Chapter 5

Protracted Conflict Regions

The systemic theory of the diffusion of insecurity, as it is outlined in the preceding chapters, suggests several hypotheses that can be tested with available data on conflict behavior and security policies covering the fifty year, post-war era, 1946-1995. Such quantitative data analysis at the world systemic level has only recently become possible through the remarkable efforts of several data collection projects.¹ Systemic analysis has historically been constrained by a general lack of data and many problems remain. The data sources used here were selected because each provide (reasonably) reliable and consistent data covering all countries for a sufficiently large block of the focal period. Many potential data sources had to be rejected due to serious deficiencies: limited coverage (not global), missing data, or limited temporal span.²

The universe of the study is the world system and all the political actors operating within it. This inclusive "population" is trimmed somewhat to include information only on states that had a reported population in excess of one million in 1990, thus eliminating about sixty micro-states from the analyses and making the population more manageable and comparable.³ This basic criterion defines a standard population of about 130 states comprising approximately ninety-nine percent of the world's total population. The population figures are approximate because the number of states and people represented in the system varies over time; despite the formality of the inter-state system, a few states have ceased to exist (e.g., South Vietnam), many were added as they attained political independence during this period, and several (e.g., Namibia) have only attained independent status very recently (see Figure 1.3). The object of study is the special dynamics and behaviors evident in the proposed protracted conflict regions (PCRs) that are defined by their treatment with the proposed condition: the climate of insecurity.

The evidence in support of the diffusion of insecurity dynamic and the arrested development syndrome is presented in a series of graphic presentations. Because we are interested in charting the special characteristics of system dynamics (i.e., change), the logical form is longitudinal analysis (i.e., testing for

change in the target variables over time). The larger study includes multiple data runs of each target variable so as to control for certain systemic properties (intervening "size" variables such as unit population or numbers of units) that tend to distort the results in a comparative analytical context. Data analysis at the global level is complicated by the wide variations in the basic analytical units, that is, states. It is certainly a powerful argument that states are not comparable units in many applications; for example, the populations of states in the study range from one million (Mauritius) to one billion (China), the territorial size of states range from six hundred km² (Singapore) to over twenty-two million km² (USSR), and differences in resource endowments boggle the mind. However, the system is the unit of analysis here and the inter-state structure strongly conditions the system; states provide data collection points and are the focal points of societal dynamics. The great global variation in unit size characteristics is lessened considerably when focusing on Third World states: the micro-states, great-states, and super-states are removed from that sub-sample. Still, multiple analytical runs are needed to tease out the intervening variables of size (number of sub-units, number of individuals, situational factors differentiating the PCRs) imparted to the data by the state-oriented data collection enterprise. The evidence actually chosen for graphic presentation here is a representative sample of the aggregate systemic data analyses actually performed, the ones that most clearly and confidently display the results of the analyses. The aggregate analyses consistently and strongly supported the thesis, although some views produced by the analyses are specially distorted by the fore-mentioned variations in unit attributes. As the main vehicle of presentation is the conceptual visualization schemata, the analyses chosen for display in this chapter contain important information characteristic of the several analytic tests performed with the smallest amount of structural distortion. These images more clearly convey the analytic message while requiring the least auxiliary explanation.⁴

A related difficulty stems from the possibility that the protracted conflict regions are different enough due to special regional conditions or attributes unrelated to the proposed diffusion of insecurity effect that the inter-regional variation overpowers the supposedly generalized treatment. If this were the case, either the aggregated results would be unduly complicated by the influence of extraneous variables (leading to spurious or inconclusive results) or the analyses of the aggregated data might be over-determined by the strength of one or two regions where the proposed effects are consistent with the hypotheses but attributable to particularistic causes (regionally- or culturally-specific) rather than the proposed universalistic diffusion dynamic. In order to control for these possibilities, the data for each of the six regions was run through the analyses individually. In all cases, although the individual region results varied somewhat in strength (and in available data), the diffusion of insecurity hypotheses were consistently (i.e., universally) supported. Thus, only the results of the aggregate analyses are reported here. In addition, the complete pool of Third World states was subjected to a battery of correlation tests designed to identify any regionallyspecific characteristics that might cause differentiation in behavioral results (e.g., GNP/capita, arable land, urbanization, literacy, etc.). The only characteristic that seemed to distinguish a regional grouping of states was the length of political independence in Latin (especially South) America. This factor relates to the "external interference" aspect of the arrested development syndrome and will be discussed below. As there were no substantive, regionally-specific characteristics detected, it is assumed that the pool of Third World states is comprised of basically comparable units.

The analyses presented in this chapter test for three types of change in the target variables:

- evidence that the (inter-state) system structure conditions the unit characteristics, i.e., a "step" correlation between system location and the measure of unit property, such that the PCR Confrontal States (PCR-1) show evidence that they were affected first and, at least initially, strongest; that the affect spreads outward to include neighboring states—second-tier Peripheral States (PCR-2) and third-tier Marginal States (PCR-3)—and decays with distance; and that there is a temporal lag in the proposed alterations of the targets' behaviors;
- evidence that there is complex systemic diffusion (primary, secondary, and tertiary), that is, the anticipated effects are spreading both extensively and intensively such that more actors of different types are affected and increasingly exhibit the symptoms over time; and
- evidence that the hypothesized behavioral modifications consistently distinguish the affected PCR units from other system "control" units (i.e., unaffected Third World, or Non-PCR, units and more complexly affected Highly Institutionalized State, or HIS, units) and these differences increase or intensify over time for all affected units, eventually pervading the regional sub-system and equalizing the conditions across affected units.

In general, the primary diffusion dynamic (first type of change above; refer to Figure 4.1) should be more visible during the early developmental portion of the relevant time period as the condition spreads outward and then grow more obscured as the climate of insecurity becomes generalized and the effects grow more complex. In the early stage, then, the strength of the insecurity effect will define unit differences based mainly on spatial properties.⁵ The "advanced" condition resulting from the proposed diffusion dynamic will be pervasive insecurity such that the simple diffusion effects (i.e., differentiation based on distance from the core) will statistically appear to lessen and tend to "wash out" over time as each newly affected unit alters its conflict behavior and becomes an

additional node and auxiliary source in the systemic diffusion process (second type above; refer to Figure 4.2) and the several effects become generalized. This secondary (advanced) stage in the process should be characterized by mixed effects: there should still be some evidence of variation in strength according to distance from the core (although this strength will appear to be "diminishing" in relative terms), however, this spatial evidence will be combined with evidence of increasing incidence of affect involving increasing numbers and types of political actor groups. The "mature" protracted conflict condition can be defined as a general culture of violence that pervades the regional security complex and the unit societal systems. This third stage of "counter-development" (refer to Figure 4.3) should be characterized mainly by substantial increases in the incidence and intensity of the proposed insecurity effects throughout the regional sub-system.

Research Design and Aggregate Results

The time period under study is 1946-1995. The world system is the unit of analysis and so it provides the universe of cases, both actual and potential. By way of reiteration, the spatial categories of world system states are defined by imposing the spatial diffusion model on the system space and centering the model on the six identified core conflicts. The six core conflicts are the conflict over Palestine in the Middle East PCR, the Hindu-Muslim enmity in the South Asia PCR, the Vietnam division in the Southeast Asia PCR, the Korea division in the East Asia PCR, the European-African apartheid in the South Africa PCR, and the "communist conspiracy" in the Central America PCR.⁶ The main system units (states) are thus categorized by reference to their spatial relationship to the core protracted social conflicts: Confrontal States (PCR-1), c.16 in number, are those states situated at the conflict core, involved directly in the hostility, and on whose territory the core violence occurs; Peripheral States (PCR-2), c.16 total, are the states bordering outward on the Confrontal States; and Marginal States (PCR-3), c.25 total, are those bordering outward of the Peripheral States. These, then, are the main units that experience, to varying degrees, the "experimental treatment" (i.e., the climate of insecurity), and thus are treated as the primary agents that comprise the protracted conflict regions under study (see Appendix A for a complete listing of the states assigned to each of the systemic categories).

