

IRC ALERT

June — July 2005

FOCUS: Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking

U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan Ryan C. Crocker reiterated the U.S. commitment to counter narcotics cooperation with the Pakistani government during a graduation ceremony for drug treatment training in Islamabad on March 31.

Ambassador Crocker recognized that the fight against drugs requires united international efforts. “When you see representatives from three different nations (Malaysia, Pakistan and the U.S.) talking about drug abuse, it becomes obvious that this is a global problem,” he said. “Drug traffickers do not respect borders, and drug users do not live in a bubble. Their problems become society’s problems as narcotics lead to violent behavior and criminal activity that can threaten the stability and welfare of any nation.”

The U.S. has been working with Pakistan for the last twenty years to fight drugs. In order to stop drug trafficking and reduce the supply of drugs, the U.S. is providing operational aviation assets, and training to Pakistani agencies operating on the border, including the Frontier Corps and ANF. The U.S. also supports poppy monitoring nationwide and eradication efforts in the Northwest Frontier Province and Federally Administered Tribal Areas. In Bajaur, Mohmand and Khyber Agencies, the U.S. has funded construction of over 450 kilometers of roads to give law enforcement forces access to remote areas for crop eradication and to allow farmers to deliver legitimate produce to market. In those same areas, the U.S. has introduced high value crops as alternatives to poppy, built about 700 small schemes, such as water wells

DRUGS OF ABUSE



support, commodities,

and electrification

Ambassador Crocker also recognized the need for demand reduction activities, which led the U.S. to fund the Pengasih course and other seminars organized by ANF to raise awareness among district officials, religious leaders and women. The Pengasih training offered insights into ways to treat, rehabilitate and reintegrate drug users into mainstream society. Pengasih instructors shared techniques in counseling, support groups and other behavioral therapies that help addicts build skills to resist drug use and build relationships

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to function in the family and community.

Pengasih is a non-profit organization initiated by reformed drug users in 1987. Approximately 3,000 clients have benefited from their treatment services for substance abuse, including drugs, chemicals and alcohol. In training and development, Pengasih has worked with various organizations from the United States, Indonesia, Thailand, the Maldives, Sri Lanka, South Africa, South Korea, Singapore, the Philippines, Pakistan, India, Iran and Afghanistan.

DRUG ABUSE — Articles

4-1/FOC
**THE AMBIGUITY OF VIOLENCE,
SECRECY, AND TRUST AMONG
COLOMBIAN DRUG ENTREPRENEURS**
By **Damián Zaitch**
***Journal of Drug Issues*, Winter 2005, Vol. 35,
No. 1, pp. 201-228.**

Zaitch examines the Colombian drug distribution networks in Netherlands and argues, contrary to some stereotypes, that Colombian drug entrepreneurs resort to violence, secrecy, and trust in ambivalent ways. He finds that the social reality of drug dealing and dealers is more mundane, consensual and public than imagined. In contrast to the real use of violence, secrecy, and trust, traquetos and their employees often use these resources strategically as a form of manipulation, to either defend themselves, to gain power, or to construct their social or ethnic identities.

4-2/FOC
**THE FARC AND THE TALIBAN'S
CONNECTION TO DRUGS**
By **Alain Labrousse**
***Journal of Drug Issues*, Winter 2005, Vol. 35,
No. 1, pp. 169-185.**

Labrousse explores the nexus between the Afghani Taliban and the Colombian Armed Revolutionary Forces of Colombia (FARC) to the illicit drugs industry and finds important similarities despite the great differences in development and culture that exists between the two. Both armed groups taxed

peasants and drug traffickers, both developed exculpatory discourses that justify their participation in the illegal industry, and both ban drug consumption among their members. He concludes that when an armed group claiming to have an ideology but lacking an abundant source of funds confronts the possibility to obtain financing from illicit drug trafficking, it is very likely to do so.

4-3/FOC
**FUTILITY IN ACTION: Coca Fumigation in
Colombia**
By **Laurel Sherret**
***Journal of Drug Issues*, Winter 2005, Vol. 35,
No. 1, pp. 151-169.**

Sherret explores the scientific information available on aerial fumigation and seeks to clarify some of the more technical aspects of the debate concerning the fumigation program in Colombia. Aerial spraying of coca and poppy fields in Colombia is a highly controversial issue, in which glyphosate, the herbicide used, is rather benign. He concludes that perhaps the questions left about the herbicidal formulations' effects will be answered with research that supports its relatively benign nature.

4-4/FOC
**STRATEGIES FOR CONTROLLING THE
DRUG SUPPLY: Policy Recommendations to
Deal**
By **Ricardo Vargas**
***Journal of Drug Issues*, Winter 2005, Vol. 35,
No. 1, pp. 131-150.**

Measuring the success of Alternative Development (AD) programs by the number of illicit crop hectares eradicated puts AD in an undesirable competition with aerial fumigation, which can reduce these areas in a much shorter time. Whereas AD can only obtain results over the long term, the political push to demonstrate immediate successful results has led to an imbalance in United States anti-drug aid, which is strongly weighted towards aerial fumigation. Despite the short-term success of aerial spraying, the key question of the political, social, and economic sustainability of the results obtained through the use of forceful eradication remains open. This paper seeks to examine and question those aspects of the current

strategy and to explore alternative strategies of eradication that take into account who makes decisions in this matter and on whose behalf said alternatives establish oversight for the ongoing advancement in drug policy.

4-5/FOC

THE NUMBERS GAME: Let's All Guess the Size of the Illegal Drug Industry!

By Francisco E Thoumi

Journal of Drug Issues, Winter 2005, pg. 185.

