

UC San Diego Newsletters

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From the Director:

Beyond the Cold War in the Pacific?

The year 1989 belonged to Europe. However, President Gorbachev's hastily arranged June 1990 San Francisco meeting with President Roh Tae Woo of South Korea reminded us that there exists another "theater" in which the Cold War drama has been played out, the Asia-Pacific region. And the story line in that theater hasn't yet reached the point of suggesting happy endings.

With financial support from the Carnegie Corporation, IGCC convened a major international conference in June, on the subject of "The End of the Cold War in the Pacific." (An article on the conference, published in *The San Diego Union*, appears elsewhere in this *Newsletter*.) This conference marked the beginning of a long-term multidisciplinary and multinational collaborative research project coordinated by IGCC.

In Asia-Pacific, there is no European Community and no NATO to have resolved the multitude of local security dilemmas—as has been accomplished in Europe with Franco-German relations, the source of so many conflicts in the past. There is not even an equivalent to the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe). The centerpiece of U.S. strategy in Asia-Pacific remains its defense treaty with Japan. U.S. troops stationed in South Korea, together with a string of military bases, of which those in the Philippines are the most critical, round out the infrastructure of the continuing U.S. extended deterrence in the region.

A complex of problems plagues this

region. Chief among them is that the U.S.-Japan defense treaty, has become so anachronistic that it provides but an artificial and therefore fragile stability. It continues to treat Japan as a client state at a time when Japan has become the world's leading financial power, at a time of intensifying U.S.-Japanese economic disputes, indeed, when Japan's military expenditures already are the third highest in the world. The precipitous dismantling of the U.S.-Japan defense treaty, however, most likely would trigger a series of arms races in the region, fueled by a global weapons industry that is characterized by numerous new entrants and surplus capacity. Thus the treaty must be changed in a way that acknowledges Japan's status without, at the same time, threatening its neighbors.

In short, whereas the potential exists

in Europe today to move permanently beyond central reliance on balance-of-power politics, toward some form of cooperative security structures, in Asia-Pacific a reasonably stable balance is the best that one can hope to achieve. And even that will require restraint and imagination all around. A Helsinki-like process for the region is urgently needed. Given the

complete absence of collective conflict management mechanisms in the history of the region, coupled with the presence of long-standing bilateral antipathies, the most logical place to start is with bilateral discussions of confidence-building measures by the United States and the Soviet Union. The mandate of and participants in such discussions gradually could be

expanded. Confidence-building measures in time might lead to discussions of arms control and finally to restraints on force.

IGCC, in collaboration with researchers around the Asia-Pacific region, plans soon to begin exploring some of these possibilities.

—John Gerard Ruggie



Whither the Japanese Navy? Japan's Naval Self-Defense Forces destroyer "Mochizuki" cruises in Sagami Bay during the 1984 Fleet Review. (AP Wire Photo)

Noteworthy

Kathleen Archibald is New Coordinator of Campus Programs

Kathleen A. Archibald has been appointed coordinator of campus programs for IGCC. Archibald received her doctorate in sociology from Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri, and has taught at the University of Colorado's Graduate School of Public Affairs in Denver and at the School of Public Administration,



Kathleen A. Archibald

University of Victoria, Canada. Archibald has also served as a research fellow at the Program in Science, Technology and Society, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and as an analyst for the RAND Corporation and Wells Fargo Bank.

She has spent a number of years working on peace and security issues, including teaching courses in the sociology of war and peace on several UC campuses during the 1960s and 1970s and helping establish an international security program at Berkeley's Institute of International Studies and a peace research group in the San Francisco Bay Area.

As coordinator for campus programs, a newly created position, Archibald will assist the director of IGCC in facilitating campus program development, including serving as a liaison with program directors of the nine campuses; organizing grant and fellowship programs; and convening graduate fellows conferences.



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The End of the Cold War Presents New Economic Uncertainties and Opportunities

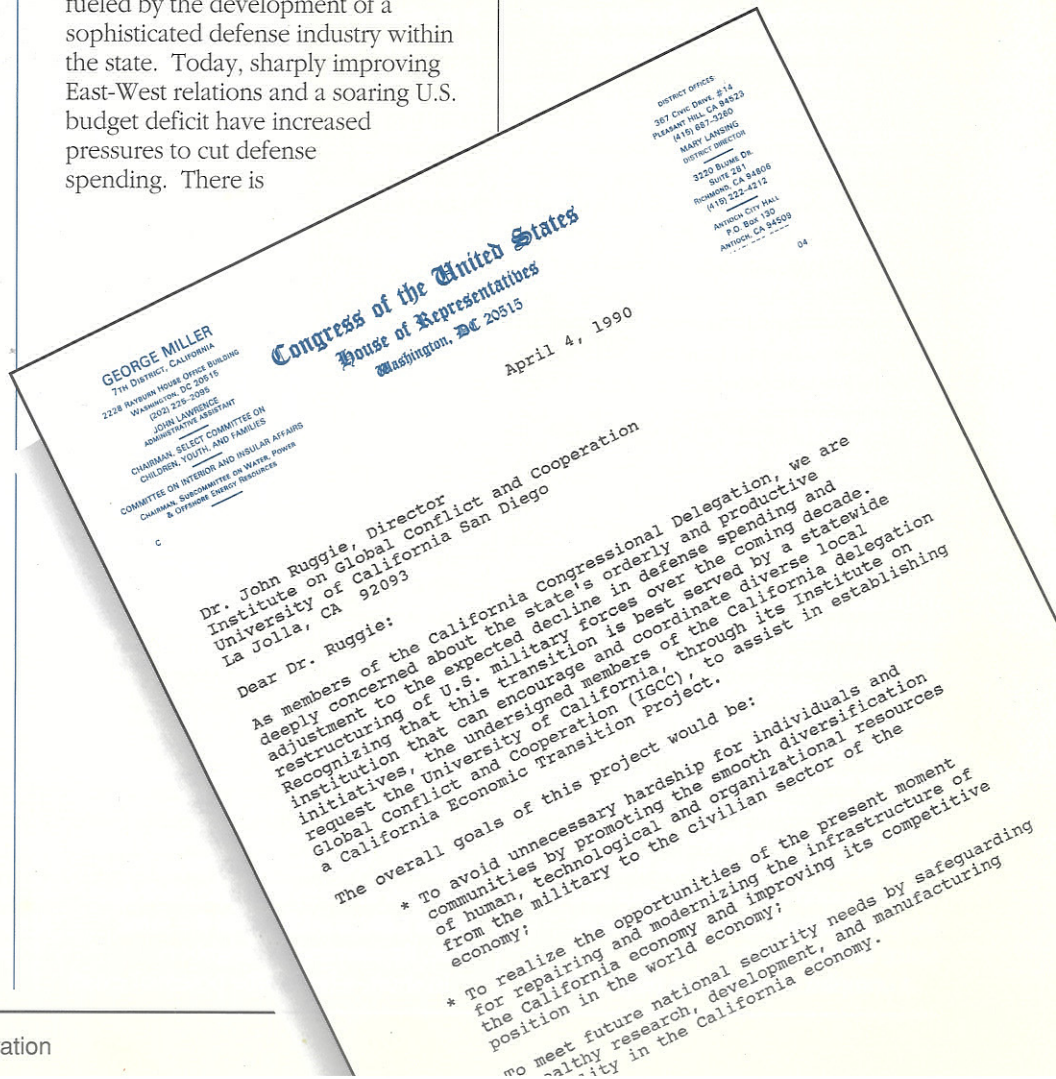
Congress Asks IGCC to Coordinate California Effort

In April 1990, a bipartisan coalition of thirty-four members of the California congressional delegation requested IGCC to undertake research on the consequences of defense budget cuts for the state of California.

U.S. defense policy and national security strategy have long rested on the dynamic research, development, and manufacturing capability of the defense industrial sector. Indeed, California's economic growth has been fueled by the development of a sophisticated defense industry within the state. Today, sharply improving East-West relations and a soaring U.S. budget deficit have increased pressures to cut defense spending. There is

general agreement that reductions are appropriate, but no consensus on how and what to cut.

