

UC San Diego

Newsletters

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From the Director:

Institutions and Cooperative Security

The year 1989 witnessed the most fundamental geopolitical shift of the postwar era, perhaps of the entire twentieth century: the collapse of the Soviet East European empire and the attendant end of the cold war. Many factors were responsible for producing that shift. But there seems little doubt that norms and institutions have helped to stabilize its consequences. Indeed, though long ignored by American scholars and policymakers alike, norms and institutions appear to be playing a significant role in the management of a broad array of regional and global changes in the world system today. IGCC is attempting to better understand this phenomenon, and to build on the experience of the past in thinking about future problem areas.

In Europe today, at least fifteen multilateral groupings are involved in shaping the continent's collective destiny. The European Community (EC) is the undisputed anchor of economic relations and increasingly of a common political vision in the West. And the former East European countries want nothing so much as to tie their economic fate to the Community, which the EC has facilitated by the creation of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and, in some cases, through the prospect of association agreements.

In the realm of European security relations, the central policy issue of

the day is the adaptation of NATO to the new European geopolitical realities, and whether supplementary indigenous West European security mechanisms should be fashioned. The Soviet Union, contrary to most predictions, posed no obstacles to German reunification, betting that a united Germany firmly embedded in a broader Western institutional matrix poses far less of a security threat than a neutral Germany tugged in different directions in the center of Europe. Moreover, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), until recently the butt of jokes among those "in the know," has become more formally institutionalized as a pan-European security effort. Perhaps the most telling indicator of institutional bite in Europe today is the proverbial dog that hasn't barked: no one in any position of authority anywhere is advocating, or quietly preparing for, a return to a system of competitive bilateral alliances—which surely is the first time that has happened at any comparable historical juncture since the Congress of Vienna in 1815!

At the level of the global economy, despite sometimes near-hysterical predictions for twenty years now of

imminent monetary breakup and trade wars that could become real wars, "just like in the 1930s," the rate of growth in world trade continues to exceed the rate of growth in world output; international capital flows dwarf both; and the eighth periodic round of trade negotiations, which had been prematurely pronounced dead, is moving toward successful completion—this time involving difficult domestic and new transnational issues that the originators of the regime never dreamed would become subject to international rules. And despite considerable tension between them, the U.S. and Japan continue, in Churchill's phrase, to "jaw-jaw" rather than "war-war" over their fundamental trade differences.

Limited institutional successes can be found even in the global security realm. One is in the area of nuclear



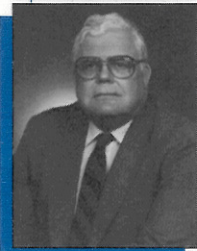
The U.N. and cooperative security: On November 29, 1990, the U.N. Security Council votes to allow the use of force against Iraq. (AP Wire Photo)

Noteworthy

Gordon MacDonald Appointed Director of Environmental Policy Studies

Gordon J.F. MacDonald, former vice president and chief scientist of the Mitre Corporation, has been appointed as IGCC's new director of environmental policy studies.

MacDonald, who also holds a joint appointment as a professor in UC San Diego's Graduate School of



Gordon MacDonald

International Relations and Pacific Studies, will develop and implement a program of studies in the area of environment and global security.

MacDonald received his doctorate in geophysics from Harvard University. He has held tenured professorships and had various administrative responsibilities at MIT, UC Los Angeles, UC Santa Barbara, and Dartmouth College. MacDonald is one of the leading experts on climate change and global warming. He was appointed to the first Council on Environmental Quality by President Nixon in 1970 and played a key role in the formulation and implementation of federal environmental legislation. He led the U.S. negotiating team on the U.S.-USSR environmental agreement signed by President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev in 1972 and has represented the U.S. in dealing with environmental problems at the OECD, the U.N., and other international organizations. He currently serves on the Department of State's Advisory Committee on Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs. His book, *The Rotation of the Earth*, coauthored with Walter Munk, received the American Academy of Sciences Monograph Prize for 1959 and remains the premier work in this field. MacDonald is a member of the National Academy of Sciences.



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nonproliferation. Many responsible officials and policy analysts in the 1960s predicted that by the 1980s there would exist some two dozen nuclear weapons states. As it has turned out, the total set of actual *and potential* problem states today consists of only half that number, at least in part due to the existence of the global nonproliferation regime. In point of fact, within the past few years more countries have *left* the list of problem cases than have joined it!

Lastly, after years of being riveted by the cold war, the United Nations has been rediscovered to have utility in international conflict management: its fig leaf role proved useful in Afghanistan, its decolonization function in Namibia. It serves as one means by which to try to disentangle regional morasses from Cambodia to the Western Sahara. And perhaps of greatest importance for the new, post-cold war era, the twelve resolutions adopted by the U.N. Security Council to sanction Iraq for its invasion and annexation of Kuwait constituted the organization's most comprehensive, firm, and united response ever to an act of international aggression.

