

# UC San Diego

## Newsletters

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# The China Circle

Since 1949, millions of Chinese living in Asia have been isolated from mainland China because of the barriers—both political and economic—erected by and against the communist government in Beijing. For the 20 million Chinese in each of Taiwan and Southeast Asia, and the six million in Hong Kong, economic reforms by the People's Republic of China (PRC) opened the way for massive trade and investment flows, especially among the southern provinces of China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. These flows created an economic "China Circle."

The evolving economic and political relationships within the China Circle are significant for the entire Asia-Pacific. All countries will be affected by the economic and political power of a tightened China-Taiwan-Hong Kong relationship. A less likely military conflict among the PRC, Taiwan, and Hong Kong would have dire consequences. China could provide a counterweight to the region's market dependence on the U.S. and supplier dependence on Japan—thus increasing stability within the region—but a wealthier China is also increasing its military spending and developing capabilities to project force.

In 1993, IGCC initiated "The China Circle: Regional Consequences of Evolving Relations among the People's Republic of China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong-Macao." Funded by grants from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the Ford Foundation, this project brought together



Workers talk in an electronics factory in Zhuhai, in southern China's Pearl River Delta. The region is chock-a-block with new factories, construction sites, power plants, and development zones. (AP Wirephoto: John Pomfret)

economists, political scientists, and sociologists from the University of California and elsewhere in the U.S., the PRC, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Japan, South Korea, Vietnam, and Canada to assess China Circle economic integration, its limits, and its impact on the Asia-Pacific.

Project heads Susan L. Shirk, IGCC Director, and Barry Naughton, Associate Professor at the UC San Diego Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, convened an economic working group in September, 1994, to provide a comprehensive analysis of the trade and investment interactions. In Hong Kong in December 1994, participants then presented papers regarding the regional social, cultural, and political implications of these economic trends.

The economic working group found that the China Circle should be thought of as a series of concentric circles: Hong Kong is at the center, ringed by an inner circle consisting of Taiwan, Guangdong, and Fujian, and by an outer circle encompassing all of the Chinese regions, plus important links to Japan, Southeast Asia,

and the United States (see map, p. 2). All display some degree of supplier-dependence on Japan and market-dependence on the United States. The success of restructuring to take advantage of low-cost labor on the mainland will inspire future stages of new integration, though with political institutions lagging behind economic flows.

Several possibilities could heighten conflict within the China Circle by skewing the benefits of economic integration. Schive Chi pointed out that the economies of the mainland, Taiwan, and Hong Kong could become competitors in the long term, especially if the mainland acquires the technological capacity to leapfrog in such industries as electronics and telecommunications.

Michael Borrus and Dieter Ernst explored the impact of the China Circle on the traditionally Japan- and U.S.-dominated electronics industry. The new strategic environment is encouraging Japanese firms to open their production networks to local suppliers. If they do not

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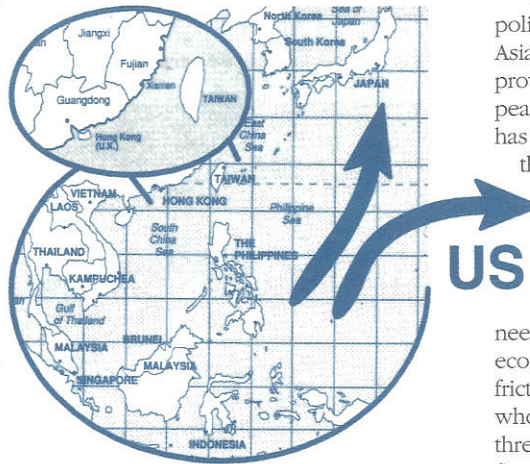
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continue this process, they risk being locked into costly non-competitive production systems; if they proceed, they accept technology transfer that will in the long run increase competition throughout Asia. According to Dr. Tan Kong Yam, the rivalry between China- and Japan-centered regional production systems will be played out in Southeast Asia.

The economies of the China Circle are linked together by family-based Chinese business networks. Gary Hamilton and You-tien Hsing described horizontal Chinese inter-firm ties, which differ from the vertical Japanese *keiretsu* or Korean *chaebol*. By sharing information, credit, and risk insurance, these are particularly adaptive and have a competitive advantage on the mainland, which lacks a credible legal framework. Chu Yun-han sees these networks as the micro-foundations of Chinese capitalism. However, proximity and knowledge of local tastes may also explain their success. Whether they will be able to expand beyond small scale manufacturing and commerce to large scale, capital intensive production and high-technology innovation was questioned.

Challenging the view that places the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia in orbit around the mainland economy, Andrew MacIntyre stated that, with the exception of a few big investors, most Chinese businesses in Southeast Asia have no economic incentive to shift funds there; these businesses are domestically oriented, with few interconnections across national borders. There is a tendency to over- or under-estimate Southeast Asia Chinese mainland investments, because the assets of these businesses are not

transparent. Many may be subsidized by the PRC; others are mainland funds laundered through Hong Kong.



**The China circles, centered on Hong Kong.**

The rise of the economic power of the China Circle has not yet created resentment of the Chinese communities in Southeast Asia, but could do so. Tran Khanh pointed out that 70 percent of the overseas Vietnamese are of Chinese origin, and most of them live in North America. The biggest investors in Vietnam are all Chinese: Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore.

Sun-Ki Chai held that "weak Confucian norms" are a common element of Chinese business success in diverse settings. However, although the important role of satellite television in the creation of a Chinese popular culture synthesized from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the mainland was acknowledged, participants stressed the diversity of Chinese identities

in various parts of Asia. Wang Gungwu argued that it is a mistake to overestimate the ethnic affinity of overseas Chinese communities with the China Circle.

As an economic phenomenon for political-military relations among Asia-Pacific countries, the China Circle provides economic "glue" that promotes peaceful relations. Yet economic exchange has not diluted political antagonism across the Taiwan Straits or even between Beijing and Hong Kong. Taiwan and Hong Kong may control real economic assets, but as the PRC grows economically stronger and more confident, it may behave domineeringly toward them. China's continued economic growth is also likely to cause friction with Southeast Asian countries whose own economic progress may be threatened by the loss of capital to and flood of light industrial products from the mainland. When such economic friction is exacerbated by China's military build-up and unresolved territorial claims, it could spark political or military conflict. Further, if the benefits of economic growth do not trickle down to the inland regions of China, resulting political instability on the mainland could spill over to its neighbors.

China Circle research is a step toward IGCC's comprehensive assessment of emerging Chinese power in the world's greatest economic region. Further work has already started under a joint study with the UC Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy (BRIE) on the nature of interaction between Japanese-centered and China Circle-centered investment in Asia. An edited volume of the economic findings is forthcoming. ■

*See Participant's List, p.3.*

## Visiting Scholars

**IGCC is pleased to host several Asia experts as Visiting Scholars for 1994-1995.**



Dave Kang

**Dave KANG** recently received his Ph.D. from UC Berkeley, where he studied international relations and economic development with a focus on Korea and the Philippines. Dr. Kang is currently examining the sources of North Korea's foreign policy, as well as institutions and development in Asia. His work has appeared or will appear in *International Organization*, *Security Studies*, and *Asian Survey*; he also has previous experience at RAND and the Stanford Center for International Security and Arms Control. This fall he will begin an assistant professorship at Dartmouth, teaching the international relations of Asia.



Kiwoong Kim

**Kiwoong KIM** is deputy director of the Department of Political Dialogue in the Office of South-North Dialogue of the Korean Unification Board (the ministry that handles unification and exchanges between the two Koreas). He received both B.A. and M.A. degrees from Seoul National University, majoring in international relations and political science. Thereafter, he worked as a research associate at the Center for International Studies at Seoul National University, then became a research associate at the Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, the think tank of the ROK Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

