

Futurewatch

Jennifer Coote
New Zealand Futures Trust
New Zealand

An information service on current, international perspectives on our futures, prepared by futures scanner, **Jennifer Coote, Futures Thinking Aotearoa (formerly N.Z. Futures Trust)**. Annual dates in last two digits.

SOCIAL

What Beautiful Cities...

Eds **L. J. Vale, T. J. Campanella** explore **The Resilient City: How Modern Cities Recover From Disaster**, O.U.P., 05, through in-depth examinations of a range of international experiences from Oklahoma to Berlin and Tokyo. Three sections cover Narratives of Resilience; Symbolic Dimensions of Trauma and Recovery, and The Politics of Reconstruction, the last being particularly recommended. The overall assumption is of disaster as an interruption in the status quo, rather than disaster as structural, because of underdevelopment, institutional corruption, neoliberal urban disinvestments, etc.

The State of the World's Cities 2004/2005; Globalisation and Urban Culture, U.N. Human Settlement Programme, Earthscan, 04, provides a rich datamine covering seven uneven impacts of globalisation on urban societies including:- Cultural Strategies for Urban Development; Metropolitanisation; International Migration; Urban Poverty; Urban Crime and Governance; Globalisation and the Changing Culture of Planning. This last provides principles for planning:- expand the scope, spatially, environmentally, socio-culturally and economically; address diversity; increase the scale to meet the challenge from multi-national corporations; make cities livable; and rethink governance of the planning process itself.

In Beijing, **L. Tomba** reports, specially constructed

neighbourhoods accommodate a social development of the recent economic reforms, a consumer-oriented professional middle class. Strongly tied to the state, and favoured in resource distribution, this class lives in gated, or segregated communities, stimulating economic growth with their "needs". *The China Journal*, Jan 04.

Urban Studies, Nov 04, examines **Globalisation and the Politics of Forgetting**, in places, many urban, which are excluded or uninvolved in globalising capitalism. Theirs is not a passive experience, rather they have been actively left out in the power struggles among the global players. Role of the nation-state receives special focus.

Urban Violence and Insecurity, *Environment and Urbanisation*, Oct 04, offers recent studies of what is now considered a critical issue in urban areas, worldwide. **C. O. Moser** provides an introductory roadmap, highlighting some of the concerns. She makes a four-fold distinction between political, institutional, economic and social violence, their various subsections and the policy approaches of the criminal justice and public health systems, conflict transformation and human rights, the urban renewal and public/citizen/ community security initiatives and social capital theories.

A.V. Papachristos, *Foreign Policy*, March/April 05, researched the globalisation of gangs. The exodus of manufacturing jobs in the developed urban centres has left poor neighbourhoods socially isolated, But gang mobility has been fuelled by US policy of expelling criminals to their countries of origin especially in Latin America. New global exposure for gangs is obtained via the Internet, see the **National Gang Crime Research Centre** website.

Social Justice, Vol. 32/1 05, examines **Emerging**

Imagineries of Regulation, Control and Repression, wherein our transition times feature a fleeting, dynamic volatile 'community', highly emotional and fuelled by imagination, offset by the structures of control of crime, conflict and social order. Increasingly punitive practices, exclusionary attitudes and criminal policies may result.

Social Dimensions of Globalisation

R. Munck, Globalization and Social Exclusion: A Transformationist Perspective, Kumarian Press, 05, views the radical changes wrought by globalisation as still in process, but the resulting social exclusion is also creating range of counter movements. Some key features of the new social exclusion paradigm include the rise of the global city, gender and social inequity (professional women gain but most women worldwide miss out), race and migration inequities, and greater social class polarities.

In 2001 ILO established a **World Commission on the Social Dimensions of Globalisation**, whose report, **A Fair Globalization: Creating Opportunities for All**, 04, acknowledged the benefits of this development but also noted that as poverty was declining it was rising elsewhere in the world with new inequalities developing and inadequate employment growth, all of which was ethically unacceptable and politically unsustainable. Its wide range of recommendations started with national government, expanded through regional integration which could support those states less adequate to cope alone and argued for new and fairer multi-lateral frameworks. These could all be implemented by the range of proposed actions. The recommendations are being explored by UN agencies and systems such as Bretton Woods. See www.ilo.org. *International Labour Review*, Vol. 143 1-2, 04 provides specialist studies of aspects of the report's theme. More Equitable Globalization- a literature review; implications for trade structure changes; perceptions of inequality; social exclusion and gender; inclusive development and decent work for all, and legal approaches to a decent work policy.

