

UC San Diego Newsletters

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Securing Peace

In 1984, we reported on a then-unique IGCC conference that challenged attendees to think deeply about security concepts moving beyond mere stability to incorporate such norms as democracy and justice (see pp. 5–9). Attendees discussed strengthening multilateral institutions (see p. 10). They noted that subnational governments, NGOs, churches, unions, political parties, multinational corporations, and the like were becoming more influential (see pp. 12, 14).

In 1991, reportage on the first in a five-year series of projects designed to move events in the Middle East away from irresolvable acrimony announced the success of the then-unthinkable: in Moscow, Middle East players took on difficult issues such as arms control, economic cooperation, and negotiating procedures. The proof of those long-term efforts is in recent events on the ground: even as Israel engaged in a hot artillery exchange with Hizbullah extremists, the Palestinian National Authority voted to drop from its charter old calls for the destruction of the Israeli state. We report below on a new



Munther Haddadin (L) and Etel Solingen (see p. 2) atop Mount Nebo, overlooking the eastern Jordan River valley. Reflections from irrigated truck farms are visible through the haze. As head of the Jordanian Water Authority, for two decades Haddadin resisted militarization of the valley and represented Jordan in water rights negotiations to realize the agricultural project. Photo: IGCC.

blossoming on the old battlefields: a progressive meeting that traveled from Amman, Jordan to Haifa, Israel. It included the non-governmental actors anticipated in 1984. Steven L. Spiegel (p. 4) then reminds us of how far we have come in the process of diffusing regional extremists. There is now a baby in the bath water, and he chides those in the thick of uncertainty not to toss out that child in their zeal.

IGCC's two-year ethnic conflict study (p. 13) affirms what should be obvious, given the above: that peace takes as much effort and resource commitment as war. Under the pressure of ethnic activists capitalizing on difficult security dilemmas, without credible long-term commitments and guarantees, positive successes can degenerate into a shattered Yugoslavia. We all share a continuing imperative to secure the peace. ■

Smoothing the Path

Events of late 1995/early 1996 dramatized the promise and pitfalls of the Middle East peace process. Steps toward political, cultural, economic, and environmental cooperation among the parties continue—witness the October 1995 Amman Economic Summit and the February 1996 Jordan–Israel–Palestinian Authority water agreement—even

as serious concerns persist over the threats posed by conventional arms, weapons of mass destruction, and especially terrorism, exemplified by the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Rabin, renewed suicide bombings, and renewed fighting in Lebanon. Now more than ever, investigation of the underlying dynamics and problems of the peace process toward proposals for cooperative solutions and confidence-building measures is essential.

Two major IGCC projects designed to help meet this continuing need came to fruition at the end of 1995. In December, IGCC organized the latest and largest of its

series of Workshops on Arms Control and Security in the Middle East in Petra, Jordan. With the co-sponsorship of Jordan's Higher Council for Science and Technology, the workshop brought together over 80 delegates from Egypt, Israel, Jordan, the Palestinian Authority, Lebanon, Turkey, the Persian Gulf, North Africa, Russia, Europe, Canada, and the United States to address regional security issues in a multilateral context. Working groups and panel discussions gave particular attention to regional arms control, threat perceptions and security doctrines, and economic and environmental aspects of

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Workshop on Arms Control and Security in the Middle East III

Petra, Jordan, 11–15 December, 1995

List of Participants

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Royal Air Force, Jordan

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Gen. Nader DHAHABI
General Manager and CEO, Royal Jordanian Airlines

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BG Mohammed FAHED, Amman

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Minister-Counselor Omar HILALE
Min. of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Rabat, Morocco

Dr. Peter JONES
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Economic Advisor to HRH Crown Prince El-Hassan, Amman

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Int'l Nuclear Affairs Div., US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Washington, DC

Prof. Mohamed A. ZABARAH
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SPEAKERS

Dr. Jawad ANANI
Jawad Anani Ctr. for Economic and Technical Studies, Amman

Mr. Zeev A. SCHIFFE, Defense Editor, *Ha'aretz Daily*, Tel Aviv

Dr. Michael NACHT, Asst. Dir. for Strategic and Eurasian Affairs, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Washington, D.C.

Amb. Mohamed Ibrahim SHAKER, Emb. of the Arab Republic of Egypt, London

PANELS

Defining the Middle East

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Security Implications of Economic And Social Problems

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

Prof. Emanuel SIVAN, Dep. Dir., Israel Science Foundation, Hebrew U., Jerusalem

Security Doctrines: Past, Present, and Future

Prof. Anthony H. CORDESMAN
Sr. Fellow and Co-Dir., Middle East Stud. Program, Ctr. for Strategic and Int'l Stud. (CSIS), Washington, D.C.

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Dr. Sergey ROGOV
Dir., Inst. of USA and Canada Stud., Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow

Dr. Abdullah TOUKAN
Science Advisor to His Majesty King Hussein I, Amman

Toward a New Security Order in the Middle East

Mr. Shahram CHUBIN
Graduate Inst. of Int'l Studies, Geneva

Dr. Shai FELDMAN, Jaffee Ctr. for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv U.

Dr. Bruce W. JENTLESON, Dir., UC Davis Washington Ctr., Washington, D.C.

Dr. Abdullah TOUKAN

PRESENTATIONS

Technical Options for Regional Security Centers; Monitoring at International Border Crossings

Dr. Arian L. PREGENZER
Mgr., Verification & Monitoring Analysis Dept., Sandia Nat'l Laboratories, Albuquerque, NM

Using the Internet to Enhance Peace and Security

Dr. Vipin GUPTA, Ctr. for Security and Technology Stud., Lawrence Livermore Nat'l Laboratory, CA

Ms. Jennifer POURNELLE
Managing Editor, IGCC

Dr. Fred WEHLING, Coordinator of Policy Research, IGCC

Noteworthy

On 12 March, UCLA professor and Center for International Affairs associate director **Steven L. SPIEGEL** testified before the House Committee on International Relations regarding mainstream Palestinian support for the Middle East Peace Process. (See below, p. 4).

Professor **Helen INGRAM**, director, Udall Center for Studies in Public Policy, U. of Arizona, has accepted the UC Irvine School of Social Ecology Warmington chair. Ingram's research focus is international environmental policy. IGCC is now interviewing candidates for the position of **Director, International Environmental Policy Studies**. Applications from qualified social sciences candidates will be accepted until the position is filled. Contact IGCC director Susan L. SHIRK.

Our thanks to **ALTI Publishing**, who shouldered much of the load in coordinating IGCC's publications display booth at the April 1996 International Studies Association annual meeting held in San Diego, co-chaired by IGCC research director **David A. LAKE** and UCSD Project on International and Security Affairs director **Stephan HAGGARD**. (See p. 13 and Spring 95 *Newsletter*, p. 6.) ALTI launched *At Century's End: Great Minds Reflect on Our Times* at the meeting.

The American Institute of Physics has published *Arms and the Physicist* by IGCC Director Emeritus **Herbert F. YORK**. IGCC Steering Committee chair **Randolph SIVERSON's Strategic Politicians** has been accepted by the U. of Michigan Press; Penn State U. Press has accepted *Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World*, edited by IGCC research director **David A. LAKE** and UC Irvine professor **Patrick MORGAN**. Also at UCI, Stanford U. Press has published professor **Etel SOLINGEN's Industrial Policy, Technology, and International Bargaining: Designing Nuclear Industries**. Her recent works also include "Arms Control Negotiations in the Middle

East: The Issue of Sequencing" in *Peace and Change* 20:3 (July, 1995); "The New Multilateralism and Nonproliferation: Bringing in Domestic Politics," in *Global Governance* 1:2 (May-Aug, 1995); and "Democracy, Education Reform, and Regional Cooperation" in the *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 8:1 (January 1996). (See cover photo.)