Neither conventional scholarship nor orthodox policymaking in this country is well equipped to account for or make better use of norms and institutions as a means of enhancing global security. IGCC has recently concluded a multiyear, multicampus Ford Foundation-funded workshop on multilateralism, focusing on basic theoretical and historical issues. A symposium volume, entitled *Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution*, will be published soon. Over the next biennium, IGCC will explore several possible applications of its lessons to ongoing policy concerns. Among these are:

- The institutional dimensions of the prospects for a comprehensive

peace in the Middle East: a project involving U.S., Soviet, Arab, and Israeli scholars, funded in part by the W. Alton Jones Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and directed by UC Los Angeles political science professor Steven Spiegel;

- Institutional mechanisms to enhance mutual confidence and security in the Asia-Pacific region: a project involving scholars from the U.S., the Soviet Union, China, Japan, South Korea, and Australia, funded by the Ford Foundation, and directed by Miles Kahler, professor of international relations and Pacific studies at UC San Diego;

- Institutional arrangements to halt the spread of weapons of mass destruction: a project being planned by IGCC coordinator of policy studies, Thomas Graham;

- Japan, Germany, and Collective Security: also in the planning stages, this project, organized by IGCC director John Ruggie, is designed to explore the possible contributions of Japan and Germany to the emergence of a viable global collective security system.

- The meaning of cooperative security: several multicampus workshops are planned around the concept of cooperative security. One of these, entitled "Redefining Security," will be organized by Professors Ronnie Lipschutz of UC Santa Cruz and Beverly Crawford of UC Berkeley; another, on "Gender and Global Security," is also planned.

- Norms, Institutions, and Global Climate Change: under preparation by Gordon MacDonald, IGCC director of environmental policy studies, and professor of international relations at UC San Diego.

The moment seems ripe—if it isn't long overdue—for a serious and systematic new look at the institutional dimension of global conflict resolution. ■

—John Gerard Ruggie

IGCC Convenes First Meeting of International Advisory Board

A former U.S. Secretary of Defense, the foreign minister of Ecuador, and the editor of *Foreign Policy* magazine were among the fourteen international scholars, policymakers, and business leaders who gathered in La Jolla February 1-2 for the first meeting of IGCC's new international advisory board (see box for listing of advisory board members). Chaired by Sidney Drell, deputy director of the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center, the purpose of the Advisory Board is to provide substantive guidance to the policy studies and public outreach program of the institute, and to help strengthen IGCC's ties to research and policy communities in the U.S. and abroad.

The intensive two-day session included presentations on IGCC's ongoing research projects on Pacific security, conflict management in the Middle East, the future of the U.S. defense-industrial base, and international environmental policy. The agenda also included a dinner at University House, hosted by UC San Diego Chancellor and Mrs. Richard Atkinson. ■



Members attending the first meeting of IGCC's International Advisory Board. Front row (left to right) Calvin Moore (representing William Frazer), Robert Jervis, Helga Haftendorn, Diego Cordovez, Olara Otunnu, Stanley Sheinbaum, Albert Dewell Wheelon, John Ruggie. Back row: Sidney Drell, Dante Caputo, Robert McNamara, Charles William Maynes. Not pictured: Sally Ride, Enid Schoettle

IGCC's International Advisory Board

Dr. Alexei Arbatov, Chief of Section, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Academy of Sciences, USSR

Dr. Dante Caputo, Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Vice President of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Argentina

Dr. Diego Cordovez, Foreign Minister of Ecuador

Professor Sidney Drell, Deputy Director, Stanford Linear Accelerator Center

Ms. Randall Forsberg, President and Executive Director, Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies

Professor Helga Haftendorn, President, International Studies Association, Department of Political Science, Free University of Berlin

Sir Michael Howard, Department of History, Yale University

Professor Robert Jervis, Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University

Dr. Masao Kunihiro, Member, Upper House, Diet of Japan

Mr. Charles William Maynes, Editor, *Foreign Policy*

The Honorable Robert S. McNamara, Former U.S. Secretary of Defense; Former President of the World Bank

Ambassador Olara Otunnu, President, International Peace Academy

Professor Sally K. Ride, Director, California Space Institute, University of California, San Diego

Dr. Enid C.B. Schoettle, Director, International Affairs Program, The Ford Foundation

Mr. Stanley Sheinbaum, Former Regent, University of California; Publisher, *New Perspectives Quarterly*

Dr. Albert Dewell Wheelon, Former chief executive officer, Hughes Aircraft

Ms. Robin Wright, Correspondent, *The Los Angeles Times*

Ex Officio Members

Dr. William Frazer, Senior Vice President of Academic Affairs, Office of the President, University of California

Professor John Gerard Ruggie, Director, IGCC, University of California



Chancellor's dinner for the International Advisory Board: IAB Chairman Sidney Drell (left) and UC San Diego Chancellor Richard Atkinson (right).

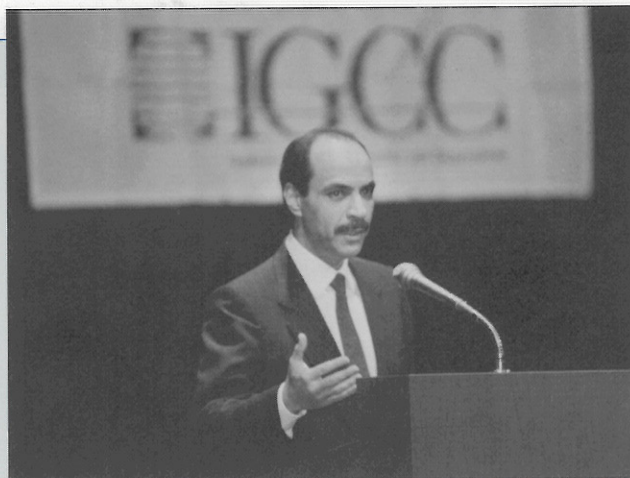


Chancellor's dinner for the International Advisory Board: Board member Robert McNamara (left) and Jonas Salk (right), founder of the Salk Institute.