*See also Ji Gouxing, p. 6.*

# The China Circle: Regional Consequences of Evolving Relations among the PRC, Taiwan, and Hong Kong—Macao

Hong Kong, 8–10 December, 1994

## List of Participants

**Prof. AHN Byung-joon**  
Chair, Dept. of Political Science,  
Yonsei U., Seoul, ROK

**Prof. Michael BORRUS**  
Berkeley Roundtable on the Int'l  
Economy (BRIE),  
UC Berkeley

**Dr. John BURNS**  
Dept. of Politics and Public  
Administration,  
U. of Hong Kong

**Prof. Sun-Ki CHAI**  
Dept. of Sociology,  
U. of Arizona

**Dr. CHANG Chak-yan**  
Chair, Dept. of Gov't and  
Public Administration,  
Chinese U. of Hong Kong

**Prof. Edward CHEN**  
Director, Centre of Asian  
Studies, U. of Hong Kong

**Prof. CHENG Tun-jen**  
Dept. of Gov't, College of  
William & Mary,  
Williamsburg, VA

**Dr. Peter CHEUNG**  
Dept. of Politics and Public  
Administration,  
U. of Hong Kong

**Mr. Frank CHING**  
Features Editor, *Far  
Eastern Economic Review*,  
Hong Kong

**Prof. CHU Yun-han**  
Dept. of Political Science,  
National Taiwan U., Taipei

**Prof. CHUNG Chin**  
Chung-hua Institution for Economic  
Research (CIER), Taipei, Taiwan

**Dr. Dieter ERNST**  
Project Director, Berkeley Roundtable on  
the Int'l Economy (BRIE), UC Berkeley

**Mr. Timothy FITZPATRICK**  
Ph.D. Candidate, Dept. of Political  
Science, UC San Diego

**Prof. K.C. FUNG**  
Dept. of Economics,  
UC Santa Cruz

**Prof. Stephan HAGGARD**  
Graduate School of Int'l Relations and  
Pacific Studies, UC San Diego

**Prof. Gary HAMILTON**  
Dept. of Sociology,  
U. Of Washington, Seattle

**Dr. HE Di**  
Standard Int'l Co. Ltd.,  
Beijing, PRC

**Dr. You-tien HSING**  
Centre for Human Settlements,  
U. of British Columbia,  
Vancouver, Canada

**Dr. Jean-François  
HUCHET**  
Fellow, Maison Franco-  
Japonaise, Tokyo, Japan

**Prof. JIA Qingguo**  
Dept. of Int'l Politics,  
Peking U., Beijing, PRC

**Dr. TRAN Khanh**  
Fellow, Institute of  
Southeast Asian Studies,  
Hanoi, Vietnam

**Dr. Peter LEE**  
Dept. of Gov't and Public Administration,  
Chinese U. of Hong Kong

**Prof. Chu-Chia LIN**  
Dept. of Economics, National Chengchi  
U., Taipei, Taiwan

**Dr. LIU Yunhua**  
School of Accountancy and Business,  
Nanyang Technological U., Singapore

**Mr. Peter LOVELOCK**  
Dept. of Political Science,  
U. of Hong Kong

**Prof. Andrew MACINTYRE**  
Graduate School of Int'l  
Relations and Pacific Studies,  
UC San Diego

**Prof. Richard MADSEN**  
Dept. of Sociology, UC San Diego

**Prof. Barry NAUGHTON**  
Graduate School of Int'l  
Relations and Pacific Studies,  
UC San Diego

**Mr. Haruo OZAKI**  
Deputy Int'l News Editor, *Nihon Keizai  
Shimbun*, Tokyo, Japan

**Mr. Russell PHILLIPS, Jr.** (Observer)  
Executive Vice President, Rockefeller  
Brothers Fund, NY



Prof. Gary Hamilton



Dr. He Di



Dr. You-tien Hsing

**Prof. Gordon REDDING**  
Dept. of Management Studies, U. of  
Hong Kong

**Prof. SCHIVE Chi**  
Council for Economic Planning and  
Development, Taipei, Taiwan

**Prof. Susan L. SHIRK**  
Director, IGCC, UC San Diego

**Dr. Ngai-ling SUM**  
Research Fellow, Political Economy  
Research Centre, U. of Sheffield,  
United Kingdom

**Prof. SUNG Yun-wing**  
Dept. of Economics,  
Chinese U. of Hong Kong

**Mr. Hideo TAMURA**  
Senior Staff Writer,  
Economic News Dept.,  
*Nihon Keizai Shimbun*,  
Tokyo, Japan

**Dr. TAN Kong Yam**  
Head, Dept. of Business  
Policy, National U. of  
Singapore



Dr. Tan Kong Yam

**Dr. James TANG**  
Dept. of Politics and Public  
Administration,  
U. of Hong Kong

**Dr. John URE**  
Director, Telecommunications Research  
Project, Centre of Asian Studies,  
U. of Hong Kong

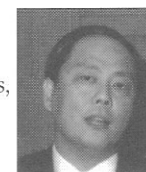
**Prof. WANG Gungwu**  
Vice Chancellor,  
U. of Hong Kong

**Prof. Byron WENG**  
Dept. of Gov't and Public Administration,  
Chinese U. of Hong Kong

**Dr. Richard WONG**  
Director, Hong Kong Centre for  
Economic Research,  
U. of Hong Kong

**Ms. Teresa WONG**  
Research Officer, Centre of Asian Studies,  
U. of Hong Kong

**Dr. ZHANG Xiaoji**  
Deputy Director, Dept. of  
Foreign Economic Relations,  
Beijing, PRC



Dr. Zhang Xiaoji

# Joint Development: a Prospect for Settlement of the Diaoyudao (Senkaku) Disputes?\*

by Ji Guoxing

The Diaoyudao (Senkaku) disputes between China and Japan, one of the most controversial issues over Northeast Asian waters, involve two dimensions: sovereignty over the Diaoyudao islands, and relevant maritime jurisdictional rights and interests in the East China Sea.

The islands consist of five uninhabited islets: Diaoyu Dao, Huangwei Dao, Chiwei Dao, Nanxiao Dao, and Beixiao Dao, and three barren rocks: Dananxiao Dao, Dabeixiao Dao, and Feilai Dao, located approximately 120 nautical miles (NM) northeast of Taiwan, 200 NM east of the China Mainland coast, and about 200 NM southwest of Okinawa.<sup>1</sup> The surrounding sea areas are rich in mackerel, bonito, and lobsters; on the land masses themselves camellias, palms, cacti, and sea lotus (many of which are valuable medicinal herbs) abound.

The real source of the Diaoyudao disputes is oil reserves—first reported following a seismic survey in the area in the late 1960s by the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Subsequent Japanese surveys confirmed this potential. Besides, the islands are strategically located, straddling the sea-lanes in the East China Sea.

When relations between China and Japan were normalized in 1972, both sides agreed to shelve the disputes. However, different interpretations exist in regard to this shelving. The Chinese side sees it as a way of maintaining bilateral friendly relations for future negotiations; the Japanese side seems to more or less regard it as a way of consolidating Japan's present control of the Islands as a *fait accompli*. For the long-term interest of both countries, and for the cause of lasting peace and stability in East Asia, exploration of potential settlements should be put on the agenda now.

## China's Stand

China holds that the Diaoyudao Islands "[appertain] to Taiwan. Like Taiwan, they have been an inalienable part of

\* This article was abridged from "The Diaoyudao (Senkaku) Disputes and Prospects for Settlement," *The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis* 6:2 Winter, 1994), pp. 285–311. For full historical background and evidence, plus a legal analysis of the sovereignty disputes and relevant maritime jurisdictional claims, see the original.

<sup>1</sup> The five islets and three rocks are named by the Japanese as Uotsuri Jima, Kuba Jima, Taisho Jima, Kitako Jima, Minami Ko Jima, Okino Kita Iwa, Okino Minami Iwa, and Hize.

<sup>2</sup> "Statement of PRC's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 30, 1971," *Beijing Review*, January 7, 1972, p. 13.

Chinese territory since ancient times"<sup>2</sup> and that any subsequent seizure by the Japanese government cannot change that historical fact. Further, China argues that discovery accompanied by some formal act of usage is sufficient to establish sovereignty over the Diaoyudaos.

Geographically, the islands are situated on the edge of the East China Sea continental shelf, which is contiguous to the Chinese mainland and Taiwan, whereas on the south they border the Okinawa Trough, which plunges to over 2,000 meters.

Historically, the islands were discovered and named by China hundreds of years before the Ryukyu fisherman Tatsushiro Koga "discovered" them in 1884, as is alleged by

Japan. Reference to the islands is found in a number of Chinese writings dating back to the mid-16th century. Initially, the islands were fit only to serve as navigational aids, and were used as such. Then, the fishing grounds around the islands became the regular haunts and storm shelters of almost exclusively Chinese fishermen—the prevailing currents and winds made it difficult to sail to the islands from the Ryukyus. In 1893, Empress

Dowager Tsu Shih of the Qing Dynasty issued an imperial edict granting three of the islets to one of her subjects for the purpose of continuing to collect medicinal herbs from them, which his family had used in pharmaceuticals manufacture for several generations. No one at the time disputed the Chinese sovereign's right to bestow the territory on one of her subjects.

When Taiwan and the islands belonging to it were ceded to Japan in 1895 as a result of China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese war, the Diaoyudao islands were included in that cession—they were at the time clearly not considered, by either China or Japan, to be a part of the Ryukyu chain previously annexed by Japan in 1879. Later, in 1940, when both Taiwan and the Ryukyus were under Japanese rule, a controversy arose between the fishermen of these two areas over the fishing rights around the Diaoyudaos. This dispute was "decided in favor of Taiwan by a Tokyo Court in 1941, proving that the Japanese themselves recognized that the islands belonged to Taiwan."<sup>3</sup> Finally, in 1945 when Japan surrendered to the allies, it accepted terms regarding return of the Chinese territories, including the Diaoyudao islands.

<sup>3</sup> Choon-ho Park, "Continental Shelf Issues in the Yellow Sea and the East China Sea," *Law of the Sea Institute, University of Rhode Island, Occasional Paper No. 15*, 1972, p. 40.