Thoumi explores a few measurement problems and issues, surveying the United Nations' estimates of the size of the illegal drug industry and documenting a few cases of data abuse and misuse in Columbia, providing some examples of misuse of economic concepts. Finally, he questions the importance of accurate estimates and draws a few conclusions.

DRUG ABUSE — Documents

4-6/FOC

AFGHANISTAN: Narcotics and U.S. Policy

By Christopher M. Blanchard

Congressional Research Service, December 7, 2004.

<http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/crs/r132686.pdf>

This report describes the structure and development of the narcotics trade in Afghanistan and explores its relevance to Afghan, U.S., and international security interests, including the 9/11 Commission's recommendation that the United States make a long term commitment to the stability and security of Afghanistan. The report provides current statistical information on the opium trade, profiles its various participants, explores alleged narco-terrorist linkages, and reviews the U.S. and international policy response since late 2001. The report also considers current policy debates regarding the role of the U.S. military in future counter-narcotics operations in Afghanistan; planned opium poppy eradication; and funding issues for Congress.

4-7/FOC

HOW THE DRUG WAR IN AFGHANISTAN UNDERMINES AMERICA'S WAR ON TERROR

By Ted Carpenter

Cato Institute, November 10, 2004.

<http://www.cato.org/pubs/fpbriefs/fpb84.pdf>

The author contends that there is a growing tension between two U.S. objectives in Afghanistan. He argues that the more important objective is—or at least should be—the eradication of the remaining Al Qaeda and Taliban forces in that country. But the United States and its coalition partners are now also emphasizing the eradication of Afghanistan's drug trade. These antidrug efforts, maintains Carpenter, may fatally undermine the far more important anti-terrorism campaign. The growing of opium poppies (the source of heroin) is a huge part of Afghanistan's economy—roughly half of the country's annual gross domestic product. As long as the United States and other drug-consuming countries pursue a prohibitionist strategy, a massive black market premium exists that will make the cultivation of drug crops far more lucrative than competing crops in Afghanistan or any other drug-source country. For many Afghan farmers, growing opium poppies is the difference between prosperity and destitution. They use those revenues to pay the militias that keep them in power. Carpenter cautions that a drug eradication campaign could drive important warlords into alliance with America's terrorist adversaries.

4-8/FOC

REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS CONTROL BOARD FOR 2004

International Narcotics Control Board (INCB). 2005.

http://www.incb.org/incb/annual_report_2004.html

The supply of and demand for illicit drugs at first seem to be quite separate: drugs are manufactured, trafficked and sold on the illicit market by one group of people; the drugs are bought and consumed by others. However, illicit drug supply and demand are in fact inextricably linked components of a single phenomenon. The demand for drugs stimulates the supply; the availability of drugs, in turn, creates

demand, as more people become dependent upon drugs.

DRUG ABUSE — Internet Sites

Please note that the U.S. Embassy assumes no responsibility for the content and availability of the resources listed below. Internet resources were active as of July 27, 2005.

Drug Control: International Policy and Approaches

Congressional Research Service, Updated March 6, 2003.
<http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/society/crime/crimegun2.pdf>

Pulse Check: Trends in Drug Abuse

Executive Office of the President, Office of National Drug Control Policy, January 2004. <http://www.whitehousedrugpolicy.gov/publications/drugfact/pulsechk/january04/index.html>

Stopping Use Before It Starts: Education and Community Action

Executive Office of the President, Office of National Drug Policy Control.
http://www.whitehousedrugpolicy.gov/publications/policy/ndcs04/stopping_use.pdf

War On Drugs: Legislation in the 108th Congress and Related Developments

Congressional Research Service, Updated March 13, 2003.
<http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/society/crime/crimegun6.pdf>

The Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP)

<http://www.whitehousedrugpolicy.gov/>

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA)

<http://www.samhsa.gov/>

Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (CSAP)

<http://www.samhsa.gov/csap/>

National Clearinghouse for Alcohol and Drug

Information (NCADI)

<http://www.health.org/>

National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA)

<http://www.nida.nih.gov/>

American Council for Drug Education (ACDE)

<http://www.acde.org/>

Community Anti-Drug Coalitions of America (CADCA)

<http://www.cadca.org/>

Council on Prevention and Education

<http://www.copes.org>

Join Together Online

<http://www.jointogether.org/>

National Center for Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University (CASA)

<http://www.casacolumbia.org/>

Partnership for a Drug-Free America

<http://www.drugfreeamerica.org/>

Drug Trafficking in the United States

http://www.usdoj.gov/dea/concern/drug_trafficking.html

4-9/IS**BULLETS, BALLOTS, AND POPPIES IN AFGHANISTAN****By Larry Goodson****Journal of Democracy, Jan 2005, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 24-38.**

By mid-2003, Afghanistan appeared in danger of reverting to "failed-state" status. Happily, the resilience of the Afghans plus some policy changes by the US and its partners have put things on the right track, though daunting challenges remain. Here, Goodson tackles each of these challenges. Progress on state-building also has been notable, especially the remarkable October election that capped a successful graduated transition process under the Bonn Accords. The last and most difficult Bonn hurdle—the parliamentary elections—remains, but there is substantially more reason for optimism that these elections can be carried off now that the other transitional steps have occurred.

4-10/IS**FIGHTING THE ILLICIT TRAFFICKING OF SMALL ARMS****By Rachel Stohl****SAIS Review, Winter 2005, Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 59-68.**

The illicit trafficking in small arms is a trans-national phenomenon. This trade arms terrorists and terrorist groups operating around the world and is central to the U.S. global war on terror. The line between the legal and illicit trades in small arms is often blurred, fuelled by the lack of strict international criteria and controls. Around the world, the illegal income generated by exploiting resources such as timber, drugs, diamonds, and other minerals perpetuates conflicts and corruption. Arms brokers can operate because they are able to circumvent national arms controls and international arms embargoes or to obtain official protection. Developing policies to address the illicit trafficking in small arms cannot be done in a vacuum or by the United States unilaterally. Other countries, on a national, regional and international level, must develop stronger controls on

legal sales and increase and enhance international cooperation.