The world system also provides a control group: those states with basic characteristics similar to the experimental group (i.e., Third World states) but which do not experience the treatment—the Non-PCR States (c.48 total). A third systemic classification (in addition to the PCR and Non-PCR categories) is designated the Highly Institutionalized States (HIS–c.24 total): these units' characteristics differ substantively from both the experimental and control groups of Third World states. In many ways the HIS units may be considered the "target

156

group"; we would like to gain a better understanding of their behavior by controlling for the effects produced by their substantive differences (i.e., affluence and institutionalization). The states comprising the HIS group are the core units of the world system: the Advanced Industrial Democracies (HIS-West or HIS-W), the former Socialist Bloc states (HIS-East or HIS-E), and the People's Republic of China (HIS-China or HIS-C).

It is proposed that the strongest influence on the nature of societal relations results from the transformation of the conflict process from non-violent to violent. Political violence is proposed to be an essentially-determining factor in the definition of the political culture (i.e., the customary and preferred methods, mechanisms, and strategies of conflict management). Thus, chronicling the incidence of political violence in the world system is at once the foundational task for the analysis of the diffusion of insecurity and culture of violence propositions and the most problematic task. The difficulties associated with the concept of "political violence" and the theoretical delimitation of "episodes" for comparative analysis were the subject of chapter 2. Appendix C provides a comprehensive listing of the incidence of major episodes of political violence in the world during the study period. It organizes the episodes of political violence (1946-1993) according to their spatial location and lists the episodes chronologically (refer to the notes accompanying Appendix C for coding and source information). Appendix B organizes essential information for each episode occurring within each of the six PCR locales according to the state(s) directly participating in, and thus directly affected by, the violence. The data is arranged according to actor and focuses on the date (year) of each political violence episode's original transformation to violence (i.e., warfare initiation).

The remainder of the chapter will detail the aggregate analyses conducted to test the diffusion theory and the various model-generated hypotheses concerning expected changes in political behaviors. First, the diffusion dynamic itself is examined and subjected to testing. After establishing the plausibility of the diffusion of insecurity theory, the more specific policy propositions are examined: political violence (coercion and violence; political repression), militancy, patterns of authority (incoherent authority), communal identity and societal contention. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the propositions that are more difficult to assess: societal disintegration, external interference, and societal underdevelopment.

No attempt is made to combine information from different data sources in order to enable complex quantitative analyses. As already noted, the assumption of a diffusion dynamic violates the crucial assumption of statistical independence in regression analysis. Standardization of the categories used in the data compilation and aggregation process is not yet a reality and so information from different data sources can not be accurately combined. The size of the error term in data at the global level of aggregation is assumed to be relatively large and likely to be magnified by mathematical manipulations, rendering the results

increasingly suspicious with each additional manipulation. It is assumed, however, that each data source used is internally consistent, reliable, and accurate (data sources were chosen on the basis of general recognition, respect, and acceptance of their reliability). Therefore, the methodology used here relies on rigorous analysis of each variable and data source independently within a general analytical structure, that is, analysis is extensive rather than intensive. The theory will be considered to be strongly supported if there is established an empirical consistency across various theoretical categories of behavioral affect.

The graphic displays of the evidence are constructed so as to facilitate comprehension through consistency of presentation. Time reads left-to-right in the two-dimensional line graphs and front-to-back in the three-dimensional bar graphs. Categorical units are presented in the following order, left-to-right, in the bar graphs: HIS (or HIS-W, HIS-E, and HIS-C), PCR-1, PCR-2, PCR-3, Non-PCR; although not all categories are presented in all graphs.

Diffusion

The fundamental question of the theory proposed here concerns the plausibility of the diffusion dynamic itself. In many ways the diffusion model is the most profound contribution of this research. Most prior research in the field of political relations has been based on an assumption of statistical independence of events (i.e., non-diffusion). If the diffusion of insecurity dynamic is shown to be a systemic attribute with significant influence on political events, the assumption of statistical independence is challenged.

The basic test of each hypothesized consequence of the diffusion of insecurity effect is covariation:

The typical statistical evidence to support a conclusion that diffusion is occurring consists of covariation of the dependent phenomenon between units that are connected by the diffusion mechanism. In other words, if cases that are linked together display a greater degree of similarity than cases that are not linked together, this indicates that a process of diffusion may be occurring. (Frendreis 1989, 348)

It has already been established that there is a gross and obvious difference in conflict behavior between the states comprising the six PCRs and the states outside of these special regions. PCR states in the Third World "display a greater degree of similarity" in this regard than do either Non-PCR states in the Third World or the Highly Institutionalized States of the "First World." It was this initial observation of clusters of political violence episodes that motivated the search for an explanation of these patterns. Yet, the observed gross distinction between affected and non-affected, by itself, does not necessarily infer a diffusion process in the affected areas. Each hypothesized effect and issue area, then, must be

Protracted Conflict Regions

subjected to longitudinal analysis to look for systematic changes over time. Longitudinal evidence will augment the inference of covariation by reference to change in the relationships of variables in concordance with structural properties, that is, there should be an increase in the magnitude of the hypothesized effects and the strength of the diffusion relationship among "connected units" over the time span of the insecurity treatment but these increasing effects should also be characterized by stepped differences in magnitude according to the units' geopolitical (tiered) distance from the core insecurity "transmitter."

It has been noted that the diffusion of insecurity approach to the explanation of conflict behavior in the Third World competes with the "political development" approach expounded by Huntington (1968) and others. For Huntington, too rapid a process of modernization in newly independent, "traditional," and/or disadvantaged states can contribute to political instability and increased (violent) conflict. However, this alternative approach would seem to expect either a random distribution of political instability throughout the Third World or, should there be a general cultural factor influencing a state's susceptibility to political decay or it's drive toward modernization, a rough uniformity in the growth of conflict, violence, and insecurity throughout cultural regions (or "civilizations," see Huntington 1993). The diffusion of insecurity approach will be a superior explanation if the dependent variables correlate with geographic positioning within the various PCR contexts and changes in those variables conform to the structure of serial diffusion (i.e., events are not randomly distributed nor regionally distinct). It must be noted that the diffusion of insecurity theory is not intended as the sole explanation for the incidence of political violence; it is an explanation of an inordinate amount of political violence and the observation that violence tends to cluster in geographic areas, persist over time, and grow in magnitude and intensity. Political violence does break out randomly and occasionally through the world system; as such, each new "fire" carries with it the potential for "spreading" and so becomes an important influence on the social relations within geopolitical (existential) space. Protracted conflicts develop over time as violent conflicts elude resolution and continue to affect the social network.

Figure 5.1 displays the results of a test designed to see if the dependent variables (here, military personnel and military expenditures) co-vary in expected ways among the units of the PCR systems.⁷ It is expected that the correlation coefficients between the dependent behavioral variables and the independent structural variable (position in the PCR structure; distance from the source of the insecurity treatment) will be positive and will be seen to increase over the initial portion of the treatment period.⁸ The results are consistent with expectations: the numbers of military personnel are strongly predicted by the unit's location within the PCR structure and the strength of the correlation increases over time, peaking and stabilizing at a correlation factor of about 0.500. Military expenditures, although known in general to be highly responsive (i.e., positively correlated) to a state's economic capabilities and attributes (GNP), also show they are highly

Third World War



Figure 5.1 Structured Insecurity

responsive to the PCR structure through the initial period, increasing sharply to a correlation factor of 0.500 before dropping off in the latter period.⁹

There are many possible explanations for the dramatic drop off in expenditure correlation factors. The strongest explanation is that the "advanced" and "mature" insecurity systems are characterized by general insecurity and relative parity of unit expenditures at very high levels. Other important explanations include a non-structural (random) variation in resource endowments (the GNP factor which gains greater effect over the time period as economic development levels among the units gain greater equivalence) and a proposed "sandwich effect" wherein the middle tier states (PCR-2) raise their expenditures higher than the others in the matured PCR condition, because 1) they are sandwiched, or surrounded, by insecure, armed, and hostile units (further aggravating their sense of insecurity), but 2) they do not elicit the sympathetic or deterrent conflict management attention (an insecurity dampening effect) from the world system and its more powerful actors as the Confrontal States (PCR-1) have done. In general, the correlation test strongly supports the plausibility of the diffusion model.