Kuwait's Ambassador to the U.S. Visits IGCC

Kuwait's ambassador to the United States., H.E., Shaikh Saud Nasir al-Sabah, presented the Kuwaiti perspective on the Gulf crisis to an audience of several hundred San Diego community leaders, military dependents, and UC San Diego students and faculty during his December visit to IGCC. The ambassador pointed out that Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was part of Saddam Hussein's larger ambition to dominate the Gulf region and predicted that the crisis would lead to the development of new security arrangements for the region.

Other IGCC visitors provided additional insights into the Gulf crisis. Professor Joshua Epstein of the Brookings Institution and the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University, an expert on calculating military force balances, reported on the findings of his recent study of the likely consequences of a U.S. ground assault against Iraqi forces. Professor



H.E., Shaikh Saud Nasir al-Sabah

Shibley Telhami of Cornell University, who served as a Council on Foreign Relations fellow to the U.S. mission at the U.N. during the Gulf crisis, discussed "Saddam Hussein's Vision, the Gulf Crisis, and American Middle East Policy." ■

Conflict Management in the Middle East

In August 1990, three and a half weeks after Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, IGCC and UC Los Angeles' Center for International and Strategic Affairs (CISA) co-sponsored a conference on conflict management in the Middle East. This event, held at UC Los Angeles, was the first of its kind worldwide to bring together American, Soviet, Arab, and Israeli scholars and policy analysts to examine the possibilities for conflict limitation, the prevention and management of crises, and the potential for cooperation in the post-Cold War era. The Persian Gulf crisis added to the significance of these meetings and the attention with which they were received.

Each group of scholars presented papers on a variety of theoretical, historical, and policy issues related to the Arab-Israeli dispute. In each panel of the conference, a Soviet, American, Arab, and Israeli representative articulated his or her particular viewpoint. Participants explored

concepts of conflict management, the history of competing perspectives during crises themselves, as well as with respect to the Palestinian question and the Syrian/Lebanese arena. In addition, papers were presented on the prospects for regional economic cooperation, arms control, and specific peace proposals.

Although the Persian Gulf, and particularly the role of Iraq, had not been initially slated to be included in the discussions, many speakers suggested the implications of the Gulf crisis for their particular subject. The large representation of journalists attending the conference understandably expressed interest in this portion of the proceedings. A public forum was also held to examine the evolving Gulf crisis in the light of ongoing discussions at the conference.

The fact that these meetings were convened was itself significant and suggested the implications for the academic community of the end of

the Cold War. As one senior Soviet specialist suggested, this was the first time he had left his country without instructions from a Central Committee representative on the particular line he should take. As a consequence, both public and private Soviet comments often revealed major differences with their colleagues concerning the analyses of events. The Soviets, of course, were not the only group to have internal differences. On the Israeli side there were debates between hawks and doves. Americans often differed, not only on their interpretation of particular developments but on the relative importance of theoretical and policy analysis. The disparate Arab groups often expressed distinct attitudes as well. Thus, one of the unique aspects of this conference was to depict the differences within particular communities as well as the more traditional distinctions in perspectives between them.

IGCC and CISA have extensive experience with cooperative and

Future International Space Policy

multinational research on Middle East security issues. The August 1990 conference was preceded by two conferences held in cooperation with the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle East and African Studies and the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, both of Tel Aviv University. However, all three conferences focused primarily on the competitive elements of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The ending of the Cold War, Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, and the unprecedented world reaction make it conceivable that fundamentally new cooperative security measures could be developed for the Middle East. To take advantage of the new opportunities for cooperation, IGCC and CISA have formally established a multilateral working group on cooperative security in the Middle East. The W. Alton Jones Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation of New York have committed partial funding for the next meeting of the working group, which will be held in Moscow this fall to discuss the policy implications of the Gulf crisis. Steven Spiegel is the coordinator of the American participants; the Moscow chairman is Andrei Shoumikhin, director of regional studies at the USA-Canada Institute (ISKAN); the Arab participation will be coordinated by the Al-Aharam Center in Cairo; and the Israeli involvement will be chaired by both Galia Golan at the Hebrew University's political science department in Jerusalem and Mark Heller at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University.

IGCC would like to thank the following individuals and organizations for their support of the August 1990 conference: the United States Institute of Peace; the UC Los Angeles Center for Strategic and International Affairs, International Studies and Overseas Program, and Center for Russian and East European Studies; Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Sheinbaum; The East-West Forum; Pan American Airlines; and Mr. Severyn Ashkenazy. ■

IGCC, Cal Space, and the Center for National Security Studies of the Los Alamos National Laboratory co-sponsored an international conference on Future International Space Policy at IGCC headquarters, January 9-11, 1991. The workshop brought together some of the world's leading space scientists, government officials, and analysts to discuss possible problems facing future international space relations in five issue-areas: space and national security; arms control, verification, and confidence-building measures; space science and human exploration; environmental monitoring; and commercial uses of space. The IGCC coordinator for the workshop was James Clay Moltz, a postdoctoral fellow and specialist on U.S.-Soviet space policy issues. In the following article, he offers his views regarding the key issues of concern in the next few decades of international space activity.

International relations in space are currently undergoing dramatic change. Perhaps more than any other area, space activity has been dominated by the U.S.-Soviet relationship. But with the demise of the Cold War and the rise of a number of other space-faring nations and organizations (including China, Japan, the European Space Agency, India, Israel, and others), the previous bipolar nature of space activity is yielding to a more unpredictable—and possibly more dangerous—multipolar arena. As retired Col. Stanley Rosen (of USAF Space Division) argued at the conference, the hope that peace might “break out” in space after the Cold War seems unlikely, given the range of new problems facing current international space organizations and agreements.

