

Politics & International Affairs

Abstract Book

From the 9th Annual International
Conference on Politics & International
Affairs, 20-23 June, 2011,
Athens, Greece.

Edited by Gregory T. Papanikos



THE ATHENS INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATION AND RESEARCH
2011

First Published in Athens, Greece by the Athens Institute for Education and Research.

ISBN: 978-960-9549-11-0

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Preface

This abstract book includes all the abstracts of the papers presented at the 9th Annual International Conference on Politics & International Affairs, 20-23 June, 2011, organized by the Athens Institute for Education and Research. In total there were 34 papers and 35 presenters, coming from 12 different countries (Australia, Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Poland, Portugal, Singapore, South Africa, Taiwan, Turkey, and the United States of America). The conference was organized into 8 sessions that included areas such as Domestic Politics, Global Governance & Peace-Building, International Security e.t.c. As it is the publication policy of the Institute, the papers presented in this conference will be considered for publication in one of the books of ATINER.

The Institute was established in 1995 as an independent academic organization with the mission to become a forum where academics and researchers from all over the world could meet in Athens and exchange ideas on their research and consider the future developments of their fields of study. Our mission is to make ATHENS a place where academics and researchers from all over the world meet to discuss the developments of their discipline and present their work. To serve this purpose, conferences are organized along the lines of well established and well defined scientific disciplines. In addition, interdisciplinary conferences are also organized because they serve the mission statement of the Institute. Since 1995, ATINER has organized more than 100 international conferences and has published over 100 books. Academically, the Institute is organized into four research divisions and nineteen research units. Each research unit organizes at least one annual conference and undertakes various small and large research projects.

I would like to thank all the participants, the members of the organizing and academic committee and most importantly the administration staff of ATINER for putting this conference together.

Gregory T. Papanikos
President

FINAL CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Athens Institute for Education and Research

Social Sciences Research Division

Politics & International Affairs Research Unit

**9th Annual International Conference on Politics & International Affairs
20-23 June 2011, Athens, Greece**

PROGRAM



Conference Venue: Titania Hotel, 52 Panepistimiou Avenue, Athens, Greece

Organization and Scientific Committee

(Members of the Research Unit of Politics & International Affairs of ATINER and other Researchers)

- Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos, President, ATINER.
- Dr. Ioannis Stivachtis, Head, Politics & International Affairs Research Unit, ATINER & Director, International Studies Program Virginia Tech - Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, USA.
- Dr. Nicholas Pappas, Vice-President of Academics, ATINER & Professor, Sam Houston State University, USA.
- Dr. Gregory A. Katsas, Head, Sociology Research Unit, ATINER & Professor, The American College of Greece-Deree College, Greece.
- Dr. Akis Kalaitzidis, Assistant Professor, Central Missouri State University, USA.
- Dr. George Kaloudis, Chair, Department of History, Law and Government, Rivier College, USA.
- Dr. Viviane de Beaufort, Professor, ESSEC Business School, France.
- Dr. Michael P. Malloy, Distinguished Professor & Scholar, University of the Pacific, USA.
- Dr. Scott Nelson, Assistant Professor, Virginia Tech, USA.
- Dr. Christopher Simon, Associate Professor, University of Nevada, USA.
- Dr. Annabel Droussiotis, Assistant Professor, Intercollege, Cyprus.
- Dr. Andrew Liaropoulos, Research Analyst, Callaghan Center for the Study of Conflict, Swansea, U.K.
- Dr. Oana-Camelia Stroescu, Academic Member, ATINER & Post-Doctoral Researcher, "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iasi, Romania.
- Dr. Nancy Anastasia Vamvakas, Assistant Professor, University of Western Ontario, Canada.
- Dr. Margarita Kefalaki, Researcher, ATINER.
- Ms. Lila Skountridaki, Researcher, ATINER & Ph.D. Student, University of Strathclyde, U.K.

Administration

Fani Balaska, Chantel Blanchette, Stavroula Kiritsi, Apostolos Kotsaspyrou, Eirini Lentzou, Konstantinos Manolidis, Katerina Maraki & Sylia Sakka

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Monday 20 June 2011

08:00-08:30 Registration

08:30-08:45 Welcome and Opening Remarks

- Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos, President, ATINER.
- Dr. Ioannis Stivachtis, Head, Politics & International Affairs Research Unit, ATINER & Director, International Studies Program Virginia Tech - Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, USA.
- Dr. Nicholas Pappas, Vice-President of Academics, ATINER & Professor, Sam Houston State University, USA.

08:45-11:00 (Room A) Session I: Global Governance & Peace-Building

Chair: Stivachtis, I., Head, Politics & International Affairs Research Unit, ATINER & Director, International Studies Program Virginia Tech - Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, USA.

1. Labuschagne, P., Professor, University of South Africa, South Africa. The Road to Reconciliation and Peace Building: A Comparative Analysis of South Africa and Zimbabwe.
2. Vercauteren, P., Professor, Catholic University of Mons, Belgium. Gouvernenance and International Normativity.
3. Zannotti, L., Associate Professor, Virginia Tech, USA & Stephenson, M., Director, Virginia Tech, USA. Exploring the Roles of NGOs as Promoters of Peace: The Case of the Community Foundation for Northern Ireland.
4. *Marshall, J.P., Research Fellow, University of Technology Sydney, Australia. Visions of Chaos and Disorder: Depth Psychology and the Politics of the Climate Mess.
5. Nunes da Costa, M., Researcher, University of Minho, Portugal. Human Rights and Democracy - Utopia or Reality?
6. Khouri, M., Assistant Professor, University of Pantheon-Assas, France & Lemennicier, B., Professor, University of Pantheon-Assas, France. International Burden-Sharing: One-nation, One-vote versus Weighted Voting Organizations.

11:00-12:30 (Room A) Session II: Africa-Middle East

Chair: *Marshall, J.P., Research Fellow, University of Technology Sydney, Australia.

1. Hanish, S., Assistant Professor, National University, USA. The Iraqi Election Law: An Assessment.
2. Khatab, S., Professor, Monash University, Australia. Egyptian Revolution and its Impact on the Stability in the Middle East.
3. Lentz, C., Associate Professor, Sam Houston State University, USA. Zambians with HIV/AIDS: Are There Differences in Behavior Between Christians and Muslims?
4. Demirsu, I., Ph.D. Student, Sabanci University, Turkey. Political Islam and the Spiral Model of Human Rights Change: The Case of Turkish Penal Code Reform and Women's Human Rights.

12:30-14:00 (Room A) Session III: USA - Foreign Relations

Chair: Zeff, E., Associate Professor, Drake University, USA.

1. Gilbert, R., Professor, Northeastern University, USA. The Administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower: The National and International Impacts of Presidential Illness.
2. Jervis, D., Fulbright Scholar, Marie Curie Sklodowska University, Poland. U.S. Foreign Policy in a New Post-Afghanistan and Post-Fiscal Crisis Era.
3. *Schwartz, T., Professor, UCLA, USA. The Paradox of Power and the Problem of Cooperation.
4. Will, M., Ph.D. Student, University of Cologne, Germany. Don't forget Taiwan: The Taiwan Question and Its Impact on Sino-American Relations and Asian-Pacific Stability.

14:00-15:00 Lunch

15:00-17:00 (Room A) Session IV: The European Union

Chair: *Schwartz, T., Professor, UCLA, USA.