IGCC Director **Susan L. SHIRK** and **Christopher P. TWOMEY's Power and Prosperity: Economics and Security Linkages in Asia-Pacific**, and UC Santa Cruz professor **Bruce LARKIN's Nuclear Designs: Great Britain, France, and China in the Global Governance of Nuclear Arms** are now in print from Transaction/Rutgers U. Larkin has also launched **Learnworld**, an interactive world wide web guide to war theory, Bosnia, the Comprehensive Test Ban, including the full text of the Acheson-Lilienthal Report on the International Control of Atomic Energy, posted on its 50th anniversary, etc. (See p. 10.)

Ethnic Conflict project participant **Stephen M. SAIDEMAN's** article, "The Dual Dynamics of Disintegration: Ethnic Politics, Ethnic Security Dilemmas and the Breakups of Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia," will appear in the Spring, 1996 issue of *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics. Nationalities Papers* 23:4 (1995) carried "Environmentalism in Russia" by **Paula GARB**, UC Irvine.

The U. of California Press has published *Practicing Virtues: Moral Traditions at Quaker and Military Boarding Schools* by 1986-87 IGCC dissertation fellow **Kim HAYS**. 1991-92 fellow **Robert P. HAGER, Jr.'s** "Soviet Bloc Involvement in the Salvadoran Civil War: The U.S. State Department's 1981 'White Paper' Reconsidered" was published in *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 28:4 (1995). *The Journal of Democracy* ran '95-'96 IGCC Fellow **Andrew REYNOLD's** "Debate: PR and South Africa: The Case for Proportionality" in the 6:4 (October, 1995) edition.

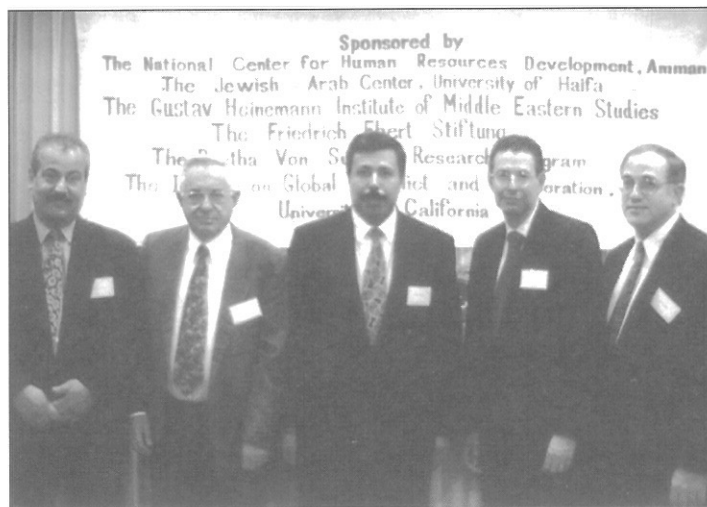
Smoothing the Path, continued from p. 1 security. The workshop was hosted by Dr. Abdullah Toukan, Science Advisor to His Majesty King Hussein I of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and member of the IGCC IAB, funded by the U.S. Department of Energy and Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, and chaired by project leader Professor Steven Spiegel of UC Los Angeles (see p. 4). Participants in the meeting were honored by addresses by His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hassan and former Minister of Information Jawad Al-Anani of Jordan (see p. 2). Working Group reports will be published as *IGCC Policy Paper No. 23*.

Following the Petra conference, IGCC joined with the Jewish-Arab Center of the University of Haifa, Israel, and Jordan's National Center for Human Resources Development (NCHRD) to organize an unprecedented meeting among Israeli, Jordanian, and Palestinian intellectual leaders. Beginning in Amman and finishing work in Haifa, the conference "Smoothing the Path to Peace: The Jordanian-Israeli-Palestinian Triangle" included sessions on developing the political, economic, social, and cultural elements of peace (participant list, pp. 4-5). Funded by IGCC, the University of Haifa, and Germany's Friedrich Ebert Institute and Bertha von Suttner Research Program, the meeting explored

cooperative ways of moving forward from formal peace and diplomatic relations—a "peace of paper"—toward the implementation of durable, tangible, peaceful relations among the three communities. The project was co-chaired by Professor Joseph Ginat, Director of the Jewish-Arab Center, Professor Tayseer Al-Nhar of the NCHRD, and UCLA Professor Steven Spiegel.

In March, 1993, Professor Spiegel presented his conclusions from both projects to the House Committee on International Relations (available from IGCC Online at [\[igcc.ucsd.edu/igcc/memulti/house.html\]\(http://igcc.ucsd.edu/igcc/memulti/house.html\)\).](http://www-</p>
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IGCC will promote further research through its project "Water and Food Security in the Middle East," led by Professor Alan Richards of UC Santa Cruz and funded by a grant from the United States Institute of Peace. Groundbreaking IGCC work on regional water-sharing by Professor Richards, Dr. Munther Haddadin (cover photo) and others may be viewed at the IGCC Online Middle East Multilateral Peace Process website (<http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu/igcc/memulti/Water.html>). ■



"A first step in an era of first steps, and a breakthrough in a year of breakthroughs" was UC San Diego professor of sociology Gershon Shafir's description of the conference which began in Amman and concluded in Haifa. L. to R.: Sharé, Ginat, Al-Nhar, Spiegel, and Shamir.

Reprinted from:

Los Angeles Times

Thursday, March 21, 1996



Steven L. Spiegel

What's Worse than Terrorism? Rejecting Peace

Israelis risk all hope for real security if they respond to the acts of fanatics by forgetting the years of war.

by Danny Rothchild and Steven L. Spiegel

Before the weekend atrocities in Jerusalem and Ashkelon, there had been a lull in major terrorist incidents as the Mideast peace process moved forward. But, no one in Israel was fooled. It was only a matter of time before violent Arab rejectionists would strike again.

Indeed, the news Sunday was painfully familiar: Suicide bombs. Shocked bystanders. Blood on the street. Orthodox Jewish burial workers collecting body parts. And demonstrators shrieking at the prime minister reflecting the question many Israelis asked themselves: What good is this peace process?

Yet in the midst of our grief and rage, it is vital for Israelis and their friends abroad not to succumb to the arguments of those who blame the peace process for these latest tragedies. Those who argue that the bombings would not have happened if Israel had retained control of the West Bank oversimplify and distort the past as well as the present situation. They are using the shock of the latest horrors to blur a grim but rather obvious historical reality: Terrorism has been endemic to the Arab-Israeli conflict, with or without a peace process.

It is easy to be fooled into thinking that conditions were once better. In Israel's nation-

al memory, the years between the Six-Day War in 1967 and the Yom Kippur War in 1973 were a time of heady confidence and security. Yet roughly 2,200 Israelis were killed in terrorist attacks and military action during those years. Even when Israeli security forces had a network of Palestinian informants in the West Bank and the most advanced intelligence techniques in the world, the atrocities did not stop.

These facts should be kept in mind the next time critics of the peace process cite statistics about the number of Israelis killed by terrorists since Israel and Palestine reached their first agreement in Oslo in 1993. The response to new tragedies should not be a historical amnesia about old ones. Throughout this century, any change in Arab-Israeli conditions, any progress toward accommodation in this conflict has been greeted by murderous terrorism.

What Israel should not do now is give the terrorists precisely what they want by halting the peace process. Rather, Israel should demand that the Palestinian Authority meet its responsibility to stop the terrorists. Although he strongly condemned the latest bombings, the onus is on Yasser Arafat to reassure Israelis that he has both the will and the power to root out terrorists. Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Foreign Minister Ehud Barak have rightfully made it clear that Israel will accept nothing less.

