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Bridging Theory to Practice

There is a fundamental divide between scholars and practitioners of international relations: on the one side stand university academics, often uninterested in asking policy-relevant questions or drawing policy-relevant answers from their research. On the other side stand policymakers, who rarely have the time or interest to examine complex theories before proposing courses of action. This gap is artificial and unnecessary. IGCC's mission and goal are to bridge it, based on the belief that while each situation has unique features, understanding general patterns of international relations can help practitioners formulate sound policy.

Necessary Theory

IGCC's long-standing policy-relevant work on regional conflict and cooperation, including track-two diplomatic activities in the Middle East and Northeast Asia, and on the international spread and management of ethnic conflict, demanded a sound theoretical foundation to help us analyze, interpret, explain, and predict international interactions. In 1993, then IGCC research director David A. Lake, and University of California (UC), Irvine professor Patrick Morgan observed that, with the end of the Cold War, security management was becoming more of a regional than a global issue, and asked themselves: How, why, and what did this trend mean for the future? To answer this question, they organized a study group of a dozen international relations scholars, largely from the UC system.

Regional Security

Along the way, Lake, Morgan, and their collaborators realized that any policy able to cope with the regionalization of security would have to address such basic and important questions as: "What is a region?" "Why are some regions more conflict-prone than others?" "Why do some regions succeed in actively managing conflict while others fail?" The answers were by no means obvious. They depended on close examination of domestic political structures, balance-of-power and collective security mechanisms, and the history, nature, and extent of external relations. The fruits of their efforts will be published later this year by Penn State Press as *Regional Orders: Building*



UCLA associate professor of political science Susanne Lohmann, with Bayesian analysis and Tupperware. Photo: Alan Decker

Security in a New World. The book is an exemplary marriage of basic theory and real-world trends that reflects the multi-faceted work of IGCC and UC faculty in global conflict and cooperation.

Ethnic Conflict

Within less-than-global contexts, many policy makers now fear that ethnic conflict is contagious; that outbreaks in one country will spread to others. In attempting to persuade the American people to support the deployment of U.S. troops to Bosnia under NATO command, President Clinton stated "Without us...the conflict that already has claimed so many lives could spread like poison throughout the entire region." Yet, before deciding how many American lives to put at risk in containing ethnic conflicts in faraway places, it is important to know just how contagious ethnic conflict really is. Understanding if, when, and how conflict in one locale dif-

Continued p. 2

In This Issue:

Feature:

Richard Feinberg on U.S. Trade Policy in Latin America pp. 5-6

Middle East: p. 8

Asia-Pacific: pp. 11-13

Viewpoints:

Why Policymakers Should Care About Theory pp. 7-8

Security: p. 14

Environment: p. 15

Bridging Theory to Practice (continued from page 1)

fuses to another raises some of the most difficult theoretical problems in the social sciences. Not only must one understand the origins of particular conflicts, but one must also understand

ry to rebuild the very foundations of the field. Under the working title *Strategic Choice and International Relations*, this volume is also forthcoming from Princeton University Press.



IGCC/MacArthur scholars Steven Lobell (top, left), Aime Kreppel, Kerry Chase, and Natasha Unger (bottom, right), with UCLA mentor Arthur Stein (bottom, left). Photo: Alan Decker

how events in possibly distant places around the globe are linked—for policies that do not take account of these linkages are bound to fail. To address these issues, Lake and UC Davis professor Donald Rothchild organized a second research effort, generously supported by The Pew Charitable Trusts, the results of which will be published by Princeton University Press as *Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation* in January 1998. (See *IGCC Newsletter* issues X-2 through XII-1; *Policy Papers* no. 12, 16, 18, 20–22, 25, 27).¹

Strategic Choices

More generally, IGCC has also supported the Workshop on International Relations, which brought together faculty from around the UC system to reflect upon and improve existing theories. Particularly active from 1990 to 1994, the workshop spawned a third collaborative project by Lake and UC Berkeley professor Robert Powell. In this most basic of theoretical enterprises, the collaborators use insights from game theo-

New Blood for New Times

Now, a new generation of scholars is being drawn into this multicampus, living discussion. Since 1986, IGCC has been one of the largest funders of dissertation and faculty research support on international relations in the country. On May 9–10, 1997, IGCC's new research director Stephan Haggard invited faculty from across the UC system to a two-day meeting on Regional and Global Governance (participants, p. 4), linking them with 1996–1997 dissertation scholars sponsored by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, jointly with IGCC. The participants presented current research, with faculty serving as discussants for the junior academics, thus opening the door for future collaboration among all.