1. De Beaufort, V., Professor, European Center Law and Economics at ESSEC, France. Time to Rethink the Single Market's Approach to the Outside World?
2. *Biresselioglu, M.E., Vice Dean, Izmir University of Economics, Turkey & Yildirim, C., Research Assistant, Izmir University of Economics, Turkey. The Role of North Africa in the European Energy Future.
3. Rodrigues, S., Researcher - Ph.D. Student, Portuguese Institute for International Relations, New University of Lisbon, Portugal. Kosovo: The New European State?
4. Daut, N., Ph.D. Student, BSIS, Kent University, Brussels, Belgium. Impact of Collaboration on the Mobilization of Environmental Groups at the European Union.
5. Estrada Carvalhais, I., Assistant Professor, University of Minho, Portugal. Accessing Citizenship through Knowledge in A Post-National Context Or How Knowledge Still Reproduces the Modern Logic of Multiple Exclusions.

21:00-23:00 Greek Night and Dinner (Details during registration)

Tuesday 21 June 2011

08:00-09:30 (Room A) Session V: Domestic Politics

Chair: Ghavamshahidi, Z., Professor Political Science, University of Wisconsin, USA

1. *English, A., Professor, University of Arkansas at Little Rock, USA & Carroll, J.J., Professor Emeritus, University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth, USA. State Constitutionalism in the South.
2. Hockett, J., Associate Professor, University of Tulsa, USA. Attitudes, Institutions, and the Desegregation Vote of Chief Justice Earl Warren
3. Moors, K., Professor, Duquesne University, USA. Oil Volatility and the Limits of Government Action.
4. Dobratz, B., Professor, Iowa State University, USA & Waldner, L., Professor, University of St. Thomas, USA. Ballots and / or Bullets: Strategies of the White Separatist Movement in the U.S. (Tuesday, 21st of June 2011)

09:30-11:30 (Room A) Session VI: International Security

Chair: *Margheritis, A. Assistant Professor University of Florida, USA.

1. *Alexseev, M., Professor, San Diego State University, USA. Transient vs. Local Insurgencies. (Tuesday, 21st of June, 2011)
2. Kaloudis, G., Professor, Rivier College, USA. The Greek Civil War, the Cold War, and the Consequences. (Tuesday morning)
3. Shienbaum, K.E., Associate Professor, Rutgers University, USA & Sohail, E., Associate Professor, Rutgers University, USA. Curtailing Global Terror Financing: Continuing Challenges in a Post 9/11 Era.
4. Croche, S., Researcher, FUCaM, Belgium. Use of the Actor-Network-Theory to Understand the State's Relation with National and International Religious Networks.
5. Howard, T., Assistant Professor, University of Nevada, USA. The Tragedy of Failure: Exploring the Utility of Existing Models of State Failure in an Effort to Develop a More Precise Typology and More Accurate Predictions of State Collapse.

11:30-12:30 (Room A) Session VII: State and Regions

Chair: *Alexseev, M., Professor, San Diego State University, USA.

1. Thurner, E., Professor, Innsbruck University, Austria. Labour Migration and Integration Problems in Crete/Greece.
2. Sovacool, B., Assistant Professor, National University of Singapore, Singapore. The Politics of Climate Change Adaptation in Asia.
3. Akcagunduz, E., Researcher, TC Trakya University, Turkey & Dural, A.B., Researcher, TC Trakya University, Turkey. From Erzurum to Sivas: Congresses Period and the Forming of a Nation-State in the Independence War.

12:30-14:20 (Room A) Round Table Discussion: The Current Crisis in Greece and in the Other European Countries: Challenges and Prospects for a United Europe

Chair: Dr. Nicholas Pappas, Vice-President of Academics, ATINER & Professor, Sam Houston State University, USA.

Discussants:

1. Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos, President, ATINER & Visiting Professor, Department of Management, University of Strathclyde, U.K.
2. Dr. Ioannis Stivachtis, Head, Politics & International Affairs Research Unit, ATINER & Director, International Studies Program Virginia Tech - Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, USA.
3. Dr. Viviane de Beaufort, Academic Member, ATINER & Professor, European Center Law and Economics at ESSEC, France.

14:20-15:00 Lunch

15:00-16:30 (Room A) Session VIII: Issues in Politics II

Chair: *English, A., Professor, University of Arkansas at Little Rock, USA

1. *Margheritis, A. Assistant Professor University of Florida, USA. State-Diaspora Relations. A Cross-Regional Perspective.
2. Lawoti, M., Professor, Western Michigan University, USA. Democracy in Divided Societies.
3. Leong, S.K., Researcher, National Sun Yat-sen University, Taiwan, Lee, Y.K., Associate Professor, National Sun Yat-sen University, Taiwan & Hsu, C.Y., Assistant Professor, Kaohsiung Medical University, Taiwan. Neurocognitive Correlates of Gender and Issue Relevant Value on Political Advertising: Evidence from Taiwan.

16:30-19:30 Urban Walk

20:00-21:00 Dinner

Wednesday 22 June 2011

Cruise: Departure at 07:00 Estimated Return Time: 20:30

Thursday 23 June 2011

Delphi Visit: Departure at 07:30 Estimated Return Time: 19:30

Emre Akcagunduz

Researcher, TC Trakya University, Turkey.

A. Baran Dural

Associate Professor, TC Trakya University, Turkey.

From Erzurum to Sivas: Congresses Period and the Forming of a Nation-State in the Independence War

The process going from Erzurum to Sivas is worth noticing since Turkish national resistance movement had settled down at the time being. Opinions' debates concerning whether Mustafa Kemal should be the leader or not, shaping of general hierarchy within nationalist leadership, national powers' struggle to "*survive*" in hard times at the start of struggle, expose the vital importance of Erzurum-Sivas congresses. Thus it will not be wrong to characterize Erzurum-Sivas congresses period as, "*A historical cross section, in which a nation has escaped from confusion and feeling of being crushed and started to recreate its identity as a whole*" or a "*waterline mark*" that crystallizes the transition from the Ottoman Empire to Turkish Republic.

It's such an important period since Turkish national resistance movement had settled down. Determination of transition from Islamic community tradition to national culture as the fundamental goal without naming it is the permanent inheritance of congresses. Especially the date determined for Erzurum Congress is a concrete proof showing which values within Western civilization Kemalist leadership took as a model for themselves.

Mikhail Alexseev

Professor, San Diego State University, USA.

Transient vs. Local Insurgencies

Patterns of anti-government violence by city and county in the North Caucasus in 2008-2010 have defied mainstream explanations of insurgencies and civil wars based predominantly on incentives and identity-driven theories and tested with country-level data. A particularly intriguing subset of this puzzle is why Moscow's economic aid correlates systematically with more violence in some regions (e.g., Dagestan), but less violence in others (e.g., Kabardino-Balkaria). The paper illuminates these puzzles with extensive empirical data, including a comprehensive dataset on violent insurgency in the North Caucasus assembled by the author and city-county level budget data for Russia. It lays out behavioral microfoundations suggesting that external economic assistance is likely to reduce social base of support for insurgencies where key actors are transient and attempt local recruitment (as has been the case of Chechen, Ingush, and Dagestani jihadists in Kabardino-Balkaria). However, the more insurgency becomes grounded in local disputes over resources and political power (as has been the case in Dagestan at the community level), the more the same external aid raises the stakes for the insurgents in gaining a large share of those resources. The latter, in turn, provides incentives to use violence. This assessment suggests that policymakers may want to reconsider conventional wisdom that economic assistance is likely to reduce social support for violent insurgencies across the board and to more carefully consider the nature of the insurgency before providing economic development aid.

Mehmet Efe Biresselioglu

Vice Dean, Izmir University of Economics, Turkey.

Cagri Yildirim

Research Assistant, Izmir University of Economics, Turkey.

