

# UC San Diego Newsletters

**Title**

Newsletter Fall 1997

**Permalink**

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/39g4x2p3>

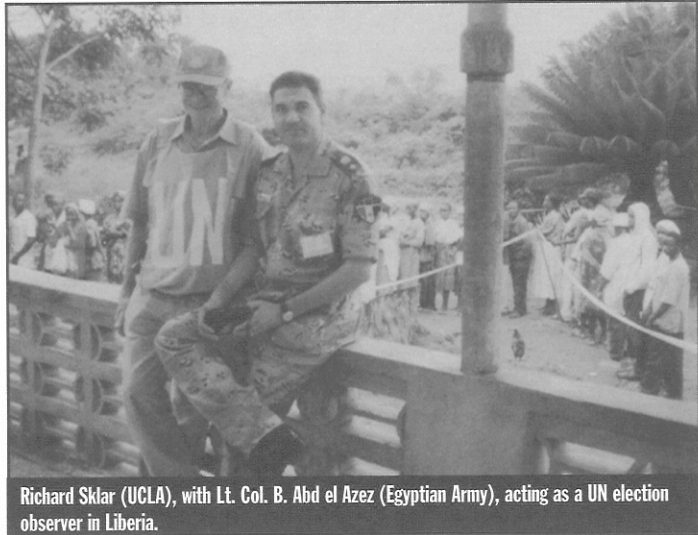
**Publication Date**

1997-09-01

## Whither States?

RECENTLY, UC IRVINE'S Dorothy Solinger lead a high-powered conference that explored whether we are experiencing a post-Westphalian transition of the world system. The conclusion: that states and sovereignty are alive and well (p. 3). States, for example, still hold the keys to issues of global migration and border controls, as discussed at a UC Riverside workshop organized by Steven Cullenberg (p. 12). States' internal affairs also have international ramifications, as explored in David Rapoport's headline article below, and related *Viewpoints* (pp. 8-9) and *Feature* (pp. 5-7), which examine especially the causes and effects of, and cures for, internal violence in states undergoing transitions to democracy (p. 3).

IGCC research director Barbara Walter has launched a project on durable settlements in states emerging from civil wars (p. 13), to test the hypothesis that such settlements are impossible without careful construction of state structures under external guarantors. IGCC's Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (pp. 10-11) has consistently found that bilateral ties between states significantly im-



Richard Sklar (UCLA), with Lt. Col. B. Abd el Azez (Egyptian Army), acting as a UN election observer in Liberia.

pact what multilateral achievements are possible. These last two propositions have significant ramifications for ongoing multilateral efforts in the Middle East—where much of the difficulty centers on the appropriate constitution and institutionalization of effective state structures (p. 4). ♣

## Democracy and Dissent

A DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTIC of democracies is the provision of institutionalized ways for expressing dissent and settling grievances. This property leads most to believe that democracies are less likely to experience violence for domestic political purposes, certainly when compared with other political forms. Hence the aphorism "ballots are substitutes for bullets," and the readiness to explain repeated instances of violence in states which accept democratic principles as the expected experiences of a people before they have become accustomed to democratic forms. But is this conventional wisdom a conventional prejudice?

Leonard Weinberg and William Eubank (political science, University of Nevada, Reno), in a series of articles, showed that terrorist activity is much more com-

mon in democratic states, even mature ones, than in any other form. Can the democratic ethos itself sometimes be a pre-eminent source of violence?

On Sept. 12-14, twelve scholars from four disciplines assembled at the Stanford Chalet near Lake Tahoe to discuss the issue and exchange views on some general relationships of democracy and violence. An engrossing subject, interesting papers, knowledgeable participants, and an intimate setting generated fruitful discussions. Weinberg and David C. Rapoport (political science, UC Los Angeles) convened the conference, financed by contributions from IGCC, UCLA's Center for International Relations, Institute for the Study of Overseas Programs, and Center for European and Russian Studies, and Weinberg's home institution.

*Continued p. 2*

### IN THIS ISSUE:

#### FEATURE: From Bullets to Ballots

Richard Sklar on Elections in Liberia .....	5-7
Middle East .....	4
Noteworthy .....	7

#### VIEWPOINTS: From Ballots to Bullets

Rapoport, Weinberg and Crenshaw on Democracy and Violence .....	8-9
Regional Relations .....	1-3, 12, 15
Asia-Pacific .....	10-11

## Democracy and Dissent (continued from page 1)

### 'Justifying' Violence

Six papers dealt with justifications for and ways to curb violence. Victor Le Vine (political science, Washington University, St. Louis) examined what sense could be made of Jefferson's astonishing argument, intermittently repeated by others, that periodic episodes of violence were necessary to renew democratic inspirations. Daniel Philpott (political science, UC Santa Barbara) explored the effects of institutionalizing a moral right to self-determination in both national and international law, with the aim of reducing violence and promoting just claims. Many democratic states proscribed anti-democratic political parties from participating in the electoral process, and John Finn (political science, Wesleyan) examined the logic and value of these practices, concluding that there is no reliable evidence that they contribute to sustaining democracies or in helping revive new efforts at democratization.

Christopher Hewitt (sociology, University of Maryland, Baltimore) identified the size and character of political constituencies that produced violent groups in the second half of twentieth century America. Michael Barkun (political science, Syracuse) explained how American militia movements use the American democratic tradition to justify their violence. Anna Simons (anthropology, UCLA) illuminated the significance of "multiple identities" in reducing impulses towards violence.

### Bullets to Ballots

Andrzej Korbonski (political science, UCLA) compared the experience of Eastern and Central Europe successor states between the two World Wars to that of their withdrawal from the Soviet bloc. In the early period, both governments and rebels were violent, and ethnic tensions were unresolvable, preventing stable democratic regimes. In the

later experience, with the exception of Yugoslavia and Albania, the pattern is different. He argued that the revulsion against the horror of the World Wars and the trauma of Soviet occupation were decisive.

Peter Merkl (political science, UC Santa Barbara) discussed twelve examples, mostly from nineteenth and twentieth century Western Europe, to show how international military defeats and/or internal violence severely affected the political dynamics of newly established successor states and fully entrenched democratic ones. Even when legitimacy was weak, it was difficult to dislodge governments that controlled military and police forces. Yet in virtually every case, the outcome of elections was critical in stimulating and resolving violence. Despite the battering democratic institutions had taken, the principle of legitimacy they embodied had significant capacities to endure.

Martha Crenshaw (political science, Wesleyan) cast further light on the special difficulties democracies encounter when they intervene (mediate or use force) to help settle ethnic conflicts in other states, offering India's involvement in Sri Lanka as illustrative. Democracies have special problems in conducting such interventions, all related to electoral processes. First, their timing is determined by domestic (usually electoral) issues, rather than the situation in which they are intervening. Second, there is pressure to have elections in the troubled area before political solutions have been worked out. Finally, democracies have little staying power because their aversion to casualties too easily becomes an election issue (see *Viewpoints*, pp. 7–8).

### Ballots to Bullets

Weinberg and Eubank (political science, University of Nevada, Reno) demonstrated that the regions in Italy universally cited as the most suited for democ-

racy were also the very same ones which experienced the most political violence. Rapoport and Weinberg demonstrated that elections frequently generated violence (see *Viewpoints*, pp. 7–8), and explained the phenomena by arguing that elections, compared to other principles of succession, can be polarizing processes that exaggerate the potential anxieties inherent in every succession. They concluded by describing how that violence was manifested at various stages of the electoral cycle. Eric Gans (French, UCLA) presented a model of democracy based on the equal vote/voice of each member. He then showed how the pure 'fairness' of the model inevitably generated losers whose resentment created potential for violence.

Richard Sklar (political science, UCLA) was a monitor in the recent UN-supervised election in Liberia, another instance of what has become an increasingly common practice in the international world. Sklar explained why the election was a necessary but not sufficient condition for resolving the civil war. A crucial ingredient was the legitimization of the result by West African states (see *Feature*, p. 5).

### Democracy and Violence

The extensive discussions around the papers stimulated participants to rethink their subjects with the aim of responding to a set of common questions: Why does violence emerge in democratic systems? How common is it? What forms does it take and how do those forms reflect or relate to the particular character of democratic systems? Are democracies ill-equipped to deal with particular issues? What constitutional reforms may reduce violence? What are the international ramifications of internal violence in democratic states? Participants will attempt to answer these in a forthcoming volume. (See also *Policy Paper 31*, p. 16). ♣

# State, Sovereignty, and the World Economy

ON 21–23 FEBRUARY 1997, in Laguna Beach, California, 23 internationally noted scholars of international relations, history, and regional studies debated whether the globe is undergoing a transformation of the post-Westphalian world system in the wake of the information and telecommunications revolution, vast enhancements in exchange technologies, and quantitative leaps in the amounts and speeds of all sorts of flows. The weight of opinion was to downplay the degree of novelty characterizing the contemporary era.