L. Baragwanath, *NZ Sociology* Vol. 19/2,04,

examines the understandings prevailing about the term 'Globalisation' some of which have a long history. A conceptual analysis indicates that it has been reified as a super-human external force determining NZ (and others) options, privileging the global, generic and novel over the local, enduring and specific. A reassessment facilitates action possibilities.

M. Edwards, Civil Society, Polity Press, 04 offers a succinct, expert examination of this concept. Is it the "Big Idea" of the new century or another false horizon in search of a better world? Here it is simultaneously a goal, a means and a framework.

The World Social Forum: Strategies of Resistance, **J. C Leite**, Haymarket Books, 05 (See also www.forumsocialmundial.org.br>) provides a comprehensive survey of the origins and development of "a space not an organisation...a process and not just an event. It is a part of a bigger movement which has become a worldwide process" helping to counter the hegemony of marketization, neoliberalism and militarism. More considered perspectives are offered in *International Social Science Journal*, Dec 04, **Explorations in Open Space: the World Social Forum and the Cultures of Politiccs**.

NACLA Report from the Americas, Mar/April 05 provides specific views on **Social Movements Building from the Ground Up** in Argentina, Ecuador and Bolivia, each with their own significant focus, origin and character.

The Spiritual Dimension

The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Relations: The Struggle for the Soul of the 21st Century, **S. C. Thomas**, Palgrave Macmillan, 05. This challenge to our interpretations of the modern world encompasses more than the extremes of various faiths and is part of the crisis of the West. Disillusionment with reason, science and technology is giving space to the sacred, religion and spirituality. Culture and religion are becoming increasingly influential in international relations, soul craft (faith-based diplomacy) is reflected in conflict resolution, in international justice and development agencies and in scholarly thinking.

FUTUREWATCH

K. J. Schneider, *The Rediscovery of Awe: the Splendour, Mystery, and the Fluid Center of Life*, Paragon House, 04, offers a humanistic, psychological approach to the need for the wisdom that awe inspires, to see the complexity of things and that as soon as we polarize, we partialize our understanding. Awe-based education, the transhumanist "threat" and much more explored.

A diversity of perspectives and aspects of religious experience are explored in *Futures*, Nov 04, **Futures of Religions**. Ed **W. S. Bainbridge**, National Science Foundation presents insights from international thinking on Islam, new cults, Green, Science, US and US Church-state, paganism, war and information revolution and futures.

Culture, Ethnicity and Justice

M. Butcher, *Journal of Cultural Studies*, Vol. 25/3 04, has researched the experiences of Indian youth in India and in Sydney, finding a commonality of experiences as they re-evaluate their identities in changing societies and circumstances. Tensions over difference and continuity, in managing being "hybrids" and "in between" are common to both.

P. Spoonley et al explore the literature on social cohesion, *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, Mar 05, for application to national policy. From this they develop an indicator framework to measure outcomes for both immigrant and host.

Political scientist **A. Sharp**, *Public Sector*, Vol. 27/3, 04 examines understandings about justice, autonomy and contemporary Maori organisations and the consequences. New Zealanders agree upon the idea of justice which ensures for citizens what is rightfully theirs, but there is less agreement about equalisation of life chances for sections of society, such as Maori, being an inescapable governmental duty. Autonomy is a right to action, which for Maori comes, not through kin groups or from voluntary association, but from external agencies which are state-based. Arguments about justice and autonomy are not helped by reference to the Treaty of Waitangi. Arguments for justice for particular ethnic groups grounded in need

can conflict with the inference that this is special treatment, privileging one group against the rest.

If we start from the premise that the lives and welfare of others in this society have special needs because of their histories or circumstances then the possibility of state action of becomes an imperative.

