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IGCC and Council on Foreign Relations Sponsor Colloquium on East Asia Policy

Study group gathers on West Coast to discuss trade, environment, and security

Under the joint aegis of IGCC and the New York-based Council on Foreign Relations, a study group composed of academics, policy analysts, policymakers, diplomats, and journalists convened March 11–12 in the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS) complex on the campus of the University of California, San Diego, for a two-day colloquium entitled “Reconceptualizing U.S. Policy Toward East Asia.” The event was funded in part by a grant from the United States–Japan Foundation.

With a clarion call to forgo the “routine recitation” of well-known facts and attempt instead to “push through conceptually,” conference chairman Richard Holbrooke and codirectors Alan Romberg of the Council on Foreign Relations and Susan L. Shirk of IGCC led the 26-member group in an intense, unrestricted, and largely informal discussion covering nearly every conceivable—and problematic—aspect of the economic, environmental, diplomatic, and security relationships between the United States and East Asia.

Many participants remarked that the scenic West Coast location not only was appropriate to the conference’s subject matter but conducive to candid and stimulating



At the IGCC-CFR conference (from left): IGCC Director Susan L. Shirk, Peter Tomsen of the State Department, and Richard Holbrooke, managing director of Lehman Brothers, confer in the courtyard of UC San Diego’s Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies.

discussion as well. In addition to the felicitous setting, two significant substantive factors distinguished the conference from others on the topic: (1) U.S. economic interests in East Asia received at least as much consideration as did U.S. security interests; and (2) the agenda featured an entire session, led by Peter H. Gleick, devoted to environmental issues in the region and the potential for multilateral cooperation in dealing with them.

The aim of the conference was

to reevaluate U.S. policy toward the region and explore ways of refashioning it to meet a changed—and still changing—set of short-term challenges and long-term goals in the post–Cold War era. Following is a summary of the major questions raised and explored by the study group:

Economic and Trade Questions

- What balance should exist between the U.S.’s focus on reducing its trade deficit with particular Asian countries and its thinking

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Herbert F. York, IGCC director emeritus (left), an observer at the conference; Nicholas Platt, president of The Asia Society (center); and Robert A. Scalapino, UC Berkeley professor emeritus.

more broadly about global trade performance?

• What is the best way for the U.S. to lower “beyond-the-border” barriers to its exports in Japan and other Asian countries?

• Should the U.S. try to change the Japanese economy, imitate it, or compete with it?

• Will the Clinton administration’s domestic economic reforms induce Japan to change its policies toward foreign trade and investment and put the U.S. in a stronger position to negotiate?

• Would a specific policy seeking reciprocal agreements governing imports, exports, investment, and technology licensing be effective, and, if so, how could it be implemented?

• Is a linkage between trade and nontrade issues a practicable tool of negotiation? Can the U.S. use its large domestic market as a tool of foreign policy without succumbing to protectionism or leaving itself vulnerable to retaliation?

• Is most-favored-nation status being employed as the equivalent of “a baseball bat in the corner” to promote U.S. human rights values in China, and, if so, is that beneficial or disadvantageous to U.S. trade interests?

• How can the U.S. increase its foreign investments in Asia and thereby enhance its influence in the region?

Security Questions

• Is a stable, continuous U.S. military presence in East Asia necessary to promote strong bilateral relationships? Is it a source of security or insecurity in the region?

• Should the U.S. use its security presence in East Asia as a bargaining chip to induce concessions on trade or to set other bilateral conditions?

• Has the value of the U.S. security umbrella in Asia been reduced—for Asians and for Americans—by the end of the Cold War?

• Will the economic imbalance between the U.S. and Japan erode their security relationship?

• Does East Asia’s—and particularly Japan’s—economic puissance constitute a threat to U.S. security?

• Has the time come for the U.S. to actively encourage multilateral security discussions in East Asia? If so, what specific mechanisms would work best?

Environmental Questions

• How do the demographics of East Asia influence its environment, and what effect does that have on

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“What is the most important way U.S. policy can change to help alleviate trade friction between the U.S. and Japan?”

Five experts on Japan who attended the IGCC-CFR conference on East Asia give their answers and recommendations.



Glen S. Fukushima, director of public policy and market development, AT&T Japan, and former deputy assistant U.S. trade representative for Japan and China: “The U.S. must fundamentally recast its relationship with Japan. To do this, the following seven steps are imperative:

(1) Formulate a Japan policy that clarifies our priorities, interests, and goals. (2) Recognize and act on the fact that Japan practices a different form of capitalism from that in the West. (3) Integrate our political/military security interests and our economic/business interests vis-à-vis Japan. (4) Consider Japan not in isolation but in its regional and global context. (5) Cool the rhetoric and saber rattling and instead focus quietly and professionally on results-oriented problem solving. (6) Plan and shape the future to maximize cooperation, ensure benefits from competition, and minimize conflict. (7) Develop and utilize Japan expertise in the U.S. government and business community.”



Richard J. Samuels, Ford International Professor and head of the Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology: “We’ve operated under notions of reciprocity throughout the Cold War, very diffuse reciprocity, in which we set out general rules and each nation is expected to act toward the other under

those generally agreed-upon rules. What I’d like to see is something more specific—a set of exchanges, tit for tat, in which the price for entry in each economy is the willingness to provide technology, or market access, investment support, and a whole range of policies that would allow for specific, reciprocal exchanges that would not beggar the other but that would provide for more balance in the relative gains that we derive from the relationship.”