As a first step in response to the congressional charge to assist in making the transition to a post-Cold War economy as "smooth and productive" as possible, IGCC sponsored a community forum, "Cutting the Defense Budget: How Deep? How Fast?" on May 3. Attended by 180 community leaders and defense



Cutting the Defense Budget: How Deep? How Fast?

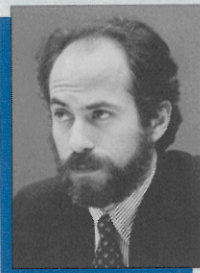
*Differing Views
Presented at IGCC Forum*

community leaders and defense industry representatives, the forum was intended to raise public awareness of this complex and controversial issue.

The five presenters brought a broad range of perspectives to the forum. Lawrence Korb and Frank Gaffney, Jr. previously served as assistant secretaries of defense during the Reagan administration, yet have sharply different views on defense spending. University of Texas economist Lloyd Dumas is one of the nation's leading advocates of economic conversion. Panelists D. Kenneth Richardson, president of Hughes Aircraft, and retired admiral Worth Bagley, U.S. Navy, approached the issue from a practical perspective: what defense industries and U.S. military forces can do to adapt to the new realities. The event was chaired by IGCC director John Ruggie.

The second phase of IGCC's California Economic Transition Project addresses the problems defense contractors face in commercializing technology. Headed by Charles Nathanson, a UC San Diego sociologist, the project entitled "Overcoming Impediments to the Commercialization of Defense Technology" is looking at the ways in which current Department of Defense procurement policies and defense industry management practices impede contractors' abilities to develop commercial products and markets. One of the major goals is to identify constructive changes which could be made in the policy and management environments. Project researchers are currently conducting on-site observations of defense firms in order to analyze the process of commercialization at the level of the individual defense firm. The research findings and case studies will be presented at a symposium bringing together California defense contractors, industry analysts, and state and federal policymakers in winter 1991. IGCC will be undertaking additional projects on issues of economic transition on a UC systemwide basis.

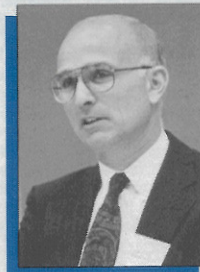
Forum participants agreed that defense cuts must be based on a rational analysis of security needs. Failing that, the result is likely to be cuts which are not compatible with security needs and which erode existing research, development, and manufacturing capabilities within the defense industrial base. However, panelists had very different views of the amount and types of cuts which are feasible.



Frank Gaffney, Jr.

Gaffney: "The Cold War continues to exist in the sense that there are important Soviet objectives that remain inconsistent with our long-term

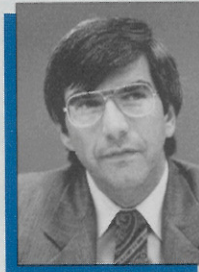
security interests. What is in our long-term interest, in this dangerous world, is to use our considerable economic leverage and technology that Moscow so desperately needs in a very surgical way to help those who are bent on bringing down the communist system that has governed them all these years."



Lawrence Korb

Korb: "We have spent, in today's dollars, \$8.4 trillion to win the Cold War. We've had more people serve in the Cold War than we did in World War II.

We've won that war and the defense budget can go down, should go down, and will go down."

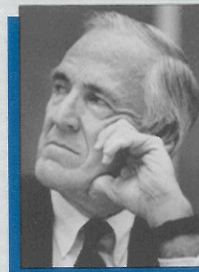


Lloyd Dumas

Dumas: "The world of military industry is very different from the world of civilian commercial industry. People and facilities that are specialized to the former are not

able to operate efficiently in the latter without going through a process of retraining, reorientation, and restructuring."

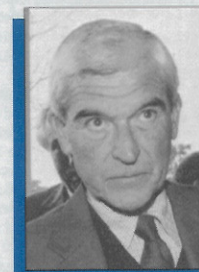
"Unless practical conversion plans are at the ready, deep military cuts threaten to throw defense-dependent communities into severe, prolonged, and painful recession."



D. Kenneth Richardson

Richardson: "The biggest problem defense contractors face in stimulating innovative technology development is investment. We don't need a lot of government help, except in the area of investment tax

credits for R&D and encouragement of collaborative consortia."



Worth Bagley

Bagley: "We have become familiar with the process of disarming after World War I, World War II, Korea, Vietnam, and now every year since 1986. In every instance of disarming

except the current one, rearmament has followed due to a real or perceived failure of diplomacy to keep the peace."

The following article on the IGCC conference "Beyond the Cold War in the Pacific" is reprinted with permission of *The San Diego Union*.

The San Diego Union

SUNDAY, June 10, 1990

FINAL EDITION

A Copley newspaper 5100

End of Cold War creates new problems, increases tension in Asia

By Matt Miller
Staff Writer

After last week's historic meeting in San Francisco between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and South Korean President Roh Tae Woo, it's tempting to predict Europe's *perestroika* revolution is about to sweep through Asia.

Not so, say academic specialists on the Pacific, who believe multiple conflicts will continue to bedevil the region.

Indeed, many of the more than 50 academics who met for three days last week to discuss Pacific security at UCSD's Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation fear the lessening of superpower tensions may actually trigger additional problems for Asia.

The growth of nationalism could bring with it military expansionism. Weapons dealers looking for new markets could help fuel the region's already-crowded arms race.

Regional alliances may shift. With Cold War tensions ebbing and with domestic pressures to cut military spending, the United States and the Soviet Union may no longer have the willingness to police regional security or the ability to fully contain the region's many rivals.

"There's a real difference between the euphoria of Europe and the note of caution, of pessimism, about what the end of the Cold War means to the Asian-Pacific region," said Miles Kahler of UCSD's Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies.

Insecurity, in fact, envelops the Asian-Pacific region, conference participants agreed. And, according to the academics, Asia faces threats on a number of geographic fronts. These include the following:

- Korea: The Roh-Gorbachev meeting may actually have complicated the power balance on the always-tense Korean peninsula.

- Japan: Japan's power continues to grow, as do trade tensions between Japan and the United States. What its military role will be isn't at all clear.

- China: Internal struggles and a looming succession battle could well affect foreign relations.

- Indochina: The inability to solve the longstanding conflict between Cambodia and Vietnam affects all of Southeast Asia. Some conference participants believe Vietnam and China may soon re-establish relations, ties that could confuse the region even more.

Even the superpowers haven't called the kind of truce in Asia they have in Europe, some participants said. Unlike in Europe, arms control hasn't really begun in the region. And, the U.S. and Soviet navies continue to face off in the area, with no reduction in sight. "This is the coldest war of all," said Swarthmore College's James Kurth, in a reference to Soviet naval concentration on the northern edge of Asia.

Asia's biggest flash point, however, remains Korea, where hostile forces face each other across the 38th Parallel. Few participants believe that will change in light of the Gorbachev-Roh summit, although some see diplomatic relations will follow between South Korea and the Soviet Union.

And the Roh government may next set its sights on China, although South Korea's close ties with Taiwan and China's historic support of North Korea, including its support during the Korean War, may prove difficult obstacles to hurdle.

South Korea's diplomatic gains, however, don't mean North Korea and its Stalinist leader Kim Il Sung will fade away or become less militaristic, some participants stressed. Far from it. Diplomatic isolation, in

fact, could make the capricious Kim even less stable. The Soviet signals so far on North Korea have been contradictory and confusing.

The equation may be equally as perplexing in South Korea. Anti-American feeling is growing. Economic competition with the United States is increasing. "The South Korean-U.S. relations will be completely different from the past," said University of Kentucky political scientist Chung-in Moon, who predicts South Korea could in the future act sometimes as America's partner, other times its spoiler.

Some participants express concern that the United States and Soviet Union won't have the ability to rein in the two Koreas as they did during the Cold War era. "Before, the superpowers held the Korean peninsula in check," said Alexei Zagorsky, from the Soviet Union's Center for Japanese and Pacific Studies. "A (diplomatic) strangulation of North Korea in Northeast Asia would have unpredictable results."

Korea continues to be cited as the most likely arena for a possible hot war in the region. But some participants believe Japan may find itself at the center of other kinds of regional and global conflicts.

