




CDDRL BRINGING STANFORD TO THE WORLD

CENTER ON DEMOCRACY,
DEVELOPMENT, AND THE
RULE OF LAW

CENTER OVERVIEW 2006–2007

FREEMAN SPOGLI INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES



RESEARCHERS AND FACULTY AT THE **CENTER ON DEMOCRACY, DEVELOPMENT, AND THE RULE OF LAW** STRIVE TO IDENTIFY THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAYS TO FOSTER DEMOCRACY, PROMOTE BALANCED AND SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC GROWTH, AND ADVANCE THE RULE OF LAW IN PARTS OF THE WORLD WHERE THESE THINGS ARE ALL IN SHORT SUPPLY.

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CDDRL Programs



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The **Program on Democracy in Taiwan** focuses on issues associated with democratic, political, and social change, and the regional and international challenges confronting democracy in Taiwan (including the problem of cross-Strait relations).

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The **Program on Rule of Law** focuses on issues associated with human rights, comparative constitutionalism, and judicial reform as they relate in particular to democracy and development.

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The **Program on Democracy** examines the comparative dynamics of democratic functioning and change in the contemporary world, with a particular focus on the countries of Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Latin America, and the post-communist world.

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The **Program on Economic Performance** seeks to improve ways of doing business in the developing world as well as improving the understanding of the causes of good and bad economic performance.

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The **Program on International Influences on Democratic Development** evaluates the efficacy of available tools of democracy promotion in an effort to learn what has worked, what has not, and under what conditions.



CDDRL

“CDDRL scholars and policy analysts have found that the most interesting and innovative answers to questions about democracy and development are located at the intersection of law, politics, and economics.”

Michael McFaul, Director

CENTER ON DEMOCRACY, DEVELOPMENT, AND THE RULE OF LAW

Letter
from the
Director

The questions that occupy faculty and researchers at the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, are front page news almost every day. How can we rebuild Iraq and Afghanistan? How do we stem the tide of disease in the developing world? How can rich countries help poor countries grow? What effect do oil and gas resources have on politics and economics in Africa and the Middle East?

Distinct from other research institutions engaged with these same questions, CDDRL scholars and policy analysts have found that the most interesting and innovative answers to these questions about democracy and development are located at the intersection of law, politics, and economics. What kinds of legal systems spur growth? Which laws constrain growth? Under what conditions does the security of property rights facilitate democratization? What is the role of the media in fighting corruption? Does democratization help or hinder economic development?

We are convinced that a multidisciplinary approach is correct by the overwhelming demand for our products and explosion of interest in our activities. Our undergraduate course taught from a multidisciplinary perspective routinely boasts more than 130 students. Attendance at our seminar series on issues related to democracy, development, and the rule of law worldwide continues to challenge capacity nearly every week. Applications to our now well established Summer Fellows on Democracy and Development Program typically reach about 800 for 25 slots. At the same time, our affiliated faculty and scholars have published widely. Over the last year alone, we have celebrated the publication of no less than five independently authored books on topics as diverse as rebel insurgency, state capacity, market development, federalism, and the resiliency of authoritarianism.

Our rate of research and programming necessitates constant change to and expansion of the center's tasks. In the past year, we have established two new research programs—our Democracy in Taiwan program, profiled later in this overview of the center's activities, and our new Program on International Influences on Democratic Development. In addition, we have expanded our fellows program, welcomed a horde of visitors to the center from around the world, and initiated our new undergraduate honors program. In the following pages, you will be introduced to the fascinating work of a number of our researchers. It is a privilege to work in this environment with such talented people. I am proud of what the center has accomplished so far and look forward to its continued success.



Michael McFaul
Director



CDDRL ACTIVITY OVERVIEW

CDDRL's overriding purpose continues to be the identification and pursuit of promising pathways to build strong, affluent, law-abiding, peaceful, and democratic societies in the developing world.

MARRYING THEORY AND POLICY PRACTICE

Throughout the past year, center researchers and faculty have continued to pursue the core goals of instituting and sustaining a vibrant, multidisciplinary, intellectual community. Our overriding purpose has continued to be the identification and pursuit of promising pathways to help build strong, affluent, law-abiding, peaceful, and democratic societies in parts of the world where such features remain in short supply.

CDDRL continues to build new programming. Our weekly Wednesday noon research seminar remains one of the best-attended regular social science seminars on Stanford's campus. Speakers from Stanford and around the world were welcomed by standing-room-only crowds populated by law, business, sociology, economics, and political science faculty and graduate students. The center also played host to a variety of distinguished special guests over the last year, including former Finance Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia Anwar Ibrahim, Taiwanese Foreign Minister James Huang, Iranian democracy advocate and opposition leader Akhbar Ganji, Lebanese journalist Rami Khouri, and Georgian Prime Minister Zurab Noghaideli.

We have continued to pursue our already well established research agendas through our Democracy, Economic Development, and Rule of Law programs, while also adding several new research programs and projects. Our community as a whole greatly benefited from the participation and activities of our five associated pre- and postdoctoral fellows in residence this academic year, as well as our new undergraduate honors students, several of whom are featured later in this overview of our activities.

Center faculty and research staff have focused on extending the center's impact on Stanford's campus and also establishing the center even more firmly as a leading research community around the world. Pursuant to these goals, we again taught (as a community) our undergraduate course IR/PS 114D Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law. Center faculty and research staff sat down together in a series of meetings to develop the syllabus and curriculum, and we continue to refine the course as a community. The class is convened by CDDRL Director Michael McFaul, and Senior Research Scholar and Associate Director for Research Kathryn Stoner-Weiss. Lectures through the quarter are delivered by McFaul, Stoner-Weiss, and 10 other associated faculty and researchers.

The course introduces students to both conceptual approaches to democracy and democratic transition and consolidation, understandings of the relationship between democracy and economic growth, and how the rule of law might underpin both processes. The course is very popular among the undergraduates, regularly enrolling over 100 students per quarter.



This makes it one of the most popular undergraduate courses in the social sciences on campus and one of the very few with a truly interdisciplinary approach to teaching.

As we had hoped, the course greatly enhanced the center's presence on campus and has helped to build CDDRL's new Undergraduate Honors Program on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, introduced in the spring of 2006. In the first year of the program, seven outstanding seniors began writing theses with center faculty and our research staff. Almost all of our honors students completed field research over the summer in diverse locations, including the Middle East, China, Zanzibar, Chile, and a refugee camp in Zambia. The center's undergraduate lecture course and the new honors program have done much to encourage the growth of a burgeoning undergraduate community at Stanford increasingly interested in working in the field of international development.

Our annual training program for mid-career policymakers and civic activists from countries in transition, the Stanford Summer Fellows on Democracy and Development, continues to be another of the center's most worthwhile outreach endeavors. Our faculty welcome approximately 25 fellows from about two-dozen countries to Stanford for three weeks in August. Among them are democracy activists, journalists, former attorneys general, and members of government from Pakistan, Iran, Egypt, Iraq, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mauritania, Russia, Albania, Ukraine, China, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. This program reflects the center's ongoing commitment to marrying outreach with high-quality research in a virtuous cycle.