A distinctive expectation results from the effects produced by a diffusion dynamic within the special state-structure of the world system: the structure is expected to condition the diffusion dynamic such that a stepped-differential



Figure 5.2 Insecurity, Identity, and Militancy I

process of change in the dependent variables should be detected (i.e., there should be general consistency in longitudinal change for all affected systemic units but the rate of change should itself change over time for the different categories of affected units). The "step" effect is the basis of the PCR variable used in the correlation tests and so is reflected in the outcome of the initial test. Evidence of such step effects are also noted in the militancy, political and communal violence, dislocated populations, and authority coherence analyses below.

Nationism (Unitary Actor)

An alternative explanation for the impetus to militarize focuses on the core concept of the state security function embodied in the "nation-state" concept: the rational, unitary actor assumption. The thrust of this argument is that the more-homogeneous (assimilated) states will experience an advantage in gaining public support for policy initiatives, including the decision to increase military capabilities along with the corollary effects of increasing financial burden and decreasing provision of social services.¹⁰ Figures 5.2 and 5.3 compare the performance of the alternative explanations, one based primarily on influences from the external environment and the other based on internal politics. The standard of measurement is changed so as to focus on the relative burden of militant public policy on the individual citizen: military personnel and

Third World War



Figure 5.3 Insecurity, Identity, and Militancy II

expenditures *per capita*. Figure 5.2 tracks changes in correlation factors between the number of Military Personnel per capita and, alternatively, a state's PCR location (PCR) and its degree of social identity homogeneity (Nationism). The variable used to measure "nationism" in the present analysis and "ethnicity" in the following analysis is the "social fractionalization" index found in Taylor and Jodice (1984). Nationism (i.e., homogeneity or unity) is here considered the inverse of ethnicity (i.e., heterogeneity or diversity). Figure 5.3 tracks these correlation factors in regard to military expenditures per capita.

Referring to Figure 5.2, it can be seen that the state's PCR location outperforms its "unitary actor" identity factor in explaining variations in the numbers of military personnel per capita among Third World states; the influence of the PCR location variable is also more stable over time, as additional new states are brought into the analysis in the late 1950s and early 1960s. There is also reason to suspect that this influence is under-estimated as the estimates of military personnel do not include the numbers of armed militia representing "unofficial" sub-state groups (i.e., nationism is biased toward the Weberian-state). It does appear that the more unitary states have an advantage over their more fractious counterparts in their ability to increase state military capabilities. This "unitary actor" advantage appears to be a much stronger influence when it comes to the



Figure 5.4 Insecurity, Ethnicity, and Militancy (Middle East) I

financial burden of state militancy. Figure 5.3 provides a comparative analysis of the influences of PCR location and nationism on variation in the levels of military expenditures per capita. The more homogeneous states get the jump on their more heterogeneous "competitors" in increasing their military expenditures, although this initial advantage is quickly lost. The influence of the "strength of insecurity" (PCR) has a moderate influence on the financial burden of militancy which persists until the latter period before washing out. The reduced performance of the PCR location variable on military expenditures per capita can be explained by reference to the rather large variation in state populations: as the state is the primary security actor, its security decisions are doubly influenced by its perceived security needs and its relative size (i.e., states with larger populations may provide security at a reduced rate due to "economies of scale").

Ethnicity (Societal Cleavage)

Ethnicity (societal heterogeneity, fragmentation, or diversity) is often pointed to as a possible explanation for societal conflict in general and has been used recently to explain increased violent conflict in the Third World and the former socialist countries. The correlation test of ethnic homogeneity and militancy above points out that the more homogeneous states militarize more quickly in response to the insecurity condition (a result consistent with diversionary theory) but this

Third World War



Figure 5.5 Insecurity, Ethnicity, and Militancy (Middle East) II

correlation drops off rather quickly. A test of the Middle East PCR (see Figures 5.4 and 5.5), supposed to be by far the strongest and most matured PCR condition and one with an especially complex ethnic and religious mosaic, reveals that the early advantages experienced by the more homogeneous states in their drives to militarize are over-taken in the latter periods as the more ethnically heterogeneous states increase their militarization in the post-1970 period (increasing to 0.315 with personnel per capita-Figure 5.4-and to 0.547 with per capita expenditures—Figure 5.5). Under the special conditions of the Middle East PCR (a 0.330 correlation between ethnicity and PCR position), the differential, positive relation between ethnicity and militancy over time (i.e., homogeneous to heterogeneous) can be viewed as consistent with the expectations of both the primary and tertiary diffusion effects (the exact effects can not be discerned because of the correlation between the ethnic and PCR variables). In either case, ethnicity is not shown to be cause of violent conflict or militancy but, rather, violent ethnic conflict appears to be a consequence of the general insecurity condition.

Major War Episodes

Militancy, as measured by numbers of military personnel and level of military expenditures, may be assumed to be both a response to and a preparation for the



Figure 5.6 Violence Episode Initiations, 1945-1994

potential consequences of insecurity: actual warfare. Arms races are conventionally associated with the "security dilemma." Militancy thus provides the state with the capability not only to deter unwanted political interferences but, also, to wage warfare in response to conflict and provocation. The resort to warfare in political dispute interaction is a political decision that is proposed to be strongly influenced by the condition of insecurity. As such, the incidence of actual political violence and warfare should also be affected by the insecurity treatment and the outbreak of such violence should exhibit the step diffusion dynamic proposed above. A survey of the actual incidence of major political violence episodes involving PCR states is detailed in Appendix B. A survey of the charting of warfare initiations should reveal evidence of a step diffusion dynamic as both a time lag in the origination of systematic warring behavior and as a order of magnitude difference among tiers in the amount of such war experiences. It is expected that the Confrontal States would begin to experience major war episodes early (by definition) and would then experience greater numbers of such episodes over the full time course; the Peripheral States should begin to experience war episodes at a later time and to a lesser extent (i.e., fewer total war initiations) in comparison to the Confrontal States; the Marginal States should begin experiencing episodes even later than the Peripheral States. This is essentially the pattern revealed by plotting the outbreaks of political violence episodes, see Figure

5.6. In this diagram, only episodes of magnitude 2 or higher are included so as to focus attention on the more severe episodes. Non-PCR states were graphed for comparative analysis but were removed from the final image to simplify the presentation. Outbreaks of severe political violence in Non-PCR states were fairly constant across all time periods (i.e., only minor fluctuations) and at about half the average of the PCR-3 states.

Appendix B presents three types of information on major war episodes, arranged according to geopolitical (regional and locational) divisions: 1) the time span of systematic war episode involvement, or war process, of each state; 2) the approximate initiation date for all major changes, or shocks, in the state's violent conflict process; and 3) a list of the most intense episodes of warfare in each geopolitical subset.¹¹ Political violence episodes are listed for each state-actor according to their initiation date and including a score of the magnitude and type of each episode (refer to Appendix B to review the findings described here). The degree of accuracy and reliability of the data does not provide a solid basis for statistical inference, except in the grossest and most superficial terms (the determination of "what constitutes war" is highly interpretive). The Confrontal States can be viewed as having the greatest amount of violent conflict experience in both total duration and numbers of episodal shocks. The Peripheral States appear to enter the protracted conflict mode about 10-20 years after the Confrontal States (c. 1960). The Marginal States appear to enter protracted mode about 20-40 years after the Confrontal States (c. 1975) and show a lower number of shocks. The data on major warfare episodes appears to be consistent with the expectations of diffusion theory. This temporal step diffusion process is further corroborated by the statistics on dislocated populations presented later; refugee flows are known to coincide with major episodes of political violence. In general, the evidence presented above supports the plausibility of a diffusion of insecurity dynamic as an explanation for the patterns of violence in the protracted conflict regions.