Michael M. Mochizuki, associate professor of international relations, University of Southern California: “Our main objective should be developing a trading relationship with Japan that supports an effective strategy for domestic economic revitalization. This means coordinating U.S. and Japanese macroeconomic policies so that

Japan does not try to export its way out of its own recession and getting Japan to transfer more of its production technologies to American firms. The U.S. should also emphasize results-oriented market-access arrangements for sectors in which the U.S. is competitive and for which

U.S. penetration in the Japanese market remains limited, instead of trying to remake the Japanese economy in America’s liberal image. In the long run, we will gain better access to Japanese markets by increasing our direct investments in Japan and by internationalizing Japanese business networks or *keiretsu*. Finally, the U.S. should press Japan to absorb more imports from the East Asian economies so that Japanese investments in East Asia do not become export platforms directed at the U.S. market.”



John Zysman, professor of political science, UC Berkeley, and codirector of the Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy: “The U.S. should promote the competitiveness of American industry through incentives, technology development, and training. It should also address the budget deficit and formulate a positive

trade strategy to improve the American global economic position. But improved U.S. competitiveness may or may not alleviate trade friction with Japan. Recall that Japan’s trade imbalance is not principally a bilateral problem with the U.S. It is a structural problem with the whole world. Japan’s current account surplus of \$125 billion (\$49 billion with the U.S.) strains the open global system on which Japan depends. Dramatic exchange rate revaluations have not cured the problem. In fact, high rates have made investment in Japan difficult, and in years to come they will encourage the purchase of American assets. Thus the high rates can exacerbate tension and worsen the trade deficit rather than relieve tension. Ultimately, American policy cannot by itself (or even principally) achieve access to Japanese markets; healthy, open trade can occur only if Japan itself undertakes a complex and difficult set of adjustments.”



Chalmers A. Johnson, Emeritus Rohr Professor of Pacific International Relations, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego: “Rather than continuing to pressure Japan to change its economy, we need to negotiate the outcome of trade rather than the rules of trade. This approach is justified on

grounds that Japan, as it admits, is not the kind of capitalist economy envisioned by the negotiators of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Beyond that, because of the end of the Cold War, we no longer should support the endless reign of Japan’s corrupt and isolationist Liberal Democratic Party just because it is anticommunist.” ■



Richard Holbrooke (left) and Alan Romberg, senior fellow for Asia, Council on Foreign Relations.



Professors Benjamin J. Cohen of UC Santa Barbara (left) and Miles Kahler of UC San Diego.

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economic development, political stability, and overall security in the region?

- Will environmental problems in the region lead to instability or conflict?
- Is it ethical or even practical to demand that East Asian products be produced in a way that meets U.S. environmental standards and expectations?
- How can the countries of East Asia work together to reduce acid rain from Chinese coal-burning industries?

Diplomatic Questions

- Is U.S. policy unduly concerned with trying to make the countries in the region operate more like the U.S.?
- Can the U.S. move beyond a policy that vacillates between engagement and isolation toward one that embraces the complexity of the communist regimes in the region?
- What should the U.S. do about its relations (or lack thereof) with Vietnam and North Korea?
- How should the U.S. deal with the problem of human rights abuses

and continuing hard-line leadership in China? Are there ways to enforce “responsible behavior” and “minimum standards of decency”?

- Is U.S. policy toward Japan still mired in Cold War notions and therefore outmoded and inadequate?
- Should the U.S. designate a “trade czar” for Japan?
- Should it push for a Japanese seat on the U.N. Security Council?
- How can the U.S. government coordinate its economic and security policies toward East Asia?
- How can the U.S. restructure and revitalize its diplomatic machinery to more effectively “send the right signal” to the countries of East Asia? And what, precisely, is the right signal to send?

From Indifference to Involvement

Given the breadth and complexity of these questions, a wide variety of opinions were expressed—some polemical, some provocative, and not a few of them boldly innovative. As the discourse progressed, however, the participants had no trouble concurring that the time was ripe

for a concerted effort to redefine U.S.–East Asian policy. As one participant put it, the U.S. seems ready to develop “a continuous mechanism for discussion of these issues” and to initiate, as another participant said, “a more active, creative, and productive American diplomatic effort.”

In light of that, the study group focused considerable attention on the contributions and questions of several officials in the Clinton administration who were in a position to take ideas and proposals back to Washington while the U.S. was still framing its policies toward Asia.

Though the colloquium did not (and was not expected to) end in consensus, it did conclude on a clear note of optimism. A number of participants remarked that a protracted period of indifference regarding East Asia appeared to be coming to a close, and others noted hopefully that the advent of a new U.S. administration provided an auspicious opportunity to make U.S. policy toward East Asia a high priority. ■

Reconceptualizing U.S. Policy Toward East Asia

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Professor, Political Science
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List of Presenters and Papers

- **Peter H. Gleick**, "Environment and Security: U.S. Policy Toward East Asia."
- **Miles Kahler**, "United States Interests and Economic Regionalism in the Pacific."
- **Lawrence B. Krause**, "U.S. Economic Stake in the Pacific Basin: Trade and Investment Patterns."
- **Michael M. Mochizuki**, "U.S. Political-Military Relations with Japan."
- **Gregory W. Noble**, "U.S.-Japan Economic and Technological Relations in the Asia-Pacific Context."
- **William T. Pendley**, "Shaping the Security Environment in Asia."
- **Susan L. Shirk**, "The Human Rights Issue and U.S. Policy Toward China."