Maori development specialist **M. Durie**, *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, March 05, argues that research indicates an indistinguishable link between ethnicity and socio-economic status. Race and ethnicity are closely aligned to worldviews, culture and lifestyle and therefore cannot be excluded from social and economic policies, if best outcomes are to be realised.

Listings

Playball: How Sports Will Change in the 21st Century, **R. Gunston**, *The Futurist*, Jan-Feb 05. Futures Thinking Aotearoa Chair outlines key trends leading to different possible sports futures: sport as an entertainment business; team sports v individual; impacts of terrorism; designer drugs: high-tech equipment and the sports industry. Four long-term scenarios:- Religiosport; Technosport; Machosport; Valuesport.

State of the World's Children 2005: Childhood Under Threat, **C. Bellamy**, UNICEF, 04, Poverty (compounding health, food, education and housing deprivations), armed conflict and HIV/AIDs threaten one billion children. Action to prioritise the needs of children worldwide are outlined.

Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 61/2 05, explores the concept of **Ageism** (negative perceptions of being old):-fear, stereotyping, language, the separation of the old and young etc.

ECONOMICS/BUSINESS

A Closer Look at the Dragon

C. Prestowitz, Three Billion New Capitalists: The Great Shift of Wealth and Power to the East, Basic Books, 05. Three waves of globalisation, one ending 1914, the second from 1947-

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2000, are now giving way to a third with China and India riding the crest. Here time and distance are negated, while technology is being rapidly transferred. China's influence is eroding American supremacy in S.E. Asia and in Latin America. The US key focus is not hegemonic leadership but its long-term competitiveness

R. Meredith, economics journalist, reports, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, March 05, that the next wave of off shoring is already underway as white collar jobs, from software to banking, move out of US and Europe to Asia, especially India. New jobs at home may be available, especially in US but at lower salaries or levels.

The Economist, 30 July 05, pp. 65-67, outlines the enormous impact of China's cheap productive system and its openness to the world economy, on prices and economies and ordinary lives worldwide, with several decades more to come. Its exports have lowered both living costs, and inflation, especially in US, while the its import costs are rising because of its increasing demands. Housing prices, bond rates and profits are also being driven by China's economic decisions. A mistake could cause China to trigger its first global recession.

Globalisation and State Transformation in China, **Y. Zheng**, Cambridge Univ Press, 04, provides detailed analysis of the process of state decline or rebuilding in China. The Communist Party may in fact be declining while the state is strengthening and intensifying the "Chineseness". While the Party influence remains, rules-based governance is an impossibility

Exit the Dragon; Privatization and State Control in China, eds **S. Green, G. S. Lin**, Blackwell/Royal Inst. International Affairs, 05, provides an in depth, well integrated analysis of the process as a range of factors pushes privatization forward. It is not yet clear where the boundaries will be drawn, but major trends and opportunities are clarified.

China's Quiet Powerhouse, **M. Enright, E. E. Scott**, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, May 05, cover the greater Pearl River Delta region including Guandong province, which, if it were a country, would today be the worlds' sixteenth largest and its tenth leading exporter, providing

20% of China's GDP. The tight link with Hong Kong is the major driver, with Hong Kong expected to enhance its role as service centre for the regional hinterland as openness increases. A new initiative aims to increase infrastructure, business and governmental links within the region and with eight neighbouring Chinese provinces. This is a major step towards creating large subnational economies on the way towards a true national market. Parochialism and shortages of labour and energy are the chief handicaps.

Engaging the Law in China, **Ed N. J. Diamant**, Stanford Univ. Press, 05 offers succinct, well-researched studies of the law in action in China, in peoples' lives. Injustice is widespread and increasing, as is awareness of the same, but guanxi (connections) is more effective for the powerless in leveraging justice, than law and lawyers.

On Trade and Business

Eminent business guru **C. K Prahalad**, with **V. Ramaswamy**, **The Future of Competition: Co-creating Unique Value with Customers**, Harvard Business School Press, 04, researched three major types of business, and find a new type evolving from the continuing corporations and the newer dot-coms. The new models work intimately with their customers on a basis of dialogue, access and risk assessment. Management and governance face new challenges.