The center's Working Papers series continues to grow rapidly, and happily has become a source of policy and technical information not only for other scholars interested in similar topics around the world, but also for practitioners, including alumni from our Summer Fellows Program who report regularly checking our website to look at the papers electronically from wherever they are on the globe. CDDRL faculty and researchers also continued to produce independently authored books in 2006, including Alberto Diaz-Cayeros's *Federalism, Fiscal Authority and Centralization in Latin America* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), Avner Greif's *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons from Medieval Trade* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), Beatriz Magaloni's *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and Its Demise in Mexico* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), Kathryn Stoner-Weiss's *Resisting the State: Reform and Retrenchment in Post-Soviet Russia* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), and Jeremy Weinstein's *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (Cambridge University Press, 2007). Our research programs have also produced two edited monographs, including *Can the West Promote Democracy? American and European Perspectives*, edited by Michael McFaul and Amichai Magen, and *Waves and Troughs of Post-Communist Transition*, edited by Michael McFaul, Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, and Valerie Bunce of Cornell University.



Finally, we have added more research projects to our four already very active programs on Democracy, Economic Development, the Rule of Law, and International Influences on Democratic Development. In the winter of 2006, we officially inaugurated our new Democracy in Taiwan Program led by Larry Diamond, and Tom Heller initiated an exciting new research initiative on corruption and extractive resources in the developing world. Both of these initiatives are profiled in this brochure.

In sum, the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law has become more vibrant and active than ever before.



CDDRL IN THE WORLD

“The shared knowledge and experience we had together at Stanford will stay forever.”

Kavi Chongkittavorn, Thailand

STANFORD SUMMER FELLOWS ON DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

The Stanford Summer Fellows on Democracy and Development is a bold new program of the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law initiated in August 2005 and held annually at the center for three weeks every summer. Since its inception, the Summer Fellows Program has created a network of over fifty leaders from thirty transitioning countries, including Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, China, Russia, Nigeria, Kenya, and Rwanda to name only a few. Stanford Summer Fellows are former prime ministers and presidential advisers, senators and attorneys general, journalists and civic activists, academics, and members of the international development community. They are united in their dedication to improving or establishing democratic governance, economic growth, and the rule of law in their countries.

The three-week executive education program is led by an interdisciplinary (and all-volunteer) team of leading Stanford University faculty associated with the center. The teaching team includes Stanford President Emeritus Gerhard Casper, Larry Diamond, Avner Greif, CDDRL Director Michael McFaul, Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, Peter Henry, John McMillan from the Graduate School of Business, Tom Heller, Erik Jensen, Helen Stacy, and Allen Weiner from Stanford Law School. Summer fellows are assigned readings for each day's class sessions and discussions. Class sessions, however, are led not only by CDDRL affiliated faculty and researchers—the fellows themselves lead discussions focused on the concrete challenges that they face in their ongoing development work. In this way, fellows have the opportunity to also learn from one another's rich experiences in the field of international, political, and economic development.

The program also draws in speakers involved in U.S. democracy and development promotion institutions. These have included Carl Gershman, president of the National Endowment for Democracy; Joan Blades, co-founder of MoveOn.org; leading conservative thinkers from the Hoover Institution; Judge Pamela Rymer of the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit; and executives of leading Silicon Valley companies—such as eBay and Google—as well as media and nonprofit organizations in the Bay Area.

One of the great benefits of the program is that participants come to realize that they are often engaged in solving very similar problems (like corruption, for example) in different country contexts. This has helped to create a broader community of global activists and practitioners intent on sharing experiences to bring positive change to some of the world's most troubled regions. When the program finishes every summer, fellows stay in touch through our very lively alumni network email list, often sharing information on issues like



establishing a more effective legal environment for electronic commerce in one context, or establishing an electoral monitoring commission in another.

In the fellows' words, the summer program "generated theoretical understanding and allowed us to catch up on developments in the field (and doing that in this wonderful place made the experience simply amazing)." Others reported that it inspired, "confidence, in that the work we do sometimes has a draining or demoralizing effect, while meeting people from elsewhere who are engaged in similar work was strengthening and enriching." Another fellow reported that her participation in the program resulted in, "new ideas on how to change things in my own country," while setting up, "very effective networking."

"The benefit of the program for CDDRL faculty and researchers is incalculable," says CDDRL Director Michael McFaul. He adds, "the Summer Fellows Program allows us to interact with an incredibly broad group of actors engaged in the business of political and economic development. They benefit from exposure to the cutting edge research of our faculty, while we benefit from a virtuous cycle of feedback on whether these ideas actually do and should work in the field. It is an ideal marriage between democratic and development theory and practice." Further, through its alumni network, the program serves as a valuable addition to the center's base of research scholars and has created a network of leaders and civic activists that will allow CDDRL affiliates, including our undergraduate honors students and pre- and postdoctoral fellows, to continue their groundbreaking work in policy analysis across fields and geographic regions.

Consequently, the Stanford Summer Fellows Program is becoming a leading example of Stanford's International Initiative effort to promote enhanced knowledge, more efficient activism, and long-lasting international collaboration.

PROGRAM ON DEMOCRACY IN TAIWAN

The Program on Democracy in Taiwan is sponsored by the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL) at Stanford University in interaction with the Hoover Institution. Initiated in the fall of 2005, the program expands and institutionalizes activities that both the Institute for International Studies (now the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford) and the Hoover Institution had been sponsoring on democratic, political, and social change and the regional and international challenges confronting democracy in Taiwan (including the problem of cross-strait relations). The program is directed by Larry Diamond, senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, and coordinated by Eric Chen-hua Yu, a recent PhD in Political Science from Columbia University with expertise in public opinion and comparative democratic institutions (including American politics).

The program is comprised of three main activities. First, each year the program organizes at least one public symposium addressing some of the challenges confronting Taiwan's democratic development, in comparative perspective. The first symposium, with the title, "Democratization in Greater China: What Can We Learn from Taiwan's Past for China's Future?" took place in October 2006. This two-day symposium brought together approximately 40 leading scholars in the study of China and Taiwan, including political scientists, sociologists, economists, anthropologists, and historians to consider what Taiwan's democratic development may teach us about possible future democratic development in mainland China. It consisted of fifteen presentations, a round table discussion session, and a keynote speech delivered by James C. F. Huang, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of China (Taiwan). The conference papers are being prepared for publication and distribution, and a summary report on the conference is posted on the project website.

Another of the program's events is a symposium on "What New Democracies Can Do to Promote Democracy Elsewhere." This symposium examines what new democracies like Taiwan can do to promote democracy effectively in other countries. It brings together scholars and practitioners (including leaders in democracy foundations and NGOs) from Taiwan, Korea, post-communist Europe, and some of the more established democracy promotion foundations like the National Endowment for Democracy.

In the future, the program may examine such topics as the quality of democracy in Taiwan (in comparative perspective) and how democracy in Taiwan interacts with the challenge of cross-strait relations.

