CONTRIBUTIONS
to the
STUDY of
PEACEMAKING

A Summary of

Completed

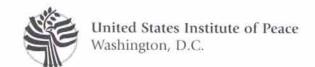**Grant Projects**

Volume 4

UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

Contributions to the Study of Peacemaking

Volume 4

A Summary of Completed Grant Projects through October 1995

prepared by Anne-Marie Smith

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Through its grant program, the United States Institute of Peace has been supporting research on international peace and conflict resolution for nearly a decade. In these years, the grant program has provided funding for diverse projects, ranging from scholarly studies and policy analysis to training manuals and curriculum guides. That range reflects the Institute's twofold commitment to sponsoring policy-relevant research and promoting immediate practical applications. The Institute aims both to advance the understanding of international peace and conflict resolution and enhance the skills for achieving them.

This fourth volume of *Contributions to Peacemaking* summarizes a selection of Institute-supported projects completed between 1993 to 1995, during which some 280 grants were made. Grant projects are funded through two approaches, unsolicited and solicited competitions. Unsolicited grants may be awarded for any topic that falls within the Institute's broad mandate, providing financial support for research, education, training, and the dissemination of information on international peace and conflict resolution. The program conducts two unsolicited grant competitions each year. Solicited grants are awarded annually for special topics identified in advance by the Institute as addressing emerging concerns or urgent priorities within international peace and conflict resolution. Grants in both categories generally fall in the range of $25,000 to $45,000.

The more than seventy works summarized here derive from those projects which have resulted in published books, major monographs, or multiple articles. These have been published by major commercial and academic presses or have appeared in leading journals in the field. Reviews of these texts have appeared in such publications as *Foreign Affairs*, the *American Political Science Review*, and *The Washington Post*. They are framed within a variety of disciplines, including political science, history, law, diplomacy, and professional dispute resolution, and are the fruit of both individual and collaborative research, as well as conferences and training workshops. Many involved extensive fieldwork in conflict settings around the world. They employ a variety of methodologies: statistical analysis, interviews with policy makers, document research, local field research, theological reflection, and also the informed memoirs of key actors.

The summaries of the works presented here are organized by thematic categories and regional focus. The first group of projects addresses the international system, examining its actors, institutions, and strategies. Jonathan Dean, for example, undertakes to redefine the place of multilateral institutions in the post–cold war environment, while Steven Ratner and co-authors Thomas Weiss and Larry Minear warn of some of the pitfalls of international intervention. Peter Rodman and co-authors Richard Lebow and Janice

Gross Stein assess dilemmas and lessons of the past, while the volume edited by John Vasquez et al. explores new techniques in international conflict resolution. These and other works in this category examine aspects of the international system that relate to managing or avoiding crises and preventing or resolving conflicts.

The second subject, ethnic conflict, has clearly become a paramount concern for the international community. The works presented here grapple with difficult conceptual issues, such as the nature of ethnic autonomy or the "right" to self-determination. They seek avenues for the resolution of current conflicts, finding lessons in relevant historical cases and weighing available options. Some of the works provide a focused analysis of a specific ethnic conflict—such as Kemal Kirişçi and Gareth Winrow's thorough account of the Kurds in Turkey. Others maintain a comparative perspective, looking at a number of conflicts throughout a region—whether Europe, the former Soviet Union, or Latin America. Contributors to the volume edited by Milton Esman and Shibley Telhami offer provocative analyses of ethnic conflicts in both Lebanon and the former Yugoslavia, challenging many common interpretations and critically assessing international involvement in these conflicts.

Issues in arms control and proliferation are included in the third theme, addressed by several grantees. The studies in this category represent the range of current concerns, including trade, smuggling, conversion, and denuclearization. All authors assess the policy implications of their research. For example, Barry Kellman and David Gualtieri propose a legal regime to curtail nuclear smuggling which would combine components of international arms control and criminal law enforcement. Michael Brzoska and Frederic Pearson's book as well as William Hartung's study assess the impact of the arms trade on ongoing conflicts and generate a number of policy insights. From his detailed comparative study of efforts at denuclearization around the world, Mitchell Reiss offers a wealth of information on more and less successful policy approaches.

Two further themes, human rights and nonviolence, were approached from both research and policy perspectives, with contributions to theoretical understanding and to policy practice. Contributors to the volume edited by J. Patout Burns articulate a variety of theological perspectives on nonviolence. Michael Haas, in contrast, undertook a major statistical study of respect for human rights worldwide, testing a number of prevalent hypotheses and substantiating policy conclusions.

The final category is curriculum development and training in the form of educational materials, study guides, and teaching manuals. Works in this category span a significant range. For example, Merry Merryfield and Richard Remy provide a comprehensive resource for teaching international peace and conflict resolution at the secondary level. This project includes

descriptions of exemplary pedagogical methods, substantive essays introducing major themes in international conflict management, and an appendix of teaching materials and sources. In a very different initiative, the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre has tailored the teaching of negotiation skills to the specific South African context, producing a manual that incorporates local examples and builds on local history in the presentation of these skills.

Other works are grouped by regional focus. Many of these studies address several of the themes identified above, but give a depth of attention to one geographical area. These regional works offer comprehensive studies of changing geopolitics (both Graham Fuller and Martha Brill Olcott on Central Asia), assess specific prospects for conflict resolution (Nicholas Eberstadt on North and South Korea, Robert Wirsing on India and Pakistan), consider the general potential for peace (Elise Boulding's edited volume on the Middle East), examine local experiences in peacebuilding (Suzanne Nossel on South Africa and Claude Welch on West Africa), and evaluate post–conflict reconstruction (Margaret Popkin on judicial reform and Gino Costa on police reform in El Salvador). While benefiting from a precise focus on a single region or nation, these works also provide insights and lessons potentially applicable to the resolution of many other conflicts.

Whenever possible, the works in these thematic and regional categories have been cross-referenced, since many make contributions across several categories.

The works summarized in this fourth volume of *Contributions to the Study of Peacemaking* identify and interpret lessons from the past, specify and assess the opportunities and perils of the present, and suggest ways to anticipate and shape the future. Among them there are many differences in emphasis and priority, many debates, and even disagreements. All of them, however, contribute to raising the level of informed debate and cogent analysis regarding international peace and conflict resolution. The Institute of Peace is pleased to make available the results of these projects.

This report was prepared by Anne-Marie Smith, with assistance from Matthew Umhofer and Michèle McHugh. The views expressed in the summaries are those of the grantees as summarized by the grant program staff. Those interested in obtaining copies of the texts summarized here should contact the publisher or author directly. The United States Institute of Peace does not handle their distribution.

DAVID SMOCK, DIRECTOR
Grant Program

THEMATIC CATEGORIES

Perspectives on the International System

Little about the international system is taken for granted in this post–Cold War world. Who are the current international actors? Which are the most effective multilateral institutions? What tasks are they most suited for? What are the most useful levels of analysis, the most helpful conceptualizations of the international system? Is there still an international system?

The works summarized in this section undertake to identify and evaluate the major components and concerns of the international system. They address such topics as global security, multilateral institutions, international conflict resolution, as well as deterrence, democracy, and humanitarian aid. Some offer insights into what is new; others remind us of the continuation of the old. Some are optimistic while others advise caution. Many engage in a dual project, assessing both the international system and the conceptual tools with which to understand it.

DEAN, JONATHAN

Ending Europe's Wars: The Continuing Search for Peace and Security

New York: Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1994

441 pages

The end of the Cold War has brought many positive changes, but the world is by no means free of threats to security. Two of the gravest threats are nuclear proliferation and ethnic conflict, and both of these are most serious in Europe. Yet Europe also possesses the most developed multilateral institutions to cope with conflict. If these institutions cannot succeed in forging a new system of collective security in Europe, then where will there be such success? Europe is, in effect, the test case for the creation of a new global security system.

Jonathan Dean examines the end of the Cold War and subsequent security situation in Europe, with attention to such issues as nuclear proliferation, ethnic conflict, and immigration. He also assesses the performance of an array of multilateral security institutions, and their adjustments to changing times. He provides detailed attention to the internal structure of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Conference on Security and Cooperation in Eastern Europe (CSCE, now the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Eastern Europe, or OSCE) and Western European Unity (WEU), and to various treaties and arms-control and confidence-building measures.

To ensure future security, these multilateral institutions must be both effective and credible. If not, they will go the way of the League of Nations: member states will not actually withdraw (as many did from the League), but will gradually put their energies elsewhere, deciding that the only sure

defense is national action, and that they must rely only on their own resources. In this scenario, defense would gradually become renationalized; multilateral security ties would atrophy; the integrating bonds of half a century would unravel; and a far more dangerous security environment would be the result.

Dean proposes some specific measures to prevent such an outcome. One is to redefine national security interests to include not only defense of home territory, but concern for the cohesion and effectiveness of institutions of multilateral security. This should be a regular part of national defense planning and budget. To consider peacekeeping and humanitarian intervention as "extras" is to commit two errors: first, to presume that armed conflict is endemic, a kind of natural disaster. Early action can prevent or contain specific conflicts, and lower the level of organized violence in the world. The second false premise is that with the end of Cold War, there is no more threat of global war, but merely regional wars, which can safely be ignored. In a period of potential nuclear proliferation, however, interests are indeed at stake in such conflicts. Thus basic national interests need to be redefined to include fundamental commitment to institutions of multilateral security.

A second specific task is to multiply those institutions, to improve the worldwide network of regional security organizations. The need for intervention by the United Nations or other larger institutions would decrease as smaller regional organizations became better equipped to handle conflict— via peacekeeping capabilities, mediation skills, or early intervention forces.

If multilateral organizations cannot cross the barrier to greater effectiveness and dependability in preventing organized violence, they will remain trapped in a pattern of treating organized violence as a natural part of the human condition and reacting to it only after it occurs. In the long run, the effectiveness and credibility of multilateral institutions will make a decisive difference in global security.

The articles in this collection address the concepts of federalism and confederalism—their historical content, their current revival, and possible transformation to meet emerging challenges to traditional states. In distinguishing these two concepts, the authors define federal governments as those which serve single nations and are in direct contact with citizens. Confederations, on the other hand, unite several states and reach people only through their constituent polities. They are accountable to territorial member-units, not to individuals as citizens. Confederations are established for specific tasks and do not imply any emotional or

institutional commitment to building a supranational community. They are explicitly not authorized to make decisions or enact rules that would directly affect individuals by central enforcement and taxation. While members of confederations are aware of some common interests, they delegate only specific powers to the collective decision-making body, retaining their territorial sovereignty and self-rule.

In the current paradigm shift from statism to federalism or confederalism, there is a wide variety of interstate linkages. Europe is leading the revival of confederation. Other regional examples include the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM) and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). There are also a variety of associations that are more than formal state treaties but less than formal constitutional unions. Many challenges call for such linkages. Economic challenges include expansion of international trade and stability of currency flow. Social and health problems include epidemics and population growth; environmental challenges include pollution and depletion of resources. There are also challenges regarding free movement of persons, news, views, art, and communication, as well as extradition of criminals and prosecution of terrorism. And there is the need to standardize such materials as statistical data, safety rules in air transportation, or shipping registration rules. Finally, there are the challenges of peace and nuclear nonproliferation. To meet them, such functional and regional organizations as OSCE, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the World Trade Organization (WTO), the Organization of American States (OAS), the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), as well as a variety of nongovernmental organizations, have arisen.

Linkages between subnational governments are also new. State and even city governments are becoming involved in fostering trade, improving treatment of foreign workers, promoting tourism, combating crime, building peace. Though this global micro-diplomacy may be marginal, complementary, redundant, or in conflict with national foreign policy, it is another instance of moving beyond traditional state-state relations.

Federalism takes on new forms in the current era. All types of federalism or confederalism involve some balance between self-rule and shared rule. International law will have to develop a new outlook, less concerned with national sovereignty and more open to relating to the new array of international actors and institutions.

Did the United States "win" the Cold War? The authors challenge what has become a standard but premature conclusion. Following their careful reevaluation of the two most serious nuclear crises of the last thirty years, Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein suggest a different conclusion and a new set of lessons. They argue that strategies of deterrence and compellance at times exacerbated rather than diminished crises, provoked rather than prevented conflicts, and prolonged rather than shortened the Cold War.

Lebow and Stein examine the origins, dynamics, and resolutions of the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis and the 1973 Middle East war. Using newly declassified documents and extensive interviews with Soviet and U.S. officials, they reconstruct the deliberations of leaders of both superpowers before, during, and after the crises, shedding new light on some of the many controversies surrounding these events, and finding that many standard interpretations are contradicted by newly available evidence.

In their analysis, Lebow and Stein pay particular attention to leaders' calculations. The authors attend not only to leaders' interests and preferences, but also to their wishful thinking, defensive avoidance of information they do not want to hear, and denial of the need to make hard choices between competing goals. To assume that states leaders are consistent and act on their preferences is to miss much of what goes into their decisions and actions.

In the case of the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, Lebow and Stein find that general deterrence was provocative rather than preventive. The United States was attempting to constrain Soviet aggressiveness through demonstrations of military capability and resolve: strategic buildup, deployment of missiles in Turkey, assertions of nuclear superiority. This backfired, deepening the Soviets' sense of insecurity. What Kennedy saw as prudent, defensive precautions against perceived Soviet threats, Khrushchev interpreted as final proof of the need to protect the Soviet Union and Cuba from the United States. Khrushchev was hardly the victim of U.S. paranoia, however; he had trumpeted his own unfounded claims of nuclear superiority. In attempting to intimidate their adversaries, both leaders helped to bring about the kind of confrontation they were trying to avoid. In the end the crisis was resolved because both were more interested in peace than in winning, and because both made concessions.

In 1973, under conditions of détente, strategic parity, and the definite knowledge that neither superpower wanted a war, a serious crisis should have been far less likely than in 1962. Nonetheless, each side pursued its unilateral advantage, denying the need for difficult tradeoffs between regional competition and global crisis prevention. The Soviet Union pursued détente and yet sent weapons to Egypt. The United States wanted détente, but also to expel the Soviets from the Middle East. All the leaders

interpreted détente selectively as they competed with each other. Lebow and Stein chronicle a series of specific misunderstandings and misjudgments on the part of both superpowers, and conclude that not only was there a failure to prevent war in 1973, there was failure even to try on the part of both superpowers. The exaggerated confidence in deterrence, unwillingness to recognize profound disagreements over appropriate limits of superpower behavior in the Third World, and the denial of a contradiction between pursuing détente while aiming for regional superiority, all contributed to the outbreak of war.