**"Economic needs and cooperation should take precedence over sovereignty disputes."**

## Japan's Stand

Japan holds that the Diaoyudaos are Japanese territory. It claims that the casual references to some of the islets in earlier Chinese writings cannot be taken as evidence of Chinese territorial rights to them, since they merely specified the boundary of the Ryukyus, and that the ownership of the islands had not been established by any state until 1894. Until then, a decade after discovery by Ryukyu fisherman Tatsushiro Koga, they were *terra nullius* (land belonging to no country). The Chinese claim of title based on earlier discovery was never validated by effective occupation and control, whereas Japan established such with the regular trips made to Diaoyudao by Tatsushiro Koga. After Koga died in 1918, his son carried on economic activities, acquiring private title in 1926.

A 1972 Japanese Foreign Ministry statement said, "In and after 1885, the (Japanese) government repeatedly conducted field surveys on the Senkaku Islands, and having confirmed with prudence that they were not merely uninhabitable islands but also had no traces of control by Qing (China), made a cabinet decision on January 14, 1895 to the effect that a marker post would be put up on the islands, and thus decided to incorporate them formally into our country's territory."<sup>4</sup>

Secondly, Japan insists that the incorporation of the Diaoyudao Islands was unrelated to the successful progress of the war against China, and the islands were not included in the treaty signed concluding the Sino-Japanese war by which China ceded Formosa to Japan. Japan asserts that "After the Sino-Japanese war, but before the Treaty of Shimonoseki, the islands were formally annexed to the Ryukyus, and subsequently they have been treated as Japanese territory."<sup>5</sup>

Thirdly, the Diaoyudao Islands were not included in the territory Japan had to give up according to the San Francisco Peace Treaty: they were always included in the Ryukyu islands, and under the Okinawa Reversion Treaty they were included in the areas to be restored by the allies to Japan.

## Options for Settlement

In spite of sporadic tensions over the islands over the last two decades, shelving of the disputes has proved to be a good approach, not having affected the overall relationship. However, this is only an expedient measure. A negotiated solution is needed now that the conditions for solution have matured.

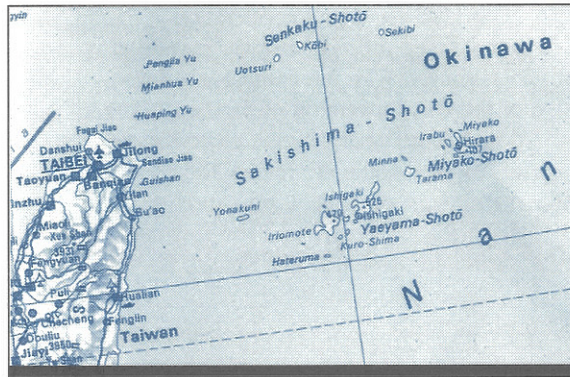
<sup>4</sup> J.R.V. Prescott, "Maritime Jurisdiction in East Asian Seas," Occasional Papers of the East-West Environment and Policy Institute, East-West Center, 1987, Paper No. 4, pp. 54-55.

<sup>5</sup> Gerald W. Berkley, "The Issue of Sovereignty over Diaoyudao," paper for the 34th International Congress of Asian and African States, University of Hong Kong, August 23-27, 1993, p. 4.

On the one hand, economic development has been the primary task of each nation, while the need for marine resources is rising. The global demand for oil will eventually outstrip supply, and the East China Sea is thought to contain from ten to one hundred billion barrels. On the other hand, the improvement of political relations among regional countries and the development of regional economic, political, and security cooperation provide greater opportunities for dispute settlement. Mutual confidence between China and Japan has grown, diplomatic recognition between China and the republic of Korea has been established, and relations across the Taiwan Strait have greatly developed. The time is ripe for the parties with interest in the Diaoyudao disputes to meet and discuss a settlement—for which there are three options.

◆ **Option One:** Come to an agreement on the boundary delimitation through negotiations in a spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation. China and Japan could work out compromises on several key points:

- the continental shelf delimitation, between China's adherence to natural prolongation of land territory and Japan's adherence to the 200 NM limit and its insistence on the median line principle;<sup>6</sup>
- the factor of the Okinawa Trough, between China's insistence on considering it, and Japan's insistence that it be ignored;<sup>7</sup>
- the relevance of the Diaoyudao islands to continental shelf claims, between China's denial of the Diaoyudaos' relevance, and Japan's taking them as base points. The suggested solution that "using



the coastline ratio derived from the respective length of the eastern China and Ryuku shores, the equidistant line boundary could be adjusted...in a [16:9] ratio in favor of China,"<sup>8</sup> might be considered.

◆ **Option Two:** Agree to put this issue to the International Court of Justice for arbitration, or accept other forms of third-party involvement. Asian countries such as China and Japan are not accustomed to appeal to the international court, but there have been numerous precedents; and in general, its decisions have been equitable and respected by the concerned countries. For example, disputes between Argentina

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<sup>6</sup> The median line principle is premised on the idea that if contested sea boundaries of two countries overlap, regardless of undersea geological features, the median distance between the shorelines of the outermost land territories of the contesting nations shall be taken as the definitive boundary between them.

<sup>7</sup> The Okinawa Trough has been a source of controversy in determining the continental shelf in legal terms, because it does not follow the Japanese coast closely, and is highly irregular. China holds that this proves that the continental shelves of China and Japan are not connected, that the Trough serves as the boundary between the two countries, and thus that the Trough should not be ignored. Japan, on the other hand, holds that the Trough is just an incidental depression in a continuous continental margin between the two countries.

<sup>8</sup> *Far Eastern Economic Review*, March 31, 1988, p. 31.

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and Chile over the Beagle Channel lasted for 150 years, but were finally settled through third-party mediation.

◆ **Option Three:** Work for joint development in the disputed areas. This is an exciting—and at present is probably the most feasible—approach.

The settlement of the Diaoyudao disputes should not be a prerequisite to the development of resources. Although sea areas immediately surrounding the islands seem of low prospect in oil and gas reserves, those in the disputed continental shelf areas do have other good possibilities, and are also abundant in other minerals and fishery resources. Exploitation of these resources should not be delayed by jurisdictional disputes.

Overlapping zones of continental shelf claims by each related party should first be specified. In this case, the “region could be divided into north and south zones along latitude 30 degrees north, which bisects the East China Sea east to west, passing just south of Shanghai and the southernmost island of Japan.”<sup>9</sup> In the north zone, China’s and South Korea’s claims based on natural prolongation and Japan’s claim based on the equidistance principle for 200 NM rights could be relatively easily figured out, as Japan and South Korea have since 1974 already exercised a joint development zone. The three sides could then work out arrangements for joint sharing of profits and losses in the overlapping areas.

In the south zone the specification of overlapping zones would be a bit difficult. There are three factors affecting the delimitation, i.e., whether the Okinawa Trough should be ignored, whether the Diaoyudao Islands are entitled to continental shelf claims, and to whom the Diaoyudao Islands belong. One might first work out the overlapping zone between China’s stand of natural prolongation by taking the Okinawa Trough into consideration and Japan’s stand of the median line principle for 200 NM rights by ignoring the Okinawa Trough. Then one might further work out the effects of the Diaoyudao Islands on the overlapping zone including the islands’ ownership and their having or not having

continental shelf claims.

When the overlapping zones in the south portion are specified, China and Japan could get together for joint development negotiations. They could discuss conducting a joint assessment of the petroleum resources in the area and launching a full-scale joint development zone program. Protection of the marine environment, the conservation of living resources, and joint inter-fishing regulations could also be included in the talks. Insofar as China’s Taiwan is related, arrangements could be made between China’s mainland and Taiwan. Joint development in the East China Sea might be included in the talks between them.

The exploitation of resources and development of the economy are common needs of the world’s people. Economic needs and cooperation should take precedence over sovereignty disputes. With the coming into force of the UN Convention of the Law of the Sea, it is necessary for the coastal states of troubled waters to review their maritime relations with one another toward joint efforts—and this is hoped for the parties in dispute over the Diaoyudao Islands. ■

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.



**Ji Guoxing** is a professor of political science and the director of the Asian-Pacific Department at the Shanghai Institute for International Studies. He graduated from Shanghai International Studies University, and specializes in politics, security and international relations in the Asian-Pacific, having published numerous articles and monographs in Chinese and English on Asian-Pacific developments. He has been a visiting scholar at the Institute of East Asian Studies, UC Berkeley; the Centre for Asian-Pacific Studies of Lingnan College, Hong Kong; and the Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University. He is currently a visiting scholar at IGCC, conducting research on East Asian maritime territorial disputes.

## ISA PROGRAM CHAIRS

### Call for Papers

**D**avid A. Lake (Research Director for International Relations at IGCC and Professor of Political Science at UC San Diego) and Stephan Haggard (Professor of International Relations in UC San Diego’s School of International Relations and Pacific Studies) have recently been appointed Program Chairs for the 1996 Annual Convention of the International Studies Association (ISA), to be held in San Diego, April 16–20, 1996.