Science, 12 August 05, **special section Dealing with Disasters**, includes **E. Mills** on the challenges of the global insurance industry, as climate change disasters mount. Most forms of insurance are affected. While the tendency is to offload more responsibility onto governments and individuals, insurers are well-positioned to participate in public-private initiatives to monitor loss trends and prepare for, and adapt to, the impacts.

While US provides examples, **J. B. Schor**, **Born to Buy: The Commercialized Child and the New Consumer Culture**, Simon & Schuster, 05, the techniques are emerging elsewhere. Youthful spending power and influence on adult consumers powerfully attracts marketers,

but children are also being recruited as a cheap form of research and development. The level of exposure may be aggravating childrens' anxieties.

The **World Bank** issued its initial report for an annual series on the Middle East and North Africa, (MENA) which is currently experiencing strong growth, over 5% over the past two years. Concerns exist since this is insufficient to address the region's major development challenge, job creation. It will need 100 million new jobs over the next two decades. Three areas need reform: more open economies, more private sector involvement and diversification away from oil and gas. *Middle East, June 05.*

Integrating The Americas: FTAA and Beyond, eds **A. Estevadeoral et al**, Harvard Univ Press, 04. This is moving from concept to reality and once the imminent series of complex negotiations is completed. the process will determine the future of the Americas for several decades. Experts assess the prospects and probable impacts.

ENVIRONMENT

Policy Tools and Politics

The four-year **Millennium Ecosystem Assessment** reported gloomily that ecosystem damage is irreversible, likely to accelerate on the next half century and will counter moves to reduce poverty. Compiled by thirteen hundred experts from ninety-five countries, it includes a checklist of the benefits nations derive from ecosystems, and urged that economic values be assigned to these. GDP would no longer be the measure of life quality, or sustainability, *p547*. A summary of the checklist is discussed, **H. Mooney et al**, *pp. 561-562, Nature, 31 March, 05.*

S. Bocking, Trent University, Ont, questions the value of the concept "Ecological Footprint", *Alternatives Journal, Spring 04, pp 32-33*. While valuable, it is far from perfect, with such assumptions as that the resources used by humans are not then available to other species, or omitting who is consuming too much or too little and why. **G. McDonald, M. G. Patterson**,

Massey University, use an input-output method to investigate the ecological footprint of NZ's sixteen regions, and review the methodology of the concept. While Auckland is territorially the largest on per capita basis. it is the second lowest. *Ecological Economics, Vol. 50, 04, pp. 49-67.*

S. Bocking, Nature's Experts: Science, Politics, and the Environment, Rutgers University Press, 04 examines the vexed issues around the role of scientists in environmental politics, with special reference to current debates such as natural resource management How much does scientific neutrality and authority decline as scientists become emeshed in environmental/ political debates?

J. Stewart, G. Jones combine theory, conceptual analysis and Australian case studies in accessible style in **Renegotiating the Environment: the Power of Politics**, Federation Press, 03. They apply a new public policy framework "network governance", which encompasses negotiation, compromise and co-operation in relation to environmental policy, an approach which as a whole is still maturing.

Hazardous Coasts and Reefs

M. Jacobson, *Planning Quarterly, March 05*, comments that a review of **New Zealand Coastal Hazard Policies, 2004**, shows that while the amenity of coasts and beaches are embedded in the national psyche, coastal hazards, property protection and the natural character have low priority. Management of coastal hazards lacks community and local government awareness and support, especially in face of developmental pressures and coastal "squeeze". Seawalls are particularly demanded despite there being better management options especially natural buffer zones and beaches.

A **Royal Society**-commissioned report on the acidification of the oceans, a significant effect of global warming as excess carbon dioxide is absorbed, calls it an irreversible process. Marine ecosystems and their dependent economies are likely to be heavily affected, but more research is need into the process. Animals high in calcium carbonate such as lobsters, crabs, corals and fish with high oxygen needs

such as squid are most vulnerable, *New Scientist*, 9 July 05, p. 15. Coral reef experts **D. R. Bellwod et al**, *Review article, Nature*, June 04, confront the coral reef crisis, calling for urgent, upgrading reassessment of current research and management policies to improve resilience and cope with both human activities and uncertainties.

