

# Political Science at UCSB

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA BARBARA

SPRING 2005

## Outside Speakers Enrich Intellectual Life of the Department

As part of its goal to keep graduate students abreast of current trends and research in political science, the department supplements its own class offerings by inviting outside speakers to present their research in colloquia and seminars, and also by supporting selected campus guest speakers. This past year we have been able to draw on a variety of resources for our speaker program, and as a result have offered an exceptional slate of presentations.

### Regents' Lecturer Provides Insight into Latin American Democracies

This year, the Political Science Department hosted the Regents' Lecturer, Dr. Carlos Mateo Balmelli, Senator and former President of the Paraguayan Congress. Dr. Mateo Balmelli

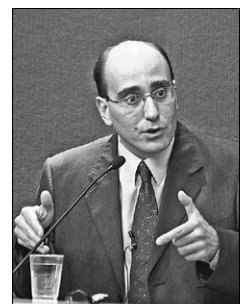
### From the Chair *Peter E. Digeser*

The vitality of a university can, in part, be judged by the public, intellectual life created by its own faculty as well as visiting scholars, researchers and public officials. In this issue of the Department Newsletter, we highlight a few of the speakers that have enriched that public sphere. These kinds of events not only enhance the intellectual life of the community and the department, but they are also an important component of graduate education. This past year, our own faculty took a whack at the 2004 Presidential elections, we sponsored a Regent's Lecturer, and we hosted a talk by the Norwegian Ambassador to the United States—a UCSB Political Science alum. These speakers were in addition to scholars such as Kenneth Waltz, Robert Powell, Joanne Gowa, Jack Citrin, Ron King, Melvin Hinich, and others who gave papers, led seminars, or made public presentations during the course of the year. The department remains committed to offering a strong program of outside speakers and scholars, but (to put on my "development" hat) the downside of this commitment is finding the money for their expenses in these budget-conscious times (along these lines, you may also notice that our Newsletter has been scaled down a bit).

Universities are unique places in which the scientists, the historians, the poets, and the philosophers can engage in what Michael Oakshott called the conversation of mankind. Its public life is an all-season Chautauqua and, at its best, it represents the heart of a civilization that values the free exchange of ideas, theories, and perspectives. Like all ideals, this one does not come easily or without dedication and effort. But we continue to try.

was a member of the constitutional assembly that established a new government in Paraguay after the overthrow of the dictatorship of Alfredo Stroessner. He has since held several offices in the government and opposition Liberal Party. During his two-week visit to campus, Dr. Mateo Balmelli lectured in political science, history, and sociology classes, and also met with students interested in Latin American affairs and democratization. The highlight of his visit was his public lecture, "The Challenges of Democracy in Latin America," which was filmed for national cable broadcast on UCTV.

In his lecture, Dr. Mateo Balmelli noted that there is a general lack of public trust in the democratic governments of Latin America, due in part to the failures of past administrations to meet the people's needs and in part to weak political parties. In his analysis, political parties in Latin America currently lack a strong core of political elites who should be fully engaged in the political process and supportive of institutional development; instead, party leaders are more concerned about getting elected than establishing a government that works. In addition, the tendency of Latin American congresses and parties to debate issues and formulate policies based on "utopia, not common sense," has widened the credibility gap between the government and the constituency. As an example, he noted: "Globalization: It does not matter if I am for it or against it. Globalization is *reality*," and governments should be formulating policies to deal with it, rather than debating it. As both politician and political scientist (he holds a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Mainz, Germany), Dr. Mateo Balmelli is committed to improving the quality of politics in Latin America, which he sees as a necessary means to make democracy work. "We must change in order to avoid corruption and losing our initiative and imagination."



DR. CARLOS MATEO BALMELLI

DANNY LEWIS / DAILY NEWS

### Norwegian Ambassador Discusses World Challenges

A trip to the west coast and an interest in visiting the campus where he and his wife Ellen Sophie were graduate students in 1972–73 (he in political science, she in sociology) enabled us to host a lecture by His Excellency Knut Vollebaek, Norway's Ambassador to the United States. In his distinguished career, Ambassador Vollebaek has served in the Norwegian embassies in India, Spain, Zimbabwe, and Central America. He was Norway's Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1997–2000, and as head of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in 1999, he played a key negotiating role during the war in Kosovo. He was appointed as Norway's Ambassador to the United States in 2001.