The convention will address the question: “Where to Next in International Studies?”, a theme defined by the chairs in conjunction with Professor Susan Strange of the University of Warwick, 1995–1996 ISA President. While building upon past efforts devoted to understanding and explaining interstate relations, the conference organizers believe there is room and need for other perspectives and more critical theories addressing a wider range of international problems. Illustrative topics for this broader agenda include the continuing integration of the international economy; degradation of the global environment; growing transborder flows of arms, drugs, money, information, and people; and rising intrastate conflicts.

Lake and Haggard also want to expand participation in the ISA convention, hoping to broaden the range of disciplines represented at the meetings and increase attendance from outside North America, especially from scholars from Asia, Latin America, the ex-socialist countries, and other developing regions.

Individuals wishing to present papers or organize panels should submit a proposal by June 15, 1995 to ISA Program, IGCC (see p. 15); phone (619) 534-7252 (ISA Program office); or e-mail [isaprog@ucsd.edu](mailto:isaprog@ucsd.edu). The complete program statement, with additional guidelines for submission, will be published in the Spring newsletter of the ISA and may also be obtained by contacting the ISA Program or Dr. Lake at IGCC. ■

# POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF ETHNIC CONFLICT

**C**ontinued clashes in Bosnia, prolonged civil wars in Angola, Sudan, and Tajikistan, and intense fighting in Chechnya demonstrate how ethnic conflict dominates international relations in many parts of the world. Driven by the need for better understanding of these conflicts and ways to resolve them, IGCC's project on the International Spread and Management of Ethnic Conflict held two workshop meetings in the first few months of 1995. Both of these workshops, funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts, considered how the U.S. and the world community can and should deal with incidents of ethnic violence and separatism.

The January meeting, held in La Jolla, focused on the interests and role of the United States in managing ethnic conflicts. A panel discussion on the pros, cons, possibilities, and pitfalls of U.S. intervention featured John Steinbruner of the Brookings Institution, George Kenney, former U.S. State Department Desk Officer for Yugoslavia, Michael Klare of Hampshire College, and Michael Mazarr of the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Working group members also heard papers authored by distinguished scholars Leonard Binder, Stephen Krasner and David Rapoport on international norms and moral issues involved in intervention into ethnic strife.

The working group's March meeting at UC Davis concentrated on conflicts in the former Soviet states. James Fearon, Paula Garb, Cynthia Kaplan, Timur Kuran, and Lawrence Robertson presented their latest research on this topic.

The workshop's policy panel was made up of senior academic specialists and policy makers from Russia and neighboring countries: Sergei Arutiunov of the Institute of Ethnology, Russian Academy of Sciences; Andrus Saar of Saar Poll Ltd., Tallinn, Estonia; Galina Starovoitova, former Minister for Nationalities Affairs of the Russian Federation and currently Visiting Professor at Brown University; and Andranik Migranyan and Emil Pain, advisors to President Boris Yeltsin on strategic and nationalities issues. The panelists, expressing widely varying points of view, debated Russia's actions in Chechnya and the underlying causes of ethnic tension in the Baltic States.

Panelists' remarks from both meetings, together with summaries of the ensuing discussions, will be collected and published as IGCC Policy Papers, while related policy implications are presented in IGCC's new Policy Brief series (concise recommendations aimed at policymakers) as PB No. 2 "Ethnic Conflict Isn't," by Beverly Crawford and Ronnie Lipschutz, and PB No. 3, *Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention*, by David Lake. In addition, some of the conference papers will be available through IGCC Online (see p. 16).

See *Viewpoints*, pp. 8-9; *Participants List*, p.10; *Fall, 1994 Newsletter*. ■

## Noteworthy

IGCC's Central Office sadly notes the death of our fiscal officer, **Rebecca "Becky" Ball**, on March 11, 1995. Becky had been with the University since 1968, and joined IGCC in February, 1989. She will be fondly remembered for her skills, humor, and bright spirit.

All of us at IGCC were saddened to hear of the passing of **Shalheveth Freier** on November 27, 1994. An eminent nuclear physicist and a leading member of the Pugwash Movement, Professor Freier was Director General of the Israel Atomic Energy Commission and was a participant in our second Workshop on Arms Control and Security in the Middle East.

The CIA has cited **Gordon J. MacDonald**, IGCC Research Director of International Environmental Policy, with the Agency Seal Medallion for his superior efforts in leading the scientific review for the Environmental Task Force, the nation's first post-Cold War review of classified assets for non-intelligence and non-military purposes. Dr. MacDonald is also inaugurating a new series of IGCC Policy Briefs with PB No. 1, *Environmental Security*.

**Raymond Cléménçon**, IGCC Senior Research Fellow, has published an article in the Winter 1995 edition of the *Journal of Environment and Development* titled "Global Climate Change and the Trade System: Bridging the Culture Gap." Contact *The Journal* at UCSD-IRPS, 9500 Gilman Drive, La Jolla, CA 92093-0519, to subscribe.

IGCC has conducted the third **Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue**, a high-level consultation designed to reduce mistrust among China, Japan, North and South Korea, Russia, and the United States (See Spring, Fall 1994 *Newsletters*). The last round of discussions was held in Moscow, Russia on April 27-28, 1995.

With the **Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy** (BRIE) and its expertise in Japanese high-technology investment studies, IGCC is embarking upon a project to determine the nature of relationships between Chinese and Japanese investment networks in Asia. The **U.S.-Japan Friendship Commission** is funding two case studies on Vietnam and Taiwan.

**T.V. Paul**, 1989-1991 IGCC fellow, has published his IGCC-funded dissertation *Asymmetric Conflicts: War Initiation by Weaker Powers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Dr. Paul, Assistant Professor in Political Science at McGill University, is now working on another book project, *Power versus Norms: Why Nations Forbear Nuclear Weapons*.

University of Chicago Press has recently published 1985-1989 IGCC fellow **Michael D. Bess's** revised dissertation, *Realism, Utopia, and the Mushroom Cloud: Four Activist Intellectuals and Their Strategies for Peace*. Dr. Bess is currently Assistant Professor of History at Vanderbilt University.



# Viewpoints: *Nationalist Secession*

## Resolving Ethnic Conflicts in the Caucasus

by *Andranik Migranyan*

The ethnic conflicts in the Caucasus that have reached the stage of military confrontation are a direct result of the disintegration of the Soviet Union and are connected with attempts to transform the Soviet system into a democratic state. The roots of these conflicts—which have always existed in a latent state, with outbreaks from time to time which were repressed by the Soviet regime—lie in the creation by the Bolsheviks of national-territorial state structures which gave preferential rights to their titular nationalities. Consequently, Abkhazians, Ossetians, and Karabakh Armenians never recognized the legitimacy of the borders of Georgia or Azerbaijan when those states became independent.

The collapse of the Union and the transformation of former union republics into independent states further intensified these conflicts. With the formation of state structures along the lines of previous national-territorial autonomous units, many ethnic groups found themselves without any guarantees or protection from the states created by the titular nationalities. As a result, despite the recognition of the new states of the Caucasus (Georgia and Azerbaijan) by international organizations, these states and their borders were never acknowledged as legitimate by the Abkhazians, Ossetians, or Karabakh Armenians. These peoples thus demanded independence from Georgia and Armenia just as Georgians and Azerbaijanis once demanded independence from the Soviet Union.

No one can derive any international legal principles that determine which peoples have the right to the formation of national states and which do not. In the real world, therefore, ethnic groups that successfully assert their independence by force of arms, and gain recognition of this over the course of time, construct independent states. The most visible examples

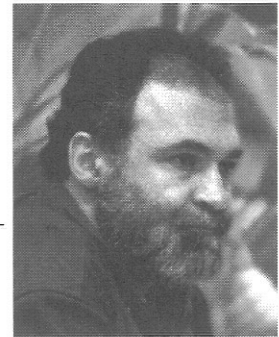
of this in recent years are Israel, Palestine, and Cyprus. Today, this process is occurring in Karabakh, Abkhazia, Ossetia, Transdniestria, Bosnia, and Krajina.

Can these conflicts be resolved? In fact, these conflicts cannot be expected to solve themselves peacefully. The principle of territorial integrity stands in opposition to the principle of self-determination. These problems can therefore be solved only by force, or by the concerted action of the international community.

Neither the West nor the international community, however, is in a position to resolve ethnic conflicts in the Caucasus region. Russia is the only major power with vital interests directly at stake in these conflicts, and Ossetia, Abkhazia, and Karabakh have repeatedly expressed their desire to become part of the Russian Federation.