Its continued trade surplus is the most obvious one. Japan's increasing financial might is another. Its unwillingness to share technology also could prove increasingly discordant.

How this is resolved isn't at all clear. To what degree are the United States and Japan — now the region's premier allies — on a collision course? asked one participant. Michael Mochizuki of the University of Southern California's school of international relations said he was pessimistic about U.S.-Japan relations as he saw "increased political rigidities not only in the U.S., but in Japan."

Other participants as well saw an uncertain domestic political situation in Japan, where alliances may dramatically change in the coming months.

How quickly Japan and the Soviet Union move to cement ties is another uncertainty. Gorbachev is scheduled to visit Japan next year. But improved relations hinge on the tricky question of what will happen to four Japanese islands the Soviets occupy.

Debate continues within Japan as to what its military role should be. "The end of the Cold War doesn't really mean that much for Japanese defense spending," said Steven Vogel, of the Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy, who believes there's an internal push to make the country's military "much more autonomous."

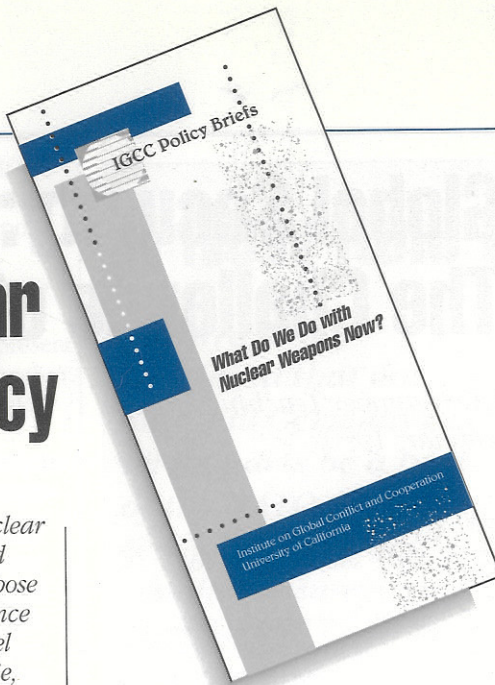
One year after it crushed a pro-democracy movement, China remains completely wrapped up in domestic concerns. In the process, the aging leadership under Deng Xiaoping has become more xenophobic and illogical in its foreign relations, some participants believe. This is especially true as China faces a growing confidence crisis in Hong Kong.

However, some academics believe China is much less important a player on the international stage after the Tiananmen Square massacre and will continue to be until the succession question is resolved.

While Japan, Korea and China may dominate thinking about post-Cold War Asia, they are by no means the only concerns.

Kyongsoo Lho of Stanford University's Center for International Security and Arms Control concluded "With the demise of the bipolar world, we have to begin thinking quite rapidly and quite well."

The Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy



In February 1990, a group of nuclear weapons policy analysts gathered at IGCC's central office. The purpose of their meeting, chaired by Lawrence Livermore director emeritus Michael May and IGCC director John Ruggie, was to give specialists an opportunity to rethink the role of nuclear weapons in light of recent world events. Participants examined possible transformations of the NATO alliance, and U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union, as well as China, Japan, and a reunited Germany. Other dimensions of weapons policy were discussed, including the role of verification technologies and international negotiating forums. The workshop produced two documents. The following is an excerpt from the first of these publications, *What Do We Do with Nuclear Weapons Now?*, by Michael May, which was recently published by IGCC.

COOPERATIVE DETERRENCE

"Under this approach, the U.S. would continue to deploy weapons so as to deter nuclear attack and induce caution in at least some of the circumstances that might lead to war. Where possible, nuclear deterrence would be exercised on behalf of and under the aegis of cooperative arrangements aimed at preventing the emergence of threats from in or outside of the cooperative structure. NATO provides a current example of such a structure, but it may not be inclusive enough for future needs. Deploying conventional and nuclear forces to prevent the emergence of a threat is a more difficult role, politically and militarily, than is

"In a political sense, deterrence may be a victim of its own success."

—Michael May

containment of a clear external threat. In a political sense, deterrence may be a victim of its own success.

Europe is the most promising locale for such 'cooperative nuclear deterrence.' Nuclear weapons will remain on the European political and security agendas due to the capabilities of the nations involved and to the fact that some of them are nuclear powers. Cooperative nuclear deterrence could offer an acceptable framework for dealing with these circumstances. A cooperative security organization of the type discussed in the previous section would be needed. It should eventually be open to all the nations of Europe, East and West, that are willing to guarantee each other's borders and set relevant force levels by agreement. The U.S., Germany, and the Soviet Union should be fully involved members. Initially, NATO could support the new organization and later become part of it.

Objections to this approach include the following:
(a) It maintains nuclear weapons as part of the deterrent forces even though they have no obvious targets.
Some such step, however, may be the price for providing Germany with access to, and some responsibility for, nuclear deterrent forces without having nuclear weapons under German control; (b) It may give the Soviet Union too much power over European security arrangements too soon; (c) Absent an obvious threat, intra-West economic competition

may prevent lasting meaningful security arrangements among Western powers."

Michael May is a senior fellow at the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation and an adjunct professor at UCSD's Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies. A former director of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, May was a technical representative on the Threshold Test Ban Treaty Negotiating Team in Moscow in 1974 and a member of the U.S. delegation to SALT from 1974-76.

IGCC Publications

IGCC Policy Briefs:

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

IGCC Studies in Conflict and Cooperation:

1. David P. Auerwald and John Gerard Ruggie, eds. *The Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy* (forthcoming).

Other Titles Available:

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

Publications can be obtained at no charge by contacting:

UC San Diego
IGCC Publications, (0518)
9500 Gilman Drive
La Jolla, CA 92093-0518

Noteworthy

IGCC Appoints Thomas Graham Coordinator of Policy Studies

Thomas Graham has been appointed to the newly created position of coordinator of policy studies in IGCC. He will assist IGCC director John Ruggie in the organization and conduct of IGCC policy-related projects. Graham's tasks will include research, organizing symposia and workshops, as well as preparing and disseminating briefing materials.

As an undergraduate at Stanford University, Graham studied Indonesian economic development and arms control, with an emphasis on North-South negotiations.

Upon graduation he joined the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament

Agency (1977-81). Graham then continued his arms control research at MIT's Defense and Arms Control Program, Harvard's Center for Science and International Affairs, Lawrence Livermore's Special Projects Division, and as executive director of the Aspen Strategy Group.

Graham received his doctorate in political science from MIT in 1989. His doctoral dissertation, "The Politics of Failure: Nuclear Arms Control, Public Opinion and Domestic Politics in the United States, 1945-1980," his book, *American Public Opinion on NATO*, and other publications emphasize the role public opinion plays in U.S. decision making on foreign policy issues. Previously, Graham directed Yale's Public Opinion Research Project which will publish research monographs concerning U.S. public opinion on a variety of foreign policy issues.

IGCC Central Office Welcomes New Staff

Patty Paterek, administrative assistant, brings to IGCC seven years of administrative experience. Paterek previously worked for a privately owned environmental testing and research laboratory in New Orleans, Louisiana. She joined the IGCC central office in May 1990.



Thomas Graham

Global Security: The Challenge of Transition

IGCC Summer Teaching Seminar, 1990

Thirty faculty members and graduate students gathered at UC Los Angeles June 25-July 3 for the IGCC Summer Teaching Seminar. The seminar was directed by Professor Steven L. Spiegel and hosted by the Center for International and Strategic Affairs.

For nine days, these IGCC "teaching fellows" were briefed by international experts on recent developments in peace and security issues. The seminar is designed to spark interest in new ideas and concepts as well as provide an opportunity for participants to share experiences and develop and maintain contacts in the peace and security field. Participants in the 1990 seminar came from universities, peace and security institutes, weapons laboratories, and military academies. While all fellows had current institutional affiliations within North America, the multiplicity of home countries represented—England, Poland, Yugoslavia, Israel, the Soviet Union and China, as well as the U.S. and Canada—brought a global perspective to the discussions.