4-11/IS**HOW WE WOULD FIGHT CHINA****By Robert Kaplan****Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 295, No. 3, June 2005, pp. 49-64**

The author believes that China's rise as a global military power will be the preeminent challenge that the U.S. will face in the twenty-first century -- a new Cold War that could last for several generations. While their armed forces and navy are currently nowhere near a match to the U.S., China is modernizing its military rapidly, and it is only a matter of time before they expand into the Pacific. Kaplan predicts that China will be a far more formidable adversary than the Soviets were -- the Chinese military is "an avid student of the competition, and a fast learner", and that China is a master of indirect influence, such as establishing business connections and signing construction and trade agreements. At the center of the U.S. response to China's growing influence is the Honolulu-based U.S. Pacific Command (PACOM), which is forging military ties with Pacific Rim nations. Kaplan, who has spent several years traveling in Asia and the Pacific region to observe U.S. military operations there, believes that a Bismarck-style network of alliances is crucial to dissuade China from overt military action and draw it into PACOM's orbit, much as NATO did to defuse the Soviet threat.

4-12/IS**PATH TO KASHMIR RESOLUTION WILL BE ARDUOUS, BUT UNEASY TRUCE SHOULD HOLD****By Mat Taylor****Strategic Insights, July 2005, Vol. 4, No. 7.****<http://www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si/2005/Jul/taylorJul05.asp>**

It appears that India and Pakistan agree that their approach to the issue must change, creating the necessary flexibility in their respective policies is likely to take years. Kashmir is a political question loaded with national identity and sovereignty implications for India and Pakistan that make it far more important and complicated than simply a territorial dispute.

Reaching a solution that accounts for these complexities will require years of confidence building measures and internal political changes, but a solution will not be reached with the continuation of the proxy war. The United States should not attempt to mediate the dispute. However, it should continue to stay actively involved and stress the political, economic, and societal costs the Kashmir dispute has on both countries and help the leaders of India and Pakistan fend off demands from hard-liners in their countries that advocate a more violent strategy to settle the dispute.

4-13/IS

RATIFICATION OF THE CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION: Strategic and Tactical Implications

By Peter L. Platteborze

Military Review, March-April 2005, pp. 55-57.

Platteborze, a U.S. army major with the Tripler Army Medical Center Laboratory in Honolulu, argues that implementation and ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention remains the best means available of preventing legitimate chemicals from falling into the hands of covert violators. He says that, compared with earlier treaties like the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention and the 1968 Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, the CWC has deep and broad verification mechanisms and state-party-initiated challenge inspections. And the CWC is the first multilateral arms control treaty to require the elimination of an entire category of WMD under strict international monitoring. The convention is approaching universal acceptance and the establishment of an international standard against chemical-weapons possession and use. He argues that ratification of the treaty is highly desirable for military, political and economic reasons.

4-14/IS

TERRORISM AS AN ACADEMIC SUBJECT AFTER 9/11: Searching the Internet Reveals a Stockholm Syndrome Trend

By Avishag Gordon

Studies in Conflict and Terrorism. January-February 2005. Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 45-59.

The 11 September 2001 event was a turning point in the assessment of terrorism as a phenomenon and

added a new dimension to the evaluation of terrorism as an academic subject. New academic courses dealing with various aspects of terrorism evolved, mostly in American universities, and more disciplines took part analyzing different angles of this phenomenon, thus sharpening its interdisciplinary nature. The enhanced interest in terrorism, though, did not change the nature of this subject area, which remained spread among various grand disciplines such as History, Political Science, Sociology, and Religious Studies. The closing chapter deals with the dynamics of terrorism studies at the University of Haifa after 9/11, where a gradual growth in the number of courses on terrorism is demonstrated, as compared with the accelerated increase in these courses in the United States.

4-15/IS

TOTTERING TREATY

By James Kitfield

National Journal, May 14, 2005, No. 20, pp. 1462-1469.

The author stresses the importance of non-proliferation strategies within international relations, and identifies the Bush administration's failure to strengthen nonproliferation laws and international rules. According to the author, President Bush has chosen to focus on counterproliferation and coercion of nuclear rogues and believes the non-proliferation problem relates to the regimes, not the actual weapons. Specifically, the author targets Pakistan, North Korea and Iran as countries that pose security threats. Pakistan never joined the NPT or the Nuclear Suppliers Group, so is not subject to IAEA inspections -- "no one knows with certitude whether their stockpiles of weapons have adequate safeguards, and whether their fissile materials are safely stored and secured." Furthermore, scientific evidence of the development and exportation of plutonium in North Korea poses a grave threat because North Korea signed the NPT and then pursued nuclear weapons in direct contradiction to the treaty. Furthermore, arms control expert Joseph Cirincione's visit to Iran reminded the US that it must reach a deal with Tehran or the Iranians will continue to exploit the loophole in the NPT that allows members to use civilian programs to acquire the ingredients for nuclear weapons. Cirincione also reasons that the NPT should have strengthened inspection and monitoring

protocols.

4-16/IS

TROUBLED MARRIAGE: The United States and the UN: Interview with Ambassador William H. Luers

Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, Winter 2005, Vol. 6, No 1, pp. 87-93.

