

# UC San Diego Newsletters

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## Nuclear Weapons: Views from Paris, London, and Beijing

IGCC's conference on "Future French, British, and Chinese Nuclear Weapons Policies" met June 2-3 in La Jolla, California, in the shadow of ominous international events.

While the big superpowers were proposing nuclear reductions, the headlines were filled with disturbing reports of proliferation by Iran and revelations about the nuclear program in Iraq. Shortly before the conference, North Korea had declared it would withdraw from the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), and media policy analysts were making grim prognostications about the possibility of a nuclear arms race developing in Asia.

At the conference, the air was filled with questions. What could the U.S. and other major powers do to induce North Korea and other countries to abandon their nuclear development programs? Would the North Koreans eventually yield to world pressure? Faced with another nuclear power in the region, how would China react? "If North Korea got the bomb," one participant wondered aloud, "would Japan be far behind?"

The tension and uncertainty surrounding these questions served to



*Stephen J. Hadley (left), assistant secretary of defense for international security policy during the Bush administration, listens as Gen. George Lee Butler, commander-in-chief of the U.S. Strategic Command, makes a point during a conference break.*

stimulate dialogue and spur participants toward their goal: to examine the forces influencing the course of nuclear policy in the second-tier powers—France, Great Britain, and China—and explore the measures these countries could take to manage

their nuclear weapons and reduce nuclear danger at a transitional point in history.

Sixty participants from France, Great Britain, China, Russia, and the United States attended the conference. The group was composed

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From left: Frank Jenkins, Science Applications International Corporation; Stanley Riveles, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; and Sidney D. Drell, Stanford Linear Accelerator Center.

IGCC postdoctoral fellow Weixing Hu (left), and Benoit Morel of Carnegie Mellon University's Program in International Peace and Security.

of scholars, physicists, arms control experts, military and government officials, and representatives from the three national laboratories: Lawrence Livermore, Los Alamos, and Sandia.

Specific issues addressed included arsenals and strategies; the potential for multilateral reductions and limitations; the transfer of nuclear technology and the control of fissile material; the pros and cons of transparency; problems of cooperation, credibility, and deterrence; perspectives on nuclear testing; the viability of a test ban; and the future of the NPT.

### Coping with Uncertainty

When the former Soviet Union and the United States were locked in an arms race, the consequence of their engaging in a nuclear war was clear: mutual assured destruction. That standoff is now history; nuclear weapons, however, are not, and participants grappled with the problem of determining new ground rules for managing them.

"What do we do with nuclear weapons now?" asked one participant. Without an overt adversary, is the concept of deterrence still valid? Are stockpiles necessary, and if so, how much weaponry is enough?

Some participants claimed the future holds opportunities for greater transparency and cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear material. Others pointed out that the lack of a cold war had created an even more insidious climate in which anything is possible and almost anything goes.

"Nuclear danger now rises from uncertainty," one participant declared, sounding a note of agreement among a number of those present that the focus of international concern has largely shifted from the strategies of the "big five" to the veiled nuclear programs of so-called aspirant countries and the nuclear ambitions of "unpredictable and adventuresome leaders" such as Saddam Hussein. For many experts and policymakers, the potential for errant nuclear behavior has become far more likely than the old threat of a U.S.-Soviet nuclear war.

Although there was general agreement that nations derive a sense of power and prestige from holding nuclear weapons, some participants asked whether possessing nuclear weapons necessitates "a certain kind of responsibility toward the world." Is there any value in "institutionalizing the notion of a 'nuclear club,'" asked another participant, "when the economic strength of Germany and Japan shows you can be a world power without nuclear weapons?"

After the presentation of papers analyzing the current nuclear thinking in London, Paris, and Beijing, most participants agreed that what was striking was the lack of change: The three governments were not making any fundamental shifts in their nuclear policies but were considering a somewhat reduced pace of development. "France and Britain are either stretching out or reducing some of their programs," observed John C. Hopkins, an IGCC visiting

scholar and the conference organizer. "We don't yet know what China is going to do in this regard, but I suspect they're going to stretch theirs out as well."

The conference concluded with a spirited debate about how the five nuclear powers could best reduce nuclear danger. Some participants, led by Alexei G. Arbatov, advocated continued negotiations on weapons reductions, while Stephen J. Hadley and others argued that over the next decade the emphasis should be on implementing the two START agreements, unilateral reductions, increased transparency, and improved dialogue rather than on new formal arms control negotiations.

### IGCC to Publish Conference Volume

Hopkins and Weixing Hu, an IGCC '92-'93 postdoctoral fellow (now with the Monterey Institute of International Studies), are editing a book containing essays by Alexei G. Arbatov, Jean-François Delpech, Sidney D. Drell, Stephen J. Hadley, Beatrice Heuser, Benoit Morel, Jonathan D. Pollack, George H. Quester, Michael Quinlan, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Litai Xue, and David Yost. *Strategic Views from the Second Tier: The Nuclear Weapons Policies of France, Great Britain, and China* will be published in November as the third title in IGCC's "Studies in Conflict and Cooperation" series. (See the list of publications on the back page of the Newsletter.)



# Future French, British, and Chinese Nuclear Weapons Policies

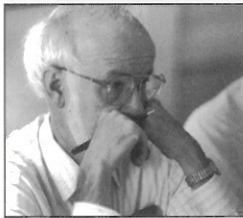
## List of Participants

**Harold Agnew**, former director, Los Alamos National Laboratory, former CEO, General Atomics; **Alexei G. Arbatov**, head, Military Strategic Dept., Institute of World Economy and International Affairs (IMEMO), Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia; **David Burbach**, graduate student, Center for International Gen. **George Lee Butler**, commander-in-chief, Academy of Military Sciences, Beijing, P.R.C.; *Economic Review*, Hong Kong; **Paul Chrzanowski**, Livermore National Laboratory, Livermore, CA; military applications, Commissariat à l'Énergie **François Delpech**, director, Centre d'Étude des Polytechnique, Paris, France; **Sidney D. Drell**, Center, Stanford Univ.; **William H. Dunlop**, treaty National Laboratory, Livermore, CA; Central Institute of the Armed Forces (RVSN), Moscow, Russia; **Edward T. Fei**, director, Office of Nonproliferation Policy, U.S. Dept. of Energy, Washington, D.C.; **Wendy Frieman**, director, Asia Technology Program, Science Applications International Corp.,



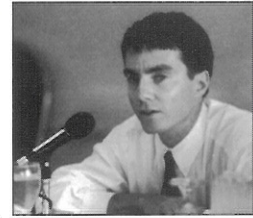
Beatrice Heuser

McLean, VA; **Marvin Goldberger**, adjunct professor, UC San Diego; **Stephen J. Hadley, Esq.**, Shea & Gardner, Washington, D.C.; **Beatrice Heuser**, univ. lecturer in war studies, King's College, London, U.K.; **William Curtis Hines**, manager, Organization 5004, Sandia National Laboratories, Albuquerque, NM; **John C. Hopkins**, former associate director, Los Alamos National Laboratory, visiting scholar, IGCC; **Weixing Hu**, postdoctoral fellow, IGCC; **Michael D. Intriligator**, professor, Depts. of Economics and Political Science, UC Los Angeles; **Frank Jenkins**, corporate vice president, Science Applications International Corp., McLean, VA; **Gerald Johnson**, senior fellow, IGCC; **Miles Kahler**, professor,



