

## **Astri Suhrke – curriculum vitae**

<i>Current position:</i>	Senior Research Fellow, Chr. Michelsen Institute	<i>Address:</i>	Chr. Michelsen Institute P.O. Box 6033 Postterminalen 5892 Bergen Norway
<i>Nationality:</i>	Norwegian	<i>Phone:</i>	55 57 43 77 or 55 57 40 00
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### ***Key Qualifications***

Astri Suhrke is a political scientist with broad experience in academic and applied research. She has worked on the social, political and humanitarian consequences of violent conflict, and strategies of response. More recently, she has focused on the politics of humanitarian policies in the UN system, concepts of human security and peacebuilding. She has led several research projects funded by the Research Council of Norway: The Multilateral Aid system (2001-03); Aid in Post-Conflict Situations (2003-05), and Violence in the Post-Conflict State (2005-08). She is currently working on strategies of post-war reconstruction and statebuilding, with particular reference to Afghanistan. Her most recent books are *When More is Less. The International Project in Afghanistan* (forthcoming 2011), *The Peace In Between: Post-War Violence and Peacebuilding* (co-edited anthology, forthcoming 2011) and *Roads to Reconciliation* (2005) (co-edited anthology).

Astri Suhrke has participated in projects commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, various UN agencies (particularly UNHCR), SIDA, DANIDA, the Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation, DFID, the World Bank and UNDP. She is a member of a committee of experts serving the Norwegian Nobel Committee.

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### ***Education***

- **Ph.D. and M.A.,**  
In International Relations, the Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, Colorado, USA, 1969  
Ph.D. thesis: "Small-state behavior in a regional defence alliance: The role of Norway and Belgium in NATO".
- **Norwegian Academy of Journalism**  
Oslo, 1961

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### ***Professional Experience***

**Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen, Norway**  
Senior Research Fellow, 1992- present

**Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C.,**  
Resident Associate, 1995-1999

**The American University, Washington, D.C.**  
Professor of International Relations, 1984-91

**The Norwegian Labour Party Newspaper, *Arbeiderbladet* for New Delhi, India (1985-88) and Washington**

Columnist and regular correspondent

**School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi**

Visiting Fellow, 1985-88

**School of International Service, The American University, Washington**

Assistant, later Associate Professor, D.C., 1972-1984

**Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway**

Visiting Fellow, 1975 (Summer)

**School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C.,**

Visiting Research Fellow, 1971

**Monash University, Melbourne (Australia)**

Senior Teaching Fellow, 1969-70

**Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University** Visiting Research Fellow, 1968-69

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*Project Experience*

- **Conciliatory approaches to the insurgency in Afghanistan: An overview.** 2009. Report prepared for the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Team leader.
- **Voluntary Return of Afghan asylum seekers from Norway.** 2007-2008A report prepared for the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration. Team member.
- **Peace Processes and Statebuilding. Economic and Institutional Provisions of Peace Agreements.** 2007. Team leader for a report prepared for the World Bank and UNDP. With Torunn Wimpelmann and Marcia Dawes
- **Afghanistan Two Years After Bonn.** CMI 2004. Report commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. With Arne Strand and Kristian Berg Harpviken. Team leader.
- Team leader for Afghanistan case study in **A Review of Peace Operations, A Case for Change**, study commissioned by DFIF through King's College London, 2003
- **Peacebuilding Strategies for Afghanistan.** Part I and **A Decade of Peacebuilding. Lessons for Afghanistan.** Part II. Team leader, study commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2002.
- **The Kosovo refugee crisis – an independent evaluation of UNHCR's emergency preparedness and response.** Team leader, study commissioned by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2000
- **Early Warning and Conflict Management. The International Response to Conflict and Genocide. Lessons from the Rwanda Experience.** Team member in multinational evaluation co-ordinated by Danida, 1996