The Role of North Africa in the European Energy Future

Last year, the EU imported almost 55 per cent of its energy needs and that figure is expected to rise to 70 per cent by 2030. Moreover, almost 50 per cent of the EU's imported energy in the form of oil and natural gas comes from Russia. Europe's growing dependency, especially on Russia, creates problems for security of supply and diversification efforts. Moreover, Norway, the second major supplier of the European Union, is facing with gradual exhaustion of North Sea resources. Therefore, European Union is looking for alternative sources in order to sustain its natural gas and oil needs. Hence, this paper suggests that North Africa could be a major alternative for the European energy security. Currently, the EU is importing 16 percent of its natural gas needs from Algeria in LNG format and 5 per cent from Libya. In addition, Libya is supplying almost EU's 10 per cent of oil demand. This paper argues that expanding energy cooperation with North African oil and gas producers namely Algeria, Egypt, and Libya is assured to reduce Europe's vulnerability and improve its energy security due to its geographical proximity to the EU, focusing on the energy picture of the region and discussing the role of Euro-Mediterranean partnership. However, this study recognizes the recent conflicts in the North Africa's potential to jeopardize this cooperation. Therefore, this essay examines the emerging energy partnership between the European Union and North African and possibility of increasing the share of region's supply in the EU energy mix.

Sarah Croche
Researcher, FUCaM, Belgium.

Use of the Actor-Network-Theory to Understand the State's Relation with National and International Religious Networks

This communication aims to analyze the relation between the states and national and international religious networks. These relations are studied through the analysis of the oppositions between the discourses of science and those of religions in secondary education in three countries (Belgium, Senegal and Rwanda). In these countries, on some sensitive issues such as the origin of life, contradictory messages are conveyed to pupils by the official school master and the religious master (who relieves the speech of its national and international religious networks). The link between science and religion is a subject of intrinsic interest for the States, as it investigates how knowledge or convictions are constructed, transmitted and kept by individuals and communities.

The tension between scientific and religious discourses becomes a problem only when the State cannot limit each discourse within their sphere of relevance. In the educational systems studied, it seems the State is only partly successful because it fails to impose its own criteria to actors who prefer those offered by their networks. This communication uses the *Actor-Network-Theory* (ANT). ANT's theoretical framework, which considers that all actors have the same chances to see their view points prevail, is most relevant to investigate this question, because it does not postulate that the production conditions of scientific discourse give it an advantage on all the others. The concept of network, which was put forward by ANT to escape a territorialized vision of society, is essential here because it reminds us that common thinking is not necessarily associated to physical proximity. Limits are porous, the states are incapable of stopping ideas and convictions flows, some of which include filing principles of all knowledge. The assumption behind this project is that each State is a potential actor-network, sovereign on their territory, but each also realises that groups resist these enrolment attempts and that they are all the objects of enrolment attempts by others national or international actors that try to become actors-networks greater than them.

Nur Daut

Ph.D. Student, BSIS, Kent University, USA.

Impact of Collaboration on the Mobilization of Environmental Groups at the European Union

The paper examines environmental groups' collaboration at the EU level and investigates the patterns mobilization that results from this collaboration. Ideas from the literature on collective action, interest group coalitions and American and European interest group representation create a framework for analyzing the types of collaboration at the EU level and specific case studies will be used to illustrate how the different types of collaboration shapes the patterns of mobilization by environmental groups. Examples of collaboration by European environmental group like the Green 10 present a number of conclusions about the nature and the reasons for collaboration. In addition, these case studies also provide an insight on how collaboration between these environmental groups affects their patterns of mobilization. The Green 10 consists of a group of 10 leading environmental NGOs that seeks to promote and encourage the full implementation of EU Environmental laws. The EU multilevel structure has enabled these NGOs to collaborate by sharing resources such as skills and expertise. Apart from that, these NGOs have also conducted research on specific environmental problems. All these efforts have benefited the EU greatly in terms of knowledge where they can create public awareness at the European stage. The case studies have identified specific incentives and elements in the collaboration as factors driving collective behavior and how this collective behavior then affects the strategies and patterns of action of the environmental groups at the EU level.

Viviane De Beaufort

Professor, European Center Law and Economics at ESSEC, France.

Time to Rethink the Single Market's Approach to the Outside World?

At a time when governance and the EU project as a whole are the subjects of much debate, it is now up to try to establish its resources across the board for adapting to the challenges presented by globalization.

The increasing competition between companies causes major groups to develop legal and economic strategies that can lead to delocalized activities a risk that is often the subject of media attention as well as delocalized corporate decision centers. Together, these phenomena pitch States against each other as potential business investment sites.

The challenge is none other than to keep corporate headquarters and production sites on national and/or European soil, which is vital for independence, especially for those activities considered "strategic". The creation of an internal EU market pulls back the scope of national intervention. Economic patriotism is a clear political agenda that is used in the US and by certain emerging economic powers. The question that globalization asks of Europe is whether it can protect its businesses against unwanted takeovers by outside companies, yet give these enough access to maintain and develop domestic and international competitiveness.

Ipek Demirsu

Ph.D. Student, Sabanci University, Turkey.

Political Islam and the Spiral Model of Human Rights Change: The Case of Turkish Penal Code Reform and Women's Human Rights

The compatibility of Islam with human rights has proved to be a contentious issue during the last couple of decades as many Muslim countries became party to the growing body of international human rights documents, albeit with certain reservations. The rights of women, *inter alia*, have been one of the most controversial issues within this debate, since the private sphere is perceived as the terrain where culture and religion manifests themselves, superseding individual rights demands. As every state composed of a predominantly Muslim society has a distinct stance regarding Islam, one must take into account the significance of the local, regional and global dynamics that play a role in shaping policies regarding women's human rights. This research has undertaken an assessment of the adoption of the 2004 Turkish Penal Code under the government of the Islam-oriented Justice and Development Party and its ramifications for women's human rights, in the light of the EU-accession process. The case is analyzed within the framework of the 'spiral model' of human rights change, as developed by Risse et. al. While the drafting period is marked by the phases of 'instrumental adaptation' and 'argumentation' in the socialization of human rights norms, the attempt to incorporate 'adultery' as a crime has constituted a major set-back, which was responded by a strategy of 'shaming' on part of EU officials and civil society actors. Although the adoption of the new Penal Code has been a successful case of endowing a 'prescriptive status' for women's human rights in Turkey, the performance of implementing these measures fails to constitute 'rule-consistent behavior'. Hence, the main findings of this research suggest that although groundbreaking legal reforms have taken place during the rule of Justice and Development Party with respect to women's human rights, the final phase of 'institutionalization' is still absent when it comes to their implementation, which can be explained by the prevailing conservative outlook of the government regarding the sacredness of the family and the place of women within the family structure.

Betty A. Dobratz

Professor, Iowa State University, USA.

Lisa Waldner

Professor, University of St. Thomas, USA.

Ballots and / or Bullets: Strategies of the White Separatist Movement in the U.S.

Using data collected from interviews and questionnaires of white separatists in the 1990s and an examination of white separatist movement activity, this paper discusses various strategies used by the different organizations and movement participants to try to accomplish their goals. Both institutionalized strategies such as using electoral politics and non-institutionalized means such as rallies and violent activities have been used. We will examine the biographies of two white separatists who provide telling examples of the institutionalized and non-institutionalized political routes of white separatists. David Duke and Tom Metzger initially were involved in the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan but both moved to form other organizations and followed very different strategies.