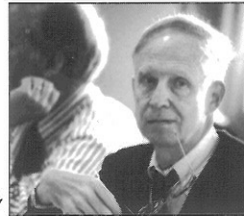
George H. Quester

Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego; **David Klein**, visiting professor, Dept. of Political Science, UC San Diego; **Gil I. Klinger**, director, Strategic Forces Policy, U.S. Dept. of Defense, Washington, D.C.; **David A. Lake**, research director, IGCC, professor, Dept. of Political Science, UC San Diego; **Bruce D. Larkin**, professor, Dept. of Politics, Cowell College, UC Santa Cruz; **Lt. Col. Jeffrey A. Larsen**, Studies, Directorate of Education, U.S. Air Force **Lehman II**, assistant to the director, Lawrence **Michael May**, codirector, Center for International **Minichiello**, visiting scholar, IGCC; **Benoit Morel**, and Security, Carnegie Mellon Univ., Pittsburgh, PA; Conflict Studies Program, professor, Dept. of Politics director emeritus, Stanford Linear Accelerator Center, Alamos National Laboratory; **Joseph F. Pilat**, **Jonathan D. Pollack**, corporate research manager, CA; **George H. Quester**, professor, College of Behavioral and Social Science, Dept. of Government and Politics, Univ. of Maryland at College Park; **Anthony L. C. Quigley, Esq.**, assistant chief scientific adviser (nuclear), Dept. of Defence, U.K.; **Sir Michael Quinlan**, director, The Ditchley Foundation, U.K.; **Stanley Riveles**, chief, Strategic Affairs Division, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament



Steven Weber

Agency, Washington, D.C.; **Richard Rosecrance**, director, Center for International Relations, UC Los Angeles; **Jack Ruina**, professor, Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; **Scott D. Sagan**, assistant professor, Dept. of Political Science, Stanford Univ.; **Shen Dingli**, professor, School of Engineering/Applied Sciences, Center for Energy and Environmental Studies, Princeton Univ.; **Susan L. Shirk**, director, IGCC, professor, Dept. of Political Science and Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego; **Helmuth Sonnenfeldt**, guest scholar, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.; **Roger Speed**, visiting fellow, Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford Univ.; **Alan Sweedler**, codirector, Institute of International Security and Conflict Resolution (ISSCOR), Dept. of Physics, San Diego State Univ.; **Georges Tan Eng Bok**, senior research fellow, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, France; **Roland Timerbaev**, ambassador-in-residence, Institute of International Studies, Monterey, CA; Washington, D.C.; **Steven Weber**, professor, Dept. **Welch**, president, Institute for Defense Analyses, (USN Ret.), consultant, Science Applications **Willoughby**, professor, Dept. of Political Science, of nuclear policy and security, Ministry of Defence, International Security and Arms Control, Stanford Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School,



Richard Rosecrance

Center for Russian and Soviet Studies, Monterey **Wang Qi**, senior fellow, The Atlantic Council, of Political Science, UC Berkeley; **Gen. Larry D. Alexandria, VA**; **R. Adm. Robert H. Wertheim** International Corp., San Diego, CA; **Randy Univ. of San Diego**; **Nicholas K. J. Witney**, director U.K.; **Litai Xue**, research associate, Center for Univ.; **David Yost**, professor, Dept. of National Monterey, CA.



Sir Michael Quinlan



Gen. Cai Zu Ming

Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford Univ.; **Alan Sweedler**, codirector, Institute of International Security and Conflict Resolution (ISSCOR), Dept. of Physics, San Diego State Univ.; **Georges Tan Eng Bok**, senior research fellow, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, France; **Roland Timerbaev**, ambassador-in-residence, Institute of International Studies, Monterey, CA; Washington, D.C.; **Steven Weber**, professor, Dept. **Welch**, president, Institute for Defense Analyses, (USN Ret.), consultant, Science Applications **Willoughby**, professor, Dept. of Political Science, of nuclear policy and security, Ministry of Defence, International Security and Arms Control, Stanford Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School,



Wendy Frieman



## The Comprehensive Test Ban Debate: A Relic of the Cold War

by John C. Hopkins

**T**he composer John Cage once said, “I can’t understand why people are frightened by new ideas. I’m frightened by old ones.”

A nuclear test ban is an old idea. It is considered a loose end of the Cold War era that should be tidied up. Much of the current discussion misses the point.

President Clinton has extended the present moratorium on U.S. nuclear testing for 15 months and urged other nuclear powers to do likewise. His ultimate goal is an international agreement imposing a complete ban on nuclear testing.

Any serious analysis of a nuclear test ban proposal must address the reasons for testing as well as the reasons against. We must have some idea of the rationale for nuclear weapons, the composition of the stockpile, and some concept of how we might keep it credible until they either could be eliminated or put under effective international control.

The way to approach the technical issue of the testing debate is first to develop a plausible strategy for nuclear weapons in the 21st century and then identify a stockpile compatible with the strategy. Next, an appropriate R&D program should be defined to support the arsenal. The last step is to articulate the role of testing in the R&D program. This should be considered after the other steps have been taken, not before. Only then can the political benefits of a ban be weighed against the technical costs.

Since nuclear weapons will be less central to our strategic thinking than in the past, we are presented with opportunities previously unavailable. Today, with much smaller stockpiles and with an abundance of delivery vehicles, we could design nuclear warheads that could trade size, weight, or yield for substantial robustness and increased safety, security, and simplicity.

Although the present weapons do need testing to remain credible, it might be possible to develop modern weapons that would not require nuclear testing after the initial design. Unfortunately such weapons could not be designed without a test program extending well after the time limit set by the Hatfield amendment. Furthermore, development of new weapons would not be consistent with either the letter or spirit of the law. It is a mistake to preclude this option for the marginal benefits of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

Almost everyone who has, or has had, responsibility for weapons design agrees that a modest level of nuclear testing is required to retain nuclear weapons technology. Senior nuclear weapons scientists from France, China, Britain, and Russia are unanimous on this point. While the technology could be maintained briefly without testing, the time is quite short—a few years at most. The nuclear weapons community today has lost the resilience of 1958,

the beginning of the first nuclear test moratorium. I suspect that after a test ban, most weapons scientists and engineers would leave the program at the first opportunity.

The rhetoric surrounding the nuclear test ban debate is largely a remnant of the Cold War. The traditional arms race arguments are obsolete and the discriminatory nature of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) is not significantly mitigated by a Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB). Even the timid and tentative suggestions for designing new weapons can hardly be called fueling an arms race when the motivation of most proposals is increased safety, security, or simplicity.

If arms race arguments lack relevance in today’s world, then what are the arguments against testing? Nonproliferation seems to be the cornerstone. The argument is that we should set a good example for the rest of the world. I cannot think of any potential proliferant that is likely to change its mind about its weapons program because of the moral example of the nuclear weapons states. Nor is it likely that any verification provisions of a CTB treaty would inhibit potential proliferants.

A second argument posed by CTB supporters is that we should live up to our commitments in Article VI of the NPT. Article VI states that “each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.” For the 1995 NPT Review Conference, the United States and Russia have more than lived up to their Article VI commitments with dramatic nuclear force cuts proposed over the last several years. It is doubtful whether a test ban would make a significant contribution to our Article VI commitments.

If we continue down the present path, the United States will have the same old Cold War-era nuclear weapons indefinitely. We should not simply stop testing to see what happens. If we do stop testing in Nevada for any significant period we would find it virtually impossible to resume. While it only takes national resolve to return to testing, there is ample evidence to suggest that this would be a formidable, if not impossible, step. More important, we would eventually find that stockpile custodians had been appointed who would assure us, with little nuclear experimental basis, that the weapons are perfectly fine. I don’t find that comforting. ■

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*John C. Hopkins, a visiting scholar at IGCC, was a technical adviser to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and an associate director at Los Alamos National Laboratory responsible for all nuclear weapons activities.*



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## The Relic of the Cold War Is Testing, not a Treaty Banning Testing

by George Bunn

**F**or nearly half a century, the United States tested nuclear weapons to keep ahead of the former Soviet Union. Today, stopping the spread of nuclear weapons to additional countries is a bigger concern than keeping ahead of the Russians. And an agreement to stop testing is key to an effective campaign to prevent such proliferation.