In this interview, Ambassador Luers, head of the United Nations Association of the United States, discusses the U.N.'s strengths, weaknesses, and role in the twenty-first century. Ambassador Luers argues that no other organization better symbolizes global cooperation and shared values than the sixty-nine year old institution headquartered in New York. He concedes that, as disagreements have risen on global issues, the effectiveness of the United Nations has been questioned. Many in the U.S. and specifically the second Bush administration remain unconvinced of the U.N.'s ability to successfully address pressing security questions. Recent circumstances in Iraq, Iran, and Darfur have exacerbated underlying tensions, resulting in the current strained relationship between the U.S. and the U.N.

4-17/IS

THE VALUE(S) OF REALISM

By Nikolas K Gvosdev

SAIS Review, Winter 2005, Vol. 25, No.1, pp. 17- 24.

Many of the foreign policy challenges facing United States seem new, with unseen enemies targeting its security and some reluctant populations bucking U.S. economic and military might. In this context, it is time to return to the realist tradition, which encompasses a more diverse collection of views than is often characterized by critics and accepts that values must be taken into account in formulating foreign policy, especially that the internal character of a state is relevant in determining what sort of relationship it will have with the United States.

4-18/IS

WAR POLICY, PUBLIC SUPPORT, AND THE MEDIA

By William M. Darley (Col.)

Parameters, Summer 2005, Vol. 35, No. 2, pp. 121-134.

According to Darley, director of strategic communications at the U.S. Army Combined Arms Center at Fort Leavenworth, experts are constantly examining the relationship between press reporting, public opinion and war policy. Despite large misperceptions within the general public, some researchers found virtually no evidence to support a causal relationship between editorial tone and bias in media with a decline of public support for war. Others found a decline in support for war among the general public, yet concluded that television's impact was not significant enough to reduce support for the war below levels attained by the Korean War. The author believes that the "rally around the flag" phenomenon during wartime contradicts the notion of media domination of policy formulation, noting the high public opinion polls for both presidents during Desert Storm and Operation Iraqi Freedom. Darley cites the military strategist Clausewitz, who noted that public support for wars is more like a collective emotional reaction toward an enemy attack.

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

4-19/DHR

ARAB DEMOCRACY CAN'T HAVE AN AMERICAN STAMP ON IT

By Madeleine Albright

New Perspectives Quarterly, Spring 2005, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 66-69.

Albright, former Secretary of State under President Clinton, describes democracy as a process, not an event. With the spread of information globally, there is growing desire and support for democracy. The Iraqi election was very significant and a victory for the Iraqi people, but the process must continue with a government and a new constitution, which is a daunting task given the divisiveness within Iraq. Albright contends that "it is the right policy for the United States to stand for democracy and freedom." In the Arab world, Albright maintains that the US needs to trend lightly; democracy can't be imposed but must be locally inspired.

4-20/DHR
CORRUPTION AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

By Kimberley Thachuk
SAIS Review, Winter 2005, Vol. 25, No. 1,
pp. 143-152.

The Global War on Terrorism has made policy analysts the world over re-think the implications of corruption for the peaceful existence of states. Corruption has become the enabler by which groups who commit conspiracies on a global scale may threaten international security with relative impunity. Terrorists and organized criminals have duped and suborned individuals in governments into virtually selling their sovereignty so as to create "states of convenience" from which to conduct international operations. In so doing, they disrupt financial markets, distort fledgling governments, and employ ruthless criminality to visit misery and chaos on unsuspecting populations. These international villains have formed virtual pacts with corrupt leaders who systematically rob their own citizens of not only their wealth and assets but also their futures. Corruption is no longer only greasing of the wheels of commerce, paying off government officials to expedite matters, or rigging elections. Nor can it any longer be called a domestic financial and legal problem. Rather, criminal organizations and terrorists use corruption first to breach the sovereignty of many states and then to distort domestic and international affairs. More importantly, corruption enables groups who commit conspiracies on a global scale to threaten international stability and security with relative impunity.

4-21/DHR
DEMOCRACY IN THE ARAB REGION:

Getting there from Here
By Alan Richards
Middle East Policy, Summer 2005, Vol. 12, No. 2,
pp. 28-35.

A "democracy deficit" in the Arab world has led to a "freedom deficit" reinforced by internal and external obstacles, notes Richards, professor of economics and environmental studies at the University of California in Santa Cruz. Richards notes that who will effect democratic transition, and how will such a transition occur, are two key questions that must be asked about the Arab region. He argues that a sufficient number

of reformers must exist within a ruling regime, and that these reformers must hold some sway over military and security officials; moderate reformers must also restrain their radical colleagues. But Richards notes that attaining these conditions has been constrained by historical forces. First, the armed forces have traditionally wielded considerable power in Arab countries, and are often staffed by hard-liners and are a byproduct of Arab resistance to European colonialism and Cold War politics. Second, steady oil revenues mean that Arab regimes have little incentive to pay attention to the needs of ordinary citizens. The challenge for the U.S. is whether or not to support opposition groups that in most Arab countries are based on political Islam. For starters, he recommends that Washington must reverse its policy of unilateral military intervention, but he also suggests that it modify its opposition to democratic accession to power of political Islam.

4-22/DHR
FOREIGN-POLICY ADVISING: Models and Mysteries from the Bush Administration
By Patrick Haney
Presidential Studies Quarterly, June 2005, Vol. 35,
No. 2, pp. 289-302.

The author, professor of political science at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, notes that scholars have taken a variety of approaches in studying presidents and their advisers, in trying to determine the essence of how policy decisions are made. Haney notes that the first administration of George W. Bush has presented challenges to many of political scientists' traditional models -- this administration has been open to a wide range of influences from both inside and outside the White House, and yet the decision-making process has been dominated by the president using unilateral mechanisms of power. The author uses the Bush administration's policies toward Cuba and Iraq to illustrate how "our conceptual models may not be keeping up with practice."