One of the most successful examples of the use of electoral politics is that of David Duke who was elected to be Louisiana State Representative and ran for other offices including President of the U.S. He has visited numerous countries giving speeches and has been imprisoned as well. He recently has identified some positive characteristics of The Tea Party Movement including their concerns about preserving white heritage and about illegal immigrants. He condemned those who have expressed concern about the racial composition of the Tea Party Movement. We will consider possible strategic links between white separatists and tea party supporters. Metzger came to reject electoral politics and ultimately even leader-led organizations after a civil against him, his son, and his organization White Aryan Resistance resulted in costly judgments against them. He ultimately formed The Insurgent, a leaderless resistance association of highly motivated white racists that supported a lone-wolf strategy that could result in terrorist activities.

Although Duke and Metzger followed very different paths within the white separatist movement, participants in the movement frequently seem to support movement leaders running for political office and also believe there are times that violence may be useful as a strategy. They tend to reject an either/or approach to strategy. Further while they support leader-led organizations more than leaderless ones, many believe that both tactics have their place within the movement, rejecting an either/or strategy. We explore their reasoning for support

of various strategies with in the movement and their anger at the U.S. government for their racial, immigration, and economic policies.

Arthur English

Professor, University of Arkansas at Little Rock, USA.

John J. Carroll

Professor Emeritus, University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth, USA.

Constitutionalism in the South

In this analysis we look at the evolution of southern constitutions to assess the impact of higher and positive law influences on the documents. We find that Southern state constitutions have evolved differently from other state constitutions because of the unique circumstances of secession and reconstruction. In general, southern state constitutions followed a positive-law model from the Civil War until mid 20th Century, as opposed to the higher-law pattern of the federal and northern state constitutions. Southern constitutional traditions are changing, however, and our analysis shows that the higher-law model is now very influential in the South, although some states, like Texas and Alabama, have resisted the trend. We conclude that even though many southern state constitutions now follow the federal model, the positive law patterns of the past are still evident and constitutional diversity characterizes contemporary constitutional change in the South.

Isabel Estrada Carvalhais

Assistant Professor, University of Minho, Portugal.

Accessing Citizenship through Knowledge in a Post-National Context or How Knowledge Still Reproduces the Modern Logic of Multiple Exclusions

The paper suggests that while there is no consensus about the real content and scope of post-national citizenship as a concept, there is a moderate consensus about it as implying the abandonment of nationality as the great criterion of access to citizenship rights. But while societies may look at the decrease of the nationality's relevance in accessing citizenship rights, as being a sign of their 'post-national order', they are simultaneously embracing new criteria that perform similar excluding functions with similar excluding effects. Knowledge is one of such criteria and though far from new as an exclusion-inclusion criterion (even within nationals, as I will show), it is becoming more evident as a 'legitimate' post-national gate of access to citizenship. A way to sustain this argument is to look at how states have been for decades legitimising knowledge as a criterion of access to legality as far as immigrants are concerned. This legitimacy is made obvious as we look at most present policies of migration (I will draw some attention to the Portuguese case as a means to illustrate my argument). As policies of migration became more and more restrictive, they tend simultaneously to contemplate specific regimes that foster the entrance, stay and legal residence of intellectual capital and high-skilled professionals, in a clear strategy to gain the battle for brain circulation. The problem with this political reasoning is that it endangers the philosophical projects that envisage post-nationality as synonym of a much better democratic order; and it ends up replicating the same logics embedded in the national paradigm.

Robert Gilbert

Professor, Northeastern University, USA.

The Administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower: The National and International Impacts of Presidential Illness

This paper examines the effects of presidential illness in both the domestic and international spheres and uses the Administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower as a case study. During the Eisenhower Administration, the President fell seriously ill on several occasions. In 1955, he suffered a massive heart attack; in 1956, he underwent surgery for ileitis, in 1957, he suffered a stroke. In this paper, each of these illnesses will be discussed and the severity of each will be assessed, with attention given to recent research findings pertaining to the Eisenhower years.

Apart from their effects on Eisenhower himself, these illnesses had definite effects in both the domestic and foreign domains. First, his 1955 heart attack led Eisenhower to consider the issue of presidential disability as an important one to address. He asked his Attorney General to prepare a constitutional amendment on the subject so that Congress could consider the issue and take action. Although the Eisenhower Amendment on disability was never enacted, it did serve as an introduction to the eventual 25th Amendment added to the Constitution in 1967, shortly before Eisenhower's death.

Second, during his recovery from his heart attack, he lost control of American foreign policy and his Secretary of State came to dominate, especially in reference to the Middle East. Unfortunately, this led to war between Egypt, Israel, France and Great Britain, one of the more disappointing developments for the President. Normally, he kept his Secretary of State under tight control; while the President was seriously ill, however, he could not do so and the results were most unfortunate.

Third, Eisenhower's illnesses tested his concept of "team government" and demonstrated that it was largely unworkable. A team needs its captain in order to provide the leadership that produces consensus. When Eisenhower was ill, his leadership was absent and his subordinates were unable to agree on Administration policy.

Shak Hanish

Assistant Professor, National University, USA.

The Iraqi Election Law: An Assessment

In my paper, I will review the current Iraqi Election Law that was adopted by the Iraqi Parliament on December 2009, which was applied to March 2010 Iraqi national election. I will analyze the election law and compare it to the previous election laws that were adopted by various Iraqi legislative bodies following the U.S. invasion of Iraq in April 2003. In my paper, I will assess the Iraqi Election Law to see if it is a real democratic election law, if it confirms to the Iraqi Constitution, and if it allows fair representation of diverse ethnic groups, political trends, and Iraqis living in Diasporas.

In this paper, I will present a literature review of the various electoral systems around the world and to distinguish which one(s) is more suitable to the Iraqi situation. Finally, I will propose some recommendation to remedy the faults of the current election law in Iraq and present my conclusion on the issue.

Jeffrey Hockett

Associate Professor, University of Tulsa, USA.

Attitudes, Institutions, and the Desegregation Vote of Chief Justice Earl Warren

This essay challenges the conventional view that Chief Justice Earl Warren exhibited instrumental decision-making in the canonical case, *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), which declared unconstitutional racial segregation in American public education. Speaking as a national political figure before he joined the United States Supreme Court, Warren emphasized the importance of avoiding federal oversight of the nation's public schools, this in spite of the fact that he had strong political incentives and few disincentives to oppose desegregation. Drawing upon the constitutive variant of the new institutionalist model of Supreme Court decision-making, this essay demonstrates that Warren's desegregation vote was influenced, not by his personal policy preferences, but by the petitioners' view of the Court's institutional mission. The petitioners' sense of mission was grounded in the historical argument that segregationists had always sought, not to promote racial harmony (as the respondents in *Brown* contended), but to reinforce white supremacy.

The non-instrumental interpretation of Warren's performance in *Brown* that is defended in this essay carries significantly different normative implications than the traditional instrumental account of the decision that is favored by conservative critics of the Warren Court's constitutional jurisprudence. The fact that Warren was motivated by a deep sense of civic obligation, as opposed to a crass desire to pursue his own policy preferences, should lead scholars to consider seriously his assessment of the shortcomings of American racial politics. Indeed, scholars should also consider the possibility that Warren's critical analysis of American democratic government was superficial. For equal protection doctrine in the Warren Court era centered on inequalities of access to the political system, and did not consider more complex views of informal discrimination and inequality, such as gender or economic inequality.