One way to try to stop other countries from acquiring nuclear weapons is for the United States to act as the global policeman against proliferation. That would mean using U.S. military force—if persuasion, then unilaterally cutting off trade and other relations, didn't work. In that sort of world, more nuclear tests would be appropriate. But we would have to expect Britain, China, France, and Russia to continue testing as well. Indeed, we would probably see testing by India, Pakistan, and other countries unless we bombed them to prevent it. That course would stimulate arms racing and great hostility toward the United States. In the end, it would not prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

The other way to restrain nuclear spread is to continue participating in the cooperative nonproliferation efforts of the overwhelming majority of the world. The foundation for these efforts is the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Some 160 countries have joined the NPT, which provides the norm against proliferation and international inspections to verify that norm.

It is not universal. Problem countries such as India, Israel, Pakistan, and Ukraine are not parties. But it legitimizes efforts by the United States, other cooperating countries, and the International Atomic Energy Agency to inspect for prohibited nuclear weapons programs, deny nuclear exports to countries that have not forsworn nuclear weapons, and seek enforcement through the U.N. Security Council.

The NPT is a cooperative arrangement. Countries can withdraw if they want to. Moreover, it is up for extension by majority vote in 1995. When it was completed in 1968, a majority of countries that joined expected that a treaty prohibiting all tests would soon follow. (The Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963 had permitted underground tests.) At each of the NPT review conferences that have taken place every five years since 1970, the failure of the NPT's nuclear powers to agree to a ban on all tests was the single most contentious issue. U.N. meetings since 1990 show that ending testing is still a demand of non-nuclear-weapon countries, including many of our allies.

The United States is now urging other countries to vote for an indefinite extension of the NPT in 1995. Such an extension is impossible if the United States continues to test.

I believe a majority of the non-nuclear-weapon members of the NPT think they were promised an end to testing in return for promising not to acquire nuclear weapons. As one of the NPT's negotiators, I know the importance attached by other countries to our NPT promise to negotiate in good faith for treaties that would stop the nuclear arms race including testing. Many non-nuclear-weapon countries contend that the United States was in flat violation of the NPT during the Reagan and Bush administrations, when we refused even to participate in negotiations to ban all tests.

The two START agreements simply are not enough without an end to testing, in the view of many non-nuclear countries. Even when implemented, these agreements will not reduce the number of U.S. and Russian strategic missiles to their 1968 levels. Moreover, further implementation may well be frustrated in 1995 by Ukraine's refusal to eliminate many strategic weapons left there after the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

These are some of the reasons why the Congress and President Clinton have called for a treaty banning all nuclear testing. After lengthy review, in his July 3rd radio address Clinton agreed with testing proponents that additional U.S. tests "could help us prepare for a test ban and provide some additional improvements in safety and reliability." However, he said that "the price we would pay in conducting those tests now, by undercutting our own nonproliferation goals and ensuring that other nations would resume testing, outweighs these benefits."

To Clinton, the arguments against a test ban based on maintaining stockpile safety and reliability were weak because many of these problems have been dealt with without testing. We examined them during the 1958–61 Eisenhower-Kennedy moratorium on testing, and we are better equipped to do that now than we were then. Producing new designs for nuclear weapons is where testing is most important. But that is exactly what most non-nuclear-weapon countries want to prevent.

If we choose cooperation with other countries as the best means of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, we must live up to our part of the bargain if we expect other countries to live up to theirs. That requires us to negotiate an end to testing if we can. ■

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*George Bunn, a member-in-residence of the Stanford Center for International Security and Arms Control, was general counsel of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and a member of the U.S. delegation to the NPT negotiations. He is the author of Arms Control by Committee: Managing Negotiations with the Russians (Stanford Univ. Press, 1992).*



# Multilateral Conference on Middle East Anticipates PLO-Israeli Accord

*"Track-two" meeting at UC Los Angeles yields practical proposals for regional cooperation and security*

On September 13, 1993, representatives of two of the world's bitterest enemies—Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)—came together on the sunny south lawn of the White House and signed a "Declaration of Principles" paving the way toward peace in the Middle East. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat shook hands, and President Clinton declared that the historic agreement marked "the dawn of a new era not only for the Middle East but for the entire world."

In anticipation of that new era, and in the hope of hastening its arrival, 61 experts from the Middle East, Europe, and the United States gathered June 5–8 on the UC Los Angeles campus to investigate the practical possibilities for peace and cooperation in a region racked by generations of conflict.

The conference, sponsored by IGCC and the UC Los Angeles Center for International Relations, brought together scholars, specialists, policy analysts, and government officials (attending in an unofficial capacity). Following the informal "track-two" method of statecraft—also known as "citizen diplomacy"—the meeting mirrored the official Middle East multilateral peace talks, with working groups assigned to examine the issues of arms control and regional security, water, the environment, economic cooperation, and refugees. In separate sessions, the subgroups concentrated on practical solutions to specific problems, reflecting a "peace by pieces" approach to the resolution of regional conflict.

"You get real people talking about what negotiations are really like, rather than dry academic discussions," said Etel Solingen, professor in the Department of Politics and Society at UC Irvine, commenting on the track-two process. "For academics it's a reality check, and for policymakers it's a way of thinking about issues in a broader way than they might be used to. It's in the nature of academics to explore a broader set of options; they are unconstrained by the day-to-day bargaining process. Therefore they can provide more options for the

decision-makers, who often, by virtue of what they do, cannot always afford to think expansively."

As another conference participant put it, "Brains and good intentions can go a long way in solving the most thorny and controversial problems." For example,

American and European specialists suggested how programs developed in other regions (such as water-rights agreements and conflict-resolution centers) could be adapted to the Middle East, and a number of Arabs and Israelis remarked how the opportunity for informal contact and impromptu conversation was highly productive. Such

exchanges, of course, differ markedly from the often frosty and aloof conduct of the official talks.

"Many innovative proposals for solutions to political, strategic, economic, and environmental problems were tabled at the conference," said Fred Wehling, a former consultant to the RAND Corporation and now a policy researcher for IGCC. "Some of these were adopted by the working groups as recommendations for the ongoing multilateral negotiations, while others sparked off spirited, informative discussions of underlying issues. In light of recent developments in the peace process, the emphasis on following up agreements with verifiable solutions to practical problems was especially timely."

With Israel and the PLO overcoming the seemingly insurmountable barrier of mutual recognition, and with Israel and Jordan agreeing on a comprehensive agenda for negotiations, the stage has been set for a host of potential bilateral and multilateral compacts leading to what many hope will be a lasting peace. As one conference participant urged presciently, all the parties in the Middle East must now "develop regional cooperation to its fullest extent," focusing on promoting economic development and managing the area's natural resources.

That, and the many other challenges that lie ahead on the road to peace, will form the agenda for the next track-two multilateral conference, scheduled for June 1994 in the Middle East itself. ■

## Toward Peace in the Middle East



*See page 8 for a list of conference participants.*



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# The Olive Branch Behind the Scenes

*The PLO-Israeli accord is a historic leap forward, but we need more "citizen diplomacy" to bring lasting peace to the Middle East.*

The breakthrough between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel appeared shocking to many observers and even to many actually engaged in the Arab-Israeli negotiations.

They should not have been so surprised, because in this region noted for conflict, acrimony, and instability, the record since the end of the Gulf War has been highly encouraging, despite sporadic sobering events such as shootings, ambushes, terrorism, and bombings. The shootings got the headlines; the actual process tells another story.

The so-called bilateral negotiations in Washington have been continuing since the October 1991 Madrid peace conference at decent intervals. Multilateral meetings that deal with social and technical topics of common concern are also occurring regularly between Israel and most of the Arab states.

While the bilateral talks in Washington focus on the problems of the past (borders, settlements, security guarantees), these larger multilateral sessions are laying the groundwork for an Arab-Israeli future in which genuine cooperation will be possible. There, away from the cameras and sound bites, a potential diplomatic revolution is emerging.

