

**TOWSON UNIVERSITY
JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

DEDICATION

Dear Readers,

As you will undoubtedly notice, this is a special issue of our journal. It marks our 50th year in publication, a measure of longevity that both surprises and attests to the durability of our mission to publish scholarly commentary on international affairs that welcomes all informed perspectives, whether of senior scholars, perceptive undergraduate students, or anyone in between. Indeed, you will find in this issue examples of research from each kind of scholar. As you will also observe, this volume is dedicated to Dr. Eric A. Belgrad, a co-founder of this journal and the architect and guiding spirit of the Political Science Department at Towson University. Second only to the department itself in Eric's professional legacy, this journal embodies the vision, values, and efforts of a scholar and teacher astute and brave enough to recognize that thoughtful and engaged students can offer insight and analysis that deserve to be read alongside that of their teachers.

Neither a compendium of the best papers that the students attending a given university happen to have written in a given year, as with most publications that feature student writing, nor a traditional journal demanding professional credentials of its authors, the *Towson University Journal of International Affairs* is a hybrid, a peer-reviewed publication that critically evaluates submissions from all authors equally. It is highly unusual in this regard, and it could only have been created by an educator—or pair of educators; Peter P.T. Merani co-founded the journal with Eric—who respected their students enough to recognize the originality and discernment in their ideas. (This is not to say that most submissions are published. To the contrary, most undergo multiple revisions, if they are accepted at all.) When I joined the Towson faculty in 2006, the journal had long been a venerated institution within the Political Science department. Eric let me know within a couple of years of my arrival that he expected me to assume his position as its faculty advisor—but not until I earned tenure, because he wanted me to bring a level of dedication to his special project that would be misplaced for one needing to publish so as not to perish. Right on schedule, he passed the privilege of continuing his work to me shortly after I reached that milestone. As it turns out, this became a transition not only of the journal's leadership but also of its format, as the journal published its last hard-copy volume under Eric's stewardship and its first online issue under mine.

The unique challenges entailed in constructing an online ecosystem to accompany an online publication at first precluded much in-depth collaboration between Eric and I,

although he was always available for guidance when I needed it. But he and I had discussed this issue, this 50th anniversary celebration, as the occasion when we would really work closely together on the journal. He looked forward to digging into the journal's archives and revisiting its history. I, in turn, eagerly anticipated the opportunity to sit at the master's knee and glean the kinds of insights that come only with long experience. That was supposed to happen during the 2015-2016 academic year, and he bequeathed to me the bound volumes of the journal's back issues the summer before to help me prepare for this work. Tragically, this deep collaboration never happened. In September 2015, Eric passed away just as the school year began. On that day, our department lost its anchor: a celebrated teacher, the person who unmistakably made our department what it is today, a dear friend of the department's senior members, and a role model for its newer faculty. This special 50th anniversary issue thus partakes a certain bittersweetness, with the joyful sadness that comes of reflecting on Eric's life intertwining with our review of some notable articles taken from the journal that was always among his proudest accomplishments.

Scholarship, stereotypically, aspires to impartiality, generalizability, and sterile utility. Its value, however, inheres in its sticky adherence to lived relevance. We still read Plato, not because it's fun to be erudite about the writings of long dead white guys, but because his ideas help us to navigate the inevitable challenges confronting us as we seek to create and sustain a just political order. Universities, whence scholarship originates, exist not to cordon off their members from the wider world, but to deepen their preparation for full engagement with that world. In its own way, the *Towson University Journal of International Affairs* and Eric Belgrad synonymously came to embody the university's highest ideals. Dedicated to the dissemination of high-level scholarship but reflecting the solicitude of a to-the-core teacher, Eric created a journal that imbricated the department that he also created—attentive to current affairs, but concerned above all with their effects on the real people who comprise it. It is almost impossible to think about the journal separately from Eric, and because he created the journal in part as a vehicle for training advanced undergraduates in the ways of scholarly research and publication, the journal is equally coterminous with Towson's Political Science Department. According to Eric's vision, the journal and the students who create and sometimes contribute to it thus lie at the nexus where scholarship and democratic citizenship meet.