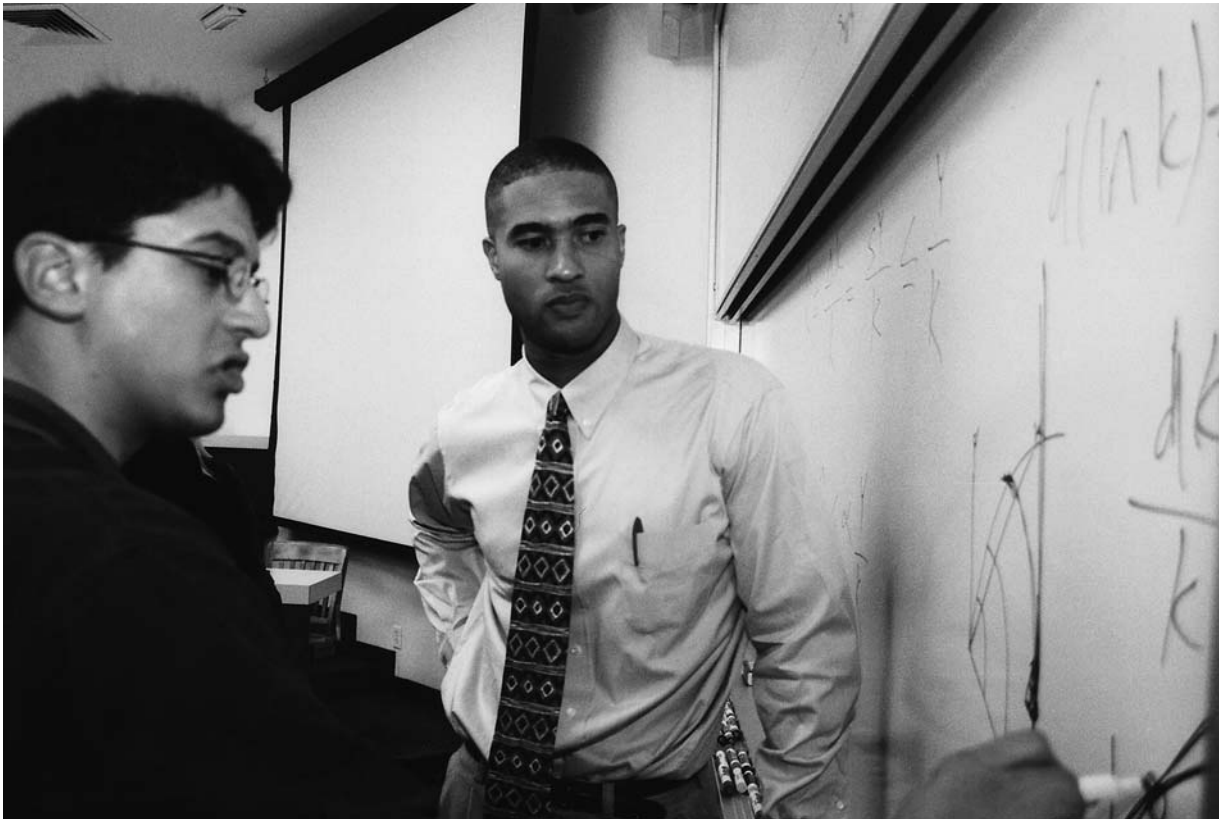
Second, CDDRL's Democracy in Taiwan Program also hosts occasional lectures and seminars by Taiwanese public officials, intellectuals, and scholars, and by U.S.-based scholars



of Taiwan and of cross-strait relations. Previous speakers have included Tang Fei, former premier of Republic of China (Taiwan); Yun-han Chu, president of the Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation and distinguished research fellow at Academia Sinica; Richard Bush, senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and former chairman of the board and managing director of the American Institute in Taiwan (1997–2002); John Fu-sheng Hsieh, professor of political science at University of South Carolina; and Doug Fuller, research fellow of The Stanford Project on Regions of Innovation and Entrepreneurship. These speakers have addressed a wide range of topics, including Taiwan’s democracy and cross-strait relations, Taiwan’s foreign policy and quest for international space, Taiwan’s constitutional reforms, Taiwan’s 2008 presidential election, and the cross-straits economic relationship.

The third component of the Taiwan program is hosting occasional visiting scholars who are researching and writing about various aspects of Taiwan’s democratic development. During 2006–2007, the program sponsored a full-time predoctoral fellow, David Yang, of Princeton University. Yang’s research focuses on the social basis of pro-democratic opposition movements and the political implications of various developmental strategies with Taiwan as one of the cases. Additionally, through the selection process of the Stanford in Government International Fellowship Program, the program is funding a Stanford undergraduate intern to work at the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy.

Moreover, the Program on Democracy in Taiwan meshes well with other existing and emerging CDDRL research projects. It has complemented our ongoing programming, while introducing our faculty and researchers to the wide range of developmental issues in the Taiwanese context.



FACULTY FOCUS

“The question is, will rich countries stand ready to provide real money when poor countries are able to show that they will put it to good use?”

Professor Peter Henry



Peter Blair Henry

Associate Professor,
Graduate School
of Business

Peter Blair Henry has had a life-long interest in economic development, so it is probably no great surprise to anyone that he became a founding member of the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law when the center was originally established.

Henry's formative years were spent in rural Jamaica, but when he moved to the United States at nine years old, the contrast in wealth between the country he had left and suburban Illinois, sparked an early and sustained interest in why some countries are rich and others are poor. This interest carried him through a Rhodes Scholarship at Oxford, a PhD in Economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and finally, to Stanford's Graduate School of Business in 1997. With John McMillan, Avner Greif, and Romain Wacziarg, he runs the Program on Economic Development at CDDRL.

Henry works on some of the most important and interesting problems in economic development. His current work focuses on whether or not debt relief is actually an effective instrument for reducing poverty in third world countries. Other noted economists have waged acrimonious debates on this issue. Jeff Sachs, for example, at Columbia (with U2 rockstar Bono backing him up) has argued consistently that debt relief eventually causes growth in poor countries. But Peter Henry questions whether this is really the most effective way to help poor countries.

Henry examined the goals of the Millennium Debt Relief Initiative to see whether relieving poor countries of crushing debt burdens does in fact stimulate economic growth. He first presented his findings at CDDRL and reports that the comments he got at the CDDRL seminar led his research in new directions. "The center environment pushed me to flesh out my own thoughts on this crucial development issue," Henry says. "The multidisciplinary perspective at CDDRL and the research group there, made me change my mind on a subject. I realized, taking into account the perspective of other scholars in fields related to but distinct from economics, that the issues were far more subtle than I'd originally thought."

In the finished paper, Henry argues that in fact, the assumption that bringing down debt burdens is unequivocally good for the poor is wrong. Debt relief works best in lower, middle-income countries, but not the poorest-of-the-poor countries. The reason, Henry finds, is that the slightly higher income group of developing economies have institutions that can help them make effective and efficient use of the extra capital they get from not having to service their debt. "This was the case in say, Brazil, Mexico, or Venezuela. But it isn't true for Burkino Faso or Mozambique, for example, where they don't have the institutions in place to make the economic progress we might expect from debt relief," Henry notes. "In the absence of basic institutions," he says, "debt relief is like forgiving debt owed by a firm that makes losses on every unit it sells—a temporary band-aid when radical surgery is required. When a country's principal problem is inadequate institutions, there is no reason to believe that debt relief will stimulate a rush of foreign capital, generating higher investment and growth."