Political Violence

The most prominent effect predicted by the theory is an increase in the use and experience of political violence by the affected systemic units. The measurement of war is, perhaps, the most difficult and problematic of the many research variables. There are major discrepancies in many reported attributes across the several different data sources on major armed conflicts. Especially troublesome are the estimates of "battle-related deaths." The discussion of measurement problems is too long and involved to be detailed in this report and has been discussed in the literature (see chapter 2). We are left with four indicators of the "fact" of warfare that are in all ways inadequate to the real impact that the war experience has on humans and societies: initiation (the date of conflict transformation to violence), duration (in years), magnitude (in battle-deaths), and



Figure 5.7 Political Violence: Episodic Intensity I



Figure 5.8 Political Violence: Episodic Intensity II

scope (number of states directly involved). Warfare initiation was examined above and appears to support the plausibility of the proposed diffusion dynamic. Scope is subsumed in the methodology of the analysis, as the states directly involved are assigned individual measurement scores; leaving us with only two attributes: duration and magnitude.¹²

After cross-referencing the data among the many scholarly data sources, each distinct episode was coded by the author for "magnitude" (on a seven-point scale) and designated a "duration" score (in number of years). A very crude measurement was then constructed by assigning a "political violence" score to each episode (magnitude + duration - 1), these scores were then apportioned to the different time periods of the longitudinal analysis to reflect the percentage of the episode that took place in each time period.¹³ The results are graphically displayed in Figures 5.7 and 5.8. It should be noted that the measures used in the analysis presented in Figure 5.7 are systemic totals and aggregated by structural category (i.e., the total figures are not controlled for variation in the number of units per category); it should also be noted that the three PCR categories include about 58 states (17 PCR-1; 16 PCR-2; and 25 PCR-3), whereas the single Non-PCR category encompasses about 48 states. The graph displays evidence that the PCR states experience a great deal more political violence than do comparable Third World (Non-PCR) countries.¹⁴ This graph adds some indication of the magnitude of that experience and the general trend in intensity over the full fifty year period of study. The numbers are consistent with general theory predictions, except for the fairly large measure of violence in the Marginal States (PCR-3) in the earlier periods. This may be explained by the incidence of anti-colonial violence involving many of these states. About half of states in the PCR-3 and Non-PCR categories gained their independence during the later phases of the colonial system breakdown (i.e., after 1946); most of the PCR-1 and PCR-2 states were independent by 1950 (except French Indochina, 1954). Focusing only on the two categories similarly affected by anti-colonial violence (PCR-3 and Non-PCR), we notice that the early anti-colonial violence diminishes in the Non-PCR states but remains steady in the PCR-3 states until it increases suddenly in the 1975-84 period. Figure 5.8 provides another look at the episodic intensity of political violence, this time as a categorical mean (i.e., controlled for the number of states in each category). The trends outlined in the two diagrams are identical, of course, it is only the relative size of the categories that has been altered by adding the control variable.

Forcibly Dislocated Populations

Another measure of the impact of political violence on societies is the number of cross-border refugees and internally displaced persons generated by such episodes. Figure 5.9 looks at the average annual numbers of forcibly dislocated populations arranged to display changes over five-year periods and controlled for the actual number of states comprising each category.¹⁵ Figure 5.10 displays quite



Figure 5.9 Forcibly Dislocated Populations



Figure 5.10 Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons

a different look at the problem of displaced populations as it aggregates totals for each category of Third World state on an annual basis and generated according to the country of origin; these figures are displayed, then, as cumulative totals.

Unfortunately, data used in this analysis only begins in 1964, nearly 20 years into the study period. Our knowledge of world refugee flows, however, is broadened by data recorded by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and detailed in several earlier studies of the refugee problem. (Schechtman 1963; Hakovirta 1986) From this information we can induce a broader look at the entire post-war process. Refugee flows resulting directly from post-war armed conflicts affect many of the Confrontal States very seriously in the 1946-1954 period, most notably the Palestine refugee flow beginning in 1948, the India partition in 1949, the Koreans displaced and exchanged during the war beginning in 1950, the Vietnam population displacements centering on independence in 1954, and the massive disruptions and resettlements beginning in 1951 due to apartheid policies in South Africa. According to information provided by Hakovirta (1986), serious refugee problems first appear in this study's Peripheral States during the years just prior to the data recorded by the U.S. Committee for Refugees (USCR) data used here, that is, around 1960-64. Serious refugee problems in the Marginal States first appear in the USCR data around 1976-80 (see Figure 5.10). Again, these step escalations in dislocated populations are strongly associated with serious increases in the levels of political violence and warfare noted above and lend added support to the diffusion theory. On a further note, the problem of displaced populations becomes especially acute in the Peripheral States about 1985; a condition consistent with the increased systemic pressures explained above as the "sandwich effect."

Militancy

Militancy is here equated with the measure of military capabilities. This is an unconventional approach that may seem provocative at first glance, especially as it implies that the HIS countries are by far the world's most militant states. As no theoretical distinction is made here between "offensive" and "defensive" political violence, all policy priorities favoring military outlays over the alternative societal outlays are considered to be a function of (or response to) the perception of insecurity: real, imagined, or rationalized. As the legitimate use of force is absolutely proscribed in the current world system, it must be assumed that all military capabilities are essentially "defensive" (or, otherwise, illegitimate) and, thereby, the magnitude of these capabilities must be assumed to be fundamentally responsive to the external environment: real, imagined, or rationalized. At least, that is the conventional understanding as derived from Western security studies. However, the incidence and expectation of inter-state war (i.e., the external environment) in the Third World in the contemporary period is of lesser importance in the determination of "state security" interests; inter-state wars are



Figure 5.11 Global Militancy: Systemic Proportions I

relatively inconsequential in comparison to intra-state challenges to state authority.

State military capabilities are the major portion of a society's potential to conduct political violence, both externally and internally, and are the standard against which the decision to engage in anti-regime political violence is made. Recall Gurr's (1988, 58) observation concerning the substitutability of function in the institutions of coercion: "The personnel and agencies of warfare and internal security are interchangeable, though functional specialization between them develops more or less quickly."¹⁶ To this, I would add the recognition that any instrument contains a duplicitous potential regarding its end-use ("right" and "wrong"); in the case of weaponry, the end-use may be either defensive or offensive. The military apparatus in the Third World is often engaged in internal security operations, especially when those internal challenges come from territorially-concentrated constituent groups, are particularly strong, or stubbornly repetitive. It appears to be likely that the level of militancy in the lessinstitutionalized countries of the Third World will be coterminous with the combined perceptions of both external and internal threats (and expected utility), plus a "ratchet effect." The ratchet effect is an institutional dynamic for military institutions to maintain their size and influence (i.e., their organizational interests) irrespective of any perception of threat.

Third World War



Figure 5.12 Global Militancy: Systemic Proportions II



Figure 5.13 Third World Militancy: Systemic Proportions

Protracted Conflict Regions

State military capabilities can be considered a representative measure of a society's general militancy; the measure does not capture the society's total militancy as it does not include the military personnel of sub-state actors nor their military expenditures (both assumed to be substantial in PCR situations, although sub-state actors are more likely to be relatively capital-shy and labor-intensive) nor does it measure the purely internal "police" capabilities of states.¹⁷ In short, it is assumed that state military capabilities are an important indicator of militancy that is consistent with general societal conditions but somewhat inaccurate because it seriously underestimates the society's real potential to conduct and sustain political violence.¹⁸ Of course, the diffusion model purports that any non-measured category of societal behavior tends to be militarized to a degree similar to all measured categories, so, any indicator measured consistently across the systemic units may be considered a reasonably reliable systemic indicator.