Tiffany Howard

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The Tragedy of Failure: Exploring the Utility of Existing Models of State Failure in an Effort to Develop a More Precise Typology and More Accurate Predictions of State Collapse

The humanitarian implications of state collapse are pervasive and enduring--its onset represents the catalyst for refugee crises and the spread of war, poverty, disease and terrorism. What, if anything can be done to forestall or mitigate such failures and the security threats that accompany them? I argue that the first step in tackling state failure is working to anticipate and prevent the event. Thus, developing a theoretically driven causal model of state failure is necessary if scholars are committed to improving the predictive power and forecasting ability of early warning models of state failure. Building upon the work of the State Failure Project and earlier statistical models of state failure, this study develops a causal model of state failure that is based upon a theoretical foundation that satisfies the parsimonious condition which policy forecasting models typically rely upon. The statistical model of state failure developed for this analysis extends the work of previous models by developing an alternative definition and measurement of state failure and introduces factors that are appropriate for making predictions and establishing causation. More precise predictions are the key to preventing the tragedy of state failure, which has long-lasting and devastating consequences for the state, its people, and the global community.

David Jervis

Fulbright Scholar, Marie Curie Skłodowska University, Poland.

U.S. Foreign Policy in a New Post-Afghanistan and Post-Fiscal Crisis Era

America's difficulties in Iraq and Afghanistan along with its current fiscal problems have led scholars and political figures to call for America to retrench and reduce its overseas presence and roles. Yet few of those appeals have been very specific as to what the US should do, how its policies would actually change, and what the impact might be. This paper, a very speculative one written by someone who has traditionally thought in terms of an active American world role, considers what following such advice would mean for American policy and its international partners. It will examine American policy toward Europe, where there have been longstanding political, military, and economic ties and/or Africa, where the American role has been more recent, more limited, and more ad hoc.

George Kaloudis
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The Greek Civil War, the Cold War, and the Consequences

German occupation of Greece swept away old structures, it changed the landscape, and it caused established systems of rule to disintegrate. As a consequence, German rule acted as the catalyst for a series of political and social reactions, both internal and external, that ultimately contributed to the Greek Civil War which devastated the country until the end of the 1940s.

Sayed Khatab

Professor, Monash University, Australia.

Egyptian Revolution and its Impact on the Stability in the Middle East

Anyone interested in Egyptian history must be aware that the political and intellectual history of Egypt, in any historical epoch, is generally determined by the historical experience and the socio-economic circumstances in which the Egyptians found themselves. Today, Egypt has entered a new epoch of its history. Like any nation, the Egyptians have the right to determine their own destiny under normal circumstances and so it was that the Egyptians took to the streets, in sustained protest, against the 30-year rule of Mubarak's authoritarian dictatorship. Taking their destiny into their own hands, the Egyptians liberated their country from a brutal and corrupt regime and brought a new dawn to the Egyptian people. Focussing on these events the world powers— observers and decision makers — were apparently concerned with the question of stability in the Middle East in general, and the relationship between Egypt and its neighbouring countries, in particular. Contributing to the debate on this topic, this paper seeks to develop a better grasp of Egypt's political transition and potential scenarios, with special attention to the Egyptian revolution and its impact on the Middle East. A special focus will be given to Egypt's relations with the United States, Israel, Turkey and the Gulf countries and the impact of the Egyptian revolution on Tehran's domestic and foreign policy in the region. This paper also outlines the impact of the revolution on Islamic radicalism and deradicalisation, with special attention to the Muslim Brotherhood's long-standing objective and other Islamists' political affairs.

Michele Khouri

Ph.D. Student, University of Pantheon-Assas, France.

Bertrand Lemennicier

Professor, University of Pantheon-Assas, France.

International Burden-Sharing: One-nation, One-vote versus Weighted Voting Organizations

Financing international organizations activities generally by contributions levied from member states extends the problems of tax incidence from the national to the international level. A normative approach concerned with questions of equity and fairness in the distribution of costs among member states, has generally been adopted in an attempt to understand the contribution systems of international organizations. The two principles underlying the normative approach are the ability-to-pay principle and the benefit principle.

The question is whether the ability-to-pay or the benefit principle is used as the main method in assessing contributions of international organizations. What is the incidence of the method used on the relative performance of member states (under- or over-payment). Moreover, we will examine the 'fairness' of burden-sharing between one-nation, one-vote and weighted voting organizations and try to find which voting procedure provide a better equity.

In order to answer all these questions we used an original and unpublished data base. The latter consists of 12 international governmental organizations (IGOs) including 6 IGOs with one-nation, one-vote procedure and 6 IGOs with weighted voting procedure. This analysis is a cross-sectional one since we compared multiple IGOs at a single point of time which is 2008. Following the method of Diamond and Dodsworth (1976), we calculated the percentage of over-payment based on gross national income per capita (GNI/hab) for each member state in our sample. We will observe a quite general under-payment among countries.

Thus, our paper is organized as follows. In section I we will study the normative approach with the ability-to-pay and the benefit principles and we will specify the main principle used by international organizations. In Section II we will present our source of data and then the assessments of member states' contributions and try to evaluate whether weighted voting or one-nation, one-vote organizations perform better. In conclusion we will summarize and evaluate our main results and findings.

Pieter Labuschagne

Professor, University of South Africa, South Africa.

The Road to Reconciliation and Peace Building: A Comparative Analysis of South Africa and Zimbabwe

South Africa's transformation from an authoritarian to a democratic state has been hailed by many observers as a miracle, as a result of the absence of violence and the smooth manner in which authority changed hands in the country. The transitional process was multi-faceted and many role players made a contribution to ensure a smooth and peaceful transition to democracy. Especially, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission played an important, but controversial role, to facilitate the transition. For nations who were in a similar position of internal division and inter-group conflict the fact that the predicted blood bath was averted bordered on a miracle and served as an example of conflict resolution.

In a comparative context the change of power in neighbouring Zimbabwe occurred with no structural process in place to fulfil a similar role that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission had played in South Africa. After a conciliatory speech, in which the elements of peace and reconciliation were stressed by President Robert Mugabe, the transition was allowed to 'follow its own course'. The present day political problems and instability of Zimbabwe are well-known and many of the issues that would have surfaced or dealt with at a Truth and Reconciliation Commission resurfaced in the decades after democratisation in the form of inter-racial conflicts.

The purpose of my paper will be two-pronged; namely to analyse the South African transition process with the aim is to critically evaluate the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and to gauge its success in augmenting the process of national reconciliation and nation building in South Africa. In order to conduct an empirical investigation, the documentation that the Commission has produced will be analysed both for how it might add to the truth discovered, but importantly also how well their recommendations have been implemented in the decade since the hearings started in 1996. This will be done with a firm understanding of the Commission's mandate and that reconciliation and nation building was part of an ongoing process. This entitles the investigation to analyse the broader political events in South Africa since the Commission has finally issued its report.

In the second part attention will shift to a comparative analysis that will be conducted to establish how the peace building process was managed in South Africa in contrast with the 'process' followed in

Zimbabwe. The aim is to form a conclusion to allow a judgement on which of the two strategies was the more conducive to peace building. Namely to allow the past to remain in the past; *or* to deal with the past within a structural manner to allow reconciliation to be managed.

Mahendra Lawoti
Professor, Western Michigan University, USA.

Democracy in Divided Societies

Democratization scholarship has pointed out that with the passage of time participation and inclusion of population increases in polities and democracy may strengthen while literature on ethnically divided societies warn that electoral politics, especially in new democracies, could exacerbate tensions and threaten democracy. The paper will look at political exclusion/inclusion in socio-cultural realms and participation in governance during democratic regime in three socio-culturally and economically similar countries and assess their affect on democratic outcomes (endurance, erosion and breakdown). India has managed to consolidate its democracy while Sri Lanka faced a protracted violent conflict and democracy was interrupted in Nepal. Comparison of socio-culturally and economically similar polities but with varied exclusion/inclusion level and different democratic outcomes allows us to argue that political exclusion/inclusion contribute in performance (endurance, erosion or breakdown) of democracies. The paper will argue that India strengthened its democracy because it accommodated multicultural aspirations of diverse groups while continuation or even increase in exclusion of ethnic groups in some spheres in Sri Lanka and Nepal resulted into erosion or breakdown of democracy respectively. The paper will argue that depending upon whether the polities chose to address or ignore the multicultural cleavages seem to affect life and performance of democracies.