Ironically, what once appeared to be a hostile and dangerous bipolar, U.S.-Soviet competition in space is now seen as having been significantly more stable in this light of foreseeable



John Ruggie, director IGCC; Sally Ride, director, California Space Institute; John Hopkins, director, Center for National Security Studies, Los Alamos National Laboratory

multipolar threats. Despite a number of disputes over the years, the first three decades of space history saw a basic consensus established between the two superpowers on ground rules for restricting the military use of space. In fact, U.S.-Soviet arms control progressed further in space than in any other sphere of superpower activity, except the Antarctic. While a range of East-West military conflicts flared up on Earth during the Cold War, no shots were ever fired in anger in space, and what military systems were deployed in space remained limited to passive technologies. In other areas of space activity, the

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Noteworthy

Ruggie and Graham Join Council on Foreign Relations

John Gerard Ruggie, director of IGCC, and **Thomas Graham**, academic coordinator of policy studies, have been elected to the Council on Foreign Relations.

Former IGCC Associate Director Appointed New U.S. Coordinator of University of Maryland Nuclear History Program

G. Allen Greb, former IGCC associate director, has joined the University of Maryland's Nuclear History Program (NHP) as U.S. coordinator. NHP is an international program of research and training focusing on the development and deployment of nuclear forces, the elaboration of policies for their management and possible use, and their role in the evolution of relations among Europe, the U.S., and the USSR. Greb will continue in a half-time capacity doing research work on U.S. decision making on arms control from 1945-68 at the new Center for Technical Studies on Security, Energy, and Arms Control at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory.

IGCC Central Office Welcomes New Staff

Sally Alcala, campus programs secretary, brings strong ties to Latin America. After receiving her B.A. in Spanish from the University of Washington, she travelled extensively in Latin America and co-authored a second-year college Spanish textbook, *Un pais hispanico visto por dentro*, which shared many true episodes of Paraguayan and family history. She also co-edited a short anthology of contemporary short stories from the Rio de la Plata area of South America. She lived in Mexico City for two years while closely involved with the UC's Education Abroad Program there and has worked in sales and management in La Jolla for ten years.

Matthew Maxwell, central office secretary, brings a year of UC experience and three years of experience working at the federal level. Previously he worked for the UC Irvine Writing Project and for the National Archives and Records Administration in Laguna Niguel. In June 1990, he graduated from UC Irvine, with degrees in English and social sciences.

IGCC Program Participants

Former IGCC dissertation fellow **Erik Pratt** has joined the political science department at Carroll College in Helena, Montana. His book, *Selling Strategic Defense: Interests, Ideologies and the Arms Race*, was published by Lynne Rienner Publishers in February 1990.

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United States and Soviet Union led the way in establishing liability rules for damage caused by spacecraft, in banning territorialization of the Moon and other planets, and in establishing criteria for the allotment of geostationary orbital slots and radio frequencies for communications satellites. They also signed agreements banning the space-based testing and construction of antiballistic missile systems as well as interference with arms control monitoring satellites. Considering the turbulent history of Cold War international relations, this level of cooperation represented no mean feat.

The increasing use of space by a number of new international actors, however, poses threats to this system of "managed" U.S.-Soviet competition in three major areas: space defenses, space commerce, and environmental issues.

First, the most restrictive elements of today's arms control regime in space—including the 1972 ABM Treaty—involve only a tiny percentage of active space powers and cover only a limited range of potential space military systems. (In the long-run, for example, countries like India, China, and Israel might see utility in testing and deploying limited space defenses against their adversaries.) Moreover, as the recently renewed U.S. debate over the possible deployment of SDI-type weapons shows, there are potential loopholes in existing agreements, considerable interest by some U.S. and Soviet military planners in exploiting these loopholes, and outright gaps in the control of other technologies (such as ASATs). In a related military area, the problem of missile proliferation poses a serious threat to future stability, as events in the Middle East recently have shown. The experience of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty highlights the likely difficulties of



Albert Galeev, Institute of Space Research, USSR

halting the flow of missile technologies, especially when not all producers see these technologies as necessarily destabilizing. How will current Western members of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR)—who already possess space boosters and ballistic missile weaponry—convince other states to limit their activities to peaceful uses only? Verification regarding these issues will be a further problem in the new multilateral context, requiring vastly expanded national reconnaissance capabilities. As a final issue, such recently developed technologies as the air-launched Pegasus space booster make current efforts at fixed-site observation already out-of-date and inadequate.

Second, in the field of space commerce, both the number of useful slots in geostationary orbit and the availability of broadcast frequencies are reaching their limits. Since most developing states have yet to create space programs, the claiming of these limited resources by industrialized countries makes future North-South conflicts inevitable. Similarly, the failure of the leading space-faring powers to sign

the United Nations Moon Treaty (1982)—which declares lunar resources to be the “common heritage of mankind”—raises the likelihood of additional disputes should these countries seek to “develop” the Moon first. Among the industrialized countries themselves, conflicts exist over the distribution of research information and new technologies developed in “cooperative” commercial ventures.

Third, in the space environmental field, there are now a growing number of threats to the existing international “collective good” of safe access to space. These include the growing “orbit” of man-made space debris, the continued use by certain countries of nuclear reactors in near-Earth orbit, and the growing depletion of the ozone layer by chemicals released from solid-fuel boosters (such as those used by the U.S. space shuttle). The expanding number of space actors only exacerbates the potential scale of these environmental hazards.