* With affiliations at time of conference.

† Submitted a paper but was unable to attend the conference.

‡ Retired from this position in April 1993.

All Sides Gain Knowledge, Perspective in Arms Control Workshop on Middle East

Flexible agenda and relaxed atmosphere combine to create spontaneous "experiment" in Arab-Israeli cooperation

The IGCC "Workshop on Arms Control and Security in the Middle East," a week-long symposium supported by a grant from Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory that took place March 29–April 2 in La Jolla, California, featured 67 participants from Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Lebanon, Egypt, Jordan, Israel, Russia, and the United States.

In his welcoming remarks to the group, Steven L. Spiegel, professor of political science at UC Los Angeles and chief organizer of the event, flashed a congenial smile and said, "We take your presence here as an expression of real commitment to peace in the Middle East."

The participants coughed politely, fidgeted, or whispered to each other. Apparently it would take more than gracious words and an amiable smile to break the ice—or, to put it more aptly, make peace break out. This was, after all, chiefly a gathering of two traditionally antagonistic groups—Arabs and Israelis.

Undaunted, Spiegel went on. "This entire conference is an experiment," he said. "There are no shoulds or should-nots." The point, he stressed, was to come together to share knowledge and experience on arms control and to conduct an "experiment in cooperation."

To that end, Spiegel explained, he and the other workshop organizers—Edward T. Fei of the U.S. Department of Energy; Alan Platt, consultant to the RAND Corporation; and IGCC Director Susan L. Shirk—had scheduled a series of technical briefings led



Confidence building in action: (from left) Alan Platt, conference organizer; Abdullah Toukan, science advisor to Jordan's King Hussein; Mark A. Heller of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies; and Steven L. Spiegel, conference organizer.

by specialists from the national laboratories—Lawrence Livermore, Los Alamos, and Sandia—to provide an opportunity for "mutual learning" on arms control verification technology and procedures and to discuss lessons drawn from the Soviet-American experience in arms control negotiations. The participants would split into two working groups that would compare findings and share ideas during several plenary sessions throughout the conference. One group would be Arab, the other Israeli.

The Middle Eastern participants, Arabs and Israelis alike, looked puzzled. "What's the point of segregating us?" they asked.

The organizers responded that they had assumed that would be the most comfortable arrangement.

"But we can't very well 'experiment in cooperation' if we're segregated," a number of Middle Eastern

participants protested. "Besides, if the focus of this conference is verification, how do you expect us to keep tabs on each other if we're sitting in separate rooms all day?"

Workshop Lesson #1: When it comes to arms control, flexibility is the name of the game. The organizers briefly conferred and then announced that, in the interest of peace, the working groups would be integrated.

Relaxed Atmosphere, Fertile Debate

The change set the mood for the entire event. By midweek, fresh ideas began to emerge from the free flow of thought and conversation among the workshop's unconventional mixture of professors, policy analysts, technicians, scientists, military officers, and diplomats, prompting one participant to comment that "the major breakthroughs in the peace process will occur not in the

negotiating room but outside of it." "The debate is becoming much more fertile," said another. "There is a growing appreciation of the issues on both sides."

This "relaxed but professional atmosphere" was enhanced by the workshop's serene setting—in an elegant, Spanish-style hotel only scant yards away from the tranquil waves and breezes of the Pacific Ocean.

In the technical briefings, American laboratory specialists offered participants detailed information on remote monitoring, on-site inspection techniques, early warning systems, information sharing, security-enhancement mechanisms, and confidence-building measures, plus a number of hands-on demonstrations of various verification technologies developed in the U.S. The reaction to these in-depth sessions was a flurry of adjectives such as "unique," "enthusiastic," "different," "creative," and "imaginative"—a reaction heard not only from the regional participants but from the scientists and technicians as well. As one person put it, "It's not just reading a paper, discussing it, and then going to lunch."

Throughout the week, workshop

participants devoted much time and energy to exploring the meaning and practical application of confidence-building measures (CBMs), and it might even be said that the workshop itself, with its uncustomary flexibility and informality, became a kind of confidence-building measure. Following are a few of the participants' definitions of CBMs:

- "The sum set of measures that will lead to maintaining peace."
- "Anything that helps a country move away from a unilateral pursuit of security toward a joint pursuit of security."
- "The political, military, and economic gestures that help the situation as we go along."
- "Anything that builds confidence—that makes war less likely."

One participant pointed out that "issues of recognition, treatment, and legitimacy" are implicit in any discussion of CBMs, and that the goal is to develop a "mutually beneficial set of measures" that results in a "win-win situation."

The workshop's agenda also featured an array of important speakers:

- Ronald Lehman, former director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and former chief U.S. arms control negotiator, discussed "How Governments

Organize for and Negotiate Arms Control";

- Serguei Tarassenko, former policy planning chief for the Foreign Ministry of the former U.S.S.R., discussed "Russia, the Middle East, and Arms Control";
- Richard Darilek and James Wendt of the RAND Corporation discussed "Enhanced Communications, Crisis Management and Prevention";
- James Roche of Northrop Corporation and Carl Ford of the National Intelligence Council discussed "Verification Technology, Arms Control, Early Warning, and Inadvertent War";
- Robert Einhorn, deputy assistant secretary of state for politico-military affairs, discussed "Middle Eastern Arms Control: Where Do We Go from Here?";
- Lewis Dunn of Science Applications International Corporation, Michael Intriligator, professor of economics and political science at UC Los Angeles, and Michael Mandelbaum, professor at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, all offered their perspectives on "The Future of Arms Control in the Middle East."