This issue is organized around its dual mandate of celebrating 50 years of this journal alongside the man who gave 50 years of his life to the institution included in its title. Part One presents three reflections from colleagues who knew Eric best. Nitza Nachmias co-authored a volume on humanitarian interventions with Eric; her essay exposes the wellspring of their concern with this topic. Jack Fruchtman, a leading authority and prolific scholar on constitutional law and Enlightenment political thought, reflects on his nearly 40 years as Eric's colleague and on how Eric shaped Towson's

Political Science department. Finally, Joseph Rudolph, the foremost authority on Kosovo and a widely published scholar of ethnic politics, recounts his years as Eric's closest friend. Both Joe and Jack, as leaders of the department that Eric built, have maintained his tradition of leading by example, as they serve as exemplars of teaching excellence and scholarly productivity on a level that seems almost impossible at a teaching-intensive university such as Towson. All three essays detail exquisitely the character of the man whose loss remains deeply felt.

Part Two of the issue offers examples of Eric's own published writings from these pages. In the first, Eric responds to Richard A. Falk's article from 1970 in which Falk argues that the Vietnam War rested on misguided assumptions about Chinese military ambitions and American interests in quelling nationalist revolutionary movements in East and Southeast Asia; Falk advocated a complete reversal of US foreign policy in the region, including pulling out of Vietnam. Eric's response was to agree with Falk's diagnosis but reject his suggestion that America's Vietnam policy reflected a deeper ideological predisposition towards imperialism that needed to be reined in. For Eric, Vietnam was an aberration, and a realist approach to foreign policy was both desirable and likely to mark the future of American foreign policy. His 1971 review of Isaac Deutscher's collection of writings about the Soviet Union and China, meanwhile, which he characterized as "quite unsatisfactory as a serious analytical work," showcases both Eric's flair with language and willingness to offer unvarnished, withering appraisals of work that he found subpar. In contrast, his 1972 book review is notable, among other reasons, for offering a critique of a book written by his dissertation chair, Robert W. Tucker (who also published in the journal). Publicly reviewing the research of one's mentor is not for the faint of heart, which is perhaps why it is unsurprising that Eric did it.

No better explanation of the 1994 article co-authored with Nitza Nachmias can be offered than that which Nitza herself provides in her tribute to Eric. This article is a product of the research that Eric and Nitza undertook in preparation of their volume, *The Politics of International Humanitarian Aid Operations*. As with Eric's other research, a realist sensibility suffuses this analysis despite the fact that both its subject matter and general conclusions depart somewhat from orthodox realism. Indeed, it is fairly unusual that an individual who wrote a dissertation on international law would identify so closely with the school of thought considered to be most hostile to it. But a realist writing about international law somehow sounds right and is consistent with Eric's beliefs: conservative yet contrarian, and hard to argue against.

In Part Three, we offer a representative sampling of the articles that have appeared in these pages over the last 50 years. Included are analyses of contemporary issues from distinguished scholars who first presented their papers at Towson's Earle T. Hawkins Symposium on International Affairs, as well as fine examples of student research, such as Jake Loewner's critique of Obama's drone policy, Evelin Andrespok's explanation of South Africa's decision to halt its nuclear program, and Oliver C. Dziggel's analysis of

sanctions as an instrument of US foreign policy. We selected the articles included in Part Three not only because they are fine works of scholarship in their own right, but also because they demonstrate the breadth of the journal's compass in terms of author, subject matter, and analytic perspective.

One nice benefit of surveying scholarly interpretations of contemporary issues is the vantage on history that retrospection can subsequently provide. For example, Michael Curtis (who remains a productive 91-year-old scholar at Princeton), offered an analysis of the prospects for peace between Egypt and Israel under Anwar Sadat and Menachim Begin in our Fall 1978 issue—before hindsight allowed us to declare the Camp David Accords the signal achievement (by far) in an otherwise barren history of progress in that troubled region. Similarly, in our Fall 1992 issue, Harry G. Kyriakodis, then a law school student at Temple University, compared the 1917 Bolshevik revolution with the 1991 coup ousting Mikhail Gorbachev, and in doing so provides readers today with a sharp reminder of how unsettling those tumultuous events seemed at the time. Presumably, we will soon look back on Jake Loewner's aforementioned examination of drone warfare in a similar light, as a reminder of how analysts once thought about a controversial issue that was still new and shrouded in skepticism and legal uncertainty.