Figure 5.11, Global Militancy: Systemic Proportions I, is produced so as to place the examination of Third World conditions within the global context. Militancy, in this diagram, is a combined measure of military personnel and expenditures. The two military capability measures are calculated as proportions of the global totals, added together, and averaged (i.e., divided by two). For example, the HIS-W states' individual measures on each type of capability were summed and divided by the global total for that type, providing a proportion of the global total. The two global proportion figures were then added and divided by two to produce a single proportion figure for the HIS-W states' share of Global Militancy. The total militancy for each time period in Figure 5.10 is 1.00. The diagram gives an indication of the relative strength of the various categories of world system states.

Figure 5.12 zooms in on the four categories of Third World states to reveal greater comparative detail (the figures are the same global proportions presented in Figure 5.11). Again, it must be noted that the figures are category totals and so are not controlled for differences in numbers of states. In this diagram, the leading behavior of the core Confrontal States in the definition of Third World militancy is accentuated; their proportion of global militancy is seen to be growing steadily throughout the period under study, as are the global proportions of the other categories of insecurity-affected PCR states. The non-affected Third World (Non-PCR) states' global militancy proportion remains fairly steady in comparison.

Figure 5.13 gives the concept of militancy a third look. In this diagram, the total militancy measured is not the global scale, as in the previous two diagrams, but rather a proportional measure of the Third World militancy total. This analysis reveals trends specific to the special conditions in the Third World. In can be seen that the rate of growth in the militancy of Third World states is strongest in the Peripheral (PCR-2) and Marginal States (PCR-3) of the protracted conflict regions, whereas the relative military strength of the PCR core states (PCR-1) begins to decline in the more recent periods (beginning around 1970). The relative

Third World War



Figure 5.14 Military Personnel: Annual per State I

strength of the Non-PCR states can be seen to be declining throughout the study period.

Military Personnel

Under the conditions of modern warfare, the size of an actor's armies (measured in numbers of personnel) is not nearly as important as the quality, training, and commitment of those forces. Modern warfare, as shown during the 1990 Gulf War, has become highly technological and capital-intensive. Poorlytrained and poorly-equipped soldiers are no match for a technologicallysophisticated opponent, regardless of the sheer numbers of soldiers that can be mustered and thrown against the enemy forces. As such, the actual size of a state's armed forces may be as much a function of the state's need to socialize its citizenry, to foster loyalty, and to provide employment and status as it is a function of the state's perceived "real" security needs. Figure 5.14 is provided to establish a comparative context for analyzing the armed forces component of state militancy. In this comparison, the average size of each of the categorical states' armed forces is presented, i.e., the individual state is the analytical focus. The thought here is that, in a relatively anarchical security system, each unit finds itself confronting a self-help situation where it must individually provide its own minimal degree of security-that is, the actual size of each state's armed forces is



Figure 5.15 Military Personnel: Annual per State II



Source: National Material Capabilities Data Base, 1990. Principals: J.D.Singer and M.Small.

Figure 5.16 Military Personnel: Annual Totals

equally determined by the size of external threats, the capacity of that state to maintain that number of standing military personnel, and the population of the state. Figure 5.14 clearly reveals a step diffusion function through the various categories of states.

The step diffusion function is more strikingly displayed in Figure 5.15 as the over-powering influence of the HIS category is removed from the comparative context. Figure 5.16 contributes another look focusing on the cumulative totals of official state military personnel active in each of the categories; again, it should be noted that these totals are not controlled for differences in numbers of categorical units. Figure 5.16 points out that the actual numbers of military personnel are increasing similarly throughout the Third World (as is expected due to general increases in state capacity and population over time).

Military Expenditures

Figure 5.17 is provided in order to establish the global context for an examination of the "capitalization" attribute of state militancy. Again, the HIS categories manifesting the Cold War arms race are clearly distinguished as the leading sector in global militancy and arms proliferation. Figure 5.18 zooms in on the comparative context of the Third World. What is clear in these diagrams is the general trend of steadily increasing military expenditures throughout the world system. It is also clear (from Figure 5.18) that the PCR countries out-spend their Non-PCR peers in general and their rates of increase are substantially greater in the most recent periods. There is also a strong sense that a rough parity is being achieved in PCR militarization as members of all categories of treated states struggle to counter-balance the militancy of their neighbors.

Figures 5.19 and 5.20 provide alternative perspectives on the aggregate analysis of military expenditures of states in the Third World. Figure 5.19 displays military expenditures per state; it graphs the longitudinal changes in the average state burden for military expenditures of the various categorical units. Figure 5.20 graphs the relative, per capita, burden on the individual citizen in these burgeoning regional arms races. The category of Non-PCR states provides the referent control group for a sense of the increasingly heavy burden borne by individuals in the PCRs. The graphs of military expenditures show that the different categories of PCR states distinguish themselves from the control group in three ways: 1) there is some evidence of the structural effect across the three PCR categories into the later time periods; 2) expenditures of the PCR states "take off" in the latter periods, increasing dramatically and pervasively, whereas those of the control group increase only moderately; and 3) there is some evidence of the proposed "sandwich effect" as the middle tier PCR states begin to show greater expenditures in the latter periods, whether measured by unit or per capita. The relatively low levels of expenditures in the early periods seem inconsistent with the measures (high levels) of military personnel during the same periods. This apparent inconsistency is surely, partly a function of the general shift in military



Figure 5.17 Military Expenditures: Annual Totals I



Source: National Material Capabilities Data Base, 1990. Principals: J.D.Singer and M.Small.

Figure 5.18 Military Expenditures: Annual Totals II

Third World War



Source: National Material Capabilities Data Base, 1990. Principals: J.D.Singer and M.Small.

Figure 5.19 Military Expenditures: Annual per State



Source: National Material Capabilities Data Base, 1990. Principals: J.D.Singer and M.Small.

Figure 5.20 Military Personnel: Annual per Capita

technologies from "labor-intensive" to "capital-intensive" methods. This may also be partly an anomaly of the ways expenditures are tabulated: the core conflicts of the PCR regions have long held the attention of world system actors, notably the Superpowers. Massive arms transfers from the Superpowers to the PCR states, especially in the early periods, may not be captured by the earlier measures. There are other possible explanations, but the important point for the present argument is that the PCR states are distinctly and consistently different from the Non-PCR control group in ways that are consistent with and supportive of the diffusion argument.

Patterns of Authority

It has also been argued that the state's ability to govern, that is, its basic agency relationship with its citizenry, is debilitated as a result of the increases in systemic insecurity, societal contention, and challenges to authority within a context of dwindling resources due to burgeoning military security burdens. One way to look at the state's capacity to govern is to focus on its "authority patterns."¹⁹ Congruence theory proposes that

high governmental performance requires a high degree of congruence among government authority patterns, on the one hand, and specified nongovernmental authority patterns, on the other....[This] states a universal law...[it] also states a necessary but not a sufficient condition for high performance. (Eckstein 1980b, 1)²⁰

The Polity II project has constructed a data base compiling annual codings of relevant authority traits and patterns for (nearly) all the states in the world. In addressing the measurement of the "coherence" (congruence) of political institutions, the Polity II investigators defined coherent polities as those that scored 7 (on a ten-point scale) on either the Autocracy or Democracy composite variables. The present research uses a slightly different method: coherent polities are defined by a seven-point (or greater) difference between their Autocracy and Democracy scores.²¹ The basic idea is that state performance is both enabled by and reflected in consistent authority patterns; whether they are autocratic or democratic, they are consistent and predictable. In this conceptualization, it is performance that is the key both to regime viability and to the possibility of regime transformation from autocratic to democratic forms (and vice versa). In the presence of the insecurity treatment, a regime's performance is additionally impaired by extraneous factors of insecurity and interference thus further challenging its authority coherence (i.e., in the medium- and long-term, after experiencing a short, initial boost in internal cohesion). Any resulting movement toward authority incoherence provides, then, an additional, structural impediment to regime performance.