Questions and Quandaries

There was substantial discussion among the participants of a number of issues and questions, and while there was not always agreement as to how to address them, there was increased understanding of perspectives and concerns. Among the more salient issues raised during the presentations and discussions were the following:

- How do you integrate arms control with the peace process?
- If it is true, as one participant propounded, that "politics governs and dominates armaments," will serious progress on arms control in the Middle East occur only after progress is made toward a resolution of political conflict in the region? Or do agreements on arms



Conference organizers Edward T. Fei (left) and Steven L. Spiegel (center) speak with Robert Einhorn of the U.S. Department of State.

control play an important role in facilitating the political process?

- Is the ideal goal of arms control efforts in the Middle East to reach a state of “defensive equilibrium,” in which the various countries are equally secure in their individual defensive capability as well as secure in the knowledge that their adversaries don’t have an edge over them?
- Should the region pursue a “declaratory” policy of arms control, putting countries “on record” with confidence-building statements?
- Given the volatile and ticklish nature of intraregional relationships in the Middle East, what can be done to prevent “confidence-eroding measures” and “undesirable outcomes” from damaging the arms control process?
- What is the effect of the spread of Islamic fundamentalism on arms control in the region?
- Is there a relationship between terrorism, arms sales, and arms control? (On this issue, one participant noted pointedly that “the most destabilizing weapons in the Middle East are knives, booby-traps, and plastic explosives.”)
- Will the threat of nuclear proliferation, particularly from Iran, spur arms control efforts in the region?
- Should all countries in the region, including Iran, Iraq, and Israel, submit to the U.N. Security Council declarations of their commitment to making the Middle East “a zone free of weapons of mass destruction” or “a nuclear weapon-free zone”? Should the members of the Security Council also make that commitment?
- Will the U.S. and the other nuclear powers, sometime in the near future, agree to stop producing nuclear material and ban nuclear testing?
- Should the Middle East establish an “information clearinghouse” on arms control and security that would function as a regional mechanism for managing security issues, monitoring maneuvers, exercises, and arms



Aharon Yariv of Tel Aviv University’s Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies (left); Aly Ahmed Erfan of Egypt’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs (center); and Ze’ev Bonen of the University of Haifa’s Center of Policy and Security Studies.

purchases, and perhaps eventually as a regional arms registry linked to the U.N.’s arms registry? Would this produce “greater region-wide transparency”?

- Would establishing a mechanism for an open exchange of information on terrorism and proliferation be an effective confidence-building measure?
- How has the breakup of the former Soviet Union affected arms control efforts in the Middle East?
- What role should the U.S. play in arms control negotiations in the Middle East? Should it be a “door-keeper,” playing host but remaining aloof; a “referee” or “umpire,” making unilateral decisions and “setting the record straight”; or a “facilitator,” suggesting measures and solutions but not forcing them upon the regional parties?

Opinions on this question were manifold and often sharply divergent, with some participants advocating a “dynamic,” “activist,” or “unilateral” U.S. role and others cautioning against “imposing substantive preferences” and recommending a “step-by-step,”

“incremental,” or “nurturing” approach that gently introduces new initiatives. In general, there was considerable difference of opinion on the issue of relying upon third parties to facilitate the implementation of any arms control initiatives, from confidence-building measures to multilateral agreements.

- What will the Clinton administration’s policy be on Middle Eastern arms control? Will it take a more assertive stance and make the region a high priority? Will it make nonproliferation a central goal and work to ensure multilateral controls on arms exports?
- Will arms control progress and arms control solutions in the Middle East ultimately have to be endogenous—initiated and achieved by the parties in the region as opposed to external parties?
- Are there useful paradigms to be found in the history of U.S.-Soviet arms control negotiations or are the lessons of that process inapplicable to the situation in the Middle East?

Two noteworthy differences between the U.S.-Soviet and Middle

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Workshop on Arms Control and Security in the Middle East

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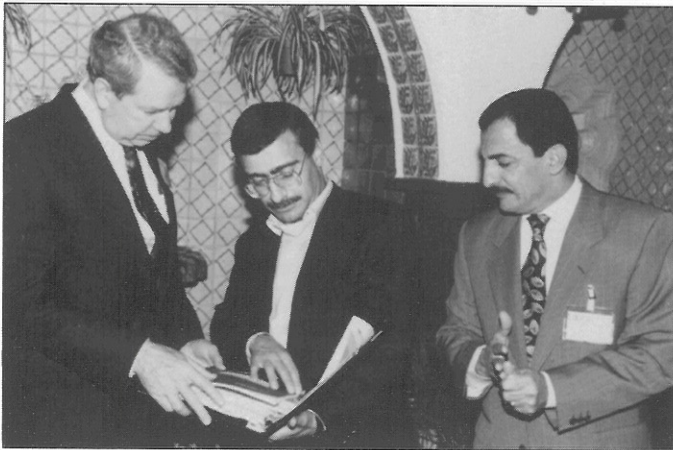
Abdullah Toukan
Science Adviser to His Majesty King Hussein
Amman, Jordan

James Charles Wendt
Senior Analyst, RAND Corporation

Ehud Yaari
Mideast Commentator, Israel TV
Israel Broadcasting Authority

Aharon Yariv
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Senior Member of the Technical Staff
Verification and Monitoring Analysis Department
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Edward M. Ifft of the U.S. On-Site Inspection Agency (left), Abdullah Toukan (center), and Mohammad A. F. Al Qudah of the Royal Jordanian Air Force.