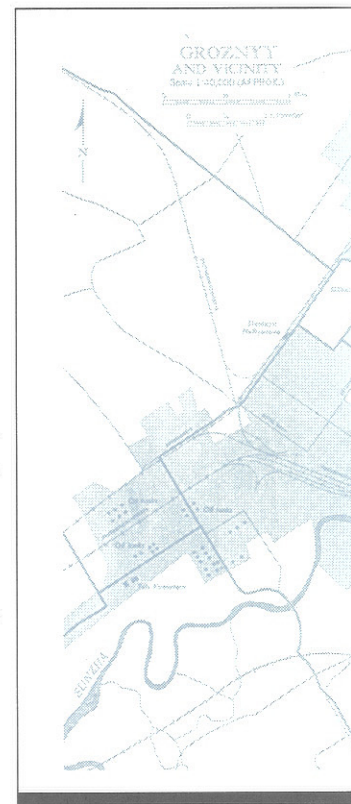
It seems to me, therefore, that creation of a single federalized system including the North Caucasus, Transcaucasia, and Russia offers the best means of ending or controlling the many conflicts in this region. This is far from indisputable, and there could be many obstacles on this path. But in any event, this solution would offer a real chance for solving many problems connected with the preservation of peace and

stability in this strife-torn part of the former U.S.S.R. ■



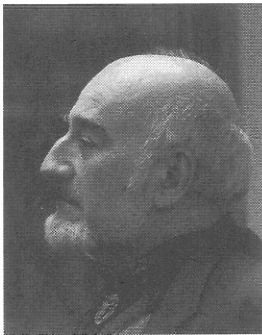
**Andranik Migranyan**

**“In the real world, ethnic groups that successfully assert their independence by force of arms... construct independent states... These problems can therefore be solved only by force or by the concerted action of the international community.”  
—Andranik Migranyan**



**Andranik Migranyan**, as a member of the Presidential Council of the Russian Federation and chief expert for the Russian Federation State Duma’s Committee on CIS Affairs, advises Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

# s. COLONIAL AGGRESSION



Sergei Arutiunov

## Genocide in the Caucasus

by Sergei Arutiunov

**T**here are no right sides in ethnic conflicts—at least today, nobody is right, and everybody is wrong. But if we look at the present situation in more detail, we can compare it to World War I. As we all know, although World War I was triggered by a fanatic nationalist intellectual, the basic responsibility

for the war lies with the designs of the great powers—Germany, Austria–Hungary, and others as well—to establish their domination over ever-larger territories. The same is true of the conflicts in the Caucasus today. They are all triggered by small groups of fanatics and nationalist intellectuals, but the basic responsibility for them lies with the governments and ruling elites of larger nations such as Russia.

What is happening now in Chechnya is, unequivocally, a genocide. Everyone who wishes to call himself a liberal democrat (or whatever nice-sounding name) must realize that the killing of Chechens by Russians in Chechnya is no more Russia's internal affair than the killing of Jews in Germany was Germany's internal affair. Chechnya is not Russia; Chechnya is no more an integral part of Russia than Algeria was an integral part of France. Russian troops now in Chechnya are doing exactly the same in form and content, in quality and quantity, that the German Wehrmacht did in Belarus in 1941. And the response now in Chechnya will be the same as it was then in Belarus: partisan warfare. It will resemble what happened for decades in Ulster, or

will be similar to the West Bank *intifada* and other guerrilla wars.

This response will not be rooted in simple ethnic hatred. Chechens do not nurture any hatred towards the average Russian. If anything, they are disposed for benevolence, friendship, and good relations with these people with whom they live side by side. There have been conflicts of course, there have been mutual assaults, but there has also been intermarriage. Many Chechens have Cossack grandmothers; many Cossacks have Chechen grandmothers, and consider themselves cousins related by blood.

But for a Chechen, as for every Caucasian, to be a man is to remember the names of seven generations of paternal ancestors: the father, grandfather, great-grandfather and seventh great-great-grandfather; and not only their names, but the circumstances of their deaths and the places of their tombstones. This constitutes an enormous depth of historic memory, and in many cases the remembered deaths occurred at the hands of Russian soldiers—under Catherine the Great; under Nicholas the First; under Stalin. So for every Chechen, there is a Russian soldier or a Russian general who is viewed as evil incarnate; as the devil himself.

Furthermore, Chechnya was and is a society of military democracy. Chechnya never had any kings, emirs, princes, or barons. Unlike other Caucasian nations, there was never feudalism in Chechnya. Traditionally, it was governed by a council of elders on the basis of consensus, but like all military democracies—like the Iroquois in America or the Zulu in southern Africa—Chechens retain the institution of military chief. In peacetime, they recognize no sovereign authority, and may be fragmented into a hundred rival clans. However, in time of danger, when faced with aggression, the rival clans unite and elect a military leader. This leader may be known to everyone as an unpleasant personality, but is elected nonetheless for being a good general. While the war is on, this leader is obeyed.

Dzhokar Dudaev is an example of this type of leader. His presidency is, in this sense, a historical accident. In peacetime, in cooperation with corrupt Russian generals, his circle conducted gigantic smuggling operations of arms and drugs through Chechnya from Russia to Iran, Iraq, and elsewhere in the Near East. Before the Russian invasion, he had lost a great deal of prestige and popularity—by September 1994, perhaps no more than 20% of the total Chechen population supported him, and this support was mostly limited to his own clan and others related by clan ties.

Despite Dudaev's transgressions, because of the military leadership tradition many Chechens will fight under him (or another like him) as long as they feel threatened by Russian invaders. Chechens will fight against Russian occupation even if there will be no wholesale Caucasian war (as would have been inevitable if the Russian intervention in Chechnya had occurred two or three years ago); even if, as is likely, other nationalities in the Caucasus only render only lip service to the Chechen fighters. Thus, the war and its atrocities will probably continue for a very long time. ■

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**Sergei Arutiunov** is professor of anthropology and director of the Caucasus Department, Institute of Ethnology, Russian Academy of Sciences.

# The International Spread and Management of Ethnic Conflict

## List of Participants

### La Jolla, California, 13-14 January 1995

**\*Mr. Alemseged ABBAY**  
Dept. of Ethnic Studies,  
UC Berkeley

**\*Prof. Rogers BRUBAKER**  
Dept. of Sociology,  
UC Los Angeles

**\*†Dr. Beverly CRAWFORD**  
Director of Research, Center  
for German and European  
Studies, UC Berkeley

**\*Prof. Scott GARTNER**, Dept.  
of Political Science, UC Davis

**\*Prof. Sandra HALPERIN**  
Dept. of Political Science,  
U. of Pittsburgh, PA

**\*Ms. Kathleen HANCOCK**  
Graduate School of International  
Relations and  
Pacific Studies,  
UC San Diego



Ms. Kathleen Hancock

†We apologize to Dr. Crawford, who we  
incorrectly identified as Paula Garb in  
the Fall, 1994 *Newsletter*.

**\*Prof. Cynthia S. KAPLAN**  
Political Science  
Dept., UC Santa  
Barbara



Prof. Cynthia S. Kaplan

**Prof. Michael T. KLARE**  
Director, Five  
College Program  
in Peace and  
World Security  
Studies,  
Hampshire  
College, Amherst,  
MA



Prof. Michael T. Klare

**Mr. George KENNEY**  
Washington, DC

**\*Prof. Gail KLIGMAN**, Dept.  
of Sociology, UC Los Angeles

**Prof. Stephen KRASNER**  
Dept. of Political Science,  
Stanford U., CA

**\*Prof. David LAKE**  
IGCC, UC San Diego

**Prof. Ronnie D. LIPSCHUTZ**  
Adlai Stevenson  
Program on  
Global Security,  
UC Santa Cruz



Prof. Ronnie Lipschutz

**Dr. Michael MAZARR**  
Center for  
Strategic and  
Int'l Studies,  
Washington, DC



Dr. Michael Mazarr

**\*Prof. Will H. MOORE**, Political  
Science Dept.,  
UC Riverside

**\*Ms. Traci PRICE-FAHIMI**,  
Dept. of Political  
Science, UC Los  
Angeles



Prof. Will H. Moore

**\*Prof. Philip G. ROEDER**, Political Science  
Dept., UC San Diego

\* Also attended March, 1995 meeting

**\*Prof. Donald S. ROTHCHILD**  
Political Science  
Dept., UC Davis



Prof. Stephen Saideman

**\*Prof. Stephen SAIDEMAN**  
Dept. of  
Political Science,  
U. of Vermont

**Prof. Anna SIMONS**  
Dept. of Anthropology,  
UC Los Angeles

**Dr. John David STEIN-  
BRUNER**

Director, Foreign Policy  
Studies, Brookings Institution,  
Washington, DC

**Prof. Nirvikar SINGH**  
Board of Studies in Economics,  
UC Santa Cruz

**Prof. Etel SOLINGEN**  
Dept. of Politics, UC Irvine

**\*Dr. Fred WEHLING**  
IGCC, UC San Diego

### Davis, California, 10-11 March, 1995

**Prof. Sergei ARUTIUNOV**  
Director, Caucasus Dept.,  
Institute of Ethnology, Russian  
Academy of Sciences

**Ms. Victoria BONNELL**  
Director, Center for Slav and  
East European Studies, UC  
Berkeley

**Dr. Nora DUDWICK, Kennan**  
Institute for Advanced Russian  
Studies, Washington, DC

**Prof. James FEARON**, Dept. of  
Political Science,  
U. of Chicago, IL



Prof. Paula Garb

**Mr. Daniel K. FROATS**, Dept. of  
Political Science,  
Stanford U., CA

†**Dr. Paula GARB**  
Assistant Director,  
Global Peace and  
Conflict Studies,  
UC Irvine



