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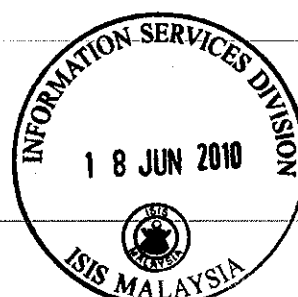
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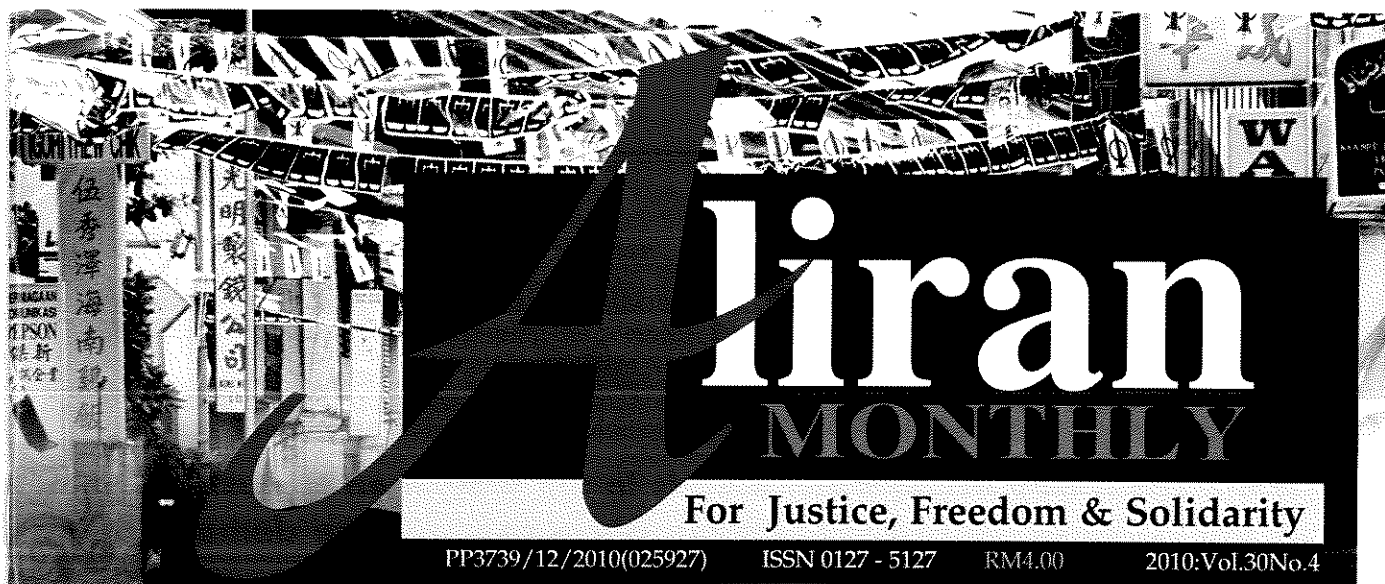
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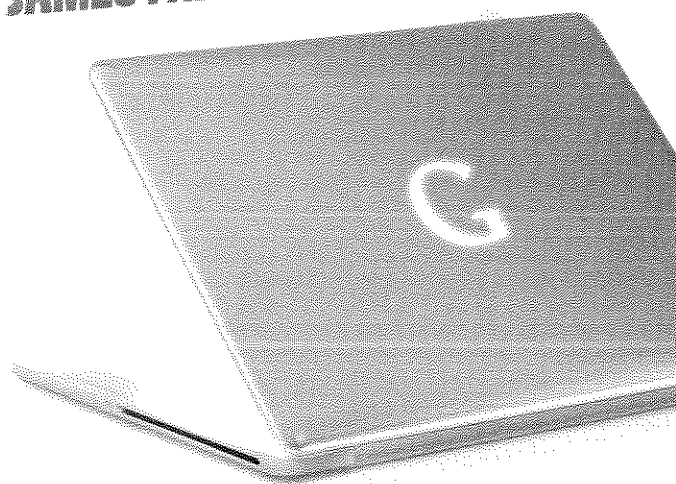
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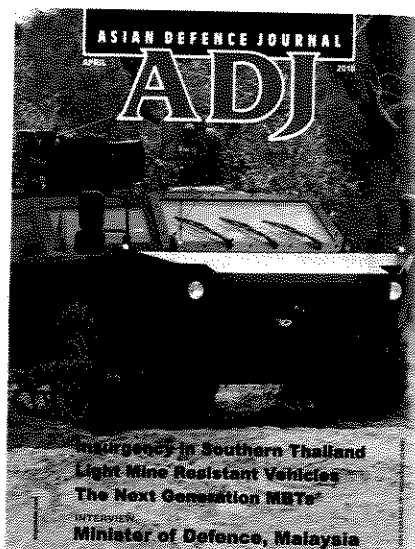
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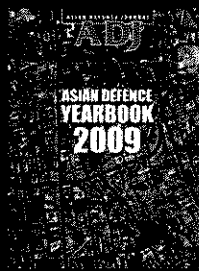
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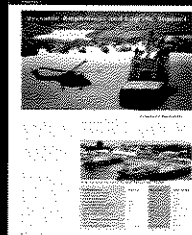
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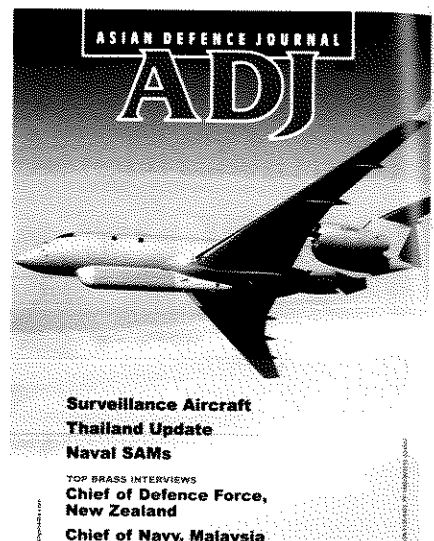
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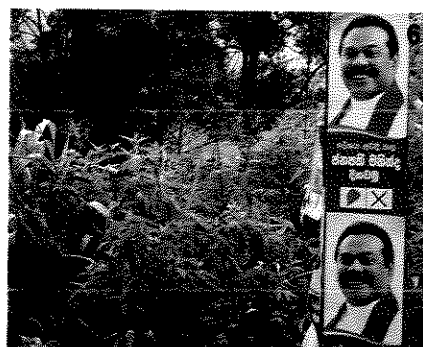
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SECURITY ISSUES