In his lecture, “World Challenges: Is There a Way Out?” the Ambassador commented that at the time he was a UCSB student, major world problems were the Viet Nam War, the Cold War with its implicit threat of nuclear war, communist repression in Eastern Europe, and apartheid in South Africa. But in less than twenty years, the Viet Nam War was over, communism was no longer a widespread system of government, and the apartheid regime was gone. Nevertheless, in spite of high hopes, “Peace was not at hand. Peace is rarely at hand” — since the end of the Cold War, there have been more than 125 wars world wide. In addition, we have seen the devastating consequences of regional poverty and economic instability, creating a breeding ground for recruitment of individuals into terrorist organizations; widespread pollution and environmental degradation; and the global spread of diseases such as HIV/AIDS.



L-R: DEAN MELVIN OLIVER, MRS. VOLLEBAEK, MICHAEL GORDON, AMBASSADOR VOLLEBAEK, CHANCELLOR YANG, MRS. YANG, PETER DIGESER

Mr. Vollebaek offered some solutions to today’s world challenges, drawing on Norwegian examples. First, Norway’s foreign policy includes strong support for both the UN and NATO, because “An orderly world requires conventions and agreements to which we all adhere.” Second, Norway is a major contributor to developing countries as a means of peace-building. “Development assistance is much more than charity or altruism, it is ‘realpolitik.’ We need a stable world to secure our own stability and prosperity.” Third, Norway is active in peace and reconciliation processes around the world. “Since most of the countries we are involved in go through a difficult time politically, we cannot discard their political situation.” Norway’s peace and development programs include strong public-private partnerships with NGOs, which enable Norway to expand its influence far beyond what its size would indicate. Thus the Ambassador sees the solutions to today’s world challenges coming from a network of governmental and private cooperation on a global scale, and recognizing that peace between nations is “dependent on *multilateral* solutions in the end.”

## International Relations Specialists

Thanks in part to a donation from an alumnus to the department’s international relations program, we were able to present the work of three noted political scientists in that subfield this year. **Kenneth Waltz**, Senior Research Scholar at the Saltzman Institute of World Peace Studies, Columbia University and Emeritus Ford Professor, UC Berkeley, is regarded by many to



KENNETH WALTZ

be the Dean of international relations theory. Following a campus event this winter in which he resumed his on-going debate with Professor Scott Sagan of Stanford on the spread of nuclear weapons, we arranged for Professor Waltz to extend his stay for a department colloquium.

In a presentation that filled the Lane Room to capacity, Waltz discussed the current state of IR theory, and whether neo-realism remains a useful theory for understanding international relations in the post-9/11 world. He suggested that while neo-realism, by design, cannot explain particular foreign policy outcomes, it remains the most useful theory for understanding broad trends in international politics. Waltz noted that while President Bush has implemented a foreign policy that unnecessarily alienated many allies and neutrals, the United States’ dominant position would eventually elicit the same sort of response, even with a different Commander-in-Chief in office. Neo-realists expect that individual states or coalitions of states will form to balance U.S. power.

That same alumni donation also permitted us to invite **Robert Powell**, Professor of Political Science at UC Berkeley, for a colloquium. Professor Powell has written extensively on international relations, and he has developed a number of game theoretic models that address some of the central puzzles in the field. In his presentation, “War as a Commitment Problem,” he argued that in most instances, the bargaining breakdown that leads to war is best analyzed by looking at war as a commitment problem. In his opinion, “A common mechanism is at work in preventive war, preemptive attacks, and conflicts over issues that affect future bargaining power. In each case, large, rapid shifts in the distribution of power lead to war.” His analysis also included a comparison of the cost of deterring an attack versus trying to eliminate the threat.

The endowed Louis Lancaster Chair in International Political Economy, administered by the current Lancaster Professor, Benjamin J. Cohen, supported a presentation this winter by **Joanne Gowa**, Professor of Politics at Princeton University. Professor Gowa is the author of numerous works on political economy and international relations theory. In her presentation, Gowa discussed the effects of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) during its lifetime, from 1950 to 1992. In her analysis, GATT rules for “tariff bargaining” created an uneven distribution of trade benefits, since concessions were negotiated among “principal suppliers.” This naturally favored the biggest industrialized countries and especially Britain, Canada, France, and the United States—what she called the “exclusive country club.” At the same time, GATT rules left the “interwar discriminatory trade blocs” and their influence on world trade largely intact. The net effect of GATT was therefore to limit the expansion of post-war trade, in spite of the U.S. government’s goal of establishing a secure economic foundation for a lasting peace. Significantly, the rules for trade negotiations under GATT’s successor, the World Trade Organization, have been reformed in order to reduce this degree of favoritism.