Regions in a Global World

This year's IGCC/MacArthur scholars, mentored by UCLA's professor of political science Arthur Stein, addressed "regionalism in a globalizing world" from varying disciplinary viewpoints.

Faculty topics included conceptual issues of global and regional governance (including European integration), security, and international economy. Among new work presented was a paper, "Collective Security and Reassurance," by Andrew Kydd, assistant professor of political science at UC Riverside, that demonstrated, through the application of game theory models, the role that collective security institutions have played in history and are likely to play in the future. Mark Harmon, assistant professor of politics at UC Santa Cruz, focused his research on Britain, Europe, and monetary integration. He raised questions about the concept of "international cooperation" in a particular policy domain (exchange rate policy and monetary integration) that has proven to be problematic between the United Kingdom and the European Union. Daniel Philpott, assistant professor of political science at UC Santa Barbara, explored the origins of the sovereign state system. Susanne Lohmann, associate professor of political science at UC Los Angeles, was especially animated in describing her experiments on collective decision-making and regime collapse, drawing on the East German experience and classroom experiments.

Driving Foreign Policy

From the international relations perspective, one approach is to see foreign policy as driven by the material interests of domestic constituencies. From this view, governments' decisions to further either open or protective foreign economic policies are products of the political contest among various interests. But such a perspective makes it difficult to explain any interest in economic regionalism. However, IGCC/MacArthur dissertation scholar Kerry Chase (political science, UC Los Angeles) posits that some firms support international openness in regional integration, because they wish to secure a larger-than-domestic market, but retain protection against full-scale international competition. Chase anticipates patterns of business support for regionalism, and delineates the conditions under which regional integration is a step toward either global liberalization or economic blocs.

Continued p. 3

Bridging Theory to Practice (continued from page 2)

MacArthur scholars Natasha Unger (UC San Diego, sociology) and Aime Kreppel (UC Los Angeles, political science) are examining other domestic-regional political linkages. Unger gave an especially well-received talk relating small town civic traditions of Germany to anti-European and anti-immigrant mobilization, while Kreppel is in the midst of an impressive statistical analysis of the development of the European parliament and the supra-national party system.

On a different intellectual path, work on the management of hegemonic decline by Chase's fellow scholar Steven Lobell (UC Los Angeles, political science) focused on the challenges and opportunities confronted by hegemonic states. Despite global concerns, a global power's interests, challenges, and challenges vary across regions, and some

are more important to it than others. Of possible responses, Lobell argues that decline is best managed by a hegemon able to systematically convert former colonies and regional spheres of influence into independent trade and security partners. Such a strategy makes it possible to bring commitments into line with capabilities, while still securing a state's interests.

These works, asking different questions and rooted in different approaches, all arrive at the conclusion that in the post-Cold War world, regionalism has become more important, and the supposed advent of globalization simultaneously includes forces sustaining regionalism.

Necessary Practice

Theoretical research by UC scholars and students of international relations thus

underpin IGCC's policy work on conflict and cooperation in particular regions, such as that in Northeast Asia (see *IGCC Newsletter* especially issue XII-2; p. 12, this issue) and the Middle East (see *IGCC Newsletter* especially issue XII-1; p. 8, this issue). Indeed, while the work of all these young scholars, perhaps exemplified by IGCC faculty fellow Paul Papayoanou's game theoretic analyses (see p. 4, 9), would seem far removed from the practical world, the bridge from theory to practice is not so impossible as it seems. Their work is in fact motivated by what has changed in the world at the end of this century. It grows from the necessity to understand complicated problems like the increased role of domestic politics in the international sphere, and the coincidence of regionalization and globalization trends.

