Politically expedient and only costing government in the short-term, they can prove highly effective in the case of the skilled, highly professional businesses. However, thanks to the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, an industry of incompetent and dangerous bodies has proliferated, with groups committing war crimes, alienating local populations and damaging overall military campaign aims. Although the sudden demand after 9/11 for this industry to grow certainly aided this problem, the lack of proper regulation and accountability of said cowboy outfits is to blame for the damage they cause.

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Terrorism and the culture of fear

ANU HIEKKARANTA examines the role of mass media in the propagation of psychological violence

It is through discourse that we build our worlds. Media discourse in particular is not only carefully constructed but also constructive, and like all discourse, language of the media is action-oriented. Mass media has the power to dispute potential alternative interpretations of reality and introduce seemingly obvious truths about the social world in such a way that its consumers believe they, too, possess objective information on reality whilst remaining generally misinformed. This is especially true when it comes to issues of national security and the threat of terrorism.

The purpose of political terrorism is to embed a sense of fear in the public.[1] This intended shift in public perception compromises the confidence of the public in the government's ability to offer protection for its citizens. In this way, the public plays a dichotomous role in the performance of terrorism, embodying both the victim of physical violence and, as an audience, the target of psychological violence.[2] The choice of "soft targets" by terrorists is therefore a dexterous one. An attack on official government facilities does not provide the same psychological edge to the lay man, the representative of the public, as does an attack on soft public spaces, and by choice of public spaces with broader and more subtle societal and symbolic value, it becomes possible to challenge the confidence of the public in its government to function as a shield between potential threats and citizens. Public spaces, metro stations, parks and schools can never be completely protected without absolute supervision.

As a formative device in the construction of public opinion, mass media is consequently a central tool employed by terrorists in their propagation of public fear. In moderating the relationship between citizen and government, the media by default referees public perceptions of terrorism – and through the installation of panic by the media, terrorists too often win in the battle for the propagative upper hand. The purpose of terrorism is, above all, to construct a worldview in which governments are unable to fight against foreign physical threats, and terrorists are only successful in overstating their ability to cause harm to the public because major news networks reinforce these particular versions of reality. The media has thus failed the public by not taking responsibility for its role in the amplification of public fear. The relationship between the terrorist and media is, to some extent, symbiotic; one benefits from the other. However, the terrorist needs media, while mainstream media is rather capable of persisting on without it.[3] Terrorism is a parasite feeding off media attention.

Fears about Islamic terrorism have been described as a phenomenon of a 'culture of fear' by modern scholars, politicians, and analysts.[4] The concept, originally postulated by Frank Furedi, entails that individual members of society benefit from the installment of public fear in the pursuit of political goals.[5] A related argument posited by Braithwaite proposes that public fear of terrorism is fundamentally overstated and irrational, and that this fear is at best facilitated and at worst manufactured by mass media.[6] The media enables politicians to make use of exaggerated fear: no matter how unlikely a future terrorist attack, it is politically useful to overstate it. Where no subsequent attack occurs, public confidence in the policies of fear-inducing candidates are reinforced. Where attacks do occur, the candidates prove themselves right in their evaluation of current affairs. The circus surrounding terrorist attacks has thus become a form of disaster porn. It is no surprise that a tragedy gives rise to community and cohesion, particularly when that tragedy is aggressive, and can be employed by candidates to rally blind support. Normative expectations of the discourse surrounding a recent terrorist attack have come to be so commoditised by candidacy talk that they do little more than serve the candidate and lay ground for re-election.