At the same time, it would be a mistake to forget that the peace process has created new opportunities to fight terror that must not be relinquished. The objective reality is that the Palestinian Authority has been working closely with Israel's Security Services to stop terrorists. The outgoing head of the Sahin Bet recently told the Knesset that the Palestinian Authority had located and dealt with 80 potential suicide attackers in the past year.

For decades, when Israel and Palestinian forces waged war with each other around the world, there seemed to be no hope for ending the cycle of terror and recrimination. Now Israel has finally had a taste of real hope; we must not let it be dashed by a few suicidal fanatics. From 1967 to 1994 while continuing terrorism took 573 civilian lives in Israel, there were 10,984 Israeli military fatalities. Only a successful peace process will enable Israelis to wipe away a danger far greater than terrorist acts: Interminable war.

Danny Rothchild and Steven L. Spiegel cochair the anti-terrorism task force of the Israel Policy Forum, a private organization. Rothchild, a retired Israeli general, was military governor of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Spiegel is a professor of political science at UCLA.

Smoothing the Path to Peace

Amman, Jordan and Haifa, Israel, 17-21 December, 1995

List of Participants

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Tel Aviv
Dr. Bahy EL-IBRACHY
Ibrachy and Dermarkar, Cairo

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Prof. Fredrik BARTH, Dept. of Anthropology, U. of Oslo
Dr. Manfred HAACK, Dir., Friedrich Ebert Institute, Amman

Mr. Elmo KIEHNE
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Dr. Karlheinz KOPPE
Bertha Von Suttner Research Program, Germany
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Independent Social Anthropologist
Dr. Anke MARTINI
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Prof. Unni WIKAN
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["Haifa" =U. of Haifa]
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Prof. Gad GILBAR
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Prof. Joseph GINAT
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Dr. Yehuda HAYUTH, Pres., Haifa
Prof. Yair HIRSCHFELD
Dept. of Middle East History, Haifa
Prof. George KANAZI
Chair, Dept. of Arabic, Haifa

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FEATURE:

Redefining Security in the Middle East¹

by Mary Morris

The end of the Cold War has brought not only the end of confrontation between superpowers, but also the resurgence of nationalism, ethnic separatism, and exclusionary politics. At the same time, it has spurred efforts toward reconciliation, most notably in the Middle East, as well as an increasing interest in countries once perceived as peripheral to the East-West confrontation. Old models are no longer valid, and new ones have not yet been devised or implemented. On all sides there is occasion for both pessimism and hope.

Internal factors such as ethnic divisions, domestic economies, and the nature of the state system are increasingly demanding attention. Simultaneously, there is emphasis on transnational trends, from the global economy to communications, and from the drug trade to international crime. What is becoming increasingly evident is that old concepts of security, based on military power and balance, must be reformulated to include considerations of the environment, demographics—including population growth, urbanization, and migration—domestic insurgencies, and obstacles to economic development.



Mary Morris

Potential sources of threat in the post-Cold War world are not limited to external military aggression. They can be found in the growing number of un- and underemployed, in deepening levels of poverty, and in the struggle for a share in global markets, hampered by restrictive state economic policies that inhibit investment and the free exchange of goods. They emanate from improper use of natural resources such as water and agricultural land. They are also created by repressive governments who deny their populations a stake in their governance and who avoid accountability for their actions.

Thus, as the twentieth century draws to a close, the Middle East security picture is more ambiguous than ever. The end of the Cold War, the invasion of Kuwait by Saddam Hussein and the subsequent Gulf War, and the initiation of face-to-face peace talks between Israelis and Arabs have profoundly affected perceptions of the nature and future of pan-Arabism, as well as the political, economic, and social direction of the region.

These events have also had a significant effect on the nature of the Middle East security dilemma, and on the Middle East's

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Prof. Moshe MA'OZ, Dir., Truman Foundation, Hebrew U.

Prof. Joseph NEVO, Dept. of Middle East History, Haifa

Dr. Ilan PAPPE, Haifa

Dr. Eliezer RAFAELI, Chancellor, Haifa

Dr. Yitzhak REITER, Dept. for Islamic and Middle East Stud., The Hebrew U.

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Amb. Shimon SHAMIR, Emb. of Israel, Amman

Dr. Mordechai SHECHTER, Rector, Haifa

Prof. Moshe SHEMESH, Sdeh Boker Campus, U. of The Negev

Prof. Asher SUSSER, Chair, Dayan Ctr., Tel Aviv U.

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Ali Daher AL-GHZAWI

Prof. Jamil AL-JALODE, Dept. of Economics, Mu'tah U.

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Prof. Wadie J. SHARAIHEH, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, The Hashemite U.

Prof. Nasser TAHBOUB, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, The Hashemite U.

OMAN

Mr. Munther AL-MASRI, Emb. of The Sultanate of Oman, Amman

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Amb. Martin INDYK, Tel Aviv

Ms. Mary E. MORRIS, Dir., Los Angeles World Affairs Council, CA

Ms. Jennifer POURNELLE, IGCC

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

Prof. Gershon SHAFIR, Dept. of Sociology, UC San Diego

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

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

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

Dr. Fred WEHLING, IGCC

PALESTINIAN

Prof. Musallam F. ABU HILU, Dept. of Geology, Al Qudsi Open U., Ramallah

Dr. Taisir AMRE, Palestinian Nat'l Authority, Hebron U.

Prof. Hisham AWARTANI, Dir., Economic Development Group, Al-Najah U., Nablus

Dr. Azmi BESHARA, Dept. of Economics, Birzeit U.

Dr. Aziz HAIDER, Birzeit U.

Dr. Ali KLEIBO, Jerusalem

Prof. Bernard SABELA, Dept. of Sociology, Bethlehem

Dr. Nabil SHAATH, Dir. General, Min. of Economics, Trade and Industry, Palestinian Nat'l Authority

Dr. Abbas SHIBLAK, Palestine Diaspora and Refugee Ctr.—Shaml, Ramallah

Prof. Salim TAMARI, Unit for Mediterranean Stud., Birzeit U.

role as a crucible for the interplay of external ambitions. The cooperative efforts of the United States and the Soviet Union during the invasion of Kuwait resulted in bold moves to gather old enemies at the peace table. The confluence of all of these events set the Middle East on a new and uncharted course, one that will ultimately involve changed relationships both within the region and between it and external powers who retain a keen interest in its future.

For nearly half a century the affairs of the Middle East were seen by outside powers through the prism of the East-West conflict, with the Soviet Union and the United States as the principal protagonists. Policies and activities of both nations were taken or decided upon based on the reactions of the other superpower. The fear of Soviet projection into the Middle East and domination over its oil fields as well as the Arab-Israeli problem provided unifying mechanisms for all powers. Both problems appeared to be fairly clear-cut, with the Soviet Union and its regional allies on one side and the U.S. and its allies on the other.

The Middle East itself was seen as a repository of essential petroleum products and a venue for extending twentieth century versions of nineteenth century spheres of influence. Ancient and corrosive endemic problems of the region were reduced to the most obvious—and least tractable—situation, the Arab-Israeli conflict. The focus on that conflict, and the pervading international perception that this was the only significant problem within the Middle East, directed the attention of Arab states outward, and made it possible for governments to not only rationalize the militarization of Arab states but also to justify the creation and maintenance of authoritarian regional regimes, such as Syria's and Libya's. The national security argument also rationalized in many states the apparatus of secret police and other institutions of social control and surveillance that now provide an additional impediment to the widening of political participation in their governments.