Throughout this issue, we give you a close-up view of the intellectual fire-

Continued p. 6

— NOTEWORTHY —

The University of Rochester has awarded IGCC director emeritus **Herbert F. YORK** a public service medal for his many contributions to education and arms control.

Power and Prosperity: Economics and Security Linkages in Asia-Pacific, ed. IGCC director **Susan L. SHIRK** and **Christopher P. TWOMEY**, has been nominated for the Kiriyana Pacific Rim Book Prize.

Latin American Environmental Policy in International Perspective, ed. former IGCC research director **Gordon MACDONALD**, **Daniel NIELSON**, and **Marc STERN**, the result of a project funded by IGCC and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation (see *Newsletter X-1*), has been released in Westview Press's *Latin America in Global Perspective* series. **Ronnie LIPSCHUTZ** (UC Santa Cruz; see p. 8), edited *Global Civil Society and Global Environmental Governance*, published last fall by the State University of New York Press in its *International Environmental Policy and Theory* series and based on his research sponsored in part by IGCC. The *Journal of Environment and Development* has accepted papers by **Sitanon JESTAPIPAT**, **TRAN Thi Thanh Phuong**, and **Marites Danguilan**

VITUG, first presented at IGCC's conference on "Economic Integration and the Environment in Southeast Asia" (see Fall, 1996 *Newsletter*), which was supported by the Hewlett Foundation. Other conference papers are now available via IGCC Online under "environment—policy papers" at <http://igcc-ucsd.edu> or gopher-igcc.ucsd.edu.

The Brookings Institution Press has published *Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa*, which included among its co-authors **Donald ROTHCHILD**, UC Davis and **I. William ZARTMAN**, Johns Hopkins U., both participants in IGCC's ethnic conflict project (see p. 1).

Susanne LOHMANN (see pp. 1, 2) contributed to *The Political Economy of Conflict and Appropriation*, ed. UC Irvine's **Michelle GARFINKEL** and **Stergios SKAPERDAS**, published last fall by Cambridge University Press. This spring, Cambridge also released *The Rebirth of Politics in Russia* by Prof. **Michael URBAN**, UC Santa Cruz.

Former IGCC Steering Committee chair **Randolph SIVERSON**'s IGCC conference result *Strategic Politicians, Institutions, and Foreign Policy* is forthcoming this year from

the U. of Michigan Press. This spring, Michigan published Vanderbilt University asst. prof. **David BARTLETT**'s *The Political Economy of Dual Transformations: Market Reforms and Democratization in Hungary*, based on his 1986–88 IGCC-funded dissertation. Michigan has also accepted UC San Diego asst. prof. **Paul PAPAYOANOU**'s *Economic Interdependence, Balancing, and War*, and 1992 IGCC dissertation fellow **Robert PAHRE**'s *Leading Questions: How Hegemony Affects the International Political Economy*, both forthcoming 1998.

In its Fall, 1996 issue the *Nonproliferation Review* published "Middle East Peace and the NPT Extension Decision" by **Gerald M. STEINBERG**, which grew from his participation in IGCC's Middle East multilateral working group on arms control and regional security.

IGCC Policy Paper no. 5 (old series), "SDI: Two Views of Professional Responsibility," by **David Lorge PARNAS** and **Danny COHEN**, will be reprinted by Rowman and Littlefield in *Technology and Values: An Anthology*, ed. Kristin Shrader-Frechette and Laura Westra, to appear in fall, 1997.

Global and Regional Governance Workshop

La Jolla, California, 9-10 May 1997

Sponsored by: University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation. The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

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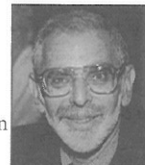
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Will MOORE

IGCC Joins UCDC

Thanks to a UC Office of the President grant awarded through the 1996-97 Multi-Campus Research Unit (MRU) competition, on 1 July, 1997, IGCC will establish a Washington, DC research and program office, based at the UC Washington academic center. IGCC's Washington office will develop programs and projects to promote closer links from the academic to the policy community, and advance new international affairs-related research and education for faculty, graduate students, and undergraduates throughout the UC system.