Substantively, a consensus emerged that the state still has an active, even vital, role to play in the processes of globalization and within the world economy. However, the forms of state participation *have* been reshaped. Capabilities for initiative vary widely among states, in accordance with their resource bases, institutional strengths, historical legacies, and degrees of domestic authority. In addition to examining the linkages between states and global forces, connections between states and other levels of the world economy, including regions such as NAFTA, the KU, ASEAN, and other, subnational regions, were also discussed.

Several participants made the point that in some ways globalization is actually *strengthening* states and their sovereignty: as some states join in the formation of global governance structures, they enhance their own authority and the predictability of the activities in which they take part. There was also much discussion of the prominence of neo-liberal ideology in casting particular forms of politico-economic behavior—such as deregulation and privatization—as imperatives.

Participants analyzed the range of policy choice national leaders retain, the degree of autonomy states may still exercise, and the bases for variability in these areas, concluding that “the state still matters.”

Professor Dorothy J. Solinger, Department of Politics and Society, organized the conference, co-sponsored by IGCC and the Program for Global Peace and Cooperation Studies, Center for the Study of Democracy, Office of Research and Graduate Studies, Program for Collaborative Research in the Humanities, and Focused Research Program in State Studies, UC Irvine.

Presenters and discussants were drawn from multinational history, politics, economics, and history faculties. These included Immanuel Wallerstein, SUNY Binghamton; Peter J. Katzenstein, Cornell U.; Colin Lewis, London School of Economics; Richard Stubbs, McMaster U.; Barbara Stallings, United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America; Stephen Krasner, Stanford U.; and Saskia Sassen, Columbia U.

University of California faculty included David A. Smith, James Given, Steven C. Topik, and Wayne Sandholtz, UC Irvine; and IGCC Steering Committee member Manual Pastor Jr., UC Santa Cruz. Other UC faculty and graduate students also attended.

Presenters agreed to adopt common definitions of concepts such as sovereignty and globalization, and are now preparing an edited volume tentatively titled “States Still Matter: Sovereignty in an Age of Globalization,” based on the conference papers.

Historical treatments included papers on the modern colonial state, 1815–1875; European state-making and industrialization in comparison with that in China, largely in the 19th century; and the economics of the Latin American state, 1820–1945.

Six regional and country studies focused on Eastern Europe (especially but not only Hungary, East Germany, and Poland); Western Europe (France, Great Britain and Germany); Southeast Asia (primarily Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia); East Asia (primarily China and Japan);

Sub-Saharan Africa (with some references to individual countries); and Mexico (with some mention of Chile).

Others examined structural factors such as capital accumulation and globalization; financial globalization and capital markets; sovereignty; and the new legal forms and culture of the global economy; plus a keynote speech on states and capital.

For more information, contact Prof. Dorothy J. Solinger, 3151 Social Science Plaza, Irvine, CA 92697-5361. ✦

## PRESENTERS

- Giovanni ARRIGHI**, State U. of New York, Binghamton  
**Jozsef BOROCZ**, Rutgers U., NJ  
**William CLARENCE-SMITH**, U. of London  
**Edward FRIEDMAN**, U. of Wisconsin  
**James GIVEN**, UC Irvine  
**Eric HELLEINER**, York U.  
**Peter J. KATZENSTEIN**, Cornell U., NY  
**Stephen KRASNER**, Stanford U., CA  
**Colin M. LEWIS**, London School of Economics  
**Su-Hoon LEE**, Kyungnam U., Seoul  
**Julius E. NYANG'ORO**, U. of North Carolina  
**Manual PASTOR, Jr.**, UC Santa Cruz  
**Kenneth POMERANZ**, UC Irvine  
**Wayne SANDHOLTZ**, UC Irvine  
**Saskia SASSEN**, Columbia U., NY  
**Vivien SCHMIDT**, U. of Massachusetts, Boston  
**David A. SMITH**, UC Irvine  
**Dorothy J. SOLINGER**, UC Irvine  
**Barbara STALLINGS**, U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America  
**Richard STUBBS**, McMaster U., Ontario, Canada  
**Steven C. TOPIK**, UC Irvine  
**Immanuel WALLERSTEIN**, State U. of NY, Binghamton  
**R. Bin WONG**, UC Irvine

# Whither the Middle East?

THE MIDDLE EAST peace process is in flux. What several months ago seemed the nearly inevitable “working out” of a decades-long conflict is now seen more clearly as a contingent unfolding set of events that could drive the region in more than one direction, including toward explicit conflict and even war. This presents unique theoretical, analytic, and policy opportunities. Three complementary IGCC projects are examining ongoing peace processes—and deriving concrete cooperation policy practices to sustain them. These efforts have thus far benefited especially from the unique facilities afforded by IGCC’s new office in Washington, D.C. (see p. 13).

## Predicting Outcomes

“Prediction and the Middle East Peace Process,” organized by political science professor **Steve WEBER**, UC Berkeley, poses tough analytical questions. What kinds of predictions can social science theories generate under these conditions? When and why do people change their minds about important causes, their presumed effects, and the nature of the peace process as a whole? How can these arguments be evaluated? Do formal models add value to this process?

Funded by IGCC along with the Mershon Center of Ohio State University and UC Berkeley Institute of International Studies, this three-year project brings together an interdisciplinary group of scholars to develop, in a theoretically disciplined fashion, scenarios for the Middle East peace process. The group will attempt to identify the most important and most uncertain driving forces operating in this situation, and use these to generate a set of conditional forecasts for the region.

## Military-to-Military Engagement

On 16–19 November 1997, IGCC hosted the first workshop in a series of six, to be conducted over the course of the next three years, on “Arms Control and Security Improvement in the Middle East.” This project, organized by **Steven SPIEGEL**, professor of political science at UC Los Angeles, with IGCC funding and support, is designed to promote discussion by senior Middle Eastern military leaders on issues of arms control and regional se-

curity. Each workshop is designed to develop a cohesive framework for studying Middle East security and addressing confidence-building measures. After exploring the principles and practice of cooperative security in the first year of the project, the second year will concentrate on assessing the specific application of those principles to the Middle East. Building on these substantive discussions, the third year will focus on “lessons learned” from restructuring military doctrines in improved security environments. The workshops are intended to provide a structure for encouraging discussion and building understanding among regional participants.

The November workshop focused on future security structures, arms control and confidence-building measures within military strategy, and American military views on the security environment in the Middle East. The National Defense University, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the On-Site Inspection Agency provided briefings to participants comprising active duty and retired military leaders and policy experts from a wide range of countries in the Middle East. The workshop was unique in bringing together military decision-makers on an informal basis at a fragile time in the Middle East peace process. That military leaders were willing to meet and discuss regional security during this turbulent period was a significant accomplishment.

The next workshop, co-hosted by the National Center for Middle East Studies, will be held in Cairo, Egypt in the spring of 1998. Discussion will focus on national security concerns, arms control issues, such as the consequences of weapons of mass destruction and arms control strate-

gies, and the role of the military in confidence- and security-building measures.

## Key Resource Focus

Demonstrating the capacity for such “track-two” discussions (in which academics meet with officials, who participate in an unofficial capacity) to inform academic research design, is a new project, “Water and Food Security in the Middle East.” Informed by IGCC’s five-year experience with that region’s multilateral peace process (see past *Newsletters*, especially Spring 1996), and most recently recommendations presented at “Smoothing the Path to Peace” (a unique collaboration of Arab, Israeli, and Palestinian academics held in Amman, Jordan and Haifa, Israel—see Spring, 1996 *Newsletter*), this project will bring together experts to discuss the interrelationships among the Middle East’s scarcest resource, food supply, and regional stability.

**David ZILBERMAN**, chair of UC Berkeley’s department of agricultural and resource economics, will lead the project, funded by the United States Institute of Peace and the Hewlett Foundation. (For other Hewlett environmental studies awardees, see p. 14). The first meeting, to be held next April in Cyprus, will assemble a small group of regional and international experts to present research on water, environment, trade, and agricultural issues in the Middle East, and their impact on the peace process. The participants will draft policy recommendations for addressing key regional concerns, which will be presented to policy-makers in a future forum. ♣



Participants of the “Arms Control and Security Improvement in the Middle East Conference” held 16–19 November 1997 in Washington, DC. Monique KOVACS, IGCC’s new International Affairs Program Coordinator is at top left; IGCC Policy Analyst Sheri REIZNER is top center.