Rajapaksa Wins Again but Battle for National Unity Remains



President Mahinda Rajapaksa's landslide triumph in parliamentary elections in early April capped a trio of historic victories following the military defeat of Tamil Tiger rebels a year ago, and a thumping presidential re-election win in January.

SPECIAL REPORT

New Zealand Defence Force Modernisation Updates

New Zealand has considered its own national defence needs to be modest. Its defence budget generally has provided for selected upgrades in equipment, most of which have been devoted to the army.

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Resolution in Sight for Thailand's Imbroglio

Some kind of resolution is on the horizon as opposition activists prepared for talks with Thailand's government for a way out of a seemingly intractable political conflict.

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RSAF's First Home-based F-15SG Squadron

The Republic of Singapore Air Force (RSAF) has officially established 149 Squadron, its first home-based Boeing F-15SG unit, at Paya Lebar Air Base on April 5.

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Lt Gen Jerry Mateparae, Chief of Defence Force, New Zealand

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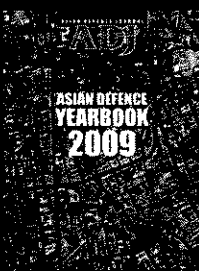
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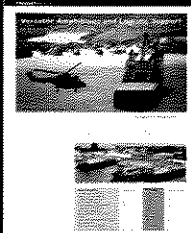
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Challenge

MAY-JUNE 2010



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On the Cover The Greenland church is a replica of the one that Erik the Red built for his wife around A.D. 1000—an era when the island clime was relatively mild.
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Trophy Strife The original World Cup was stolen, rescued, then stolen again.

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Trunk Talk Male elephants aren't always loners.

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A Day With Less Driving What if commuters cut back on cars for just one day?

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Revealing Relative Newfound skeletons could help explain the origin of *Homo erectus*.

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Safe Houses

A cheap fix could help the billions of people in earthquake zones.