International conferences, such as the recent one at IGCC, provide a valuable opportunity for experts from a variety of countries to begin

dealing with these problems and their uniquely “international” characteristics in a preventive way. At the Conference on Future International Space Policy, participants raised a number of promising suggestions. Matthew Bunn of the Arms Control Association proposed an incentive-based system (modeled on the IAEA) for encouraging potential space-launching powers to refrain from developing devoted weapons programs by offering privileged access to booster technologies as long as these states agree to international controls. Former Canadian government official Peter Stibrany suggested new means of dealing with space military problems through the creation of “keep out” zones and the promotion of a greater number of internationally funded research spacecraft, whose members would then have a built-in incentive to refrain from attacking these stations from space or from the ground. Others spoke of the potential that new international organizations

might make to the monitoring of future multilateral arms control agreements regarding space. The discussions marked an important first step and showed that there are areas of disagreement but also points of consensus.

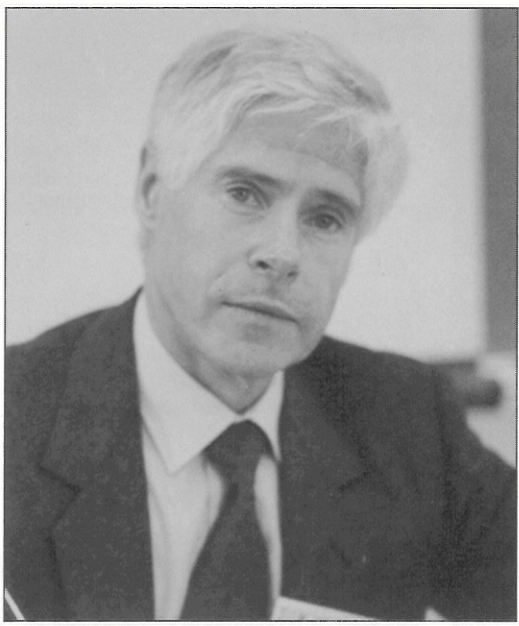
In considering the range of issues, what stands out most of all is the incentive of all nations to make cooperation work in space. Beyond the political benefits of managing future space competition, technical and economic factors related to space activity make collaboration rather than hostile competition particularly beneficial. As the two leading space powers have already realized, the



Yasuo Tanaka, Institute of Space and Aeronautical Science (ISAS), Japan

extremely high costs of building the next generation of research spacecraft (such as the U.S.-led “Freedom” station and the potential Soviet-led “Mir II”) make joint activities with other states a virtual necessity. The director of the Soviet Space Research Institute, Albert Galeev, pointed out that two positive spin-offs from such joint activities are the fostering of new common interests and the promotion of important scientific as well as commercial research that might not take place otherwise.

As states consider the choice between a future space environment cluttered by debris and weaponry, and one in which states continue to preserve the existing space sanctuary through self-restraint and cooperative management and verification, there is an undeniable common interest in the latter scenario. Making this world a reality, however, is a challenge that only long years of negotiations in a variety of space fields can accomplish. In this sense, the work of the participants at the Conference on Future International Space Policy has really just begun. ■



Roger Bonnet, European Space Agency

Academic Perestroika:

Facilitating UC-Soviet Research

by Thomas Graham

Throughout the Cold War, UC-Soviet academic exchanges varied both in number and quality. Most academic exchanges took place at one-time conferences which often focused on international security topics, traditionally defined. Few long-term, cooperative, and multidisciplinary research projects were initiated which emphasized younger scholars in both countries. In addition, individual researchers who either did not speak Russian or were unfamiliar with the structure of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Soviet universities, or ministry-supported research institutes, could not add a Soviet perspective to their own research without investing considerable time and resources.

IGCC is initiating a two-year project to take advantage of structural changes taking place in the Soviet Union and to build on the strong foundation in UC-Soviet exchange that exists throughout the system. We hope to facilitate UC-Soviet research across a wide range of academic disciplines by making it easier for California scholars to identify Soviet scholars. The project has been designed to facilitate both ongoing and new research, and we will focus on three specific tasks: identification of American and Soviet scholars, networking, and improved international informational exchange.

Identification of Scholars: Currently, dozens of UC faculty members have professional contacts with Soviet scholars and researchers. However, their detailed knowledge of Soviet specialists and Soviet organizations with which they have worked is not readily available to other faculty members throughout the system. IGCC will identify these UC scholars, obtain a description of their current research projects, and also identify their Soviet colleagues. Over time, IGCC will collect detailed information on Soviet scholars, their publications and current research interests, and their institutes. Informally,

IGCC will pool knowledge in the UC system on Soviet bureaucratic politics associated with a particular field or research institute. This will help us advise UC faculty members on strategies for fostering academic exchanges.

Over the next six months, IGCC will identify younger Soviet specialists, obtain their vitae and a description of their current research interests. We will emphasize those who are working in the following six areas: arms control, confidence building and cooperative security; international political economy; international environmental issues; international relations theory; nuclear and ballistic missile proliferation; and Pacific security. Over the longer term, we will expand the disciplinary scope to include sciences, engineering, and humanities. Information on UC and Soviet scholars will be kept on a data base which will be available to any UC faculty member who is interested in working with Soviet counterparts.

Networking: Not only will IGCC help UC scholars link up with Soviet specialists, but we will be in contact with other universities, research institutes, and foundations that work with Soviet scholars. In this way we will be in a position to help UC faculty network with American colleagues who are working on similar research topics. IGCC will also work with top Soviet research institutes and universities and help them strengthen their library and communications facilities. In this way we want to lay the institutional foundation for the establishment of long-term UC-Soviet research.