Out of the entire spectrum of human emotions, fear is the most persistent one - and evidence of its persistence has been observed in functional brain imaging studies and behavioural experiments across decades.[7] Humans, non-human primates, and other animals can be conditioned to fear more effectively and persistently than any other behavioral response or psychological experience. Fear naturally follows the observation of physical violence, and the experience of fear can persist in the absence of a threat when effectively maintained through the continuous disclosure of media reports reminding the populace that they live in a version of the world where governments cannot protect their citizens from violence. The British Social Attitudes Survey of 2005 found that the number of people convinced that the threat of terrorism to not be overstated increased considerably after the

7/7 attack (43 per cent to 68 per cent following the attack). Eight years after the 9/11 attacks, 4 out of 10 Americans still feared forthcoming terrorist attacks and a high proportion believed their family members may become victims of such attacks in the near future (56 per cent in 2001, 38 per cent in 2002 and 42 per cent in 2010).[8] If the estimations made by the public were accurate, even accounting for the potential decline in the last three years not yet shown in polls, over one third of Americans would be in danger of harm by a terrorist attack. This is to assume that over 100 million people are in immediate danger of being victims of terrorist violence. Around 30 to 40 per cent of American adults are under the impression that their family member might be a target of terrorism in the foreseeable future, that is, any family member out of an average 2-3, not counting themselves. This estimation would put virtually the entire population of the United States in immediate danger. Yet, the likelihood of a single American dying in a terrorist attack is approximately 1 in 20 million.[9] An American citizen is 17,600 times more likely to die of heart disease, 1,048 times more likely to die in a car crash, 87 times more likely to drown, 12 times more likely to die from accidentally suffocating in bed, 8 times more likely to be shot to death by a policeman and 6 times more likely to die of hot weather than to die from a terrorist attack.[10]

The power of mass media to construct compelling versions of reality should not be underestimated. The case of the Boston bombing media circus and subsequent man-hunt served no purpose besides that intended by the terrorists themselves. The media, by creating a nation-wide crime scene drama out of an arbitrary act of violence, does a disservice to citizens. Danger-talk by media outlets introduces, convincingly, the pre-

analytic assumption that terrorism is more dangerous, more common and more chaotic than virtually any other potential source of harm. Terrorism discourse is used to carry out interactional practices and social actions in the arena of political activities. It enables the introduction of the extreme policies and extended surveillance of citizens which otherwise would be considered excessive and an insult to privacy. The action-orientation of terrorism talk is therefore significantly more intentional than supposed. What is offered as allegedly factual and descriptive talk ultimately enables social actions, some of which are more obvious than others.

What is to be done to break off the use of psychological violence for political gain? The mitigation of public fear is the most effective form of counter-terrorism. As critical consumers of modern media will note, however, integrity and news casts no longer belong in the same sentence. The public has grown accustomed to infotainment and misinformation. It is noteworthy that the number of years in formal education is negatively associated with anxiety concerning potential future terrorism.[11, 12] Effective and informative news casting and education of the public on the realistic threat of terrorism is the only solution to the culture of fear. Communicating information about the low risk of terrorism will result in more reasonable political responses, more accurate evaluation of the necessary level of surveillance of citizens, and less emotional decision making in the future battle against international terrorism.

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How to Win A Nobel Peace Prize
ALISTAIR CARR: *Be nice, become powerful, or oppose someone who is*

Winning the Nobel Peace Prize is difficult. With only one hundred and twenty-three winners since 1901, the odds are considerably more favourable to play in a FIFA World Cup or conquer Everest. However by understanding the rationale that animates the Nobel Committee, and the typology of Nobel Peace Prize recipients, winning the Prize can be attempted with at least a modicum of logic.

The five members of the Nobel Committee never fail to surprise. The kaleidoscopic list of winners, brimming with dictators, presidents, organisations, bankers, priests and a Dalai Lama fuels the mercurial perception of the Nobel Committee. However, looking beneath the arbitrariness and conspiracy, there is a discernible logic to its seemingly arcane decisions. And it reveals the politically enterprising nature of what was, at least initially, an impartial, retrospectively focused award scheme.

The Nobel Peace Prize, to some extent, reflects its founder Alfred Nobel. His Prize, awarded "to the person who shall have done the most or the best work for fraternity between nations, for the abolition or reduction of standing armies and for the holding and promotion of peace congresses", has a history of bewildering contradictions.