Mr. Paul Goble

**Mr. Paul GOBLE**  
Carnegie Endowment for Int'l  
Peace, Washington, DC

**Prof. Bernard GROFMAN**  
Dept. of Political  
Science,  
UC Irvine



Prof. Bernard Grofman

**Ms. Armine ISHKANIAN**  
Anthropology  
Dept.,  
UC San Diego

**Mr. Arthur KHACHIKIAN**  
Institute on Int'l Studies,  
Stanford U., CA

**Prof. Edmond J. KELLER**  
Political Science Dept.,  
UC Los Angeles

**Prof. Timur KURAN**, Dept. of  
Economics, U. of Southern  
California, Los Angeles

**Prof. Gail LAPIDUS**, Institute  
for Int'l Studies,  
Stanford U., CA

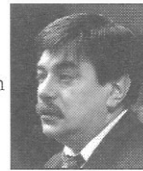


Prof. Gail Lapidus

**Ms. Letitia LAW-  
SON**, Dept. of  
Political Science,  
UC Davis

**Dr. Andrei MIGRANYAN**  
Special Advisor to the State  
Duma, Institute of Int'l  
Economics and Political Studies,  
Russian Federation

**Dr. Emil PAIN**  
Presidential  
Advisory Council,  
Russian Federation



Dr. Emil Pain

**Prof. Robert M. PRICE**, Political  
Science Dept.,  
UC Berkeley

**Prof. David C. RAPOPORT**  
Political Science  
Dept., UC Los  
Angeles



Prof. L. Robertson

**Prof. Lawrence R. ROBERTSON**  
Graduate School  
of Int'l Studies, U.  
of Miami, FL

**Dr. Andrus SAAR**  
Saar Poll, Ltd.,  
Estonia



Dr. Andrus Saar

**Prof. Randolph M. SIVERSON**  
Political Science Dept., UC  
Davis

**Prof. Galina STAROVOITOVA**  
Center for  
Foreign Policy  
Development,  
Providence RI



Prof. Galina Starovoitova

**Dr. Ned WALKER**

Director, Program in Post-Soviet  
Studies, UC Berkeley

**Prof. C.S. WHITAKER**  
Director, Center for Multiethnic  
and Transnational Studies, U. of  
Southern California, Los  
Angeles

\*See January, 1995 meeting partici-  
pant list above for attendees of both  
meetings.

†We apologize to Dr. Garb for mis-  
takenly associating her name with  
Beverly Crawford's photograph in the  
Fall, 1994 *Newsletter*. She is correctly  
depicted here.

# PRACTICAL APPROACHES TO MIDDLE EAST PEACE

**W**hile negotiations on all aspects of the Middle East peace process continue apace, problems such as terrorism, economic underdevelopment, and refugees threaten to undermine the region's progress toward peace. Participants and observers of the talks have long recognized a continuing need for innovative, practical approaches to overcoming these problems. To help meet this need, IGCC invited an international group of scholars and diplomats to its conference "Promoting Regional Cooperation in the Middle East," held November 4-7 1994 in Vouliagmeni (near Athens), Greece.

Co-sponsored by the Institute of International Relations of Panteion University in Athens, this conference was the first meeting of Arab and Israeli specialists in the five functional areas of the multilateral talks (arms control and security, economic cooperation, the

environment, refugees, and water) held since the signing of the Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty in October 1994. The promise of peace embodied in that agreement, and the many problems which remain to be solved, were very much on the minds of the Arab, Israeli, European, and American specialists who exchanged ideas at the meeting. The conference was funded by the CRB Foundation, the W. Alton Jones Foundation, the Ploughshares Fund, the Lawrence Livermore and Sandia National Laboratories, and private donations.

After briefings by negotiators on the current state of the official talks, the conferees met in working groups to develop new approaches to key issues and underlying problems in the peace process. Ideas discussed in the free-ranging, informal sessions included the role of satellites in cooperative monitor-

ing of arms control agreements, an international environmental protection regime for the Gulf of Aqaba, and ways of meeting the humanitarian needs of Palestinian refugees.

While many points of disagreement in the contentious region remained clear throughout the meeting, the working groups agreed on substantive recommendations for each functional area of the ongoing negotiations. These will be collected in a summary report, which will be presented to policymakers and scholars throughout the region and published as an IGCC Policy Paper. Conference working papers are now available via IGCC Online (see p. 16).

A related book, *Practical Peacemaking in the Middle East Volume I: Arms Control and Regional Security*, Steven L. Spiegel and David J. Pervin, eds., is now available from Garland Publishing. To order, call (800) 627-6273. ■

## Promoting Regional Cooperation in the Middle East

Vouliagmeni, Greece, 4-7 November, 1994

### List of Participants

**Dr. Taisir Ismail AMRE**  
Palestinian National  
Authority, Hebron, West  
Bank



Dr. Taisir Ismail Amre

**Prof. Howard ADELMAN**  
Centre for Refugee  
Studies, York U., North  
York, Canada

**Mr. Mahmoud A. AL-KHOSHMAN**  
Project Manager, Environment & Quality  
Assurance Services, Inc. (EQAS),  
Amman, Jordan

**Dr. Saleh AL-MANI**  
Dept. of Politics, King Saud U., Riyadh,  
Saudi Arabia

**Prof. Abdul-Monem Mohd AL-MASHAT**  
Faculty of Economics and Political  
Science, Cairo U., Egypt

**Dr. Mohamad S.M. AMERAH**  
Ministry of Economy and Commerce,  
Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates

**Mr. Saul ARLOSOROFF**  
The Harry S. Truman Research Institute  
for the Advancement of Peace, Hebrew  
U. of Jerusalem, Israel

**Prof. Yoram AVNIMELECH**  
Faculty of Agricultural Engineering,  
Technion-Israel Institute of Technology,  
Haifa, Israel

**Dr. Frederick W. AXELGARD**  
US Dept. of State, Washington, DC

**Mr. Micha BAR**  
Research Fellow, Leonard Davis  
Institute, Hebrew U. of Jerusalem, Israel

**Mr. Hanan BAR-ON**  
Vice-President for Int'l Operation and  
Public Affairs, Weizman Institute of  
Science, Rehovot, Israel

**Mr. Kent L. BIRINGER**  
Senior Member of Technical Staff,  
Sandia National Laboratories,  
Albuquerque, NM

**Ms. Noga BLITZ**  
Director, Deputy Water  
Commissioner, Ministry of  
Agriculture, Tel Aviv,  
Israel



Ms. Noga Blitz

**Amb. Shamay CAHANA**  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Ret.),  
Jerusalem, Israel

**Dr. Yuval COHEN**  
Director-General, Israel Oceanographic  
& Limnological Research, Ltd., Haifa,  
Israel

**Prof. Stephen P. COHEN**  
President, Institute for Middle East  
Peace and Economic Cooperation,  
Montreal, Canada

**Chancellor Dmitrios CONSTAS**  
Institute for Int'l Relations, Panteion U.,  
Athens, Greece

**Dr. Lewis Austin DUNN**  
Vice President and Manager, Science  
Applications Int'l Corporation, Center  
for National Security Negotiations,  
McLean, VA

**Prof. Khadija  
ELMADMAD**  
Faculte Des Sciences  
Juridiques, U. Hassan II,  
Casablanca-Maarif,  
Morocco



Prof. Khadija Elmadmad

**Dr. Shai FELDMAN**  
Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel  
Aviv U., Israel

*continued on p. 12*

continued from p. 11

**Prof. Gideon FISHELSON**  
Dept. of Economics, Tel Aviv U., Israel

**Dr. Osama EL GHAZALI HARB**  
Deputy Director, Al Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies (CPSS), Cairo, Egypt

**Mr. Ali Z. GHEZAWI**  
Royal Scientific Society, Amman, Jordan

**Prof. Joseph GINAT**  
Director, The Jewish-Arab Center, U. of Haifa, Israel



Prof. Joseph Ginat

**Dr. Isadore GOLD**  
Director of U.S. Foreign and Defense Policy Project, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv, Israel

**Dr. Munther J. HADDADIN**  
Development & Engineering Consultants, ROID, Amman, Jordan

**Major General (Res.) Ahmed Abdel HALIM**  
Chief, Military and Strategic Unit, National Center for Middle East Studies, Cairo, Egypt