Bruce W. Jentleson, professor of political science at UC Davis and director of the UC Davis Washington Center, has been appointed IGCC Washington Research Director as well. Assisted by a new staff member, to be named in July, 1997, he will build

the UC presence in the nation's capital by communicating ideas and results from IGCC research projects through conferences, briefings, and other mechanisms; enhancing inter-campus cooperation in Washington through foreign policy-related programs involving IGCC students and faculty; and by increasing interaction among IGCC, government and non-governmental organizations, and foundations in the Washington, DC metropolitan area.

IGCC looks forward to working with interested faculty, administrators, and students throughout the UC system, as well as with the Washington policymaking community, on this exciting new opportunity. For more information on IGCC, its programs, or the opening of its Washington office, contact Ronald Bee, IGCC External Affairs, at (619) 534-6429; fax: (619) 534-7655; email: rbee@ucsd.edu; or Bruce Jentleson, UC Davis Washington Center, at (202) 296-8221; fax: (202) 296-8224; email: bwjentleson@ucdavis.edu. ■

FEATURE:

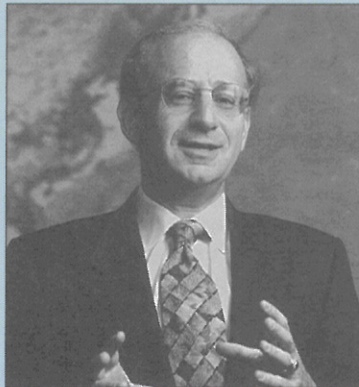
Practice Informed by Theory: The View from the Summit

by Richard Feinberg

President Clinton's week-long swing through Latin America in May, 1997 should be understood in the context of the "summitization" of hemispheric relations. At the 1994 Summit of the Americas in Miami, the United States and Latin America, with President Clinton there, agreed on a common commitment to democracy and good governance, economic integration and free trade, the eradication of poverty and discrimination, and sustainable development. The summit launched the Free Trade of the Americas (FTAA) initiative and called for completion of negotiations by 2005.² This trip, three years later, was about reaffirming that consensus, taking a measure of progress, and preparing the ground for the second Summit of the Americas, scheduled for early 1998 in Santiago, Chile.

Since the Miami summit, contrary to the widespread view that nothing has happened, in a number of areas there has been measurable progress. Democracy has been sustained and deepened throughout the region. Some of the basic building blocks for the creation of the FTAA have been put in place, including periodic ministerials, eleven working groups, a competent trade unit in the Organization of American States, a private sector forum, and dynamic subregional trading arrangements (including NAFTA and Mercosur). Good progress has been made on measures pertaining to civil society, corruption, energy, and pollution prevention. Additional modest progress has been achieved in promoting democracy, human and women's rights, and education; in curtailing narcotics trafficking and money laundering; and in opening up capital markets. Among the main Miami initiatives, only promoting biodiversity receives a failing grade. Two years after Miami, that is not a bad report card.

The President's trip to Mexico drew very favorable reviews. Even before the trip, official relations between the governments of the United States and Mexico were quite positive. President



Richard Feinberg

Richard Feinberg is now Dean of the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies of the University of California, San Diego. As special assistant to President Clinton and senior director for inter-American affairs on the National Security Council, he was a principal architect of the Miami Summit of the Americas in 1994. In his latest book *Summitry in the Americas*¹ he explains the timing and historical importance of the Miami Summit; describes the policy processes—within the U.S. government and among the countries of the hemisphere—that created the plan of action endorsed in Miami; assesses the outcomes of the summit; and offers recommendations for future improvements.

Clinton and President Zedillo have a good working relationship, as do their two cabinets. In Mexico, the elites know that Clinton has gone to bat for Mexico, at some political cost to himself, three times: Over NAFTA, over the peso stabilization program placing 50 billion dollars on the line, and by protecting Mexico against decertification on narcotic performance. But the public mood in both countries had soured over charges and counter-charges on narcotics, immigration, and Cuba.