International Information Exchange: UC scholars who have worked with Soviet colleagues know that communications can be extremely difficult, even if a host institution has access to fax machines. As a result, IGCC will join several UC campuses in establishing E-Mail communication links to key Soviet research institutes through

the San Francisco-Moscow Teleport. As each new American subscriber starts service, a Soviet institute can be added to the communication network for free. As we identify UC scholars who are working with Soviet researchers, we will encourage them to join the Teleport and therefore bring another Soviet institute on line. To facilitate the exchange of research notes and draft articles, IGCC will experiment with other innovative arrangements which will allow younger scholars to communicate with their colleagues in the UC system.

Changes taking place in the Soviet Union can foster greater academic exchange if the cost of initiating and maintaining contacts can be reduced to the point where many UC faculty members are able to work routinely with a Soviet counterpart. IGCC will work to reduce these barriers to entry and transaction costs in the hope that scholars in the University of California can lead the way in fostering international academic cooperation. Those who are interested in finding out more detailed information about the project should contact me at IGCC. ■

IGCC Publications

IGCC Policy Briefs:

1. Michael M. May, *What Do We Do with Nuclear Weapons Now?* (15 pp., 1990).

IGCC Studies in Conflict and Cooperation:

1. David P. Auerswald and John Gerard Ruggie, eds., *The Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy*. (87 pp., 1990).
2. Miles Kahler, ed., *Beyond the Cold War in the Pacific*. (forthcoming).

Other Titles Available:

- Alan Sweedler and Brett Henry, eds., *Conventional Forces in Europe*. (102 pp., 1989).
- Alan Sweedler and Randy Willoughby, eds., *Europe in Transition: Arms Control and Conventional Forces in the 1990s*. (119 pp., 1991).

Publications can be obtained at no charge by contacting:
University of California, San Diego
IGCC Publications, (0518)
9500 Gilman Drive
La Jolla, CA 92093-0518

Campus Programs Spotlight

The Center for Global Peace and Conflict Studies at UC Irvine

Global Peace and Conflict Studies (GPACS) at UC Irvine has grown steadily in size and undergone major evolution in the years since its founding in 1983. Originally composed of a half-dozen professors interested primarily in teaching about peace, GPACS today numbers almost thirty faculty, drawn from many different disciplines, and is as deeply involved in collaborative research and community service as in teaching undergraduates. Organized as a concentration in 1986, GPACS is now a full academic minor, a campus interdisciplinary research unit, an active organizer of lectures and conferences, and a resource unit on international affairs for all of Orange County.

GPACS has become increasingly popular with students at UC Irvine, with more than seventy undergraduates minoring in the field at the present time. GPACS courses reach a student audience that numbers more than a thousand a year, and these classes cover every aspect of world conflict and cooperation, from the technology of armament and disarmament to the assumptions and practices of nonviolence. Students can choose from more than a dozen GPACS courses each quarter, including classes with distinguished visiting scholars such as Robin Williams, Daniel Ellsberg, George Rathjens, and Andrew Mack. Those who are minoring in GPACS are required to formulate a coherent program of nine courses, building from an introductory curriculum of classes in history, political science, and physics.

Of particular note is the fact that GPACS has been the recipient of three endowed chairs during the last five

years, the gifts of Orange County families eager to see the university more involved with international affairs. Patrick Morgan of Washington State University has recently accepted the first of these chairs (the Tierney), which was not stipulated by discipline. The second chair (the Heinz), which is tied to economics, will be filled by Martin McGuire from the University of Maryland. Recruitment efforts are proceeding for the third chair (the Warmington) in the field of social ecology.

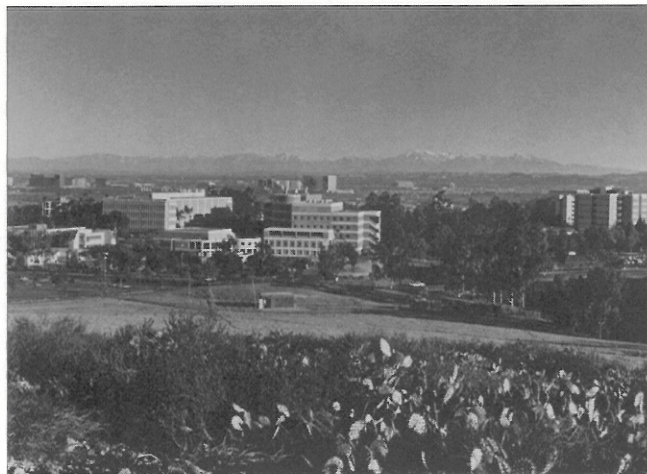
In December 1990 GPACS was formally recognized by UC Irvine as an interdisciplinary research unit, a status that will assist it in further defining its research agenda. Among the focuses that are now being developed is one on the environmental consequences of nuclear activity and a second on the interaction of domestic affairs and foreign policy. As part of this process GPACS has developed formal ties with two Soviet research centers: IMEMO (Institute of World Economy and International Relations) and ISKAN (Institute for the Study of the United States and Canada.) Soviet scholars from those organizations have been regular visitors to the UC Irvine campus in recent years. This spring GPACS hosted a conference on the environmental consequences of nuclear development, which was attended by Soviet, American, and Chinese scholars.

Every Thursday afternoon GPACS presents its Forum lecture series, which is open to the public. Forum speakers have included academics from the United States and Europe, military professionals, governmental and United Nations officials, think tank researchers,

and representatives from private research and lobbying organizations. These events have helped to "internationalize" the campus and often add the spice of controversy.