A new Arab-Israeli subculture has also developed among bureaucrats and experts who meet regularly at international gatherings, exchange views, and even find common ground. I saw heartening developments while organizing two Arab-Israeli conferences for IGCC last spring. The first, in March, focused on arms control and confidence building; the second, held in June with UC Los Angeles's Center for International Relations, focused not only on arms control but also on opportunities for cooperation in the areas of water storage and conservation, environmental issues, economic cooperation, and refugee problems after the peace.

Behind the scenes, gone are the old polemics and endless debates about obscure historical points. They are replaced by businesslike, even convivial discussions about technical issues of mutual concern.

Compared with other regions, this behavior is downright civil. Can you imagine similar gatherings of Koreans, Bosnians, Somalis, or Azerbaijanis and Armenians?

Some of these private meetings between Arabs and Israelis have been so successful that Middle East specialists now find themselves in the surprising position of having their approaches followed by analysts of other regions. At the UCLA conference, for example, one Israeli



colleague announced proudly that he had just returned from a trip to India and Pakistan where he had been asked to share the record of recent Arab-Israeli steps in confidence building.

How can we encourage more progress and make these private conferences translate into additional and more concrete agreements? First, we need more meetings. They should be

broadened to include business, cultural, media, and educational leaders. If possible, they should be held in or near the Middle East. While they would be necessarily confidential in their early stages, to have broad impact they must eventually become public. The peace process so far has been too centered on the elite—especially on the Arab side—to have lasting impact.

Second, the multilateral peace talks would be enhanced if Syria and its client, Lebanon, could be convinced to join. Expanded Syrian presence in the private arena may be the best way to increase the importance of the multilaterals quickly and solidify Israeli-Syrian contacts.

Third, in the bilateral negotiations we need more activism from the United States—not to impose ideas but to facilitate resolution. This generation of Arab and Israeli leaders has grown accustomed to American intervention and guidance. Both Arabs and Israelis have been pressing for traditional American engagement, although each side defines that involvement slightly differently.

Is peace at hand for Arabs and Israelis? Perhaps. The complex issues embodied in the phrase "territory for peace" are far from being resolved. I believe the Palestinian-Israeli accord will work, but it remains to be seen whether peace between Arabs and Israelis is possible. The threat of war still hangs over the region and pressure from radicals and Islamic fundamentalists who oppose the peace process continues to grow. But despite terrorism and crises and halting leadership, with every official meeting and every private conference, such as those held this spring in California, and every secret contact like those which produced the PLO-Israeli agreement, the Arabs and Israelis break new ground even when they continue to disagree or occasionally shoot at each other.

If this behind-the-scenes progress can continue to be converted into substantive agreement with a little American help, then the Arab-Israeli dialogue truly will become the model for conflict resolution worldwide. ■

## Middle East Perspective by Steven L. Spiegel

*Away from the cameras  
and sound bites, a  
potential diplomatic  
revolution is emerging.*

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*Steven L. Spiegel is a professor of political science at UC Los Angeles and the editor of The Arab-Israeli Search for Peace.*



## 1994–1995 Faculty and Dissertation Grants

IGCC sponsors UC faculty and graduate students through an annual grant and fellowship competition. Proposals for the 1994–1995 competition will be accepted for the following categories:

**Dissertation Fellowships:** Currently enrolled UC graduate students who have advanced to candidacy are eligible to apply for a \$12,000 nine-month stipend. Travel and research support may also be awarded for the first year. Fellows may apply for a one-year renewal of the stipend only. Doctoral students from all disciplines are welcome; contact IGCC for further guidelines.

**Research and Research Conference Grants:** UC faculty from all disciplines are eligible to apply for up to \$15,000 in support, for up to three consecutive years. Special consideration will be given to projects that overlap the research priorities of IGCC.

**Teaching Grants:** Undergraduate course development is a high priority at IGCC. We offer seed money to prepare new course materials or incorporate new teaching methods. Eligibility is the same as for research grants.

Applications will be available in mid-November. All proposals are due in the IGCC central office **February 1, 1994**. For an application or more information, write to the Campus Programs Coordinator, IGCC, University of California, San Diego, 9500 Gilman Drive, Dept. 0518, San Diego, CA 92093–0518, or call our campus programs office at 619-534-7224.

## The Middle East Multilateral Talks: List of Participants

*Conference Organizers:* **Steven L. Spiegel**, Dept. of Political Science, UC Los Angeles, conference chair; **Richard Rosecrance**, Dept. of Political Science, UC Los Angeles, and director, UC Los Angeles Center for International Relations; **Susan L. Shirk**, director, IGCC, professor, Dept. of Political Science and Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego.

*Participants:* **Robert B. Abel**, New Jersey Marine Sciences Consortium; **Howard Adelman**, Center for Refugee Studies, York Univ., Canada; **Riad Ajami**, Rochester Institute of Technology, New York; **Sulayman Al-Qudsi**, Dept. of Economics, UC Davis; **Gen. Abdel Sattar Amin**, National Center for Middle East Studies, Cairo, Egypt; **Ali Anani**, Jawad Anani Center, Amman, Jordan; **J. Holmes Armstead**, Dept. of Political Science, Univ. of Nevada; **Fred Axelgard**, Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, U. S. Dept. of State, Washington, D.C.; **Meir Ben-Meir**, former director-general, Water Commission, Israel; **Peter Berck**, Dept. of Agriculture and Resource Economics, UC Berkeley; **James W. Biggar**, Dept. of Environmental Studies, UC Davis; **Patrick Clawson**, National Defense Univ., Washington, D.C.; **Richard Darilek**, RAND Corporation, Washington, D.C.; **M. Zuhair Diab**, King's College, London; **Joseph DiMento**, School of Social Ecology, UC Irvine; **John Dracup**, Dept. of Civil Engineering, UC Los Angeles; **Moshe Efrat**, Israeli International Institute, Tel Aviv, Israel; **Gil Feiler**, Dept. of Economics, Tel Aviv Univ., Israel; **Gideon Fishelson**, Dept. of Economics, Tel Aviv Univ., Israel; **Shai Franklin**, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Washington, D.C.; **Peter H. Gleick**, Pacific Institute for Studies in Development, Environment, and Security, Oakland, CA; **Munther J. Haddadin**, ROID Development & Engineering Consultants, Amman, Jordan; **Yehoshafat Harkabi**, Hebrew Univ., Jerusalem, Israel; **Mark A. Heller**, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv Univ., Israel; **Seev Hirsch**, Institute of International Economics & Management, Copenhagen, Denmark, professor, Tel Aviv Univ., Israel; **Samir Huleileh**, Economic Development Group, Bait Hanina; **Michael D. Intriligator**, Dept. of Economics, UC Los Angeles; **Alex Kane**, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego; **Jonathan Lipow**, Dept. of Agriculture and Resource Economics, UC Berkeley; **Abraham Lowenthal**, Dept. of Political Science, Univ. of Southern California; **Yossi Loya**, Faculty of Life Sciences, Tel Aviv Univ., Israel; **Uri Marinov**, Environment & Development, Jerusalem, Israel; **George Nader**, publisher and editor, *Middle East Insight*, Washington, D.C.; **Joel Peters**, Dept. of Politics, Univ. of Reading, U.K.; **Alan Platt**, RAND Corporation, Washington, D.C.; **Arian Pregenzer**, Sandia National Laboratories; **Ezra Sadan**, The Volcani Center, Bet Dagan, Israel; **Ramzi Sansur**, Center for Environmental and Occupational Health Sciences, Birzeit Univ., West Bank; **Gershon Shafir**, Dept. of Sociology, UC San Diego; **Stanley Sheinbaum**, publisher, *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Los Angeles; **Abbas Shibliak**, Refugees Studies Program, Oxford Univ., U.K.; **Etel Solingen**, Dept. of Politics and Society, UC Irvine; **Steven Spronz**, Mitchell, Silberberg & Knupp, Los Angeles; **Gerald M. Steinberg**, Bar-Ilan Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan Univ., Israel; **Glenn E. Stout**, International Water Resources Association, Univ. of Illinois; **John Taylor**, Sandia National Laboratories; **Abdullah Toukan**, science adviser to His Majesty King Hussein, Amman, Jordan; **Elias H. Tuma**, Dept. of Economics, UC Davis; **Michael Vannoni**, Sandia National Laboratories; **Mohammed Wahbeh**, Marine Sciences Station, Univ. of Jordan; **Philip Warburg**, Environmental Law Institute, Washington, D.C.; **Fred Wehling**, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA (now policy researcher, IGCC); **Jim Wendt**, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA. *Not in attendance, papers discussed:* **Ahmed Fakhr**, National Center for Middle East Studies, Cairo, Egypt; **Alan Richards**, Dept. of Economics, UC Santa Cruz; **Yezid Sayigh**, St. Anthony's College, Oxford, U.K.; **Lawrence Scheinman**, Peace Studies Program, Cornell Univ.; **Dan Zaslavsky**, Technion-Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa, Israel.