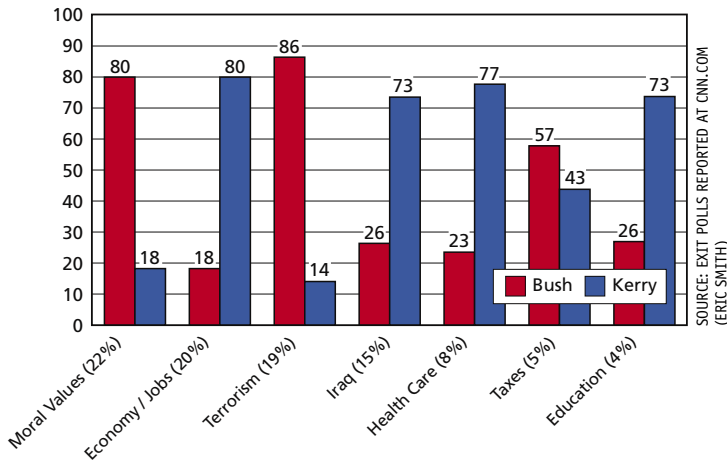
Other presentations in past years have included guest speakers working in methodology, game theory, and election theory; regional specialists in Latin America and Eastern Europe; environmental politics; and American politics. Our speaker program remains a vital conduit to the interesting and ground-breaking work currently in progress by noted individuals in all subfields of political science.

## Post-Election Roundtable: Analysis and Expectations

Following a department tradition, three of the department's professors participated in a post-election roundtable last November to discuss the implications of the 2004 presidential election and suggest some possible outcomes that we might expect down the road. Professor Benjamin J. Cohen, Louis Lancaster Professor of International Political Economy, concentrated on foreign policy aspects of the election. He discounted the conventional analysis of exit polls, which put moral values as the top election issue. When concerns about the war in Iraq and about terrorism are combined, he pointed out, the results

CHART 1

### Most Important Issues and Voting

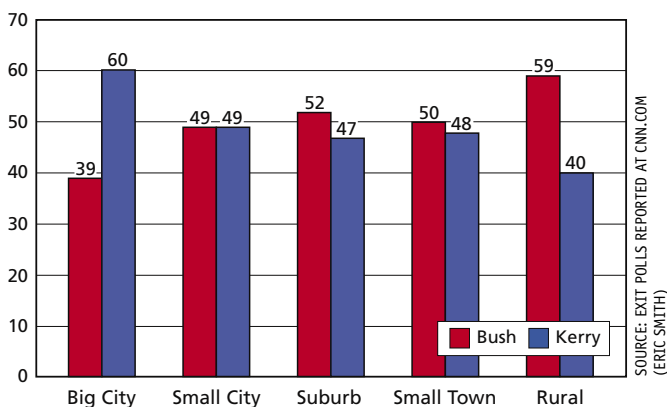


indicate that foreign policy was actually a bigger concern in voters' minds (see chart 1). He observed that each side competed for votes using different "us-them" foreign policy scenarios: The Republicans' "macho versus wimps" and the Democrats' "reality versus fantasy." Apparently, the Republicans' scenario played better, at least in the heartland. In the second Bush administration, Cohen doesn't expect foreign policy to change much in either style or substance, even though there have been changes in personnel. Decisions will continue to be made unilaterally without the constraints of multilateral institutions, and any coalitions that form will be opportunistic, based on short-term needs only.