Nobel himself, whilst a stern advocate for peace, was an eminent 19th century weapons developer infamous for the invention of dynamite. Thus he contributed heartily to the armament of pre-war Europe. Judging by the uniquely barbarous use of diabolical weaponry in the First World War, the theoretical underpinning for his bipolar interests, that "on the day that two army corps can mutually annihilate each other in a second, all civilised nations will surely recoil with horror and disband their troops" was at best premature and at worst hopelessly asinine . It is then hardly surprising that controversy perpetually revolves around Nobel's Peace Prize.

Many awards have been condemned as overtly ideological and even morally abhorrent. Menachem Begin, the Israeli Prime Minister who once headed a major Zionist terrorist organisation and plotted to assassinate German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, and Henry Kissinger who, instigating and supporting military rule in Argentina and Chile as well as the bombing of Cambodia, contributed wholeheartedly to world conflict in the 1970s - are Nobel Peace Laureates. American satirist Tom Lehrer famously claimed after Kissinger's peace prize, that that "made political satire obsolete". Indeed, in the face of historically peculiar behaviour by the Nobel Committee, it may seem reasonable to refute its relevance, impartiality, or even sanity.

However the award is still taken seriously. And so it should be. Contrary, perhaps to the traditional retrospective nature of awards, the Nobel Committee is transfixed on the future, the Prize is given according to the impact it will have. The unpredictability of the Nobel Committee is symptomatic of the versatility of the Prize. As a political tool, it uses its persistent influence to highlight areas of concern, publicly back the work

of international institutions or nudge the people in power (sometimes the winners) in a particular direction.

This year's prize is no exception. Fairly early on, Malala Yousafzai, the barnstorming Pakistani teenager who was shot in the head in response to her campaign for female education, was a popular contender. She lost, not because she didn't deserve it ("Deserving" the Peace Prize is itself a nebulous criterion), but because the impact of giving Malala the Prize would have been derisory. She does not lack celebrity, and neither does her message. A Peace Prize may have further glossed the sparkly activist, and glossed over the fundamental issues she is trying to address. As Max Fisher of the Washington Post lamented: "by awarding the prize to Malala at this early moment, the Nobel committee would be abetting our effort to turn some of Pakistan's deepest problems into just another Hollywood-ready drama with an easy-to-follow narrative and a happy ending".

The eventual winners on the other hand, the terrifically mundane Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW), were not well known and their eponymous message is now, more than ever, in need of attention. The Nobel committee's motivations, could not have been stated more clearly than in the announcement of the winners.

"Recent events in Syria, where chemical weapons have again been put to use, have underlined the need to enhance the efforts to do away with such weapons. Some states are still not members of the OPCW. Certain states have not observed the deadline, which was April 2012, for destroying their chemical weapons. This applies especially to the USA and Russia... By means of the present award to the OPCW, the Committee is seeking to contribute to the elimination of chemical weapons."

Acknowledging the politically functional role of the Nobel Peace Prize, a vague and overlapping yet helpful typology of prizes, categorized by their functions, is possible. This typology consists of the 'fall back', the champion, and the underdog winners. These three 'types' are elected with different intentions and serve different purposes.

The rather unfortunate and perhaps undeservedly named fall back winners include the EU who were awarded the prize in 2012 as well as the International Red Cross which has won the award three times. Fallbacks are uncontroversial and tend to be organizations but are not exclusively. They also tend to be retrospectively focused, for instance Martti Ahtisaari, the former Finnish President and UN diplomat won the Prize in 2008 "for his efforts on several continents and over more than three decades, to resolve international conflicts". These choices avoid exacerbating international tensions and serve to celebrate the work and symbolically strengthen international organisations.