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# Foreign Participation: The New Litmus Test of American Leadership

*In a world where security threats are increasingly indirect and amorphous, can we trust our presidents to lead us down the right path?*

by David A. Lake

Since the end of the Cold War, the United States has developed a preference for multilateral military operations. In Kuwait, Somalia, and now—through creeping incrementalism—the Balkans, the pattern has been the same. The United States initiates and leads the action. An ad hoc coalition of states follows.

This collective diplomacy is an important innovation. By taking the initiative, but making its contributions contingent upon those of other states, the United States ensures action but does not bear alone the tremendous cost of defending general principles of international conduct. Joint action also tempers American policy, increases the number of parties that can veto capricious conduct, and reduces the risk of erroneous commitments.

Foreign participation in America's overseas military adventures also provides a standard for judging the wisdom of presidential foreign policy initiatives. In a world of pervasive uncertainty, it is easy to make foreign policy mistakes. We are continually tempted to inflate our interests in distant regions of the globe and minimize the potential costs of military solutions to parochial problems.

During the Cold War, when international conflicts and security threats were relatively clear, Congress and the voters reasonably delegated to the President broad discretion in foreign affairs. Today, threats are less direct and more amorphous. We lack domestic consensus on the proper ends and means of foreign policy. But the practice of placing responsibility for foreign affairs in the hands of one man and his advisers continues.

Despite his recent circumspection on Bosnia, largely the result of Secretary of State Warren Christopher's until now fruitless discussions with the Europeans, President Clinton could still err easily and commit the United States to a foreign military disaster. Though luck and five months of intensive planning eventually redeemed him, President Bush acted unilaterally and, apparently, spontaneously when he set the United States on the course to war by declaring four days after the initial invasion that Iraq's conquest of Kuwait "will not stand." There is little to prevent President Clinton from undertaking similar actions that place America's reputation and prestige on the line before our celebrated system of domestic checks and balances forces him to reconsider.

Recent presidents have offered and we have readily accepted foreign participation in U.S. military adventures as evidence of the executive's sound judgment in international affairs. We cannot follow the intricacies of Iraqi or Bosnian politics or assess the potential for military success. Yet we can correctly surmise that if other countries with interests in a conflict will not follow, the President is leading us down the wrong path. Conversely, if other countries follow, then we are more likely to believe—for better or worse—that the President is heading in the right direction.

While the use of such proxies is standard in politics, this one is unique to the post-Cold War era. Unable to judge matters for ourselves, we now look to foreign participation as the litmus test of American and presidential leadership.

This is, however, a dangerous standard. Through hidden

diplomatic bargains, presidents may consciously build international support and bias the public's assessment of their policies. Motivated by campaign positions or personal concern, for instance, a president might offer greater aid to Russia if it endorses or at least does not block his foreign policy initiatives.

We still do not know and may never know the deals Bush made with the Arabs, Europe, and Japan in support of Kuwait. Nor do we know the scope of the Clinton Administration's negotiations with the Europeans and Russia over Bosnia.

Backroom diplomatic deals mislead the public, increase the odds of critical mistakes, and raise the costs of policy failures. As we increasingly rely upon foreign participation as our standard for judging presidential foreign policy initiatives, we must insist that all diplomatic deals be made openly and publicly. Otherwise, presidents thwart informed debate and deceive the people they were elected to serve. They also deprive themselves of an important check on their own propensity for error, needlessly risk the lives of American soldiers, and potentially destroy their administrations. ■

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*David A. Lake is IGCC research director for international relations and professor of political science at UC San Diego. He is currently completing a book entitled Superpower Strategies: The State and the Production of Security.*



## Exploring the Link Between Economics and Security in the Asia-Pacific Region

**F**orty-eight participants from China, Japan, South Korea, North Korea, Vietnam, Thailand, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Australia, Canada, Russia, and the United States attended IGCC's conference on "The Asia-Pacific Region: Links Between Economic and Security Relations," which convened May 13–15 in La Jolla, California. Scholars and policy analysts from some of the world's leading think tanks and universities joined military specialists, journalists, and government representatives (acting in their private capacity) for the fourth and final gathering in a three-year project sponsored by the Ford Foundation. (Previous meetings took place in Hong Kong in 1992, Beijing in 1991, and La Jolla in 1990.)

At the May conference, participants reported what they had discovered about the plexiform, interconnected nature of economics and security in the Asia-Pacific. The agenda not only covered Russian, Japanese, Chinese, and U.S. policies toward the region but also delved into economic development and military modernization, economic conflicts and security alliances, and prospects for sub-regional cooperation in Southeast and Northeast Asia. Following are some of the major points of discussion:

- Russia, suffering from economic stagnation and political isolation, is eager to create a hospitable security environment by forging a closer economic relationship with Asia, and particularly with Japan.

- Though ostensibly powerful, Japan is struggling with a stubborn recession and unprecedented political upheaval. These factors have aggravated its sense of vulnerability and made it ambivalent about cooperative economic and security arrangements.

- Trade friction between Japan and the United States has in some cases exacerbated intraregional economic friction with Japan.

- China's role as a regional military and political power is tempered by its economic interests. Despite domestic cross-pressures, Beijing has a high stake in maintaining cordial foreign relations to protect its burgeoning export markets.

- Now that the Cold War is over, the United States seems unsure of its security role in East Asia and how that role is linked to economic concerns. Should the United States seek to extract economic concessions in exchange for security commitments? What should be done about the anachronistic U.S.–Japan defense treaty?

At the center of conference debate was the paradox of the Asia-Pacific: As the most economically dynamic region in the world, its productivity is the envy of other nations. Yet it is second only to the Middle East in spending on military hardware. Several countries are engaged in ambitious arms modernization programs, and though at present there are no sources of conflict likely to erupt into war, these programs nevertheless may create a classic "security dilemma," in which a country's defensive conduct is perceived by its neighbors as a threat.

How should this economic-security paradox be construed? Is military development in the region a benign by-product of economic progress or a warning sign of impending conflict? Most economists forecast tremendous economic growth in the Asia-Pacific over the next 20 years. Will that growth lead to more military spending and increase the likelihood of misperceptions and territorial disputes?



Thong Ha Huy (left) of Vietnam's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Kusuma Snitwongse of the Institute of Security and International Studies at Chulalongkorn University, Thailand.

Without confidence-building measures and appropriate forums for communication, vigorous economic growth coupled with unrestrained military development may become, as one participant put it, "a transmission belt for conflict" throughout the Asia-Pacific. The challenge now, most participants agreed, is to explore how the region's growing economic interdependence can be translated into multilateral security cooperation.