Corliss Lentz

Associate Professor, Sam Houston State University, USA.

Zambians with HIV/AIDS: Are There Differences in Behavior Between Christians and Muslims?

This paper is based on surveys of adult Zambians with HIV/AIDS who are on anti-retroviral therapies (ARTS). The study interviewed over 400 people with HIV/AIDS across the eastern and southern provinces of Zambia in an effort to determine whether the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) has been effective. Over 400 Zambians with HIV/AIDS were interviewed. The interview covered over 250 questions about social, medical, family, marriage, religion, and sexual behavior issues. Over 100 respondents of the PEPFAR study were men and over 50 were Muslim. The data were collected in Zambia in 2010 when the author was conducting the research as part of her Fulbright Scholarship. At the date of this writing, the data collection is almost complete and the researcher will return home at the end of November 2010.

While there is a body of literature concerning Christians with HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa, that is associated with their behavior, primarily promiscuity, there is very little that discusses HIV/AIDS in the Muslim community. In fact, the Muslim community has been overlooked in the literature probably because of a lack of access. Thus, this research is breaking new ground.

This analysis will use a factor analysis to reduce the 250 variables into a set of manageable indices. The researcher will then perform an analysis of variance (ANOVA) to examine the two groups for differences on the statistically significant variables. This analysis will give a good picture on whether Christians differ from Muslims on the issues listed above. It is expected that there will be little difference between Christians and Muslims on the topics because their behavior seems to be determined by Zambian and tribal culture and not by religious affiliation.

Si Kei Leong

Researcher, National Sun Yat-sen University, Taiwan.

Yu-Kang Lee

Associate Professor, National Sun Yat-sen University, Taiwan.

Chung-Yao Hsu

Assistant Professor, Kaohsiung Medical University, Taiwan.

Neurocognitive Correlates of Gender and Issue Relevant Value on Political Advertising: Evidence from Taiwan

Previous literatures have shown evidence that our understanding on the formation of political attitudes and voting preferences can be enriched by incorporating the theories of tools of cognitive neuroscience of non-conscious habitual cognition. While these studies are mostly conducted under Western political context, the neurocognitive correlates of gender and issue relevant value on political advertising have not been fully investigated in the East Asian setting. We use Taiwan, one of the most vibrant democracies in East Asia as an example. Our findings suggest that political advertising film can activate delta power over left frontal area which is associated with abstract thinking and judgment. In addition, the pathway of activation might be related with craving-rewarding system instead of sympathetic-parasympathetic system. We conclude by opening a new light for those who study the effectiveness of political advertising and shed new light on those who design political advertising to gain more knowledge on their target audience.

Ana Margheritis

Assistant Professor, University of Florida, USA.

State-Diaspora Relations: A Cross-Regional Perspective

The study of migrant transnationalism emerged and expanded considerably in the last decade, mainly focusing on the bottom-up processes driving transnational migration and promoting migrants' social, political, and economic engagement in both host and sending countries and, to a lesser extent, on the state-led process of courting its nationals abroad and developing a number of policies and programs catering to its expatriates. Few attempts have been made in the field of international relations to bring the two perspectives together and further our understanding of the dynamic (and often) conflictive relationship between states and diasporas. This study aims at filling that gap by analyzing the complex interplay of relations between migrants' associations and national governments. It builds upon evidence from two of the most salient Latin American immigrant communities in Southern Europe today: Ecuadorians and Argentineans who have selected Spain and Italy as their main destination in the last fifteen years. The conclusions highlight similar and contrasting organizational characteristics across immigrant communities, the importance of the context of exit and profile of the last wave of emigrants, and the impact of national governments' policies on defining migrants' political engagement in both sending and receiving societies, as well as the role of regional (EU) institutions in legitimizing and channeling a significant part of migrants' political mobilization.

Jonathan Marshall

Research Fellow, University of Technology Sydney, Australia.

Visions of Chaos and Disorder: Depth Psychology and the Politics of the Climate Mess

Climate change, and discussion about climate change, is producing large scale disruptions in the ways that many societies function, as well as engendering new forms of engagement with the world and with other people. Climate change and other ecological issues cross and challenge, boundaries and conceptions, creating widespread disorder. Patterns of communication and blame are affected with significant organisational consequences. Some groups may maintain their customs at the cost of their existence; others may throw away the conventions that have previously given life meaning for them.

This paper pursues this disorder through a socially informed depth/analytical psychology and attempts to answer the questions of what factors guide people's choices and what defines their interests in such a disordered situation. I argue that climate change activates an existential crisis, and responses to this crisis are framed in terms of pre-existing myths and myth structures. In particular the crisis is affected by Western notions of order and disorder which stem from the creation narrative of Genesis. It is also framed by notions of Eden, Apocalypse and Promethean technology as argued by climate scientist Mike Hulme (2009). Modes of prophecy and millenarian magic capture talk about the future, everyday ethics and political process whether people attempt to control climate change, mitigate it or deny it. These myths invoke contradictions which cannot be resolved while we remain within them. As well as engaging with representations in the media and discussions with climate change activists this paper reflects upon the potentials for engagement and conceptual ordering, disorientation and re-ordering amidst the political confrontations of climate change.

Kent Moors

Professor, Duquesne University, USA.

Oil Volatility and the Limits of Government Action

The primary reactions to oil pricing volatility (what I call oil vega) will play out on the political stage and, while projected onto an international oil market, they will be introduced for decidedly internal purposes. With the possible exception of oil being used as a blatant political weapon in international competition, an eventuality often mentioned but having a low probability subsequent to the oil embargoes of 1973-74, the intent will be to stabilize the domestic pricing, distribution and cost of oil and processed oil products.

Traders will accentuate the volatility, synthetic debt will distort the actual paper-wet barrel relationships and oil companies will emphasize the traditional supply side solution for what is not a supply/demand problem, at least in its initial stages. But it will be governments – via legislation, regulations, cross-border and international policies – that will proceed to expand the difficulty and protract the crisis. This is not because public officials are callous, indifferent, misinformed or stupid. It is because the public sector decision making process is not set up to handle such matters. Look at it this way. The crisis coming is one fat apple; governments are structured to handle a number of smaller oranges.

Governmental approaches to oil vega will prevent any win-win approaches. This is a protracted zero-sum game. There will be rhetoric in support of multilateral approaches, perhaps some parallel discussion of application possibilities for Basel III-like accords, and increased emphasis on alternative energy research, but this will be a protracted zero-sum conflict. The November 11-12, 2010 failure of the G20 meetings in Seoul to reach any resolution of currency valuation tensions is a precursor to what will happen when oil vega really digs in. There will be recriminations of a system denominating oil sales in dollars, another round of developing state suspicion about the intentions of the developed world, conspiracy theories lodged against OPEC, American financial institutions or IOCs – and no move by any nation to relinquish leverage on any of the essential elements.

There is a perfect storm forming and it is going to be a nasty one.

Marta Nunes da Costa

Researcher, University of Minho, Portugal.

Human rights and Democracy - Utopia or Reality?