MG Ahmed Abdel Halim

**Prof. Ariel HALPERIN**  
Dept. of Economics, Hebrew U. of Jerusalem, Israel

**Dr. Mark Allan HELLER**  
Senior Research Associate, The Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv U., Israel

**Mr. Omar HILALES**  
Counselor in the Cabinet of the Secretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rabat, Morocco



Mr. Omar Hilale

**Mr. Said Misbah KANAN**  
Chairman, Board of Trustees, Center for Palestine Research and Studies (CPRS), Nablus, West Bank

**Prof. Ephraim KLEIMAN**  
Dept. of Economics, Hebrew U. of Jerusalem, Israel

**Mr. Yaacov KOLTON**  
Tel Aviv U., Israel

**Dr. Ronald F. LEHMAN II**  
Assistant to the Director, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, Livermore, CA

**Ms. Sally LILIENTHAL**  
Ploughshares Fund, San Francisco, CA

**Mr. Shemuel MEIR**  
Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv U., Israel

**Prof. Afaf I. MELEIS**  
Dept. of Mental Health, Community and Administrative Nursing, UC San Francisco



Prof. Afaf I. Meleis

**Ms. Lynda L. PALEVSKY**  
Board of Directors, Ploughshares Fund, Santa Monica, CA

**Dr. Joel PETERS**  
Dept. of Politics, U. of Reading, United Kingdom

**Prof. Athanassios PLATIAS**  
Institute for Int'l Relations, Panteion U., Athens, Greece

**Dr. Alan PLATT**  
Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher, Washington, DC

**Dr. Arian L. PREGENZER**  
Manager, Verification and Monitoring Analysis Dept., Sandia National Laboratories, Albuquerque, NM

**Prof. Alan RICHARDS**  
Board of Studies in Economics, UC Santa Cruz

**Dr. James G. ROCHE**  
Corporate Vice President & Chief Advanced Development & Planning Officer, Northrop Grumman Corporation, Los Angeles, CA

**Prof. Richard N. ROSECRANCE**  
Director, Center for Int'l Relations (CIR), UC Los Angeles

**Dr. Ezra SADAN**  
The Volcani Center, Agricultural Research, Bet Dagen, Israel

**Dr. Yezid J. SAYIGH**  
Assistant Director, St. Antony's College, Oxford U., United Kingdom

**Dr. Lawrence SCHEINMAN**  
Assistant Director, Nonproliferation and Regional Arms Control Bureau, US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Washington, DC

**Prof. Haim SHAKED**  
Director, Middle East Studies Institute, Coconut Grove, FL



Prof. Haim Shaked

**Mr. Stanley SHEINBAUM**  
Publisher, *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Los Angeles, CA

**Prof. Etel SOLINGEN**  
Dept. of Politics and Society, UC Irvine

**Prof. Steven L. SPIEGEL**  
Dept. of Political Science, UC Los Angeles

**Prof. Janice STEIN**  
Centre for Int'l Studies, U. of Toronto, Canada



Prof. Janice Stein

**Prof. Gerald M. STEINBERG**  
Research Director, Besa Center for Strategic Studies, Ramat-Gan, Israel

**Prof. Salim TAMARI**  
Unit for Mediterranean Studies, Ramallah, West Bank

**Dr. W. Andrew TERRILL, Jr.**  
Int'l Security Analyst, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, Livermore, CA

**Dr. Abdullah TOUKAN**  
Science Advisor to His Majesty King Hussein I, The Royal Palaces, Amman, Jordan

**Mr. Michael G. VANNONI**  
Senior Member of Technical Staff, Verification and Monitoring Analysis Dept., Sandia National Laboratories, Albuquerque, NM

**Mr. Philip N. WARBURG**  
Director, Middle East Program, Environmental Law Institute, Jerusalem, Israel



Mr. Philip N. Warburg

**Prof. Andrew WATSON**  
Dept. of Economics, U. of Toronto, Canada

**Dr. Fred WEHLING**  
Coordinator of Policy Research, IGCC, UC San Diego

**Mr. Aharon ZOHAR**  
Director, Ashdod-Vavne Regional Association for Environmental Protection, Carmei-Yosef, Israel

## NEW IAB MEMBERS

**D**uring the past two years, IGCC has been honored to add eight members to our International Advisory Board (IAB), which reviews and provides guidance for IGCC research activities and fellowship programs.

### Dr. Morton I.

**ABRAMOWITZ** is President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. After 30 years' service with the U.S. State Department, he was U.S. Ambassador to Turkey until 1991. A member of numerous councils, institutes, and boards, Dr. Abramowitz is widely published in major national newspapers and magazines, and authored *Remaking China Policy* and *Moving the Glacier: the Two Koreas and the Powers*.

### Prof. Marvin

**GOLDBERGER** has been a professor of physics at major universities since 1955, and is now Dean of Natural Sciences, UC San Diego. Formerly director of the Princeton Institute of Advanced Study, and former president of the California Institute of Technology, in 1987 he received the Leonard I. Beerman Peace and Justice Award.

**Dr. Ronald F. LEHMAN** is assistant to the director of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, chair of the U.S. Congress Office of Technology Assessment advisory panel on countering proliferated weapons of mass destruction, and a member of the U.S. presidential advisory board on arms proliferation

policy. A former director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, he has served in numerous federal offices.

**Ms. Sally LILIENTHAL** is founder and president of the Ploughshares Fund. She was the founder and first chair of the Northern California Committee of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, and is a former national chair of Amnesty International/USA. For her com-

Policy Planning Staff, and was Democratic Staff Director, Senate Armed Services Committee.

**The Honorable Strobe TALBOTT**, on leave from the IAB since his appointment as U.S. Deputy Secretary of State early last year, previously held two other State Department posts. A *TIME* magazine correspondent, bureau chief, and editor-at-large for over twenty years, he authored

five books, edited two volumes of Nikita Khrushchev's memoirs, and recently co-authored *At the Highest Levels: the Inside Story of the End of the Cold War*.

### Dr. Abdullah TOUKAN

(Ph.D., Physics, MIT) is Science Advisor to His Majesty King Hussein I of Jordan. Widely published, for the past several years he has been a key participant in IGCC's Middle East arms control and multilateral peace process workshops (see p.11), and is Jordan's delegate to the Middle East regional arms control talks.

**Professor WANG Jisi** is director of the Institute of American Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social

Sciences in Beijing, and is a former lecturer, professor, and vice chairman of the Department of International Politics, Peking University. He has been a visiting fellow at St. Anthony's College, Oxford; research associate at the Institute of East Asian Studies, UC Berkeley; and visiting scholar at the University of Michigan.

See related articles introducing John Steinbruner and Stephen Solarz in the Spring, 1993 *Newsletter*; and introducing IAB Chair Arnold Kanter in the Spring, 1994 *Newsletter*. ■



IGCC faculty with IAB members at the January, 1995 annual meeting held in La Jolla, California. (L to R) First Row: Susan L. Shirk, Alexei Arbatov, Abdullah Toukan, Stephen Solarz, Helga Haftendorn, Gordon MacDonald. Second Row: John Steinbruner, Arnold Kanter (Chair), James Roche, Charles William Maynes. Third Row: Robert S. McNamara, Ronald Lehman, Wang Jisi, David Lake. Top Row: Sally Lilienthal, Herbert F. York, Randall Forsberg.

mitment to peace and human rights, in 1990 she received the United Nations Association Eleanor Roosevelt Humanitarian Award.

**Dr. James G. ROCHE** is Corporate Vice President and Chief Advanced Development and Planning Officer, Northrop Grumman Corporation. After retiring from the U.S. Navy, he served with the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, the Secretary of Defense Office of Net Assessment, was principal deputy director of the State Department's

## "A Wave of the Future"

### IAB Chair Comments on IGCC's National Research Role

At the January, 1995 annual IAB meeting held at La Jolla, California, IGCC IAB Chair Arnold Kanter commented on IGCC's present and future importance to national policy research agendas and policymaking, stating: "IGCC is more of a wave of the future than it perhaps intends to be—because

universities are going to be under ever-increasing pressure to 'pay back' the huge taxpayer investment not covered by tuition.

"Aside from the implied component of the IGCC mission—that of leveraging knowledge; of focusing research; of integrating 'real-world' policy experience and applying it to further work on societal problems—institutions like IGCC which try to bridge theory to practice can play a vital role in establishing two-way communications

between the scholarly and the policy communities.

"Time horizons are short in Washington. IGCC brings valuable perspective from outside the beltway to policy insiders. Members of the university community have access to work—both their own and that of others—that is otherwise simply unavailable to time-pressured policymakers."



IGCC IAB Chair Arnold Kanter

## IGCC Staff Update:

### Assistant Campus Programs Coordinator



Carol Putnam

**Carol PUTNAM** works with Campus Programs Coordinator Bettina Halvorsen (see Spring, 1993 *Newsletter*), providing administrative support in all aspects of the fellowship and grant cycle and coordinating Steering Committee and Campus Program Directors' meetings. A UCSD staff member since 1984, she has worked at the Scripps Institution of Oceanography, the School of Medicine, and the Facilities Design and Construction Department.