"Obviously everyone wants a peaceful environment for economic progress, but the conference showed that we can't count only on strong economic relations to assure continuing peace," said Susan L. Shirk, IGCC's director and the conference organizer.

Professor Shirk currently is editing a conference volume tentatively titled *Economic and Security Relations in the Asia-Pacific*. Contributors will include, among others, Jia Qingguo, Alan Romberg, John Zysman and Michael Borrus, Chung-in Moon, Kusuma Snitwongse, and He Di. In addition, IGCC will publish several policy papers on issues raised at the conference. ■



## Asia-Pacific Conference: List of Participants

*Conference Chair:* **Susan L. Shirk**, director, IGCC, professor, Dept. of Political Science and Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego; *Participants:* **Akaho Tsuneo**, director, Center for East Asian Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies, Monterey, CA; Consulate, San Francisco, CA; **Desmond Ball**, Centre, Research School of Pacific Studies, The **Joyce Barba**, former ABC news producer, **Dal-Joong**, professor, Dept. of Political Science, **Cheung**, correspondent, *Far Eastern Economic* and secretary, Permanent Mission to the U.N., for Asia-Pacific Studies, York Univ., Ontario, Council of Economic Advisers, Executive Office professor, Dept. of Economics, UC Santa Cruz; Ford Foundation, New York, NY; **James O. Goldsborough**, foreign affairs columnist, *San Diego Union-Tribune*; **Peter A. Gourevitch**, dean, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego; **Stephan Haggard**, professor, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego; **He Di**, assistant director, Institute of



Peter Geithner (l)  
Paul Evans

**Vladimir Azaroushkin**, consul, Russian professor, Strategic and Defense Studies Australian National Univ., Canberra; **Alisa** Beijing, "MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour"; **Chang** Seoul National Univ., Korea; **Tai Ming** *Review*, Hong Kong; **Dong Kyong Chol**, sec-D.P.R.K.; **Paul M. Evans**, director, Joint Centre Canada; **K. C. Fung**, senior staff economist, of the President, Washington, D.C., assistant **Peter Geithner**, director, Asia Programs, professor, Faculty of Politics and Economics, Osaka International Univ., Osaka, Japan; **Andrei Kouzmenko**, senior research fellow, Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia; **Evgenii Kovrigin**, professor, Faculty of Law, Seinan Gakuin Univ., Fukuoka, Japan; **Lawrence B. Krause**, Pacific Economic Cooperation Professor, director, Korea-Pacific Program, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego; **Bruce D. Larkin**, professor, Board of Studies in Politics, UC Santa Cruz; **James Clay Moltz**, research fellow, Institute of International Studies (IIS), UC Berkeley; **Chung-in Moon**, professor, Dept. of Political Science, Univ. of Kentucky



Valeriy Zaitsev (l)  
He Di

American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, P.R.C.; **John C. Hopkins**, former associate director, Los Alamos National Laboratory, visiting scholar, IGCC; **Weixing Hu**, postdoctoral fellow, IGCC; **Vladimir Ivanov**, fellow, United States Institute of Peace, Washington, D.C.; **Jia Qingguo**, lecturer, Dept. of Government and Public Administration, Univ. of Sydney, Australia; **Katahara Eiichi**, associate professor, Faculty of Law, Kobe Gakuin Univ., Kobe, Japan; **Hon. Kim Jong Su**, deputy representative, Permanent Mission to the U.N., D.P.R.K.; **Joseph K. H. Koh**, counselor, Embassy of Singapore, Washington, D.C.; **Kondo Shigekatsu**,



Patrick M. Morgan (l)  
Alisa Joyce Barba

professor, Faculty of Politics and Economics, Osaka International Univ., Osaka, Japan; **Andrei Kouzmenko**, senior research fellow, Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia; **Evgenii Kovrigin**, professor, Faculty of Law, Seinan Gakuin Univ., Fukuoka, Japan; **Lawrence B. Krause**, Pacific Economic Cooperation Professor, director, Korea-Pacific Program, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego; **Bruce D. Larkin**, professor, Board of Studies in Politics, UC Santa Cruz; **James Clay Moltz**, research fellow, Institute of International Studies (IIS), UC Berkeley; **Chung-in Moon**, professor, Dept. of Political Science, Univ. of Kentucky



Susan L. Shirk (l)  
K.S. Nathan

at Lexington; **Patrick M. Morgan**, professor, Dept. of Politics and Society, director, Global Peace and Conflict Studies Program, UC Irvine; **Nakajima Mineo**, professor, international relations, director, Institute of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Japan; **K. S. Nathan**, associate professor of international relations, Dept. of History, Univ. of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia; **James Przystup**, director of regional security strategies, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Dept. of Defense, Washington, D.C.; **Alan Romberg**, senior fellow for Asia, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, NY; **Bilveer Singh**, honorary secretary and senior lecturer,



Wang Jisi (l)  
Jia Qingguo

Singapore Institute of International Affairs, Dept. of Political Science, National Univ. of Singapore; **Kusuma Snitwongse**, chairman of the executive board, Institute of Security and International Studies, Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn Univ., Thailand; **John Stremlau**, deputy director, Washington, D.C.; **Sugimoto Hiroshi**, bureau **Ha Huy**, deputy director, Dept. of Americas, **Tsuyoshi Hasegawa**, professor, Dept. of History, graduate student, Graduate School of UC San Diego (now policy researcher, IGCC); Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, The Atlantic Council, Washington, D.C.; Applications International Corp., emeritus, IGCC; **Valeriy Zaitsev**, visiting Hitotsubashi Univ., Japan, director, Center for Pacific Studies, Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Moscow, Russia; **John Zysman**, professor, Dept. of Political Science, UC Berkeley.



Bilveer Singh (l)  
Stanley B. Weeks

at Lexington; **Patrick M. Morgan**, professor, Dept. of Politics and Society, director, Global Peace and Conflict Studies Program, UC Irvine; **Nakajima Mineo**, professor, international relations, director, Institute of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Japan; **K. S. Nathan**, associate professor of international relations, Dept. of History, Univ. of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia; **James Przystup**, director of regional security strategies, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Dept. of Defense, Washington, D.C.; **Alan Romberg**, senior fellow for Asia, Council on Foreign Relations, New York, NY; **Bilveer Singh**, honorary secretary and senior lecturer,

Singapore Institute of International Affairs, Dept. of Political Science, National Univ. of Singapore; **Kusuma Snitwongse**, chairman of the executive board, Institute of Security and International Studies, Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn Univ., Thailand; **John Stremlau**, deputy director, Washington, D.C.; **Sugimoto Hiroshi**, bureau **Ha Huy**, deputy director, Dept. of Americas, **Tsuyoshi Hasegawa**, professor, Dept. of History, graduate student, Graduate School of UC San Diego (now policy researcher, IGCC); Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, The Atlantic Council, Washington, D.C.; Applications International Corp., emeritus, IGCC; **Valeriy Zaitsev**, visiting Hitotsubashi Univ., Japan, director, Center for Pacific Studies, Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), Moscow, Russia; **John Zysman**, professor, Dept. of Political Science, UC Berkeley.



## IGCC Sponsors Teaching Seminars on Regional Cooperation and Conflict Resolution

by Bettina B. Halvorsen  
IGCC Campus Programs Coordinator

### CAMPUS PROGRAMS SPOTLIGHT

Last April, IGCC sponsored two teaching seminars on diverse yet relevant subjects: the Middle East and peace studies and conflict resolution. Faculty and graduate students in the UC, Cal-State and California community college systems convened at the UC Los Angeles and UC Berkeley campuses to obtain current information to incorporate in their courses.