Inside Geographic

GeoPuzzle

Flashback

ngm.com An animated graphic shows Greenland's melting ice sheet. And there's a lot of meltage: Greenland is warming up nearly twice as fast as the rest of the planet.

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As I write this letter, Iraq's fortunes hang in a delicate, dangerous balance.

Politicians horse-trade, bombs continue to kill innocents and Iraqis get on with the art of survival.

'Iraq is finished,' a middle-aged man told me on my trip to the beleaguered nation in March. And indeed at times it felt like that: a broken, divided and ultimately colonized place.

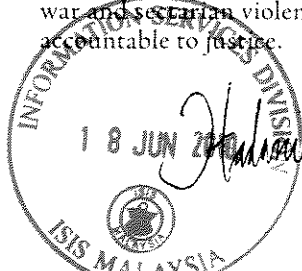
But, as always, it was the young people who inspired hope. A young actor, who had survived sanctions, Saddam and post-invasion violence, and who was rehearsing for a play about a beloved and fiercely nationalist poet, told me: 'I love my country.' And his statement was heartfelt.

I often wonder about the children in this photo, taken in 1998 when I was reporting on the US bombing campaign called *Desert Fox*. Even the day after bombing, in the midst of a crippling embargo, they displayed so much joy and resilience. What has become of them now? And what will the future hold for their children?

This issue offers only a handful of stories from a people who have suffered through decades of war, sanctions and

occupation. But I hope it will give you a sense of the Iraqi spirit – *al roh al iraqiya* – that sustains them and has so touched me.

And our special feature by Rwandan genocide survivor Jean Baptiste Kayigamba brings home both the damage done to victims of war and sectarian violence, and the urgent need to bring those accountable to justice.



Hadani

**Hadani Ditmars for the
New Internationalist Co-operative**



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Iraq seven years later – the legacy of invasion

4 Iraq in pieces

Hadani Ditmars returns to a country where ongoing conflict underscores a humanitarian disaster.

7 'America, America'

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Europe has become a safe haven for mass killers. Jean Baptiste Kayigamba wonders whether new legislation will make a difference.



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3 Letter from Cairo

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28 Big Bad World

Today's Clark Kent: US superpowers, in **Polyp's** cartoon. PLUS: NI Prize Crossword

29 Worldbeaters

Chilean President **Sebastián Piñera** under the spotlight.

30 Mixed Media

A black and white film that isn't, courtesy of director **Lu Chuan**; **Lierre Keith** critiques vegetarianism in her new book; and **Dirtmusic** pay homage to Mali.

32 Southern Exposure

Diego Martinez's camera captures the beauty and intensity of a Brazilian festival.

33 Making Waves

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34 Essay: Empire of the senses

Despite Egypt's social constraints, the sensual will not be denied, argues **Yahia Lababidi**.

36 Country profile:

São Tomé e Príncipe

Deported people behave pretty conveniently once they have been bundled off. They keep quiet.

There are a number of reasons why they do this. They have been shamed and traumatized by what they have undergone and want a clean break. They have landed into great danger and have gone into hiding. They have no wherewithal to support themselves and are struggling to survive. Or perhaps maintaining contact with the life they had wanted and had to leave behind is just too painful.

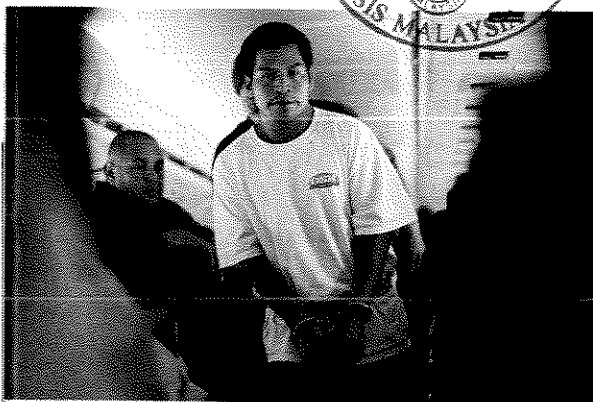
So when I started digging around for people who had suffered deportation and who would be willing to talk to me, I kept drawing a blank. Some were too afraid to talk, even under conditions of anonymity.

But more often the anti-deportation activists I got in touch with said that after the first few frantic exchanges, people tended to slip away. The pressures of the life they had been flung into ruled out further contact.