From this analysis, Lebow and Stein call for a reevaluation of the strategies of deterrence which characterized so much of the Cold War. Leaders need to recognize the limitations and dangers of strategies of deterrence and compellance, and to develop alternative strategies of conflict prevention and management. With this new examination of Cold War experiences, Lebow and Stein aim to correct some standard but, they argue, perhaps erroneous conclusions, and thereby preserve some of the real lessons of this period. "Better history can produce better lessons. In this way, we can all still win the Cold War" (p. 16).

LICKLIDER, ROY, ED.

Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End

New York: New York University Press, 1993

354 pages

This volume examines war termination in civil war. It formulates several questions: Why does the fighting end when it does? Why do some civil wars end in negotiated settlements, while others are fought until there is a total military victory for one side? Why doesn't the civil violence resume, especially since the underlying issues often remain unresolved? The contributors address these questions within seven case studies as well as four theoretical chapters. Three of the cases provide examples of negotiated settlements: Colombia, Sudan, and Yemen; two involved both negotiation and military victories: Zimbabwe and the United States. And two ended with military victories: Nigeria and Greece. Each case study attends to five key factors which all the contributors agreed are relevant to explaining why and how civil violence ended when it did. These five include the issues which underlie the conflict, the internal politics of each side, military balance in the field, activities of third parties, and terms of the settlement.

The contributors found that these five factors were indeed important in determining the results in their cases. There was, however, no simple, direct relationship between any of these factors and the termination of civil war. Summarizing the diversity, Roy Licklider observes "we have found settlements of conflicts with separatist and revolutionary goals, united and divided contestants, intense warlike and peaceful activities and no action at all by

third parties, battlefield victories and stalemates, and agreements ranging from elimination of one side to status quo ante to new constitutions with devolved powers and new central power-sharing arrangements" (p. 303). The volume concludes that stable outcomes to civil wars can emerge under a remarkable variety of conditions and follow an array of different patterns.

MILLER, BENJAMIN

When Opponents Cooperate: Great Power Conflict and Collaboration in World Politics

Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995

354 pages

Rather than argue for a single best way to analyze international politics, this volume identifies conditions under which certain theories and levels of analysis are most appropriate to explain occurrences of cooperation or conflict. Benjamin Miller relates a number of elements, such as international structure or state-level factors, and crisis period or normal times, which result in intended and unintended conflict or cooperation.

Unintended outcomes—outcomes that are either more conflictual or more cooperative than originally intended by the actors concerned—are most apt to occur in times of crisis and are best explained by structural and systemic factors. During crises, order in international politics is properly conceived as the spontaneous result of a competitive interaction between states, in which the relative distribution of power imposes constraints upon the behavior of the units. It is thus the position of the great powers in the international system, rather than their intentions or internal attributes, which leads to their occasional surprising success in crisis management or to inadvertent war. Unintended outcomes are reflections of the structural balance of power. Intended outcomes, on the other hand, are far more apt to occur during normal, non-crisis periods and are better accounted for by unit-level factors. During normal interactions, the character, motivation, and goals of the actors become far more relevant and determinant. Deliberate conflict resolution or premeditated war is most accurately understood as the outcome of state actors' norms, cognition, and volition. Miller explores this proposal in light of numerous historical cases, giving particular attention to superpower conduct in Middle East crises as well as attempts at superpower diplomatic cooperation in the Middle East.

His analysis also provides a framework for interpreting the future. Again combining appropriate elements of realism and liberalism, Miller acknowledges the transformations occurring at both system and state levels. With realists, Miller argues that the disappearance of bipolarity is destabilizing and will make crisis management more difficult (witness the Gulf War and current conflict in the former Yugoslavia). On the other hand, at the state level, the great powers are becoming more similar and more moderate. This substantially increases the likelihood of successful concerted diplomacy in

conflict resolution. Miller therefore identifies both the necessity and the feasibility of a great power concert resembling that of nineteenth century Europe to undertake explicit multilateral cooperation in such areas as peacekeeping, arms control, and conflict resolution.

RATNER, STEVEN R.

The New U.N. Peacekeeping

New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995

322 pages

This study examines "second generation" UN peacekeeping missions. The first generation consisted of the deployment of military force between two armies, with their consent, pending and in the absence of a political settlement, with the immediate goal of the termination of armed hostilities. Second generation peacekeeping missions, which began in the late 1980s, have a much broader mandate. They are responsible for overseeing or executing a political solution to conflict. With the consent of the parties, they seek a political settlement of the underlying dispute, not just avoiding its aggravation. Steven Ratner uses the term "generation" intentionally to connote not only the different time period but also the different nature of these operations. There has been a clear shift in the purpose of peacekeeping missions from provisional to permanent peace, and from primarily military-centered missions to predominantly political ones. Traditional concerns of first generation missions, such as the consent of the parties and maintenance of UN impartiality, have now become more complex. As second-generation missions involve distinct roles for the UN as administrator, mediator, and guarantor, maintaining impartiality when consent erodes becomes much more of a challenge.

Ratner evaluates the 1991–93 UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), which suffered from the lack of cooperation, and indeed intransigence, of both the Khmer Rouge and the state of Cambodia. As a result, the mission had to adjust its mandate over time. The UN was at times simultaneously trying to advance implementation of a peace agreement while also mediating between factions. In addition, the mission faced internal difficulties stemming from its own management problems and the lack or inadequate use of expertise on the Cambodian situation. Ratner finds that UNTAC had both significant triumphs and important failures, and that unlike first-generation missions, its performance cannot be evaluated on any single dimension.

For future peacekeeping missions, no single recipe will ever be suitable. The UN needs to remain adaptable to different situations. Consistent concerns should include determining whether a conflict is amenable to UN solution and whether the UN is capable of effective involvement. Ratner suggests some improvements to the secretariat, including administrative and supervisory changes as well as the provision of a training program in

nonmilitary peacekeeping and the further integration of human rights awareness.

Ratner concludes by articulating a further possible dilemma for second generation peacekeeping missions. Enhanced UN involvement will have many repercussions beyond potentially solving conflicts. Complex operations may also inadvertently deflect accountability from the immediate antagonists and onto the UN, ultimately hindering the long-term prospects of nation-building. According to Ratner, "the UN must seek a balance that takes advantage of its talents but does not remove the burdens of responsibility and incentives from the immediate parties" (p. 204).

James Lee Ray's book defends the thesis that democratic states do not initiate wars against one another, and the spread of democracy is therefore an avenue to universal peace. Exploring this thesis raises several difficulties—such as the varying definitions of democracy and of war, and the small number of either democracies or wars (statistically speaking), which complicates statistical analysis. Ray addresses these difficulties in his defense.

Ray begins by reviewing the philosophical origins and some recent re-evaluations of the democratic peace proposition, including qualifications regarding the degree and severity of violence. He then turns his attention to global trends in regime types over the last 170 years. Regime type may have an impact on relationships between states, and global trends and domestic factors may influence regime type.

Many historical exceptions to the proposition that democracies do not go to war with each other have been posited. Ray counters these by challenging the definitions of democracy that have been employed, then considering the nature of causality and explanation. He finds that there is a place for small-*n* studies as well as comprehensive statistical analysis in assessing the democratic peace thesis.

If the democratic peace proposition is correct, it promises a transformation of international politics as democracy spreads. Ray finds both the theoretical arguments and the empirical evidence in favor of this thesis to be persuasive.

RODMAN, PETER

More Precious than Peace: The Cold War and the Struggle for the Third World

New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994

654 pages

In its foreign relations, the United States has had difficulty trying to reconcile its moral commitments to freedom and independence for all with its strategic interests and responsibility for international order. On rare occasions American moral convictions and strategic interests have coincided. More often they have been in conflict. Throughout the Cold War, competition between the superpowers over the Third World posed this dilemma in its most anguishing terms.

This volume traces the historical development of that dilemma. It chronicles changing attitudes toward the Third World, intervention, foreign aid, and security risks on the part of both superpowers since before World War II. In undertaking this task, the author is selective rather than exhaustive, examining pivotal episodes and dominant themes. Afghanistan, Cambodia, Angola, and Nicaragua are among the cases that receive sustained attention.

In a post–Cold War world, the task of reconciling American idealism and strategic necessities remains. Current challenges of acting multilaterally, conducting humanitarian military missions, or dealing with new Russian foreign policy, will require the United States to act with both moral convictions and strategic insight. The author hopes the United States will confront and resolve this dilemma, so evident in our past dealing with the Third World, and still necessary to address in the post–Cold War world.

SPECTOR, BERTRAM I. AND ANNA R. KORULA

Grant products listed following text.

Negotiation analysis often addresses the process by which an international agreement is reached. Also crucially important are the post–negotiation processes directed toward adoption, ratification, and implementation. These essays examine the ratification of international environmental agreements to identify some of the factors which delay and complicate the post–negotiation process.

Bertram Spector and Anna Korula studied the ratification of dozens of international environmental agreements in many countries and found that several situational factors contribute to delays in ratification. These include strong public concern over local environmental problems, low quality of life, low national wealth, and low public research and development expenditures on environmental problems. Differences in political system were not found to be a relevant factor in predicting the time needed for ratification. Regardless of whether local stakeholders operate within pluralist or autocratic political systems, they press for their interests in domestic negotiations over ratification, causing significant delays.

To determine how to reduce the time required for ratification, Spector and Korula study the process rather than the structure of agreements. They advocate including domestic stakeholders in the original negotiations, to

give them a sense of "ownership" of the agreements and a greater likelihood that they will be able to persuade their constituencies of any tradeoffs required. Foreign aid and investment in sustainable development projects are also relevant, in that bolstering domestic resources should also contribute to swifter ratification. Mobilizing public concern and awareness about international environment problems would be another positive element. Spector further discusses the value of articulating the differing issue priorities, political commitments and political capacities in North/South debates over international environmental agreements. This would shift debate away from a zero-sum confrontation over relative wealth and power resources, toward shared attributes that may be constructively negotiated toward integrative solutions.

SPECTOR, BERTRAM I. AND ANNA R. KORULA

"Problems of Ratifying International Environmental Agreements: Overcoming Initial Obstacles in the Post-Agreement Negotiation Process"

Global Environmental Change, December 1993

pp. 369-381

SPECTOR, BERTRAM I.

"Power, Priorities, Problems, and Political Action: Explaining North-South Confrontation in Implementing International Environmental Agreements"

October 1993

30 pages

SPECTOR, BERTRAM I. AND ANNA R. KORULA

"Implementing International Environmental Agreements: Ratification as a Post-Agreement Negotiation Process"

International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis, May 1993

33 pages

SPECTOR, BERTRAM I. AND ANNA R. KORULA

"The Post-Agreement Negotiation Process: The Problems of Ratifying International Environmental Agreements"

International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis, Working Paper WP-92-90, December 1992

33 pages

KORULA, ANNA REBECCA

"Post-Negotiation Impasses in the Environmental Domain: The Influence of Some Political and Economical Factors on Environmental Treaty Acceptance"

International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis, Working Paper WP-92-86, November 1992

58 pages

VASQUEZ, JOHN A., JAMES
TURNER JOHNSON, SANFORD
JAFFE, AND LINDA STAMATO, EDS.

*Beyond Confrontation: Learning
Conflict Resolution in the Post–Cold
War Era*

Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press,
1995

239 pages

Peace, like war, is learned. People and groups learn to get along with others and develop a variety of ways to settle disputes and resolve deep underlying conflicts without the use of collective violence.

Some means for pursuing peace are more effective than others. This volume considers the applicability and potential effectiveness of conflict resolution techniques in handling international conflict.

Conflict resolution is more familiar in domestic politics, in such forms as labor arbitration, environmental mediation, and divorce mediation. Could it also play a role in international politics? Many have argued against this proposition, asserting that the domestic setting is significantly different from the international arena. According to this perspective, the domestic setting is a highly ordered environment, with a government, a system of laws and administrative rules, and the power to enforce decisions. This is contrasted with the relative anarchy of the international arena. The contributors to this volume challenge this distinction, arguing that law and legal institutions are considerably less pervasive in the domestic setting than is generally assumed. The international arena, on the other hand, is substantially ordered by international law and organizations as well as by patterns of beliefs, norms, and practices. They conclude that some of the skills, lessons, insights, and approaches of domestic dispute resolution are transferable to international conflicts.

Alternative dispute resolution encompasses a range of techniques and approaches. Some mediation efforts are directed toward the settlement of a specific dispute. Others aim to address the different fundamental needs that give rise to any particular dispute. These seek to resolve or transform the underlying conflict. Either approach could affect international conflict. As contributor Louis Kriesberg observes, "If adversaries believe that they are in a struggle that can only offer the options of victory or defeat, the way they conduct that struggle will be different than if they regard themselves as in a relationship in which their conflict poses a problem to be solved" (p. 99).

If the strengths of domestic alternative dispute resolution are transferable to an international arena, so are its possible weaknesses. Conflict resolution has been criticized for offering peace without justice. It has been suggested that once formal legal procedures are abandoned in favor of bargaining, compromise, and discretion, there is a risk that the most powerful will prevail, unrestrained by any formal legal system that would protect the rights of all. Robert A. Baruch Bush acknowledges that proponents of conflict resolution may "present an implicit view of war and violence as undesirable per se that, it could be argued, tends to exalt peace over justice" (p. 30).

Addressing this same concern, John A. Vasquez affirms that the shared goal is to identify alternative means for pursuing justice peacefully. The pursuit of justice sometimes requires fundamental change, which has often been pursued through war: "One of the main functions of war has been to

bring change and make binding decisions. Peace requires functional equivalents for both, if it is not to be hopelessly ideologically biased in favor of the status quo" (p. 149). Peace, however, does not require the elimination of all conflict, but only that conflict be resolved nonviolently or with minimal force. As conflict resolution has provided a means to this end in the domestic arena, it may also in the international arena. On a final note, Vasquez observes that conflict resolution has been adopted domestically often outside, and sometimes in opposition to, the established legal structure. The same may occur internationally. That is, "conflict-resolution techniques can be adopted on a voluntary basis without there being any implication that a world government or some other utopian design is being created or is necessary for global conflict resolution to work" (p. 221).

WEISS, THOMAS G. AND LARRY MINEAR

Grant products listed following text.

The authors urge the practice of "humanitarian politics"—that is, an approach which does not separate humanitarian action and politics into two incompatible spheres. Rather than construing humanitarianism as principled generous action, and politics as compromise and cutting deals, they suggest conceiving of the two as separate but parallel and reinforcing tracks. Neither is harnessed to the other, but both are undertaken in concert, and may become mutually reinforcing.

Humanitarianism and politics have often been combined but in a faulty manner, to the detriment of people in need of aid. Sometimes humanitarianism has been subservient to politics, with decisions to assist being based on the politics of the victim or other goals of the aid provider. The authors offer U.S. policy toward Nicaragua and the contras as an example. At the other end of the spectrum is overreaching humanitarianism, where assistance is offered as a substitute for attacking the root causes of violence. Unable to agree on diplomatic or military steps needed to deal with complex problems, politicians embrace aid as less controversial and politically costly. This aids the victims but does not stop unlawful violence, and allows the suffering to continue. The world's response to conflict in the former Yugoslavia is offered as the most apt illustration.