On April 16 and 17, Professor Steven L. Spiegel of the Department of Political Science at UC Los Angeles hosted an intensive workshop on the Middle East in the post-Cold War era. Scholars, diplomats, and businesspeople knowledgeable on the region gave provocative and timely presentations.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union ended an era during which many of the nations in the Middle East were viewed by the West only in terms of their alliance either to the United States or the Soviet Union. The participants examined a wide range of regional issues, including economic stability and growth, Islamic fundamentalism, resource management, the effects of the Gulf War, the Arab world, immigration to Israel, and the current Arab-Israeli peace process.

Participants grappled with these topics in lively, high-spirited discussions lasting late into the evening. Afterward, many said they enjoyed meeting with other California-based scholars on the Middle East and the seminar had given them useful material with which to update their courses.

On April 30 and May 1, Professor Jerry Sanders of UC Berkeley and Professor John Lofland of UC Davis

hosted a teaching seminar on the Berkeley campus that examined the field of peace studies and conflict resolution. In a series of informative presentations, scholars from throughout the United States shared new ideas and classroom techniques that their colleagues could use to help students develop and practice conflict resolution and cooperation building on a personal level.

Sanders, the academic coordinator of the Berkeley Peace and Conflict Studies Department, opened the seminar by noting that when the Cold War ended, some of his colleagues predicted that the program would go out of business. Sanders said, however, that with old conflicts repeating themselves in many parts of the world and new ones emerging, there remains, unfortunately, a market for the study of peace and peacemaking.

Seminar participants agreed that the interdisciplinary nature of peace studies provides many opportunities for incorporating the themes of conflict resolution and cooperation building into other departments on a campus. They ended the two-day session with an agreement to meet again on their own and appointed representatives from the three California university and college systems to take the initiative on future meetings.

This past academic year, IGCC sponsored three teaching seminars. The first, a joint effort with Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory entitled "Managing Nuclear Weapons in a Changing World," was held at the laboratory in November 1992. ■



At the peace studies teaching seminar (left to right): Carol Rank, UC Berkeley (a 1987-88 IGCC dissertation fellow); June O'Connor, UC Riverside; Jo Anne Black, Santa Rosa Junior College; Jeannette Ben Farhat, Santa Rosa Junior College.

At the teaching seminar on the Middle East (left to right): David Churchman, CSU Dominguez Hills; Nishan Havandjian, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo; Ayad Al-Qazzaz, CSU Sacramento.

Photos by Bettina B. Halvorsen



## REQUEST FOR PROPOSALS: Teaching Seminars

To update and enhance the teaching of contemporary international issues at the undergraduate and graduate levels, IGCC sponsors two to three intensive teaching seminars annually. Proposals are accepted from UC faculty throughout the year.

Organizers should design a program suited to a multi-disciplinary audience, with a focus on curriculum development and demonstrating teaching techniques. Seminars normally last two days and average 30 participants (faculty and graduate students). The IGCC central office provides administrative assistance and compensation for travel and other expenses. Organizers receive a \$750 honorarium.

For more information, call the campus programs office at (619) 534-7224. Proposals may be submitted to Susan L. Shirk, Director, IGCC, UC San Diego, 9500 Gilman Drive, Dept. 0518, La Jolla, CA 92093-0518.

## Survey on Conflict Resolution

ACCESS, under contract with the United States Institute of Peace, is conducting a survey of organizations and individuals engaged in conflict resolution for an international database on this area. They are interested in surveying conflict-resolution practitioners and others involved in education, training, and research. For more information, contact Lisa Alfred at 202-783-6050 or (fax) 202-783-4767. ACCESS is a nonprofit, nonpartisan clearinghouse for information on international relations, peace, and world affairs.

## 1993-1994 IGCC Grants and Fellowships

### RESEARCH GRANTS — RENEWALS

**Russell J. Dalton**, Department of Politics and Society, UC Irvine, *Critical Masses: Public Responses to the Environmental Consequences of Nuclear Weapons Production in the United States and Russia*.

**Kenneth N. Waltz**, Department of Political Science, UC Berkeley, *International Politics: From Theory to Practice*.

### RESEARCH GRANTS—NEW

**Scott Sigmund Gartner**, Department of Political Science, UC Davis, *Indicators, Expectations, and War: A Model of War Termination*.

**Emily O. Goldman**, Department of Political Science, UC Davis, *Managing Peacetime Strategic Uncertainty*.

**Will H. Moore**, Department of Political Science, UC Riverside, *The Domestic-International Conflict Nexus: Fad, Fiction, or the Future for the Developing World*.

**David Pion-Berlin**, Department of Political Science, UC Riverside, *The End of the Cold War and the Future of Democracy: Lessons from Latin America for the Former Soviet Union*.

**Richard N. Rosecrance**, Department of Political Science, UC Los Angeles, *Economic Correlates of the Balance of Power*.

**Wayne Sandholtz**, Department of Politics and Society, UC Irvine, *In Search of Union: The Politics of Monetary Integration in Europe*.

**Alec Stone**, Department of Politics and Society, UC Irvine, *Constructing a Supranational Constitution: The Case of European Integration*.

**Irwin M. Wall**, Department of History, UC Riverside, *The United States, France, and the Algerian War*.

### RESEARCH CONFERENCE GRANTS

**Edmond J. Keller**, African Studies Center, UC Los Angeles, *The Superpowers and the New African Order*.

### TEACHING GRANTS

**Roderick Frazier Nash**, Department of Environmental Studies/History, UC Santa Barbara, *Environmental Studies 21: Future Environments*.

**Paul Drake**, Department of Political Science, UC San Diego, *International Relations and Comparative Political Studies Workshops*.

### DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIPS — RENEWALS

**Juliann L. Emmons-Allison**, UC Los Angeles, *International Environmental Cooperation: Air Quality Agreements as Bargaining Outcomes*.

**David A. Auerswald**, UC San Diego, *Compelling Scenarios: Domestic Institutions and International Coercion*.

**David T. Killion**, UC Los Angeles, *The Impact of the Collapse of Bipolarity on Patterns of Conflict and Cooperation in the Third World*.

**Gregory V. Larkin**, UC Los Angeles, *Democracy and Imperialism: Mercenaries and Conscripts in the Making and Unmaking of Empire*.

**Demosthenes J. Peterson**, UC Los Angeles, *Building Bureaucratic Capacity in Russia: Regional Responses to the Post-Soviet Environmental Challenge*.

**Lawrence Robertson**, UC Los Angeles, *The Political Economy of Ethnonationalism: Secession from the Soviet Union*.

### DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIPS — NEW

**Benedicte Callan**, UC Berkeley, *Japanese-American Competition in Biotechnology: Basic Science and High-tech Trade*.

**Rupen Cetinyan**, UC Los Angeles, *Ethnicity, Ethnic Conflict, and International Politics*.

**Ana Devic**, UC San Diego, *Intellectuals in the Construction of Ethnonationalist Authoritarianism in Yugoslavia: Homogenization and Militarization of Social Constituencies, 1988-1992*.

**Wallace D. Johnson**, UC Riverside, *Innovation of Military Doctrine in Low-Threat Environments*.

**Bernadette Kilroy**, UC Los Angeles, *The Integrative Role of the European Court of Justice*.

**Peter Henning Loedel**, UC Santa Barbara, *German Monetary Policy and Three-Level Games: German Reunification, European Integration, and International Monetary Discord*.

**Ross Alan Miller**, UC Davis, *Domestic Politics and the Escalation of Disputes*.

**David J. Pervin**, UC Los Angeles, *The Great Powers and the Arab-Israel Conflict*.

**Kal L. Raustiala**, UC San Diego, *The Domestic Bases of Multilateral Cooperation and Conflict: Coalitions, Institutions, and Knowledge in the Formation of International Environmental Policy*.

**Takayuki A. Sakamoto**, UC Santa Barbara, *Theory of the Japanese Policymaking Process: A Rational Choice-Cultural Approach*.

**Brian J. Sanders**, UC Berkeley, *The World Bank and Sustainable Development: Nongovernmental Organizations as Agents of Institutional Change*.