4-23/DHR
THE IMF AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE
By Devesh Kapur and Moisés Naím
Journal of Democracy, January 2005,
Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 89-102.

The IMF plays many roles in the global economy, and appears to be playing a significant-and controversial-role in influencing the global prospects of political democracy as well. Created as a financial cooperative by the Bretton Woods agreement in July 1944 and made a specialized UN agency three years later, the IMF was conceived as a major element in a battery of organizations that would help to prevent a postwar recurrence of worldwide economic depression and its associated evils by giving numerous countries a stake in the stability and sound basic management of the whole system of international payments, finance, and trade. Here, Kapur and Naim expound.

4-24/DHR

MORAL EVIL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

By Nicholas Rengger and Renée Jeffery
SAIS Review, Winter 2005, Vol. 25, No. 1,
pp. 3-16.

This essay seeks to situate and contextualize contemporary debates about evil in international relations by placing them in their historical, theological and philosophical contexts. It emphasizes the sense that evil can and has been divided into moral and non-moral evils (such as natural evils) and argues that in international relations, and indeed politics in general, the central concern has always been with moral evil. It traces the emergence of three central ways of approaching the concept of evil: the Augustinian emphasis on evil as an absence not a presence; the Kantian conception of radical evil; and Hannah Arendt's notion of the "banality" of evil and looks at how each is manifested in contemporary discussions of evil in world politics. It also offers some thoughts on how we might think about responding to evil in world politics.

4-25/DHR

PEOPLE POWER PRIMED: Civilian Resistance and Democratization

By Peter Ackerman and Jack Duvall
Harvard International Review, Summer 2005,
Vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 42-47.

Ackerman and Duvall, Chair and President respectively of the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, explore the history and growing expression of mass public protest in deposing

rulers. They note that "people power" succeeds when participants agree on short- and long-term goals. It also succeeds when there is ample discipline and organization, as was the case in Ukraine, Georgia, and Serbia. Another component for success is the need for a non-violent approach. This, the authors say, is crucial to garnering support from the majority of the population -- and it also is a good way to entice defections from "regime defenders". The authors also point out that a firmly rooted, non-violent movement can lead to a more consolidated democracy. As to the role of international pressure and assistance, there is no substitute for local understanding and expertise. International assistance is most effective in the form of general technical training such as classes in non-violent resistance and communications equipment.

4-26/DHR

"STATENESS" FIRST

By Francis Fukuyama
Journal of Democracy, January 2005,
Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 84-89.

Outsiders seeking to reconstruct societies face a further set of difficult trade-offs due to the uncomfortable existence of conflict as well as complementarily between state-building and democracy promotion. At the core of state-building is the creation of a government that has a monopoly of legitimate power and that is capable of enforcing rules throughout the state's territory. That is why state-building always begins with the creation of military and police forces or the conversion of the former regime's coercive agencies into new ones. The promotion of liberal democracy, on the other hand, involves putting constraints on that very power so that it is dispersed to localities, limited by the rule of law, and ultimately subject to public accountability and popular consent.sisted litigation.

4-27/ES

AIDS CRISIS AND GROWTH

By Paul Corrigan and Others

Journal of Development Economics, June 2005, Vol. 77, No. 1, pp. 107-124.

The authors examine the economic growth effects of an AIDS epidemic in a community in sub-Saharan Africa. Economic growth factors impacted by AIDS are many, but the authors focus on two: the effect of decreased life expectancy on investment in physical and human capital, and the changes wrought by a large generation of orphans. They use models to evaluate the economic behavior of an AIDS community and make suggestions for further study. The authors note that understanding the economic behavior of communities impacted by AIDS is essential to providing the best possible policies to mitigate the economic devastation.

4-28/ES

BILATERAL TRADE AND INTERNATIONAL INTERACTIONS: The Impact of Foreign Aid and Tariffs on Political Conflict and Cooperation

By Yuan-Ching Chang

The Journal of Social, Political, and Economic Studies, Spring 2005, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 41-78.

The trade-conflict model claimed that trade reduces conflict. This paper extends the trade-conflict model to incorporate foreign aid and tariff effects. The theoretical propositions supported by proofs are as follows: trade and foreign aid reduce conflict and tariffs increase conflict. Empirical tests show that trade reduces conflict between states and the causality from trade to conflict remains. Foreign aid directly decreases conflict. The marginal effect of foreign aid in reducing conflict is greater than that of trade. However, foreign aid is much smaller in magnitude than trade and trade is more important than aid in affecting international relationships. In addition, the foreign aid effect is greater for non-trading partners than trading partners. Foreign aid increases trade, and thereby indirectly decreases conflict since trade reduces conflict. However, the indirect effect of

foreign aid decreasing conflict will be smaller than the direct effect. Tariffs, if over a critical level, will increase conflict.

4-29/ES

THE COMPOSITION OF FOREIGN AID: Consequences for Economic Growth and Welfare

By Stephen J. Turnovsky

Journal of International Affairs, Fall 2005, Vol. 58, No. 2, pp. 129-159.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) mandated by the United Nations set out an ambitious set of objectives to be achieved by the year 2015. The first 7 goals are directed towards a range of social objectives that include eradicating extreme poverty, achieving universal primary education levels, promoting gender equality, reducing child mortality, improving maternal health, combating major diseases, and ensuring environmental sustainability. Goal 8 is more of a strategic objective, directed at facilitating the attainment of Goals 1 through 7. Recognizing the overwhelming resources necessary to achieve these objectives, Goal 8 calls for a global partnership between the rich and poor countries so as to share the immense burden. To this end, it proposes a number of targets, primarily of an economic nature, including debt relief and development assistance. Official development assistance, in the form of foreign aid or unilateral capital transfers, represents an important channel through which wealth is transferred from rich, developed nations to poorer, underdeveloped nations.