Underdog winners are attempts by the Committee to assert (often without

subtlety) a moral norm onto non-complying states. This was most blatantly evidenced this year with the choice of the OPCW as winner, as well as Liu Xiaobo's prize in 2010 "for his long and non-violent struggle for fundamental human rights in China". These prizes are particularly controversial as they carry sharp connotations. Unsurprisingly, this provoked a torrent of abuse from China, the amount and intensity of which, testifies to the potency of the Prize. One Chinese news agency repeated the ritual proclamation that- "This year's Nobel Peace Prize has become a rigged political tool and is destined to fail" . Similarly Al Gore's 2007 prize, shared with the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change- "for their efforts to build up and disseminate greater knowledge about man-made climate change, and to lay the foundations for the measures that are needed to counteract such change", sent a clear opprobrium to President Bush, Gore's former rival, of the lacklustre efforts of Washington to lead the fight against climate change.

Otherwise, the award is inte nded to pick a champion to strive for the values of the Prize. This is often reserved for powerful political players who are able to practically implement the values of the Nobel Peace Prize. Whilst the permanent badge of 'laureate' is only binding in a moral sense—it didn't constrain Kissinger much—it is more appropriately understood as a burden, a responsibility to abide by the principles of the Prize, or face justifiable charges of hypocrisy. For example, Barack Obama's "surprise" at

his selection in 2008 was shared around the world. Having barely unpacked his crockery in the White House the President had not yet had chance to have a marginal impact on the world stage, let alone a sufficient amount to reward. However as Committee Chairman Thorbjorn Jagland explained, "The committee wants to not only endorse but contribute to enhancing that kind of international policy and attitude which [Obama] stands for" .

To win the Nobel Prize one must conform to a 'type' of prize. The relative chance of winning through each varies depending on circumstance. When tensions are running high, as with the Syrian Civil War, an international institution such as the International Atomic Energy Agency, or figure (Fallback) is a good bet. However as an international institution you will have to perform gruelling, largely unnoticed work before an appropriate 'gap' forms one year. Champion Prizes are not very regular either as they are not usually effective (see Henry Kissinger, Barack Obama, Yasser Arafat, Shimon Peres, Theodore Roosevelt…). Therefore an underdog Prize is the most successful route. Opposing a powerful state and its nefarious actions as Aung San Suu Kyi and Desmond Tutu sis is as close as it gets to a sure-fire strategy for Nobel success. However you may be too busy under house arrest to pick up the award (see Aung San Suu Kyi and Liu Xiaobo).

Neoliberalism and New Wars

SABINE CHALMERS examines the implications of neoliberal policies upon the occurrence and longevity of new wars

We all remember exactly where we were and what we were doing on September 11th 2001. It changed not only the United States of America, but countries, lives and wars everywhere. With 9/11 the war and terror dynamic entered the development and security discourse on a different level. The emerging concept of 'new wars' has signalled the growing belief that, through neoliberal influences and globalization, the nature of wars has changed. The notion of 'new' wars distinguishes contemporary conflicts from their predecessors in acknowledging their diverse actors, goals, warfare and funding. Yet while the 'new wars' concept aptly describes current wars, it fails to elaborate on the reasons for this change. Because the evolution of so-called 'new wars' in the 1990s followed the emergence of neoliberal influences just one decade before, the question arises of whether neoliberal policies may have favoured this emergence. Peter Lock,[1] for example, argues that the precondition for long domestic conflicts is the integration of war economies into shadow economies of the global trade market. At the same time, the influences of neoliberal agendas – such as privatisation and trade liberalisation – can be associated with the unique characteristics of new wars. Although neoliberalism is an economic theory and can therefore only give an insight in the economic side of wars, it can offer some valid explanations for the development within wars. This will be shown in the example of the war in Iraq between 2003 and 2011.

Formulated in 1999 by Mary Kaldor,[2] the notion of 'new wars' is one of many terms attempting to define contemporary wars in the era of globalisation, defined by other authors including 'privatised wars,' 'hybrid wars' and 'post-modern wars.'