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Peter Henry

A second key finding of Henry’s research on debt relief is to expose the often false assumption that debt relief will free other resources to be spent on infrastructure projects (like roads or schools) in poor countries. “Debt relief is fungible,” says Henry, “and the evidence is just not there to support the argument that the resources diverted from servicing the country’s debt, are then redirected to building infrastructure.”

Finally, Henry also finds that in practice, net inflows of capital do not necessarily increase as debt is erased in developing countries. Aid resources are not infinite so allowance has to be made for losses to banks in canceling the debts of poor countries. This comes out of aid accounts so, “debt relief comes in lieu of, not in addition to, development aid.” The real story with debt relief, Henry has come to realize, is that it is a big political win for rich countries, but it does very little for poor countries. “The amount being written off is about 1/70th of the amount of money rich countries have pledged to poor countries over the last 30 years, but the real problems of poor countries are not addressed,” he notes.

Henry’s policy alternative is to promote the construction of institutions in poor countries that can promote sustained economic growth. He makes the point, “The question is, will rich countries stand ready to provide real money when poor countries can show themselves ready to put it to good use?”

Henry sees CDDRL as an incubator for new ideas. “Interactions with colleagues at CDDRL made me think more deeply about which institutions matter in helping poor countries, and urged me to take into greater consideration the realities of the international political system that drive constraints on poor countries. Finally, my work benefits greatly from the fact that the center houses people with deep knowledge of the realities of a wide variety of particular in-country situations.”

Beyond the direct payoff to his own research, Henry’s favorite CDDRL program is the Summer Fellows on Democracy and Development. “I learn a lot from interacting with the fellows who are on the front line of the development battle,” he says. “I really enjoy talking to them—it feeds my policy work and my research.”



**Kathryn
Stoner-Weiss**

Senior Research
Scholar, FSI;
Associate Director
for Research,
CDDRL

Kathryn Stoner-Weiss joined CDDRL and Stanford in July 2004 after spending almost nine years on the faculty of the Woodrow Wilson School and Politics Department at Princeton University. Although a specialist on the political economy of contemporary Russia, one of the many things that brought her to CDDRL and Stanford was the opportunity to take on larger and more general issues of political and economic development beyond Russia. Aside from this, Stoner-Weiss reports, “the multidisciplinary environment at CDDRL is absolutely unique. Few other universities in the United States can support an academic community like this. The opportunity to interact with economists and lawyers at Stanford in addition to the outstanding political science faculty was irresistible to me.”

Stoner-Weiss, originally from Canada, came to the U.S. in 1989 to embark on a PhD in Government at Harvard University. But while she was in graduate school, the Soviet Union fell apart. “This hooked me on issues of political and economic change and democratic development,” she reports. “In the blink of an eye, the Soviet Union changed from colorless behemoth to the Wild West of democracy and development. I wanted to understand not only the facts on the ground within Russia itself, but also how countries democratize, how growth can be encouraged, and what policies work best under what conditions. I had a wonderful experience at Harvard working not just with the really excellent Soviet experts there, including Tim Colton, but with experts on democracy and development, like Robert Putnam who played a huge role in my intellectual development and really helped foster my enduring interest in policy questions.”

These questions guided Stoner-Weiss’s work at Princeton and now at Stanford and CDDRL. Her first book, *Local Heroes: The Political Economy of Russia’s Regional Governance* (Princeton, 1997), examined these issues at the local level in Russia. She loved doing fieldwork outside of Moscow and was one of the first foreigners able to interview Russian regional political actors in the early 1990’s. “They were always more than a little surprised to see me so far outside of Moscow, and sometimes I had to haul my own food with me as I traveled since it was hard to find in some regions, but the thrill of being in Russia in the early 1990s when so much hope radiated from provincial governors and legislatures far outweighed the difficulties of travel at that time.”

Unfortunately, Russian democracy crashed on the rocky shoals of reality. Stoner-Weiss’s first book hinted at this possibility given the clearly collusive relationships she observed between business and government in the early 1990’s, and the weak institutionalization of Russian political parties and electoral mechanisms.

It was these weaknesses, and the apparent threats to democratic consolidation that were so apparent by the late 1990s that led Stoner-Weiss to a new research project on the Russian central state’s ability to actually implement policy in Russia’s 89 regions. This culminated in her new book *Resisting the State: Reform and Retrenchment in Post-Soviet Russia* (Cambridge, 2006).

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Kathryn Stoner-Weiss

She arrived at CDDRL with an interest in how developing countries actually govern—that is, complete the concrete tasks of the state—picking up garbage, distributing welfare benefits, providing potable water—and she wanted to see where the central Russian state functioned relatively effectively (in that it provided public goods and services) and where it broke down. “I thought the best way to do this was to follow policy from Moscow out to the Russian periphery.” What Stoner-Weiss found was that regional governors, in collusion with regional business interests, could effectively blunt the effects of federal policies, and this could have a relatively disastrous effect on economic development policy in Russia, not to mention democracy.

In interviewing about 800 regional policymakers for the book (including governors, deputy governors, heads of regional legislatures, and bureaucrats more deeply embedded in the policy implementation apparatus of regional administrations), Stoner-Weiss found that because of Russia’s weak rule of law regime and poor administrative infrastructure, there was little the central state could do to ensure implementation of, for example, bankruptcy laws. As a result, she found many unproductive companies stayed in business and creditors could be duped out of what they were owed—often the main creditor was the central government back in Moscow. “They could write good policy back in Moscow, sometimes, but it didn’t matter a whit to the facts on the ground in say, Irkutsk,” she says.

Aside from doing her own research and writing at CDDRL, Stoner-Weiss has enjoyed building up the center’s programming over the last few years. Among her favorite programs are the Summer Fellows Program, the Working Papers Series, and the center’s new Undergraduate Honors Program, including CDDRL’s undergraduate course, Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law.

Says Stoner-Weiss of her experience at CDDRL, “One of the truly great things about Stanford, our center, and the Freeman Spogli Institute in particular, is the capacity to innovate. Pretty much any time I have suggested a new idea, the faculty and leadership here are open to exploring it and supporting it. I never cease to be amazed by the ingenuity and generosity of this community. It’s a privilege to be here.”



PROGRAM OVERVIEWS

“Why are some oil states “cursed” by bad governance while others are not?”

Tom Heller

PROGRAM ON THE RULE OF LAW

Just over a year ago, Professor Tom Heller, co-director of CDDRL's Rule of Law Program, had just launched a new project on oil dependent producer states. The project has now become one of the mainstays of the CDDRL Rule of Law Program.

The project assesses the performance of oil dependent producer states in maximizing economic and social development through the generation and utilization of petroleum revenues. With oil prices moving from one record level to the next, the question as to whether and how petro-states manage to turn their wealth in black gold into sustainable development has moved back to the center of debates in academic and policy circles. While a significant body of literature shows that oil states tend to grow slower and to suffer from weaker political institutions than non-oil states, few studies have so far analyzed and explained the marked differences we can observe among oil states.