- **Conflict and humanitarian assistance in Africa: a Nordic-African dialogue.** Project leader, commissioned by Norad, 1998-2002
- **Reconciliation and Rehabilitation in Mozambique.** Project leader for evaluation of Norwegian assistance to peacebuilding, commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1997
- **States and Refugees.** Study commissioned by the World Bank for the World Development Report, 1997
- **Development of an organizational research strategy.** Commissioned by UNHCR, 1994
- **Strategies to reduce outmigration.** Expert testimony for conference jointly organised by UNHCR and ILO, 1992
- **Asylum policies in Asia.** Study commissioned by UN/ECE Expert Group Meeting, 1991
- **Environmental change and migration.** Study commissioned by American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1990-92
- **NORAD's projects in India and Bangladesh.** Reports commissioned by the Norwegian international development agency (NORAD), 1987
- **Preparation of The Asia-Pacific Report.** Commissioned by the East-West Center, Honolulu, 1986 and 1987
- **Evaluation of the Ford Foundation's social science program in the Philippines** Commissioned by the Ford Foundation, 1986
- **Refugee policy** .Expert testimony to the House Judiciary Committee, U.S. Congress, 1981
- **Substudy on development administration, in preparation for the World Development Report.** Commissioned by World Bank, 1980
- **Political and economic impact of Indochinese refugees on countries of first asylum and U.S. policy.** Study commissioned by the United States Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, 1979-80
- **Political risk analysis, Thailand.** Commissioned by Frost & Sullivan Inc. ,1979-85
- **Integration policies in Thailand.** Studies commissioned by the U.S. Department of State, 1979-80

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### *Language Skills*

Mother tongue: Norwegian

	Write			Speak			Understand		
	Excellent	Good	Basic	Excellent	Good	Basic	Excellent	Good	Basic
English	X			X			X		
German			X			X		X	
French			X			X		X	

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### ***Long-term Assignments Abroad***

- New Delhi, India, 1985-88
- Frequent research visits/field work to Thailand, to Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines, 1969-79; Afghanistan, 1987-present

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### ***Publications***

#### **BOOKS, monographs and commissioned reports:**

*When More is Less: The international project in Afghanistan*, London: Hurst&Co, and New York: Columbia University Press, 2011 (forthcoming)

*The Peace In Between: Post-War Violence and Peacebuilding*. New York and London: Routledge, co-editor with Mats Berdal, 2011 (forthcoming).

*Conciliatory approaches to the insurgency in Afghanistan: An overview*. CMI Report, 2009, With Torunn Wimpelmann Chaudhary, Aziz Hakimi, Kristian Berg Harpviken, Akbar Sarwari and Arne Strand.

*Peace Processes and Statebuilding: Economic and Institutional Provisions of Peace Agreements* (2007). Report prepared for the World Bank and UNDP. With Torunn Wimpelmann and Marcia Dawes .

*When More is Less. Aiding Statebuilding in Afghanistan*. Madrid: Fride, Working Paper no 26, pp. 1-26. Also published as *Cuando más es menos: Contribuir a la construcción del Estado en Afganistán*.

*Roads to Reconciliation* (2005): Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2005, 318 p. Co-editor with Elin Skaar and Siri Gloppen

*Governance interventions in post-war situations: Lessons learned*. Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI Report R 2005: 1) 22 p. with Vibeke Wang and Elling N. Tjønneland.

*Conflictual Peacebuilding: Afghanistan Two Years After Bonn*. CMI 2004. Report commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Principal author.

*Eroding Local Capacity. Humanitarian Action in Africa*. Uppsala, Nordic Institute of African Studies, 2003. Co-editor with Monica Kathina Juma, and author of two chapters.

*A Decade of Peacebuilding. Lessons for Afghanistan*. Report prepared for the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2002, principal author and editor.

*The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Conflict from Uganda to Zaire*, New Brunswick: Transaction Press, 1999. Co-editor with Howard Adelman and author of individual chapters.

*Early Warning and Conflict Management, Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda*. Copenhagen, Danida, 1996, with Howard Adelman and Bruce Jones.

*Research Management Project: Report for UNHCR*, Geneva: UNHCR, 1994. Report prepared for UNHCR, Geneva, with Henk van Goethem.

*Evaluation of Norwegian Assistance to Peace, Reconciliation and Rehabilitation in*

*Mozambique*, report prepared for the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, UD report 4, 1997. Principal author and editor.