The language of and on 'Human rights' has been created within a revolutionary environment that called for a new social order and political governance. New identities were constructed and projected and new ideologies emerged in the context of the American Declaration of Independence and the French Revolution. Progressively one observed the emergence of a 'democratic' spectrum and democratic promise of a (future) society closer to justice, fairness, equality and freedom. However, the relationship between democracy and human rights is not so obvious as one may tend to think. In fact, while instinctively one may want to believe that democracies must be committed to respect fundamental human rights, it is not clear *how* is this done.

In this paper I want to address the tension between democracy and human rights. In order to do so I will start with a main question, namely, *what are human rights and what is their role in democracies?*

In 1791-2 in his *Anarchical Fallacies*, Bentham said that «natural rights is simple nonsense: natural and imprescriptible rights, rhetorical nonsense, nonsense upon stilts». Are human rights 'imaginary' or are they real? What role do they play in democracy?

In this paper I will explore the relationship between human rights and democracy contributing to the clarification of concepts and tasks ahead of us. Human rights and Democracy have the potential to go hand-in-hand and use each other's strengths to realize themselves. As Amartya Sen well argued in *The idea of Justice*, we must look for a complementarity between several avenues of action: legislation, social behavior and social action, NGO's, among others. By adopting an ethical understanding of human rights, one is closer to the democratic project of freedom, justice and equality.

Sonia Rodrigues

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Kosovo: The New European State?

The paper focuses on the dilemmas and constraints of the creation of the state of Kosovo.

The installation of UNMIK in Kosovo, after the bombing of the Serbian province by NATO, allowed the institutional distance from the authoritarian regime of Slobodan Milosevic and the beginning of the implementation of democratic reforms by the United Nations in the territory. It will be shown how the policy options taken by the United Nations structure have conditioned the February 2008 final outcome and how after nearly nine years of international administration the Kosovo's status of independence became inevitable.

The democratization process which was launched by the United Nations mission in Kosovo on June 10, 1999 and the unilateral declaration of independence of the Serbian province on February 17, 2008 are the landmarks that signal the democratic transition and the creation of the new state in Kosovo.

International recognition of Pristina's declaration is contested by the Serb political elite and by five European Union member states, while, at the same time, the democratic government of Serbia is making good progress in its process of European integration.

How to deal with the new state of Kosovo is a crucial issue for Balkan peace and stability and for the consolidation of democracy in Serbia.

Thomas Schwartz
Professor, UCLA, USA.

The Paradox of Power and the Problem of Cooperation

Realists depict geopolitics as Hobbesian anarchy with a statist twist: it is an anarchy of leviathans, of person-like states rather than stateless persons. Others find this picture too austere but prize it all the same, as a point of contrast with richer ones, even a background on which to paint them. Pictures highlight features, of real or fancied worlds, and this one highlights two: the demand for power and the problem of cooperation. Anarchy, the want of common government, makes states seek power to protect themselves from predators and then perchance to prey. Inequality makes the weak and then others seek power in numbers, friends fight foes. But friends are fickle: little more than foes of foes, they can and do switch sides. And cooperation beyond shared enmity is even harder to secure: through power rest in peaceful balance, Prisoner's Dilemmas abound, putting the fruits of collective action --- of peaceful intercourse and mutual security even more than armed alignment - mostly out of reach.

I challenge this picture: a simple but largely unexplored category of games, a variant of the folkloric Prisoners' Dilemma, shows mutual cooperation to be easier to achieve than prevailing scholarship has suggested, and a wider category shows power to be quite as important as the so-called neo-realists - the great celebrants of geopolitical power - had contended yet often a downright disadvantageous thing to have beyond certain limits.

Kim Ezra Shienbaum

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Esam Sohail

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Curtailing Global Terror Financing: Continuing Challenges in a Post 9/11 Era

Since global *jihadist* terrorism first came to public attention following the 9/11 attacks, this threat has not waned but rather metamorphosed into new and even more terrifying forms, with multiple splinter groups as well as individual “free lance” jihadists emerging almost daily. What fuels this threat?

This paper is grounded in the assumption that money, more than ideology or manpower, fuels the modern terror machine regardless of the geographic location or philosophy of the terrorists. Moreover, *generating* this cash and, far more importantly, *transmitting* it where it needs to go is an integral part of the terrorist business model, constituting major challenges for those who wish to fight terror financing.

In Section 1, **The Development of Legal Mechanisms to Combat Terror Financing**, various initiatives are examined beginning with the *Bank Secrecy Act* (BSA) of 1970 (originally intended to staunch the flow of monies generated by drug trafficking on which President Richard Nixon had declared war) and ending with post 9/11 initiatives including the *USA Patriot Act of 2001* whose main thrust was to make financial institutions responsible for vetting their clients and the 2001 *Terrorist Finance Tracking Program* to identify, track, and pursue suspected foreign terrorists, like al Qaida, Hamas, and Hezbollah -- and their financial supporters.

Section 2, **Responses By Terror Groups**, examines the various modes of money transfer designed to bypass the legal mechanisms devised by governments. Terrorist financiers have been diversifying their reliance on direct fund raising, instead branching out to more indirect but labor-intensive, sometimes illegal tactics, to generate revenue.* Informal money transfers via *hawala* and the use of Islamic charities are also examined. The paper provides three examples of the difficulties of tracking and stopping such dual use funds---and also references the 2010 Supreme Court decision in a related case with direct implications for Islamic charitable giving, *Holder v. Humanitarian Law Project*.

Section 3, **Challenges of private and global partnerships**, underscores the difficulties of trying to co-ordinate terrorist financial tracking with foreign governments. The Patriot Act of 2001 specifically

created the interagency *Financial Action Task Force* to help foreign governments update their laws and exercise vigilance against terrorist cash. Nonetheless, the widespread reliance on non-traditional financial networks and even barter transactions in many Middle Eastern and South Asian societies, makes financial vigilance a tougher task than in more developed nations. Moreover, the cultural and political challenges of scrutiny in many English speaking democracies with a heritage of individual financial privacy hinders the relationship of banks with customers who object to violations of privacy.

In Section 4 **Future Developments and Recommendations**, the authors stress that technological advances make tracking terrorist financing a continuing challenge. There already is strong suspicion among terror analysts that newer financing avenues like African diamond smuggling, the bundling of small monetary instruments, and internet *phishing* fraud are being tested by terrorist financial master minds as other more traditional methods are placed under intense scrutiny. One of the key challenges for Western democracies will be to use their intelligence capabilities to foresee these trends and proactively address them before they become actual methods that in the future will be able to fund large scale terror activities.

The paper concludes by suggesting that the keys to a successful future combating the scourge of global terror financing require good intelligence in the short term, private sector and inter-governmental cooperation in the medium term, and integrated civil society co-ordination in the long term.

*These include interstate transport of cigarettes without paying excise taxes, importing cheaper jewelry from the Persian Gulf to sell through the thousands of mall kiosks in North America and credit card scams are all part of the response of the terrorist financial network to the tightening noose on regular banking channels.

Benjamin Sovacool

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The Politics of Climate Change Adaptation in Asia

Because of their unique geography and climate, low per capita incomes, and changing patterns of industrialization, the countries of Asia face a multitude of climate change related risks. Efforts are thus underway in Asia to rapidly adapt economies and lifestyles to climate change. This focus on adaptation as opposed to mitigation is occurring for a variety of reasons. Even if global greenhouse gas emissions were to miraculously stop immediately, the presence of lags, hidden thresholds, and the long-lived nature of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere will still induce significant alterations in global climate. Unlike mitigation efforts which are prone to public goods problems and the tragedy of the commons, adaptation efforts result in direct benefits to local communities, making them more politically acceptable. Adaptation efforts tend to be a “win-win” for they not only improve resilience to climate change but often spill over into ancillary benefits such as economic stability, improved environmental quality, foreign direct investment, and jobs. Perhaps related to these benefits, the Global Environment Facility has funded about \$600 million worth of adaptation projects and gotten about \$500 million in matching grants from various public and private actors (for a mammoth \$1 billion in adaptation funds). These projects are all focused on resilience, and all in least developed countries. This paper, based on original field research and site visits, investigates (1) the most important dimensions of resilience in least developed countries, spread across institutional resilience, infrastructural resilience, and community resilience, and (2) whether the GEF fund is actually promoting these types of resilience on the ground. It closely looks at the politics of adaptation in four countries and areas: coastal afforestation in Bangladesh, glacial flood control in Bhutan, sea level rise in the Maldives, and agriculture in Cambodia.