Ronald Lehman (left), former director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and Serguei Tarassenko, former policy planning chief for the former U.S.S.R.'s Foreign Ministry, share a lighthearted moment at a workshop dinner. The two at one time sat on opposite sides of the arms control negotiation table.

continued from page 8

Eastern environments were (1) that the U.S. and the former Soviet Union never fought a war and never occupied each other's territory; and (2) that, given the Middle East's extensive experience with CBMs, the countries are "a lot further along than the U.S. and the former Soviet Union ever were" in understanding the difficulties and opportunities offered by the arms control process.

- Would it be helpful for regional

countries to engage in "CBM experiments," including observing measures and practices adopted in Europe, in order to examine their efficacy in a "try-before-you-buy" approach?

Agreeing to Disagree

"This conference," Professor Spiegel told the Newsletter, "was a tremendous opportunity to work with the specialists from the laboratories and the regional experts

on arms control. As a result, there's a new sense of optimism as to what is possible, and yet also a sense of realism as to the difficulties engaged in any serious process. It was not a zero-sum game. There were gains for all."

Or, as one participant succinctly put it, "I don't agree with everything, but I understand it—and that is more important." ■

Candidates Sought for UC Irvine's Warmington Chair

The University of California, Irvine, seeks candidates for the Drew, Chance, and Erin Warmington Chair in the Social Ecology of Peace and International Cooperation. Candidates should have a very distinguished research record and teaching interests bearing on international cooperation in specialized areas, including but not limited to world environmental problems, public health and other human development issues, or expanded international, educational, and communications capabilities. Candidates interested in applying perspectives drawn from economics or political economy are especially encouraged to apply. The appointment will be at the professor or senior professor level in the School of Social Ecology. The holder of the chair will also be associated with the interdisciplinary program on Global Peace and Conflict Studies.

Applications and nominations will be received and considered until the position is filled. However, the screening process will begin after July 1, 1993, and applications are encouraged until that date. Nominations or letters expressing interest, with curriculum vitae and names of three references, should be submitted to

Warmington Chair Search Committee
ATTN: Davida Hopkins-Parham
Office of Academic Affairs
535 Administration Building
University of California, Irvine
Irvine, CA 92717 U.S.A.

The University of California, Irvine, is an equal opportunity/affirmative action employer committed to excellence through diversity. ■

Steinbruner and Solarz Join IGCC's International Advisory Board

IGCC recently welcomed two new members to its International Advisory Board: Dr. John Steinbruner and the Honorable Stephen J. Solarz. Both men bring to IGCC a wealth of knowledge and experience and estimable credentials in foreign affairs.



John Steinbruner

John Steinbruner is director of the Foreign Policy Studies Program at the Brookings Institution, a position he has held since 1978. His areas of expertise include East-West relations, national security policy, the strategic balance, and foreign policy in general. Before joining

Brookings, Steinbruner was an associate professor in the School of Organization and Management and in the Department of Political Science at Yale University from 1976 to 1978, and from 1973 to 1976 he was an associate professor of public policy at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, where he also was assistant director of the Program for Science and International Affairs.

Steinbruner, who earned his A.B. from Stanford University in 1963 and his Ph.D. in international relations from MIT in 1968, has written and edited numerous books and monographs, including, most recently, *A New Concept of Cooperative Security*, coauthored with Ashton B. Carter and William J. Perry (Brookings Occasional Papers, 1992); *Decisions for Defense: Prospects for a New Order*, coauthored with William Kaufmann (Brookings, 1991); and *The Effects of Warning on Strategic Stability*, coauthored with Bruce G. Blair (Brookings Occasional Papers, 1991). With George Bing and IGCC Senior Fellow Michael May, Steinbruner wrote *Strategic Arms Reductions* (Brookings, 1988). His articles have appeared in *Arms Control Today*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Politique Internationale*, *Scientific American*, *Soviet Economy*, and other journals.

In addition to his affiliation with IGCC, Steinbruner is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Council on Foreign Relations, the International Institute of Strategic Studies, and the Committee on International Security and Arms Control at the National Academy of Sciences. ■

Steinbruner photo by Roslin Arington



Stephen J. Solarz

Stephen J. Solarz comes to IGCC's International Advisory Board with a strong background in the workings of government and the practical application of public policy. Currently a senior adviser at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C., Solarz represented the 45th District in Brooklyn, New York, in the U.S. Congress from 1974 until January of this year.

During his 18-year tenure in the House of Representatives, Solarz served on four committees—including Foreign Affairs, where he chaired the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs—and gained a reputation as an outspoken advocate for democracy and human rights around the world. Solarz played a central role in ending American support for the regime of Ferdinand Marcos; he was one of the leaders of the effort to impose U.S. sanctions against South Africa's racist government; he was the original author of the law requiring certification of progress on human rights in El Salvador as a condition of further U.S. military aid; he is regarded as the chief architect of the legislation that led to the end of civil war and the transition to majority rule in Zimbabwe; he helped secure the adoption of legislation terminating U.S. assistance to countries that explode a nuclear device; and he has worked on behalf of the Vietnamese boat people and other Southeast Asian refugees.