In the wake of the collapse of the superpower conflict and the war for Kuwait, it is becoming increasingly clear that major security threats in the near- to mid-term are internal rather than external. This is true for Israel as well as for Arab states, as Prime Minister Rabin's assassination shows us. (It is also true beyond the Middle East.) Despite the continuing potential for aggressive behavior by states such as Iran or Iraq, what is required in the Middle East today is an expansion of the concept of security, one that Crown Prince Hassan of Jordan has defined as including human resources, natural resources such as water and land, and economic as well as military factors.² Security thus covers a matrix of interconnected issues such as food, water, energy, technology, finance, transport and communications, and includes questions of domestic structure as well as questions of foreign policy.

In the Middle East, internal threats include critical demographic problems which could destabilize already-tenuous economic and political balances in states under pressure by the West to effect liberal reforms through structural adjustments. In addition to direct pressures on fragile environmental resources, population growth in the region has contributed to large-scale migrations both within and across national borders.

Within national borders, the movement of rural populations into cities poses particular economic, political, and social difficulties. Across national borders, expatriate workers and refugees create a different set of problems.

Government policies adopted by individual countries to deal with these have been largely unsuccessful, in some cases aggravating already-bad situations. Long-standing political, ideological, and economic problems have been exacerbated by the Arab-Israeli conflict, since heavy investment in military weapons, systems, and preparedness precluded investment in sound economic and social structures, both within states and within the region.

The tentacles of internal crises reach into the area's economics; its environment; its social and political life. Many, if not most, states face problems of political legitimacy, as increasingly aware and aroused populations question the efficiency of regimes and decry their lack of response to political, social, economic, and humanitarian concerns. While these problems have specific manifestations in individual states, they also, by nature of their similarity, possess a transnational character. Water, for example, is a major regional problem as well as an individual resource issue for most Middle East states. Managing this problem requires individual actions by states, but its eventual resolution will depend upon regional cooperation—alliances—that can treat the area's three major river systems as ecological and hydrological entities. Such alliances are dependent upon a minimum level of political stability and a willingness to establish regional rules of conduct and implementation.

Alliance systems that will strengthen the health of the Middle East as an economic, social, and ecological organism that is the sum of its parts are an indispensable requirement. Conversely, systems that continue to isolate pieces of the whole, that direct attention away from critical internal problems, that continue the practice of diverting massive amounts of GNP toward military expenditures rather than toward economic development and restructuring, will exacerbate existing tendencies toward factionalism, fractionation, and state failures.

Divisions between states remain deep chasms in the Middle East, the residue of a century of internal regional upheaval compounded by external intervention. While it may be in the interest of populations to develop cooperative economic networks across national boundaries, it is still in the interest of regimes to develop military ties to ensure their survival. And it is in the economic self-interest of outside powers, including the United States, to continue to arm these regimes against potentially aggressive states.

Such actions, however, also make it possible for regimes to defend themselves against potentially restive internal popula-

Continued, p. 7

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Continued from p. 6

tions—an uncomfortable juxtaposition to avowed Western objectives of fostering democratization in the Middle East. China, North Korea, and former Soviet states also have a stake in Middle East arms traffic. Their willingness to provide weapons prohibited by the West has already led to the establishment of arms alliances with the “outlaw” states of Iran, Iraq, Libya, Sudan, and Algeria. However, the continued exclusion of these states from the community of Middle Eastern nations through both regional and international policies can only delay the resolution of steadily worsening problems that can only be alleviated through comprehensive regional cooperation.

Most states in the Middle East, as in the rest of the world, are dependent upon others: for labor, for jobs, for resources. The denial of this mutual dependency, with the perpetuation of mutual mistrust and the continuation of exclusionary politics both within and among states, is a recipe for disaster. It is a disaster that will affect not only the Middle East, but those states in the international community who have critical ties with a region where local politics have international repercussions. Until now, too often fixes for local problems have been imposed from outside, to preserve the interests of external powers. Those powers no longer have the economic ability or the political will—nor have they ever had the right—to continue this practice. What they can do in a positive way, however, is to assist states of the Middle East as they attempt to heal themselves. Regional and international programs can be formulated to deal with environmental problems, develop urban renewal plans, chart agricultural reclamation schemes, and devise culturally-acceptable population control methods. They can aid in formulating a new definition of security, out of which will grow a new concept of alliances. For related views, see pp. 4, 5, 8–9. ■

¹Prepared for presentation at the *Workshop on Arms Control and Security in the Middle East*, Petra, Jordan, 11–15 December, 1995.

²Speech by His Royal Highness Crown Prince El Hassan Bin Talal at *Building on Peace: Toward Regional Security and Economic Development in the Middle East*, conference in Amman, Jordan, 9–11 September, 1995.

Defining the “Middle East”

Valery I. Kouzmin

On the heels of the regional peace process, the search for balanced and well-founded definitions for “the Middle East” has gained momentum. The emerging global trend toward regional integration adds to this impetus. In the Middle East itself (however defined), the definitional search has a particular ideological and religious flavor.

Existing definitions of “the Middle East” are numerous and controversial; it can be and often is defined geographically as the whole of southwest Asia. While definitions stem from varied criteria, most could be classified generally as:

- historical-geographic;
- politico-economic; or
- military-geostrategic.

Historical-geographic definitions have mainly been Eurocentric. From the Middle Ages to the end of World War I, for Europeans in general the region included the Asian part of Ottoman empire, including Egypt, although in some cases, for example Russia, the stricter geographic distinction was sometimes made between the Near East (Asian regions of the Ottoman Empire) and the Middle East (Persia, Afghanistan, some adjacent areas of modern Pakistan and India).

With the gradual reappearance of the Arab countries on the political map after World War I, **politico-economic** definitions began to gain priority. At first, the limits of the region as a rule still were thought to be from Egypt to Iran (east to west) and from Sudan to Iraqi Kurdistan (south to north). Soon after World War II, new political and economic factors appeared, fostering a new Middle-Eastern entity and relevant redefinitions. The creation of both the State of Israel and the Arab League contributed to the emergence of a new outline for “the Middle East”: from the Persian Gulf to the Moroccan Atlantic Ocean. One should acknowledge that initially this defined area bore an informal compound name: “the Middle East and North Africa,” but the separate parts have since become conflated into the simpler “Middle East.”

Petroleum became another “integrating” factor for a new broader definition of the Middle East (at least since the 1973 price hikes), adding the words “oil-rich” to the conflation, with the implicit understanding that North African Arab states are an integral part

of this entity, and despite the fact that horizontal petroleum-related ties and mutual trade among the regional states remain modest.

In the framework of the Arab–Israeli conflict, and most recently since the progression of the regional peace process, **military-geostrategic** elements have steadily gained prominence in defining the Middle East. One of the most typical and widespread of these is that given on a map printed in *The Middle East Military Balance* by the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies (JCSS) in Tel-Aviv. This map shows the Middle East stretching from Morocco and the Western Sahara across Iran, and from Syria and Iraq to (inclusively) Sudan. Again titled “The Middle East and North Africa,” this pragmatic definition has been adopted by many Ministries of Foreign Affairs (or equivalent governmental bodies) where the Middle East is covered by a separate division (this is true in Russia, with the exception of Iran).

Military-geostrategic definitions have specific functional variations, since the relevant scope of the region may differ depending on particular goals. For example:

- zones free of all/some particular weapons of mass destruction,
- conventional arms control,
- maritime measures, and
- open skies free-fly zones

Each must relate tactical military capabilities to relevant geostrategic spaces, thus necessarily expanding or contracting the definition of the wider region.