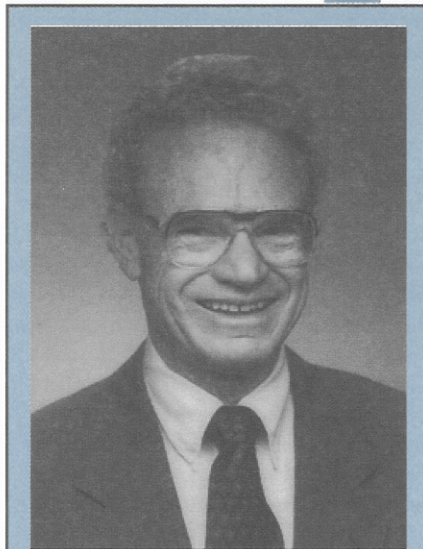
# From Bullets To Ballots In Liberia

by Richard L. Sklar

FOR SEVEN YEARS, from 1990 until 1997, the West African Republic of Liberia, with a population of approximately 2.8 million, was wracked and ravaged by civil warfare. No fewer than 150,000 people were killed; some 700,000 fled into neighboring countries, and well over a million more were displaced from their homes. During those tragic years, Liberia's abundant natural wealth, especially its bountiful forests, vast rubber plantations, and valuable iron mines, were plundered by rival warlords to finance their private armies, as well as their personal ambitions.

Last summer, a national election, conducted under the auspices of a West African expeditionary force and monitored by international observers, appeared to signal an end to armed hostilities. That event tested the method of electoral competition for resolving violent domestic conflicts. Previous test cases during the current era of democratic revival—including Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, and Sierra Leone in Africa; Nicaragua and El Salvador in Central America; Cambodia in Southeast Asia; and Bosnia in Europe—have resulted in disparate outcomes from which general conclusions are difficult to derive. However, lessons from the Liberian case may signify a potential breakthrough in the quest for principles of conflict resolution in war-torn countries.

From the onset of Liberian independence in 1847 until 1980, the republic was ruled at first by African-Americans, mainly freed slaves, and afterwards by their descendants. During the early years, settlers from the United States were joined by captives freed from slaving ships which had been intercepted by the U. S. Navy. Such persons, who were gradually integrated into the dominant settler society, were called "Congoes" by the Americo-Liberians. Eventually, the entire settler community, which has never exceeded 5% of the total population of Liberia, was called "Congo" by the Liberian tribespeople,



**Richard L. SKLAR is Professor Emeritus of political science at UC Los Angeles. In July 1997, he served as an election observer with the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia. He has written extensively about African politics and theories of development.**

resulting in a political distinction between "Congo" and "Country" that persists in common parlance until the present day.

Before World War I, Liberia relied upon American support to fend off threats of annexation by the British, French, and German empires. Subsequently, the United States encouraged the Firestone Corporation to establish the world's largest rubber plantation not far from the capital city of Monrovia. During the Second World War, the United States enlarged and equipped the port of Monrovia, and built a modern airport. When, in 1947, the republic celebrated its centenary, optimistic Liberians looked forward to an era of unprecedented prosperity.

But national leaders had never resolved the historic problem of oligarchic rule by a small minority of the population. After World War II, successive

governments did seek to provide increased opportunity for indigenous, tribal Liberians. Yet, one political party, controlled by the aristocracy of settler descent, ruled the country continuously for more than 100 years, until 1980, when a cabal of non-commissioned officers, led by Master Sergeant Samuel Doe, seized power, executed some dozen political leaders including the president, and proclaimed a new era for the common people.

The indigenous people of Liberia comprise two main language groups: Mande-speakers of the north and west; and Kru-speakers of the south and east. Doe was a Kru-speaking Krahn; although Krahns account for less than 5% of the population, they were firmly entrenched in Doe's army and appeared to control his government. In 1985 Doe was elected president by a narrow margin, but the election was widely perceived as having been rigged. Thereafter, his insecure regime became increasingly repressive. On Christmas Eve 1989, a band of rebels, led by Charles Taylor, crossed the border into Liberia from the neighboring state of Côte d'Ivoire.

Taylor is the son of an Americo-Liberian father and an indigenous mother. Accused by Doe of having stolen \$1 million from the government, by which he was employed, he fled to the United States, where he was arrested pursuant to an extradition warrant. His lawyer, Ramsey Clark, a former U.S. Attorney-General, insists that the FBI knew that the charges against him had been fabricated. Incarcerated for 15 months, Taylor escaped from a high security prison in Massachusetts, returned to Africa, and prepared to battle Doe. The initial success of his guerrilla incursion provoked brutal reprisals by the Liberian army against northern people, many of whom then rallied to Taylor's cause. They, in turn, retaliated against Krahn villages. In 1990, Taylor's fighters entered Monrovia. Amidst bitter ethnic conflict, Doe was captured and

*Continued p. 6*

## From Bullets to Ballots in Liberia *(continued from page 5)*

killed by an independent warlord, allied with Taylor.

Meanwhile, the 16-member Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) decided to intervene, and sent a multilateral cease-fire monitoring group (known by its acronym, ECOMOG) of 7,000 mainly Nigerian troops to restore peace. Nigerians number more than 100 million, by far the largest national population in Africa. Nigeria is also a troubled country, under military rule since 1983. For nearly six years, the ECOMOG force retained a precarious foothold in the capital, while the warlords consolidated their control of strongholds throughout the country. Taylor's paramountcy among the rival warlords was tested repeatedly by militias consisting of Krahn's, on the one hand, and Mandingos (northern Muslims), on the other. In April 1996, Taylor unleashed a vengeful assault on Monrovia. Thousands of teen-age marauders, from his and other factions, many of them under the influence of drugs, looted the city, killing and maiming civilians indiscriminately. In desperate straits, foreign ambassadors and United Nations representatives residing in Monrovia mediated a tenuous cease fire among faction leaders, who may have been unnerved by the spread of anarchy and indiscipline among their presumed followers. For ECOMOG, the seven-week reign of terror was a humiliating debacle.

Only then did General Sani Abacha, head of the military government in Nigeria, resolve to end the impasse. He appointed an exceptionally competent officer, Major General Victor Malu, to revive ECOMOG and implement a carefully negotiated political agreement involving disarmament and demobilization of the factional militias, to be followed by an election. With financial and logistical assistance from the United States and the United Nations, Malu's multinational West African force, including contingents from Ghana, Guinea, and Mali, as well as a majority of Nigerians, accomplished a political transformation that few could have imagined during the previous spring when mayhem erupted in the beleaguered capital.

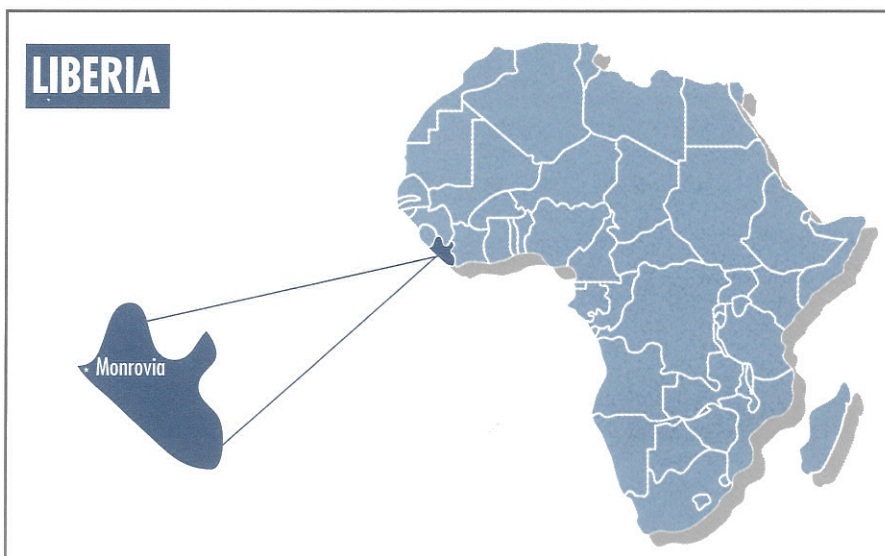
For the election of July 19, 1997, some 700,000 voters registered at 1,864 polling stations during a ten-day period in June. The principal militias metamorphosed into political parties, while members of the non-militarized political class formed several parties of their own, for a grand total of thirteen. Taylor emerged as the early favorite to win; he enjoyed overwhelming advantages in money, media, and logistics. His most formidable opponent was Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, a highly respected public figure and recent director of the United Nations Development Program for Africa. She announced her candidacy when an alliance of parties inde-

pendent of the warlords, which had been formed to oppose Taylor, fell apart. Her strength lay in Monrovia, among the intelligentsia, but not in the countryside.

The election was administered jointly by an Independent Electoral Commission and ECOMOG. Soldiers provided guidance to voters as well as security at the polling stations; they resolved disputes and supervised all procedures, including counting votes and reporting results. The election was monitored by nearly 300 observers. Two hundred were deployed by the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia; 40 by the Carter Center of Emory University, with Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter as prominent participants; some 30 by the Friends of Liberia—former Peace Corps volunteers; others representing the European Union, the Organization of African Unity, and ECOWAS. Very few complaints were lodged by the parties against ECOMOG. By common consent of the observers, the soldiers were impartial and reliable. Their overall commitment to a successful election was unmistakable; they were firm in performing their duties, yet generally helpful and respectful in their demeanor toward voters.