Solarz also has written extensively for numerous publications, including *Foreign Policy*, *Foreign Affairs*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Baltimore Sun*, and *The Christian Science Monitor*. He is a former trustee of Brandeis University, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and on the board of directors of the National Democratic Institute and the International Rescue Committee. ■

Who's Who—and Why—in Eastern Europe Today

A UC Los Angeles-based study of "the circulation of elites" in postcommunist Eastern Europe will attempt to predict whether we should expect turmoil in the region or gradual consolidation.

When the Berlin Wall crumbled and Soviet communism dissolved in the wake of the dramatic showdown in Red Square, it was clear that the final chapter in the history of the Cold War had been written. The old and obdurate global order—based on the bipolar standoff of two superpowers—had been miraculously subverted and a new order, yet to be defined, was beginning to emerge. First, however, would come a period of profound transformation.

Throughout Eastern Europe we witnessed great shifts and transitions in social structure and political power. We watched old regimes disintegrate and new ones spring up to replace them. We saw entrenched leaders toppled and new ones rise, sometimes from unexpected places. And we often wondered and worried—as there is still much occasion to do—about precisely who was in power and who was out, and for how long.

There is still much uncertainty about the nature of political and cultural leadership in post-Cold War Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Who will form the region's new elite? From what stratum of society will it come? And will it in fact be new, or just a recycled version of the old?

Such questions are the subject of an extensive research project initiated by Ivan Szelenyi, professor of sociology and chair of the Department of Sociology at UC Los Angeles. Supported by grants from IGCC, the National Science Foundation, and the National Council for Soviet and East European Research, Szelenyi and

Donald J. Treiman, also a professor of sociology at UC Los Angeles, are leading a team of about 30 scholars—five from the U.S. (one from UC San Diego, one from UC Irvine, one from Stanford, and two from UC Los Angeles) and the rest from Eastern Europe—in a comprehensive study entitled "Social Stratification in Eastern Europe after 1989 and the Circulation of Elites."

Keeping Tabs on the Joneses

In a recent interview with the Newsletter, Szelenyi explained that the premise for the project evolved from issues he had explored in his books *The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power* (1979) and *Socialist Entrepreneurs* (1988). "In the first study, I was writing about the desire of intellectuals to move the bureaucrats out of power in communist societies," Szelenyi said, his baritone voice rich with the accent of his native Hungary. "In the second, I was writing about the emergence of new entrepreneurship under communism. In a sense, these books were about those people who played an important role in undermining communism and were ready to move into the elite. I called it 'the silent revolution.' So I would like to test these hypotheses—discover to what extent this work I have been doing over 15 years is confirmed or disconfirmed by events following '89."

Szelenyi's project officially began in August 1990, when he and the other U.S. scholars first convened with their Eastern European colleagues to discuss logistics and design the questionnaire that would be used to gather personal data from an overall sample of about 30,000

randomly selected people in six countries—Russia, Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Bulgaria.

This vast study group, Szelenyi said, contains a large sample of the nomenklatura or former communist elite as well as members of the current political, intellectual, and business elite. Each subject undergoes a 90-minute interview in which a detailed life history is taken, covering everything from jobs and education to ideological and financial background.

A project of this size and scope naturally presents numerous challenges, not the least of which was accurately translating the questionnaire into six languages and making sure the different versions were linguistically identical. Any discrepancies, Szelenyi cautioned, could invalidate the final data. Then there was the difficult job of coordinating the six national research units and selecting interviewers who often had to be members of the elite themselves. This, Szelenyi explained, would ensure cooperation and full disclosure from "the very top dogs" he and his colleagues wanted to interview.

Despite these impediments, data collection is now well under way, and Szelenyi said the team is pushing to finish by July 1. By September, he expects to have the raw data assembled at UC Los Angeles, where research assistants will "clean" it (remove the errors and inconsistencies) and prepare it for analysis.

What Goes Down May Not Come Up

"The unique feature of this study is it will give us a good understand-

ing of the composition of past and current elites in Russia and Eastern Europe," Szelenyi said. "We are attempting to answer the questions, To what extent are the personnel changing? Are the old members downwardly mobile? Where are the new members coming from?"

The current postcommunist transition in the region makes Szelenyi's study timely, but the professor is quick to point out that it is also controversial. "Among sociologists and political scientists," he said, "there are some who suggest that the old communist elite in these countries use and are still using their political office or social network to convert their earlier political privilege into economic wealth. There are some who suggest that the old communist elite are becoming the new big bourgeoisie, and therefore the system may have changed but people on the top remain the same. This is what I call the 'reproduction of elites' theory, by which I mean even if a regime changes the personnel of the elite remains the same. There are also politicians who are using this theory as a political program in virtually all these [Eastern European] countries."

The theoretical alternative, which Szelenyi and his fellow investigators posit, focuses not on "reproduction" but on "circulation." "Our hypothesis," Szelenyi said, "is that if a radical system change takes place, like after '89 in Eastern Europe, then some members of the old elite will lose their privileges and there will be, in fairly substantial numbers, people who were excluded from the elite in the past who move into elite positions. That's what I call the 'circulation of elites'—that the personnel circulates. Some go down and those who were not in the elite now move up.