International law is a subject that has received considerable attention from a variety of perspectives throughout the journal's history. Linda Bishai, for example, examined the tension inherent in the international legal imperatives of justice and state-centrism in her 1999 article about Bosnia-Herzegovina. Richard R. Baxter, who was a Professor of Law at Harvard University and Editor-in-Chief of the *American Journal of International Law* when he published his article on the legal dimensions of the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1971, likewise finds tensions embedded in international legal requirements, although his emphasis lies in the inevitability of resolving such tensions by resorting to politics, not law. Finally, Quincy Wright's 1969 discussion of peacekeeping missions and conflict resolution rued the degree to which great-power conflicts inevitably undermined the effectiveness of peacekeeping efforts.

The last two articles included in Part Three illustrate the breadth of the journal's concerns. In a collaboration that in some ways perfectly captures the spirit of the journal, David W. Dent and his undergraduate student Carol O'Brien co-authored a 1977 examination of the politics sustaining an American embargo of Cuba that seemed as unable to achieve its objectives then as it did when President Obama finally eased them almost 40 years later (and, in doing so faced the same kind of political backlash that Dent and O'Brien would have expected). Finally, James C. Roberts's 2002 exploration of the internet's political possibilities using the analytic leverage provided by constructivist theory offered an original study of two subjects—the internet and constructivist theory—that were each just coming into their own when the article was first published. What gives Roberts's analysis distinctive value—and the same can be said of all of these articles—is that it not only opens a window on an interesting “historical” issue (as that

iteration of the pre-social media internet appears from today's perspective), but it also does so with a rigor and insight that helps us to make sense of contemporary issues as well. The articles in Part Three are presented in reverse chronological order; in keeping with the journal's mission and spirit, we see no need to place the students' articles in a different category than that of distinguished scholars such as Quincy Wright and Richard A. Falk.

As the journal marks its 50th anniversary with this issue, we find ourselves in the midst of exciting and transformative times, not only for our publication, but more importantly for the country and the world. Donald Trump's ascendancy to the most powerful office in the world has challenged our inherited expectations about the nature and scope of America's global role. Some of these expectations concern issues that most analysts had not only considered long settled, but had regarded as sufficiently well settled as to be unworthy of even revisiting. An American president openly questioning the commitment of the United States to NATO or free trade, for example—even if half-heartedly or facetiously—is akin to a baker questioning the value of flour. To paraphrase Donald Rumsfeld, some of these pronouncements about US foreign policy qualify as “unexpected unexpecteds”: they are not only unexpected, but one should not have expected that a surprise could possibly be hidden in the topic. In all probability, the US will remain in NATO, and its fundamental support of free trade will continue. But these proposals provide a healthy reminder that we can never take the status quo for granted.

In times like these, fresh insights from serious analysts are more vital than ever, and the perspective of youth, of our undergraduate colleagues, acquires perhaps even greater salience than ever. Unencumbered by decades of fixed expectations, they can greet new developments with the nimbleness and intellectual agility of youth. They are also adept in the ways of technology and social media in a way that their more learned peers can never match. Consequently, the journal has been rapidly evolving in a process the Eric Belgrad anticipated as necessary when he converted it to an online format. For example, the journal's web site now features blogs analyzing current events from a variety of perspectives. Most of these are written by our students, although our readers are invited to propose blogs of their own. In addition, over the coming academic year, we anticipate adding additional multimedia formats to our website, such as podcasts, to provide new ways for our readers to engage the issues surrounding world politics.

To be sure, the journal will continue to publish research from professors and advanced graduate students. We strongly encourage advanced scholars as well as their students to submit their research papers for publication. We remain ideologically agnostic and methodologically diverse. Eric A. Belgrad and Pete Merani first published this journal 50 years ago and featured undergraduate studies alongside articles written by some of the world's foremost authorities in international affairs. As we embark on the next stage of the journal's history, we remain deeply cognizant of that heritage. Blogs,

websites, and social media are wonderful means of communicating ideas. But the key word in that sentence is “ideas.” The *Towson University Journal of International Affairs* remains committed first and foremost to the respectful exchange of evidence-based analyses and insights about international affairs, whether they come from chaired professors at Ivy League universities or undergraduate students at state universities. This was Eric’s vision, and it remains our mission. We hope you continue contributing to this exchange for the next 50 years too.

Dr. Paul T. McCartney
Faculty Advisor