While defining the Middle East for the purposes either of negotiating arms control and regional security arrangements, or launching the process of peace reconstruction and cooperation, necessarily we must take into consideration relationships with neighboring regions and regional organizations (such as OSCE, EU, NATO, and the OAU). This has become particularly apparent in the event of the recent Euro-Mediterranean conference in Barcelona. ■

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VIEWPOINTS:

Next Steps on the Path to Peace: The Jordanian–Israeli–Palestinian Triangle

Unequal Partners in the Peace Process: A Palestinian Perspective

by Jumana Abu Zayyad

Middle East regional developments, triggered by bombings in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, which include the Sharm El-Sheik summit, U.S. President Bill Clinton's visit to Israel, and Israeli closure of the Palestinian territories, have changed profoundly both the Israeli and the Palestinian Authority's approach to the peace process—threatening its existence, and strengthening the view among Palestinians that they are unequal partners in it. Thus, for Palestinians, and especially for the Palestinian Authority, the question “where to go next?” is not simple.

The dilemma faced by the Palestinian Authority lies in the delicate balance required to maintain *both* its internal and external legitimacy. In reaction to the recent terrorist attacks, the Palestinian Authority did

not merely tender condemnations. It launched a uncompromising campaign against opposition forces potentially destabilizing to the peace process.

Yet while the measures taken by the Authority may be enough to uphold its external legitimacy, its internal legitimacy does not primarily rely on such measures. It rests instead on the population's perception of the overall role

of their Palestinian governing body, and the relations between it and other peace process partners, especially Israel. Any perceived weakness on the part of the Palestinian Authority in its dealings with Israel diminishes the credence and approbation accorded it by the West Bank and Gaza Palestinian public. To maintain internal legitimacy, the Palestinian Authority must prove that it can secure Palestinian national interests, and not merely act as “Israel's police in the West Bank and Gaza.”

Thus the current dilemma. The Israeli government, given U.S. assurances and world support, maintained in late February that despite the Palestinian Authority's aggressive anti-terrorist actions, “Israeli security” required imposing a closure on the West Bank and Gaza. This closure defines borders, includes Jerusalem within Israel's sphere of sovereignty, and divides the West Bank into “areas under Palestinian control” and “areas under Israeli control,” prohibiting movement from cities to villages and freezing economic activity. All this endangers the Palestinian Authority's internal legitimacy, for it not only punishes the majority of the affected population not involved with terrorist extremists, but implements a *de facto* broader policy, deciding issues (such as borders and Jerusalem) that were to be discussed only in the permanent settlement talks.

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Beyond Government-to-Government Relations: A Jordanian Perspective

by Fayez Al-Zuraiqat

The peace process in the Jordanian–Israeli–Palestinian triangle holds out the potential of opening avenues for economic growth, social flexibility, and expansion of group rights and freedoms within the region. It will do so by creating multiple channels of communication among the peoples of the region, enabling them to exchange values and experience various aspects of one another's lives.

Governments, groups, and individuals all have a role to play in sustaining this process. For governments, the work of building and sustaining the peace process can be a valuable mechanism for enhancing and strengthening their legitimacy, in that satisfying human needs is a precondition for the success of any political system. But legitimacy

ultimately depends on actually satisfying needs, not on theoretical contracts. If governments are to be legitimated by the peace process, its “next steps” must lead toward fulfilling the promise of opening economic growth and expanding freedoms.

Peace process objectives can be promoted on two main levels: gov-

ernment-to-government relations, and inter-group relations; that is, low-level direct contacts between parallel social groups.

In government-to-government relations, strategic state security planning should be directed toward building and sustaining peace. Governments must work to eliminate the practice of “war relations,” based on using military force to resolve their differences. Instead, states in the region should recognize, respect, and try to understand one another's mutual interests, while extending channels of communication and using dialogue and negotiation to resolve their differences.

To this end, governments should work to enhance confidence-building measures, and oblige themselves clearly not to use military force or other hostile measures to obtain their interests. They must also respect their mutual rights to explore use of technological options for peaceful means. In addition to such external strategies, states in the region can use internal strategies, directed at varying social sectors, to maintain the momentum toward peace. Using such techniques will reduce regional tensions and halt tendencies toward military confrontations.

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The parties negotiating the Middle East peace understand that only the resolution of outstanding economic and water-related issues will underpin stable security arrangements. At the same time, they are painfully aware of the pitfalls of overselling the “peace dividend” card to their publics. In principle, peace is an asset in itself, and ought not be made contingent on economic benefits; in practice, it may well be captive to them.

—Prof. Etel Solingen, UC Irvine

Thus, within the current Palestinian–Israeli bilateral relationship, as long as Israel can unilaterally impose “security controls” which redefine the Palestinian Authority’s role in the peace process and cripple Palestinian economic activities, the Palestinian Authority can gain neither external nor internal legitimacy. Israel will not accept a ‘compromise’ on its security interests for the sake of Palestinian economic or political interests. The Palestinian Authority will not bow to Israel’s military and political moods in defining Palestinian economic and political stability.

There is a way out of this dilemma: through external partners that can aid the Palestinians in maintaining order, mediating the bilateral Palestinian–Israeli relationship, and gaining economic and political independence from Israel. The “next step” in the regional peace process lies in economic, political, and legal cooperation among the Palestinian Authority, Jordan, and Egypt. Such cooperation can play an active, positive role in furthering the regional peace process, since Jordan and Egypt border both the Palestinian Territories and Israel, and are both considered ‘friendly states’ in Israel.

Particularly regarding terrorism, the Jordanian government and the Palestinian Authority are interested in combating forces that disturb the new peace process. Palestinian allegations of Jordanian Islamic movement funding for attacks on Israel did not quash mutual desires for Jordanian–Palestinian cooperation. Both during and after the Sharm El-Sheik summit, Jordan expressed active readiness to collaborate with the Authority in anti-terrorist efforts.

Jordan and the Palestinian Authority are also considering accelerating existing economic cooperation, and Jordan’s political aid to the Authority will help the latter to overcome its political isolation. Indeed, strong bilateral cooperation between the Palestinian Authority and Jordan could do much toward maintaining order and economic well-being in the Palestinian territories.

In a world of inequalities based on a balance of power, to maintain the momentum of the peace process the Palestinian Authority must utilize all available means to combat the unrestrained actions of opposition forces, to accelerate cooperation agreements with neighboring states, and to minimize local Palestinian dependence on Israel. This is a Palestinian responsibility, but its success will benefit all partners in the process. For historical, political, and economic reasons, the chief beneficiaries beyond local Palestinians—Israel and Jordan—must both take an active part in assisting the Palestinian Authority to overcome its current dilemma. ■

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Although governments play an important role in building and sustaining peace, social groups can do much to encourage government efforts to further the process. This role is particularly clear in the forging of social peace. Social peace requires building channels of communication to sustain a mechanism for exchanging social and cultural values regarding various facets of everyday life—a prerequisite for developing mutual understanding and respect. Mutual group acceptance and respect will pave the way toward a new integrated “peace culture” which builds and capitalizes on mutual material interests.

As groups reexamine their strategies, goals, and interests in light of the new pro-peace orientation, they will derive new and peaceful means for pressing those interests. This will enable individual group members to realize their own interests and goals, while keeping their social fabric intact as the groups to which they belong survive and continue to function with the new formula. Thus, group politics and regional politics will interact to create mutual politics—peace politics—for both the groups and the states within which they reside.

Such a regional group re-adjustment will help Middle Eastern states to smoothly work out policies for deepening the peace process, sustaining political stability, and speeding economic and social growth and development. These frameworks will in turn lead to improving group and individual standards of living, strengthening state orientation toward more liberalization in the drive for democratization and political pluralism. And *that* new direction would genuinely make all people in the region experience and realize the benefits of peace in their daily lives and futures. Further, these frameworks will work effectively to isolate groups which refuse to initiate the required adjustments in their strategies in accordance with the peace formula, weakening their ability to mobilize supporters.