The 'new war' theory states that new wars depart from the wars of the 18th, 19th and beginning of 20th century in the nature of their goals, actors, methods and forms of finance.[3] New wars are not so much about the struggle for territory but about 'the claim to power on the basis of seemingly traditional identities – nation, tribe, religion'.[4] The actors in new wars are not as clearly defined as in old wars and consist of state actors as well as non-state and private actors, including regular armed forces, warlords, and paramilitary.[5] At the same time, an ever-growing number of international organisations, networks and NGOs have become increasingly involved in contemporary wars, often overtaking roles of the government.[6]

In another deviation from traditional wars, the primary goal of new wars is to control the civilian population and gain the upper hand over territories through techniques such as displacement, starvation and epidemics.[7,8] This is made clear by statistics: where in old wars the majority of casualties were among participating military bodies, 80% of war victims today are civilians. [9] The final difference between new wars and old wars, however, is economic. New wars are most often financed not by the weakened state, but through alternative, exploitative forms such as predation, diaspora support, the 'taxation' of humanitarian aid, illegal trade, smuggling and trafficking. Economic gain is a major motivator of new wars. Within a global and decentralised economy, however, financial

gain can only be maintained through the persistence of war.[10] Münkler also keys into this longevity, suggesting that new wars are prolonged by a dense web of motives, methods and para-state actors.[11]

Neoliberalism, rendered by thinkers of the University of Chicago such as Hayek and Friedman, is built upon the idea that Keynesianism was a barrier for economic development. The aim of neoliberalism is that the 'economy should dictate its rules to society, not the other way around,'[12] and usually entails the privatisation of the public sector and of private enterprises, deregulation of the economy to prevent state intervention, commercialisation, cutting back on government expenditure in the social sector and last, the promotion of ideological and economic individualism.[13] Furthermore, the 'free trade in goods and services,' the 'free circulation of capital' and the 'freedom of investment' are factors of a neoliberal scheme.[14] Neoliberalism thus involves redistribution of capital from public into private hands, and therefore from the hands of the poor to the hands of the rich. The public is seen by neoliberals as 'inefficient,' and the individual alone is responsible for his/her welfare. Many scholars insist that neoliberalism was constructed to pervade people's thinking, making it the 'natural' way to live and develop.[15]

In practice, the neoliberal idea became a 'blueprint' by the end of the 1980s through the Washington Consensus and was implemented by means of structural adjustment programmes.[16] The neoliberal ideology and agenda are still dominant today. Consequently, the question asked is how the emergence of neoliberalism may have contributed to unique developments in today's 'new' wars.

The multidimensionality within a war and the diversities between wars are very much acknowledged. Nevertheless, the predominance of the economy and capitalism in the neoliberal approach is quite obvious. Hence, when connecting neoliberalism with the concept of new wars, the economic side of wars will be dominant in this discourse.

In literature the term 'war economy' has become widespread, with scholars speaking not of the economic side of a war, but of war as an economic field. The term 'war economy' makes sense as one of the main drivers of war is the economic gain, and new wars seem to be instrumentalised for this purpose. Duffield describes war economies as being based on networks that trade outside of their national borders, often illegally or unofficially, though the traded goods can be both legal and illegal.[17] Peter Lock argues that the precondition for long domestic conflicts is the integration of war economies into shadow economies of the global trade market.[18] Structural adjustment and market liberalisation are therefore seen as the main reasons for the 'expansion of transborder activity' and make survival in times of 'instability' possible.[19] Most interestingly, Duffield compares peace and war economies and suggests that they actually have very similar attributes. Transborder or parallel trade also occurs in 'peace economies,' as well as high levels of unemployment and dependence on the international market.[20] This suggests that the connection between the shape of the economy and

war is not that clear after all. Simultaneously, however, Duffield argues that existing violence can be upheld through transborder trade and that warlords and other non-state actors can expand their influence through trade. This means that irregular trade is not caused through war and that war doesn't cause irregular trade. Rather, transborder trade offers a greater 'playground' for war actors and encourages the longevity of wars.