A third approach views humanitarian action as helping to create a climate in which a durable political solution can be forged, but without making aid activities subservient to political considerations. At the same time, political solutions to conflicts are sought without making humanitarian efforts a substitute for, or conditional upon, their resolution. The authors cite UN efforts in Cambodia and El Salvador as instances of such effective humanitarianism.

WEISS, THOMAS G.

"Triage: Humanitarian Interventions in a New Era"

World Policy Journal, 1994

pp. 59-68

WEISS, THOMAS G.

"UN Responses in the Former Yugoslavia: Moral and Operational Choices"

Ethics and International Affairs, Volume 8, 1994

pp. 1-22

MINEAR, LARRY AND THOMAS G. WEISS

"Humanitarian Politics"

November 1994

74 pages

For more *perspectives on the international system,* see Boulding ed., Costa, Ehteshami and Hinnebusch, Esman and Telhami eds., Fuller, Kellman and Gualtieri, Israelyan, Nossell, Olcott, Peterson and Peterson eds., Popkin, Rouvez, Spiegel and Pervin eds., Wehr, Burgess and Burgess eds., Minear and Weiss, and Wirsing

Ethnic Conflict

Ethnic conflicts occurring around the globe are major threats to international peace and security. The tasks entailed in achieving greater understanding of ethnic conflict include carefully mapping and cataloguing these conflicts and providing updates on evolving situations. Other tasks are analyzing historical trajectories and identifying when and how such conflicts have been avoided, defused, exacerbated, or resolved. Another set of more conceptual tasks grapples with how to define an ethnic group, how to distinguish between an ethnic group and a nation, and how to assess the claims to rights (such as self-determination or autonomy) often made by such groups. The works summarized below also develop many concrete policy recommendations, based upon strategies that have been successful and upon careful review of the current options available in particular cases.

AKLAEV, AIRAT

"Ethnopolitical Identity and Legitimacy Crises in the Former Union Republics of the USSR"

1995

189 pages

This preliminary study of the dynamics of ethnopolitical conflicts in post–Soviet successor states is motivated by several questions. What is the interplay between ethnic identification and political change under conditions of state-building? Must democratization in post–Soviet states be accompanied by disruptive ethnic unrest, or might the process of democratization provide an opportunity to prevent violent ethnic conflict from defining political debate? Why do some ethnic conflicts turn violent? Are there any patterns which would help to predict the outbreak of violence?

Ethnicity is at the center of politics in virtually all the new states. Ethnic identification may have become more politicized because political associations remained illegal at the beginning of Soviet liberalization, so oppositional mobilization was channeled through cultural—often ethnically identified—organizations. Processes of ethnic identification and political legitimation are now related, and their interplay influences the prospects for establishing democracy in successor states.

AKLAEV, AIRAT, DMITRY DOZHDEV, AND TATYANA LEVASHOVA, COMPILERS

"Interethnic Conflict and Political Change in the Former USSR: Chronicles of Ethnopolitical Strife (1988–mid 1993): European Republics"

Dundas, Ontario: Peace Research Institute, 1995

241 pages

This chronology records major events in ethnopolitical conflicts from 1988 to 1993 in seven of the fifteen former Soviet republics: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belorussia, Ukraine, Moldova, and Georgia.

**AKLAEV, AIRAT AND TATYANA
LEVASHOVA, COMPILERS**

Interethnic Conflict and Political Change in the Former USSR: Bibliography

Dundas, Ontario: Peace Research Institute, 1994

102 pages

This volume is an annotated bibliography of Russian-language literature on violent ethnic conflicts. It lists articles published from 1991 to 1993 in twenty-six scholarly journals.

DROHOBYCKY, MARIA, ED.

Managing Ethnic Tension in the Post-Soviet Space: The Examples of Kazakstan and Ukraine

Washington, D.C.: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1995

197 pages

This volume addresses the question of how violent ethnic conflict may be avoided in post–Soviet states. Early chapters provide some historical context of relations between groups in Kazakstan and Ukraine. Patricia Carley emphasizes the need to strengthen civil society and to build a general acceptance of the need to protect human rights. Other chapters review existing international law regarding minority rights, the international organizations relevant in the region, and available mechanisms of diplomacy. Miriam Sapiro emphasizes the importance of choosing the appropriate method of dispute settlement.

John Maresca examines some of the dilemmas of ethnic conflicts, pointing out that recently ethnic groups as well as the international community have tended to conclude that the only possible solution to ethnic conflict is one based on the isolation of ethnic groups from each other. There is also an assumption that any successful effort toward self-determination must result in the establishment of a state consisting solely of members of one ethnic group. Such an outcome is usually difficult to achieve, impractical, and unstable. Furthermore, Maresca argues, it is wrong. "[T]he concept of ethnic purity as the sole basis for statehood is unacceptable from both a moral and a practical viewpoint. . . . [M]orally it suggests racial superiority, and practically it creates conditions which are impossible to fulfill in many places. On the contrary, one of the criteria for the success of a society must be the degree to which it enables people of many ethnic groups to live together in harmony" (p. 44). According to Maresca, self-determination can take many forms other than secession, such as the establishment of autonomous regions or confederal state structures.

The norms that define international relations are in flux, as are expectations regarding the appropriate roles of international organizations. This volume examines some key definitional concepts—such as sovereignty, collective rights, and self-determination—and evaluates the roles played by international organizations in two violent ethnic conflicts: Lebanon and the former Yugoslavia. It challenges many current views regarding the evolution of international norms, and international organizations in the context of these two conflicts.

Raymond Hopkins speaks for several contributors when he notes that while the norms of international relations may be in flux, the actual distribution of power certainly is not: it remains with the major nation-states. Milton Esman also argues that territorially delimited states remain the central actors of the international system, and state sovereignty its controlling doctrine. It is these states which are the members of international organizations (IOs). IO members are concerned with traditional sovereignty, territorial integrity, and noninterference in internal matters—precisely the issues that ethnic conflicts tend to challenge. Thus, notes Jack Donnelly, these organizations are particularly ill-suited to address ethnic conflicts.

Ethnic conflict is discussed from historical, local, and international perspectives. Michael Hudson highlights the complexity of IO intervention where ethnic cleavages are key but not the only element, and where IOs run the risk of becoming just another player in a multifaceted dispute. Naomi Wisenberger criticizes both the UN Interim Force in Lebanon and the UN-led Multinational Force for the lack of clarity of their mandates, inadequate coordination among troop contributors, and insufficient attention to gaining consent of parties to the conflict. She notes similar mistakes repeated in Somalia.

Regarding Yugoslavia, several contributors paint a very different picture from the predominant view of intractable ethnic conflict. From various perspectives, these contributors dispute the notion that the current conflict is an outbreak of ancient ethnic hatreds. V.P. Gagnon argues that it is rather the intentional creation of specific sectors of Yugoslavia's political elite. He traces relevant aspects of the overall institutional shape, depth of economic and social crisis, and political interests and positions of actors. Gagnon concludes that conservative communist local bureaucratic elites, who had everything to lose in market-oriented reforms, intentionally played the ethnic card. As their economic program had no popular support, they mobilized those most threatened by the reforms and re-articulated their platform in terms of ethnicity and nationalism—which were not the paramount or original issues. "To win the conflict and prevent radical change, parts of the elite have shifted the focus toward ethnic claims and have purposely undertaken strategies that created first the image and then the reality of an ethnic or national conflict" (p. 196).

Susan Woodward concurs that the current conflict in Yugoslavia was not initially or essentially an ethnic one. Instead, she identifies fundamental disputes over economic transformation, structural reform and constitutional division of powers. She sees a particular role for international financial institutions, which pushed Yugoslavia beyond its capacity to cope. According to Woodward, the extremely difficult problems of economic reforms and policy disputes could still have been handled within the Yugoslav federation. The European Community, however, destroyed this possibility by recognizing the borders of the republics as international. The focus on the inviolability of borders—a traditional nation-state concern— contributed to ethnicizing and nationalizing these conflicts. IOs identified leaders of republics as relevant interlocutors, and refused to listen to non-nationalist voices, civic groups, or citizens in general on the grounds that to do so would amount to interference in the internal affairs of sovereign units. Woodward argues that IOs, far from alleviating the conflict in Yugoslavia, exacerbated it. By dealing with the actors only as representatives of separate states, they prevented a domestic federal resolution to the conflict.

This volume argues that there is a serious mismatch between IOs, with their nation-state members and concerns, and current ethnic conflicts. These conflicts are not best addressed, and may even be exacerbated, by the traditional vocabulary of statehood, territorial integrity, and borders. How then are these conflicts to be approached, and these organizations reformed? Steven Burg suggests attention to human rights and democracy; however, he understands both of these as individual phenomena. According to Burg, nationalist movements subordinate individuals to the collective and do not guarantee individual freedom, whereas the free expression of linguistic and cultural identities is best permitted via the protection of individual human rights. And this is what he understands democracy to be. "Democracy, defined as that political order which results from the institutionalization of individual human rights, must be treated as superior to ethnic affinity as a basis for sustaining the claims of political regimes to sovereignty" (p. 268).

HUMMER, WALDEMAR

"The Roots of Ethnic Conflict and the Search for Solutions in the Central Danubian Region"

October 1993

169 pages

Ethnic conflicts are proliferating and escalating. This study looks to a historical case of the successful management of one such conflict— the situation of Austrians in the Italian Tyrol—and considers whether it might provide a useful model in other current cases, particularly in the Central Danubian Region.

The autonomy statute for Trentino–South Tyrol was adopted in 1971 and concerns the rights of the Austrian population—a minority within Italy but

a demographic majority in the area. The statute guarantees equal rights to citizens, regardless of linguistic group, and includes specific provisions on such matters as education and local administration. For example, instruction must be conducted in students' native language, and local administration is regulated by rules ensuring the proportional representation of linguistic groups in managerial and administrative bodies. Such measures provide a means of attenuating conflict between different ethnic groups within the boundaries of the nation, without territorial secession or annexation.

Waldemar Hummel considers the applicability of such a statute to various ethnic conflicts involving Albanians, Muslims, Hungarians, Serbs, and the many groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina. One necessary element is the concentration of the ethnic minority in a relatively compact geographical area. Another issue is the contiguity of this geographical area of residence with a nation of equivalent ethnic character. While each case is distinct, several may be suitable for the sort of solution demonstrated by the Statute of Trentino-South Tyrol.

KIRIŞÇI, KEMAL AND GARETH WINROW

"Turkey and the Kurds: An Example of Trans-State Ethnic Conflict"

June 1995

287 pages

This manuscript examines the situation of the Kurds in Turkey and neighboring states. While it does not aim to offer broad theoretical perspectives on the phenomena of nationalism and ethnicity, nonetheless it considers such concepts as minority rights, self-determination, assimilation and autonomy. It views the violence against Kurds in Turkey as a "trans-state ethnic conflict" in that it involves members of the same disadvantaged ethnic group in other neighboring or nearby states (Iran, Iraq, Syria, Armenia, Azerbaijan).

The authors examine this complex conflict with attention to the nuances of its history and contemporary dynamics, as well as international geopolitical stakes. The Kurdish ethnic group has no well-defined geographic boundaries. Following the breakup of the Ottoman Empire, Kurds were found across a region that fell within several different political boundaries. Even within contemporary Turkey, Kurds are divided linguistically, religiously, and tribally, as well as politically. A Sunni Zaza speaker may self-identify as a Zaza, a Kurd, a Sunni, a citizen of Turkey—or several simultaneously. The Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), which is the primary actor in conflict with the Turkish state, does not represent the views of the majority of Kurds. While some Kurds are politicized and aspire to independent statehood, others see Kurdish nationalists as political opportunists and would prefer to express their Kurdish identity within Turkey. Further, Kurdish identity is itself in flux, ironically gaining impetus by reacting to Turkish ethnic nationalism.

The official line in Turkey has long denied there is a problem, asserting simply that all Kurds as well as Turks (and other ethnic groups) in Turkey are Turkish citizens. There is now growing recognition of a "Kurdish reality" which needs to be addressed. The authors review several possible resolutions, assessing their potential and costs. These include secession, some form of power-sharing, home-rule, autonomy on cultural issues, federalism, provision of special rights, further democratization in Turkey for all, multiculturalism, or some combination of these. Providing special rights—such as Kurdish-language schools, Kurdish radio and TV stations—or permitting special relations of kin groups across borders would provide the greatest benefit at least cost, and not threaten Turkey with the loss of territory. Mindful of the causes of the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, this is an outcome that Turkey is particularly concerned to prevent. These measures together with greater democracy for all in Turkey would move Turkey toward a genuinely multicultural society and permit civic rather than ethnic nationalism. This would be a daunting task anyway, and is made more so by the delicacy of this situation, involving a transstate conflict in a region of the world with considerable geostrategic value.

SEYMORE, BRUCE, II, ED.

The ACCESS Guide to Ethnic Conflicts in Europe and the Former Soviet Union

Washington, D.C.: ACCESS, 1994

171 pages

In a brief introductory essay, Paul Goble discusses the recent rise of nationalism. He underscores that nationalism in itself is neither good nor bad. It may be manifested in a noble search for autonomy or in xenophobia. Thus each case must be evaluated on its merits. The remainder of the volume provides resources for undertaking such evaluations.

This guide presents brief factual entries, longer profiles, chronologies, maps, and bibliographies on selected ethnic conflicts across Europe and in the former Soviet Union. It also compiles excerpts from relevant international documents and agreements. A further section includes a guide to organizations working on ethnic conflicts, government contacts, and other resources (for example, computer networks and databases and curricular materials).

Van Cott, Donna Lee, ed.

Indigenous Peoples and Democracy in Latin America

Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Dialogue, 1994

271 pages

Julio Tresierra observes in this volume, "When the twentieth century began, the world was an assemblage of imperialistic, nationalistic states competing over rights and powers to rule people. As it draws to a close, it has become an assemblage of peoples struggling over rights and powers to rule states" (p. 179). This collection addresses the efforts of indigenous peoples in Latin America to define and assert their rights and to play a role in contemporary states. The essays trace the different trajectories by which the national governments and indigenous movements have developed in relation to one another.

In some cases, indigenous groups are asserting specific rights. In Ecuador, cultural mobilization over bilingual education provided a base for further political activity, and what began as a cultural initiative has become the most effective new political movement. In Peru, on the other hand, the effort of indigenous peoples is not necessarily to assert distinctive rights but to have their basic rights as citizens respected.