In this formula of groups and states working in tandem to adjust the political process of state–group relations on one hand, and the political, economic, and cultural relations among states on the other, the political process in each state moves away from a single-dimensional ruling-class scheme toward a multi-dimensional aggregation of group interests. This will facilitate cultural, political, and social integration within the society of each state, which in return serves as the best mechanism to maintain the balance of power relations in the political system, preventing any sudden or violent change in the political process that might negatively impact the peace process. ■

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These comments are adapted from papers presented at **Smoothing the Path to Peace: The Jordanian–Israeli–Palestinian Triangle**, held 17–21 December, 1995 in Amman, Jordan and Haifa, Israel.

See related articles, pp. 1, 5.

Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue

The fourth meeting of the IGCC-founded multilateral Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD), hosted by the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS), received a warm welcome in Beijing last January. Academic experts explored prospects for security cooperation in the region with foreign ministry, defense ministry, and military officials from China, Japan, South Korea, Russia, and the United States. Sessions explored the Northeast Asian security situation, and the strategic role of energy in any future regional economic cooperation.

The meeting followed two NEACD study projects held in Tokyo and Beijing (see p. 11) which examined mutual reassurance measures (MRMs), those specific activities designed to promote trust and confidence among the governments, militaries, and societies of Northeast Asia, and principles to guide relations among the states in Northeast Asia.



(L. to R., Top to Bottom) TOP: Ito, Dobrovolski, Hyun, Zhou, Shirk, Sato, Jury, Ji, Monji at the MRM project; Participants at NEACD IV; BOTTOM: Tong Xiaoling; Mike Stankiewicz records discussion points; Fu Ying.

The first project concluded that “MRMs are vital to the maintenance of peace and stability in a region that . . . has some uncertainties,” suggesting that further study projects and parallel dialogues could become a part of the NEACD process. Dialogues on defense information sharing; arms control, export controls, and non-proliferation; communications networks; maritime safety and security; and natural disasters and emergency response

may be sponsored by appropriate expert organizations in the region, or by NEACD itself.

The second project reinforced the perspective that discussion of issues is often more valuable for improving understanding among countries than are concrete agreements. Participants were able to agree not only on respect for sovereignty; free choice of political, cultural, and social systems; and a pledge to settle disputes peacefully, but also

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China's Nuclear Testing Options*

That Beijing considers itself free to continue nuclear tests even after signing, until a comprehensive test ban (CTB) actually “enters into force,” was stated unambiguously on 8 February, 1996 by China’s Ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament, Sha Zukang.

Typical treaty language links ‘entry into force’ to ratifications. But China’s declared wish—a CTB “acceptable to all parties”—is likely to be very hard to achieve. The stronger the requirement for universal ratification, the less likely it is that a CTB will enter into force at all. And even if the requirement is not that severe, key ratifications may be delayed.

China’s second-ranking UN delegate, Wang Xuexian, speaking to a non-proliferation seminar in New York, confirmed China’s positions. He called for 1) ‘no-first-use’ and ‘no-threat-to-use’ undertakings, 2) a ‘peaceful nuclear explosions’ (PNE) exemption, and 3) a ‘stringent’ and ‘effective’ system to detect

illicit tests. However, Chinese specialists have spoken to me about the need to identify illicit tests ‘in real time,’ suggesting that seismic monitoring should be sufficient to discriminate tests from other events.

Other nuclear weapon states, contending that their nuclear capabilities serve security purposes beyond nuclear deterrence, have resisted ‘no-first-use’ and ‘no-threat-to-use’ commitments. And while it might be possible to imagine PNE ‘controls’ (such as transparent design and rigorous preclusion of design-relevant instrumentation), PNEs are in disfavor on environmental grounds and would be widely viewed as a massive and unacceptable CTB loophole.

A pessimistic reading sees Chinese demands for ‘peaceful nuclear explosions’ and insistence that the United States, Russia, France, and Britain forego even residual reliance on nuclear weapons to guarantee security against non-nuclear threats as calculated ‘killer’ requirements. Such a reading

presumes that China will rest its security on nuclear weapons into the indefinite future, and that it will need to maintain testing as weapons systems evolve.

The more likely reading of China’s increasingly explicit position is that those who want to test have won a long interim during which testing will go forward, but in turn have accepted an end to testing if a CTB commits those states about which China would otherwise be concerned (including India and Japan). In this view, China’s known security concerns dominate, and are served by a CTB. The demand for PNEs could be given up, a practical monitoring system accepted, and undertakings outside the CTB itself substituted for ‘no-first-use’ and ‘no-threat-to-use.’ ■

*Excerpted, with permission, from Bruce Larkin (professor of political science, UC Santa Cruz), “Comprehensive Test Ban” at: <http://www.learn-world.com/larkin/ZNW/LWText.CTB.html>.

on progressive principles such as promotion of economic cooperation and cooperation on transnational problems, and promotion of dialogue and information exchange on security matters.

The two study projects presented their suggested options to the Beijing meeting. The participants agreed to the following general approach for MRMs in Northeast Asia: 1) MRMs must be broad and comprehensive in concept, but focused in application. Civilian as well as military participants should come together in dialogues and discuss non-security as well as security issues. 2) MRMs are aimed at improving state-to-state relations and expanding security and economic cooperation. MRMs will be pursued through

discussions and be focused on increasing exchanges, promoting understanding, and eliminating misperceptions and hostility. MRM dialogues will be held in light of the interest and needs of all the participants, starting with easy ones and proceeding in a step-by-step manner.

The participants also concluded that discussion of economic issues can help promote mutual understanding in Northeast Asia and decided to organize in conjunction with the next Dialogue meeting a workshop that focuses on Northeast Asia energy problems and their security implications.

The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs coordinated with the hosts, CIIS, on a flawlessly organized meeting at the Capital Hotel

in Beijing. Government participation from the five countries represented, collectively, the most senior-level participation since the beginning of the NEACD process.

Government participants included officials active in the nascent stages of cooperation in APEC and the ASEAN Regional Forum, as well as officials actively involved in negotiations with North Korea under the Framework Agreement with the Korean Energy Development Organization. Papers presented at this meeting will be published as *IGCC Policy Paper No. 24*.

The next NEACD meeting will be held in Seoul, Republic of Korea, in September, 1996, immediately followed by the NEACD energy workshop. ■

Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue IV*

Beijing, China, 8–10 January, 1996

Mutual Reassurance Measures Study Project[†]

Nat'l Inst. for Research Advancement (NIRA)
Tokyo, Japan, 18-19 November, 1995

Principles Study Project[‡]

Chinese Inst. of Contemporary and Int'l
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Public Opinion and International Agreements

For two days in August, specialists in American politics, comparative politics, international relations, public opinion and political reasoning held a workshop in La Jolla, chaired by Professors Bruce Jentleson (UC Davis Washington D.C. Center) and Samuel Popkin (UC San Diego Department of Political Science) to discuss the implications of recent advances in polling and social psychology for assessing public opinion about post-Cold War international cooperation.

European, American, and Japanese specialists all agreed that post-Cold War public opinion is in flux. While it is expected that there will be more trade friction among countries in the coming years, there is yet little understanding of how trade conflicts will affect security cooperation. Can, for example, countries argue vociferously about agriculture or automobiles, and still cooperate in peacekeeping operations?