Environmental Dragon

The Rivers Run Black: The Environmental Challenge to China's Future, E. C. Economy, Cornell Univ. Press, 04. The present economic transformation of China has been matched by an accelerating downward spiral of environmental degradation starting centuries ago. The economic cost of this equals 8-12% of China's GDP, impelling some governmental response, but there is no historic environmental protection tradition and the bureaucratic system is inadequate to the challenge as yet. Three possible scenarios: -China goes Green, as a growing economy develops environmental protection outputs; Inertia sets in, more legislative environmental protection offsets rising vehicular consumption; Environmental meltdown, as the environment gets worse, the economy slows along with international investment.

J. Liu, J. Diamond, *Nature*, 30 June 05, examine China's environmental influence on a globalising world in terms of its domestic impact, the impacts abroad and its future. They offer six wide-ranging recommendations for domestic and international policies to offset the negative impacts, including more external support for the environmental NGOs.

Viewing environmental civil society in an authoritarian regime such as China, **J. Schwartz**, *Pacific Affairs*, Spring 04, concludes that while the environmental NGOs are gaining in power and influence they are still constrained by the state.

One aspect of China's environmental policies, an emission trading system to control sulphur in coal-fired power stations could be a successful but there are specific domestic problems to overcome. *Environment*, June 04.

The 4,8000km **Mekong** river is a key resource for six nations, serving wilderness or

agrarian areas with good quality water. Development schemes proposed for infrastructure along its course threaten the quality of the resource and the lifestyles of the people, especially the more vulnerable. Most ambitious development is underway in China's Yunnan province in the headwaters. Six huge hydro dams are either in production or underway. These threaten the security of water and resources supply for nations downstream. Despite a joint national river management system, there is limited overall control and China is ignoring protest. *Ecos*, April-May 05, pp. 8-11; *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 26 August 04, pp. 48-51; *Mekong Update and Dialogue*, April-June 05.

The Future of Large Dams: Dealing with the Social, Environmental and Political Costs, **T. Scudder**, Earthscan, 05. An international expert writes with authority and style about the major issues surrounding the role and future of these structures. He now believes that most of the gigantic ones impose unacceptable environmental and social costs.

The Continuing Saga

Abrupt changes in global or regional climates have happened and could do so again, **R. B. Alley**, *Scientific American*, Nov 04. Such changes are not predictable but the present unstable human-environmental imbalance facilitates the possibility. **J. Hansen et al**, a team of diverse experts, *Science*, 3 June 05, pp. 1431-1432, summarise the current modelling of the Earth's energy imbalance, as it absorbs more of the Sun's energy than it emits to space. Implications for ice sheets and sea levels are noted and the need for anticipatory actions. **F. Pearce** provides details of the implications of recent modelling which factors in cloud effects. The results are worrying, *New Scientist*, 24 July 04, pp. 45-47. Clouds are one of the three major feedback factors in the modelling system, along with ice and water vapour, which can be trigger much greater climate change sensitivity.

The Economist, 13 Nov, 04, pp. 89-90, summarises the implications of the latest report from the UN Climate Change Panel, concerning rapid polar warming, where the faster than

expected melting of the Greenland Icecap is the major concern. The poles are particularly sensitive to temperature changes because of the ice/snow reflection, they have a thinner atmosphere which warms faster with less solar energy evaporated than warmer areas.

Recent studies of the role of soils in climate change suggests that while there are variations, overall, over long periods such as centuries, decomposition of organic matter in soils could accumulate carbon dioxide for decades, but this will then fall if temperatures continue to rise. *Nature*, 20 Jan pp. 204-205.

Living In the Hothouse: How Global Warming Affects Australia, I. Lowe, Scribe, 05. A skilled communicator and experienced conservationist makes practical assessments and policy proposals.

Listing

Ecology in the Underworld, *Science, Special Section*, 11 June 04, the profound importance and the intensity of life in these vital few centimetres are only recently being investigated. News, views and reviews from experts open our horizons below our feet.