Anti-state groups have also been important interlocutors for the indigenous. Narcotics traffickers and guerrillas have often been active in indigenous areas. In Peru, the terrorist group Sendero Luminoso moved into what had been a vacuum of justice. Common crime and abuse or incompetence on the part of local officials continued with impunity, and Sendero Luminoso addressed these grievances, punishing transgressors. But they went beyond that, exercising terror, asserting control, and denying the autonomous organization of indigenous communities. In response, indigenous communities organized against Sendero Luminoso and also forged a new relationship with the military. Media images of "Indians" shifted from dangerous aliens to staunch defenders of the nation against Sendero Luminoso guerrillas.

Indigenous identities, agendas, and organizations are being redefined vis-à-vis states that have traditionally sought to exclude, ignore, assimilate, or destroy them. This raises paradoxes for democracy. Latin American governments consider themselves already challenged with the effort to reestablish democracy, reactivate stagnant economies, and meet the demands of existing political forces. When added to this list, the voices of the indigenous are a distraction and obstacle. To the indigenous, on the other hand, the current wave of democratic change in Latin America will remain false or shallow if it does not expand to include their demands for fuller political and economic participation, recognition of their citizen rights, and the embrace of Latin America's multiethnic reality.

Arms Proliferation, Trade, and Control

The end of the arms race between the superpowers does not end concern over arms build-ups, but shifts it to such issues as efforts to dispose of weapons of mass destruction and to prevent and monitor smuggling of nuclear materials. Several scholars address nuclear non-proliferation, examining successes as well as stalemates and backsliding. Attention is also given to conventional arms, including the impact of their production and trade both on economies and on warfare, and arms build-ups as a prelude to armed conflict.

BISSELL, RICHARD, ED.

"Defense Conversion in Developing Countries"

August 1995

271 pages

In this collection of essays, the concept of defense conversion is understood quite broadly, referring not only to the conversion of military production, research, and design capacity to civilian use, but to the transfer of state-controlled military assets to private companies as well as the diversification of marketing strategies for existing military production. As Adam Stuhlberg notes regarding Russia, "While the concept of conversion may be a misnomer, with only a very few defense enterprises opting to reprofile completely facilities, technology, and labor for civilian production, there are a host of partial measures that reflect varying efforts to adapt towards functioning in market settings" (Stuhlberg, p. 15).

Regarding South Africa, Gray Cowan notes a degree of willingness to privatize existing state-owned military production capacity, but greater government interest in extending commercialization efforts. Increased arms exports might help pay for an ambitious program of social development outlined by the Mandela government.

In Argentina, Gerardo Giannoni reports considerable privatization as previously state-owned military facilities, ranging from steel mills to petrochemical plants to airports, are gradually turned over to the private sector. In a reversal of previous policy, President Menem permits the armed services to keep the proceeds when a military facility is sold. Rather than being delivered to the national treasury, these funds are incorporated into the military budget.

Alejandro Melchor documents the difficult process of negotiations between the Philippines and the United States regarding withdrawal from the Subic Bay naval base. Efforts to prepare for alternative uses for the facilities of the naval base and minimize the negative impact of the withdrawal were less than satisfactory. Nonetheless, such options as using Subic Bay as an international cargo and container port, fuel depot, or ship building facility are being considered.

In Russia, the collapse of the Soviet Union has brought transformation on every dimension. Military conversion is but one of these, and is affected by the changes in every other area. Adam Stuhlberg identifies several levels of analysis for examining defense conversion, privatization, and commercialization, including leadership provided by single firm management, characteristics of the specific sector, as well as regional administration. The military was a very large part of the Soviet economy; strategies of conversion will necessarily be quite diverse.

BITSINGER, RICHARD A.

The Globalization of Arms Production:
Defense Markets in Transition

Washington, D.C.: Defense Budget
Project, December 1993

52 pages

With the end of the Cold War and consequent shrinkage of national budgets for weapons purchases, arms producers have downsized and consolidated. Nonetheless, rather than showing interest in converting to production of other goods, they are searching for new weapons markets. This search has involved a major restructuring of weapons production and sales. The new "globalization" consists not merely of export of finished weapons, but of the joint development, production, and marketing of weapons systems via such instruments as international subcontracting, joint ventures, and crossborder mergers and acquisitions. This study regards these phenomena as a substantial transformation of the international weapons market.

Globalization of arms production has many consequences. One is a tremendous increase in the potential for proliferation of conventional arms. Joint production involves the permanent transfer of skills, resources, and technology; once transferred, they cannot be taken back. Joint production is thus more destabilizing than simple arms sales. Another set of concerns raised by the study is the erosion of U.S. security and military technological superiority. Elements of this concern include proliferation of conventional weapons, the greater potential for development of weapons of mass destruction because of dual delivery systems, and U.S. dependence upon foreign suppliers. A third category of consequences is economic. Markets have become tighter and competition is growing. Arms producers based in Western Europe have moved much farther toward globalization than have U.S. arms producers, who could be shut out of some markets. The study also notes the particular growth of weapons globalization in East Asia and the Third World. The study calls for further research into these trends and their implications.

BRZOSKA, MICHAEL AND FREDERIC S. PEARSON

Arms and Warfare: Escalation, De-escalation, and Negotiation

Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994

316 pages

What is the effect of arms transfers on the course of wars? Possible effects include crisis escalation, de-escalation and deterrence. Arms transfers may make possible decisive victory or lengthy stalemate; they may give suppliers leverage to encourage negotiation or accelerate crises beyond the reach of diplomacy. This study undertakes to examine these questions in a comparative perspective, as Michael Brzoska and Frederic Pearson compile data on ten international wars fought in the Third World from the 1960s through the 1980s. For each, they construct three concurrent chronologies of arms shipments, hostilities, and diplomatic activity. They then trace the effect of arms transfers on escalation of fighting, diplomatic negotiations and settlements, and third party intervention in these conflicts.

The results of this study, the authors note, are not as self-evident as might have been expected. While arms transfers were sometimes decisive, in general they found that arms transfers were less pertinent to the outcome of fighting than other factors including the viability of the combating governments, battlefield fortunes, the extent of overall sanctions, and the ability to stall peace accords while taking advantage of an opponent. Nonetheless the authors conclude that the case studies support the position that "[I]t is best not to deliver any weapons during conflict, unless the supplier favors one side to win. This is not because a halt in deliveries can necessarily stop fighting, but because more weapons tend to make conflicts longer and bloodier, and lead to severe political dislocation in the aftermath" (p. 216). They further note that while arms transfers have at times been useful in managing conflict, they are no substitute for effective diplomacy.

COULOUMBIS, THEODORE A. AND THANOS P. DOKOS, EDS.

Arms Control and Security in the Middle East and CIS Republics

Athens: Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy, 1995

357 pages

The contributors to this volume address the search for international stability and the prospects for nonproliferation in the Middles East and the former Soviet Union. They are concerned with new challenges to stability in the aftermath of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. They address a range of topics, from procedural issues within the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty to broad questions on the need to redefine the concept of arms control. Several essays offer insights into the contemporary assessments and concerns of some practitioners.

Richard Falkenrath's essay on relations between the United States and the post-Soviet states describes the challenges very clearly. Following the Cold War, we are faced with "the dangerous legacy of this forty-year competition, a legacy that consists of tens of thousands of assembled warheads, fissile material for thousands more, the waste products of previous generations of weapons, an enormous and far-flung infrastructure for the design,

production, protection, and maintenance of these weapons, and entrenched bureaucracies with interests that do not necessarily correspond to their respective governments" (pp. 259-260). There are many risks in this nuclear inheritance and many obstacles to denuclearization.

Some of the essays are nonetheless optimistic. Several participants from the former Soviet Union state their commitment to the Nonproliferation Treaty. Mohammed Khair Mustafa, writing on the Middle East, notes that regional cooperation on such issues as tourism, water, and pollution will foster an environment suitable for dealing with more sensitive issues such as arms control.

HARTUNG, WILLIAM D.

U.S. Weapons at War

New York: World Policy Institute, June 1995

53 pages

Do U.S. arms transfers tend to promote stability or to fuel conflict? Many would like to believe that U.S. arms sales are grounded in carefully considered decisions to bolster the security of trustworthy allies and that they are used only for legitimate defense purposes. According to this report, that belief is wishful thinking. The research compiled here would indicate that U.S. weapons exports have played a substantial role in fueling the ethnic and territorial conflicts that are among the most difficult security challenges in the post–Cold War era.

The report identifies fifty significant ongoing ethnic and territorial conflicts in Europe, Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and Latin America as of early 1994. The majority of participants in these conflicts depend upon imported weaponry. Pentagon data on deliveries of weapons through the U.S. Foreign Military Sales and Commercial Sales programs over the past decade indicate that in 90 percent of the conflicts (forty-five of fifty), one or more of the parties received some U.S. weaponry or military technology in the period leading up to the conflict. In more than one-third (eighteen of fifty), the United States had been a major supplier to one party of the dispute, accounting for over 25 percent of all weapons imported by that participant in the most recent five year period.

Other findings in this report concern the "boomerang effect": the transfer of U.S. weaponry to forces that end up doing battle against U.S. troops. The last four times the United States sent troops into combat in significant numbers—in Panama, Iraq, Somalia, and Haiti—they faced adversaries that had received U.S.-origin arms, training, or military production technology in the period leading up to the conflict. Furthermore, the report notes that U.S. weapons transfers have at times strengthened terrorist organizations and have also been used to kill innocent civilians and abuse human rights in Indonesia, Turkey, Angola, and Guatemala.

To counter these trends, the report urges greater attention to the risks of U.S. weapons exports. It offers several specific recommendations: legislate a code of conduct for arms transfers; resume detailed reports on U.S. transfers of arms and military technology; institute regular Pentagon reports on the use of U.S.-supplied weaponry in ongoing conflicts; outlaw covert weapons shipments; and vigorously pursue a policy of multilateral arms transfer restraint designed to limit sales of conventional weaponry to regions of conflict or repressive regimes.

KELLMAN, BARRY AND
DAVID S. GUALTIERI

"Barricading the Nuclear Window: A Legal Regime to Curtail Nuclear Smuggling"

September 1995

76 pages

Nuclear smuggling is a risk of unknown proportions. According to the authors, prevention must be pursued although it may prove onerous and intrusive. The authors propose a new international legal regime to curtail nuclear smuggling, combining two previously unrelated fields: international arms control and criminal law enforcement.

Measures from international arms control would be used to reduce and control bomb-usable nuclear materials and deny private access to them. This would include reversing weapons-making campaigns, eliminating productive capabilities, safely destroying material from dismantled weapons, and severely restricting trans-national transfers of nuclear material. Stockpiles of nuclear materials would also be protected and tracked, through strengthening border controls, tagging fissile materials, and enhancing inspection of facilities. Such measures would increase the cost of pursuing a clandestine weapons program and raise the chances of revealing a criminal plot.

Modalities of international criminal law enforcement would be used to investigate, apprehend, prosecute, and punish those who engage in illicit weapons activities. The authors point out that the global extent of the nuclear industry and trans-national trade in nuclear materials as well as the international nature of smuggling demand a comprehensive response from international police agencies as well as cooperation among the law enforcement agencies of various nations. They suggest formalizing inter-state penal cooperation on such matters as mutual legal assistance, freezing and forfeiting of smugglers' assets, and effective extradition and prosecution of offenders.

Whatever the shape of anti-smuggling legal devices, they must be comprehensive and coordinated. Stopping nuclear smuggling in one limited area or via one mechanism will merely result in diverting smugglers' efforts elsewhere. Furthermore, since the problem crosses borders, the solution must be formal and international. The authors propose a new UN

Convention incorporating the measures from international arms control and criminal law enforcement to deal with the risks posed by nuclear smuggling.

MECONIS, CHARLES A. AND
BORIS MAKEEV

*New Opportunities for U.S.-Russian
Naval Cooperation*

Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers,
1996

213 pages

In this study a U.S. naval arms control analyst and a retired Russian naval officer consider the future of the world's two greatest navies following the end of the Cold War and dissolution of the Soviet Union. They search for ways to complete the transition from hostility to partnership, and to reformulate some issues of naval arms control in the contemporary context.

Throughout the Cold War, relatively little attention was directed toward naval arms control. Rather than fading away all together, this area deserves renewed interest. The authors of this study hope to expand the concept to any efforts which prevent conflict, reduce damage, and reduce costs for the two navies, and also permit their collaboration in constructing a regime of cooperative security at sea.

The authors emphasize first the need to complete the unfinished business of the Cold War, including dismantling and disposing of nuclear weapons, formalizing mutual withdrawal, increasing transparency and predictability, and preventing transfer of offensive or destabilizing naval technology. There is a further need to generate channels for cooperation between the two navies as they engage in non-traditional environmental and policing tasks. Areas of shared concern include monitoring and protecting the ocean environment, protecting fishing rights, preventing and containing regional conflict, and preventing piracy or terrorism at sea.

REISS, MITCHELL

*Bridled Ambition: Why Countries
Constrain Their Nuclear Capabilities*

Washington, D.C.: The Woodrow Wilson
Center Press, 1995

346 pages

The end of the Cold War has not reduced fears of nuclear proliferation. Despite that legitimate worry, this volume reminds us that nuclear weapons programs can also be slowed, halted, and sometimes reversed. Mitchell Reiss examines recent cases in nine nations, exploring their paths toward nuclear restraint.

Reiss builds his analysis both from documentary evidence and interviews with senior officials. For each case he provides a thorough chronology of key events and decisions in that nation's nuclear strategy. The book carefully preserves the contemporary history of ongoing processes of denuclearization.

The cases Reiss examines are quite diverse. In all the post–Soviet states, nuclear weapons were substantially delegitimized: they had failed to preserve the Soviet Union and had perhaps hastened its collapse, while their economic and environmental cost were revealed to be much greater than previously appreciated. Nuclear weapons were re-evaluated as expensive anachronisms, perhaps as bargaining chips in complex transitions. Successor states have managed their nuclear inheritance in different ways. Having sought to retain its nuclear weapons and barter them carefully, Ukraine eventually concluded that the real value of the weapons could be realized only by relinquishing them. Belarus, in contrast, pursued a rapid, uncontroversial denuclearization. Kazakstan followed a middle path between retention and abandonment, between confrontation and capitulation, and with more adroit leadership did gain some of the concessions it sought.

Elsewhere in the world, Reiss identifies South Africa as the first and only example of nuclear rollback. As old rationales for their acquisition faded and new rationales for their elimination emerged, South Africa has voluntarily and unilaterally dismantled its nuclear arsenal. Brazil and Argentina are dismantling their nuclear programs in tandem. In South Asia Reiss sees a "hot peace" of nonweaponized deterrence. India and Pakistan have rejected formal constraints on their nuclear potential; thus far they have followed informal tacit constraints. But the risk of inadvertent or accidental nuclear war is real, amid long and mounting hostilities, and a deteriorating domestic and regional situation.