4-30/ES

GROWTH, INEQUALITY AND POVERTY:**Some Hard Questions**

By Ravi Kanbur

Journal of International Affairs, Spring 2005, Vol. 58, No. 2, pp. 223-232.

Kanbur, Professor of Economics at Cornell University, discusses some of the difficulties of determining how to reduce poverty and what criteria provide the best measures of progress. For example, he notes that while it seems obvious that economic growth should be good for the poor, -- what if the growth is accompanied by increased inequality? Or, he asks, if the total number of poor goes up, but because of overall population growth, the percentage

of poor actually goes down -- has poverty gone up or down? Each of these issues needs more study in order to increase understanding of all the variables that impact poverty, writes Kanbur.

4-31/ES

GLOBALIZATION AND ITS CONTENTS

By Peter Marber

World Policy Journal, Winter 2004/2005, Vol. 21, No. 4, pp. 29-37.

Marber, a professor at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, says emotion and confusion have tainted the globalization debate both in the United States and abroad. Behind all the negative headlines about globalization lies a story of human progress and promise that should make even the most pessimistic analysts rethink their views on globalization, he writes. Globalization is too often cited as creating a variety of human miseries such as sweatshop labor, civil war, and corruption, when it is poverty that is more at the root of such miseries, he notes. We often forget that poverty was the human living standard for most of recorded history, he explains, and until approximately 200 years ago, virtually everyone lived at subsistence level. It was the technology, education and increased trade of globalization that changed this. Globalization does often have short-term negative effects on specific markets, says Marber, but learning to manage these downtrends as well as the up-cycles should be our consistent aim in both government and the marketplace. After all, he points out, the alternative to globalization is economic stagnation.

4-32/ES

ON THE MONEY TRAIL

By Robert Hall

The World Today, May 2005, Vol. 61, No. 5, pp. 20-22.

The private sector plays a major role in unraveling the money trail that finances terrorism, says Hall, corporate security manager for Barclays Bank. On top of the plethora of rules from national and international groups involved in combating terrorist finance, a group of the world's largest banks has voluntarily developed the Wolfsberg anti-money laundering principles, which offers worldwide guidelines to combat money laundering and financial

crime, he writes. The long-term goal of disrupting terrorist networks and arresting their principals should remain the primary focus, says Hall; therefore, gathering intelligence needs to take precedence over the private sector's laudable but secondary goal of recovering illicit funds.

4-33/ES*

STRATEGIES THAT FIT EMERGING MARKETS

By Tarun Khanna

Harvard Business Review, June 2005, Vol. 83, No. 6, pp. 63-76.

Finding successful business strategies for entering new international markets can be difficult, particularly in emerging markets where there are "institutional voids", such as a lack of specialized intermediaries or the absence of regulatory systems and methods for enforcing contracts, the authors say. They explain that businesses considering investment need to consider several factors -- a country's political and social systems, its degree of openness, and its product, labor and capital markets. This greater understanding of the business environment can help businesses take advantage of a location's unique strengths, they write.

GLOBAL ISSUES AND COMMUNICATION

4-34/GIC*

CONQUERING POLIO

By Jeffrey Kluger

Smithsonian, April 2005, Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 82-89

Fifty years ago, during a press conference at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, the announcement was made that a polio vaccine developed by 40-year-old physician and researcher Jonas Salk was effective against that disease. This summary of Salk's work on the vaccine was adapted by the author from his book, **SPLENDID SOLUTION: Jonas Salk and the Conquest Of Polio**. It describes New York in the years 1952-1955, when every summer polio would cripple tens of thousands of children. Doctors knew little about infantile paralysis and people were terrorized. In the late 1940s,

Salk and celebrated microbiologist Thomas Francis developed a vaccine against influenza. In 1947 Salk went to work for the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis (now the March of Dimes) -- founded by Franklin Roosevelt, the world's best-known polio victim -- and began the research that led to the polio vaccine he developed from a killed virus. The article also mentions the work of Albert Sabin, who created a vaccine from a live but weakened virus. Both vaccines are in use today, although Salk's is considered safest.

4-35/GIC

CONVERSATIONAL COMPUTERS

By Andy Aaron and Others

Scientific American, June 2005, Vol. 292, No. 6, pp. 64-69.

Computer-generated speech has improved during the past decade, becoming significantly more intelligible and easier to listen to. But researchers now face a more formidable challenge: making synthesized speech closer to that of real humans so that it can better communicate meaning.

4-36/GIC

FEELING SMART: The Science of Emotional Intelligence

By Daisy Grewal and Peter Salovey

American Scientist, July-August 2005, Vol. 93, No. 4, pp. 330-339.

The relatively new concept of emotional intelligence has been controversial, partly because the popular and scientific definitions have differed sharply and because it has been hard to measure. Today, the authors say, research has produced new ways to assess emotional intelligence and to understand the relation between thought and emotions. One definition is "the ability to monitor one's own and other's feelings, to discriminate among them, and to use this information to guide one's thinking and action." Specifically, the four-branch model emphasizes four kinds of related skills: the ability to perceive emotions accurately; the ability to use emotions to facilitate thinking and reasoning; the ability to understand emotions, especially the language of emotions; and the ability to manage emotions in oneself and others. The authors believe future research on emotional intelligence will be especially

valuable if focused on individual differences in emotional processes.

4-37/GIC

GLOBAL AGENDA FOR INTERFAITH DIALOGUE

By Fahri Karakas

Vital Speeches of the Day. Apr 1, 2005, Vol. 71, No. 12, pp. 373-376.