During the trip, Clinton's engaging personality and his ability to project sympathy and respect (very important

in Mexico) largely won over the Mexican public. Mexicans were pleased that President Clinton agreed that the United States bears a large measure of responsibility for the drug problem. While President Clinton has said this a number of times in the past, the acrimony that resulted from some media coverage in the United States of what is going on in Mexico and the harsh rhetoric of some in the U.S. Congress and other American politicians had clouded the atmosphere. So the President had to make amends for what other political forces in the United States have been doing over the last several years. What remains to be seen is whether this short term gain can be sustained in U.S. and Mexican public opinion.

Central American leaders in Costa Rica, hoping for tangible progress toward a free trade agreement with the United States, were less satisfied with their presidential visit. The small nations of Central America and the Caribbean want the same preferences that Mexico has through NAFTA, which in effect is a strategic alliance built around trade with the United States. They now feel left out, vulnerable, and adrift. Three years ago, the United States promised them gradual access to that trade alliance, but hasn't been able to deliver. Therefore, U.S. credibility is very much at stake.

In all three stops, the new U.S. immigration law, which threatens to send back tens of thousands of migrants, mostly from Central America, now that their civil wars are over, was a major issue. People of those countries fear its harshness. President Clinton hinted that he wished to modify the law; he mentioned that such a large scale return could disrupt families, and also deprive the home countries of remittances—money that migrants send back home to their relatives. These remittances have replaced U.S. government assistance, saving money for the U.S. taxpayer. He did not spell out, however, specifically what he might do

Continued p. 6

Practice Informed by Theory *(Continued from page 5)*

to ameliorate that law, and he is not free to do that on his own—he needs Congress to help.

If negotiations are to be launched in earnest, what is needed now are political decisions in Washington and Brasilia. Leaders in both countries must build the political coalitions necessary to sustain progress toward hemispheric free trade and strong democracies. The United States needs a new “fast track” negotiating authority: an agreement between the executive branch and Congress, so that once the President negotiates an agreement with a foreign country, and submits that agreement for approval by the U.S. Congress, there is an up-or-down vote with no amendments. Without that, countries will not negotiate trade agreements—like the FTAA—with the United States.

The challenge for President Clinton as he returns to the United States is to use the ammunition he gathered by listening to Latin American and Caribbean leaders to build a domestic coalition that is in favor of free trade, as well as to press implementation on the other key agreements; that is, to fortify bureaucratic structures, financial resources, and popular support necessary to execute agreements reached in the areas of environmental protection, law enforcement and narcotics, and social progress. Clinton needs to explain to the American people, and the U.S. Congress, the opportunity for a strategic alliance focused on free trade throughout the Western Hemisphere. Through his next scheduled visit to South

America in October, Clinton should work to build a hemispheric consensus for the capstone third trip, the Santiago summit. That meeting could then accelerate by five years, to the year 2000, the timetable for agreeing the FTAA. Further, it should announce that only democracies will be welcome to participate in regional trade integration. The hemisphere should seek to deter future authoritarian adventures by threatening the perpetrators’ expulsion from the regional trade agreement.

There should be no doubt in the minds of U.S. leaders that the Miami summit served U.S. interests. It provided the vehicle—absent before—through which the United States gained explicit hemispheric support for many of its major objectives in Latin America. It has shown that “summitry” in the Americas is a valuable mechanism for promoting convergence on fundamental principles, gaining multilateral support for U.S. policies, stabilizing Latin American democracy, and advancing free trade. In the post-Cold War world, summitry is possibly the only mechanism for maintaining high-level U.S. interest in the hemisphere. Future hemispheric summits can build on the promising foundation—indeed, the Santiago meeting should create a small, APEC-style secretariat for hemispheric summitry, and make periodic summits a permanent feature of the inter-American system.³

Santiago can improve on Miami by tackling fewer initiatives. Each initiative

should embody measurable goals and phased timetables. Sufficient human and financial resources will be needed to catalyze other official and private flows. Mandates to international organizations should be clear. Financial targets should be set. Reporting requirements and monitoring mechanisms would also be useful.

The coming Chile summit provides an historic opportunity for the Clinton administration to form a strategic alliance throughout the Western Hemisphere. If the President is willing to expend some energy, attention, and political capital, he can make hemispheric integration one of his more impressive foreign policy legacies. ■

¹ *Summitry in the Americas: A Progress Report*. Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 1997.