Altogether 600,000 people—85% of those registered—voted. Since most of them are illiterate, a simple ballot was used: the voter could make either a pencil mark or thumbprint in a box next to the candidate's picture and party emblem. One mark or print sufficed to vote for president, senators, and members of the House of Representatives. Seats in the two congressional chambers were distributed among parties in proportion to their shares of the total vote. An absolute majority was required for election as president, failing which there would be a run-off between the two leading contenders. Johnson-Sirleaf's camp counted on a run-off; however, Taylor obtained 75% of the vote to 9.5% for Johnson-Sirleaf. It was believed widely that many people voted for Taylor because they feared that he would resume the war if he lost, but could keep the peace if he won.

*Continued p. 7*



## From Bullets to Ballots in Liberia (continued from page 6)

From the viewpoint of Nigeria and its West African partners, the election was a necessary step toward the restoration of peace and political stability in Liberia. On August 2, the ECOWAS leaders, including seven heads of state, gathered in Monrovia for Taylor's inauguration as president. His inaugural address was statesmanlike and conciliatory in tone; he pledged to create commissions on human rights and national reconciliation as part of his program to rebuild a nation from the ashes of war. He also expressed his personal gratitude to the ECOWAS chairman, Nigeria's General Abacha, for whom the occasion marked a diplomatic triumph. Taylor's legitimacy as Liberia's leader derives primarily from regional acclamation of the election result. That is an obvious conclusion to be drawn from the process of conflict resolution in Liberia. In return for recognition by his regional peers,

Taylor has agreed that ECOMOG shall remain in Liberia for another year in order to organize and train a new, nonpolitical, national army.

Will the arch-warlord, Taylor, become the instrument of national reconciliation? In a sense, he and his party do symbolize the political union of Americo-Liberians and indigenous Liberians. For the time being, at least, his performance in office will be monitored by various humanitarian organizations, among them Amnesty International, the multifunctional Carter Center of Emory University, the World Health Organization, and the United Nations Children's Fund—all of them listening posts for the conscience of the world. Furthermore, financial accountability on the part of public officials, as well as reasonable respect for human rights will be conditions for the extension of credit and other forms of assis-

tance by the World Bank. When the government of a collapsed state has been restored by the international community, a minimum standard of public management can be required and enforced as a condition for continued sustenance.

To be sure, however, an acceptable degree of respect for human rights does not mean that those who have plundered the country and terrorized its people will be compelled to answer publicly for their actions. The warlords were not subdued militarily; they agreed to a settlement, not punishment, and they remain susceptible to further cajolement by external architects and guarantors of the new order. That conclusion, vexatious as it may be, is perhaps the most broadly significant lesson to be learned from the experience of conflict resolution in Liberia. ♣

(See Books, p. 16 and ROTHCHILD, below)

## NOTEWORTHY

As of July 1997, IGCC Director **Susan L. SHIRK** has been appointed as U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for China. Professor **Stephan HAGGARD** (see Fall 1996 Newsletter, p. 13) has accepted a two-year appointment (through June 1999) as IGCC's Director.

Professor **Stephen CULLENBERG** has been named chair of the Economics Department at UC Riverside (see pg. 12). Professor of Economics **Steve SHEFFRIN**, UC Davis, is this year's acting director of the Institute on Governmental Affairs, IGCC's UC Davis campus affiliate.

UC Santa Cruz professor of political science **Isebill V. GRUHN**'s "Land Mines: an African Tragedy" will appear in *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 34:4. *The Northern Territories Dispute and Russo-Japanese Relations, Volume I: Between War and Peace, 1696–1985* and *Volume Two: Neither War Nor Peace, 1985–1997*, authored by UC Santa Barbara history professor **Tsuyoshi HASEGAWA**, funded in part by a 1996 IGCC

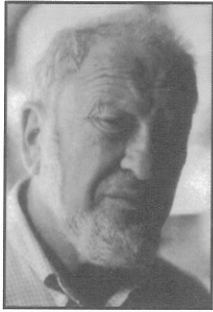
grant, has been accepted by International Area Studies Publications at UC Berkeley. Brookings Institute Press has published *Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa: Pressures and Incentives for Cooperation*, by UC Davis professor of Political Science **Donald ROTHCHILD**. *Regional Orders at Century's Dawn: Global and Domestic Influences on Grand Strategy* by UC Irvine professor **Etel SOLINGEN** is due from Princeton University Press in 1998. *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* published "Soldiers, Psychiatrists and Combat Trauma" by **John TALBOTT**, professor of history at UC Santa Barbara, in the Winter 1997 volume. IGCC provided partial funding for the completion of Talbott's work.

**James D. FEARON**'S "Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation," has been accepted for the Spring, 1998 issue of *International Organization*. Fearon is a professor of political science at the University of Chicago. "Explaining the International Relations of Secessionist Conflicts: Vulnerability versus Ethnic

Ties," by **Stephen M. SAIDEMAN**, professor of political science at Texas Tech University, appeared in the Fall 1997 issue. Saideman also authored "The Dual Dynamics of Disintegration: Ethnic Politics and Security Dilemmas in Eastern Europe," for *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Spring 1996. Both authors contributed to *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion and Escalation*, edited by David Lake and Donald Rothchild (see Books, pg. 16).

The Guilford and Routledge Presses have co-published *Postmodern War: The New Politics of Conflict* by IGCC dissertation fellow **Chris Hables GRAY**. **Gregg HERKEN**, a 1992 senior research associate at IGCC; now historian and curator of military space at the National Air and Space Museum, authored *Cardinal Choices: Presidential Science Advising from the Atomic Bomb to SDI*. A second edition has been published by Stanford University Press. ♣





# FROM BALLOT view Elections and Violence

by David C. Rapoport & Leonard Weinberg

SOME 75 YEARS ago, Norman Angell declared, “ballots are substitutes for bullets.” The statement is now a conventional policy maxim. Nicaragua’s 1990 election terminated the Contras’ long uprising as intended. When 10 million students and workers made DeGaulle flee Paris (1968), he called a special election averting a potential civil war. International undertakings are designed to promote elections to revive “failed states;” witness Richard Sklar’s *Feature* (p. 5).

But ballots often produce bullets too, a relationship academics rarely discuss or even acknowledge. Yet almost every day somewhere (Indonesia, Philippines, India, Israel, Algeria, Sri Lanka, the Congo Republic) elections are punctuated by violent acts—assassinations, riots, massacres, terrorist attacks, coups d’état and civil wars. (A recent analysis of *New York Times* foreign news items reveals election disturbances as the second most frequently reported topic.)

These events are common in developing states, but established democracies are not immune. The American presidential elections of 1860, 1876, 1880, 1968, and 1972 exhibited similar scenes; other violent American elections have also occurred.

Election violence derives from the constitutional issue elections are designed to solve. Elections are mechanisms for determining legitimate successions; and succession moments are always potentially explosive times. Outside Europe, the hereditary system generated bloodshed in nearly all successions. Europe’s record was better; the monarch’s powers were limited, making it easier to accept new sovereigns; still, centuries of bitter struggle occurred before agreement was achieved. Power could be transferred immediately. It usually was; hence, the cry: “the King is dead, long live the King.”

Europe’s alternative principle (election) was at first less successful. Succession struggles destroyed Europe’s three elective monarchies. The threat of civil war hung over each annual election in Italian Renaissance city states, uprooting republican rule everywhere except Venice. No wonder our Founding Fathers worried about the election principle. Despite the modern world’s better experiences, some difficulties are permanent.

The second source of election violence is the electoral process itself. The hereditary principle is designed to eliminate necessities to compare candidates and pose political issues. Such “extraneous matters” will occasionally intrude of course. For example, the Reformation’s religious turmoil complicated succession, producing

international wars until the Peace of Westphalia settled the issue. But comparing candidates and raising issues are what elections are about. Participants must mobilize supporters and pit elements of the community against each other, sometimes raising passions to fever-pitch precisely when a system is least likely to resist them.

Mutually demonized parties can not always live together afterward. Losers cannot accept the election decision and winners cannot believe their powers must be restrained. Yet both are constitutional conditions of succession success.

Election rules necessarily are more complicated than those associated with hereditary systems. Elections produce many more successions, and contests are more prolonged with potentially uncertain outcomes extending opportunities for mishaps. Many parties determine voter, party, and candidate eligibilities, count ballots, police innumerable polling places, mobilize voters, and finance campaigns.

Such extensive participation by so many individuals in contexts where conventions sometimes are fragile and unclear, multiplies occasions for mistakes, disputed interpretations, fraud, and violence—problems aggravated by atmospheres of distrust, and situations

where those charged with determining an election’s authenticity also have partisan interests in its outcome. Foreign parties may want to shape outcomes too; note Rajiv Ghandi’s assassination and attacks in Israel.

Ironically, because only elections endow legitimacy today, and they, unlike hereditary arrangements, allow renewals, governments organize elections they know they will not honor. Likewise, opposition parties may prefer to withdraw from processes they declare fraudulent rather than risk losing. Both courses are recipes for violence.