*Den Perfekte Fienden*, Oslo: Cappelen, 1991. In Norwegian ("The Perfect Enemy"). Co-authored with Eva Bratholm.

*Det andre Afghanistan*, Oslo: Cappelen, 1990. In Norwegian ("The Other Afghanistan").

*Escape From Violence: Conflict and Refugee Movements in the Developing World*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. Co-authored with Aristide Zolberg and Sergio Aguayo. Dutch translation, *Vluchten voor geweld*, Amsterdam: Sua, 1992

*Pressure Points. Environmental Degradation, Migration and Conflict*, Cambridge, Mass.: American Academy of Arts and Sciences. 1993 Monograph.

*Strategies of Survival: Foreign Policy Dilemmas of Smaller Asian States*, Brisbane: Queensland University Press, 1978; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979; Tokyo: Simul Press, 1981. Co-authored with Charles Morrison.

*Indochinese Refugees: The Impact on First Asylum Countries and Implications for U.S. Policy*, report prepared for U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, Washington, D.C., GPO: January 1981. Monograph.

*Ethnic Conflict and International Relations*, New York: Praeger, 1977. Editor and author of three chapters, with Lela Garner Noble).

*SEATO: Rethinking Regionalism*, Canberra: Australian National University, Research School of Pacific Studies, 1969. Monograph

## **ARTICLES and CHAPTERS in edited books:**

### **2011**

"Conflict and Development." In *Introduction to International Development. Approaches, Actors and Issues*, edited by Paul A. Haslam, Jessica Schafer and Pierre Beaudet. Don Mills, Canada: Oxford University Press, 2nd ed., forthcoming. With Torunn Wimpelmann Chaudhary.

"The Peace In Between." In *The Peace In Between: Post-War Violence and Peacebuilding*, edited by Astri Suhrke and Mats Berdal. New York and London: Routledge (forthcoming)

"Exogenous State-Building." In *The Rule of Law in Afghanistan*, edited by Whit Mason. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.225-48.

"From Conflict to Peace-Building." In *Politics in the Developing World*, edited by Peter Burnell, Vicky Randall and Lise Rakner, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3rd ed., pp. 241-56. With Torunn Wimpelmann Chaudhary.

"Virtues of a Narrow Mission: The UN Peace Operation in Nepal," *Global Governance* 17, no. 1, pp. 37-55.

### **2010**

"La Route vers Marjah," *Politique Américaine*, No 17 (Automne), pp. 79-94.

## 2009

"The Dangers of a Tight Embrace: Externally Assisted Statebuilding in Afghanistan." In *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding. Confronting the Contractions of Postwar Peace Operations*, edited by Roland Paris and Timothy D. Sisk. London: Routledge, pp. 226-51.

"Afghanistan: Justice Sector Reform." In *New Perspectives on Liberal Peacebuilding*, edited by Edward Newmann, Roland Paris and Oliver P. Richmond. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, pp. 178-200. With Kaja Borchgrevink.

"Negotiating Justice Sector Reform in Afghanistan," *Crime, Law and Social Change* 51, no. 2, pp 211-30. With Kaja Borchgrevink

"Conflict and Development." In *Introduction to International Development. Approaches, Actors and Issues*, edited by Paul A. Haslam, Jessica Schafer and Pierre Beaudet. Don Mills, Canada: Oxford University Press, pp. 384-405. With Torunn Wimpelmann Chaudhary.

## 2008

"Democratizing a Dependent State: The Case of Afghanistan," *Democratization*, vol. 15, no. 3

"The Dangers of a Tight Embrace: Aid and Dependency in Afghanistan," in Roland Paris and Tim Sisk (eds.), *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding. Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace Operations*. Routledge.

## 2007

"Reconstruction as Modernization. The 'Post-Conflict' Project in Afghanistan." *Third World Quarterly*. Vol. 28, no 7:1291-1308.

"What's in a Figure: Estimating Recurrence of Civil War," *International Peacekeeping* vol. 14 no. 2:195-203. With Ingrid Samset.