² For an insightful discussion of possible pathways to an FTAA, see Stephan Haggard, *The Political Economy of Regionalism in the Western Hemisphere*, Research paper 96-01, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (San Diego: University of California, 1996). Haggard’s recent work in the eastern hemisphere is reported on p. 11.

³ Regarding regional integration, in *International Institutions and the Political Economy of Integration* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1995) Miles Kahler suggests that when economic integration is shallow, information gathering is required before stronger and more centralized institutions can emerge. Later, when transparency has increased but uncertainty remains about the preferences of governments, more centralized institutions with greater monitoring and enforcement capabilities can arise. In this issue, see “Viewpoints: Why Policymakers Should Care About Theory,” p. 7.

Bridging Theory to Practice *(Continued from page 3)*

power behind IGCC’s policy conclusions. Miles Kahler and Randolph Siverson provide viewpoints on why the policy community should care about theory (p. 7). Steven Spiegel and Ronnie Lipshutz illustrate those views with topical examples (p. 8). In our feature, former National Security Council member (now dean of UC San Diego’s Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies) Richard Feinberg, informed by the works of Kahler and IGCC research

director Stephan Haggard, reports and advises on how the current administration should continue building economic cooperation in the western hemisphere. IGCC faculty fellows report on their work relating domestic and international politics (pp. 5–6). And on p. 14, we report on a unique IGCC teaching seminar, conducted at Los Alamos National Laboratory by UC faculty such as UC Berkeley’s living bridge from theory to practice Kenneth Waltz—arguably the most important

figure in international relations theory in the past forty years. ■

¹ Another ethnic conflict participant, James FEARON of the University of Chicago, along with Susanne LOHMANN (UC Irvine; see pp. 1, 2) and Randolph SIVERSON (UC Davis; see p. 7), also contributed articles to the IGCC-sponsored *New Games: Modeling Domestic–International Linkages*, (Journal of Conflict Resolution’s February, 1997 special issue) ed. Robert Pabre (U. of Michigan) and Paul PAPAYOANOU (UC San Diego; see p. 10). See also “Noteworthy,” p. 3.

Why Policymakers Should Care About Theory

Expert Communities

by *Miles Kahler*

International relations theory has not been popular fare among policymakers and pundits. As international relations theory evolved to meet the methodological standards of social science, it drifted away from both history, the foreign policy practice of countries other than the United States, and many of the issues that absorb policymakers daily. Despite the theorist's disdain for life inside the Washington, D.C. beltway and the quest by policymakers for immediate "relevance," the two expert communities could both be enriched by better communication and argument.

Put most simply, policymakers need theory as a check on implicit assumptions—their causal maps of the world—that are rarely tested in a rigorous way. Such rules of thumb and unspoken assumptions about how the world works have produced bad and even disastrous policies. Whether academically derived theories would shed greater light on the world of the analyst or practitioner is less important than the fact that a scholarly theory should be presented in ways that can be set against historical or contemporary cases to illuminate the theory's weaknesses.

Good theory also draws attention to the conditions under which particular causal connections may hold. As a wise scholar once remarked, the answers to most important questions in the social sciences begin with "it depends. . ." The nostrums and generalities of policy analysis are too often sweeping and universal: falling dominoes and Munich analogies are only two examples. At the opposite extreme, policy analysis may be plagued by simple description masquerading as analysis, unable to move beyond a single case or a single episode. Good theory should help in the construction of middle-level causal statements that can be applied—in an exploratory spirit—against new cases.

Finally, international relations theory may provide an antidote to short-term bias in policymaking: getting through the next crisis or the next communiqué. By highlighting longer-run trends and structural constraints, theory offers hunches about international contexts that will shape the behavior of adversaries and allies in the future. Such theorizing has its own weaknesses—for example, a tendency to simple extrapolation—but an awareness of the reigning theoretical competitors offsets those risks.