This was the eighth IGCC Summer Teaching Seminar, the first being in 1983 at UC Santa Barbara. The seminar was IGCC's earliest intercampus project aimed at promoting interdisciplinary teaching in this area. Initially, half the participants came from the University of California system and half from the western portion of the U.S. With the discontinuation after 1988 of a similar seminar at Harvard/MIT, the IGCC Summer Teaching Seminar has begun to attract participants from all over the country. The 1990 seminar was sponsored jointly by IGCC and the Lawrence Livermore and Los Alamos National Laboratories. Participants were selected on a competitive basis from a pool of qualified applicants and were provided with travel, room, and board.

This year's seminar, titled "Global Security: The Challenge of Transition," reviewed the fundamental shifts and

transformations taking place in our world today. The seminar was opened by James Kurth, professor of political science at Swarthmore College, who redefined security as the absence of threat. Kurth predicted that the emergence of a multipolar world and the changing nature of conflict would focus U.S. foreign policy on new threats to world security, including terrorism, drugs, refugees and immigration, and pollution. Kurth's thesis was supported by other presentations which outlined a wide range of potential threats to international security, including:

THE MIDDLE EAST: Not only is the nature of conflict changing, but the Middle East is in transition as well, according to Aaron David Miller (U.S. Department of State). Interstate allegiances are shifting, and many governments face internal challenges to their political legitimacy, severe economic and demographic problems, strained resources, and ideological challenges. There is no room for compromise because conflicts are over the very existence and survival of societies. The contested battle between the U.S. and Soviet Union for power and influence in the area is drawing to a close, and much of the U.S. leverage along with it. The U.S. must reevaluate its interests in the region and decide how best to protect them. "We are in for an extremely rocky ride," Miller warned.

NONPROLIFERATION: The gloomy predictions of the 1960s that by now thirty states would have nuclear weapons have, happily, proven incorrect. "Much of the credit," according to Alden F. Mullins (Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory), "belongs to policy decisions of the major powers which limited both the motivations and the capabilities of potential proliferants." For instance, the major-power decision never to threaten or use nuclear weapons against non-

nuclear states has been important. If the U.S. had realized this in the 1950s and not threatened China with nuclear weapons, it would have removed one of the principal motivations for the Chinese to acquire their own nuclear capability. "The end of the Cold War could represent the greatest challenge to nonproliferation since the beginning of the nuclear age," Mullins explained. Participants in regional disputes will more frequently be left to their own devices and the temptation to make these devices nuclear may increase.

THE ENVIRONMENT: Environmental issues must and will claim a more significant role on the global security agenda. According to Gordon MacDonald (vice president and chief scientist, Mitre Corporation and member of the the first Council on Environmental Quality under President Nixon), "The U.S. has dealt with environmental problems primarily through regulations, a tactic more marked by failure than success. The most effective measure to bring down greenhouse emissions is a carbon tax. This tax would work to favor clean energy and would increase productivity."

THE SOVIET UNION: Robert Dallek (American diplomatic history, UC Los Angeles) spoke of the shifting images of the Soviet Union held by Americans from 1917 to the present. "Three attitudes have existed side-by-side in uneasy contradiction," he said, with first one being dominant then another. "There's the red-scare, 'evil empire' mentality, the *realpolitik* view which led to containment policy, and the hopeful attitude that the Russians will become 'just like us.'" We're in the just-like-us phase now and this unrealistic expectation, Dallek explained, may set the American public up for serious disappointment and another turnabout in attitude towards the Soviet Union. Seminar participant Sergei Goncharov (visiting fellow, Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University) voiced a related warning, noting that Gorbachev is the "favorite child" of the U.S. The American reluctance to look beyond Gorbachev to other potential leaders may prove dangerous.

Finally, Linda Miller (political science, Wellesley College) conducted a simulation involving superpower relations and the integration of Europe, which provided a new experience for some participants.

A New Role for NATO

"We are firmly convinced that not only will Germany in all its parts be a part of the NATO treaty, but Germany's participation in the integrated Europe will continue as before."

—Ambassador Henning Wegener,
assistant secretary general for
political affairs of the North
Atlantic Treaty Organization,
March 7, 1990



In what local media described as a "stunning address," Wegener spoke to UCSD faculty, students, and community leaders attending IGCC's Faculty Seminar on International Security. Wegener forecast a changed role for NATO stressing political over military security and also predicted that a unified Germany would remain in the alliance.

International Conference on European Security and Arms Control in Europe

by Alan Sweedler

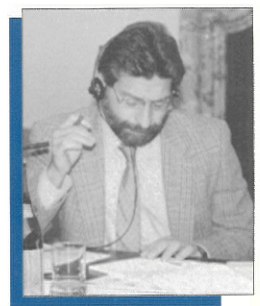
Recognizing that European security in general and conventional forces and arms control in particular would become an issue of major concern, IGCC, in cooperation with the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, organized a conference in Moscow in October 1988.¹ Based on the success of this conference, a smaller follow-up meeting of experts took place at the Rockefeller Study and Conference Center, in Bellagio, Italy in December 1989, jointly sponsored by IGCC, the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, and the Rockefeller Foundation. Twenty-five specialists from the Soviet Union, the United States, East and West Germany, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, Hungary, and the North Atlantic

Assembly met for three days to discuss the following subjects:

political aspects of European security; NATO and Warsaw Pact forces under a CFE agreement; impact of future technologies on arms control agreements; technical and economic aspects of verification; nuclear weapons in Europe; and naval forces and arms control in Europe.²

Some of the main points that emerged from the prepared papers and discussions were:

- A follow-on to CFE (so-called CFE II) should begin immediately after an agreement is reached in



Alan Sweedler

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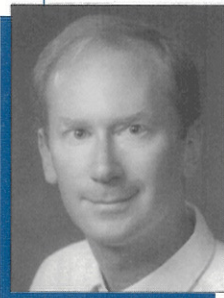
Noteworthy

IGCC Appoints New Postdoctoral Fellows

IGCC awarded postdoctoral fellowships in international peace and security to **David Goldfischer** and **James Clay Moltz** for the 1990-91 academic year.

Goldfischer majored in political science and psychology at New York University and the State University of New York at Buffalo. After

completing his graduate course work at SUNY Buffalo in 1984, he spent a year as a research fellow in foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution. He then returned to Buffalo for two years as an assistant professor, followed by two years of teaching at UC Davis. He completed his dissertation and received his Ph.D. in

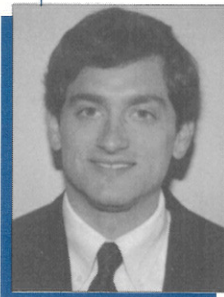


David Goldfischer

1989. For the past year, he has been a postdoctoral teaching fellow in International Relations at the University of Colorado, Boulder. Goldfischer's principal area of research has been strategic arms control, focusing on the prospect of utilizing strategic defenses in an arms control regime. His revised dissertation, entitled *Strategic Defense Without Star Wars: The History and Implications of an Alternative Approach to Strategic Arms Control*, will be published by Cornell University Press next summer. Goldfischer will assist in coordinating IGCC's ongoing workshop on the future of U.S. nuclear weapons policy.

Moltz is currently completing a book based on his doctoral dissertation, "Managing International

Rivalry on High Technology Frontiers: U.S. - Soviet Competition and Cooperation in Space." He received his Ph.D. in political science from UC Berkeley in 1989 and last year was a MacArthur Scholar at Duke University's Center on East-West Trade, Investment, and Communications. He



Clay Moltz

received his B.A. with distinction in international relations from Stanford University, where he also completed his M.A. in Russian and East European

studies. His research interests include international collective goods, technology transfer issues, and Soviet political economy. He previously worked in the U.S. Senate and consulted for the U.S. government on Soviet space policy issues. As a postdoctoral fellow at IGCC, Moltz will assist in organizing a conference on space and international security which IGCC is co-sponsoring with Los Alamos National Laboratory and Cal Space.

New Student Associates at IGCC

Les Bruvold and **Chris Purpura**, IGCC's new student associates, are seniors in UC San Diego's Department of Political Science. Bruvold is studying American politics, while Purpura focuses on comparative politics and Japanese studies.

IGCC Program Participants

Christie W. Kiefer, director of IGCC's campus program at UC San Francisco, is the recipient of the 1990 Chancellor's Award for Public Service. Kiefer, an associate professor of human development and aging, was honored for his efforts to educate the public on nuclear arms issues.