Professor Eric Smith, the department's expert on polling and elections, agreed with Cohen that war-related issues were the most important ones in the election, and surmised that without the post-9/11 war-related concerns, Bush might not have won. However, he felt

CHART 2

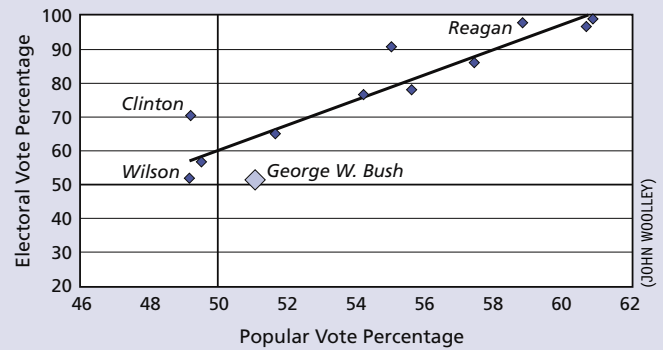
### Urban - Rural Divide



the role of cultural issues (abortion, gun control, gay marriage, etc.) was also of great significance, since "moral values" was the leading single reason given to exit pollsters on why citizens voted for Bush over Kerry. Election results indicate a strong difference in candidate preference between urban and rural voters (see chart 2) that may reflect their differences in opinion on these same cultural issues and that has apparently coalesced into a genuine "cultural gap." Meanwhile, the traditional alignment of voters with political parties based on economic factors has changed considerably, so that the difference in income distribution of Republican and Democratic voters is getting smaller. These trends are affecting how parties are organized and will continue to factor in future elections.

CHART 3

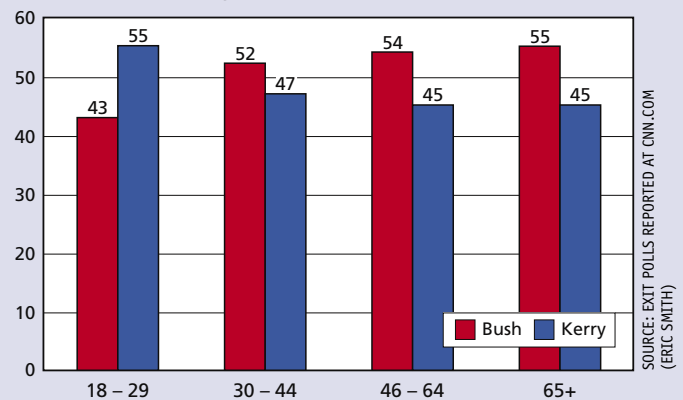
### Popular and Electoral Vote Shares of Re-elected Incumbents



Professor John Woolley, the department's specialist on the American presidency, discussed the implications of the 2004 election for both the presidency and domestic policy. First, he analyzed the post-election claim by Vice President Richard Cheney that the nation had given President Bush a clear mandate, and found it not supported by the data. In comparison to historical data, Bush's slight majority in both the popular vote and Electoral College was well below that of other re-elected incumbents (see chart 3). With the narrow Republican majority increasing only slightly in both the House and Senate, the "presidential coattails effect" was minimal. Therefore, the question that remains to be answered is: Can Bush govern effectively with a very narrow majority? By historical standards, these conditions are not favorable for creating enduring domestic policies or building a legacy. Even presidents with large vote shares and a party majority in Congress have had difficulty implementing their agendas. However, by tackling such major

CHART 4

### Young Voters and the Future



domestic issues as Social Security, Bush has indicated that he intends to govern aggressively during his second term.

Both Smith's and Woolley's data indicate that the future of the rural-urban cultural divide may be limited by the aging population. Smith's chart shows a marked difference in candidate preference of younger (under age 30) voters (*see chart 4*). At the same time, census data place the highest percentage of older voters in the "red states" heartland. Thus if the current preferences of younger voters persist as they age, the urban-rural cultural gap may eventually disappear as the voting population changes. Woolley and Smith also cautioned that predicting from historical data has its limitations. The post-9/11 era is a new one, and therefore new variables may affect the expected outcomes.

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## Gifts to the Department

Gifts of support for the department of Political Science are deeply appreciated, and we have included a clip-out form for that purpose. There are many giving possibilities. Previous contributions have funded undergraduate awards and scholarships, graduate fellowships, endowed chairs, and the Lancaster Reading Room. General gifts to the department are used wherever the need is greatest. If you would like more information about making a specific gift or about planned giving, please contact Carroll Deason, Director of Development, Division of Social Sciences, at (805) 893-2774, or [carroll.deason@ia.ucsb.edu](mailto:carroll.deason@ia.ucsb.edu).

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