Although North Korea's long-term intentions regarding denuclearization remain unclear, their decisions and actions could have been much worse. North Korea did refrain from such definitive actions as breaking completely with the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty or denying all access to International Atomic Energy Agency inspectors, and has not reprocessed spent nuclear fuel since 1992. Much depends upon whether North Korea fulfills nonproliferation obligations it assumed in 1994.

Reiss's book contributes to a reassessment of assumptions about the permanence of nuclear weapons and their place in international affairs. The diversity of cases it analyzes may suggest lessons for future efforts, and points out that there are many potential paths to denuclearization.

SOKOLSKI, HENRY

"Armageddon's Shadow: Fighting Strategic Weapons Proliferation"

1995

245 pages

This study addresses what Henry Sokolski terms "nonapocalyptic proliferation"—that is, the spread of conventional technologies and weapons which pose threats to the United States but which are not weapons of mass destruction. These include submarines operating in confined waters, unmanned air vehicles, and relatively advanced civilian command, control, communication, and intelligence capabilities. The improvement of civilian air traffic control, mapping, and satellites may have security repercussions and military implications. Such technologies could make a significant difference in the military capabilities of smaller nations, deployed not only against weak neighbors but against expeditionary forces from major powers as well. As yet these various technologies have not been crafted into meaningful military instruments. Nonetheless Sokolski argues that the United States should reconsider how it conducts military operations. This new kind of proliferation will make military operations against smaller powers much more delicate and complex.

SPIEGEL, STEVEN L. AND DAVID J. PERVIN, EDS.

Practical Peacemaking in the Middle East. Volume 1: Arms Control and Regional Security

New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995

262 pages

This volume addresses the related but distinct concepts of arms control, limited primarily to military matters, and regional security, a broader concept involving economic and political issues as well as military concerns. The current period opens unprecedented opportunities for pursuing new approaches to security in the Middle East. Contributors suggest lessons to be learned both by and from the Middle East.

To pursue cooperative, common regional security, several authors urge the creation or strengthening of some sort of multilateral mechanisms. Abdullah Toukan recommends a security conference that would emulate the European OSCE, a fully developed cooperative security framework. Yezid Sayigh finds a more limited multilateral agency to be appropriate. Michael Intriligator suggests the possibility of building incrementally upon cooperation on smaller and less controversial issues. All the contributors would seem to agree on the imperative of building institutions parallel to the ongoing peace negotiations to be in position to sustain and manage eventual agreements.

A menu of mechanisms for cooperative security is available to the Middle East from the international arena. Authors discuss a variety of confidence-building measures as well as verification and monitoring technology. The Middle East may also hold newly relevant lessons for the rest of the world. As Intriligator observes, "The end of the Cold War has made the world (and in particular Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union) more

like the Middle East, with many actors, shifting alliances, historical antagonisms, disputes over territory, substantial minorities from one nation residing in another, wars, and occupied regions. Thus, the historical experience of the Middle East may be a window on possible future developments" (p. 45).

For more on *arms proliferation, trade, and control*, see Arias Foundation and Center for International Policy, Dean, Eberstadt, and Lebow and Stein

Human Rights

The disparate works in this category demonstrate the wide range of useful methodologies within the study of human rights. Included here are cross-national statistical analyses as well as observations of local groups in the field. These works address definitions of human rights, systemic causes of their violation, and varied responses and strategies of a cross-section of grassroots organizations. The issues analyzed here are clearly susceptible to the full gamut of scholarly approaches.

HAAS, MICHAEL

Improving Human Rights

Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1994

254 pages

The premise of this volume is that we cannot develop meaningful strategies for improving human rights until we know how those rights (however categorized—civil, social, economic, political, judicial, cultural, etc.) are related empirically. Haas sets out to do this by examining the theoretical arguments and empirical evidence regarding which factors in a society would predict good human rights practices. Finding previous studies inadequate, Haas then generates a set of variables to measure human rights (fifty variables on political and civil rights, ninety-one on economic and social rights, as well as an additional fifty-seven exogenous variables). He analyzes data from eighty-eight countries for 1982–86.

Among his conclusions, Haas finds that human rights are complementary rather than zero-sum, so improvements in one area do not entail a risk of lesser attainments elsewhere. He also finds that civil and political rights are empirically distinct from economic and social rights; neither predicts the other. Both, however, have common antecedents: the existence of a liberal democracy, with a competitive economy, a vast information infrastructure, and a multiparty system.

The strongest policy implication of Haas's work is that withholding aid is not a useful tool in promoting human rights. Haas concludes "[C]onditional foreign aid can best be based on the carrot of additional support for progress rather than on the stick of sanctions that cut back economic assistance to developing countries for human rights failures. . . . The best strategy appears to be to provide aid in order to build a communication and economic infrastructure that will lay the foundations for a more pluralistic economy and polity" (pp. 100-101).

RUMMEL, R. J.

"Statistics of Democide: Genocide and Mass Murder Since 1900"

September 1993

580 pages

This manuscript compiles statistics on mass murder committed by states throughout the twentieth century. According to R. J. Rummel's analysis, these data demonstrate that the best indicator of any regime's propensity to commit mass murder is its concentration of power. The less democratic and more totalitarian a regime, the more likely it is to commit "democide." Rummel finds concentration of power to be better than underlying social, cultural, or religious diversity for predicting regime violence toward its own and foreign populations.

WELCH, CLAUDE E.

"Making Rights Human: NGOs and the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights in Africa"

September 1994

274 pages

With careful attention to a variety of cases in Ethiopia, Namibia, Nigeria, and Senegal, this study provides an update on the role and activities of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) working on human rights during the "second independence" of the early 1990s in Africa. NGOs are presented as key to the deepening of civil society and the promotion and protection of human rights in Africa.

The manuscript considers the manner in which NGOs occupy political space in Africa. It examines some of the obstacles they face, identifies their tasks and strategies, and assesses their effectiveness. Welch also explores the question of whether NGOs should engage in political disputes as part of their struggle for democracy, or should remain disengaged and neutral, thus better able to serve as educators and monitors. To promote or to protect human rights can be a difficult dilemma.

Welch organizes his study around six strategies of human rights NGOs, including several case studies from sub-Saharan Africa for each. The strategy of education concerns building a culture of respect for human rights. Giving priority to empowerment involves deliberate political mobilization of minority groups with an emphasis on local autonomy. A focus on enforcement aims to establish the rule of law. Efforts at documentation concern information gathering, verification, and dissemination. Pursuing a strategy of democratization can be complex. Welch contrasts the activities of two organizations in the 1993 elections in Nigeria—one a grassroots NGO, the other a "GONGO," or government-organized nongovernmental organization. A final focus is development, which includes inculcating the concept of development as a human right.

Welch argues for the interconnectedness and indivisibility of the various "generations" of rights: political and civil liberties, development and basic human needs, as well as self-determination. The immediate goal of NGOs in Africa is improving human rights; the long-term goal is forming a consciousness or culture of human rights. In Welch's analysis, aiming at protection and promotion of human rights serves both goals, and need not be problematic.

For more on *human rights*, see Malamud-Goti, Popkin

Nonviolence

Grantees generated both theoretical and historical perspectives on nonviolent resistance. Speakers from several religions compared theological perspectives on nonviolence. Other scholars assessed recent attempts to use nonviolent strategies, identifying successes as well as reasons for failures. These works trace current trends in debates on the nature and value of nonviolent means for dealing with international conflict.

BURNS, J. PATOUT, ED.

War and Its Discontents: Pacifism and Quietism in the Abrahamic Traditions

Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press, forthcoming 1996

Ten contributors from three religious traditions grapple with the simultaneous and sometimes contradictory imperatives to respect the sacredness of life and yet also struggle for justice. If we must preserve peace, does that preclude the use of force in the pursuit of justice? The contributors engage such topics as the nature and appropriate use of nonviolence, the concept of just war, the moral use of force, and the difference between responsibility and control. Contributors exhibit some of the considerable disparity of viewpoint on these issues within and among the different traditions.

Historically, Christianity has included a just war position as well as a pacifist tradition. Walter Wink provides a new exegesis of a key text used by Christians in claiming that Jesus counseled non-resistance. In his reinterpretation of such phrases as "turn the other cheek," Wink argues that the message is not to capitulate to evil, but rather to refuse to oppose it on its own terms. According to Wink, Jesus was teaching ways for the oppressed to recover the initiative and reassert their dignity within their relationship with the oppressor. Claiming that Jesus abhorred both passivity and violence, Wink advocates active nonviolent resistance which opposes but does not mirror evil, resists but does not emulate the oppressor, and neutralizes but does not destroy the enemy.

Yehudah Mirsky affirms Judaism's conception of humanity's role in the world as wholly activist, committed to the struggle against evil and injustice—which at times may call for violent methods. He also discusses the commitment to survival of the Jewish community, whose defense has not been sustainable without violence. While conflict is never celebrated for itself and peace is the ideal, Mirsky asserts that pacifism is not a useful reference point for either principle or practice. Mirsky does see a role for nonviolent resistance; however, he explicitly identifies its limits. According to Mirsky, and in agreement with Wink's analysis, nonviolent resistance is effective when the oppressor seeks subjugation and submission within the existing system. Nonviolent struggle does not work, however, where the

oppressor seeks simply to annihilate the victim. In such a situation, nonviolence would further empower the oppressor and force the oppressed to acquiesce in their own destruction, forfeiting human dignity in the process by ceding the oppressor the validity of the oppressor's aims. According to Mirsky, "Nonviolent resistance aims to push the latent contradictions of an oppressive society to the surface. Hence it is inapplicable vis-a-vis societies whose violence and oppression is not a contradiction, but rather of their essence " (p. 73). The Holocaust, thus, affords no "nonviolent moment."

On Islam, Abdulaziz A. Sachedina underscores the historical and cultural rootedness of Islam, noting that it was responding to the moral-religious and political conditions prevalent in seventh century Arabia. He discusses the different historical understandings of jihad, from a defensive war to protect the faith against hostile unbelievers, to an offensive endeavor in order to realize the "divine blueprint" of God's will on earth and to bring about the kind of world that the *Qur'an* envisions.

WEHR, PAUL, HEIDI BURGESS, AND GUY BURGESS, EDS.

Justice Without Violence

Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994

301 pages

This volume concerns cases where there is the presence of fundamental political, social, or economic injustice or disempowerment of the unjustly treated group; and these conflicts were addressed by the low power group primarily without using violence. Four theoretical chapters review literature on nonviolence. One point emphasized is that nonviolence is not to be confused with passivity or inaction, but rather includes such strategies for action as strikes, sit-ins, and demonstrations. Eight subsequent chapters address a wide variety of case studies, often attending to the interaction between tactics and contexts.

Despite their differences, the nations of eastern Europe shared important common features in the peaceful capitulation of their communist governments, according to Joel Edelstein. All had experienced the development of conditions that spurred forces for reform among their own political and social elites. Even within the party elite, the system had lost legitimacy. Further, these elites could anticipate a tolerable future for themselves and their families, even with their loss of power. Finally, violent suppression of the opposition would not have solved the crises confronting many of these governments, including the debt crisis and declining economies. In part because of this context, the governments of eastern Europe did not respond violently to nonviolent citizen protest.

The context was very different in China, where in 1989 the economy was growing at an annual rate of 10 percent, the Communist Party had not lost its legitimacy, and the government appeared to have the support of the larger part of its predominantly rural population. Students pursued nonviolent

methods in their pursuit of broadened civil and political rights. With the June 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre they definitely lost that battle. In the view of Stephen Thomas, however, by losing in a principled manner the students may have helped transform the context for the next stage of struggle.

The effectiveness of nonviolent actions is important to assess. William Kaempfer, Anton D. Lowenberg, H. Naci Mocan, and Lynne Bennett examine foreign sanctions against South Africa's apartheid regime. They find that foreign sanctions generally follow rather than instigate changes in the target country. An increase in visible political opposition helps to raise foreign awareness of a country's objectionable practices. In the short run, foreign sanctions against South Africa helped domestic opposition groups to organize collective action. In the long run, however, they reduced black income.

The editors conclude by suggesting that the nature of the injustice has a significant effect on the likely outcome of nonviolent action. Political injustice seems to be easier to remedy than economic injustice. They also find that nonviolent action tends to stimulate demands for increased democratization of authoritarian regimes. And, contrary to expectation, societal history of violence or nonviolence does not seem to be directly related to the challenge group's use of nonviolence in current struggles. Historically violent societies (Poland, Soviet Union, and the Palestinians, for example) have adopted nonviolent strategies in their recent efforts to attain justice, while Indian society, despite a strong tradition of nonviolence, is increasingly violent.

For more on *nonviolence*, see Boulding ed., Nossel, and Vasquez et al.

Curriculum Development and Training

Several grantees directed their energies to training at the secondary, undergraduate, and graduate levels as well as in the field. They sought to adapt materials to make them appropriate to the capacities and contexts of students, while ensuring that students would be equipped to handle the challenges they face. These works accept the responsibility of keeping the field of international relations in step with changes in the international system, updating curricular materials, resources, as well as pedagogical methods. The works summarized here help to bring practical knowledge into the classroom and to bring new skills into the field.

GOODMAN, LOUIS AND BRIAN S. MANDELL

International Conflict Resolution for the 21st Century: Preparing Tomorrow's Leaders

Washington, D. C.: Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs, August 1994

88 pages

With the end of the Cold War, the agenda for international relations scholars is immensely expanded. Those interested in international conflict resolution will be addressing not only military-security issues, but environmental conflict, economic disputes, immigration, and intellectual property. There are changes in both the substance of international conflict and in the technical understanding of its resolution. Schools of international affairs are searching for innovative ways to provide students with the new bargaining and negotiation skills that will be demanded of them.

A specific challenge of this new environment is to refine both the conceptualization and the teaching of international conflict resolution (ICR). Is this to be a separate field of scholarship, or a new subfield within international relations? What are the methods, content, levels of analysis, and skills most appropriate to this emerging field of study?

This manual addresses these questions by reviewing how international conflict resolution is being taught at the member schools of the Association of Professional Schools on International Affairs (APSIA). It does not aim to promote a single curriculum, but to identify and share current trends in ICR training. This overview includes discussion and examples from three approaches. Dedicated programs treat ICR as a distinct field of study within the overall degree program. Integrated programs incorporate ICR issues into courses across the international relations curriculum. Course-dedicated programs offer specific courses with an ICR focus. The manual describes the programs available at APSIA member schools and also offers detailed models for ICR programs. These include specific suggestions for teaching methods, curriculum development, and faculty recruitment. Appendices present course descriptions from within the different syllabi as pursued at the APSIA member schools.

MERRYFIELD, MERRY M. AND RICHARD C. REMY, EDS.