Kiefer has also been active in establishing cooperation between Physicians for Social Responsibility and environmental action groups in the San Francisco Bay Area, and is one of the founders of the Forum of International Development Organizations which works to increase public awareness of living standards in third world countries.

Former IGCC dissertation fellow **Peter Hayes** is awaiting publication of a revised version of his dissertation. Entitled *Pacific Powderkeg: American Nuclear Dilemmas in Korea*, the book will be released by Lexington Books in the next few months. The Korean version was published in 1987. Hayes is now with the Commission for the Future in Australia.

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Vienna. The CFE II talks should aim at reducing forces by at least 50 percent, relative to post-CFE levels. Euro-based nuclear weapons should be part of these negotiations.

■ Naval forces were viewed by the Soviet participants as offensive and threatening and they wanted them included in future negotiations. Western participants had differing views. Some agreed that land-based, naval aircraft should be included in the aircraft under discussion in CFE. Others felt that sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCMs), which could reach deep into Soviet territory from ships in the North Atlantic or Mediterranean, need to be included in future negotiations dealing with force levels in Europe. And some American participants felt that naval forces did not threaten Soviet territory or land forces and should not be subject to any arms control negotiations.

■ Technical and legal aspects of verification, as well as its costs, were also discussed. Remote sensor schemes were presented for counting treaty-limited items. A European verification agency was also proposed, where neutral countries would play an important role. Costs of verifying a CFE agreement varied widely, ranging from \$10-20 billion. The Soviets pointed out that the high cost of verification was an important consideration for them, and that they would opt for low-tech, inexpensive means of verification.

■ Future technological developments in weapon design were viewed as a serious problem that could undermine the intent of arms control agreements. Thus laser-guided munitions, advanced battle-management systems, and very high-yield non-nuclear explosives, for example, could turn a quantitative balance into a qualitative advantage for the forces possessing more modern equipment. There was interest in the possibility of the U.S. and the Soviet Union jointly discussing

Campus Programs Spotlight

long-range reductions in defense budgets and force structures.

■ In the area of nuclear weapons stationed in Europe, there was a surprising degree of consensus. The Soviets indicated that, although official Soviet policy was the elimination of all nuclear weapons from Europe, in analytical, policy and military circles, there was the recognition that some nuclear weapons could be stationed in Europe to provide a minimum deterrent. The number of nuclear weapons needed for this purpose varied from 100 to 1,000. There seemed to be consensus that short-range missiles and artillery were destabilizing and politically unacceptable, and the likely basing platforms for any nuclear weapons in Europe would be aircraft or sea-based systems.

Some of what was discussed at Bellagio has already worked its way into the ongoing CFE talks (i.e., aircraft limits, verification). Other topics, particularly in the area of future technology verification, nuclear weapons, and naval arms control, will have a direct bearing on future arms control negotiations and European security.

FOOTNOTES:

¹ Proceedings of this conference are available from IGCC. *Conventional Forces in Europe: Proceedings of an International Conference*, Alan Sweedler and Brett Henry, eds. (1989) IGCC.

² An edited volume of papers and discussion from the conference will be published shortly: *Europe in Transition: Arms Control and Conventional Forces in the 1990s*, Alan Sweedler and Randy Willoughby, eds. (forthcoming).

Alan Sweedler is a professor of physics, co-director of the Institute for International Security and Conflict Resolution at San Diego State University, and a visiting scholar at the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation.

Global Peace and Security Program, UC Santa Barbara

Established in 1984 with support from IGCC and UC Santa Barbara's College of Letters and Science, UC Santa Barbara's Global Peace and Security Program (GPS) coordinates all IGCC-related activities on the Santa Barbara campus. GPS's first major project, and still its primary emphasis, is an educational program for upper-division students. It is an interdisciplinary program, open to all majors. A certificate is given upon completion.

To be awarded that certificate, global peace scholars must take at least three courses from an approved list, two outside the student's major. All global peace scholars attend a weekly common seminar over a two-quarter period. Lectures are given by different faculty members each week and students participate in small-group discussion sections. The twenty-two faculty members participating in the program represent a wide variety of disciplines: art, geography, anthropology, sociology, mathematics, engineering, religious studies, education, black studies, and environmental studies, as well as the more-to-be-expected political science, history, economics, and physics. UC Santa Barbara's proximity to Vandenberg Air Force Base provides another experience for global peace scholars: a tour

of the base, including inspection of the command and control facilities, a trip down into an ICBM silo, and discussions with military personnel about the role of strategic missiles in nuclear deterrence.

Student enrollment and the number of courses offered have grown steadily since the beginning of the program. Nine certificates were awarded the first year, fifty this year. Global peace



UC Santa Barbara

scholars, who take on the GPS requirements in addition to those of their major, have proven to be excellent students with an average GPA consistently above a "B".

John Ernest, professor of mathematics and chairman of GPS, notes that the success of this undergraduate program has much to do with Wayne Cohan's "way with students." Cohan, a doctoral student in political science, is GPS's assistant chairman. From this core undergraduate program, GPS has been able to generate a number of other

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activities involving faculty and graduate students. The most innovative of these has been a series of miniconferences focusing on specific regions and especially on constructive ideas for resolving conflicts in those regions.

Miniconferences, which are events for the whole campus, generally address the question "Is peace possible in a particular region?" In the past two years, the question has been asked of China and its neighbors, the Middle East, the Horn of Africa, Central America, and Eastern Europe. Major speakers are brought in from outside for three or four days, UC Santa Barbara faculty together with visiting scholars and students from the region are added, and a film plus some other cultural event, like music or dancing, from the region, are scheduled.

GPS works with other campus entities, especially the Office of International Students and Scholars, the Multicultural Center, and UC Santa Barbara Arts and Lectures, in organizing these events and many are broadcast on UC Santa Barbara's radio station.

"The miniconferences have been invaluable," according to Ernest, "in helping us discover people on our own campus with strengths and interests in particular geographic regions." For instance, organizers for the miniconference on the Horn of Africa discovered an environmental researcher on campus who travels annually to Eritrea. From his large collection of slides, he was able to offer a visual demonstration of Ethiopia's environmental problems and their relation to hunger and war in that country. GPS considers foreign students and scholars a particularly valuable resource in helping UC Santa Barbara faculty and students better understand the culture and concerns of those living in other regions of the world.

In addition to the miniconferences, GPS also hosts a campus-wide lecture series. These colloquia address more traditional topics of global conflict and cooperation, such as arms control, superpower relations, and nuclear proliferation. All colloquia in the spring of 1990 focused on the historic changes occurring in Europe; this series of lectures was titled "European Metamorphosis: Hopes and Concerns." Attention to the European situation continued into the summer with GPS and the Summer

Ronnie Lipschutz

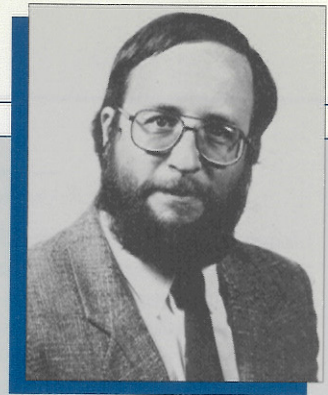
"Child of the IGCC"

A self-proclaimed "Child of the IGCC," Ronnie Lipschutz's involvement with the Institute dates back to 1983 when he began working with UC Berkeley's John Holdren on an IGCC-funded project, "Access to Resources and Major Conflict."

The same year, Lipschutz participated in the first IGCC summer teaching seminar, held at UC Santa Barbara. He was married in Santa Barbara the day following the seminar, an event which he says "helped relieve the suicidal depression induced by the subjects discussed at the seminar. At that time, of course, there was a lot of discussion about nuclear strategy."

During the following years, Lipschutz received a dissertation fellowship from IGCC, as well as a Social Science Research Council/MacArthur Foundation Doctoral Fellowship in Peace and International Studies. He was a visiting research fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, England in 1986-87 and received his Ph.D. from the Energy and Resources Group at UC Berkeley in 1987. A revised version of Lipschutz's dissertation entitled *When Nations Clash: Raw Materials, Ideology, and Foreign Policy*, was published by Ballinger, a subsidiary of Harper & Row, in 1989.