Erika Thurner

Professor, Innsbruck University, Austria.

Labour Migration and Integration Problems in Crete/Greece

In this case study I propose to address and investigate labour migration to Crete over the last two decades and the problems and phenomena of integration and exclusion associated with it. In comparison, Greece lags behind Austria as far as labour migration and modernization ("Europeanization") of its society are concerned. Austria – and other (Central) European post industrial countries – have already been through "the experience" of development into a destination land of labour migration with all its attendant problems (re/activation and/or rise of xenophobia). Greece is, according to the EU definition, structurally weak. The country, that trails other EU lands economically, is in the middle of the pack according to the "EU barometer on racism and xenophobia". What is the current state of democratization tendencies in this cultural, religious, and economic "border and threshold land," which since the fall of the Iron Curtain, has constituted a gateway to the Golden West for migrants from the east (since 1989 around one and a half million legal and illegal guest-workers migrated to Greece).

One most interesting aspect here would be a consideration of those regions that have been catapulted into modernity by the economically dynamic sector of foreign tourism - a process that began even prior to EU subsidies but which has taken place above all since they were instituted?

What effects does this (superficial) modernization have on/in traditional societies (defined as "disadvantaged EU regions")?

How has it impacted and transformed social developments and consciousness formation?

Are processes of modernization and expansion also evident in the relations between the genders?

What sort of changes has it brought about in a society that is still essentially at odds with highly competitive, performance oriented capitalist society and characterized by Mediterranean ways of life and fundamental attitudes?

Pierre Vercauteren

Professor, Catholic University of Mons, Belgium.

Gouvernement and International Normativity

On June 26, 1945, in his closing address of the founding conference of the UNO, the US president, Harry Truman declared: « *We all have to recognize, no matter how great our strength, that we must, deny ourselves the license to do always as we please.* » 52 years later, the Newsweek¹ weekly showed as cover picture the photograph of the new UNO secretary general, Ban Ki-Moon, with a question: « *Why this man will fail?* »

These quotations are characteristic of a paradox of the current international system with regard to the question of global governance: a governance navigating between, on the one side, limits endured or accepted of actions of the States on the international scene, limits which seem to open the way to the global governance, and, on the other side the weakness of the results from the international organization which symbolizes the symbol of global governance, the UNO. Such a paradox has an impact on the debate on the international normativity, notably in the debate between schools of theories of international relations. In general, the debate between these schools is organized between those who support the “realist” approach of international relations and those who support the “liberal” approach. For the former (see Morgenthau), international relations are dominated by state animated by the pursuit of national interests. Therefore, international norms are of secondary importance. The anarchy of the international system because of the absence of, on the one side, a central government, and, on the other side, a significant social contract between independent political units can only leave a limited importance to international norms. In this perspective, international normativity - defined as the capacity to produce international norms - only exists if and as long as the states allow it according to their national interests. The hobbesian thought of the war of all against which characterizes the “realist” school help us to understand why, in this perspective, the international law can only be considered as the crystallization of the balance of powers between state actors (see Stein, 1990). Such a perspective is embedded in the very logic of “realism” which is of a descriptive and non normative nature. The liberal school, for its part, underlines the growing influence of international norms on international relations, such an evolution which could results in the advent of a “regime” defined by Stephen Krasner as principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actor expectations converge in a given issue-area (Krasner

¹ In Newsweek, 5 March 2007.

1995). Therefore, the “liberal” school can definitely be considered in a prescriptive and even normative perspective among some of its supporters (see Duroselle, 1981).

If the above mentioned question of the Newsweek weekly seems to corroborate the “realist” approach of international relations (Mersheimer, 1994), both quotations in the introduction of this abstract enables us to underline the erosion of the capacity of governments to be the exclusive authorities of normativity on the international scene. In this perspective, two critics are raised: an erosion of the capacity to create norms, and an erosion of the capacity to have them respected. How, in this context, to analyze the question of international normativity with such the paradox underlined earlier?

The aim of the present contribution is, in a first part, to clarify, from the observation of the transformation crisis of the State, the phenomenon of the shift from « government » towards « governance », and the contradictions and ambiguities revealed by such a shift in States behavior. These elements enable in a second part to define the phenomenon of “gouvernenance” and to evaluate its impact on the question of international normativity, a normativity which can be approached from a formal as well as informal perspective.

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Don't Forget Taiwan: The Taiwan Question and its Impact on Sino-American Relations and Asian-Pacific Stability

Since the new outbreak of the Chinese Civil War after World War II and the Communist's victory in 1949 Sino-American relations has never been easy and, most of the time, rather hostile. Besides ideological and geopolitical differences also the status of Taiwan led to conflicts between the two actors. Even after the full normalization of the Sino-American relations at the cost of the Guomindang regime on Taiwan Washington's decision to continue its support for the island remains a sensible aspect between Beijing and Washington.

The proposed paper wants to demonstrate the importance of the Taiwan question for the bilateral relations between China and the USA as well as its significance for peace and stability in the Asian-Pacific area. The Taiwan Strait is one of the most important shipment routes worldwide. A blockade of it could harm the development of the East Asian (and thus the world) economy.

On the basis of (neo)realistic assumptions, this paper argues that Taiwan serves Washington's purpose to maintain its dominance in the region and to contain the Peoples Republic of China. Thus the island and its hardly defined status represent the only actual possible cause of armed conflict between the United States and its regional challenger China, at least in the mid-term. If Taipei decides to seek independence, Beijing's reaction would be unpredictable. And Washington would be forced to decide, if it wants to remain a regional hegemon at the cost of peace and stability in the Asian-Pacific region.

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Exploring the Roles of NGOs as Promoters of Peace: The Case of the Community Foundation for Northern Ireland

This paper outlines the preliminary findings of one case included in a forthcoming book that explores the contested, but increasingly relevant role nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are playing in bringing about international peace, security and development. Liberal and constructivist analyses have focused on NGOs' roles in mediating conflict and promoting social learning. Meanwhile, scholars inspired by Foucault have argued the NGO movement represents a liberal form of bio-political empire, aimed at containing migration and assuring the security of rich nation populations. Despite this vigorous theoretic debate, empirical understanding of the roles and impacts of NGOs in reconciliation and state building in post-conflict situations remains under developed. We examine how the Community Foundation for Northern Ireland has interacted with local and national governments as well as local grassroots and international organizations and sponsors and describe the aims and consequences of those relationships in the context of the post-conflict scenario they have sought to address. We focus in particular on the portent of those ties for the Foundation's Communities in Transition, Political Ex-Prisoners, Social Justice Fund and Youth Bank programs. Our paper questions both the homogenizing and critical dismissal of NGOs as carriers of imperial agendas as well as the romanticized appraisal of their work as certain to lead to emancipation. Instead, our analysis begins to identify the salient characteristics of the strategic and operating contexts of NGOs engaged in post-conflict peacebuilding as these relate to these organizations' own strategic aspirations.