FUTURES THINKING

Imagining Australia

M. Duncan, A. Leigh, et al, **Imagining Australia: Ideas For Our Future**, Allen & Unwin, 04, focuses on big challenges and offers practical policy proposals. A. Leigh, *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, March, 05, outlines four. Firstly, a real debate about income inequality is needed, because this matters for a more ordered society with less political polarisation. Ideologies should give way to modest reforms. Secondly, lasting reconciliation with the nation's original inhabitants, based on hope and promise, using symbolism and programmes is needed. Thirdly, the reformed public service needs reinvigorating, with more flexible permeation between it, academia and the public sector. Fourthly, the level of citizen participation and the level of public debate needs overhaul. New voices in the media, a national

convention every decade to assess the Constitution, and even an annual national deliberation day could be explored.

Restructuring Australia: Regionalism, Republicanism and Reform of the Nation-state, W. Hudson, A. J. Brown, Eds, Federation Press, 04, offers a mix of perspectives:- theoretical, realist, expert and general, including a section on the implications of globalisation for the Australian governmental system, with comment about the growing inequalities.

Foresight

A. Aslan, M. A. Oner, *Futures Oct. 04*, use a checklist based on the integrated foresight model, to compare eight national foresight studies including NZ. Three "generations" or levels of foresight have developed and the outlines of fourth may be discerned.

R. Slaughter, *Futures Oct 04*, disuses the principles, structure and achievement of the Australian Foresight Institute, since its inception 1999. Experiences from the past have been applied but new integrated approaches are utilised in the studies. A series of useful monographs have been published, including No 4, J. Voros, **Reframing Environmental Scanning** <http://www.swin.edu.au/afi>

Facing Uncertainties

Shaping the Future, S. W. Popper et al, *Scientific American*, April 05. Decision making under uncertainty can be so frustrating that wrong or no decisions are made. An alternative framework is proposed focused on flexibility:- finding, testing and implementing policies that work regardless. Policies have built-in mechanisms to change with circumstances.

Catastrophe: Risk and Response, R. A. Posner, O.U.P. 04. Wildcards, with low probability but very high impact are subjected to a finely reasoned discussion by a US Federal judge who provides a valuable alternative perspective to the scientific or cost-benefit approach, though considering both.

World Affairs/ Peace/War
The Islamic Conundrum

Cultural studies expert **A. Mazrui**, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 25/5, 04, notes that earlier phases saw convergence of Islamic and Western values with divergence of empathy or a reversal. The current phase sees a divergence of inter-communal relations and even wider differences in values. A futuristic phrase could see the power of the Western (American) Empire circumscribed, reduction of western libertarian values and an Islam reconciled to modernity.

US Institute of Peace, Special Report, August 04, Ijtihad; Reinterpreting Islamic Principles for the Twenty-First Century. A panel of Islamic experts consider that the apparent choice between Islam and modernity is false. "Ijtihad", the interpretation and reasoning from sacred texts, must be revived, particularly regarding status of women, relationships between branches of the Faith and with non Islamic communities and around economic theories. This need not be for specialists only but open to those with creative imagination. Democracy and freedom are essential for this to occur and there is special responsibility on Muslim scholars in the West to lead this revival.

Futurist, Islamic commentator **Z. Sardar**, *New Statesman*, 8 August 05, pp. 12-15, reports that his recent tour of Islamic states for a BBC documentary revealed some dynamic developments in the responses to the radical conservative challenges. There are strong movements from below, or policies in some countries initiated from government, to encourage rethinking of Islamic traditions, in some cases without the Sharia, to embrace modernity and development as consistent with Islam, and to legalise equality for women children and minorities. Time and some western encouragement is needed.

Sardar, *New Statesman*, 25 July 05, pp. 18-19 calls for national understanding and support for angry young British Muslims of both sexes who are deeply frustrated with the lack of accountability shown by their elderly leaders. This forces them into the welcoming embrace of extremists. Poorly educated, overworked imams imported from Asia with little understanding of the host culture are part of the problem. A wide range of reforms are needed.

Two French interpreters offer profound

analysis of the neo-fundamentalist Islamic youth. **O. Roy**, *Globalised Islam: the Search for a New Ummah*, Columbia Univ. Press, 04, rev ed, explores the ideology and culture, which is essentially modern, forming a way of protesting against their parents generation. **The War for Muslim Minds**, **G. Kepel**, Bellnap, 04, focuses on the geopolitics and war.