Since 1987, Lipschutz has served as founder and president of the Pacific Institute for Studies in Development, Environment, and Security. Located in Berkeley, it is an independent research



and policy institute focusing on the intersections between international security, the global environment, and economic development.

In 1990, Lipschutz again teamed with Holdren to help organize an IGCC working group on Environment and Security which sponsored a workshop entitled "Global Resources and Environment: Arenas for Conflict, Opportunities for Cooperation" at UC Berkeley in March. An edited volume of the proceedings is expected to be released next year. And, he celebrated his seventh wedding anniversary in Los Angeles in June 1990 while attending IGCC's summer teaching seminar for a second time.

In July of this year, Lipschutz joined the faculty of the Board of Studies in Politics at UC Santa Cruz. Lipschutz takes with him to UC Santa Cruz a strong belief in linking academia and action. As he sees it, "The processes of change we are seeing in global economics, politics, and environment are not independent of each other, and this promises to make the 1990s an especially exciting and fruitful time for research in international relations and political economy. But research alone will not be enough. The real challenge is not only to make our findings relevant to public policy, but also to discover how to make effective public policy."

Session co-sponsoring an intensive, week-long program on the changes in Europe. Colloquia in the fall quarter will focus on "swords into plowshares" issues. While UC Santa Barbara faculty and graduate students have been well represented among those receiving IGCC grants and fellowships, GPS would like to encourage more research, both individual and collaborative, oriented to global peace and security concerns. To this end, a research seminar for faculty and advanced graduate students will be established in

the coming year. UC Santa Barbara physics professor José R. Fulco is also spearheading a systemwide project that, as mentioned in the article on IGCC grants, will examine the technical dimensions of U.S. strategic policy in the next decades.

Several UC Santa Barbara faculty members serve, along with John Ernest, as an advisory committee to GPS: Lawrence Badash, history; Richard Comstock, religious studies; Walter Kohn, physics; and Cedric Robinson, political science.

Larry Berman Studies the Dynamics of Military Intervention

Political-military intervention, or the use of direct military force by foreign powers to impose political order within other states, has fascinated Larry Berman all of his professional career. Vietnam initially captured the attention of the UC Davis political science professor, and he authored two books about the United States' intervention in the small Southeast Asian country.

In recent years, Berman has expanded his focus towards general questions of why states engage in military interventions, and he is heading up a major research project which is investigating these issues. IGCC, the Carnegie Corporation, UC Davis' Institute of Governmental Affairs, and the Jaffee Center in Israel have provided funding for the project, which is entitled "Protracted Military Intervention: From Commitment to Disengagement." The end result will be a book published by Columbia University Press next year.

Berman and his collaborators, UC political science professor Bruce Jentleson and Ariel Levite, from the Jaffee Center at Tel-Aviv University, developed this book project while Levite was teaching summer school at UC Davis three years ago. Although the three men have different specialties—Berman's field is American politics while Jentleson and Levite focus on international relations—they discovered a common interest in political military interventions and a number of commonalities in cases where military intervention occurred.

This study is timely in light of recent global developments. In many regions of the world, there has been a marked increase in the frequency of military interventions.

Additionally, military intervention has been used by every sort of country, including both of the superpowers, regional and local

powers, and by democracies as well as totalitarian regimes. Some regimes may be more disposed to military intervention, but none is inherently exempt from the prospect. Somewhat paradoxically, despite the high frequency and widespread use of military intervention, recent interventions have been generally unsuccessful.

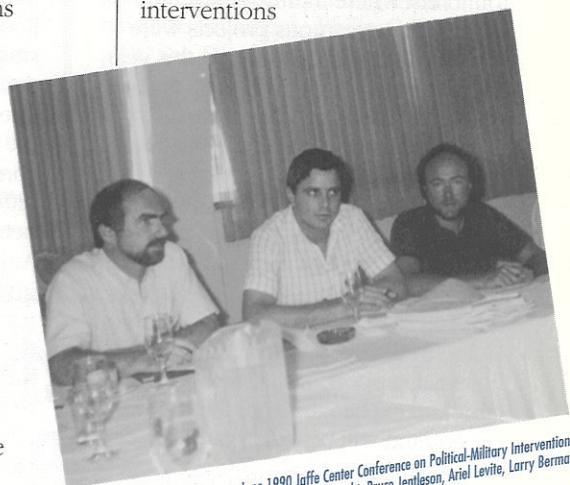
Surprisingly, there has been little scholarly work that directly addresses the issue. This study of the nature and consequences of intervention and the problems of disengagement should be a valuable contribution to a previously "thin" area of international relations literature.

Berman and his collaborators first applied for IGCC funding to sponsor a workshop on the project at UC Davis last year. The workshop was very successful, bringing together scholars to analyze six recent instances of military interventions which resulted, to varying degrees, in failure. The cases studied are the United States in Vietnam, the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, Syria in Lebanon, Israel in Lebanon, India in Sri Lanka, and Cuba and South Africa in Angola. Each situation is structured as a case study. The project then tests for commonalities by analyzing all cases in terms of three distinct stages of military intervention: commitment, intervention, and disengagement. In this way, Berman and his colleagues seek to assess the extent to which cases with similar results also have similar causes.

As a second phase of the project, the authors and a group of international scholars gathered at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at the University of Tel Aviv, Israel in June 1990. Papers were presented for critique. Invited scholars such as Athanassios Platias, of the Greek

Institute for International and Strategic Studies, Richard Little of Lancaster University, and Itamar Rabinovich of Tel-Aviv University, made an invaluable contribution to the meeting by adding new perspectives based on their own research.

The book *Protracted Military Interventions: From Commitment to Disengagement* is intended not only to be used in graduate courses on international relations and decision making, but as a guide for policymakers as well. Berman has been surprised by the lack of forethought that goes into military interventions



June 1990 Jaffee Center Conference on Political-Military Intervention. Left to right: Bruce Jentleson, Ariel Levite, Larry Berman

when the objective is political.

"In cases involving military intervention, one must identify clearly the political objective and have a military strategy to accomplish that objective," Berman said. "What is remarkable in many cases is the lack of fit between the political objective and military strategy. When there is no fit between these elements, the political objective becomes unobtainable at a low cost."

As the U.S. operation in Grenada and the French intervention in Chad demonstrate, not all military interventions fail to achieve their political objectives. Berman is already looking ahead to the next cases of intervention to study.

1990-91 IGCC Research and Teaching Grants

The IGCC Steering Committee awarded seventeen research and teaching grants to UC faculty for the 1990-91 academic year. These small grants, awarded on a competitive basis, are typically used to support a research assistant or to supplement funds from other sources. (An announcement of 1991-92 grant opportunities can be found elsewhere in this *Newsletter*.)

Several intercampus projects were funded in a separate category this year, the Steering Committee having decided that these projects furthered IGCC's mission. A colloquium on ethics and nuclear deterrence first started in 1984 and attended, over the years, by UC faculty, scientists and defense specialists from Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, and ethicists and religious scholars from the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, again received IGCC financial support. An edited version of talks and exchanges from the colloquium will be published this year. Funds were provided to the Institute of International Studies (IIS) at Berkeley for the continued production of *Foreign Policy News Clips*, a quarterly compilation of clippings on various foreign policy topics. *News Clips*, edited by IIS's assistant director, Harry Kreisler, is designed to facilitate faculty research in international affairs and is distributed on all nine campuses of the UC system. And José R. Fulco, a professor of physics at UC Santa Barbara, received support for an intercampus working group on the technical dimensions of U.S. strategic policy after the Cold War.

There were no teaching proposals submitted to the faculty grant competition this year. All grants allocated were for research and writing projects or for conferences. Some of the conferences proposed were oriented to scholarly issues, some to policy issues, some to

both. Research projects were generally given preference over conferences, but the Steering Committee did look favorably upon several conference proposals oriented to the stimulation or completion of collaborative research projects.