Third World War



Figure 5.21 Institutional Authority Coherence I

Figures 5.21 and 5.22 chart the coherence factors of the different categories of states in the world system. The first diagram, Figure 5.21, compares the proportions of coherent states in each of the three main categories (HIS, PCR, and Non-PCR states) and charts the change in those proportions over time, 1947-1986. The HIS states, by definition the system's high-performance states, clearly stand out as having coherent authority patterns, with over 90 percent of the states defined as coherent at any point in time. The two groups of lesser-developed, lower-performance states also distinguish themselves in authority coherence terms: while both groups begin with generally low coherence proportions, the Non-PCR grouping of states show steady progression toward greater, general coherence, whereas the PCR states increase initially toward greater coherence (in the short-term) but then fall toward greater incoherence in the long-term.

It should be noted that both these Third World groups absorb a similar, large number of newly independent states over the earlier portion of the total time span. New states do not have established authority patterns and so should be expected to be the lowest-performing and least-stable regimes; new regimes, those experiencing fundamental changes in governance, would also be expected to be less coherent. This is, indeed, most often the case. However, the likelihood that a new state or new regime will attain authority coherence appears to be greatly affected by the PCR condition, as is the likelihood that an existing regime will



Figure 5.22 Institutional Authority Coherence II

maintain authority coherence. Under the special conditions of systemic security, it appears true that, "[i]ncoherent polities tended, eventually, to become coherent. Coherent polities tended to remain that way." (Mark Lichbach, quoted in Gurr et al. 1989, 1) Under systemic insecurity, such progressive change is somehow stymied; some states may develop coherent authority patterns more quickly due to the perception of external threat (as would be expected in diversionary theory) but any initial advantage in this regard seems to be eventually lost as authority erodes over time.

Figure 5.22 breaks down the information on PCR states to show further categorical differences (the Non-PCR states are again included for reference). All three categories of PCR states display similar propensities to more quickly establish coherent authority patterns; all three similarly deteriorate over time. What is of particular interest is the timing of the shift away from increasing coherence to increasing incoherence. These shifts are denoted by the numbers (1, 2, and 3) in the diagram. For the Confrontal States (PCR-1) the shift appears to occur around 1955-65, for the Peripheral States (PCR-2) around 1965-75, and for the Marginal States (PCR-3) around 1975-85 (it is argued that the peak shown for the Marginal States for the 1957-61 period is a false peak, as a large number of new states enter the system around 1960; the true shift occurs later, as noted—a similarly false peak can be seen in Figure 5.6 above). Again, we may be noting

some sense of a diffusion process at work. The precipitous drop in the authority coherence of the Marginal States is especially prophetic of the recent situation as it is these states that are now experiencing widespread civil disturbances, intense political violence, and numerous state failures. A structural explanation may be plausible in that these states experience a more confusing and unfocused sense of insecurity: the perception of insecurity is strong but the source is ambiguous. Within this confusion, individuals may be more likely to blame themselves, the regime, or other communal groups for their distress. These states are also more likely to be ethnically heterogeneous and to attract less systemic involvement in their conflict management situations.

Communal Identity and Societal Contention

The strength of an individual's attachment to an identity group is difficult to measure and measuring the relative strength of an individual's divided loyalties when there are alternative and, possibly, competing social identities is even more problematic. Again, we must infer from behavioral characteristics the aggregate psychological motives driving the political actor. For the purposes of this study, several assumptions concerning the individual and social identity are warranted and must be explained, briefly. The most basic assumption is that the human is a social creature and that, because of the complexity of existence and the overriding concern for personal security, the individual will identify with different groups under different circumstances and will tend to maintain established social ties, even though active participation in the distinct groups varies over time due to changes in the salience of issues and interests. Under different circumstances a certain individual living in Utica, New York, for example, may identify more or less strongly as an American, or as a German-American, or as a Democrat, or a Male, or a Union Man, or New Yorker, or an "Up-Stater," as being a native of Utica, or a Concerned Parent, or with Mothers Against Drunk Drivers, or whatever. Identity is theoretically boundless in modern societies and forms the foundation of pluralism. Pluralism is based on the complementary notions of freedom of association and expression and the unfettered exchange of ideas and information. Political diversity and communication are key elements in the proper management of conflict in complex societies. Public attitudes and opinions hold important information about operation and performance and the mobilization of interest groups informs the political process. Group membership and resources vary in concert with the salience of issues, both among groups and within the same group over time. In short, social identity is a multiple-choice game the outcome of which is determined by the combination of societal and systemic conditions and the mix of personal values and preferences at any particular moment.

There is some structure and stability to the plurality game, however. Ascriptive groups are more persistent and more readily identifiable (i.e., a more stable identity) and successful groups are preferred over unsuccessful groups (the

Protracted Conflict Regions

performance criterion). The thesis is that, under conditions of insecurity, the individual will tend to identify with the greatest, most effective group that will include them (or not reject them) as a member; that is, the secure individual will be more extroverted, inclusive, and more tolerant of ambiguous relationships, preferring the most expansive identity possible that is not fundamentally inconsistent with that person's sense of self and fundamental values (usually, then, the state or some even higher order identity). Under conditions of insecurity, that individual will prefer to identify with that group that affords them the greatest sense of predictability and personal control, usually meaning a preference for the parochial, or local, and an exaggerated preoccupation with "personal control" as the appropriate meaning of "security" (i.e., introverted and exclusive with a predilection for distinct, authoritative relationships). The "ethnic" or "national" group is usually thought of as the greatest, secure extension of the "genetic self."²²

It should also be noted that the behavior of minorities and communal groups within the societal system is both a reflection and a function of their relationship to the state, both attitudinal and instrumental. The decision to challenge the authority of the state is made within the context of the state's capabilities and willingness to politically repress the opposition. The measurement of political repression is especially complex and problematic. In general, the ability of groups to challenge the state denotes, in fact, the disability of the state to either successfully manage the conflict issues and interests or successfully repress the challenges to state authority. Two extant sources of information pertaining to political repression are Humana (1992) and Gastil (1978-1993). Analysis of the coded information on repressiveness contained in these sources reveals no distinctions between PCR and Non-PCR states; both are coded as primarily repressive and "unfree." The conceptualization of "repressiveness" in these sources appears to be more responsive to basic regime characteristics (democratic versus autocratic) rather than a measure of actual instrumental behavior.

Under insecurity, localized communal identifications gain greater emphasis and increased precedence, especially when local and general interests clash and the communal group is already, at least partially, mobilized for other purposes (in the institutional sense: it has infrastructure, resources, and authority). As the general sense of insecurity increases and the state's ability to successfully perform its societal responsibilities diminishes, communal groups will increasingly challenge the capacity and authority of the state to sue for greater autonomy, or control over their own affairs. The ensuing interaction over incompatible agendas (under insecurity, the state prefers centralization and the communal groups prefer decentralization) will tend to escalate to increasing levels of violence, until total accommodation, exhaustion, or separation is reached. Whatever the result, the conflict "resolution" remains inherently unstable as the solution was obtained under duress and therefore deemed unsatisfactory and unjust to at least one of the parties. Figure 5.23 charts the rebellious conflict behavior of mobilized communal minorities. Again, we see a distinct difference between PCR (more insecure) and

Third World War



Figure 5.23 Violent Rebellion by Minorities

Non-PCR (more secure) states. In PCR states, the mobilized minorities increasingly resort to violent tactics in their political interactions with the state and the intensity of the violence escalates over time. The measures of minority rebellion are very crude indicators, revealing little differentiation among the three categories of PCR states.²³

Figure 5.24 provides a second look at the violent conflict behavior of minority groups. It captures more of this activity by including the other coded forms of political violence: communal violence (violent interactions between communal groups) and violent protest (spontaneous, anti-regime group violence); in addition to rebellion (organized, anti-regime group violence). The indicators are aggregated and the totals charted during succeeding temporal periods (similar to the method used to chart political violence, see Figures 5.7 and 5.8 above). Included in this picture are all the categories of system states: HIS (53 minority groups), PCR-1 (35 groups), PCR-2 (20 groups), PCR-3 (47 groups), and Non-PCR (70 groups). Again, the PCR states clearly distinguish themselves from the two control groups. In order to fully appreciate the relative scores of violent conflict one should again mentally adjust the aggregate scores according to the number of groups and states involved in each category. In this adjusted view, the violence of the relatively few minorities in the Peripheral states seems especially prominent, a prominence consistent with the increased systemic pressures of the "sandwich effect." Also of



Figure 5.24 Violence by Communal Minority Groups

note in this graph is the increasing use of violence by minority groups in the "modern" HIS states.