People believing in world religions - Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism, Islam - should come together to solve the complex problems of the 21st century. A closer relationship and cooperation is necessary among different systems of beliefs. We need a new global spirituality that affirms the unity of all being; that affirms the interconnectedness of all, affirms a new bottom line of love, caring, and generosity. We are experiencing greater cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity today more than ever. It becomes even more imperative that citizens grow in awareness of the necessity of dialogue in living out the private and public dimensions of their lives. The world today needs peace more than at any time in history, and most of its problems arise from excessive worldliness, scientific materialism and the ruthless exploitation of nature. It is impossible to believe that a perpetual peace in the world can be established strictly on scientific and rational means. Why don't we, as Christians, Muslims, Buddhists, Jewish and people from all faiths come together and cooperate for the wellbeing of humanity and society?

4-38/GIC

NEUROMORPHIC MICROCHIPS

By Kwabena Boahen

Scientific American, May 2005, Vol. 292, No. 5, pp. 56-63.

Compact, efficient electronics based on the brain's neural system could yield implantable silicon retinas to restore vision. Such electronics could also result in robotic eyes and other smart sensors. Morphing neural development processes instead of simply morphing neural circuitry holds great promise for handling complexity in the nanoelectronic systems in the future.

4-39/SV

AFTER 25 YEARS, ED IS HERE TO STAY

By Andrew Mollison

Phi Delta Kappan, May 2005, Vol. 86, No. 9, pp. 666-673.

The U.S. Department of Education was created in 1980, after a legislative battle in the late 1970s between the two major teachers' organizations, the National Education Association (NEA) and the AFL-CIO union American Federation of Teachers (AFT). The NEA, which supported President Carter, wanted to give education a higher profile in the federal government; the Office of Education was at the time buried in the then-Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The losing coalition, headed by the AFT, opposed increasing federal influence in education and defended local control of schools. The author chronicles the history of the Education Department and the often-contentious debates over its role in education in the U.S.

4-40/SV

THE CITY OF BEAUTIES IN INDO-PERSIAN POETIC LANDSCAPE

By Sunil Sharma

Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East, Vol. No. 24, No. 2, pp. 73-81.

In this paper the author has attempted to trace the intricate genealogy of the city poem in the Indo-Persian textual tradition by identifying the poetic imagery, tropes, and topoi employed, as an initial step in integrating poetic knowledge systems from parallel and overlapping geographic and linguistic regions that can be amplified with the discovery of other relevant texts. Although each poet's response to his environment is novel in its own way, being informed by choice of language and reception of the tradition, we need to better our understanding of the development of the aesthetic principles that lent a particular perspective to the Indo-Persian poet's vision. The existence of valuable historical data in *shabrashub* poems is certainly a reason to pay attention to these poems, but one must not be unmindful of the complex ways in which the poets skillfully

manipulated these facts to present their kaleidoscopic view of a social landscape that combined material and metaphorical vistas.

4-41/SV

CRISIS OF FAITH: How Fundamentalism is Splitting the GOP

By Andrew Sullivan

New Republic, May 2-9, 2005, Vol. 232, No. 4711-4712, pp. 16-23.

The author argues that two rival schools of thought within the conservative movement, which he describes as the "conservatism of faith" and the conservatism of doubt," that have traditionally co-existed but "are becoming less and less compatible as the conservative ascendancy matures." The conservatism of faith, characterized by President George W. Bush, has co-opted many of the trappings of liberalism, brooks no hesitation and seeks to remake government and society in its image. To Sullivan, the conservatism of doubt is characterized by former President George H.W. Bush, which views that putting government power behind one moral opinion tramples on the rights of citizens who dissent. He argues that it is essential that religious faith "be filtered through the skeptical and moderate strands of conservative thought." He notes that it is ironic that the U.S. is fighting a conservatism of faith abroad, in the form of Islamist terrorism, while a similar atmosphere is dominant in Washington.

DOCUMENT ALERT

4-42/DOC

AFGHANISTAN ELECTIONS: Endgame or New Beginning?

International Crisis Group, July 2005.

http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south_asia/101_afghanistan_elections_endgame_or_new_beginning_web.pdf

In September 2005 Afghans will go to the polls to elect the National Assembly and Provincial Councils in a vote that will be crucial in consolidating Afghanistan's fragile political transition. The

opportunity for a major step forward is there, but so too is the risk that a lack of political will and forward planning will see the new institutions descend into paralysis and chaos. The executive must be prepared to share decision-making with a legislature, and devolve real political and fiscal powers to local administrations. A culture of impunity whereby stability and justice have been seen as mutually exclusive needs to be addressed along with an electoral system that excludes political parties and favours narrow ethnic interests at the expense of broad-based constituencies. The costs of allowing Afghanistan's political transition to falter are too high for the international community to ignore

4-43/DOC

AVOIDING ENRICHMENT: Using Financial Tools To Prevent Another Khan Network **Arms Control Association, June 2005.**

http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2005_06/Forden.asp?print

The existence of Abdul Qadeer Khan's nuclear black market, which supplied entire uranium-enrichment plants to the Libyan nuclear weapons programs, has shocked the world. It should also cause a fundamental rethinking about the frightening speed, nature, and ways further proliferation might occur in the 21st century. Khan's network, far from being the exception, is likely to prove closer to the rule for how states will try to acquire nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons and related delivery systems in coming years. Rather than slowly developing their own technology or getting assistance from other states, developing countries seeking such weapons can save time, money, and diplomatic capital by buying complete production facilities as well as the know-how to use them from all too many proliferation profiteers.