Several of the political science proposals funded directly address international security issues. Richard Rosecrance at UC Los Angeles is studying the evolution of security maintenance arrangements within the international system. He will examine the structural and technological correlates of maintaining security via different methods: balance of power, deterrence, and central coalition. Arthur Stein, also at UC Los Angeles, is investigating the ways in which nation-states respond to threats. He focuses on the pre-World War II era, looking at assessments of and responses to the threats posed by Nazi Germany. Steven Weber, a Berkeley political scientist, is examining changes in the beliefs of key U.S. decisionmakers about balance-of-power systems. This is a long-term project, with a current focus on the financial 'rescue' of Poland. Randolph Siverson, in the Davis department, is evaluating theories of both war and peace in terms of their ability to account for the "long peace" which has followed World War II. Using the most adequate of these theories, he will then go on to speculate about whether any near-term conditions are likely to increase the risk of major war. IGCC support also went to Berkeley's Ernst B. Haas for his macrohistorical work on understanding change in international life. In this long-term project, Haas seeks to account for the growth of international functional regimes and the

growing obsolescence of the principle of territorial sovereignty.

Luc Anselin, a UC Santa Barbara geographer, will team up with John O'Loughlin, a geographer at the University of Colorado, Boulder, to address the role of location and spatial interaction in inter-nation conflict and cooperation. Using spatial econometrics and other methodologies, this study will help us understand the effects of trade and military expenditures on inter-nation conflict.

Nirvikar Singh (economics, UC Santa Cruz) and Pranab Bardhan (economics, UC Berkeley) received a grant to organize a workshop on the interaction of political and economic change in developing countries in the Asian Pacific Rim. The intent of the workshop is to stimulate individual and collaborative research projects which consider the effects on development of both political and economic factors.

K.C. Fung, another UC Santa Cruz economist, will study the impact on international relations of international trading blocs, such as the European Common Market and the North American free trade area. Fung will investigate the potential effects of these blocs on international trade and the possibilities for inter-bloc economic and political friction. Graciela Kaminsky and Alfredo Pereira, both members of the UC San Diego economics department, will consider various consequences of the 1992 economic integration in Europe. A better understanding of the effects of integrating financial markets is expected to be helpful in promoting coordinated growth and development in the world economy.

Two projects this year focus on global environmental issues. Michael Intriligator, director, Center for

International and Strategic Affairs (CISA) at UC Los Angeles, received seed money to explore examples of international environmental cooperation. John Whiteley (social ecology, UC Irvine) received support for a joint U.S.-Soviet symposium at Irvine on the environmental consequences of nuclear weapons development and destruction. The American and Soviet participants will define the scope and extent of the environmental problems involved and explore possible solutions.

Tracy Lewis (economics, UC Davis) will host a conference in 1991 on "The Power to Commit." More than half the economists and political scientists invited to participate in this conference are from UC campuses. There will be an invited audience of about sixty in addition to the fifteen or twenty presenters and discussants. The proceedings of the conference, which will consider institutional mechanisms enabling sovereign governments to commit to long-term agreements, will be published as a book or a symposium in an academic journal.

Phillip Tetlock, a psychologist and

the director of Berkeley's Institute on Personality Assessment and Research (IPAR), received IGCC funds to facilitate his participation in a project primarily supported by the National Research Council. This complex, multidisciplinary, intercampus project, being conducted with political scientist George Breslauer, director of Berkeley's Center of East European and Slavic Studies and a key coordinator of the Berkeley-Stanford program on Soviet international behavior, focuses on the psychological, organizational, and political processes of learning in U.S.-Soviet relations. Fifteen research papers by experts on different facets of American and Soviet foreign policy—conventional and nuclear arms control, the Middle East, China, etc.—were discussed at a 1988 conference. Final revisions of these papers and of the theoretical chapters which will open and close the planned volume remain to be completed; the expected publication date is spring 1991.

Steven Spiegel (political science, UC Los Angeles) notes that he has been heavily influenced by his participation in the Breslauer-Tetlock "Learning in

U.S. and Soviet Foreign Policy" project. He will piggyback on that experience by using his IGCC research grant to examine lessons learned by American policymakers from crisis experiences in the Middle East.

Larry Berman, chairman of the political science department at UC Davis, and two colleagues received a grant to continue their work on the dynamics of military intervention. This complex project on the political use of direct military force, initiated at an IGCC-funded workshop in 1989, is featured in a story elsewhere in this issue of the *IGCC Newsletter*.

Emily O. Goldman, another Davis political scientist, will build on her work on naval arms control in the interwar years to analyze conventional military disengagement in two central arenas today: Central Europe and naval disarmament. Philip G. Roeder, a UC San Diego political scientist, is investigating the likely influence of Gorbachev's institutional reforms on Soviet military thought, a project that follows on from his earlier IGCC-supported work on Soviet military doctrine.

Thirty UC Graduate Students Receive Fellowships for 1990-91

In the 1990-91 awards cycle, the IGCC Steering Committee awarded twelve new dissertation fellowships and fourteen second-year renewals to UC doctoral students.



Diane Baxter

Projects supported vary from Paul A. Papayoanou's study of the role of interdependence and threat in the alliance strategies of the great powers to Diane Baxter's work on the *intifada*, a psychocultural analysis of the Palestinian uprising. Papayoanou, a UC Los Angeles

political science student, examines a range of historical cases in his effort to understand great-power alliances and economic influences affecting them. Baxter, another UC Los Angeles student, was the only anthropologist residing in and doing research on the West Bank during 1988-89. Her determination to become a participant/observer, despite the difficulties and dangers of that role during an uprising, allowed her a unique perspective on the *intifada* and its effects on people's daily lives and political aspirations.

Katherine A. S. Siegel, a history student at UC Santa Barbara, is studying Soviet-American trade and diplomacy in the 1920s. She is taking advantage of

archives in Moscow recently opened to Western scholars, continuing a project she started as an IGCC International Fellow. Jeffrey Bale, a Berkeley history student, is reviewing Italian documentary materials in his study of right-wing terrorist networks in post-World War II Europe.

Charles R. Dannehl, a political science student at UC Davis, is doing a quantitative analysis of Soviet objectives in the distribution of foreign economic aid. He hopes the study will contribute to more effective strategies for international cooperation in third world development. William L. Hughes, a history student at UC

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Riverside, is investigating the involvement of the French Left and of the United States in the controversy surrounding the ratification of the European Defense Community treaty.

A student in the history of consciousness at UC Santa Cruz, Ron B. Eglash, is examining the implications of decentralized military information systems for international conflict and stability, while Tom Wells, a Berkeley sociology student, is completing a dissertation on "The Impact of Domestic Opinion on the Vietnam War, 1964-75." This project is based on an unprecedented series of thirty-eight interviews with senior Johnson and Nixon administration officials and on other interviews and archival material collected by Wells. Wade Huntley, a Berkeley political science student, is engaged in a related project looking at the fundamental contradictions between the aims of democracy and those of national security in the nuclear age. Under the title, "The People and the Bomb," Huntley shows how these theoretical dilemmas reflect and

explain political conflict over nuclear weapons issues in modern democracies, with particular attention to the United States and New Zealand.

Several students were offered fellowships and travel grants by other organizations as well as by IGCC. In these cases, IGCC fellowships are either foregone or reduced to reflect the student's changed circumstances.



Karen Litfin

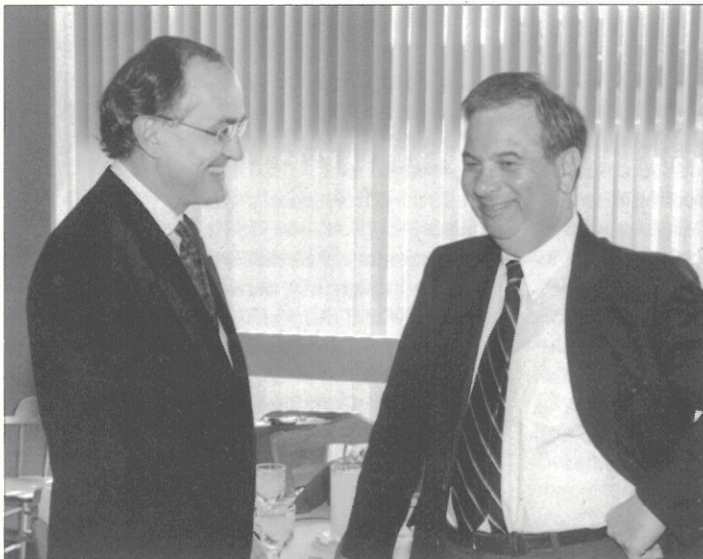
Jeffrey W. Legro's study of submarine, aerial, and chemical warfare from 1919 to 1945, "Restraint and Escalation in War," was one of those dissertation projects doubly

honored. Legro received an award from the U.S. Institute of Peace, which will cover his extensive travel, as well as a stipend from IGCC. Karen Litfin's dissertation, focusing on international

environmental policy, garnered three fellowship offers. She has been able to accept one from the American Association of University Women along with a supplement from IGCC. Litfin's work, supported last year with an IGCC fellowship, examines the efficacy of knowledge-based power in convincing sixty-two countries to take a long-term, global perspective and negotiate the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer. Legro and Litfin are both UC Los Angeles political science students.