Christine Scheiber, a recent DPhil from the London School of Economics came to CDDRL in October 2005 as a postdoctoral fellow, but has stayed on at the center to serve as project manager. Heller and Scheiber devoted the first quarter of the academic year of 2006 to developing the research strategy and the syllabus of a new interdisciplinary research seminar taught at Stanford Law School on oil and development. Seminar participants, including law, economics, and political science graduate students, wrote initial country case studies based on the research template that they had helped to refine in the first half of the term.

Encouraged by the success of this seminar, Heller and Scheiber selected four of the seminar participants to assist them with the in-depth analysis of eight oil exporting states covering the Caspian (Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan), Northern Africa (Algeria and Libya), Western Africa (Angola and Nigeria), and Latin America (Venezuela and Mexico). The research team embarked on a first round of field trips during the summer and unearthed a wealth of additional information. They have written up their initial findings and these drafts will be presented and discussed at a two-day conference hosted by CDDRL. Participants in this conference will be drawn from academia, the oil industry, NGOs, and foreign governments. The central goal of this conference is to obtain critical feedback on the country case studies conducted by the team and to advance the debate on the proper management of oil revenues. Ultimately, the findings of this research project will be presented in a book on the topic.

PROGRAM ON DEMOCRACY

The Program on Democracy is one of the four original research programs at CDDRL. Led by Professor Larry Diamond, its key participants include CDDRL Director Michael McFaul, Associate Director for Research and Senior Research Scholar Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, and Professors Terry Karl, Alberto Diaz-Cayeros, Beatriz Magaloni, Gail Lapidus, and Jeremy Weinstein. Its focus is on the comparative dynamics of democratic functioning and change in the contemporary world, with a particular focus on the countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the post-communist world that have experienced transitions from authoritarian rule, and with a new interest in the prospects for democratic change in the Middle East.

As in past years, the Program on Democracy has continued work at a remarkable pace at the intersection of policy and research. One of the program's recent events included a policy conference on the political, security, and economic situation in Iraq. Organized by Larry Diamond, the conference brought together 25 leading scholars and policymakers. The purpose of the conference was to consider what could be done to stabilize Iraq at a crucial moment, after three elections and with the country in the midst of putting together a viable coalition.

Participants included Iraqis, Americans, and British diplomats, analysts, and policymakers. Members of the military who served in Iraq also joined the conference. The group was asked to generate candid analysis and constructive policy recommendations as opposed to academic papers on Iraq. Recommendations fell into five broad areas: quelling ethno-sectarian violence, providing additional security, resurrecting the Iraqi oil industry, economic revival and reconstruction, and the role of regional powers in stabilizing Iraq.

Although the consensus was that there are no "magic bullets" that could peacefully end U.S. and British involvement in Iraq and the growing civil war there, there was some agreement among participants on what needs to be done to revive Iraq politically and economically in particular. Key ideas that the group produced made it into the highly influential Baker-Hamilton Iraq Study Group to which CDDRL's Larry Diamond served as a consultant in 2006.

A second project initiated in 2006 under the auspices of the Program on Democracy is tentatively named Waves and Troughs of Post-Communist Reform. The project is led jointly by Michael McFaul and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss. The idea is to look over a fifteen plus year span at the ups and downs of post-communist democratic development since 1989. Why have some countries transited relatively smoothly to consolidated democracy (like Poland, for example), while others, like Belarus, languish in authoritarianism? Why did some countries in the region experience a second wave of democratic reform beginning in Serbia in 2000,



Georgia in 2003, and Ukraine in 2004, while others, like Russia, suffered notable slips back from democracy toward autocracy by 2005?

McFaul and Stoner-Weiss assembled a group of scholars to compare country experiences in the former communist world, but more specifically to compare the interplay of two factors that have been downplayed so far in the political science work done on democratic transitions: the power of mass mobilization and the influence of international actors on democratic transitions.

The project hopes to build greater understanding about what makes democratic transitions stick and why some democracies fail to consolidate, by examining in greater detail these previously overlooked variables in comparison to others, such as the level of economic development, for example. In this way, the project should help contribute to a more general and complete understanding of democratic transition worldwide.

A third major project in the Democracy Program is led by CDDRL Fellows Alberto Diaz-Cayeros and Beatriz Magaloni. They initiated an inquiry into the consequences of clientelism for poverty and democracy, with a meeting held at the Bellagio Conference Center in Italy and a follow-up meeting held at Stanford, bringing together a network of scholars studying the politics of public spending. The emphasis of the meeting was on exploring the challenges faced by developing democracies when governments seek to improve the provision of local public goods, while at the same time facing the electoral imperatives of party competition. Clientelism, in which citizens exchange their votes for government favors, often undermines those efforts. The meeting was attended by political scientists who are shaping the new research agenda on clientelism in the U.S., economists at the forefront of the development of political economy models of elections, scholars from Latin America, and policy experts in development from the World Bank and other international development institutions. The cumulative efforts of these meetings are producing work which sheds light on two urgent issues for development policy: to explain what political conditions facilitate the provision of public goods and services that benefit the poor; and to suggest how democracy can be strengthened to provide the incentives for politicians to abandon clientelistic practices and focus public spending on improving citizen well-being.

Finally, the Democracy Program has played host to notable speakers over the past year, including Georgian Prime Minister Zurab Noghaideli, Iranian political opposition activist Akhbar Ganji, and Andrei Illarionov, former chief economic advisor to President Vladimir Putin of Russia. Two one-day workshops were held on Iran (in cooperation with The Pluralism Fund) and on Russia, in honor of Ganji and Illarionov respectively.

PROGRAM ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

One of the ongoing questions motivating economic research at CDDRL includes why some countries appear to be trapped in a seemingly endless cycle of poverty. As CDDRL's development group (led by Professor John McMillan) notes in a recent paper, "The dismal numbers—over a billion people living on less than \$1 a day, do not lose, through familiarity, the capacity to shock." CDDRL researchers examine the causes and possible solutions to the poverty trap in a variety of ways—including evaluating the influence of political and legal institutions, and the efficacy of developmental assistance from the U.S. and Europe.

Health, however, is another major factor in eradicating poverty. Development requires that people be able to plan for the future—if they see no future because life expectancy levels are shockingly low, there is no growth. In Sierra Leone, for example, the world's poorest country, a fifteen year old's probability of dying before age sixty is 57 percent. (In the United States, it is 20 percent.) Mortality, therefore, should have a chilling effect on economic development in that it produces short-sighted and even risky behavior, decreasing investment in labor, education, and human capital.

Over the past two years, CDDRL faculty associate Romain Wacziarg, an economist at Stanford's Graduate School of Business, and CDDRL Predoctoral Fellow Peter Lorentzen have examined the possible links between health, demography, and economic development. As countries begin to develop economically and education rates increase, generally, fertility and disease rates have declined. Yet, this pattern does not always hold in many developing countries where children are not only potential laborers, but are also expected to provide "insurance" for old age. Wacziarg and Lorentzen, with scholars they have invited to CDDRL, have attempted to reconcile the conclusions of cross-country studies with those of micro-level within-country research. Some work in their project has indicated that the dramatic rise in adult mortality due to AIDS may actually be reversing the demographic transition in Africa, promoting higher fertility and population growth despite the negative consequences this could have on economic growth. Many of these papers have since been published as CDDRL Working Papers, and others are currently in production for publication.