"I also have specific hypotheses about who is likely to go out and who is likely to come up," Szelenyi

added. "During the last decade of communism, the communist elite itself was fragmented. There has been a relatively poorly trained bureaucratic faction—usually older people—and there was a better-trained, younger, technocratic faction. This latter faction was particularly strong in Hungary and quite strong in Poland. In the other countries, bureaucrats were stronger. I expect that those in the bureaucratic faction, if they did not have sufficient technocratic training,

"This study will give us a good understanding of the composition of past and current elites in Russia and Eastern Europe. To what extent are the personnel changing? Are the old members downwardly mobile? Where are the new members coming from?"

— Prof. Ivan Szelenyi

are likely to lose their position now. In sociological lingo, those who do not have cultural capital from the old communist elite go out.

"As far as upward mobility into the new elite is concerned, there are three sources: One is the former dissident intelligentsia—the Vaclav Havel—and there are hundreds of them now in positions of political power. The second faction is the children of the old bourgeoisie and nobility; some of them are returning émigrés and others were discriminated against in their own countries, and now they are moving up to where their parents and grandparents were. The third source is people who started business in the so-called

'second economy' under communism—the nouveau riche element or petty bourgeoisie."

Retreat and Write

Next December, at the end of the process, the 30 investigators will gather for an ambitious 10-day retreat. "In this retreat," Szelenyi said, "we would like to spell out those social, political, economic, and policy implications which seem to affect the long-term stability of the region and the success of the transition to a market economy and democracy. Are these new entrepreneurs up to the task? Are they efficient or not? Are indeed the old communists now the bourgeoisie? Does it create a problem that they are a new bourgeoisie, if they are?" Szelenyi believes his study will "help us to predict if we should expect turmoil in the region or gradual consolidation." The answer, he added, may be quite different in different countries.

The project will yield three publications. Richard Anderson, an assistant professor of political science at UC Los Angeles, will summarize the policy implications of the study's findings in an IGCC policy paper, and out of the December conclave of social scientists will come two edited books, which Szelenyi describes as preliminary reports that he hopes will speak to a wide, lay audience. "One will be on the general population—what is happening in [Eastern European] society in general," he said. "The other will be specifically on the changing recruitment into the elite." These books, he added, will be written during the retreat, not after.

Two books in just 10 days? Can such a feat realistically be accomplished?

Szelenyi chuckled. "Nobody can leave the retreat without submitting a chapter. Those are the terms we are imposing." ■

A Message from the Director

IGCC, to take advantage of the creativity and expertise of the faculty on the nine UC campuses, initiates major new research projects by holding intercampus workshops. These brainstorming sessions help frame research questions and identify key participants for each project. During the winter and spring of 1993, IGCC has organized three such workshops.

The first, "Reconceptualizing Regional Relations," was held in Laguna Beach, California, on February 27-28. Led by Patrick Morgan, Tierney Chair of Peace and Conflict Studies and professor of political science at UC Irvine, and David Lake, IGCC research director for international relations and professor of political science at UC San Diego, this project aims to develop analytical frameworks for understanding regions as arenas of international relations. With the end of global competition between the superpowers, policymakers are focusing their attention on regional conflict and cooperation on environmental, economic, and security issues. IGCC has major research programs underway on the Asia-Pacific region, the Middle East, and Latin America, which allow us to make comparisons and determine how regions vary. The planning workshop brought together international relations theorists and specialists on particular regions from almost all the UC campuses.

An intercampus workshop to begin a new project on "Sustaining

American Leadership: Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, and the New World Order" was held on April 30 in Rancho Santa Fe, California. Under the leadership of David Lake, this project is motivated by three questions: What are the domestic bases of support for American foreign policy after the Cold War? How constrained are legislators and the executive by public opinion and particularistic interests, and to what extent can they manipulate these constraints? How can American foreign policy be shaped to respond to the new international realities and domestic political imperatives? Workshop participants included UC international relations and American politics faculty along with several veterans of the foreign policy process from Washington, D.C.

On the very next day, May 1, Professor Richard Anderson of the UC Los Angeles Department of Political Science led an intercampus workshop in Monterey, California, on "The Domestic Politics of Post-Soviet Foreign Policies." The workshop involved all the UC specialists on politics in the post-Soviet states as well as several academics from these states who are visiting scholars at UC campuses. At this meeting, the experts discussed the concept of the Commonwealth of Independent States as a new region, the emerging patterns of relations among these states, and the domestic political influences on these interstate relations.

— Susan L. Shirk

IGCC Publications

IGCC Policy Paper Series

1. *Building Toward Middle East Peace*, Working Group Reports from "Cooperative Security in the Middle East," Moscow, October 21-24, 1991 (20 pp., January 1992).
2. *Climate Change: A Challenge to the Means of Technology Transfer*, Gordon J. MacDonald (49 pp., January 1992).
3. *Japan in Search of a "Normal" Role*, Chalmers A. Johnson (42 pp., July 1992).

IGCC Studies in Conflict and Cooperation

1. *The Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy*, David P. Auerwald and John Gerard Ruggie, eds. (87 pp., 1990).
2. *Beyond the Cold War in the Pacific*, Miles Kahler, ed. (155 pp., 1991).