D. M. Jones ed, *Globalisation and the New Terror: the Asia Pacific Dimension*, Edward Elgar, 04, provides a wide range of studies by international and Australian experts on the ideologies, security, preventive measures, terrorist networking, chemical and other threats, and a special focus on the S-P region including such aspects as narco-terrorism.

More specifically **J. Bertrand**, *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 04, delves into the past to situate the present conflicts as the assertion of claims for voice and share in allocation of resources, and also as contestation of the understanding of "the Nation" suppressed by the long periods of authoritarian rule. Indonesia as such is still in consolidation mode. **S. Jones**, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 59/2, 05, examines **Jemaah Islamiyah**, showing that it is rooted deeply in Indonesian history. Countering policies must appreciate that it is dynamic, responding flexibly to the various countries in which it operates and in which it recruits.

"Good Governance"?

M. Goldsmith, *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, August 05, critically applies the term "governance" (good or bad) to the Pacific microstate, Tuvalu. Development theory fits such a society into a neoliberal economic framework of individualistic entrepreneurship and effective political structure. Tuvalu and other very small states fit better in the MIRAB model (migration, remittances, aid and bureaucracy) Reciprocity, close linkages between church and society and society and bureaucracy are inevitable. Uncritical application of governance reflects the ambiguity in development theory over the location of power and agency.

The deteriorating economic and political situation in many Pacific Island states has led

outside donor agencies to prescribe more market and democratic reform. **E. Huffer**, *The Contemporary Pacific, Vol. 17/1 05*, argues that closer attention is needed to alternative views, with serious consideration about the social consequences of economic and financial change. More collaborative research is needed to establish how the local communities themselves perceive the "problems" of corruption etc, and to encourage a self-reflective, self-help approach to establishment of the values which improve access for local peoples to basic rights and services.

Of War and Weapons...

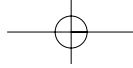
R. D. Kaplan, *The Atlantic Monthly, June 05*. A new decades-long Cold War is looming as the expansion of Chinese military and naval power extends, in pursuit of its legitimate interests, into the Pacific, to confront the US Pacific Command (PACOM). This large but nimble system recognises that the Pacific, not the Middle East, is the new strategic centre. NATO will become a strategic counterweight, in other areas, mostly as mobile naval operations. Existing US Pacific and S. E. Asian alliances will form the basis of a strengthened system to maintain a balance of power which can minimise recourse to war. Washington is less likely to suffer domestic restraints on its Pacific policies. The overall focus of US foreign policy will be defensive, on management of risk, because it may be easy to start a war with China but exiting is another matter. Despite China's significant commitments in defence spending, it will take several decades to match US capabilities. Its fibre-optic systems are moving underground, defense capabilities are shifting deep inland and development of an offensive strategy based on missiles is underway. Ambiguous coercion methods could be used against Taiwan or a US Asian ally, and specific Chinese demonstrations of strength can be expected. US response requires more unconventional capabilities, with three separate navies:- for off-shore bombing, using aircraft carriers; for littoral Special Operations and a third with stealth capabilities. The last two need further development. Guam is likely to be the major base for an increasingly flexible PACOM.

D. D. Kaye, *Arms Control Today, Nov 04*, argues that it is timely for US, Europe and Russia, to work together to foster a three-level, favourable climate for regional arms control in the Middle East. This will require both disarmament and confidence building measures. Iran's nuclear programme needs to be reined in, Israel must be involved along with its Arab neighbours and multi-lateral regional security talks revived. Much longer-term a Weapons of Mass Destruction Free Zone (WMDFFZ) could develop.

Bioterrorism: Preparedness and Response, **J. D. Blair et al**, Elsevier, 04, provides some sophisticated thinking and practical experience, particularly for dealing with unexpected, large scale problems, to preparing for these catastrophes. The health care system is particularly vulnerable and could act as multiplier of panic.

...and Peacekeeping

Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping: a Gendered Analysis, **S. Whitworth**, Lynne Renner, 04. The UN peacekeeping forces currently may increase local people's insecurity. Those in charge need to focus more on people, especially on women, to work with and listen to them. Peacekeeping is part of national identity, and being good international citizens. Mainstreaming gender concerns into the UN approach has enabled a "business as usual" approach to continue.



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