The influence of trade liberalisation and the opening of markets on war economies can also be seen in the involvement of international enterprises, governments, and banks. Because war economies are criminalized, the trade with international weapon and arms companies (mostly from the West to the global South) contribute largely to the sustainability of war economies and therefore wars themselves.[21, 22] Simultaneously, wars are essential for the arms industry to secure the demand for weapons, their production, distribution, and consumption, and therefore the companies' profits. Western companies are acting upon the device of 'free trade;' 'War [has] become a business,'[23] and neoliberal policies have made this possible.

Privatisation also plays a major role in new wars.[24] With the privatisation of security, came the privatisation of violence, and therefore also its actors. 'Everywhere where security is not provided by the state as a public good, people have to rely on an alternative way of organising security. In such situations of insecurity social formations develop on the basis of ideologies of identity.'[25] When people have to rely on collective security, they secure themselves through the formation of a 'we' and 'us' and hereby threaten the 'others.' This segregation often results in violence. Hence, ideological identities are shaped into criminal and economic actors who integrate themselves into illegal networks in the 'shadow economy'.[26] Münkler demonstrates what this can look like in a practical sense in his definition of warlords as 'war entrepreneurs.'[27] The untrained soldiers they recruit ensure their own security by joining the militant group. They provide for themselves through robbery and plundering, and weapons are supplied mostly through illegal trade routes. New wars have indeed become very cost-efficient and 'lucrative,' especially because the costs of war are carried by others.[28] It is only in the hands of few that the revenue of wars flows, whilst a large proportion of the population suffers. This seems to coincide with the neoliberal ideology. The process of the war is market led: young men's need for recognition being met by the demand for soldiers by warlords. In the end, the 'fit' ones survive.[29] Those survive who have the means and networks to provide for their living. In the neoliberal theory, everyone is responsible for their own economic and social welfare and, through privatisation, the state hardly has means to secure the wellbeing of the 'weaker' citizen. The high number of civilian deaths and the large amount of displaced and wounded are an indicator of this phenomenon.

Wars are being led and fuelled by economic aspirations and actors are more interested in the "war enterprise" than in the outcome,[30] and it can therefore be argued that it is important to keep state interventions to a minimum to uphold the war. Whether state-born legal instruments could regulate these illegal and harmful international transactions must be questioned. Why are there no legal means to stop international enterprises trading military equipment with criminals? Is the economic gain for western states through the turnover of these enterprises high enough for the human consequences of conflict to be disregarded? How are these cost-benefit calculations made? These questions exceed the limits of this research but indicate areas in need of enquiry.

It becomes clear that all neoliberal factors are intertwined. Market-led wars require the weakening (if not the exclusion) of the state. This can be achieved through privatisation, which makes parallel and transborder trade possible, which are enforced through trade liberalisation.

Those aspects of new wars which are not causally connected to economic factors are difficult to link with neoliberal theory. One could nevertheless argue that neoliberal policies very much favour the longevity of new wars. Moreover, while the privatisation of security and therefore violence plays and important role in creating war identities, there is not yet enough evidence to prove that neoliberal theory plays a role in the emergence of new wars. Neoliberal theory can help to explain the involvement of private actors and the endlessness of new wars through the driving factor of profit, which is mostly feasible through the opening of markets. But as Kaldor states, the influences of new communication technologies and international migration flows also play an important role.

The wars of Iraq and Afghanistan, though superficially different in their characteristics, are categorised as new wars, mostly because of the way they were fought on the ground.[31] The neoliberal influence in new wars and its effects can be seen clearly in the example of the invasion of Iraq in 2003.