Post-war Aid: Patterns and Purposes" with Julia Buckmaster, reprinted in Deborah Eade and Tony Vaux, eds.: *Development and Humanitarianism. Practical Issues*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, pp. 51-64.

## 2006

"Überall Fallstricke. Warum Modernisierung in Afghanistan noch nie als Fortschritt erlebt wurde." *Der Überblick*. vol. 42 no. 4 : 58-61

Aid, Growth and Peace: A Comparative Analysis, *Conflict, Security & Development*, vol. 6 no. 3:337-363. With Julia Buckmaster

## 2005

"Postwar aid: Patterns and purposes" in *Development in Practice*, vol. 15 no. 6. With Julia Buckmaster.

”Economic Aid to Post-Conflict Countries: A Methodological Critique of Collier and Hoeffler”, *Conflict, Security and Development*, vol. 5 no. 3. With Espen Villanger and Susan L. Woodward.

“Comprehending ‘Evil’: Challenges for Law and Policy”, with Douglas Klusmeyer. Reprinted in Ivar Kolstad and Hugo Stokke, eds.: *Writing Rights: Human Rights Research at the Chr.Michelsen Institute 1984-2004*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget pp. 189-208.

“The logic of conflictual peacebuilding” in Sultan Barakat, ed.: *After the Conflict: Reconstruction and Development in the Aftermath of War*. London/N.Y.: I.B. Tauris, 2005, pp. 141-154, with Arne Strand.

## 2004

“Between Principles and Politics: Lessons from Iraq for Humanitarian Action,” *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 17(3):273-287. With Douglas Klusmeyer.

“The Security Council and the Rwanda genocide,” in David Malone (ed.). *The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Boulder: Lynn Rienner. With Howard Adelman.

“Fredsbygning og demokrati - Øst-Timor, Mozambique og Afghanistan” *Politik*, 7(2): 33-42.

## 2003

“Afghanistan”, in *A Review of Peace Operations. A Case for Change*. London:King’s College London, pp. 325-368. Principal author.

“Human Security and the Protection of Refugees,” in Edward Newman and Joanne van Selm (eds.), *Refugees and Forced Displacement: International Security, Human Vulnerability, and the State*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.

## 2002

“Lessons from the Kosovo Refugee Crisis: Innovations in Protection and Burden-Sharing”, in Daniele Joly (ed.), *Global Changes in Asylum Regimes*, London: Palgrave Macmillan. With Michael Barutsciski. Reprint.

## 2001

”Environmental Security,” in Brian C. O’Neill; F. Landis MacKellar and Wolfgang Lutz (eds.), *Population and Climate Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.171-178. Reprint.

”UNHCR : Uphill into the future,” with Kathleen Newland, *International Migration Review*, 35(1): 242-260.

”Ondskap og FN-politikk,” *Mennesker og Rettigheter*, 19 (1): 4-10.

”Lessons from the Kosovo Refugee Crisis: Innovations in Protection and Burden-sharing,”

with Michael Barutciski, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 14 (2): 95-115.

"Peacekeepers as Nation-builders: Dilemmas of the UN in East Timor," *International Peacekeeping*, 8(4):1-20.

### 2000

"From One Crisis to Another: Organisational Learning in UNHCR", in Jerker Carlsson and Lennart Wohlgemuth (eds.), *Learning in Development Cooperation*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, pp.69-87.

"Preventive Diplomacy in Rwanda: Failure to Act or Failure of Actions Taken?," with Bruce Jones, in Bruce W. Jentleson (ed.), *Opportunities Missed, Opportunities Seized: Preventive Diplomacy in the Post-Cold War World*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, pp.238-264.

### 1999

"Human Security and the Interests of States," *Security Dialogue*, 30 (3): 265-276.

### 1998

"Population", in Rayner S. and E.L. Malone (eds.), *Human Choice and Climate Change: An International Assessment*, (4. vols.), vol. 1 (co-author), Washington DC: Batelle Press.

"Burden-sharing during Refugee Emergencies: The Logic of Collective vs. National Action", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, vol.11, no.4 .