It's a silence that suits the authorities of wealthy countries who continue to treat people in this inhumane fashion, branding them 'bogus', and claiming smugly that deportees face no danger and have been resettled. Fortunately it can be pierced. I was eventually able to pierce. Read the testimony and judge for yourself.

MAIN FEATURE Deported

18 JUN 2010



CARLOS BARRIA - REUTERS

4 Deported – what happened next?

It's time to give a voice to those who are turned back at our borders. Dinyar Godrej explains why.

6 Desperate journey

Emmanuel Njoya was kicked out of Britain and straight back to Cameroon – where he lives in hiding, fearing for his family's life. This is his story.

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22 Field of dreams?

What does this month's soccer World Cup mean for the people of South Africa? A photographic insight into life behind the headlines.

24 Professional hazard: murder

Investigating the truth can be deadly for Russia's journalists, as Tina Burrett discovers.



PHOTOS LEFT TO RIGHT: DYLAN MARTINEZ - REUTERS; AP-PRESS ASSOCIATION IMAGES; PETER ENDIG - GIRA; CORBIS

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11 The man in the newspaper

John 'Bosco' Nyombi sought sanctuary in the West from persecution in Uganda – only to spend eight years struggling for his rights.

15 'I was in an art class'

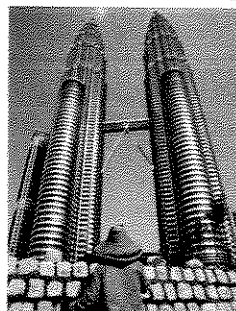
Even the young are not exempt: a Costa Rican schoolgirl recalls the day Canadian immigration officers arrested her.

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16 Inequality costs the earth

Greater equality, both between and within nations, would be better for us all – as well as for the planet. Bob Hughes considers the facts.

PLUS Danny Dorling explains how class divisions reinforce social inequality and lower the level of public debate.



MARK HENLEY - PANOS

26 Summit different

After Copenhagen's dismal failure, social movements from all over the world gathered in Bolivia – here's what happened.

Elsewhere in the magazine we explore essential questions of equity that lie behind everything we do. Bob Hughes's *Special Feature* makes the case cogently for an equality-based approach to tackling climate change – it has the best chance of offering lasting change and boosting wellbeing. Another article looks at what is happening on the ground on this front, reporting from the alternative climate change summit in Cochabamba, Bolivia.

I must also mention our feature on the murders of Russian journalists, who have paid with their lives for speaking out when the state would rather have them maintain silence. It's a salutary reminder of the constant vigilance needed to protect our freedoms.

Dinyar Godrej



Dinyar Godrej for the
New Internationalist Co-operative

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2 Letters

Capitalism vs the common good; the true function of Israel's separation wall; and an intriguing way to tackle declining fish stocks.

3 Letter from Cairo

Maria Golia feels somewhat exposed in the depths of a cargo depot.

28 Currents

Taking on Texaco in Ecuador; giving the lie to geoengineered climate solutions; and anti-government protests step up a gear in Egypt.

29 Only Planet

Gort and Klaatu try to blend in with humans in **Marc Roberts'** cartoon.

31 Big Bad World

Polyp's cartoon reveals a very shaky house of cards. **PLUS: NI Prize Crossword.**

32 Worldbeaters

'Son of the desert' turned son of steel, **Lakshmi Mittal** is laughing all the way to the bank.

33 Making Waves

Working for peace: Burundian **Pascaline Nsekera** helps refugees in Canada, her adopted country.

34 Mixed Media

A look back at 1950s Tehran in **Shirin Neshat's** visually breathtaking new film; **Laurie Anderson's** new lament for her homeland; and a book about... stuff.

36 Country profile: Palestine



MUHAMMAD AZAKW - REUTERS

Pacific Affairs

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MARCH 2010

- Special Issue -

CITIZENSHIP AND MIGRATION

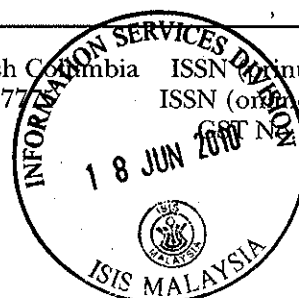
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Conservatism Rising or Retreating?