Teaching about International Conflict and Peace

Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994

393 pages

Educators are challenged to introduce their young students to complex issues of international conflict and conflict management. This collection is designed to help secondary school social studies teachers enhance their own knowledge and improve their instruction on international conflict management. It provides both substantive material on international issues and in-depth discussion and examples of instructional methods, as well as an appendix of related resources.

Part I addresses exemplary teaching practice in secondary social studies classrooms. It covers a variety of concerns, including integrating content on international conflict and peace within an existing social studies curriculum, selecting appropriate methods to reach content goals, making interdisciplinary connections, and planning study units. Innovative methods include conducting interviews with individuals from other cultures, reading literature from other cultures, following the press of other nations, conducting role-plays and simulations, using decision trees, and making use of opportunities for cooperative learning.

Part II presents substantive essays on major themes in international conflict management. These address diplomacy, negotiation, use and control of the military, economic cooperation, human rights, self-determination, and environmental issues. Each contributor also provides a glossary of terms as well as an annotated bibliography.

This collection also provides a comprehensive appendix of resources. It includes sections on organizations concerned with peace and peace education, instructional materials (publications, games, videos, software, curriculum guides), computer networks (such as the PeaceNet, ConflictNet, and EcoNet databases), and articles and other materials on topics of peace, cross-cultural communication, conflict resolution, and related topics available through Education Resources Information Center.

PETERSON, SOPHIA AND VIRGIL A. PETERSON, EDS.

"Agenda for the 21st Century: Global Cooperation"

Morgantown: The West Virginia Consortium for Faculty and Course Development in International Studies, 1991

167 pages

Participants at the conference from which this volume emerged addressed three major issues: environment, peace and security, and North-South relations. On each theme, participants reviewed key concerns, examined obstacles to global cooperation, considered models for future cooperation, and identified imperatives for action.

Regarding the environment, some participants noted that while we continue to speak of political sovereignty, nations are no longer sovereign economically, ecologically, or socially. Specific concerns included population growth, global warming, and dwindling supply of potable water, which need to be addressed immediately. An argument was made for weighing the tradeoffs between economic growth and environmental considerations and

undertaking additional scientific research. This was countered as "constant compromise" which results in the "browning" of the planet.

With the end of the Cold War, many are optimistic about peace and security. Nonetheless, there are lingering problems of proliferation, of nuclear as well as chemical weapons. International institutions need to be strengthened, with sensitivity to a possible Western bias in their structure. There is also a risk of an accumulated pessimism resulting from a concentration of negative events. This might lead to preoccupation with national concerns and skepticism about international structures.

National development strategies have not succeeded sufficiently in much of the South. New strategies include rejecting western ideologies, relying upon military build-up, or migrating to the North. Massive, often illegal, migrations are already resulting in a "Third World within" many northern countries.

As business is increasingly global rather than national, the U.S. educational system needs to provide international background, including foreign languages, geography, and cultural sensitivity. International education programs are already being established in the United States and should begin early, prior to higher education.

WILGESPRUIT FELLOWSHIP CENTRE NEGOTIATION AND COMMUNITY CONFLICT PROGRAMME

"Principled Negotiation in South Africa: A Basic Training Manual"

September 1994

41 pages

This manual is one product of the Negotiation Training Project, a partnership between Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre and the Harvard Negotiation Project. It presents a method for teaching and training negotiation skills, aiming to create a network of qualified trainers of such skills. Incorporating materials appropriate to the South African context, the manual presents exercises and guidelines regarding the recognition and articulation of key elements of negotiation. It also provides other suggestions concerning the value of communication, the importance of fully understanding a problem before proposing solutions, the imperative of respecting everyone's ideas, or the need to separate the people from the problem. The manual points out that previously in South Africa negotiation was considered tantamount to collaboration. In the contemporary context, however, negotiation has become an essential—and learnable—skill.

REGIONAL STUDIES

Some works are best categorized regionally. These address many of the themes identified above, but focus on one nation or region. Several are truly comprehensive, analyzing every aspect of geopolitics, security, and peace within a region, incorporating issues of governance and leadership as well as political economy and international trade. Others select a particular instance of conflict or resolution, examining it in precise detail for the lessons it offers for other cases.

Several essays on the post–Soviet states address new identities, potential alliances, and emerging institutions in the region. Studies within Asia consider ongoing conflicts as well as post–conflict reconstruction, including the role of international organizations. The pursuit of peace and security remains the primary orientation of works on the Middle East. Regarding Africa, scholars assess several challenges, of rebuilding, growth, and democratization in relation to the promotion of peace. In Latin America, analysts assess international efforts to facilitate post–conflict reconstruction, and also anticipate means to avoid future conflicts. While these works are regionally focused, none is narrow in scope, providing comprehensive analyses and developing broadly relevant lessons.

Post-Soviet States

FULLER, GRAHAM E.

"New States, New Geopolitics: Central Asia and Its Neighbors"

November 1994

334 pages

The internal situation in all the new states in Central Asia is highly fluid. Their current leadership is likely transitional. Nationalism will probably grow, although in precisely which direction is hard to predict. Their identities, initially bequeathed by the arbitrary borders and linguistic, cultural, and administrative policies of the Soviets, are very much in formation.

The relations among the new nations are thus yet to be defined. Factors conducive to unity include disappointment with CIS and its alleged benefits; common concerns demanding common solutions (water supply, ecological problems, transportation grids); shared pan-Turkish cultural heritage, and common fear of external great states. Factors tending toward disunity include new-found independence and leaders' reluctance to yield any sovereignty; imbalances of power between the republics (particularly concerns over Uzbekistan's strength); and cultural differences (as between nomadic and settled urban groups). While regional unity is one possibility, there is no reason to presume it. These states may find outside patrons and join external groupings, breaking any sense of Central Asian unity. The quality and character of the emergent leadership may be determinant.

Considering the geopolitical balance of power in the region, the most important states are Russia, Turkey, Iran, and China. Russia's primary concern is the preservation of paramount influence over its "near abroad." Graham Fuller points out that the current borders hardly seem real to many Russians, and are not necessarily considered permanent. Paradoxically, if Russia considered the sovereignty of the new states to be secure, it would probably struggle harder to change the borders. As long as Russia considers these borders transitory, they are tolerable. Thus—at least for the time being—the less Russia truly respects the sovereignty of its former republics, the safer their physical borders and territorial integrity may be. Fuller considers it likely that the borders will change.

Turkey and Iran are both very interested in the region. Both emphasize linguistic and cultural ties as a means of establishing special relations in the region. Russia may ally with Iran, as a means to forestall pan-Turkish tendencies. China would also be concerned at the prospect of pan-Turkism. The Uighur Turks in Xinjiang might pursue separatism, seeking assistance or solidarity in Central Asian states. China's economic impact on the region is likely to grow.

As to U.S. concerns, the key is prevention of a resuscitated Russian empire. The United States would not oppose the creation of a commonwealth with Russia at its core—that is, a peaceful and voluntary grouping of nations, working within a generally democratic framework. It would, however, vehemently oppose an empire, understood as a grouping of nations joined by force, against their will, under Russian domination. Fuller writes "The difference is critical: *it lies not in the existence of linked nations around a Russian center, but in the character of those relationships*. . . . A genuine federation poses no threat to the international order as long as the voluntary nature is clear and maintained" (p. 304, emphasis in original).

ISRAELYAN, VICTOR

Inside the Kremlin During the Yom Kippur War

University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995

239 pages

Victor Israelyan was a senior ambassador in the Soviet Foreign Ministry during the 1973 Middle East crisis. From this vantage point, he provides a firsthand account of the tensions, debates, and decisions as experienced in Moscow. His own memory, notes, and documents are supplemented by interviews with other Soviet officials as he reconstructs the daily developments in an episode that nearly escalated into a nuclear confrontation between the superpowers.

As the first Soviet official to provide such a chronicle of the intense negotiations that occurred between the Unites States and the Soviet Union, Israelyan fills many gaps in information and also provides a different perspective on some standard accounts of the crisis. At each step, he confronts,

corrects, and challenges certain aspects of existing accounts, shedding a different light on assertions made by Western policymakers and analysts. He provides new material on Soviet decision-making processes, commitments, and confusions which all affected the management of this international crisis.

OLCOTT, MARTHA BRILL

Central Asia's New States: Independence, Foreign Policy, and Regional Security

Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996

202 pages

This manuscript considers the foreign policy of the newly independent Central Asian states, giving particular attention to Kazakstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan. It addresses their attempts to define national interests, establish relations with foreign powers, seek international aid and investment, and determine a new satisfactory relationship with each other and with Russia.

Despite being quite unprepared for independence, the Central Asian republics began with considerable enthusiasm. Early strategies for gaining foreign aid or investment sought to play upon ethnicity. For example, Turkey was approached on the basis of shared "Turkishness," the Islamic nations on the basis of shared religion, and Asian countries on the basis of shared "Asianness." The latter were deemed particularly appropriate models, in that they had achieved economic growth through a strong state sector and maintained strict social controls. This was more familiar and fathomable to Central Asian nations than the diffuse democracies of the West. These early efforts were not particularly successful, and also raised concerns about Chinese predominance.

Russia is the unavoidable interlocutor for the Central Asian nations in both economic relations and security concerns. It remains unclear, however, what the terms of that relation will be. Russia sees itself as heir to the Soviet Union and therefore deserving compensation for earlier infrastructure investments, for example in the energy sectors. The republics, on the other hand, see themselves as victims of Russian and then Soviet colonization, and deserving of compensation for the wealth that accrued to Moscow from the sale of their natural resources. The future is no less in dispute than the past. While all acknowledge the need for some sort of integration, it could take several forms. CIS has the potential to develop into a new multilateral organization—or into a reincarnation of the old Warsaw pact. Martha Brill Olcott urges that Russia not be given free rein by the international community to pursue the latter course.

PETCHENKINE LAMBERT, YOURY

"The End of an Empire"

1994

256 pages

In Petchenkine Lambert's estimation, Mikhail Gorbachev was a paradox. He initiated glasnost yet would accept no challenges to his own authority. He began economic reforms yet hampered their realization. He proclaimed democratization yet strove to preserve the foundations of totalitarianism. Petchenkine Lambert also believes that Gorbachev's role in recent history is misunderstood in the West, due to a lack of direct knowledge of his personal development and experiences. This manuscript attempts to address that lacuna. It tells Gorbachev's story from childhood through his rise to positions of the highest power in the Soviet Union. It discusses his personal reactions, perceptions, rivalries, and strategies, recording his personal relations with other key actors of the period.

SATTER, DAVID

"Age of Delirium: The Decline and Fall of the Soviet Union"

1995

731 pages

David Satter has produced a personal and evocative account of the last years of the Soviet Union. In chapters grouped around such topics as internal security, state bureaucracy, working conditions, and religious expression, Satter reports conversations, personal reflections, and personal observations. Via these stories Satter suggests, for example, the futility of pursuing justice within the Soviet judicial system, the deprivations suffered by workers, and the painful fate of those incarcerated in psychiatric prisons. Other chapters provide accounts of such events as the attempted 1993 parliamentary putsch against Boris Yeltsin.

Through the stories that he tells, Satter explores his theme that the Soviet system was dedicated to destroying the moral compass of Soviet citizens. Simultaneously, Satter finds strains of fanaticism within pre-existing Russian culture. This was first tapped by Russian Orthodoxy, subsequently by Soviet ideology, and is now beginning to be exploited by nationalist movements as well as miracle workers and faith healers.

TROFIMENKO, HENRY

"National Interests of Russia"

1994

344 pages

This study reviews Russia's emerging foreign policy, particularly in its relations with the United States concerning Russia's predominance over adjacent smaller republics. Henry Trofimenko argues that Russian foreign policy during and immediately after the fall of the Soviet Union simply followed that of the United States on many issues, and was indeed in its shadow. Russia is now beginning to establish its own interests and priorities, some of which conflict with U.S. interests.

Trofimenko sees two key Russian priorities. The first is simply survival: maintaining sufficient unity to remain a viable state, despite the many

political challenges and ethnic separatism it faces. The second is consolidating Russian predominance over the "near abroad"—the nations at its borders. These two tasks Trofimenko sees as mutually reinforcing, in that a unified Russia will be better able to exercise a dominant role in the near abroad, and consolidation of that position is essential to the security and viability of Russia.

In relations between Russia and the United States, there are some areas of convergence of interest, such as nonproliferation of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons, as well as preventing the disintegration of Russia into "innumerable fiefdoms." On the other hand, there are some real conflicts, particularly regarding the near abroad. The United States seeks to work with the near abroad to decrease the dependence of these countries upon Russia, and would deny the legitimacy of Russia's "special interest" in these areas. According to Trofimenko, this is "abject hypocrisy" on the part of the United States (given, for example, U.S. treatment of Central America) and furthermore plays into the hands of Russian ultra-nationalists. U.S. refusal to acknowledge this special interest of Russia, and U.S. interference in the near abroad, guarantee poor relations between the two countries.

For more on *Post-Soviet States*, see Aklaev, Couloumbis and Dokos eds., Drohobycky ed., Lebow and Stein, Meconis and Makeev, Reiss, Rodman, and Wehr, Burgess and Burgess eds.

On the *former Yugoslavia*, see Esman and Telhami eds., Hummer, Seymore ed., and Minear and Weiss

Asia

BROWN, FREDERICK

"Making Peace in Cambodia"
1994
150 pages

This manuscript examines the prospects for reconstructing Cambodia after decades of war, occupation, and oppression. The recent history covered here begins with Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia in 1979 and what Frederick Brown refers to as the "stalemate years" of the subsequent decade. With Vietnam's unilateral withdrawal in 1989, the difficult process of reaching a settlement between different warring factions within Cambodia could begin. Various efforts were made, with the sponsorship and assistance of ASEAN and the UN. In 1991, the Paris Agreements on a Comprehensive Political Settlement in Cambodia were signed. The Paris Agreements were unusually comprehensive, with the UN shouldering responsibility for a wide array of tasks. These included conducting elections, peacekeeping, mine-sweeping, rebuilding the country's basic infrastructure, monitoring human rights, handling administrative functions of the Cambodian government, maintaining law and order, and repatriating refugees from Thailand. In 1993 elections were held successfully, despite threatened violence. The newly elected government now pursues the continuing task of reconstructing the nation.

EBERSTADT, NICHOLAS

Grant products listed following text.

Nicholas Eberstadt's work considers trends in the Korean peninsula and the possibility of reunification of North and South Korea. The current armed standoff between North and South will probably grow more dangerous with North Korea's steadily deteriorating internal situation. Eberstadt asserts that there is no lasting solution short of the reunification of North and South with Seoul as the dominant partner. In this process, South Korea needs to undertake serious reforms as well, particularly regarding the rule of law.