From this first conference on demography and development, CDDRL researchers have become increasingly involved in examining the economic and political effects of poor health in the developing world. In 2006, we began work with physicians and economists at the Freeman Spogli Institute's Center on Health Policy (CHP/PCOR) to provide new health care solutions to developing countries. In particular, CDDRL researchers are interested in helping to find ways in which transitional governments can provide better access to medicines to treat diseases like malaria and HIV/AIDS.



This is an ideal project for doctors, economists, and political scientists to work together. Often in developing countries, diseases like AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria may be more or less treatable, but because of state incompetence (weakness or even absence of the state), treatments are ineffective or are not provided. This drives up mortality rates, furthering the poverty trap that affects so much of sub-Saharan Africa, parts of the former Soviet Union, and Asia. Our project on Health and Governance has brought together economists and political scientists from CDDRL with clinicians from CHP/PCOR to examine ways in which infectious diseases can be better treated in poor countries. We wish to evaluate the relative effectiveness of current programs to treat malaria in sub-Saharan Africa, AIDS in Russia, and avian flu in China. Is it technical treatments, state incompetence, or some combination of these factors that best explains the spread of infectious disease in these diverse contexts? By looking at a group of case studies, we hope to uncover some general lessons on how best to combat disease cycles in the developing world.

PROGRAM ON INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES ON DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT

In 2006, CDDRL initiated a new research program aimed at evaluating the efficacy of U.S. and European efforts to promote democracy abroad. The administration of George W. Bush has made democracy promotion a key policy goal, but Bush is merely the most recent in a long line of American presidents who have found themselves involved in the uncertain business of promoting democracy. More recently, other world leaders, especially in Europe, have made democracy promotion a foreign policy objective. And yet, despite the enduring and growing interest in the task of bringing about democratic change and democratic development in poorly governed countries, the tools of democracy promotion are not well understood. Considering the amount of donor money, time, and effort put into the cause, there is a striking dearth of information regarding what works under what circumstances, and what tends to be less successful.

CDDRL's new program aims to fill this intellectual void. We seek to provide a comprehensive evaluation of the efficacy of available tools of democracy promotion in an effort to learn what has worked, what has not, and under what conditions. Led by CDDRL Director Michael McFaul, Associate Director Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, and CDDRL Law Fellow Amichai Magen, this new project will produce policy recommendations of direct and immediate consequence to those now in the business of democracy promotion.

Among the first programmatic activities of this new program was a meeting in Madrid in June 2006. It brought together leading experts from different disciplines (politics, law, economics, and sociology) and from both sides of the Atlantic to begin tackling the difficult theoretical and methodological issues involved in evaluating international democracy promotion. Beyond this initial meeting, CDDRL researchers are leading an international network in a two-phase, four-year project to assess the impact of international democracy promotion efforts around the world in the post World War II era. The first phase of the project is funded by the Smith Richardson Foundation. Although anchored at CDDRL, the project includes partner institutions and individual scholars from around the developing and developed world. Our objective is to produce a comprehensive evaluation of democracy promotion strategies that will be highly relevant both to policymakers and academic communities in donor and recipient countries. The project includes a breadth of macro (country) level and micro level (specific strategies of intervention) studies that make this project unique in its comparative insights into democracy promotion.

The policy implications and applications of this project are many. The efficacy of democracy promotion efforts is one of the most important policy issues of our time—particularly in



the wake of 9/11. If it is true that democracies do not fight other democracies, if economic growth is positively correlated with democratic regimes, if fewer terrorists are generated by democratic regimes, and if more equitable income distribution and general poverty reduction is better in democracies than autocracies, then the positive benefits of democratic development around the world are substantial.

Yet we do not possess sufficient knowledge of the efficacy of the tools of democracy promotion. Too often skilled academic and policy actors and analysts work in isolation from one another. Our project seeks to unite these two communities in furthering the cause of democracy in the developing world. The project's central policy objective is to provide concrete ways in which democracy promotion can be more successful in practice. The case studies which we assemble of successful and failed democracy promotion efforts around the world and our experiments with various tools of democracy promotion will help produce more effective policy tools and more resilient new democracies worldwide.

The program is also an excellent example of the fulfillment of two aspects of CDDRL's mission—to marry cutting edge research with concrete policy problems while leveraging the advantages of also working across the disciplines of economics, political science, and law.



TRAINING THE NEXT GENERATION

“The mentorship, community, and support that I have found within CDDRL have allowed me to explore my academic interests in a more profound way than I could ever have imagined doing at the undergraduate level!”

Milessa Muchmore



**Milessa
Muchmore**
Honors Program

Milessa Muchmore, an undergraduate majoring in International Relations and minoring in Spanish, is a member of the first cohort of CDDRL's new senior honors thesis program. While studying abroad in Chile, Milessa was surprised at the ongoing support and admiration for the former military regime that she encountered. "Because Chile is widely considered to be a model Latin American democracy, the lingering sympathy for the former authoritarian regime that I experienced seemed inconsistent with what I learned were the preconditions of democratic consolidation." After taking Larry Diamond's course "Comparative Democratic Development," Milessa was inspired to convert her initial surprise into a relevant thesis topic, within the larger framework of democratic development.

In spring quarter of her junior year, Milessa joined CDDRL's pre-field honors seminar led by Kathryn Stoner-Weiss and Larry Diamond. With mentorship from CDDRL faculty, Milessa refined her research question and design, and she returned to Chile on a research grant to conduct interviews last summer. The goal of her thesis project is to study how supporters of Chile's former authoritarian regime view democracy and to determine in what ways the attitudes and values of the pro-military government sector impact the health of Chile's democracy. While in Chile, Milessa spoke with ex-ministers in Pinochet's government, "Chicago boys," representatives of the political right, ordinary supporters, military generals, journalists, academics, youth groups, and foundations. Milessa hopes to explain how supporters of Pinochet and the military government reconcile their continued affinity for the former authoritarian regime with their views on democracy. "Right-wing sympathy in Chile is more multidimensional than I thought, and I think the big challenge of my senior honors thesis will be representing the phenomenon in a sufficiently complex way," says Milessa of her work ahead.

In addition to taking advantage of the new honors program, Milessa also enrolled in CDDRL's undergraduate lecture course "Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law." She has also helped around the center with advertising for the lunchtime seminar series and is helping compile the evaluations of the Summer Fellows Program. "I am so thankful that CDDRL has increased opportunities for undergraduates to become involved with the center's mission," she says, "The mentorship, community, and support that I have found within CDDRL have allowed me to explore my academic interests in a more profound way than I could have ever imagined doing at the undergraduate level."



Omar Shakir
Honors Program

Omar Shakir, a senior in International Relations, also pursuing minors in Middle Eastern Literatures, Languages, and Cultures, and American Studies, was one of the first students to take part in the CDDRL Honors Program. His honors thesis addresses the question of whether horizontal institutions of democratic accountability can be the road away from authoritarianism in the Arab World. His thesis uses the case study of the struggle to establish an independent judiciary and robust electoral monitoring in contemporary Egypt.