"Dilemmas of Protection: The Log of the Kigali Battalion," *International Peacekeeping*, vol.5, no.2.

"Facing Genocide: The Record of the Belgian Battalion in Rwanda," *Security Dialogue*. Vol. 29, no. 1.

"Three phases of prevention: a retrospective analysis of the Rwandan genocide," in Ulf Engel and Andres Mehler (eds.), *Gewaltsame Konflikte und ihre Prävention in Afrika*. Hamburg: Institut für Afrika-kunde.

*Humanitarian Assistance and Conflict: A State-of-the Art Report*. (with Bente Hybertsen and Gro Tjore), Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute, report 2:1998.

"Rwanda: Hverken retteferdighet eller fred", (with Anette Frøyland and Ann-Charlotte Nilsson) i Elin Skår and Bård-Anders Andreassen (eds.), *Forsoning eller Rettferdighet? Om beskyttelse av menneskerettighetene gjennom sannhetskommisjoner og rettsribunaler*, Oslo: Cappelen Akademisk Forlag

### 1997

"UN Peacekeeping in Rwanda," in Gunnar Sørbo and Peter Vale (eds.). *Out of Conflict. From War to Peace in Africa*. Uppsala: Nordic African Institute.

"Environmental Degradation, Migration, and the Potential for Violent Conflict", in N.P. Gleditsch (ed.). *Conflict and the Environment*, The Hague: Kluwer.

"Preventive Diplomacy in Rwanda: Failure to Act, or Failure of Actions Taken?" with



Bruce Jones, in Bruce W. Jentleson (ed.) *Preventive Diplomacy*, Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, Washington D.C.

"Responsibility Sharing", with Asha Hans, in J.C. Hathaway (ed.), *Reconceiving International Refugee Law*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff/Kluwer.

#### 1996

"Environmental Change, Migration, and Conflict: A Lethal Feedback Dynamic?" in Chester A. Crocker, et.al.(eds.), *Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict*, Washington, D.C.:United States Institute of Peace.

"Feilschen während Ruanda brennt," *DerÜberblick* (Hamburg), (March), with Howard Adelman.

Early Warning and Response: Why the International Community Failed to Prevent the Genocide," *Disasters*, vol.20, no.4 (December), with Howard Adelman.

"Mediene og folkemordet i Rwanda," *Mennesker og Rettigheter* (Oslo),vol.14, no.3.

#### 1995

"Quelle politique face aux migrations forcees?" *Esprit*, February, 134-154. With Arisitide Zolberg.

"Analysing the causes of contemporary refugee flows," *Causes of international migration* Luxembourg: Eurostat, 201-222.

"Refugees in the Muslim World: Concepts, Law and Practice", in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Muslim World*, ed. John L. Esposito, New York: Oxford University Press, 421-425, with Vemund Aarbakke.

"Refugees and Asylum in the Muslim World," in *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, ed. Robin Cohen, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 457-460.

#### 1994

"Who is a Refugee? The Definition of Beneficiaries Revisited", in Ong Jin Hui et.al. (ed.) *Asian Transmigration*, Singapore: Simon & Schuster.

"Towards a Comprehensive Refugee Policy: Social Conflict and Refugees in the Post-Cold War World", in *Aid in Place of Migration*, ed. W.R. Bohning and M-L.Schloeter-Paredes, Geneva: ILO, 13-38.

"Environmental Degradation and Population Flows", *Journal of International Affairs*, 47:2, 473-96.

#### 1993

"Safeguarding the Right to Asylum", Paper prepared for a UN Expert Group meeting on population distribution and migration, in Santa Cruz (Bolivia), January 16-23 1993, published in *Population Distribution and Migration*, New York: United Nations: ST/ESA/SER.R/133

"Flyktninger i den muslimske verden: begrep, rett og praksis", *Internasjonal Politikk* (Oslo), 51 (2).

"A Crisis Diminished: Refugees in the Developing World", *International Journal* (Toronto); XLVIII:2.

"Migration, State and Civil Society in Southeast Asia", in Myron Weiner (ed.) *International Migration and Security*, Boulder: Westview Press.