4-44/DOC

THE FUTURE OF ARMS CONTROL **By Michael A. Levi and Michael E. O'Hanlon** **Washington, DC : Brookings Institution Press,** **2005, 190 pp.**

The new global security risk posed by terrorism requires a shift in dialog on arms control from bilateral accords and multinational regimes to coordinated international efforts to keep nuclear

weapons out of the hands of those who would willingly use them, postulate authors Michael Levi and Michael O'Hanlon. They propose initiatives to strengthen managerial controls over nuclear and biological weaponry and improve transparency for timely detection of illicit transfers. Extending security guarantees to nations willing to remain non-nuclear and including within arms control agreements planned, coercive responses to violations are also among their recommendations. Modern arms control, they argue, must also involve addressing the proliferation of small arms, as well as humanitarian needs, in developing countries.

4-45/DOC

IN SUPPORT OF ARAB DEMOCRACY: Why and How

By Madeline K. Albright and Vin Weber
Council on Foreign Relations, June 2005.

http://www.cfr.org/pdf/Arab_Democracy_TF.pdf

This report says that the United States should support the evolutionary development of democracy consistently throughout the Middle East. It points out that a strategy to promote democracy entails inherent risks, but that "the denial of freedom carries much more significant long-term dangers."

4-46/DOC

LIMITED WAR UNDER THE NUCLEAR UMBRELLA AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR STABILITY IN SOUTH ASIA

By Khurshid Khan

Henry L. Stimson Center, May 2005.

<http://www.stimson.org/southasia/pdf/khurshidkhan.pdf>

Stimson Center's Visiting Fellow Khurshid Khan analyses India's exploration of a limited war strategy and the implications of such a war fighting model for strategic stability in South Asia. Khan concludes that any Indian attempt to wage a limited war against Pakistan would inevitably escalate to an all-out conventional war and increase the chances of a nuclear exchange. Factors fueling escalation would include India's growing conventional superiority that forces Pakistan to contemplate lowering its nuclear threshold and Pakistan's inability to lose any space in vital strategic areas. Khan urges India and Pakistan to avoid crises and engage in a political dialogue to

resolve their differences. He calls on the US to curtail hi-tech weaponry sales to India to prevent a deepening of the existing conventional imbalance and to help India and Pakistan with nuclear weapons management and security.

4-47/DOC

PAKISTAN: Economic and Security Progress and Political Stagnation

The Center for Strategic and International Studies, May 2005.

<http://www.csis.org/saprog/SAM/sam82.pdf>

Washington's March 25 decision to allow the sale of F-16 fighter aircraft to Pakistan and President Pervez Musharraf's April visit to India capped a year of economic progress and greater political tranquility in Pakistan. Musharraf remains army chief and has kept tight control of the political system. With national elections two years away, he is working on political deals to guarantee his reelection. The India-Pakistan peace process will continue, though real settlement negotiations will require more policy changes than either side has been willing to make thus far. Pakistan's long-term domestic challenge is still there: to rebuild institutions and deal with extremists who flout the government's authority.

4-48/DOC

SETTING THE KASHMIR ISSUE

By Mubashir Hasan

Henry L. Stimson Center, April 2005.

<http://www.stimson.org/southasia/?SN=SA20050708859>

Hasan presents a multi-part solution to the Kashmir issue. First, India and Pakistan would provide joint military support for the defense of Kashmir. India and Pakistan would declare a "no-war" policy in Kashmiri territory allowing for the demilitarization of the Line of Control (LoC). There would also be joint responsibility over foreign relations. Kashmiri products would have duty-free access to India and Pakistan's markets and Kashmiris would enjoy freedom of travel between the two countries. Indian and Pakistani currencies would be accepted, while India and Pakistan would provide financial support for twenty years. As a result, Hasan predicts greater security for both India and Pakistan due to the demilitarization of the LoC. There would also be

increased trade and travel opportunities for Indians and Pakistanis, as well as economic growth in Kashmir.

4-49/DOC

SOUTH ASIAN SEESAW: A New U.S. Policy on the Subcontinent

By Ashley J. Tellis

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, May 12, 2005.

<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/PB38.pdf>

The widely noted decision to resume F-16 sales to Pakistan and, even more, the largely ignored commitment to assist India's growth in power represent a new U.S. strategy toward South Asia. By expanding relations with both states in a differentiated way matched to their geo-strategic weights, the Bush administration seeks to assist Pakistan in becoming a successful state while it enables India to secure a trouble-free ascent to great-power status. These objectives will be pursued through a large economic and military assistance package to Islamabad and through three separate dialogues with New Delhi that will review various challenging issues such as civil nuclear cooperation, space, defense co-production, regional and global security, and bilateral trade. This innovative approach to India and Pakistan is welcome--and long overdue in a strategic sense--but it is not without risks to the United States, its various regional relationships, and different international regimes.

4-50/DOC

THREAT REDUCTION IN SOUTH ASIA

By Zavar Haider Abidi

The Henry L. Stimson Center, May 2005.

<http://www.stimson.org/southasia/pdf/zawarabidi.pdf>

The author examines the nature of the conventional military imbalance between India and Pakistan. He evaluates both countries' personnel strength, weapons systems, force posture, and projected procurements and advances in military technologies. Concluding that India's conventional military superiority vis a vis Pakistan seriously threatens the latter's security, Abidi proposes a series of measures for the two countries to implement to reduce the conventional military threat.

These include the conclusion of an agreement to demilitarize the Siachen Glacier and revert to its pre-1984 status, the formation of a Joint Consultative Group to resolve misunderstandings related to current agreements, and the establishment of low military zones or no military zones. Reduction of the conventional military threat will in turn greatly diminish the chances of nuclear escalation in South Asia.