Other Titles Available

- The Arab-Israeli Search for Peace*, Steven L. Spiegel, ed. (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 199 pp., 1992, \$10.95). To order, please contact the publisher at (303) 444-6684.
- David Goldfischer and Thomas Graham, eds., *Nuclear Deterrence and Global Security in Transition* (Westview Press, 199 pp., 1991, \$29.95). To order, please contact the publisher at (303) 444-3541.
- Europe in Transition: Arms Control and Conventional Forces in the 1990s*, Alan Sweedler and Randy Willoughby, eds. (119 pp., 1991).
- Conventional Forces in Europe*, Alan Sweedler and Brett Henry, eds. (102 pp., 1989).

Single issues of IGCC publications can be obtained at no charge. Larger orders are subject to charge for reimbursement of printing costs. To order, contact

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La Jolla, CA 92093-0518

Noteworthy

IGCC Research Director Testifies Before Senate Committee

"Climate change is probably going to be the major determinant of energy policy in the future," predicts **Gordon J. MacDonald**, IGCC research director for international environmental policy, professor in the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies at UC San Diego, and an expert on global environmental issues.

On March 30, 1993, MacDonald expressed that conviction on Capitol Hill, where he had been invited to testify at a hearing of the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources. In his statement, which dealt with "the science of global environmental change," MacDonald commented on both the difficulty and the importance of "determining whether the future greenhouse world will be one of a calmer or a stormier atmosphere."

"The committee has for some years now taken an interest in the whole issue of climate change," MacDonald told the Newsletter, "since questions of climate change seriously impact on energy policy and which way the country should be going." MacDonald said he first testified before the committee in 1987, presenting "some general notions as to what the implications for energy policy were for climate change." The aim of the recent hearing, he said, was to "bring the committee up to date as to what has been learned over the last six years about climate change: Is it an issue that deserves attention, and what are some of the important remaining questions?"

MacDonald said his testimony "centered on the fact that over the last two to three years the worldwide insurance industry has been under stress" as a result of losses stemming from a devastating series of hurricanes, windstorms, typhoons, and other extreme climatic events. Now, he maintains, "the key scientific question" is to determine whether the increase in the frequency and intensity of these severe storms is related to greenhouse warming. "The fact of the matter is, we can't say; the science is not there," MacDonald said. "So that's one of the important issues in which research needs to go forward."

In concluding his testimony before the

Senate committee, MacDonald noted that "the time is ripe for the initiation of a targeted research program looking specifically at the issue of the frequency and intensity of damaging extreme events



Gordon J. MacDonald



Herbert F. York

in a climate that is gradually growing warmer. The pecuniary interest of the insurance companies suggests that this kind of research activity might very well be a joint government-industry undertaking. I would hope that the Department of Energy, with this committee's support, would undertake such a research program."

MacDonald, a physicist who has devoted more than 30 years to the study of environmental science and policy questions, is the author of "Climate Change: A Challenge to the Means of Technology Transfer," the second monograph in IGCC's current Policy Paper Series.

York Wins FAS Public Service Award

The Federation of American Scientists (FAS) has bestowed its 1992 Public Service Award on physicist **Herbert F. York**, IGCC's director emeritus and the first chancellor of the University of California, San Diego. Characterizing him as an "academician, administrator, adviser, author, agitator, and ambassador on the ultimate absurdities of the world's greatest arms race," the FAS noted that "for half a century, Herbert York has been an anchor of sanity in a world gone mad with visions of apocalyptic war."

Recruited for the Manhattan Project before he had turned 21, York "rose to direct one of America's two weapons laboratories, to become the chief scientist and engineer in the Department of Defense, and to be ambassador to the Comprehensive Test Ban negotiations in Geneva," the FAS said. York's influential

writings include *Race to Oblivion* (1970), in which he coined the phrase "ultimate absurdity"; *The Advisors: Oppenheimer, Teller, and the Superbomb* (1976); *Making Weapons, Talking Peace* (1987); and *A Shield in Space?* (1989), coauthored with Sanford Lakoff.

York told the Newsletter he was gratified to receive the award. "I've been associated with the Federation of American Scientists since the days when that organization successfully opposed the deployment of the first antiballistic missile [1969-1970], and I'm very pleased at this special recognition," he said.

New IGCC Staff

Bettina B. Halvorsen joined IGCC's central office in January as campus programs coordinator. She holds a B.A. in International Relations from UC Davis and comes to IGCC after seven years working as a program administrator in the Logistics Department at Convair. As campus programs coordinator, Halvorsen oversees the fellowship and grant review cycle, helps develop and organize IGCC teaching seminars, and serves as liaison with the IGCC Steering Committee and the nine UC-campus program offices.

In March, **Charles Harrington Elster** joined IGCC's central office as publications coordinator. Elster, who has a B.A. from Yale, is an award-winning journalist, radio commentator, and editor whose publishing credits include the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Diego Tribune*, and National Public Radio's "Morning Edition." He is the author of two pronunciation guides, *There Is No Zoo in Zoology* and *Is There a Cow in Moscow?* (Macmillan), and the forthcoming *Tooth and Nail: A Novel Approach to the New SAT* (Harcourt Brace, January 1994). Elster will handle the editing, production, and distribution of IGCC's newsletter, policy papers, and books.

About Our Cartoonist

J. D. Crowe's award-winning cartoons and illustrations have appeared in more than 900 newspapers and magazines worldwide, including *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *Sports Illustrated*, *USA Today*, *People*, and *Newsweek*. From 1987 to 1992 he was editorial cartoonist for the *San Diego Tribune*. ■



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