To better understand *when* ballots become *substitutes* for bullets, we must know more about the ballot’s bullet *producing* propensity too, a serious problem in the absence of data banks capable of revealing different state and electoral system patterns. States exhibit different capacities to absorb violence while maintaining their election traditions, but the case studies, particularly important for successful international undertakings, are still waiting to be done. Above all, we lack a theory which enables us to explore the paradoxical and complicated relationships of ballots and bullets. †

“  
Democracies find it difficult to support using force to guarantee a settlement that is not demonstrably democratic.  
—Martha Crenshaw  
”

Professor Emeritus of political science **DAVID C. RAPOPORT** (left) teaches political theory, is founding director of the Center for the Study of Religion at UC Los Angeles, and is editor of *The Journal of Terrorism and Political Violence*. **LEONARD WEINBERG** (right) is Foundation Professor of Political Science at the University of Nevada, Reno.

# S TO BULLETS

# oints

## Democratic Intervention



by Martha Crenshaw

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN democracy and effective third party intervention to resolve ethnic violence has not been systematically analyzed in the literature on conflict resolution or peacekeeping. How does being democratic affect a government's capacity to act as a peace-enforcer or peace-builder in ethnic conflicts? In particular, what role do elections play?

A major impediment to settlement in civil wars is the inability of the warring parties to issue credible commitments. Even if a negotiated compromise is reached, the combatants cannot guarantee that they will honor it or that they will resist taking advantage of the other side during the transition period, especially if disarmament is required. An outside enforcer is necessary to guarantee both security during the transition and the implementation of new power-sharing institutions. Because of the high level of distrust and suspicion, this process is likely to be extremely lengthy. Yet no external commitment is credible unless the third party can see it through.

Accountability is the hallmark of democratic leadership, and the legitimacy of policy is paramount. Democratic leaders depend on the support of important political elites in domestic politics—political parties, interest groups, government bureaucracies—as well as the approval of the public who can reject them in periodic elections. Democracies thus find it difficult to support using force to guarantee a settlement that is not demonstrably democratic. Deploying a peacekeeping force involves not only casualties among the troops, but also the deaths of civilians in the target state. Both consequences are unpopular at home. They will not be tolerated if the settlement is perceived as unjust. Furthermore, as the costs of military intervention increase, and as domestic elections approach, democratic leaders are caught in a dilemma. Neither withdrawal nor staying on is an attractive option. Holding elections in the target state can legitimize getting out.

India's decision in 1987 to send troops to support a peace accord that it had brokered in Sri Lanka was based more on domestic politics than conven-

tional security considerations. Of particular concern to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu, where there was significant support for the Tamil independence movement. India could not defeat the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in order to restore the status quo of Sinhalese domination over the Tamil minority (nor did India favor an independent Tamil state). To justify disarming by force the LTTE, India had to produce a political compromise that would safeguard minority rights. India also needed to persuade moderate Tamil and Sinhalese coalitions that the peace accord would endure and that they would be protected from extremists if they supported it. As India grew more eager to withdraw, elections became a way of symbolically concluding a peacekeeping effort that had turned into "India's Vietnam."

For Rajiv Gandhi, the worst happened: in 1990 the belligerents in the Sri Lanka conflict combined to demand that India withdraw. Gandhi had no choice but to accede to a request that he regarded as premature, especially since he knew that his domestic opponents would exploit the issue in the upcoming national elections. (They did so, and his party lost, although most commentators on the elections do not attribute his loss to Sri Lankan policy.) But the security arrangements India had supervised were too fragile to hold; in fact they endangered those who participated in them. The "moderate" Tamil factions had indeed won the elections, but the LTTE boycotted them. As soon as India withdrew, the "moderate" coalition collapsed. Indian support had them branded as collaborators. On the Sinhalese side, Indian involvement radicalized nationalist opinion. After India withdrew, the temporary cease-fire between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE broke down and the conflict resumed in full force. ♣

“  
Because only elections endow legitimacy, governments organize elections they know they will not honor. Opposition parties may withdraw from processes they declare fraudulent rather than risk losing. Both courses are recipes for violence.  
—David C. Rapoport

”

Martha CRENSHAW is professor of government at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut.

# NEACD Defense Information Sharing

FOR FOUR YEARS, IGCC's North East Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD) has regularized dialogue between security decision-makers and experts from among the major powers in Northeast Asia. Six plenary sessions of NEACD brought together foreign ministry officials, defense ministry officials, military officers, and private academics from China, Japan, South Korea, Russia, and the United States in an informal setting where they discussed current issues dominating relations in the North Pacific, as well as developing a model of confidence-building through regular, multilateral dialogue sessions.

Entering its fifth year, following the success of similar efforts in 1995, NEACD sought to develop its concrete, confidence building work through smaller study projects comprised of a subset of NEACD participants. Two such groups: Defense Information Sharing, and Principles of Cooperation in Northeast Asia, met this fall.

The Defense Information Sharing study project was a natural extension of NEACD's two-year examination of a comprehensive set of Mutual Reassurance Measures (MRMs, also known as Confidence Building Measures). NEACD participants decided that an examination of security- and defense policy transparency issues would be an appropriate first-step MRM, and that it was important that a group of defense ministry, military, and academic NEACD participants partake in this groundbreaking study—the first multilateral, military-to-military dialogue of its kind in the North Pacific. The discussions proved so valuable that participants recommended the project meet again to continue its dialogue and review currently available defense information sharing documents published by NEACD countries.

The project began by examining conceptions of contemporary security relations in Northeast Asia. The era of superpower rivalry in the Pacific has ended (even though enduring legacies of the Cold War—divided China and divided Korea—still remain), but it is unclear what has emerged to replace this system. Participants discussed the implications of several new elements. First, security has

become “comprehensive,” in the sense that economic issues are now as dominant as military-security issues. Second, Northeast Asian states now widely accept the concept of using cooperative security to resolve differences. Further, they widely recognize that since the security of one state can no longer supersede that of others, countries must consider stable relations, peacekeeping, and other elements of common security when deciding their own security policies.

“  
**Northeast Asia, with a long history of war this century, currently enjoys a period of relative tranquility. But beneath the surface, uncertainties and suspicions (many arising from that war-like tradition of relations) are still very relevant.**  
 ”

The project analyzed the current state of security perceptions and how greater defense information sharing can mitigate growing concern among nations. Northeast Asia, with a long history of war this century, currently enjoys a period of relative tranquility, but beneath the surface, uncertainties and suspicions (many arising from that war-like tradition of relations) are still very relevant. While specific areas of concern, such as reunification processes in Korea and China, and disputed claims to South China Seas islands, continue to dominate media headlines, major uncertainties actually arise from questions about the balance of US-Japan-China relations.

Will China develop into a benevolent superpower, or one that seeks to dominate relations with its neighbors? Can Japan define its future responsibilities within the regional security system in a way that does not raise suspicions

among its neighbors? Can the United States assuage critics who accuse America of bullying its Asian neighbors into accepting the U.S. world view, while reassuring others' fears of a U.S. withdrawal, especially military, from the region? Defense officials shared perspectives about these critical long-term issues.

The study project concluded with a full-day discussion in which officials scrutinized and discussed each others' perspectives on defense policies in the Asia Pacific. This allowed participants to offer personal perspectives about issues of concern to their neighbors, such as the strengthening of the U.S.–Japan defense alliance and the announcement of new guidelines for U.S.–Japan defense cooperation. It also provided a forum for officials and academics to underscore the merits of transparency, debate how further efforts at transparency might reduce mistrust in the region, and establish a tradition of communication on a multilateral basis among the defense leaders in the major military powers in Northeast Asia.

Itself an integral MRM, the study project on Principles of Cooperation in Northeast Asia comprised selected academics from NEACD countries, who met to assess the NEACD's three-year efforts at agreeing general principles of state-to-state relations in the region. The discussions proved arduous, particularly with respect to the statement of the sovereignty norm, and the study project itself did not reach a consensus.