### Internet Administrator

**Matthew MAXWELL**, B.A., UC Irvine, actually joined IGCC in 1991 as front office receptionist. Since then, he has expanded his realm, and is now our "webmaster"—the Internet Gopher/World Wide Web administrator responsible for maintaining IGCC's Internet resources (see p. 16). A talented graphic artist, Maxwell created or retouched most of the illustrations and photos you see in this *Newsletter* or IGCC Online. He also maintains all of IGCC's databases, networks, and other computer resources.

### Fiscal Administrator



Rosalee M. Kitaen

**Rosalee M. KITAEN**, B.A., University of Arizona, comes to us from the UC San Diego Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, where she was a founding staff member and fiscal administrator. Previously, she served as a graduate fellowship advisor in the UC San Diego Office of Graduate Studies and Research. We are fortunate to draw upon her over 20 years of UC experience.

## IGCC Faculty Fellows

IGCC is pleased to announce our appointment of four Faculty Fellows for the 1994–1995 academic year.



Scott Gartner

**Scott Sigmund GARTNER** is an assistant professor of political science at UC Davis, where he teaches international relations and modeling. He received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Michigan in 1992, has published in *International Interactions*, *the Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, has a book forthcoming on strategic assessment in war, and is working on a game theoretic analysis of terrorism.

**Jeannette MONEY**, assistant professor of political science at UC Davis, is examining the determinants of immigration control policies in wealthier nations. She has received numerous awards and fellowships, and has published in the *British Journal of Political Science*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, and *International Political Science Review*. She also contributed to *Union Politics in Comparative Perspective: Economic Change and Intra-Class Conflict*.



Paul A. Papayouanou

**Paul A. PAPAYOANOOU**, assistant professor of political science at UC San Diego, is completing *Economic Interdependence and the Balance of Power*. He has contributed to *Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World* (David A. Lake and Patrick Morgan, eds., forthcoming); is engaged in game-theoretic work on alliances; and is co-editing a volume examining links between domestic and international politics in international relations.



Etel Solingen

**Etel SOLINGEN**, an assistant professor in the Dept. of Politics and Society, UC Irvine, is finishing a book on the Middle East multilateral peace process. A contributor to many edited collections and journals, she edited *Scientists and the State: Domestic Structures and the International Context*, and authored *Industrial Policy, Technology, and International Bargaining: Designing Nuclear Industries in Argentina and Brazil*. ■

## UC Davis Undergraduate Fellows



UC Davis IGCC Undergraduate Fellow Elvira Araza (standing) with Professor of Economics Deborah Swenson.

The UC Davis Institute of Governmental Affairs (IGA) has sponsored undergraduate research interns with \$500 quarterly fellowships since 1992. In 1994, IGA director Alan Olmstead accepted responsibility for the UC Davis IGCC campus program and significantly expanded this successful program, sponsoring nine 1994–1995 fellows with IGCC block grants.

In the past three years, a total of forty-one students have benefited from the program and many, including a Truman Scholar, have gone on to impressive graduate research careers. IGA-sponsored fellows have assisted social sciences faculty with research, co-authored publications, and presented conference papers on issues relevant to IGCC interests, including the effect on trade flows of changes in the international system.

According to UC Davis assistant professor of political science Scott Gartner (see column 2), chair of the program, at annual award luncheons students often characterize working with a faculty member as "the most important experience of their undergraduate education." The luncheons not only provide fellows an opportunity to describe their experiences to faculty, fellow students, and parents; they also enable the local press and other faculty to learn about ongoing research.

IGCC director Susan Shirk presented this year's awards in early April. ■

## The Human Face of Development

IGCC continues its series of teaching seminars that inform educators in University of California, Cal-State and community colleges about contemporary international affairs issues. On November 11–12, 1994, Professor Stephen Cullenberg, UC Riverside Economics Department, director of the UCR campus program on international economic conflict and cooperation, hosted a seminar on human development.



Keith Griffin, Economics Dept., UC Riverside and Pari Kasliwal, UCLA at the Human Development Teaching Seminar.

Professor Keith Griffin of the same department emphasized that *people* are both the object and agent of change in development strategies. Shifting from commodity-based development theories that focus on GNP growth and *material* capital investment, human development theories emphasize *human* capital formation through job training and income redistribution. Cullenberg discussed how the United Nations computes the human development index (HDI), an indicator of the overall welfare of a nation, from four variables: life expectancy, adult literacy, average years of schooling, and adjusted income.

Participants also heard from Professor Terry McKinley, of the United Nations Development Programme, about UN implementation of human development strategies. He pointed out that the UN does not view human development as the only blueprint for development, but that the HDI serves to shift attention away from GNP as the *sole* measure of development.

A seminar reading list is available upon request from IGCC Campus Programs. ■

## Religious Forces in World Affairs

IGCC was proud to sponsor 25 educators' attendance at the Religious Forces in the New World Dis-Order conference, organized by the UC Santa Barbara Interdisciplinary Humanities Center February 23–25, 1995. Professor Mark Juergensmeyer, UCSB Department of Sociology, chair of the UCSB Global Peace and Security Program, arranged for IGCC Teaching Seminar participants to attend the conference panels, and then hosted private sessions with a selection of the speakers.

Panelists from throughout the United States examined how transnational forces influence religious beliefs and national identities. Professor June O'Connor of the Religious Studies Department, UC Riverside, said that in order to gain new knowledge of other belief systems, we must first examine our own assumptions. Referring to a



Jean Molesky-Poz, UC Berkeley and R. Thomas Rosin, Sonoma State U. discussing course syllabi at the Religion in World Affairs Teaching Seminar.

Chinese proverb, O'Connor cautioned that two-thirds of what we see "is behind our own eyes."

Los Angeles Times international war correspondent Robin Wright said that early in her career she realized the extraordinary role of faith in organizing dissent or justifying violence. Wright believes religion and democratization are the two most important forces in the world today, which is still en route to a "new world order" in which religion will play an increasingly important political role.

The next IGCC teaching seminar, tentatively scheduled for Winter, 1996, will examine the international spread and management of ethnic conflict. ■

### 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

URL: <http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu/igcc/igccmenu.html>

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## Most Current Publications

**New Releases.** For a complete listing, see the Fall, 1994 *Newsletter*.

### IGCC Policy Briefs

*Environmental Security.* Gordon MacDonald. PB No. 1, February, 1995.

*"Ethnic" Conflict Isn't.* Ronnie Lipschutz and Beverly Crawford. PB No. 2, March, 1995.

*Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention.* David Lake. PB No. 3, April, 1995.

### IGCC Policy Papers

*China's Nonconformist Reforms.* John McMillan. PP No. 11, 20 pp., 1995.

### IGCC Books

*Strategic Views from the Second Tier: The Nuclear Weapons Policies of France, Great Britain, and China.* John C. Hopkins and Weixing Hu (eds.). ISBN: 1-56000-790-7, Transaction Publishers, 284 pp., 1995, \$21.95. *To order, call the publisher at (908) 932-2280.*

*Practical Peacemaking in the Middle East Volume I: Arms Control and Regional Security.* Steven L. Spiegel and David J. Pervin (eds.). Garland Publishers, 262 pp., \$38.00, 1995. *To order, call the publisher at (800) 627-6273.*

*Practical Peacemaking in the Middle East Volume II: The Environment, Water, Refugees, and Economic Cooperation and Development.*

Steven L. Spiegel and David J. Pervin (eds.). Garland Publishers, 425 pp., 1995. *To order, call the publisher at (800) 627-6273. Not yet in print.*

### Ordering Information

Single copies of publications available at IGCC are free of charge. To order, unless otherwise listed contact IGCC Publications at: e-mail [jpournelle@ucsd.edu](mailto:jpournelle@ucsd.edu), phone (619) 534-1979, or write to IGCC. Please include your name, shipping address, fax, e-mail, and phone numbers.



During 1994, the publishing world saw:

- Paper costs rise 25%;
- Postal rates rise 10%;
- Federal emphasis spark explosive growth in availability and use of the Internet ("information super highway").

With an ever-increasing demand for information about IGCC and its products, it was clear that despite rising expenses we needed to expand worldwide access to our works.

In cooperation with the UC San Diego Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, in December, 1994 IGCC established a "Gopher" server; in January we joined the World Wide Web. Thus, all IGCC materials and publications, including not

only text, but full-color photographs, sound and video clips, maps, and other graphics, are now available via the Internet.

Since the "Web" is expanding at a furious pace, the net result of our electronic effort has already been to quadruple circulation of IGCC materials, with no increase in cost—and without abandoning printed mailings to those with no Internet access.

Internet users can view information about or published by IGCC at (if you have already visited our web site, please note the new URL):

- [gopher://irpsserv26.ucsd.edu](mailto:gopher://irpsserv26.ucsd.edu) or, for www users, at URL:
- <http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu/igcc/igccmenu.html> ■

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



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