Omar's research interest in governance in the Middle East grew out of his close interactions with Professor Larry Diamond, coordinator of CDDRL's Democracy Program. After enrolling in "Comparative Democratic Development," Omar worked as a research assistant for Diamond and, under his tutelage, conducted two summers of field research in Cairo. During Omar's visit there, he interviewed individuals from across the political system, from leaders in the Muslim Brotherhood to high-ranking members of the ruling party to prominent journalists, and attended many opposition demonstrations. Omar speaks highly of his relationship with Diamond. "In spite of a demanding schedule, Professor Diamond has always put me at the top of his agenda and provided me with the opportunities and resources to explore and develop my passions," he reports.

As part of CDDRL's inaugural class of honors students, Omar took part in the CDDRL Honors Colloquium in the spring of 2006 and Honors College before the start of the 2006–2007 academic year. "These experiences really refined my research and analytic skills and made me for the first time seriously think about a career in academia," he says. Omar's work with the center, including enrolling in the undergraduate course "Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law," has piqued his curiosity in the interaction between these critical factors and in the sequencing of reform in developing countries. "CDDRL's work is so central to political science and to the burning questions out there in the world today," he explains, "that I simply cannot conceive of a respectable university not having a parallel institution." Omar also studied abroad at Oxford, interned with the National Endowment for Democracy in Washington, D.C., and has been actively involved with several campus student organizations related to the Middle East.



David Patel
CDDRL
Predoctoral
Scholar

Why has a relatively cohesive national Shiite political identity developed in post-invasion Iraq while Sunni Arabs remain fractured? Why did Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani and Moqtada al-Sadr unexpectedly emerge as Iraq's most important political entrepreneurs instead of richly-endowed elites, both religious and secular? In general, why has religious identification become increasingly important for Iraqi Arabs, rather than class, regional, or other identities? These are questions at the center of U.S. policy debates on Iraq, and also the focus of the work of CDDRL Predoctoral Scholar David Patel.

The rise of sectarianism in post-invasion Iraq is often attributed to U.S. and Coalitional Provisional Authority policy decisions, the release of primordial or historical grievances, or Iraqi culture. In contrast, Patel argues that sectarianism emerged as an unintended consequence of Iraqis' reliance on Friday mosque messages for information dissemination and coordination.

Patel's research indicates that Iraqi Arabs have needed to coordinate with each other to collectively act post-invasion, both locally and nationally, which requires a particular kind of shared information—common knowledge. Iraqis need to form shared expectations about how other Iraqis will behave in a wide range of previously unforeseen circumstances. Patel argues Muslim religious leaders control the most natural way for Iraqi Arabs to get this sort of information; Friday mosque sermons create common knowledge within geographically-defined congregations.

During eight months of field research in Iraq's 'Red Zone' from September 2003 until April 2004, Patel collected data to systematically test observable implications of this information theory, including numerous interviews, the emergence of local councils, mosque messages, and spatial data. Before escalating violence forced Patel to suspend research operations and flee Iraq, he collected significant ethnographic data that show political processes playing out in a manner consistent with his theory.

While Patel's research focuses on Islam and mobilization in post-Baathist Iraq, it has broad implications for the study of political culture and identity formation. Instead of analyzing Islam as shared values or ideology, his larger dissertation combines game theory and ethnography to examine how Islamic institutions affect social order by helping self-interested individuals capture gains from cooperation. In a wide range of strategic situations, Patel finds that Islamic institutions (and the symbols they promote) can provide individuals with common knowledge that facilitates powerful political coordination. The influence of Islam, then, is not due solely to the message of Islam; it is also due to the ability of Islam to deliver messages that create common knowledge.

Patel's path-breaking research into Iraqi politics has made him popular in policy circles over the last year in particular. It also landed him a plumb job teaching the politics of the Middle East as an assistant professor of government at Cornell University.



Eleonora Pasotti
CDDRL
Postdoctoral
Fellow

Political scientists are accustomed to treating advanced democracies as systems in which institutionalized procedures endow individuals with impersonal power—the authority of office. During the last twenty years, and even more acutely in the last decade, a shift has occurred in several advanced democracies from impersonal to personal power, where political platforms become inseparably identified with specific individuals. While a growing body of research exists about this dynamic on the national level, largely stemming from the analysis of increased executive power and shifts towards the presidentialization of politics, lower levels of government have been neglected. Yet, it is here that personal power exercises the most immediate influence.

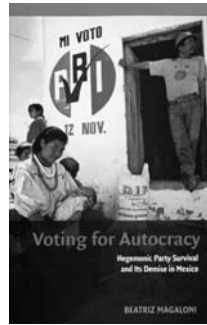
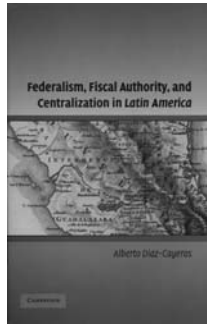
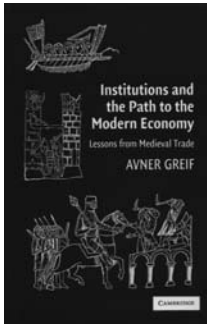
Eleonora Pasotti joined CDDRL as a postdoctoral fellow to examine this understudied dimension of personal power from the point of view closest to voters, in terms of both representation and policy making. “CDDRL is the ideal environment to develop this project,” she says, “because several scholars at the center are engaged with questions of democracy, development, and the rule of law precisely at the local level.”

While at the center, she is completing a manuscript titled *From Exchange to Persuasion: Post-Machine Politics in Naples, Bogotá and Chicago*, in which she explores how these three very different cities transitioned from patronage politics to public opinion mobilization. She examines the institutional features that explain the transitions and the behavior of the first post-machine mayors, who displayed remarkably similar patterns of government. Although clientelism and public opinion politics are considered as antithetical forms of electoral interaction, Eleonora’s research indicates that the shift from clientelism to public opinion politics does not imply a straight substitution of personal for impersonal power. Instead, in post-machine cities, the locus of personal power shifted from a street-level network of patrons to populist leaders broadcasting their message to a large audience, controlling media attention, and deploying political parties as a personal electoral apparatus, often with highly innovative emotional appeals to mobilize support for their platforms.

Since 2003, Pasotti has been an assistant professor at the University of California, Santa Cruz. She completed a PhD in Political Science at Columbia University under the direction of Charles Tilly, Jon Elster, and Ira Katznelson. She also holds an MSc in the Philosophy of the Social Sciences from the London School of Economics and Political Science.