In following months, however, subsequent communication among the parties, and improvement of the security and political environment following Chinese President Jiang Zemin's visit to the United States, facilitated a final agreement. The Principles of Cooperation in Northeast Asia is a far-reaching document that can serve as the basis for future multilateral efforts in the region. In addition to statements concerning the respect for national sovereignty and commitment to the peaceful settlement of disputes, the principles include commitment to human rights, increased transparency on security issues of common concern, and respect for the principle of freedom of navigation.\*

# Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue

## \*Defense Information Sharing Study Project & †Principles of Cooperation Study Project

Asia-Pacific Center For Security Studies (APCSS)  
Honolulu, Hawaii,  
September 29–October 1, 1997

Pacific Forum, Center for Security and International Studies (CSIS)  
Honolulu, Hawaii,  
October 1–2, 1997

### CHINA

\***Dr. CHU Shulong**, Dir., Div. of North American Studies, China Inst. of Contemporary Int'l Relations, Beijing  
\***Sr. Col. QIAN Lihua**, Dep. Dir., Foreign Affairs Bur., Min. of Nat'l Defense, Beijing  
\***Col. ZHU Chenghu**, Nat'l Defense U. of China, Beijing

### KOREA

\***Prof. AHN Byung-joon**, Chair, Dept. of Political Science, College of Social Sciences, Yonsei U., Seoul  
\***Dr. Kang CHOI**, Dir. Gen., CSCAP-Korea, Arms Control Research Centre, Korea Inst. for Defense Analyses, Seoul

### JAPAN

\***Lt. Cdr. MIFUNE Shinobu**, Arms Control Security Staff, The Joint Staff Office, Japan Defense Agency, Tokyo  
\***Col. MIYABE Toshikazu**, Dep. Dir. for Policies, Joint Staff Office, Japan Defense Agency, Tokyo  
\***Mr. TAKAHASHI Kunio**, Dir. of Research Coordination, The Japan Inst. of Int'l Affairs, Tokyo  
\***Mr. TAKATA Toshihisa**, Dir., Nat'l Security Policy Div., Foreign Policy Bur., Min. of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo

### RUSSIA

\***Gen. (ret.) Anatoly BOLYATKO**, Head Researcher, Inst. of Far Eastern Studies, Russian Academy of Science, Moscow  
\***Mr. Vladimir RAKHMANIN**, Dep. Dir., First Asia Dept., Min. of Foreign Affairs, Moscow  
\***Dr. Konstantin SARKISOV**, Head, Center for Japanese Studies, Vice Dir., Inst. of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow

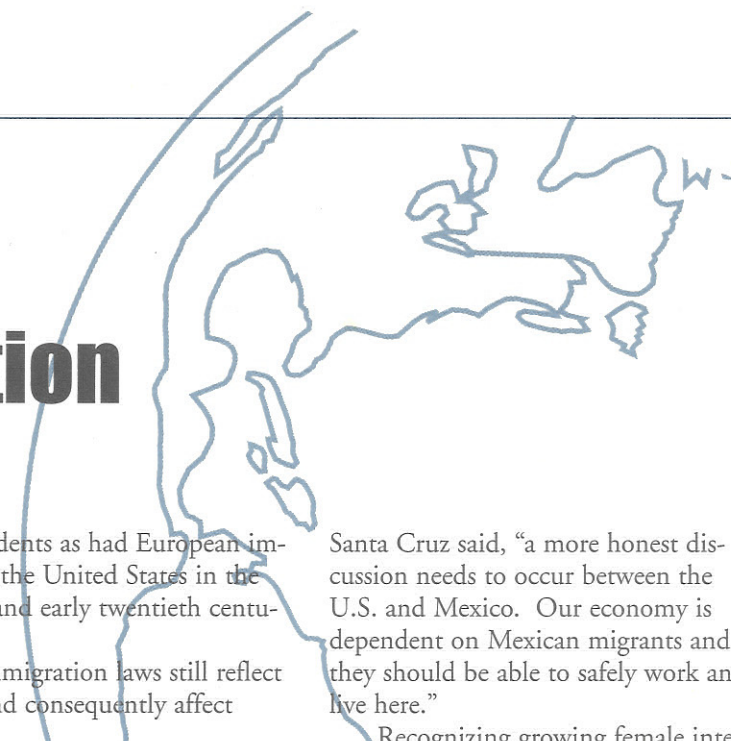
### U.S.A

\***Mr. Ralph COSSA**, Co-Dir., U.S. CSCAP, Dir., Pacific Forum CSIS, Honolulu, HI  
\***Prof. Stephan HAGGARD**, Dir., IGCC  
\***Mr. Nicholas MAUGER**, Dep. Dir., East Asia/Regional Affairs and Security Policy, U.S. Dept. of State, Washington, DC  
\***Mr. Derek MITCHELL**, Asian and Pacific Affairs, Dept. of Defense, Washington, DC  
\***Prof. Robert SCALAPINO**, Robson Research Prof. of Government Emeritus, Inst. of East Asian Studies, UC Berkeley  
\***Mr. Michael STANKIEWICZ**, Policy Researcher for Asia, IGCC  
\***Lt. Col. Mark STEARNS**, Dep. Div. Chief, Asia Div., Joint Staff, Washington, DC



Participants in the NEACD Pacific Forum included (left to right): Dr. Konstantin SARKISOV, Mr. Michael STANKIEWICZ, Dr. CHU Shulong, and Mr. TAKATA Toshihisa.

# Immigration & Global Migration



OPENING WITH A historical perspective on global and U.S. immigration, the UC Riverside International Economic Conflict and Cooperation Program (IECC) and UC Institute for Mexico and the United States (UC MEXUS) held a public conference 24–25 October 1997, in Riverside, California, titled *Mexico and the United States in the Context of Global Migration*. Scholars, diplomats, policymakers, and migrant labor and immigrant groups activists tackled tough policy issues that arise from the international movement of people, especially in the case of Mexican migration to the United States. The conference was unique in situating Mexican–U.S. immigration in the context of global migration.

Many presenters argued that an interactive relationship exists between international trade and migration and that policy decisions will be better informed if labor flows are accepted as integral to international trade agreements. As Minister of Migration Affairs **Gustavo MOHAR** of the Mexican Embassy, Washington D.C., pointed out, Mexico has surpassed Japan to become the United States' second largest trading partner since the National Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was signed. However, Mexican immigrants have always been treated as temporary sojourners in the United States. As recently as the 1970's, Mexican migrants were encouraged to come to Southwestern (including Californian) farms of the United States through legal seasonal labor programs. They did not, however, receive protections enjoyed by U.S. citizens, or expect to become per-

manent residents as had European immigrants to the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

U.S. immigration laws still reflect this view, and consequently affect

“  
**...an interactive relationship exists between international trade and migration. Policy decisions will be better informed if labor laws are accepted as integral to international trade agreements.**  
 ”

public opinion and public policy towards Mexican–U.S. immigration. The geographical proximity of Mexico to the United States also makes Mexican immigration unique as compared to the Eurasian experience. Historically, Mexican families have remained in Mexico, so the social connections that bind together immigrant communities may not develop as extensively, or do not exist at all.

Addressing remaining myths about the impact of Mexican workers in the United States, Professor **Manuel PASTOR, Jr.**, Chair, Latin America and Latino Studies, UC

Santa Cruz said, “a more honest discussion needs to occur between the U.S. and Mexico. Our economy is dependent on Mexican migrants and they should be able to safely work and live here.”

Recognizing growing female international migration, Professor **June NASH**, Anthropology Department, City College of New York, discussed how female immigrants now not only follow husbands and families, but increasingly migrate on their own. They face threats of sexual exploitation, at both the hands of fellow immigrants and of foreign sponsors. However, they may also become more politically aware and active in another country than they could have been at home.

Immigration laws can also affect women left in countries of origin. The conference keynote speaker, **Maria ECHAVESTE**, White House Public Liaison, noted that the elimination of legal temporary work programs and stricter U.S.–Mexico border enforcement programs have actually caused migrants to stay longer in the United States, consequently altering the makeup of families in Mexico. Since husbands cannot return home as often, Mexican women are left to raise their children alone.

The conference was organized by Professor **Stephen CULLENBERG**, Chair, UC Riverside Economics Department and Director of IECC, and Professor **Juan-Vicente PALERM**, Director, UC MEXUS. A related book on domestic determinants of immigration policies, by 1995–96 IGCC Faculty Fellow **Jeanette MONEY**, UC Davis, has been accepted by Cornell University Press. ♣

## IGCC Staff Update

### Policy Analyst

**Sheri A. REIZNER**, M.A., Georgetown U., joined IGCC in January 1997 from Booz • Allen and Hamilton, where she was a privatization specialist on projects in former Soviet states. She supports IGCC's research programs on international security and the Middle East region, working closely with the IGCC director, research directors, and faculty to manage research projects and develop resulting publications.



### Conference Coordinator

**Maissa I. SANDERS**, Ph.D. (ABD), U. of Southern California, joined IGCC as conference coordinator in January 1997, bringing with her 17 years experience from the private sector, where she was founder and president of an international conference and travel planning company. Her academic background includes Medical Sociology, Near East Studies and Egyptology. She was born in Alexandria, Egypt, and speaks several Arabic dialects. She is currently writing a book on Egyptian traditions based on women's oral histories.



### Assistant Campus Programs Coordinator

**Jennifer L. HARRISON**, B.A., Chico State U., joined IGCC as the new Assistant Campus Program Coordinator in August, with prior private sector marketing and publicity coordination experience. Jennifer provides administrative support to the Campus Programs Coordinator, Campus Program Staff, Steering Committee Members and grant recipients on the nine UC campuses. Jennifer is also actively working to update and improve the Campus Program website on *IGCC Online*.



## Steering Committee Update

IGCC WELCOMED the appointment of three new Steering Committee members this fall. Dr. **Charles W. NAKHLEH** is a technical staff member at the Los Alamos National Laboratory. His research interests include safeguarding advanced nuclear fuel cycles and policy and technology issues related to the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty and START II. He replaced Dr. **Burgess LAIRD**, who departed LANL in May to work for the United States Ambassador to the United Nations.