Conclusion

The foregoing systemic analysis of the Third World War has been consistent with the theory proposed and revealing of the extent of the damage already experienced. The results of the tests are generally supportive of the proposed diffusion dynamic and the expectations of the arrested development syndrome. A final look at the world system will catch a glimpse of the formal interactive (normative) behaviors of state-actors in the world's state-system. Over the evolutionary span of the global inter-state system, customary practice has routinized many of the ways states interact and ritualized special behaviors so as to facilitate the communication of meaning across wide cultural and cognitive gaps and help guard against misinterpretation or misconstrual of messages between states engaging in potentially confrontational interactions. This activity of "signaling" represents a nexus between failing negotiations and anticipated unilateral "corrective" actions in the conflict process. While it would surely be a stretch of the imagination (or

even a flight of fantasy) to claim that the nascent normative world system operates effectively as a rule-of-law system, much of the rapidly increasing global transactions and expanding network of interdependencies are handled efficaciously through standardized procedures and "governed" by common expectations. In this rudimentary legal system, signaling serves both as an early warning of normative failure and an acclamation to its utility, that is, states regularly signal both approval and disapproval through stylized gestures. The most active states with the greatest number of inter-state relations and highest volume of transnational interactions should be expected to engage in the greatest number of these signaling events.

Such signaling behavior is captured and recorded by the World Events Interaction Survey (WEIS). The events thus recorded are the formal interactions of states expressing messages of conflict or cooperation to other states in the system; the more active systemic members will record the greatest number of interactive events. This type of behavior might also be considered an indicator of "external interference" as signaling usually responds to an action by another state that somehow "bothers" the signaling state to the point where it feels compelled to display the interaction in the world's "public space." This public display is one way to gauge the "public opinion" of non-involved state actors and to reinforce the customary expectations of the normative system. A state thus vindicated in the global public space will promote its position with increased vigor; a state which can not rally support for its position may relax its demands.

Figure 5.25 charts the volume of signaling events in the world system in the study period. From this chart we may adduce that the realist pronouncements that the world system is anarchical is critically overstated but not necessarily devoid of merit. Interactions among the systemic core states (HIS) are highly formalized, public, and frequent; interactions among the PCR sub-systemic core states (PCR-1) are also highly formalized, public, and frequent, as are the interactions between system (HIS) and sub-system core states (PCR-1). These regions and these categories of interactions can not be considered chaotic and random, but rather the opposite: systematic and regular. Such a network of formal behaviors (and the implication of basic procedural consensus and institutionalized relations or "regimes") provide the world system with a substantial degree of organizational access and large number of "access points" and "action channels," thus giving the system leadership a reasonable potential for effective conflict management (this is not to say that such potential is properly utilized).

The system's penetration beyond the PCR core states, however, appears underdeveloped at best, charting the system's general neglect of these regions and affording the system itself (here represented almost exclusively by the UN organization) a very small degree of conflict management potential. These areas may surely be considered anarchic in the realist sense, but the anarchy is constructed by the system and contained in its attitudes toward the UN, especially the attitudes of those states capable of empowering the UN system but who chose

186



Figure 5.25 WEIS Interactive Events

not to. This diagram also reveals the relative dearth of sub-systemic normative relations (i.e., between regional units rather than with the HIS actors), meaning that there is little evidence of systemic integration over time (there is no evidence of real growth in system utilization). This goes a long way in explaining the world system's problems with controlling violence in the Third World War and the concomitant lack of the sub-systemic (regional) faculty needed to overcome the reliance on utilitarian conflict management strategies.

Of course, the sheer number and volume of such signaling events, while providing a crude measure of international activity, does not tell us much about the nature of the relationships and interactions in which they are engaged. Effective conflict management behavior should be expected to reveal a balance between positive and negative signals as the signaling states attempt to maneuver their interactions and relationships to an equitable and mutually acceptable mode (i.e., reciprocity). The more secure states should even reveal a net positive profile as their signals gain the desired effects and the format of the exchanges shifts from warnings against unacceptable behavior to incentives and rewards for good behavior. A thorough analysis of the WEIS interactive events supports this understanding of the political communication system. The HIS actors tend to display a net positive (or neutral) signaling profile, whereas the PCR states show a strongly negative display with neighboring states and a more positive

relationship with their more powerful "benefactors."²⁴ This discussion of the role of signaling will be taken up again in the next chapter.

External interference has become a fact of the modern world system, leading to a condition usually described as "complex interdependence." All states are increasingly penetrated by a host of activities ranging from transnational corporations to humanitarian missions, from satellite linkages providing global media transmissions to round-the-clock surveillance, from education and training to covert destabilization and disinformation, from election monitoring to electoral manipulation and fraud. The state, as gatekeeper between the local and the regional and global realms is charged with the responsibility for regulating these "interferences" for the "good" of the "community." The state can be claimed to have failed in its agency and mission if external interferences disadvantage the local population in the pursuit of their interests in competition with other, outside actors. Failed states and seriously challenged states can not be expected to be successful in regulating the activities of their own citizens, let alone the machinations of "outside agitators." Unfortunately, the subject and the problem are far too broad and complex to examine here.

What we have been able to do here is to describe a situation wherein the dynamics of societal insecurity are expanding, intensifying, and escalating outside the bounds of rational human agency and political control. The conditions of life for large segments of the world's population are continuing to deteriorate or stagnate such that the continuation of normal politics is clearly not possible. The Third World War is real and should be understood to be increasingly threatening to ever larger areas of the world system. Containment may no longer be an option; neglect will almost assuredly result in further expansion and escalation of the problem. The use of organized, political violence within the system has grown tremendously since the creation of the post-colonial world system and the construction of the United Nations conflict management regime, but the world system's capacity to fulfill its normative functions and its security mission has not grown in response. There grows an ever-widening gap, an incongruence between mission and method, capacity and capability, expectations and performance. We thus find ourselves at a critical juncture in the history of human relations and the evolution of the world system. So far, this book has focused on the conditions that breed violence, warfare, societal disintegration, and state failure; the next chapter will shift the focus toward a discussion of the "causes" of peace.

Notes

1. Primary data sources for the analyses that provide supportive evidence of the theory described above include the Correlates of War, Polity II, Minorities at Risk, World Events Interaction Survey, IMF Direction of Trade data bases and several data compilations conducted by the author.