North Korea's economy did quite well in the nineteen sixties, seventies, and eighties, actually exceeding South Korea in GNP per capita, contradicting the received wisdom on this topic. It is now, however, in serious decline. Its central planners are misallocating funds, in part because they must plan without adequate information. The demand for secrecy on the part of the military means that a large part of the economy remains hidden from policy planners. In this situation there are neither the self-correcting mechanisms of markets, nor the planned corrections of policy-makers.

Militarily, North Korea has the highest ratio of soldiers to civilian population of any nation. Even without nuclear weapons, North Korea possesses a massive and aggressively disposed military. Further, its recent pursuit of nuclear weapons is unlikely to be dropped. North Korea has no intention of

negotiating them away. It has already won concessions in the international arena because of its pursuit of nuclear weapons, and would want this situation to recur.

South Korea's economic miracle has long been understood as the triumph of private markets. According to Eberstadt, this is a seriously flawed interpretation. South Korea's military rulers in the sixties, seventies, and early eighties nationalized the nation's banking system and promulgated detailed five year plans. Currently the economy is hyperleveraged and suffers from excessive state intervention. Further, South Korea is plagued by corruption, consisting of coerced bribes, reciprocal favors, extralegal payments, and "quasi-taxes." It lacks anything like a Western rule of law.

What are the prospects for reunification, or at least reduced tensions? Integration primarily via commerce is not a promising route. The actual scope for mutual benefit is smaller than supposed; trade with capitalist countries has done little to moderate policies of other communist countries; and North Korea remains hostile to anything more than a limited, tightly policed, tactical commercial opening to the South. Politically, North Korea appears entirely committed to preserving its form of socialism and to strengthening socialism in the "correlation of forces" (including avoiding anything that would also benefit South Korea, and thus bolster the imperialist forces).

Thus, the major constraints to reunification or reduction of tensions have less to do with technical issues, and more to do with intentions. Reunification would require dramatic changes in the external strategy as well as the internal political structure of North Korea. It would also depend crucially upon a serious overhaul of the rule of law in South Korea—an area that foreign powers are least able to influence.

Korea Approaches Reunification

New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1995

180 pages

"North Korea: Reform: Muddling Through, or Collapse?"

In *One Korea? Challenges and Prospects for Reunification*, edited by Thomas H. Henriksen and Kyongoo Lho. Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1994

pp. 13-30

"Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation: Rapprochement through Trade?"

Korea and World Affairs (Winter 1994)

pp. 642-661

LU, NING

"The Dynamics of Foreign Policy Decision-Making in China"

1995

203 pages

This work explicates the dynamics of foreign policy making in China, including its history, bureaucracy, personnel, and recent trends. It explores the structure, recruitment, internal factionalism, and changing status of the foreign policy bureaucracy in China. Certain trends, such as staffing the foreign policy bureaucracy with the politically loyal or with the professionally trained, have shifted back and forth with China's internal politics.

Ning Lu identifies two current trends in foreign policy decision-making that may be part of larger transitions occurring in China. One is that decision-making authority in foreign policy has become somewhat less "concentrated." Overall there has been a shift from the generation of "revolutionary politicians" to a generation of "technocrat politicians." These do not command personal authority or power bases comparable to their predecessors. This shift may lead to a broader decision-making process and to changes in the relative importance of different parts of the foreign policy bureaucracy. Another significant change in foreign policy is the priority now accorded economic development. Formerly military security was held paramount; economic development is now determinant in many foreign policy decisions.

Lu concludes his study by articulating some of the major unknowns of these trends: whether they will result in greater efficiency in foreign policy decision-making; whether they will make foreign policy more susceptible to domestic lobbying and foreign pressure; and whether they will permit China to respond to major foreign policy crises.

WIRSING, ROBERT

India, Pakistan, and the Kashmir Dispute: On Regional Conflict and Its Resolution

New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994

337 pages

This volume is an analysis of the current phase of the territorial dispute between Pakistan and India over Kashmir. While that dispute is nearly fifty years old, there are several new elements that add further dimensions to an already complex dispute.

The first new element is internal: the emergence of a Muslim separatist movement within the portion of Kashmir controlled by India. This adds issues of self-determination and Kashmiri political rights to what had formerly been a dispute between two existing states. A second level of significant change has occurred in regional politics. Pakistan has converted to civilian rule. Indian multiparty competition is not stable, and there is also the rise of Hindu nationalism. Both Pakistan and India have increased their military capabilities. The implications of these regional political and military changes cannot be foreseen, but they have not enhanced the stability or security of the situation. A third relevant element is the increasing volatility

of the international arena. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, there is a new tier of Islamic states in Central Asia and Moscow's defense relationship with India has ended. The United States has cut military assistance to Pakistan. China is swiftly becoming a major power in the region. All of these will also affect the opportunities for containing or resolving the Kashmir border dispute.

The dispute is clearly multidimensional. It is both a separatist problem and a boundary problem, with challenges for human rights as well as for security, and its resolution involves domestic as well as international politics. Historically, neither multilateral, third-party, nor bilateral efforts at negotiation have succeeded. Further, no claim on Kashmir has any evident moral superiority, and the various claims are irreconcilable. Resolution appears highly unlikely. Nonetheless, the status quo, and especially the military confrontation on the Siachen Glacier, is intolerably dangerous and costly.

From this analysis, Robert Wirsing concludes that measured objectives should be pursued. Rather than insisting upon the perhaps hopeless quest for a full resolution to this conflict while permitting the current violence to continue, he argues that simply breaking the deadlock should be the immediate goal. The next step would be for Pakistan and India to agree on specific and durable rules and institutions to govern their disagreement. Given the complexity, intractability, and costs of the Kashmiri dispute, containment would be a formidable and valuable achievement—and a far more realistic objective than full resolution.

For more on *Asia*, see Fuller, Ratner, Reiss, Wehr, Burgess and Burgess eds., and Minear and Weiss

Middle East

This work explores the alliance between Syria and Iran—a peculiar alliance, in that it relates a secular regime and a religious regime with different structures, ideologies, and political beliefs. Further, these two states have often pursued opposing positions on matters of international affairs. They have acted on different interests regarding aspects of the Iran-Iraq war, the Gulf War, the Madrid peace process, and the situation in Lebanon. Nonetheless, this appears to be a stable and enduring alliance.

Both Syria and Iran see the alliance in defensive terms: a response to presumed hostile intent elsewhere rather than a means for pursuing common goals. Through the alliance, each side achieves specific gains. Syria gains a counterbalance to Iraq and to Israel, a means to contain and influence the Shiite community in Lebanon and radical Islamic opposition within Syria itself, influence and leverage in the Gulf, as well as a source of military cooperation and economic support. Iran, for its part, gains a means of leverage against Iraq, access to the arena of Arab-Israeli conflict (thus enhancing its regional role), a major Arab partner (mitigating Arab-Persian polarization), a means of reducing Sunni-Shia polarization in the Arab and Islamic arenas, and a trading partner. Neither side is trying to advance common goals, and the alliance has had little effect on the ability of either party to pursue its independent international interests.

Paradoxically, the authors argue, it is their very differences that contribute to the durability of the alliance between Iran and Syria. The two nations are largely incompatible. Hence, neither expects the other to pursue the same goals, operate by the same rules, or share the same values and behaviors. This has lead to greater tolerance, since neither is surprised, concerned, or disappointed by the other's beliefs, manner, or precepts. Neither emulates the other, nor do they compete. The result has been a quite stable alliance. There appears to be a tacit or otherwise undeclared understanding on a fundamental tradeoff between the vital interests of both sides: a relatively free hand for Syria in dealing with Arab-Israeli issues and the question of a negotiated settlement with Israel in return for a relatively free hand for Iran in dealing with its Gulf interests and objectives.

BOULDING, ELISE, ED.

*Building Peace in the Middle East:
Challenges for States and Civil Society*

Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1994

347 pages

This volume recognizes the current period as one of transition from a territorially based warrior state system, and toward a future manifesting greater diversity and civic creativity, with overlapping social affiliations and channels for participation. This transitional period is particularly promising for the Middle East. The volume envisions "a future Middle East characterized by stability, justice, and a flowering of forward-looking human and social development rooted in the ancient civilizations of the region—a Middle East that will offer creative leadership to the evolving world of the twenty-first century" (p. 8).

This vision is elaborated through a document produced by the International Peace Research Association's Commission on Peace Building in the Middle East. The document sketches various dimensions of current conflicts and then considers options for peace-building, both the possible and the preferred. Subsequent background papers address a wide range of issues, from social development and democracy (including gender issues), security (comprising more than military concerns), and economic development (including water scarcity). A further section deals with creating a culture of peace, with articles on education, values, and faith.

The volume suggests a central role for international nongovernmental organizations in bringing about this future. These are voluntary people's associations pursuing direct links with like groups across national boundaries. They work flexibly and through their own channels, expanding the peace-making and peace-building capacities available to states and intergovernmental organizations. The volume projects a twenty-first century configured by such associations, breaking through barriers of pessimism, and releasing energies for change in the Middle East and around the world.

**EATON, JOSEPH W. AND
DAVID J. EATON**

*"Disputed Waters: The Past and
Future of Arab-Israeli Water Sharing"*

October 1995

344 pages

The water shortage in the Middle East is complex, with environmental and technical as well as political, legal, economic, and historical aspects. This study traces the history of disputes over water in the Middle East and efforts to engineer solutions over thousands of years. The long-standing water problem has become more acute with the increase in population and more intensive water usage associated with modern patterns of resource consumption. Market concerns, such as the competitive pricing of irrigated crops raised for export, are also relevant.

The water shortage is not an insoluble problem. There are several possible new sources of water in the region. These include sewage recycling, desalinization of sea water, and importation of fresh water. These could be supplemented by significant reduction of waste and a more efficient distribution system.

Any solution requires agreement and cooperation. No investment in any of these measures will occur until there is agreement, confidence, and security. The authors thus identify not only a shortage of water, but a shortage of political will. The lack of water has been both a cause and a consequence of regional conflict. As the water problem cannot be resolved through military might, the authors hope that it will become one catalyst for peace.

EHTESHAMI, ANOUSHIRAVAN AND
RAYMOND HINNEBUSCH

*"Syria and Iran: Middle Powers in a
Penetrated Regional System"*

1995

359 pages

The Middle East, according to the authors, has been profoundly "penetrated" by Western powers, subjected to enormous economic pressure and cultural influence. As a defensive reaction, Syria and Iran seek to establish themselves as regional middle powers to block the dominance of the West and Western proxies, maximize their own autonomy, and ensure stability and security.

The authors analyze the formation of foreign policy in Syria and Iran, taking into account both external and domestic factors, ideological commitments and economic imperatives, the autonomy of leaders and the role of public opinion. They see the foreign policy of each and the alliance between the two as a balancing act of many factors, and further explore the orientations and choices of each state via a consideration of their roles in the conflict in Lebanon and the peace process in Israel.

Contrary to assertions that Syria and Iran are driven by ideology and engaged in a "civilizational" struggle against the West, the authors see their foreign policies as quite understandable in traditional terms. If their policies are at times legitimated by ideological ends, nonetheless they are determined "not by unremitting ideological hostility, but largely play the game of global politics by its historical rules, namely pursuit of limited national interests and spheres of influence" (p. 344). The authors suggest that their legitimate interests be accommodated, rather than perceived as an extremist threat.

OLMERT, YOSEF

"Futile Diplomacy in the Middle East: Israel, Syria, Lebanon, U.S.A. and the 17th May 1983 Agreement"

1994

272 pages

Yosef Olmert presents a historical account of a complex and ultimately failed agreement to cease hostilities in Lebanon, tracing the involvement of Israel and Syria in addition to the internal Lebanese factions. While Israel and Syria pursued their opposing interests within Lebanon, neither wanted an all-out war. Thus through the 1970s there were many confrontations but also repeated de-escalation. The 1983 Agreement between Israel and Lebanon provided no definitive breakthrough. Neither Israel nor Lebanon was entirely satisfied by the agreement. Instead of resolving matters within Lebanon, the May 1983 Agreement intensified divisions within Lebanon and hastened political disintegration. Many actors share responsibility for this failure. According to this account, Israel, Syria, Lebanese factions, as well as the United States made errors in judgment which contributed to this unfortunate outcome.

For more on the *Middle East*, see Couloumbis and Dokos eds., Fuller, Kirisçi and Winrow, Miller, Spiegel and Pervin eds., and Wehr, Burgess and Burgess eds.

Africa

The contributors to this volume participated in a 1992 conference concerning the shape of a new constitution in South Africa, particularly in light of U.S. experience. Essays included concern such fundamental issues as the proper role of a constitution within a polity, the relative merits of federal and unitary systems, and the relationship between political and economic equality. Others address specific constitutional questions, including the separation of powers, relationship between branches, protection of individual and group rights, and the proper scope of a bill of rights. The essays consider constitutions abstractly, but also attend to similarities and distinctions between the United States and South African experiences.

In anticipating the nature of constitutional democracy in South Africa, David Welsh reflects on the possibility of a racially-based permanent majority. If party government becomes synonymous with government by a dominant ethnic group, this suggests majority tyranny. Parties based in minorities may be excluded from any realistic prospect of a share in power. This would vitiate the system's democratic essence. Racial divisions cannot be resolved by constitutional fiat; but constitutional framers should be aware of these concerns as they design South Africa's core document.

On the other hand, excessive attention to minority rights could damage effective governance. Kadir Asmal considers the options of a federal or unitary government. He notes that the National Party and other minority parties have supported federalism as a way to protect minorities through veto powers vested in racial groups. Asmal charges that their aim is to reduce and restrict majority rule, robbing the central government of authority by constitutionally limiting its powers. The unitary system that the African National Congress has advocated would include provisions for regional and local governments, but would not render the national government powerless to implement its policies.

Some national conflicts have the potential to unsettle international security. The quest for peace in the international arena requires promotion of processes for the negotiated transfer of power. The violence and volatility of South Africa's transition do not invite emulation. Nonetheless, that transition may contain lessons, particularly regarding the dispersed and local efforts toward peacebuilding.

The author distinguishes three tasks in moving toward peace. Peacemaking refers to formal negotiations at the senior level between major

political parties with the objective of reaching a comprehensive settlement concerning societal restructuring. Peacekeeping includes efforts to enforce calm, separate warring parties, and suppress outbreaks of violence. This study focuses on the third task, that of peacebuilding—the creation of mechanisms to manage and prevent the outbreak of violent conflict, so that democracy becomes sustainable. Effective peacebuilding encourages the structural and attitudinal changes necessary to allow agreements concluded at the national level to gain the genuine acceptance at the popular level.