Dr. **Neil JOECK**, a political analyst in the Directorate for Nonproliferation, Arms Control and International Security, now represents the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. His primary research concerns are nuclear proliferation and South Asian security; he has served on the Council on Foreign Relations Task Force on South Asia.

Professor **Manuel PASTOR, Jr.**, chair of Latin American and Latino Studies, UC Santa Cruz, (see pp. 3, 12) replaces Professor **Donald WITTMAN**, who finished his term this year. Pastor's research focuses on U.S. urban issues and

Latin American economic development strategies. He has published extensively on Latin American development and is currently working on the political economy of free trade in Mexico and Argentina, and economic reform in Cuba.

Professor **Gershon SHAFIR**, UC San Diego, has agreed to renew his term for another three years.

IGCC extends appreciation to our departing members, and to departing acting members Professors **James WILEN**, UC Davis; **Annalee SAXENIAN**, UC Berkeley; and **Julienne LIPSON**, UC San Francisco, who served during 1996-97 while other members were on leave. ♣



Members of 1998 IGCC Steering Committee and Campus Program representatives, at the San Francisco joint meeting, 12-13 October, 1997. Photo: Bruce Cook

## IGCC D.C. Update

SINCE JULY, 1997 (see Spring 1997 *Newsletter*), IGCC's Washington office has supported several IGCC-funded UC faculty projects (see p.4). Scheduled policy seminars for the 1997-98 academic year include "Critical Barriers to Civil War Settlements," Professor **Barbara WALTER**, IGCC Research Director for International Security, 12 December 1997; seminars on NATO enlargement, US-China Relations, and the Middle East; and a briefing for the California Congressional Delegation of the U.S. Congress.

IGCC is developing a summer undergraduate program, and has announced 1998-99 graduate research fellowships in foreign policy studies, and international affairs graduate summer internships (see p. 14), jointly funded by the UC Office of the President's Office of Research and IGCC. Interested students should contact their IGCC-campus program office (see p. 15).

The Washington office provides UC faculty and graduate students research trip office space; conference seminar rooms;

policy seminars that bring together government officials and staffs, foundations, think tanks, and other international organizations to learn about IGCC studies and research results; and contacts in the policy community. Over the longer term, we hope to identify foreign policy-oriented UC faculty willing to consult with interested congressional members and their staffs. We encourage UC faculty developing foreign-policy related research projects to consider disseminating research results at the DC center.

Professor **Bruce W. JENTLESON**, IGCC Washington research director, has hired **Monique KOVACS**, (M.Sc., London School of Economics) (photo, p.4) as the International Affairs Program Coordinator. Prior to joining IGCC, Kovacs was a project manager for the Task Force on International Parliamentary Programs at the Congressional Research Service, and served as a civil society and media advocacy program officer at the Open Society Institute. For more information on IGCC D.C. and its programs, contact Kovacs at (202) 296-8183; fax (202) 296-8224; email: mkovacs@ucsd.edu. ♣

# 1997-98 Dissertation Fellowships & Faculty Grants

## IGCC/MacArthur Faculty Fellows

INGRAM, Helen, UCI, School of Social Ecology  
LAKE, David, UCSD, Political Science

## IGCC/MacArthur Fellowships in Regional Relations

DARDEN, Keith, UCB, Political Science, *Creation of New Forms of Regional Order in the Former Soviet Union*

DYLLA, Bronwyn, UCLA, Political Science, *Protecting National Interests in the European Union*

DASSA KAYE, Dalia, UCB, Political Science, *Beyond Hegemony: The Arab-Israeli Multilateral Peace Process*

SMITH, Michael E., UCI, Politics and Society, *Toward a Common Foreign and Security Policy in Europe: Norms, Institutions, and the Expansion of European Political Cooperation 1970-1997*

## IGCC/MacArthur: International Environmental Policy

HUGHES, David, UCB, Environmental Science, Policy and Management, *War, Refugees and Environmental Conflict on the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border*

MCAFEE, Kathleen, UCB, Geography, *The Global Environmental Facility and the Challenge of Green Developmentalism*

RUTTAN, Lore M, UCD, *Environmental Studies, Choosing to Cooperate: Lessons for Fisheries and Other Internationally Shared Resources*

STEINBERG, Paul, UCSC, Environmental Studies, *The Impact of International Environmental Agreements on Biodiversity Policy in Costa Rica and Bolivia*

WINSLOW, Margarethe, UCB, *Energy and Resources Group, Economic Growth, Equity and Environmental Quality*

## IGCC Dissertation Fellows

EVANS, Rhonda Lynn, UCB, Sociology, *What Price Free Trade? Labor, Environmental and the Politics of NAFTA*

FRIEDMAN, Max P., UCB, History, *Unusual Suspects: The Expulsion of German Alien Enemies from Latin America by the United States During WWII*

HANCOCK, Kathleen, UCSD, Political Science, *Theoretical Explanation for Security and Economic Relations Between Russia and the Other Former Soviet States*

HERBERT, Anne-Marie, UCB, Jurisprudence & Social Policy, *Normative Development Through International Organization: The League of National and Evolution of Human Rights Law, 1919-1945*

KESSLER, Alan E., UCLA, Political Science, *International Trade, Domestic Politics, and the Political Economy of Immigration Control*

KREPPPEL, Amy, UCLA, Political Science, *The Development of the European Parliament and Supranational Party System*

ORRENIUS, Pia, UCLA, Economics, *The Role of Income Shocks in the Self-Selection of Return Migrants from Mexico: 1971-1988*

PETROVIC, Bojan, UCI, *Politics and Society, Ethnicity, Regime Transition, and Violence: Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in Comparative Perspective*

ROSENBLUM, Marc, UCSD, Political Science, *At Home and Abroad: The Domestic and Foreign Sources of Migration Policy*

SEAVER, Brenda Marie, UCI, Politics and Society, *Democratic Instability and War: How Democratization Leads to International Conflict 1816-1995*

SKUBAN, William, UCD, History, *Lines in the Sand: The Construction of National Identity on The Peruvian-Chilean Frontier, 1880-1930*

UNGER, Natasha, UCSD, Sociology, *Gated Democracies: Civic Traditions and the Politics of Integrating Europe*

WANG, Wei-I, UCLA, Political Science, *Making Friends, Making Enemies: A Theory of Arms and Allies*

## IGCC Research Grants

BRUEBAKER, Rogers, UCLA, Sociology, *Intractable But Non-Violent Ethnonational Conflict in East Central Europe*

FOX, Jonathan A., UCSC, Latin American and Latino Studies, *Implementing of the World Bank's Environmental Policy Reforms: Lessons from Mexico and the Philippines*

GOLDEN, Miriam, UCLA, Political Science, *The Politics of International Openness and Labor Markets*

KYDD, Andrew H., UCD, Political Science, *Internet Laboratory for Formal Theory and International Relations*

MARES, David, UCSD, Political Science, *Democratic War in the Amazon: An Analysis of Ecuador's Decision to Fight Another Democracy*

MONROE, Kristen Renwick, UCI, Politics and Society, *From Dr. Jekyll to Mr. Hyde: What Causes an Ordinary Person to Commit Genocide?*

PHILPOTT, Daniel, UCSB, Political Science, *Eroding the Sanctity of Sovereignty*

SIVERSON, Randolph, UCD, Political Science, *Trade and Conflict: The Major Powers, 1905-1970*

## Hewlett Regional Environmental Policymaking Faculty Grants

CARON, David D., UCB, School of Law, *Regional Environmental Policymaking: Lessons from the Border Conflict at Trail*

DEACON, Robert T., UCSB, Economics, *Regional Environmental Policymaking through International Trade*

INGRAM, Helen, UCI, School of Social Ecology, *Testing Models Against Experience in Transboundary Water Resources Management*

JARVIS, Lovell S., UCD, Agricultural Economics, *Elephant Conservation, Tourism, and Rural Development: Regional Cooperation and Policy Making in Southern Africa*

WATTS, Michael, UCB, Geography, *Communities in Contention: Politics, Transnational Networks, and Community-Based Environmental Management in Comparative Perspective*

ZILBERMAN, David, UCB, *Agricultural and Resource Economics, Trading Water for Regional Environmental Quality Improvements: Incentives for Cooperation Between Israel & the Gaza Strip*

## 1997-98 Research Conference Grants

CARSON, Cathryn L., UCB, History, *Physics in the Postwar Political Arena: Comparative Perspectives*

MANZ, Beatriz, UCB, Center for Latin American Studies, *Guatemala's Peace Accords and Future Prospects*

WEBER, Steven, UCB, Political Science, *Scenarios for the Future of the Middle East Agreements Process*

## Request for 1998-99 Proposals

### Dissertation Fellowships

Currently enrolled UC graduate students from all disciplines who have advanced, or expect to advance to Ph.D. dissertation stage by June 30, 1998 are eligible to apply for a \$12,000, nine month stipend, and up to \$4,000 in research and travel support for the first year, with the possibility of a one-year renewal.