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Perspectives on American Conservatism

Contemporary Economic Conservatism: An Incoherent Mishmash

John Williamson, Senior Fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics..... 3

This paper argues that contemporary conservatives push two major economic ideas: the use of markets rather than government to guide resource allocation, and the avoidance of governmental actions to redistribute income. Although the first is subject to several caveats, the author accepts that it embodies an important truth. The second, in contrast, is apparently motivated by a desire not to have one's own income reduced ("greed"), rather than any philosophically defensible position. If the two are politically associated there is a danger that they will be seen as part of the same position, which will lead to tarring the market by associating it with greed.

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A More Coherent Mishmash..... 9

Neocon Wrongs and Rights

Joshua Muravchik, SAIS Foreign Policy Institute Fellow..... 11

Neoconservative thought, characterized by idealism, militancy, and internationalism, has prevailed throughout America's immediate history. Neoconservatives have been proven correct time and time again—in the Cold War, in Kuwait, and in Bosnia. However, this does not hold true for the war in Iraq, and neoconservatives must take their share of the blame for this tragedy. Nonetheless, neo-conservatism should not be discredited unduly. Its record remains far better than its competing schools, traditional conservatism and liberalism, and as the United States faces the world at the dawn of the twenty-first century, neoconservatism continues to provide the best principles to guide its foreign policy.

A Libertarian Perspective on the Financial Crisis and Financial Reform

William Poole, Senior Fellow at the Cato Institute 17
The pre-crisis financial environment was close to a libertarian's ideal, although it might not have seemed so at the time. Now, we need to add to the basic function of sound government in a modern economy rules and conditions to reduce the risk of financial crisis. Two such rules would be a subordinated debt requirement for banks and the end of tax incentives for households and businesses to accumulate debt. Given current directions it will take painful future events to persuade Congress to adopt more market-friendly approaches. How these events will play out is highly uncertain. Surprises are inevitable. Unfortunately, most of the surprises will be unhappy ones.

Country and Regional Case Studies

Russia's Conservative Modernization: A Mission Impossible?

Dmitri Trenin, Director of the Carnegie Moscow Center 27
Vladimir Putin and Dmitri Medvedev's conservative modernization campaign represents a marked departure from the politics of the previous decade. Russia's system no longer maintains a semblance of meritocracy and without radical reform, Russia's oil-dependent economy cannot hope to take its place among the modern great powers. Conservative modernization aims to, among other things, diversify Russia's economy, strengthen the rule of law, and broaden media freedoms without bringing political upheaval. It has the potential to spur Russia's growth, but at present, is merely a propaganda tool which serves the further the rent-seeking policies and nationalist goals of the Kremlin elite.

Between Mullahs' Robes and Absolutism: Conservatism in Iran

Yousra Y. Fazili, Senior Consultant for Booz Allen Hamilton 39
The contested 2009 presidential elections revealed deep divisions among Iran's ruling elite at a political and clerical level, calling into question what a society governed by jurists and Islamic law truly means. As the leadership attempts to maintain its tenuous hold on power while suppressing a popular reformist movement, the question remains: How to resolve the tension between divine law and popular will? What does it mean to be a conservative in a country where both the right and the left are committed to an Islamic government? The new reformist movement in Iran reveals the unresolved tensions that exist in a theocracy, the contradictions between faith, modernity and democracy. Conservatives have used their commitment to Khomeinism to consolidate their hold on power, but without Ayatollah Khomeini's unifying presence, what it means to mix religion and politics is no longer clear, as both conservatives and reformists claim Khomeini's legacy.

Radical Right-wing Populism in Denmark and Sweden: Explaining Party System Change and Stability

Jens Rydgren, Professor of Sociology at Stockholm University 57
This paper aims to present possible explanations as to why radical right-wing populist parties have been highly successful in Denmark but have largely failed in Sweden. It shows that Denmark and Sweden shared several important opportunity structures, in particular related to anti-immigrant sentiments among the electorates and feelings of disenchantment toward the political institutions, but also that the two countries diverged in some important ways. First, while the socioeconomic cleavage dimension lost much of its importance in Danish politics, it was still highly salient in Swedish politics. Secondly and related, the issue of immigration has been much more politicized in Denmark than in Sweden. While immigration has dominated the political agenda in Danish politics during the last decade, in Sweden the socioeconomic dimension has taken center stage.