Last year GPACS inaugurated an annual Julius Margolis Lecture, which honors the founding director of GPACS and features notable statesmen and scholars in international affairs. The first speaker in this series was McGeorge Bundy, special adviser for international security affairs in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. This year GPACS hosted Hans Bethe, Nobel laureate in physics and specialist in arms control. The texts of these lectures will be published in limited distribution.

An indispensable element of GPACS' success, in addition to the dedication and hard work of UC Irvine's faculty and students, is the attention and help it has received from Orange County residents. Almost all GPACS events, including such activities as the Margolis Lectures, the Thursday Forums, a symposium last February with Oliver Stone and Ron Kovic, and recent town meetings on the Gulf War, have brought out large numbers of people. Moreover, there has been great generosity in evidence. Tom and Elizabeth Tierney, for example, have not only endowed a chair but have also contributed funds for scholarships, a series of lectures on terrorism, and the preliminary studies necessary for the construction of a building for GPACS. Last summer an anonymous donor gave GPACS an endowment of \$3 million, money that will begin to become available in several years. ■



UC Irvine

Julius Margolis

Founding Director of GPACS

When Julius Margolis accepted the chairmanship of the economics department at UC Irvine in 1976, he was one of the best known scholars of urban economics in the country. Margolis had served as a professor at four other major universities: Stanford, the University of Chicago, the University of Pennsylvania, and UC Berkeley.

Yet what distinguished Margolis' tenure at UC Irvine was his increasing concern with the dangers of nuclear war between the super-powers. To respond to this concern in a scholarly fashion, he helped found

the Global Peace and Conflict Studies (GPACS) program at UC Irvine. During his term as GPACS director, the program became an academic minor and a forum for the study of international conflict and cooperation. To honor him for his work, UC Irvine in 1990 established the Julius Margolis lecture, which brings a distinguished U.S. statesman to the campus every year.

Margolis has a longstanding interest in the study of war and peace. He previously served as a consultant for the RAND Corporation and had done some work for the Institute of Defense Analyses. While at UC Berkeley in the early 1960s, he had tried to put together an academic program on international security. He was deeply involved at many levels in the founding of IGCC. While serving on UC's Academic Council, Margolis was appointed to the Haas committee, which recom-

mended the creation of an institute to study global conflict and cooperation. He also served on the search committee which appointed the first director, Herbert F. York, and was appointed to IGCC's steering committee.

Margolis explains that IGCC's establishment was an impetus for him to actively pursue development of an academic program on war and peace issues at UC Irvine. "When IGCC was



McGeorge Bundy, the first Margolis lecturer, and Julius Margolis, founding director of GPACS.

founded, I felt that there were sufficient resources and university commitment to say that war and peace studies would be my major area of work. Other UC Irvine faculty members —

physicists, historians, and sociologists — were also willing to commit their time and effort to teach courses and help develop an academic program. Thus the program began and it kept growing."

Although Margolis officially retired from the UC Irvine faculty in 1988, he continues to spend many hours on the campus working on economic and political problems. He has also found the time to pursue another longstanding interest of his: art. "I always wanted to sculpt, but I never let myself do it because I felt that it would take too much time away from my other work. After retirement, I immersed myself in sculpting and discovered that I also loved painting." Margolis' work has already been shown in two group exhibitions. His commitment to social issues is also reflected in his artwork, most of which has a political dimension dealing with issues of war and peace. ■

Philip Tetlock:

A Psychologist Looks at Learning in Foreign Policy

When do foreign policy decision makers change their minds and what forms do those changes take? UC Berkeley professors Philip Tetlock and George Breslauer became intrigued by the question of how policy elites use historical evidence to guide decision making in foreign policy while participating in a project sponsored by the National Academy of Sciences' National Research Council during the mid-1980s. The Committee on International Conflict and Cooperation, as it is now called, was designed to bring together social and behavioral scientists with Sovietologists and security specialists to explore the contributions that behavioral and social sciences can make to the study of foreign policy.

Tetlock, director of UC Berkeley's Institute of Personality Assessment and Research, and Breslauer, director of the Center for East European and Slavic Studies, built on this experience in developing their project, "Learning in United States and Soviet Foreign Policy." The project, which received funding from the National Research Council and IGCC, focuses on the psychological, organizational, and political processes of learning in American-Soviet relations. The project is interdisciplinary, bringing together a wide array of political scientists and historians to consider such questions as how U.S. and Soviet thinking has evolved on the issues of nuclear arms control, the rise and fall of detente, NATO-Warsaw Pact relations, the role of China in the international system, and the wisdom of intervening in Third World conflicts. The researchers examine the conditions under which basic beliefs underlying policy are likely to change, and the consequences of belief change for societies.

According to Tetlock, "Foreign policymakers are human beings with enormous demands on their time who rely on simplifying strategies to deal with the complexity and ambiguities of a changing international system. In other words, policymakers often assume that current events are variations on underlying themes that they already understand—and that policies that worked well in one situation will work equally well elsewhere. They tend to modify basic



Philip Tetlock

assumptions about the underlying causes of international events only when necessary.”