**1992**

"Jenseits der Flüchtlingskrise. Entspannung und dauerhafte Lösungen für die sich entwickelnde Welt," in *Sozialwissenschaftliche Studien über das Weltflüchtlingsproblem*, ed. Jochen Blaschke and Andreas Germershausen, Berlin: Parabolis, 11-52.

**1991**

"Refugees in Asia: Problems and Practices of Asylum for Indochinese and Afghan Refugees". Paper prepared for a UN/ECE informal expert group meeting, UN/ECE:Geneva, July 16-19.

"The Refugee Definition", in *American Casebook Series (Law)*, Thomas A. Aleinikoff and David Marin (eds.). St. Paul, Minn: West Publishing Co.

**1990**

"Focus on: Afghanistan", *Journal of Peace Research*, no.3, 1990

**1989**

"Beyond the Refugee Crisis: Disengagement and Durable Solutions for the Developing World", *Migration* (Berlin), no.5. With Aristide Zolberg.

**1987**

"Contrasting Patterns of Asian Refugee Movements: The Vietnam and Afghan Syndrome," in James Fawcett and Fred Arnold, eds. *Pacific Bridges: Asian Migration to the United States* New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1987.

**1986**

"International Factors in the Formation of Refugees" *International Migration Review*, vol. 20, special issue (1986). With Aristide Zolberg and Sergio Aguayo.

"Issues of Peace and Development in Southeast Asia," *The Social Scientist*, no. 4, 1986.

**1983**

"Thailand: Implementing a New Plan," *Current History*, April, 1983.

"Global Refugee Movements and Strategies of Response," in Mary M. Kritz, ed., *U.S. Immigration and Refugee Policy*, Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1983.

"Indochinese Refugees: The Law and Politics of First Asylum," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May 1983.

**1981**

"Thailand," in Mohammed Ayob (ed.), *The Politics of Islamic Reassertion*. London: Croom Helm, 1981.

*Indochinese Refugees: Special Needs of Women, and Refugee Women in First Asylum Camps: The Indochinese in Thailand*, Equity Policy Center, Washington, D.C. 1981 (mimeo).

"ASEAN: Adjusting to New Regional Alignments," *Asia Pacific Community*, Spring 1981.

"Indochinese Refugees and American Policy," *World Today*, February 1981.

"Protection of Minorities in Southeast Asia," in Robert Wirsing (ed.) *Protection of Ethnic Minorities: Comparative Perspectives*, New York: Pergamon Press, 1981.

"Indochina: The Nemesis of ASEAN?" With Hans Indorf, *Southeast Asian Affairs* Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 1981.

**1980**

"Moslems in Süd-Thailand," in Jürgen Hohnholz (ed.), *Thailand*.Tübingen: Horst Erdmann Verlag für Internationalen Kulturaustausch, 1980.

**1979**

"Thailand: Politics as Usual," *Current History*, December 1979.

**1977**

"Loyalists and Separatists: The Muslims in Southern Thailand," *Asian Survey*, March 1977.

*Refugees and International Strategic Issues*, York University, Toronto. Centre for Refugee Studies

**1975**

"Irredentism Contained: The Thai Muslim Case," *Comparative Politics*, January 1975.

"U.S.-Philippines: The End of a Special Relationship?" *World Today*, February 1975.

**1973**

"The Thai Muslim Border Provinces: Some National Security Aspects," in R.H. Ho and T.E. Chapman (eds.), *Studies of Contemporary Thailand*, Australian National University Press, 1973.

"Gratuity or Tyranny: The Korean Alliance," *World Politics*, July 1973.

**1972**

"Thailand: Yet Another Coup," *World Today*, March 1972.

**1971**

"Some Aspects of Minority Integration: The Thai Muslims," *Pacific Affairs*, Winter 1970-71.

"Smaller Nation Diplomacy: Thailand's Current Dilemmas," *Asian Survey*, May 1971.

Three chapters in a textbook on international relations, ed by Max Teichman, *Power and Politics*, Sydney: Cassel, 1971.

"Political Rituals and Developing Nations: The Case of the Philippines," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, September 1971.

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