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The Assertive Conservative Right in Japan: Their Formation and Perspective

Kazuhiko Togo, Professor at Kyoto Sangyo University 77

This paper focuses on what we can loosely define as the "assertive conservative right" movement in Japan and addresses the following four questions: (1) What is the political background against which the assertive conservative right emerged in postwar Japanese politics? (2) What are the criteria that define the assertive conservative right, how did they arise in the political spectrum, and how did they fall? (3) Where do they stand now, and what kind of new challenges are they facing? (4) And lastly, what are the assertive conservative right's prospects, given the Democratic Party of Japan's recent rise to power?

Conservative Christian Competitors: Pentecostals and Charismatic Catholics in Latin America's New Religious Economy

R. Andrew Chesnut, Professor of Religious Studies at Virginia Commonwealth University 91

In Latin America's religious economy, the most remarkable trend over the past several decades has been the rise in popularity of two Christian denominations—Pentecostalism and, more recently, the Catholic Charismatic Renewal. Both groups offer their adherents pneumacentric worship, which involves direct communion with the Holy Spirit and intervention to heal suffering. Their success points to the decline of the traditional Catholic Church from its hegemony in the Latin American religious marketplace, and in increasing demand among the region's religious consumers for a conservative brand of Christian worship.

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Comparing the United States and Europe

The Nation, Democratic Self-Government, and Liberalism:

A Conservative View of Europe Today

Peter Augustine Lawler, Professor of Government at Berry College 109

The political thinkers at the vanguard of the European project have miscalculated. In attempting to weaken the political salience of national loyalty, they have undermined the only modern political structure—the nation-state—capable of securing individual rights. In contrast to Europe, the United States has successfully reconciled liberalism, with its defense of individual freedom, and a strong sense of nationhood that commands healthy political loyalty. As a result, Americans are better prepared to defend personal freedom in a variety of domestic and international contexts, from assimilating immigrants into the homeland to fighting liberty's enemies abroad.

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The evolution of conservative ideology is compared between Europe and America. The distinction between "principled" and "unprincipled" conservatism sets the theoretical

framework, with the "unprincipled" variety found in Europe fared to be dragged along a path not of its own choosing. America is considered exceptional in that from the beginning, conservative attitudes have worked in support of classical liberal values. Liberty is preferred to equality, but equality is nonetheless highly valued as an antidote to hierarchy. As a result, populism is decoupled from its traditional home on the political left.

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- Iwan Davies* 165

As government stimulus packages taper off, we will see if the world economy is entering a period of sustained recovery, or whether the wounds are deeper than anticipated. Should the crisis not abate quickly, governments already struggling under the weight of excessive spending and decreased revenues will have limited policy options. This will create challenges for governments in many developing countries where economic growth is a key source of political legitimacy. Could the current or future economic crises lead newer democracies back down the road to authoritarianism? Will growing authoritarian states (Iran, Russia, China) come under increasing pressure to democratize? This article seeks to answer these questions by exploring the economic effects of the financial crisis and the potential impacts on political stability in developing countries.

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Third World RESURGENCE

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Photo courtesy of IISD/Earth Negotiations Bulletin

COVER: The UN climate change negotiations, which resumed in Bonn in April (pic) after the disastrous Copenhagen conference last December, have not made any significant progress, largely due to the recalcitrant stance of the industrialised countries.

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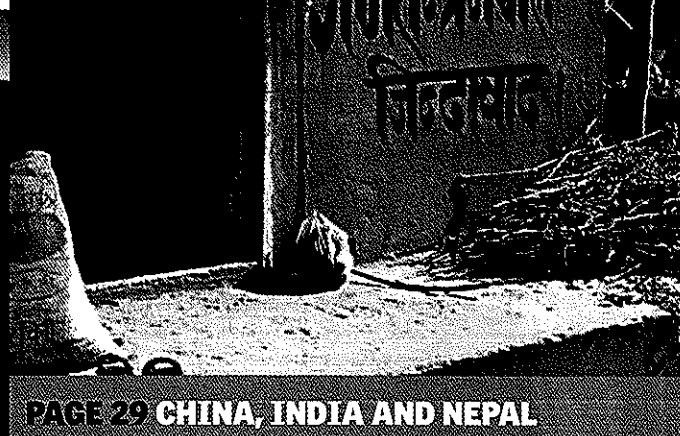
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