Central to the success of the project has been distinguishing the different ways in which the term “learning” has been used in the behavioral and social sciences. Tetlock explains, “The term ‘learning’ is not self-explanatory. People from different disciplines use it in radically different ways. We have identified five types of learning which have occurred in U.S. and Soviet foreign policy. The most ambitious type, for example, is the efficiency conception of learning, which has several facets. Imagine someone learning to play chess. There are rankings for different levels of chess players, so a straightforward indicator of learning is whether or not he is acquiring the capacity to defeat better players. This demonstrates that the player has learned to manipulate pieces in ways which outsmart opponents. Imagine, however, that the

chess player reaches a stage when he can no longer improve. In this case, he may learn to avoid playing certain players. In both instances, learning has occurred: in one case, the player employs more effective strategies to get what he wants, in the other, he learns to want more realistic things.”

“It is more difficult to measure learning in foreign policy, because you can’t get as good feedback from history as from chess. Dealing with the same opponent all the time, as in U.S.-Soviet relations, may also make it more difficult to realize success. The learning here is ‘interactive’—both sides are acquiring knowledge, but it is difficult to get ahead because your opponent is often learning as quickly as you are.”

To shed light on how and when different forms of learning occur, Tetlock and Breslauer invited fifteen experts on different facets of American and Soviet foreign policy to prepare case studies probing American and Soviet decision making on a range of arms control and geopolitical issues. Two experts, one representing the Soviet point of view, the other the

American, were paired on each foreign policy issue, and asked to probe assumptions underlying U.S. and Soviet thinking, to document junctures where learning occurred and to speculate why the change occurred when it did. The results of these case studies can be found in the book, *Learning in U.S. and Soviet Foreign Policy*, which was published by Westview Press this spring.

In addition to fostering interdisciplinary research in international relations, the Tetlock-Breslauer project has also led to the development of a new graduate seminar on “Learning in U.S. and Soviet Foreign Policy,” taught by the principal investigators and cross-listed in the Departments of Psychology and Political Science. And, it will undoubtedly spark further research. Tetlock plans to explore patterns of belief stability and change in other aspects of international relations. As he explained, “The project highlighted some deep problems about the meaning of learning and good judgment in foreign policy. The issue is definitely worthy of further study.” ■

Peter Hardi Speaks on Democracy, Security, and Environment in Eastern Europe

“The hidden legacy of Communism in Eastern Europe today creates a greater impediment to democratization than Eastern Europeans expected and than Americans realize. The still-existing administrative framework, economic shortages, and ingrained behavior patterns severely limit freedom of action.”

— Peter Hardi

GCC Distinguished Lecturer Peter Hardi presented his assessment of the progress (or lack thereof) in the areas of democracy, security, and environment in Eastern Europe to audiences on five UC campuses in February 1991. Hardi, currently executive director of the Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe, has published widely in such areas as East-West relations, security issues, political pluralism, and U.S. history since the second World War. He is editor and co-author of the *Hardi Report*, the report of an expert team which has become well known since late 1989 when it played a key role in stopping construction of a controversial hydroelectric dam on the Danube. Hardi is currently co-editing the *Handbook of*

Environmental Protection.

The regional environmental center Hardi currently heads was founded by the Hungarian and U.S. governments and the Commission of the European Communities. This position gives Hardi the opportunity to pursue his interests in environmental issues, including international environmental conflict management.

Since 1990, Hardi has been the personal adviser to the Secretary General, Council of Europe, on East European issues, and frequently advises Hungarian government officials and members of Parliament on environmental, foreign, and security policy issues.

Hardi spent the 1978-79 academic year at Yale’s Department of Political Science studying the practice and theories of

American political pluralism on a fellowship from the American Council of



Peter Hardi

Learned Societies. He returned again in the mid-1980s to study in the U.S., spending two years as a senior associate at the Institute for East-West Security Studies, New York City, on a Krupp Foundation Fellowship. He now serves as a member of that institute’s Board of Directors and as a member of its Academic Committee.

For the past twenty years, Hardi has been teaching political science in the Department of Philosophy, Budapest University of Economics and, from 1980 to 1990, he served as director of the Hungarian Institute of International Affairs. ■

IGCC Graduate Fellows Conference

UC students who received graduate fellowships from IGCC for the 1990-91 academic year gathered in La Jolla November 1-3, 1990, for IGCC's annual graduate fellows conference.

The conference is intended to serve several purposes: to provide fellowship recipients with comments which will help improve their research projects; to provide an opportunity for the graduate fellows to meet others interested in global conflict and cooperation and share information about their work; to foster interdisciplinary dialogue; and to explore the ethical and policy implications of the student's ongoing work.

Each student submitted a short written paper in advance and gave a fifteen-minute oral presentation at the conference. Commenting on the students' work this year were Bruce Goeller, system sciences, the RAND Corporation, who has directed large studies in a number of policy areas, including environment and natural resource problems, and who has written on the policy analytic approach; Emily Goldman, political science, UC Davis, who works on issues of arms control and regional disengagement; David Kaun, economics, UC Santa Cruz, who has published in the areas of labor economics, discrimination, ideology, and military spending; and Gene Rochlin, Energy and Resources Group, UC Berkeley, a physicist who now works in organization theory and political economy with a focus on high-technology systems.

Additional expertise was provided by the chairpersons for each session; for instance, Gordon MacDonald chaired the session in which environmental topics were discussed, and Paula Garb, a postdoctoral fellow at UC Irvine who holds a degree in anthropology from the Soviet Academy of Sciences, chaired the session in which papers on the Soviet Union were presented. ■



Left to right: Katherine Siegel, UC Santa Barbara; Jeffrey Kenney, UC Santa Barbara; Paula Garb, UC Irvine; Charles Dannehl, UC Davis



Left to right: Jeffrey Legro, UC Los Angeles; James Fearon, UC Berkeley; Jennifer Olmsted, UC Davis

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