Political violence threatened to derail South Africa's transition. The National Peace Accord sought to address that violence. Among other measures, it called for the creation of a nationwide network of local peace committees. The functions of these autonomous committees varied by area, from determining rules for marches to settling school disputes to gathering information to intervening with police to creating a sense of trust. The local peace committees were shaped by ongoing conflicts, existing divisions, and the particular strengths and weaknesses of their leaders. The author offers a preliminary account of three local peace committees, faced with different socio-economic conditions, levels of violence, and established leaderships.

The author's consideration of these three cases leads her to a more cautionary attitude toward some elements of standard conflict resolution literature. The experiences of the local peace committees, for example, calls into question the value of removing negotiators from volatile situations and transferring them to a "safe" or neutral space. In this instance, this would have meant removing them from their constituents, with whom they were constantly consulting as a necessary part of the peacebuilding process. Standard literature also encourages those involved in conflict resolution to search for the moment of "ripeness" in order to begin; the author's observations of these three committees indicates how much is to be gained from simply beginning even in the thick of conflict. Further, while considerable attention has been given to peacemaking and peacekeeping, the author urges greater appreciation of peacebuilding. Rather than the third-party intervention which may be appropriate to peacemaking and peacekeeping, peacebuilding must be a local and self-sufficient form of conflict resolution. Peacebuilding is long-term, small-scale, decentralized, and often perceived as peripheral. Nonetheless it may engage as many varied actors, interests, issues, and attitudes as national negotiations. And, the author argues, it is also essential to successful political transitions.

ROUVEZ, ALAIN

Disconsolate Empires: French, British, and Belgian Military Involvement in Post-Colonial Sub-Saharan Africa

Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1994

451 pages

This study examines the post–colonial roles of France, Britain, and Belgium in sub-Saharan Africa. According to Alain Rouvez, the relationship between the metropoles and their colonies did not end with independence, but was transformed into distinct "zones of influence." The former colonies aligned themselves in accordance with the foreign policy of their patron states. The metropoles, for their part, helped redress disparities of power and wealth and also promoted the interests of their client states in the UN and international financial institutions. France, Britain, and Belgium have also remained willing to pursue their political prerogatives in their former colonies through military force.

Rouvez is particularly interested in whether the military involvement of the metropoles has helped to regulate and reduce levels of conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa. Of the three former colonial powers, France has been most heavily involved in Africa. It intervenes militarily more frequently, maintains overseas possessions and military bases, and permits strong presidential control of decision-making regarding this region. Rouvez finds that the French zone of influence has exhibited the greatest stability and that the French are the most proficient at both managing stability and promoting change once they deem change is due.

By contrast, Britain has adopted a policy of pragmatic disengagement from Africa, with benign policing of certain selected areas, particularly in southern Africa. Diplomatic interventions have taken preference over military operations and most former colonies are members of the Commonwealth. Belgium has no institutionalized links with its former colonies nor does it maintain any overseas facilities. Its approach to military interventions has been reactive rather than preventive.

With the end of the Cold War, these relationships will be further transformed. Increased democratization in African nations and the presence of new multilateral and other non-colonial actors will affect the shape of these relations. Some dilution of the exclusive role of the former colonial powers in sub-Saharan Africa seems the most likely outcome.

SAMATAR, AHMED, I., ED.

The Somali Challenge: From Catastrophe to Renewal?

Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1994

297 pages

This volume examines the collapse of the state in Somalia from many perspectives, with contributions on agricultural conditions, cultural policy, gender relations, political economy, foreign relations, and internal state issues. From these varied concerns, the contributors share a consensus on Somalia's failure to construct a viable system of national governance, and more particularly on the inadequacy and venality of Siyaad Barre's regime. Siyaad Barre's insistence on retaining personal power was matched by the opposition's commitment to struggle

violently for control of a state that in actuality no longer existed. All Somalia now suffers the consequences. The poor quality of political leadership has thus far been insurmountable in the effort to meet the many challenges that face Somalia, whether ecological, economic, cultural, or political.

Attending to the interdependence of culture and governance, Ahmed Samatar examines the crossroads that the people of Somalia now face. He articulates the need for a broad renewal, a new state that would be distinguished as much by moral regeneration as by political responsibility and effectiveness. Samatar sees the sources for this new state in three elements: Somali kinship, Islamic teaching, and secular political theory. Samatar acknowledges the possibility of conflict and incompatibility among these three elements, but also sees the potential for a highly fruitful and balanced blending. "The challenge of the transition," he writes, "is the challenge of synthesis" (p. 138).

TEKLE, AMARE, ED.

Eritrea and Ethiopia: From Conflict to Cooperation

Lawrenceville, N.J.: Red Sea Press, 1994

229 pages

This edited volume of eleven essays explores the possibilities for cooperation between Ethiopia and newly independent Eritrea. After three decades of conflict, the imperative of peaceful cooperation is clear; the exact shape of it is not. These essays consider potential paths to constructive cooperation, political consolidation, and economic integration. Regional implications of such cooperation for the entire Horn of Africa are also examined.

None of the essays considers laying the foundations for cooperation to be an easy mandate; nonetheless several contributors find reason for optimism. Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im looks at the current situation in Eritrea as an opportunity to extend African cultural traditions toward constitutionalism. He writes, "To the extent that one can speak of African culture in general, there are certainly rich traditions of political consultation or government by consensus and communitarian welfare which can now be used to promote African constitutional models" (p. 121). Political cooperation is more likely to be sustained among mutually respectful democracies.

Several essays propose some means of economic integration between Eritrea and Ethiopia. Kidane Mengisteab notes that "since each country's resource base and domestic market is too small, an individual and separate self-reliant strategy is unlikely to be successful. It is also doubtful that these countries will succeed by simply relying on the international economic system from which they are already marginalized." (p. 69). Abraham Kidane proposes the Horn of Africa Free Trade Area (HAFTA).

Any success toward establishing democracy and promoting economic integration would have positive effects on the entire region. Mohammed

Hasses sees the potential of an "infectious spirit" of democracy throughout the Horn of Africa (p. 89).

Achieving any of these goals will require real political will, and not mere decrees. In Amare Tekle's assessment, "the Ethio-Eritrean conflict makes it abundantly clear that the declaration of principles, the legislation of codes and the formulation of procedures will, when they do not reflect the just cause and wishes of the people, not be adequate to create peace. The endeavor to wash away concrete problems by resolutions in fact verges on political exorcism" (p. 18).

For more on *Africa*, see Reiss, Welch, Wehr, Burgess and Burgess eds., and Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre

Latin America

This study addresses current security issues in Central America and the contrast between the actual and the appropriate role of the military. Security concerns are dominated by new issues: crime, drug trafficking, and threats to the environment. The ready availability of weapons, presence of ex-combatants, increasing activity of international drug traffickers, and generally high levels of under- and unemployment contribute to these security risks. None of these is classically a military concern, but rather calls for civilian public security efforts.

Despite the lack of such challenges to military security as territorial aggression, the armed forces remain large and indeed have extended their role in the Central American nations. Although open conflict has ended, military budgets have actually grown in recent years, and budget allocations for the military exceed those for health or education in several countries. Furthermore, the armed forces have become major economic actors. They own a variety of enterprises, from banks to shrimp farms, cement factories, airlines, funeral homes, hotels, and soccer teams. Their pension funds are large investors. The private sector has begun to resent economic competition from the military. The economic autonomy and self-sustainability of the military would have far-reaching consequences.

The military is also extending further into "civic action" projects, such as public construction, health, and education. U.S. assistance in this area is difficult to quantify, as data is incomplete. The General Accounting Office (GAO) has lodged complaints for more than a decade over the questionable budgeting practices by which "civic action" assistance is transferred to these countries. Human rights groups as well as the GAO have criticized this U.S. aid to "civic action" police programs for its duplicative and sometimes contradictory efforts, lack of coordination, lack of clearly defined objectives, and lack of means for determining whether particular activities support U.S. foreign policy and interests. The civic action programs further enlarge the role and predominance of the armed forces in these nations. The study concludes that the military monopoly on security matters should end, opening space for civilian involvement and direction.

CAREY, SARAH C., RICHARD
NELSON, AND KENNETH
WEISBRODE

*A Road Map for Restructuring Future
U.S. Relations with Cuba*

Washington, D.C.: Atlantic Council of
the United States, June 1995

51 pages

This policy paper anticipates eventual normalization of relations between the United States and Cuba. It formulates a framework for handling some of the contentious issues that may arise, regardless of the details of the transition in Cuba.

The paper's first recommendation is that as soon as the process of normalizing relations begins, a senior coordinator be appointed to outline procedures and timetables for handling bilateral issues. The paper also urges establishing an efficient and credible mechanism for dealing with citizen confiscation claims against Cuba. The United States should encourage Cuba to join international and regional organizations. Other priorities include lifting the trade embargo and travel and communication restrictions. A new immigration policy would also be required, treating Cubans like other immigrants and taking steps to permit the reunification of families. The future of Guantanamo Naval Base will need to be examined. Finally, the United States should carefully target its aid and assistance programs and should coordinate efforts among private and international donors. The goal of such aid would be to encourage political reform, economic self-reliance, domestic and foreign investment, and positive trade relationships.

COSTA, GINO

"Police Reform in El Salvador"

November 1994

31 pages

This preliminary report identifies some of the initial obstacles, accomplishments, and lessons from UN-sponsored efforts toward police reform in El Salvador. Previously, the police were staffed by military personnel and received military training. During the civil war, these forces were the principal perpetrators of systematic and extensive human rights violations. The Peace Accords called for the disbanding of existing security forces and creation of a new National Civilian Police (PNC). Such a police force has now been initiated, with an academy to train its members. These efforts confronted obstacles at both the national and international levels.

The principal problem at the national level was the total lack of political will on the part of the Salvadoran government and armed forces. In violation of the Peace Accords, large numbers of previous police and military officers—from the armed forces, special antinarcotics unit, and investigative units of the police—were incorporated into the PNC. These officers were first discharged so that they would appear to be entering as civilians. Efforts to verify this were directly obstructed, as UN observers were denied access to officer lists. Information that was eventually received did not coincide with data gathered in the field.

While there was a ready illicit transfer of personnel, other resources were not readily relinquished. Indeed, the opening of a training academy was

delayed for months simply for lack of space. The armed forces refused to transfer resources, and then argued that they needed to remain active in public security as the PNC lacked the resources to fight crime.

According to this report, the clearest example of the armed forces' effort to gain control of the PNC was the appointment of an army officer, with the support of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency, as deputy director of operations. During his tenure, civilian doctrine taught at the academy was undermined and a military code of discipline was imposed. Rights abuses and the incorporation of military personnel into the force were hidden. A separate network consisting of former police personnel was created within the PNC to report directly to the deputy director. UN monitors were intentionally marginalized, and the deputy director was eventually pressured to resign.

Difficulties also arose among those offering international assistance. There was a significant lack of coordination and integration among the teams of instructors and observers from five different nations. This was due in part to the different ways assistance was channeled. While Norway, Spain, and Sweden channeled their assistance through the UNDP, the U.S. and Chile were involved via a bilateral agreement between the United States and the Salvadoran government. Further, the different country teams were not operating with the same doctrines. Indeed, some were military rather than civilian. This was problematic, as the goal was to create an entirely civilian police force. With cultural and national differences in addition, the national teams operated independently and in isolation. As a result, they never functioned as one.

In similar programs in the future, donor countries should attend to these shortcomings. They should also establish clear criteria for initiating, suspending, or canceling police assistance programs.

MALAMUD-GOTI, JAIME

The Game Without End: State Terror and the Politics of Justice

Norman: University of Oklahoma Press: forthcoming, 1996

Jaime Malamud-Goti was a senior official in the Alfonsin administration which conducted human rights trials against the military regime which had "disappeared" some 9,000 Argentine citizens. While an advocate and designer of those trials, Malamud-Goti is now deeply doubtful of their value. Indeed, he sees them as perpetuating a bipolar logic which characterized the years of terror themselves.

According to Malamud-Goti, state terror operated via a simplified bipolar approach to reality which categorized every individual as friend or foe, ally or enemy. Only those who actively showed positive support for the military regime were considered allies. All others were suspects or enemies in the "Dirty War" against "subversion."

The human rights trials which followed the fall of the military regime continued to sort people into two categories: guilty and innocent, responsible and not responsible. In reality, argues Malamud-Goti, there were many shades of support, quiescence, and complicity with the military regime among the populace. The trials never dealt with this issue. They became an effort to "judicialize politics"—to transfer a social and political dispute to the arena of the courts where it would be definitively settled by impartial judges. However, since the judiciary lacked the correct means and cultural prestige to undertake such a task, the effect was rather to politicize the judiciary.

The results for Argentina have been unsatisfactory. Issues of blame and responsibility for the torture and disappearances have not been resolved, and patterns of bipolar categorization which do not sufficiently take reality into account have been perpetuated. Although the military regime has come to an end, in Malamud-Goti's view the human rights trials have not brought Argentina any closer to a rights-based democracy.

POPKIN, MARGARET L.

"Peace Without Justice: Obstacles to Building the Rule of Law in El Salvador"

February 1995

180 pages

This study focuses on the critical weakness in the Salvadoran institutional structure: the judicial system. The Salvadoran justice system did not break down as a result of the civil war. Rather, the massive political violence of the war merely highlighted the justice system's long-standing inadequacy.

Historically, the judiciary has never been independent of the political branches of government or the dominant sectors of society. This resulted in fundamental impunity for powerful actors, while for the vast majority of Salvadorans, the judicial system was unreliable and inaccessible. Internal characteristics of the judiciary heightened these problems. For example, due to the strong internal hierarchy, it was impossible for lower court judges to take action when higher court judges were in complicity with the authoritarian government. Inadequate investigative procedures have also been a very serious problem. Earlier U.S.-sponsored projects to reform the Salvadoran judiciary concentrated on administrative practices and case management. Popkin finds that they ignored underlying sources of injustice and did little to ensure that administrative reforms would contribute to the protection of individual rights.

The Truth Commission, established as a result of the UN-sponsored peace process, examined innumerable instances of injustice and impunity. Many see this effort as having been entirely negated by the sweeping general amnesty declared days after the Truth Commission report was released. Popkin suggests that the Commission may prove to have had larger

historical significance, despite the amnesty. Nonetheless, no temporary commission can substitute for permanent state institutions. Indeed, temporary commissions may even inadvertently discourage state institutions from fulfilling their responsibilities, if certain issues come to be seen as their special province.

The final part of the study addresses many specific changes required to correct the inadequacies of the Salvadoran judicial system. While these are imperative, judicial reform entails more than technical capacitation and is a major component of democratization. In Popkin's estimation, reforming the judiciary now appears more difficult than reforming the military in El Salvador.

For more on *Latin America*, see Bissell ed., Reiss, Van Cott ed., Wehr, Burgess and Burgess eds., and Minear and Weiss

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