**David A. Sonnenfeld**, UC Santa Cruz, *Brighter than White? International Conflict and Cooperation and the Greening of Paper Technology*.

**Michael J. Tierney**, UC San Diego, *Credible Commitments: The Link Between Domestic Politics and International Cooperation*.

**Veljko Marko Vujacic**, UC Berkeley, *Communism and Nationalism in Russia and Serbia, 1987-1992*.

**Maochun Yu**, UC Berkeley, *The OSS in China*.



# Noteworthy

## MacTrade Imbalance

**Akihiro Watabe**, an IGCC postdoctoral fellow for 1992–1993, has moved on to Japan, where he has developed a yen for what his dollars used to buy. “Everything is so expensive here,” he writes. “I went to downtown Tokyo the other day and had lunch at McDonald’s. I ordered Big Mac, medium fries, and medium Coke. Guess how much I paid for my lunch? Seven dollars. I hope Big Mac will resolve the trade imbalance between Japan and the U.S.”

## Keeping in Touch

**James Clay Moltz**, an IGCC 1990–92 postdoctoral fellow, recently accepted a permanent position as assistant director and senior researcher for the Program for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies. **David Goldfischer**, a 1990–91 postdoctoral fellow, is now an assistant professor at the Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Denver. Former IGCC policy researcher **Thomas W. Graham** is now working for the Rockefeller Foundation in New York. While at IGCC, Goldfischer and Graham edited *Nuclear Deterrence and Global Security in Transition* (see the back page for more information on this book). Now Moltz and Goldfischer are getting together to chair a panel on nonproliferation issues at the 1994 APSA convention in New York. “These friendships forged at IGCC last forever,” says Moltz.

## Steering Committee Shift

IGCC is pleased to welcome three new members to its Steering Committee. **Afaf I. Meleis**, professor of the Department of Community and Administrative Nursing at UC San Francisco, joined last April; **Donna Bahry**, professor of political science at UC Davis, joined in August; and **Martin C. McGuire**, Clifford S. Heinz Professor for Economics of Global Peace and Security at UC Irvine, joined the committee in September. In turn, IGCC extends valedictory thanks to three departing members: **Thomas Newman**, M.D., of the Department of Laboratory Medicine at UC San Francisco; **John Lofland**, professor of sociology at

UC Davis; and **Patrick M. Morgan**, Tierney Chair in Peace Research and professor in the Department of Politics and Society at UC Irvine. Morgan remains director of Irvine’s IGCC-sponsored Global Peace and Conflict Studies Program.

## In Print

The University of California Press has just published *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China*, by IGCC Director **Susan L. Shirk** (399 pages; paperback; \$15; ISBN 0-520-07707-5). “Shirk pioneers a rational choice institutional approach to analyze policymaking in an authoritarian country,” says the blurb. “Drawing on extensive interviews with high-level Chinese officials, she pieces together detailed histories of economic reform policy decisions and shows how the political logic of Chinese communist institutions shaped those decisions.” To order Professor Shirk’s book, call 1-800-822-6657.

**Steven L. Spiegel**, professor of political science at UC Los Angeles, and **David J. Pervin**, a doctoral candidate in political science at UC Los Angeles and an IGCC 1993-1994 dissertation fellow, are coeditors of the seventh edition of the classic political science text *At Issue: Politics in the World Arena*, an October release from St. Martin’s Press. (Pervin is also the author of IGCC’s latest policy paper, “Workshop on Arms Control and Security in the Middle East.”)

This summer’s issue of the *RAND Research Review* contains an impressive write-up on a new RAND Research Study by **Demosthenes J. Peterson** entitled *Troubled Lands: The Legacy of Soviet Environmental Destruction* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press). Peterson, a graduate fellow at the RAND Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies and doctoral candidate at UC Los Angeles, is also an IGCC 1992–93 and 1993–94 dissertation fellow.

## New IGCC Staff

**Christopher P. Twomey** joined IGCC in July as a policy researcher. He holds a B.A. in economics from UC San Diego and recently received his M.A. from UC San Diego’s Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific

Studies, where he focused on both international relations and China. Before coming to IGCC, he worked at Science Applications International Corporation and at a Washington government consulting firm performing similar foreign policy research. Twomey will help design and implement IGCC’s policy research projects on the Asia-Pacific region.

**Fred Wehling** joined the staff in August as IGCC’s second policy researcher. He received an A.B. in international relations from the University of Southern California in 1985 and a Ph.D. in political science from UC Los Angeles in 1992. His research interests include Russia’s relations with Central Asia and the Middle East, arms control and regional security, and crisis management. His writing has appeared in *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Steven L. Spiegel’s *Conflict Management in the Middle East* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1992), and William C. Green’s and Theodore Karasik’s *Gorbachev and His Generals: The Reform of Soviet Military Doctrine* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1990). Wehling comes to IGCC from RAND, where he studied Russian politics and participated in the Carnegie Corporation’s Avoiding Nuclear War Project. He will work on questions of international ethnic conflict and arms control and security in the Middle East.

**Marsha Wilkinson** came on board in April as campus programs assistant. Previously she worked in management support for the aircraft logistics division of General Dynamics. Wilkinson, who has a B.A. from California State University, Long Beach, will help coordinate the fellowship and grant review cycle and various activities with IGCC’s nine UC-campus satellite offices.

**Marilyn Samms**, IGCC’s new conference coordinator, joined the institute last May. Her background includes experience in public relations, administrative and technical support, and international conference organization. Samms will handle travel arrangements, accommodations, and support services for IGCC’s major conferences.



# A Message from the Director

## IGCC Starts Northeast Asian Cooperation Dialogue

Since joining IGCC two years ago, I have been interested in exploring the potential for cooperation on security issues in the Asia-Pacific region. IGCC is now in the final stages of a three-year project, sponsored by the Ford Foundation, that has studied economic and security ties in the Asia-Pacific region. One issue it revealed was that many of the region's governments, and the United States as well, have shown little inclination to pursue collective security relations—until quite recently. In an environment now characterized by intense uncertainty rather than specific threats, such ties have become the object of new interest and activity.

There is a growing appreciation within the region and in the United States of the potential for multilateral security discussions to supplement the region's traditional bilateral relations. The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum is now operating regionwide, and cooperation in the security sphere is being addressed in the postministerial conferences of the Association for Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Southeast Asia itself also has a mechanism for subregional cooperation on security in ASEAN. This leaves one major gap in the developing network of multilateral forums: Northeast Asia, which faces some of the most potentially explosive security issues in the region.

To help fill this gap, IGCC has initiated the Northeast Asian Cooperation Dialogue, with participation from North Korea, South Korea, China, Japan, Russia, and the United States. This groundbreaking



forum will follow the so-called track-two process, in which government officials acting in their private capacity join academics and policy analysts to discuss measures for building confidence and stability in the region. In a series of unofficial, informal meetings, proposals can be freely aired, and all opinions expressed remain off the record.

Dialogue participants will grapple with several questions: What are the most pressing security, economic, and environmental issues in Northeast Asia? Which ones should be on the agenda for regional cooperation? What confidence-building measures would be most appropriate for the region? Addressing these issues will provide the basis for future, more official discussions.

Planning for the dialogue has been a study in international cooperation. Last July, one government official (in a private role) and one non-governmental representative from each of the six countries gathered in La Jolla, California, to set the agenda for the first dialogue, which will be held October 8–9 in the same location. Participants accomplished their task with remarkable amity and efficiency. Afterward, many of them told me they felt we had taken the first step in a long-term process of heading off destructive conflicts by providing reassurance and reducing mistrust.

The dialogue is a pioneering attempt to encourage multilateral cooperation on security in the Asia-Pacific region. It is one of our most exciting projects. We anticipate it will continue well into the future.

— Susan L. Shirk

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