### Research and Research Conference Grants

UC faculty from all disciplines are eligible to apply for up to \$15,000 in support for three consecutive years. Special consideration will be given to overlapping projects IGCC research priorities.

### Teaching Grants

IGCC multidisciplinary teaching grants are designed to stimulate independent research and education projects by UC faculty on international issues of contemporary importance relevant to IGCC activities. Faculty grants are provided to prepare new course materials or incorporate new teaching methods.

### IGCC/MacArthur Ph.D. Fellowships

Through a MacArthur Foundation grant, IGCC funds Ph.D. dissertation fellowships in three specific fields of research: regional relations, international environmental policy, and regional management of international environmental problems. IGCC/MacArthur fellowships provide twelve-month stipends of \$16,000 and up to \$5,000 in research and travel support. Fellows are required to work with an IGCC-appointed faculty mentor, produce a policy paper or brief for possible publication by IGCC, and help organize a research seminar.

### New for 1998-99

*IGCC/UCDC Dissertation Fellowship in Foreign Policy Studies*

Through a UC Office of the President Grant, IGCC will fund two Ph.D. dissertation fellowships. Based at the IGCC UCDC office (see p. 13) for at least one quarter of the academic year. The fellowships provide a nine-month, \$12,000 stipend and up to \$1,500 travel and research support. Fellows are required to write a policy paper.

### Applications are Now Available

Applications are now available for all categories. All proposals are due **February 2, 1998**. For applications or more information, contact your local campus program office (see Masthead p. 15), the IGCC Campus Programs Coordinator or see our web site <http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu/igcc2/campus.html>.

# 1997-98 IGCC/MacArthur Scholars



IGCC Regional Relations Planning Meeting participants (left to right): Professor David Lake, Bronwyn Dylla, Amy Kreppel, Michael Smith, Kathleen Hancock, Craig Parsons, Dalia Dassa Kaye. Photo: Alan Decker

IGCC'S THREE-YEAR program, generously funded by The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, of supporting dissertation scholars in regional relations and international environmental policy, has boasted many successes. Of the 1996-97 regional relations scholars we reported on last Spring, **Dr. Steven LOBELL** has gone on to an assistant professorship at the University of Iowa. **Natasha UNGER** and **Amy KREPPPEL** both won a second year of funding. Additionally, **Kreppel**, now finishing her research on the European Union in Washington, D.C., will continue to work with the five new IGCC/MacArthur regional relations scholars,

led by **Professor David LAKE**, Political Science, UC San Diego and former IGCC Research Director for International Relations. Lake, who shaped IGCC's research program on regional analysis, convened an initial meeting with the students. The students are planning a spring seminar on regional institution building.

The policy work of the international environmental program developed under the MacArthur grant will continue in 1997-98 under the leadership of **Professor Helen INGRAM**, School of Social Ecology, UC Irvine (*see Spring, 1997 Newsletter*), assisted by 1995-96 Fellow **Chunghua Sun RICH**, who was instrumental in establishing the first of

IGCC's student-organized MacArthur scholar's seminars (*see Fall, 1996 Newsletter*). **Rich** is now working with UCSD Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies **Professor Barry NAUGHTON** on a new IGCC-funded project titled "China and its Provinces." **Ingram, Rich**, and the new group of scholars are targeting late May for a research seminar on the environment in the context of democracy, capitalism and culture. ♣



MacArthur Scholars meet at UC Irvine to discuss regional international environmental policy issues (left to right): Lore Ruttan, David Hughes, Professor Helen Ingram, Kathleen McAfee and Maggie Winslow. Photo: Alan Eyerly

## Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation

University of California, San Diego  
9500 Gilman Drive  
La Jolla, CA 92093-0518  
Phone: (619) 534-3352 Fax: (619) 534-7655  
E-mail: ph13@sdcc12.ucsd.edu  
http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu

### Director

Stephan Haggard

### Research Directors

Barbara Walter, International Security  
Richard Carson, International  
Environmental Policy

### Director Emeritus

Herbert F. York

### International Advisory Board

Arnold Kanter, *Chair*

Morton Abramowitz, Alexei Arbatov, Dante Caputo, Diego Cordovez, Randall Forsberg, Marvin Goldberger, Masao Kunihiro, Ronald Lehman, Sally Lilienthal, Charles William Maynes, Robert McNamara, Orlara Otunnu, James Roche, Enid Schoettle, Stanley Sheinbaum, Stephen Solarz, John Steinbruner, Strobe Talbott, Abdullah Toukan, Wang Jisi

### Steering Committee

Martin Shapiro, *Chair*; Neil Joeck, Cynthia Kaplan, Afaf I. Meleis, Charles Nakhleh, Manuel Pastor, Jr., David Pion-Berlin, Peter J. Richerson, Gershon Shafir, Etel Solingen, Arthur Stein, Steven Weber, Herbert York

### Campus Program Representatives

**Berkeley:** Institute of International Studies, Michael Watts, (510) 642-8739 **Davis:** Institute of Governmental Affairs, Steven Sheffrin, acting '97-'98, (530) 752-2632 **Irvine:** Center for Global Peace & Conflict Studies, Patrick M. Morgan, (714) 824-6410 **Los Angeles:** Center for International Relations, Richard Rosecrance, (310) 825-0604 **Riverside:** International Economic Conflict and Cooperation Program, Stephen E. Cullenberg, (909) 787-5037 **San Diego:** Project in International and Security Affairs, Miles Kahler, (619) 534-3078 **San Francisco:** Program in Health and Human Survival, Christie W. Kiefer, (415) 476-7543 **Santa Barbara:** Global Peace and Security Program, Mark Juergensmeyer, (805) 893-4718 **Santa Cruz:** The Adlai Stevenson Program on Global Security, Ronnie D. Lipschutz, (408) 459-2833

### Related Staff

Policy Researchers: Sheri Reizner, Mike Stankiewicz  
Campus Programs: Bettina Halvorsen  
Development/Ext. Affairs: Ronald J. Bee  
Publications: Jennifer Pournelle  
Design: Angela Watson  
Photographers: Alan Decker, Bruce Cook, Maissa Sanders, Alan Eyerly

*The IGCC Newsletter is published twice yearly by the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation to inform scholars, policymakers, and the public about IGCC-sponsored research, conferences, publications, grants, and seminars. Single copies at no cost are available on request. Annual donations of \$7.00 are optional and tax deductible.*

Copyright © 1997  
The Regents of the University of California



## Current Publications

### New Releases

For a complete listing, see *IGCC Online* or contact us for our latest catalog.

### Books

*The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*

ed. David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild  
Available early 1998 from Princeton University Press  
ISBN 0-691-01690-9 (paper)  
ISBN 0-691-016910-7 (hardcover)

### IGCC Policy Briefs

ISSN 1089-8352

*Integrating Asia*

Michael Borrus, Stephan Haggard, and Barry Naughton  
IGCC-PB No. 9

### IGCC Policy Papers

ISSN 1088-2081

*Designing Transitions from Violent Civil War*

Barbara F. Walter  
IGCC-PP 31, December 1997  
ISBN 0-934637-47-4

## IGCC Developing Researcher Database

WE OFTEN GET requests from faculty at major research institutions for assistance in locating potential research partners with specific expertise in areas of IGCC research interest. In 1996, IGCC's Steering Committee gave us a mandate to proceed with development of a browsable, web-based search system to aid this effort.

We are pleased to announce that we have completed installing the technical infrastructure needed to accomplish providing IGCC research partners with a multi-disciplinary "win-

dow" to their peers' research interests and activities. If your name appears on the pre-printed mailing label for this newsletter, you are a candidate for inclusion this system.

Of course, we will establish rigorous controls to preclude outsiders having access to any personal information, but we do understand that some addressees might not choose to participate. In that case, please contact the editor. Updates on system specifics and launch date announcements will appear in subsequent issues. ♣



<http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu> or  
[gopher-igcc.ucsd.edu](mailto:gopher-igcc.ucsd.edu)

## Ordering Information

IGCC IS A non-profit institute with of fiscal 501(c) status. We welcome tax-deductible donations to support our work, and encourage you to contact us about our programs and activities.

Limited numbers of single copies of IGCC publications are available free of charge to individuals affiliated with institutions of higher education, research libraries, and non-profit organizations.

Your contribution of \$3.50 per *Policy Paper*, \$1.00 per *Policy Brief*, or

\$4.00 per issue of the *IGCC Newsletter* help us offset the costs of printing and mailing.

To order, unless otherwise indicated contact IGCC Publications (see masthead). Please include your name, shipping address, fax, email, and phone numbers with a check payable to the *UC Regents*. California residents please add 7.75% sales tax within San Diego county or 7.25% outside San Diego County. ♣

Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation  
University of California, San Diego  
9500 Gilman Drive  
La Jolla, CA 92093-0518 U.S.A.

Nonprofit Organization  
U.S. Postage  
• PAID •  
San Diego, CA  
Permit #1909