In each of the major countries, politi-

cal elites have consistently misjudged what their own voters would support. For example, in the United States President Clinton and bipartisan congressional leaders all strongly supported legislation backing the Mexican peso, yet vocal discontent among the public and the congressional rank and file killed the bill, which was withdrawn. In Germany, political and economic elites have favored abandoning the Deutschemark to allay European fears about German domination of the European economy, but public opinion polls have shown overwhelming public opposition to this course. In Japan, while there is widespread elite support for expanding Japan's role in UN peacekeeping, there is considerable public opposition to any role other than a "non-military" one.

Participants agreed that recent advances in social psychology and polling have changed the very nature of how support for any policy should

be measured. In the past this has been done by asking questions that assessed general support for internationalism. Recent advances show that support for a particular international venture depends upon more than generalized abstract support for international involvement; opposition depends upon more than support for isolationism. Attitudes about specific countries, and attitudes about heads of government and their parties, were more important to determining support for any mission than such general attitudes. In that respect, the decline in support for ruling parties in virtually every western country makes new international arrangements even more problematic.

As a result of the workshop, several participants already engaged in survey efforts revised their strategies to take advantage of the new insights, and there have been new collaborations in Japan, Korea, Germany and the United States among the participants. ■

American, Japanese, and European Reasoning about Foreign Policy: Public Opinion and Post-Cold War Relations

La Jolla, California, 18-19 August, 1995

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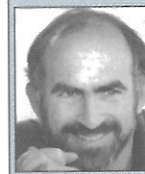
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Foreign Policy's Effect on the Public



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Philip TETLOCK

Preventing Ethnic Conflict

The conclusions of IGCC's two-year study examining the origins, spread, and management of ethnic conflicts, show that poor understanding of the origins of ethnic conflict lead to equally poor prescriptions for its resolution.

The Pew Charitable Trusts-funded study, lead by political science professors David Lake (IGCC's research director for international relations) and Donald Rothchild (UC Davis), examined contemporary cases in Bosnia, Chechnya, and Rwanda.

"Ethnic conflict is not caused by inter-group differences, 'ancient hatreds,' or the stresses of modern life within a global economy," wrote the researchers. "Nor did the end of the Cold War simply uncork ethnic passions long bottled up by repressive communist regimes."

Ethnic conflict often takes root "as groups begin to fear for their physical safety, and a series of dangerous and difficult-to-resolve strategic dilemmas arise that contain within them the potential for tremendous violence. Ethnic activists and political entrepreneurs, operating within groups, reinforce fears of physical insecurity and polarize the society,

often by using political memories and myths to push groups further apart." These interactions can produce a toxic brew of distrust and suspicion that "can explode into murderous violence up to and including genocide."

"Ethnic conflicts usually diffuse only to states that already contain the seeds of violence within them." Escalation of ethnic conflict, say the authors, is driven by alliances between transnational kin groups, attempts to divert attention from domestic problems, or predatory states seeking to take advantage of the weaknesses of others.

Effective management should seek to reassure minority groups of their physical and cultural security: "Respect, power-sharing, elections engineered to produce the interdependence of groups, and autonomy and federalism are all important confidence-building measures that promote the rights of minority groups and thereby mitigate the strategic dilemmas that produce violence."

If such efforts fail "international intervention may be needed to protect minorities against their worst fears as well as to deter the further spread of ethnic conflict." But a key ingredient in successful interventions is

the credibility of the international commitment. "External interventions that the warring parties fear will soon fade may be worse than no intervention at all. Ambiguous policies signal weaker parties that they may do better by fighting longer and harder rather than compromising for what they can get now . . . there is no practical alternative to an international community actively engaged over the long term in containing ethnic conflict."

The final co-authored report, published as *IGCC Policy Paper 20*, was discussed at the working group's final meeting, then co-presented by Lake and Rothchild to policymakers, diplomats, business leaders, journalists, and academic researchers in press briefings held at the World Affairs Council of Northern California, San Francisco; the Pacific Council on International Policy, Los Angeles; and the UC Davis Washington D.C. Center, where attendees also included Congressional staff members and officials from the United Nations and the Departments of State and Defense (*participants below*). ■

Ethnic Fears and Global Engagement:

The International Spread and Management of Ethnic Conflict: Final Report

UC Davis Washington D.C. Center, 9 February, 1996

List of Participants

Mr. Ronald J. BEE, IGCC

Mr. John BERNSTON, African Affairs, U.S. Department of State

Amb. Jim BISHOP, Interaction

Mr. Joshua BROOK, Office of Senator Moynihan

Ms. Edwina CAMPBELL, National Defense University

Mr. Dennis CULKIN, U.S.AID

Amb. Jonathan DEAN, Union of Concerned Scientists

Dr. Dieter DETTKE, Friedrich Ebert Foundation

Mr. Bob DOBSON, The Brookings Institution

Dr. Rick EHRENREICH, African Affairs, U.S. Department of State

Professor E. GYIMAH-BOADI, American University

Amb. James GOODBY, ACDA

Dr. Caroline HARTZELL, Gettysburg College

Ms. Lori HENDRICKS, African Affairs, U.S. Department of Defense

Mr. Chuck IKENS, African Affairs, U.S. Department of State

Dr. Lloyd JENSEN, Temple University

Prof. Bruce JENTLESON, Dir., UC Davis Washington Center

Ms. Anne JOYCE, Middle East Policy Council

Mr. George KENNY, Writer

Mr. Ivan KING, National Science Foundation

Mr. Donald KRUMM, Geography and Global Issues, U.S. Department of State

Ms. Betsy LIPPMAN, Refugee Programs, U.S. Department of State

Mr. Michael LUND, Creative Associates, Inc.

Dr. Terrence LYONS, The Brookings Institution

Dr. Michael MAZARR, Center for Strategic and International Studies

Mr. Werner MICHEL, Former Inspector General for Intelligence, Department of Defense

Mr. Gary MOSER, International Monetary Fund

Ms. Rosemary O' NEILL, Great Horn of Africa Initiative, U.S. Department of State

Dr. Marina OTTOWAY, Georgetown University

Mr. Mark NICHOLS, U.S.AID

Mr. Steven RISKIN, U.S. Institute of Peace

Ms. Joanna RITCEY, United Nations High Commission of Refugees

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Lt. Col. Greg SAUNDERS, African Affairs, U.S. Department of Defense

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Mr. Randy SIEBER, Senate Intelligence Committee

Dr. Timothy SISK, U.S. Institute of Peace

Mr. Lee SCHWARTZ, Geography and Global Issues, U.S. Department of State

Mr. Jack SEYMOUR, The Atlantic Council of the United States

Mr. Greg STEIN, Office of Representative Brian Bilbray

Ms. Kathryn STRATOS, Office of Democracy of Governance, U.S.AID

Mr. Christopher STRAUB, Office of Senator J. Robert Kerry

Dr. John STREMLAU, Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict

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Mr. John VAUGHN, Esq., Daimler Benz

Dr. Nancy WALKER, African Affairs, U.S. Department of Defense

Mr. Nicholas VAN DE WALLE, Overseas Development Corporation

Prof. Barbara WALTER, Columbia University

Mr. Bruce WEINROD, Esq., Former NATO Liaison, Department of Defense

Dr. Fred WEHLING, IGCC

WTO Telecom Talks

On March 8–10 the Annenberg Center for Communication, Los Angeles, convened a timely gathering of senior communication leaders from around the globe to consider “The World Trade Organization’s (WTO) Negotiations on Basic Telecommunications Services.” The meeting was designed to allow senior officials to reflect on the importance of successfully concluding critical multilateral negotiations that aim to liberalize international trade and investment in telecommunications services. U.S. participation included Reed Hundt, Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, Deputy U.S. Trade Representative Jeff Lang, and Larry Irving, the Administrator of the National Telecommunication and Information Administration. Senior officials from Australia, Canada, the European Union, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, Mexico, Peru, Singapore, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization also attended. The discussions were facilitated by professors from the University of Southern California, Stanford, Berkeley, and Columbia.