In addition to the Dissertation Fellowships, IGCC granted four International Fellowships to students at an earlier stage in their graduate careers. These fellowships allow students to start work abroad that may lead to a dissertation. Travel plans of this year's students will take them to Austria, England, Israel, and Sweden.

The IGCC Graduate Fellowships program is supported by the Regents of the University of California, the state of California, and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.



In Appreciation

IGCC extends its sincere appreciation to Professor Sanford Lakoff (right), shown here with IGCC Director John Ruggie (left), for his efforts in organizing the IGCC's Faculty Seminar on International Security and Arms Control at UC San Diego from 1983-90. This year's seminar provided briefings by international experts on topics ranging from European security relations to new developments in Chinese foreign policy to a diverse audience of UC San Diego faculty members, students, and community leaders. Thank you, Sandy, for a job well done.

IGCC Grant and Fellowship Opportunities, 1991-92



IGCC has since its inception provided grants and fellowships to University of California faculty and graduate students. It also provides grants for IGCC-related programs on UC campuses. At its spring meeting, the IGCC Steering Committee decided to advance the deadlines for submission of proposals in the 1990-91 award cycle. Proposals for campus programs will be due **December 15, 1990**. Applications for faculty grants and graduate student fellowships are due **February 15, 1991**.

As all proposals have to go through the contracts and grants office on the applicant's home campus before being submitted to IGCC, the effective deadlines for applicants are even earlier.

In addition to these grants and fellowships awarded to UC faculty and students, IGCC last year initiated a postdoctoral fellowship competition in international peace and security. Applications for postdoctoral fellowships for the 1991-92 academic year must be received by **March 1, 1991**.

CAMPUS PROGRAMS

IGCC supports programs focused on global conflict and cooperation on most of the UC campuses. These campus programs serve as local centers for IGCC-related activities. While programs vary from campus to campus, most run undergraduate teaching programs, encourage collaborative research endeavors, organize public outreach activities, act as liaison between the campus and the IGCC central office, and engage in other activities which facilitate and disseminate the work of UC scholars on problems of global peace and security. (A feature story on the UC Santa Barbara campus program appears in this *Newsletter*.)

The IGCC Steering Committee decided to advance the deadline for submission of campus program propos-

als by several months. **Campus program proposals for the 1991-92 academic year must reach the IGCC central office by December 15, 1990.** This earlier deadline permits the Steering Committee to devote more time to these proposals; it will also give campus program directors more lead time for implementing approved plans.

RESEARCH AND TEACHING GRANTS

IGCC provides small grants, typically a maximum of \$15,000, to UC faculty for research and teaching projects related to global conflict and cooperation. These grants are intended to stimulate innovative research and teaching on issues of global conflict and cooperation, including the interactions of economics and security, international environmental concerns, and regional conflicts which may threaten international stability. Projects which are multidisciplinary and have policy implications are particularly encouraged.

The deadline for submission of research and teaching proposals from UC faculty is February 15, 1991. For a copy of the proposal guidelines and an application form, contact the IGCC representative on each UC campus (list follows) or the Grants Program, IGCC (0518), UC San Diego, 9500 Gilman Drive, La Jolla, CA 92093-0518; (619) 534-3352.

GRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS

IGCC offers fellowships on a competitive basis to UC graduate students in a variety of disciplines. For the pre-dissertation phase of a student's graduate career, IGCC offers both Public Policy and International Fellowships. Dissertation Fellowships are offered for the final stages of graduate work.

The pre-dissertation fellowships allow a UC student to travel within the United States (the Public Policy Fellowships) or abroad (the International Fellowships) to study topics of relevance to global conflict and cooperation. The maximum duration of these fellowships is three months; the stipend is \$1,000 per month plus travel and research expenses.

Dissertation Fellowships support the research and writing of doctoral dissertations by UC students who have been advanced to candidacy. These fellowships are normally for a twelve-month period and, assuming satisfactory progress, are renewable for a second year. They provide a monthly stipend of \$1,000, plus travel and research expenses. **The deadline for submission of fellowship applications from UC graduate students is February 15, 1991.** Applicants should allow adequate time for these applications to be processed through the contracts and grants office on the home campus before being forwarded to IGCC to meet the February 15 deadline.

For further information about these graduate fellowships and an application form, contact the IGCC representative on any UC campus (list follows) or the Graduate Fellowship Program, IGCC (0518), UC San Diego, 9500 Gilman Drive, La Jolla, CA 92093-0518; (619) 534-3352.

POSTDOCTORAL FELLOWSHIPS

IGCC will award up to three postdoctoral fellowships in international peace and security for the 1991-92 academic year to new (as of July 1, 1991) and recent (within the past five years) recipients of the doctoral degree. Postdoctoral fellows spend the academic year in residence at the IGCC central office on the UC San Diego campus. They are expected to

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complete a book, monograph, or other significant publication while in residence as well as to participate in collaborative activities at IGCC. Preference will be given to scholars working on Pacific security relations; economic competitiveness and security; environment, development, and global security; or future weapons systems and arms control.

Applicants for postdoctoral fellowships should submit (1) a three- to five-page, double-spaced statement of their intended project; (2) a curriculum vitae; (3) four letters of reference attesting to their professional competence and the importance of their projects; and (4) one or more writing samples.

These application materials should be sent to Postdoctoral Fellowship Competition, IGCC (0518), UC San Diego, 9500 Gilman Dr., La Jolla, CA 92093-0518, **by March 1, 1991.**

CAMPUS REPRESENTATIVES

Berkeley: Professor Albert Fishlow or Harry Kreisler, Institute of International Studies (IIS), 215 Moses Hall, UC Berkeley, CA 944720. (415) 642-1106 or 2474.

Davis: Professor Paul Craig or Anna-Maria White, IGCC Program, Department of Applied Science, 233 Walker Hall, UC Davis, CA 95616. (916) 752-0360 or 1782.

Irvine: Professor Keith Nelson or Tom Grant, Global Peace and Conflict Studies (GPACS), Social Science Tower, UC Irvine, CA 92717. (714) 856-6410.

Los Angeles: Professor Michael Intriligator or Gerri Harrington, Center for International and Strategic Affairs (CISA), 11381 Bunche Hall, UC Los Angeles, 405 Hilgard Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90024-1486. (213) 825-0604.

Riverside: No campus representative at this time. Contact the IGCC central office, IGCC (0518), UC San Diego, 9500 Gilman Dr., La Jolla, CA 92093-0518. (619) 534-3352.

San Diego: Professor Peter Cowhey or Dr. Charles Nathanson, Project on International and Security Affairs (PISA) (0176), UC San Diego, 9500 Gilman Dr., La Jolla, CA 92093-0176. (619) 534-7436.

San Francisco: Professor Christie Kiefer or Daniel Perlman, Program in Health Science and Human Survival, CSBS 237, 1350 7th Ave., UC San Francisco, CA 94143. (415) 476-7543

Santa Barbara: Professor John Ernest or Wayne L. Cohan, Global Peace and Security Program, Department of Mathematics, UC Santa Barbara, CA 93106. (805) 893-4718.

Santa Cruz: Professor Ron Ruby, The Adlai E. Stevenson Program on Nuclear Policy, 222 Stevenson College, UC Santa Cruz, CA 95064. (408) 459-2833 or 2125.

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