2. It should be noted that the various data sources used in the study provide slightly different temporal coverage.

3. The basic criteria for inclusion is identical to that used for the Minorities at Risk Project; see Gurr (1993).

4. The special strength of the error term inherent in the systemic data used has already been mentioned. It is for that reason that the analyses are limited to the most simple statistical procedures; those being the procedures producing the most reliable results. More sophisticated statistical procedures designed to wring more information out of the data are unlikely to reveal additional, reliable information as the greater the mathematical manipulation, the greater the influence of the error term on the results, thus rendering those results, including significance tests, suspicious. Instead, the analysis tests a broader range of data variables (i.e., extensive analysis) in order to reveal greater information about the range of systemic effects, as well as provide cross-sectional evidence (using data from different sources measuring related phenomena) to support and reinforce the conclusions. Of course, in studying diffusion dynamics the crucial assumption of statistical independence of events in presumed to be violated, thus vitiating many standard statistical techniques. In most of the analyses, significance tests were performed and checked for level of confidence. In all cases, the significance tests added confidence to the results. They are not specifically reported here because their precision is suspicious, for the reasons noted, and their appearance would assign a false precision to the analyses.

5. For analytical purposes, Confrontal State (PCR-1) units are coded "1" on the PCR variable, Peripheral State (PCR-2) units are coded "2," Marginal State (PCR-3) units are coded "3," and other Third World (Non-PCR) states are coded "4." The PCR variable thus measures the structural "distance" of the various systemic units from the PCR core.

6. Although the six clusters (PCRs) identified and examined here are distinctive in their levels of violence, they are not unique. There is strong evidence that political violence episodes tend to cluster in areas of lower general levels of violence as well as regions experiencing high general levels of violence, that is, violence tends to diffuse regardless of the type, intensity, or magnitude of the episodes although the dynamic will be more pronounced and the effects stronger at the higher levels. The six regions chosen for this study are distinguished by the constancy of their protracted conflict source over the entire study period (an artifact of the Cold War world system). This unique fact allows the study of diffusion dynamics and their development are relatively "stable" over a long time frame due to a constant systemic treatment. There is evidence of at least one other "old" violence cluster (centered on the Hutu-Tutsi enmity in east central Africa; a situation previously isolated by the weakness of regional ties, its remoteness from the world system, and a unique geography) and growing evidence of a new violence cluster forming in west Africa centered on violence in Liberia.

7. The data source for Figure 5.1 and other analyses based on militancy and military capabilities is the National Material Capabilities computer file (COW 1990); this data source provides fairly complete global coverage for the period 1946-1985.

8. The dependent variables, numbers of military personnel and amount of military expenditures, are continuous variables; the independent variable, PCR structure, is a four-value cardinal scale, 1-4; see note 5 above.

9. Nearly all the correlation coefficients for these initial tests reported as significant at the 0.01 level; most are significant at the 0.001 level.

10. The argument can be, and often is, made that public support for policy initiatives

is only relevant in democratic and other electoral systems of governance, whereas the influence of public opinion may be, and should be, discounted in autocratic systems. It is assumed here that the dissatisfied individual will influence public policy indirectly and covertly (by withholding support or engaging in oppositional behavior) if they can not voice their discontent directly and overtly through the media, polls, or ballots. Public support is an important influence on societal power regardless of regime type.

11. The magnitude score is formulated according to the "recipe" given in Gurr (1994, appendix 9); that is, "the square root of the sum of deaths (in 10s of thousands) plus refugees (in 100s of thousands)."

12. Wars are, of course, disastrous events that have far-reaching effects and consequences for the societies that experience them. These "silly" statistics make a mockery of the horrors of war; however, some relative measurement of political violence, however seriously flawed and inadequate, is necessary.

13. For example, an episode of magnitude 5 that continued across 11 years was assigned a score of 15 (5+11-1); as the episode spanned three analytical time periods (2 years in A, 5 in B, 4 in C) the net score was apportioned over the three periods (15/11 per year duration; 2.7 in A, 6.8 in B, and 5.5 in C).

14. The total scores are: 468 for the PCR-1 category, 468 for PCR-2, 521 for PCR-3. The PCR states experience a total Political Violence score of 1457 out of the 1731 global total, or 84 per cent on this measure.

15. The data source for the analyses presented in Figures 4.8 and 4.9 is the annual series published by the United States Committee for Refugees; data covers the period 1964-1991. The term "forcibly dislocated populations" includes the combined estimates of crossborder refugees and internally dislocated persons (i.e., those fleeing warfare) and forcibly relocated persons (e.g., internal security programs such as the "homelands" policy of South Africa and the "strategic hamlet" program of South Vietnam).

16. See chapter 4, note 22.

17. Of course, the measurement of even this most visible component of a state's militancy and military capabilities is seriously flawed due to the difficulties inherent in measuring these capabilities and the states' interests in hindering the accuracy of such intelligence. The capabilities of sub-state actors is especially problematic due to the Cold War dynamic wherein one or the other Superpower rival felt politically compelled to enhance the capabilities of any challenger to the authority of a "client" state aligned with their rival.

18. The fact of the global arms market and the general availability and rapid resupply of weaponry adds a great measure of "fluidity" to any assessment of Third World state capabilities. All material and monetary assets are essentially fungible in the global marketplace and so the only "stable" and "accurate" measure of a state's military capabilities is the total measure of its "liquidity" and material wealth.

19. The data source used for the analysis of authority patterns is Gurr, Jaggers, and Moore (1989). Time coverage provided by that data source includes annual figures to 1986; the actual years used in the analysis are 1947-1986, thus providing eight five-year periods for longitudinal analysis.

20. See Eckstein and Gurr (1975) for a full explication of congruence theory.

21. Regime characteristics of PCR and Non-PCR states were compared, as were the three categories of PCR states, on scores of both Democracy and Autocracy; no significant differences were detected. In general, most all Third World states sport autocratic authority

patterns; there are, however, some democratic regimes. Democracies are slightly more likely to exist and persist in Non-PCR areas. Some Non-PCR states have made the transition to democratic forms, although democracy in these regions remains tenuous. A few states have maintained democratic forms in spite of their PCR environment, e.g., Israel and India. Leadership changes are often accomplished through non-constitutional means throughout the Third World, although the likelihood of such abrupt change is somewhat higher in PCR states (0.456 compared to 0.375). PCR states are only slightly more inclined to have military leadership (0.414 to 0.379). Leadership data is from Bienen and van de Walle (1991).

22. Horowitz (1985) points out that the predominant trend in state/communal group relations during the modernization process resulted from the resistance of traditional group elites to economic incorporation and cultural assimilation and the consequential erosion of their status and authority. That is, the more traditional groups were more likely to rebel. More recently, this trend has been complicated as many of the more traditional groups perceive association with the larger society and state as facilitating their performance potential and their access to public goods (a form of affirmative action). At the same time, many of the more affluent communal groups see their continued association with a low-performing state as inimical to their group interests and a damper on group performance (a form of wealth redistribution or expropriation). Thus, the more "modern" groups in low-performing states are suing for independence (e.g., secessionary movements in the former socialist bloc countries were led by the relatively affluent groups: the Baltic states in the USSR and the Croats, Slovenes, and Bosnian Muslims in Yugoslavia). (Emizet and Templin 1991; Marshall 1993)

23. The data source for the analysis of communal minorities is the Minorities at Risk project, Gurr and Marshall (1990). The time period for the study of violent rebellion is 1945-1989. There are 70 mobilized minorities in the Non-PCR states and 102 in the PCR states. In the period 1950-54, there are 3 Non-PCR groups engaged in violent rebellion, only 1 of which is coded as major insurgency or civil war; in the 1980-84 period, there are 8 groups with 5 engaged in major warfare. By comparison, in the PCR states in the 1950-54 period, there are 9 groups engaged in some form of violent rebellion with 5 classed as major; in the 1980-84 period, there are 48 groups engaged in rebellion with 22 coded as major warfare.

24. The WEIS data base spans the period, 1966-1990, and includes over 160,000 events. An extensive analysis was conducted of the data (over 800 hours of work) according to the precepts of the systemic theory presented here; each category and region was individually profiled using a scaling method differentiating between positive (cooperation) and negative (conflict) signals, see Tomlinson 1991. The results are far too extensive and complex to discuss here; the results were consistent with the theory in all cases.