The pledged instigators of the war in Iraq are quite diverse and do not immediately suggest a neoliberal agenda. The war on terrorism, Iraq's alleged weapons of mass destruction, Saddam Hussain's regime, the establishment of a stable oil supply to the US, and implementation of democracy are just a few to be mentioned.[32] Surprisingly, the implementation of a neoliberal agenda as a motivating factor is entirely absent. Nevertheless, some scholars go as far as to say that the war resulted from of the forced globalisation of neoliberalism, and international actors often involve themselves in conflict situations to achieve exactly that.[33] Egan states that it was part of the US mission to dismantle the socialist, statist Iraqi state,[34] and when aligned with post-Cold War tensions this explanation doesn't seem too far off.

After the Iraqi invasion began in March 2003, the 'de-Ba'athification' was commenced soon afterwards. Military bodies embarked upon a mission of mass privatisation while the Iraqi army was terminated and 40,000 public administrative officers were let go.[35] With Saddam Hussein's government demolished, the United States aggressively implemented further structural adjustments. The Director of USAID stated in 2001 that '[t]he transition of developing nations to market economies, [was] a fundamental goal of the agency's policies.'[36] Trade barriers and tariffs were removed, the Iraqi market was opened and 192 state-owned enterprises were compromised, destroying 35% of the national economy.[37] Further privatisation and deregulation plans were implemented - all local banks and 100% of the market were authorised for foreign ownership, with the exception of natural resources.[38, 39] Iraq was immediately flooded with European and American exports. One of the goals on the neoliberal agenda was to attract foreign investors, especially in the oil business. Because of structural constraints, however, this was never achieved and Iraq became dependent upon imports from the global market.[40] The Iraqi oil production, for example, amounted 2.6 million barrels a day under the Hussein's government. After the invasion, the Bush Administration invested large amounts of money in completing contracts with foreign (and mostly American) oil companies to 'boost' the Iraqi economy. Yet by 2005 the daily oil production had dropped to 1.1 million barrels a day. There were similarly negative developments in other sectors of the economy, such as the power industry.[41]

The neoliberal adjustments led to a high unemployment rate (up to 60%; 450,000 were immediately unemployed after the de-ba'athification),[42] a crash of the Iraqi economy and a consequently violent backlash.[43] The war on the ground was fought by state and non-state actors and a large number of insurgents. They were part of many different interest groups with diverse ideological and religious backgrounds, unified only by their interest in halting western influence and preserving Islamic culture. In spite of the disposal of the hated Saddam Hussein, a strengthened Iraqi nationalism resulted and an active battle against the US occupation began.[44] In March 2003, 50,000 civilians had been killed and 1.18 million wounded,[45] and by 2007, 54% of Iraqis lived on less than one Dollar a day, and 70% lived without adequate water supply.[46] The impact upon the country's development was devastating. The war ended in 2011, though only officially.

The neoliberal agenda both lay the grounds for the war in Iraq, and contributed to its longevity. The state was not only weakened but demolished, and both security and violence were privatised. The public economic sector was privatised and deregulated, and the market opened. James A. Tyner is convinced that

'The 'War on Terror' is a never-ending war, born of a militant neoliberal capitalist imperative. It constitutes a discursive construct, one that enables the Bush administration to justify and enact foreign policies that would otherwise be opposed such as the illegal invasion and occupation of Iraq.'[47]

Yet one must also reflect on what actually triggered the violence. The main causes seem to be the crash of the economy, the high rate of unemployment, and an enmity against foreign occupying forces. Both the crash of the economy and the rising unemployment rate were caused by neoliberal policies, hence Iraq can be taken as evidence for the destructive effects neoliberalism can have on wars and therefore also on development. The example of Iraq also demonstrates that neoliberalism can, after all, influence the origin of wars. Simultaneously, neoliberalism is an economic theory and as a consequence can only assist in understanding the economic side of a war. The war in Iraq was marked by a wide range of actors and motives and only a part of the war can thus be linked to a neoliberal agenda. It also needs to be noted that in the case of Iraq, neoliberal policies were part of the war agenda. This is not necessarily the case with other new wars. Neoliberal policies could have been present long before the outbreak of a war and therefore have no direct causal connection to its emergence.

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Asia Pacific

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