SELECT CDDRL PUBLICATIONS



Latest Books by CDDRL Authors

Avner Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons from Medieval Trade*

It is widely believed that current disparities in economic, political, and social outcomes reflect distinct institutions. Institutions are invoked to explain why some countries are rich and others poor, some democratic and others dictatorial. But arguments of this sort gloss over the question of what institutions are, how they come about, and why they persist. This book seeks to overcome these problems, which have exercised economists, sociologists, political scientists, and a host of other researchers who use the social sciences to study history, law, and business administration. (Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Alberto Diaz-Cayeros, *Federalism, Fiscal Authority and Centralization in Latin America*

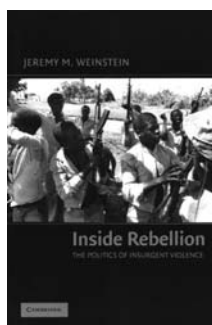
This book explores the politics of fiscal authority, focusing on the centralization of taxation in Latin America during the twentieth century. The book studies this issue in great detail for the case of Mexico. The political (and fiscal) fragmentation associated with civil war at the beginning of the century was eventually transformed into a highly centralized regime. The analysis shows that fiscal centralization can best be studied as the consequence of a bargain struck between self-interested regional and national politicians. Fiscal centralization was more extreme in Mexico than in most other places in the world, but the challenges and problems tackled by Mexican politicians were not unique. The book thus analyzes fiscal centralization and the origins of intergovernmental financial transfers in the other Latin American federal regimes, Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela. The analysis sheds light on the factors that explain the consolidation of tax authority in developing countries. (Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics, 2006)

Beatriz Magaloni, *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and its Demise in Mexico*

This book provides a theory of the logic of survival of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), one of the most resilient autocratic regimes in the twentieth century. An autocratic regime hid behind the facade of elections that were held with clocklike precision. Although their outcome was totally predictable, elections were not hollow rituals. The PRI made millions of ordinary citizens vest their interests in the survival of the autocratic regime. Voters could not simply throw the 'rascals out of office' because their choices were constrained by a series of strategic dilemmas that compelled them to support the autocrats. The book also explores the factors that led to the demise of the PRI. The theory sheds light on the logic of 'electoral autocracies,' among the most common type of autocracy and is the only systematic treatment in the literature today dealing with this form of autocracy. (Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics, 2006)

Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, *Resisting the State: Reform and Retrenchment in Post-Soviet Russia*

Why do new, democratizing states often find it so difficult to actually govern? Why do they so often fail to provide their beleaguered populations with better access to public goods and services? Using original and unusual data, this book uses post-communist Russia as a case in examining what the author calls this broader 'weak state syndrome' in many developing countries. Through interviews with over 800 Russian bureaucrats in 72 of Russia's 89 provinces, and a highly original database on patterns of regional government non-compliance to federal law and policy, the book demonstrates that resistance to Russian central authority is not so much ethnically based (as others have argued) as much as generated by the will of powerful and wealthy regional political and economic actors seeking to protect assets they had acquired through Russia's troubled transition out of communism. (Cambridge University Press, 2006)



Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*

Some rebel groups abuse noncombatant populations, while others exhibit restraint. Insurgent leaders in some countries transform local structures of government, while others simply extract resources for their own benefit. In some contexts, groups kill their victims selectively, while in other environments violence appears indiscriminate, even random. This book presents a theory that accounts for the different strategies pursued by rebel groups in civil war, explaining why patterns of insurgent violence vary so much across conflicts. It does so by examining the membership, structure, and behavior of four insurgent movements in Uganda, Mozambique, and Peru. Drawing on interviews with nearly 200 combatants and civilians who experienced violence firsthand, it shows that rebels' strategies depend in important ways on how difficult it is to launch a rebellion. The book thus demonstrates how characteristics of the environment in which rebellions emerge constrain rebel organization and shape the patterns of violence that civilians experience. (Cambridge Series in Comparative Politics, 2007)

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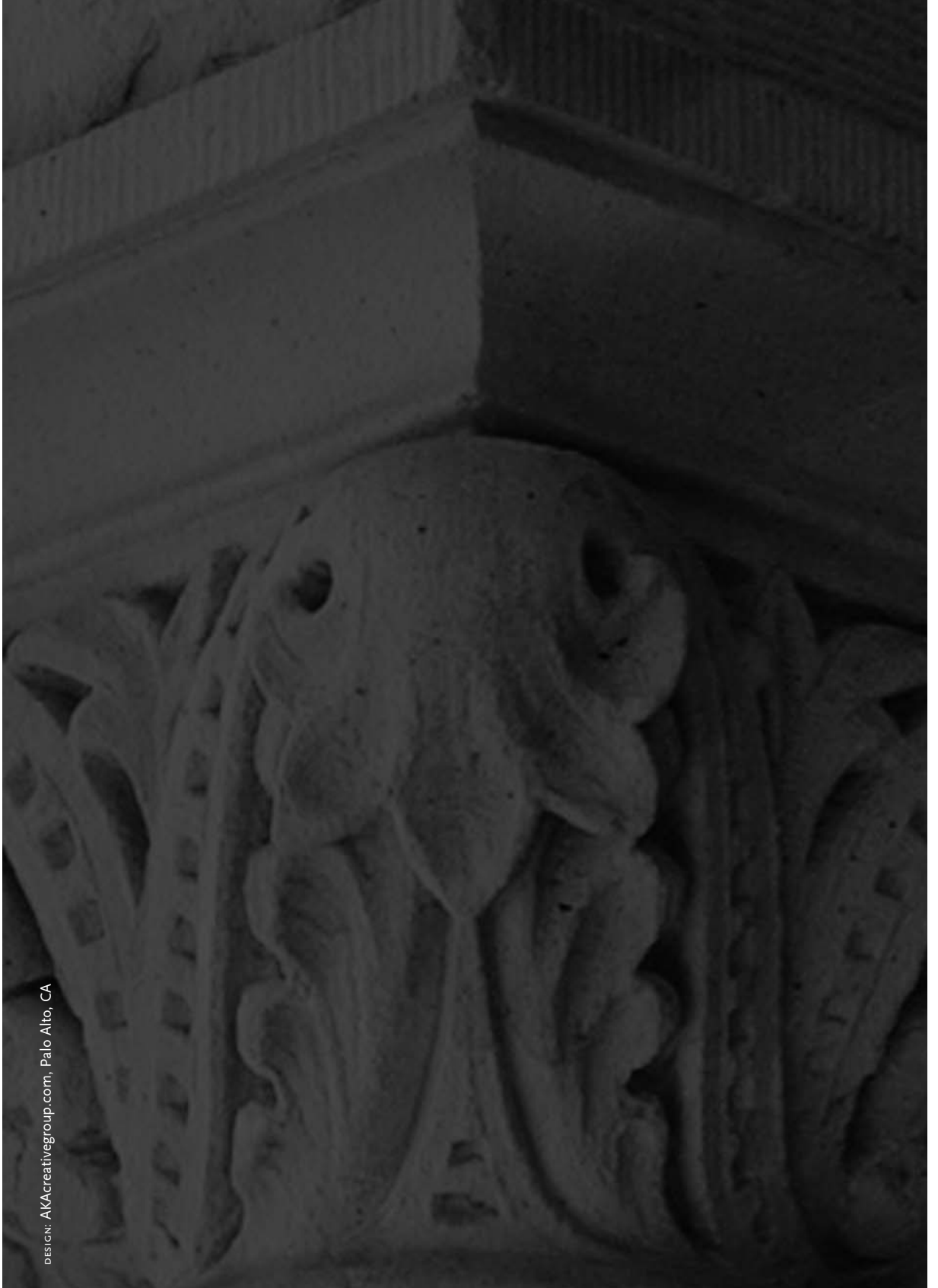
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