The four major sessions of the conference focused on:

- Telecom’s contribution to development in industrializing countries,
- The implication of ongoing telecommunications development for national regulators,
- An overview of what remains to be accomplished in the WTO Negotiations, and



(L. to R., Top to Bottom) TOP: Choi Byung-II, Chuan Poh Lim, Richard L. Drobnick, Eli Noam, Nicholas Argyris, Kunihiike Miyake, Reed Hundt, Carlos Braga, Peter Cowhey, Jonathan Aronson, Philip R. L. Somerville, Keng Thai Leong. MIDDLE: Don Abelson, Michael Borrus, Richard Steinberg, David C. Hartridge, Stephen Patrick Deady, Jeffrey Lang, Diane Cornell, Carlos Casusus, Wing-Pong Tam, Don Gips. BOTTOM: Alexander A. Arena, Annie Tang Hoi Yee, Phillipe Miles Allmutt, Moon-Seok Kang, Jorge Kunigami, Geoffrey Cannock, François Bar.

- Planning a strategy for successfully completing negotiations.

During the conferences special remarks and presentations were offered by FCC Chairman Reed Hundt, by Mexican Undersecretary of Communications Carlos Casusus, and by Alexander Arena, the Director General of Telecommunications for Hong Kong.

This first major international conference of the Annenberg Center was organized by Jonathan Aronson, the Director of the University of Southern California’s School of International Relations, in cooperation with the Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy (BRIE) and IGCC. Additional support was provided by Qualcomm and by Hughes Space and Communications Company. ■

IAB Meets

The IGCC International Advisory Board held its annual meeting in La Jolla, California, 26–27 January, 1996.



IGCC Director Emeritus Herbert F. York (L.) joking with IAB member Marvin Goldberger, Dean of Natural Sciences, UC San Diego.



IGCC faculty with IAB members and guests. (L.to R.) BOTTOM: Sally Lillianthal, Arnold Kanter (Chair), Sandra Weiss (UC Office of the President), IGCC Director Susan Shirk. MIDDLE: Herbert York, Marvin Goldberger, Ronald Lehman, Abdullah Toukan. TOP: James Roche, IGCC Research Director David Lake, Steven L. Spiegel (UC Los Angeles), Donald Rothchild (UC Davis), Robert Andrews (Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory).

New IGCC Research Director



Dr. Barbara F. WALTER, post-doctoral fellow, Institute for War and Peace Studies, Columbia University, will join IGCC this summer as Research Director for International Security. Dr. Walter holds a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Chicago, where she received dissertation fellowships from the Andrew W. Mellon and Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundations. In 1994–1995 she held a John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies post-doctoral fellowship at Harvard University’s Center for International Affairs. A consultant to the RAND Corporation and reviewer for *International Security*, Dr. Walter’s expertise lies in analyzing international intervention in civil wars and sectarian conflicts.



(L. to R.)
Professor
Amita Shastri,
San Francisco
State U.;
Professor
Nayereh Tohidi,
UC Los Angeles

Ethnic Conflict Project Spreads to California Educators

February 29–2 March, 1996, the UC Davis Institute of Governmental Affairs hosted a teaching seminar on the International Spread and Management of Ethnic Conflict for 30 teachers and professors from throughout California. The seminar represented another outreach event held at the culmination of the two-year research project generously funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts (see p. 13).

Eleven California State University, six California community college and eight UC educators were sponsored by IGCC, which provided them with materials from the research project and an opportunity to explore ways of incorporating the subject matter into their curricula. The project co-principal investigators and several other faculty authors delivered the seminar presentations. Participants also exchanged course syllabi. Small group discussions on the second day focused on the classroom experience, including topics such as how ethnic conflict is a part of international relations, ethnicity in comparative perspective, and ethnic conflict in Eastern Europe and the post-Soviet states.

Participants brought their own unique perspectives from over ten different academic disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, history, political science, jurisprudence and social policy, and ethnic and women's studies. Two to four IGCC teaching seminars are held annually on the various UC campuses, and educators from all of the California state-sponsored colleges and universities are eligible to apply. The seminars are intended to make the findings of IGCC and UC research more broadly available and to ensure that classroom instruction accurately reflects the most recent developments from the research community. ■

Managing Middle East Conflict

Leonard Binder, ISOP Professor of Middle East Studies and Chair of the UC Los Angeles Department of Political Science, has organized a spring-quarter workshop series titled "Ethnic Strategies and the Management of Ethnic and Religious Conflict in the Middle East." Sponsored by UCLA's Center for Near Eastern Studies and Political Science department, with support from IGCC and UCLA's Center for International Relations and International Studies and Overseas Programs, future workshops in the series will be held 9:00 A.M.–12:00 noon in the NEC Library Center, 10383 Bunche Hall. Dates and presenters include:

3 May

Dr. Michael Hudson, Georgetown U.
*Creating A Public Sphere In Divided Political
Cultures: Lebanon and Yemen*

Dr. Ian Lesser, RAND Corp.
Ethnic and Religious Strains In Turkey

17 May

Prof. Richard Hrair Dekmejian,
U. of Southern California
*International Intervention In Middle East
Ethnic Conflicts*

Prof. Hassan Nafa'a, Cairo U., Egypt
*The Ethnic Dimension within
the Arab State System*

31 May

Dr. Graham Fuller, RAND Corp.
The Kurds: Can Turkey Hold Together?

7 June

Dr. Geoffrey Kemp, Nixon Center for Peace
and Freedom, Wash., D.C.
*The Changing Strategic Tapestry of
Middle East Conflict*

Prof. Shibley Telhami, Cornell U.
Identity and Alliances in Middle East Politics
Prof. Saad Eddin Ibrahim, Ibn Khaldoun
Center for Development Studies, Cairo
*Management and Mismanagement of Ethnic
Diversity in the Arab World*

14 June

Prof. Gilles Kepel, Centre National de la
Recherche Scientifique, Paris
Toward a Social Analysis of Islamist Movements
Prof. Jerry Green, RAND Corp.
*Islamic Political Challenges to the
Middle East State System*

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IGCC Policy Briefs

Banning Land Mines.

Isebill Gruhn.

IGCC-PB No. 6, March 1995

IGCC Policy Papers ISSN 1088-2081

The Moral Foundation of International Intervention.

Leonard Binder.

IGCC-PP No. 22, 38 pp., January 1996.

The Importance of Space in Violent Ethno-Religious Strife.

David Rapoport.

IGCC-PP No. 21, 28 pp., January 1996.

Ethnic Fears and Global Engagement: The International Spread and Management of Ethnic Conflict.

David Lake and Donald Rothchild

IGCC-PP No. 20, 62 pp., January 1996.

IGCC Books

Africa in the New International Order.

Edmond J. Keller and Donald Rothchild

(eds.). Lynne Rienner Publishers, 254 pp.,

1996, ISBN 1-55587 624-5, \$19.95. To order, call the publisher at (303) 444-6684.

Power and Prosperity: Linkages between Economics and Security in Asia-Pacific.

Susan L. Shirk and Christopher P. Twomey

(eds.). Transaction Publishers, 286 pp., 1996,

ISBN 1-56000-252-2, \$39.95. To order, call the publisher at (908) 932-2280.

On Security.

Ronnie D. Lipschutz, ed. Columbia U. Press,

233 pp., 1995, ISBN 0-231-10271-2,

\$17.50. To order, call the publisher at (800) 944-8648.

Arms and the Physicist.

Herbert F. York. American Institute of

Physics Press, 294 pp., 1995, ISBN 1-56396-

099-0. To order, contact your local bookseller.

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