Policymakers are already theorists; international relations theory offers them the opportunity to become better theorists and thus better policymakers. ■



Miles KAHLER is professor of international affairs at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, University of California, San Diego

Strategic Choices

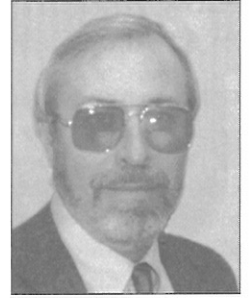
by *Randolph M. Siverson*

Though often unconscious of the fact, policymakers use international relations theory in virtually every decision they make, for any policy decision made with the hope of some particular outcome assumes a conception—that is, a theory—of cause and effect.

Such theories, of course, cover the range from rudimentary to sophisticated. If we take him at his word, Richard Nixon often required no more of a theory to decide how to act than the recognition that some event was similar to one of the well-known six crises he had faced before becoming President. Alternatively, Henry Kissinger, Nixon's Secretary of State, had a sophisticated, nuanced understanding of how the world worked that guided his choices.

What differentiates both of these conceptions from what those of us in academic life think of as theories of international politics are their relative lack of rigor and empirical scrutiny. Policymakers rarely state their theories of international politics in such a way that they might be examined for logical consistency—although of course any theory with internal contradictions is not likely to be very useful. Nor do policymakers often exhibit palpable interest in the extent to which their view of the world actually maps to a body (as opposed to a single case study) of evidence.

Since we academics are unlikely to convince current policymakers to engage in logical and empirical exercises to test their theories, we must ourselves produce theories of such high relevance and irrefutable quality that they command interest. It makes most sense to focus our attention on the nature of the political institutions of the state and the roles of leaders within these institutions. By this I do not mean psychological study (as interesting as this is), for the information of that sort available in most situations will be insufficient to motivate a theoretically-derived course of policy. I do mean a move away from systemic theories, which while useful in explaining the broad contours of the landscape of international politics, are not helpful in identifying when conflict is most likely, over what, and between whom. Those topics, dear to policymakers, are being addressed with increasing success—as outlined in the cover article—by rigorous models of strategic choices made within particular kinds of political institutions. ■



Randolph SIVERSON is professor of political science at the University of California, Davis.

VIEWPOINTS: WHY POLICYMAKERS SHOULD CARE ABOUT THEORY *(Continued from page 7)*

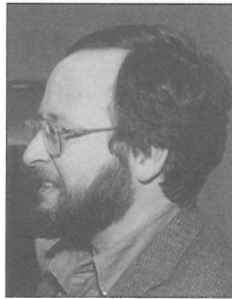
After Authority

by *Ronnie D. Lipschutz*

The modern nation-state is in trouble. It is under siege by contradictory forces of its own making and policymakers have no idea how to proceed. Paradoxically, these forces are grounded in the end of the Cold War and the broadly-held goal of extending the very things that are supposed to foster peace and stability—economic growth, democracy, and open markets—throughout the world. Why should this be so?

As nation-states open up to the world economy, they begin to lose their natal *raison d'être*: defense of the sovereign nation. Political change and economic globalization enhance the position of some groups and classes and depress that of others. Liberalization and structural reform reduce the welfare role of the state and cast citizens out on their own. As the state loses interest in the well-being of its citizens, its citizens lose interest in the well-being of the state. They look elsewhere for sources of identity and focus for their loyalty. Some build new linkages within and across borders; others organize into groups determined to resist economic penetration or to eliminate political competitors. The state loses control in some realms and tries to exercise greater control in others. Military force is of little utility. While it remains the currency of international relations, it is of limited use in changing the minds of people. Instead, police power and discipline, both domestic and foreign, come to the fore, but even these cannot really work, as any cop on the beat will attest. Order is under siege; disorder is on the rise.

I am not so foolish as to argue that the end of the 20th century will bring about the “end” of authority, sovereignty and national security, or that the state is doomed to disappear. But these changes do signify a new global politics for the 21st century. I propose that, in the long view of history, the 130-odd years between 1860 and 1990 were exceptional in that the nation-state was unchallenged by any other form of political organization at the global level, and that exceptional period is now just about over. What will emerge over the coming decades is by no means determined. In my current book project, *After Authority: Self, Society, State, System and Global Politics in the 21st Century* I make few predictions, and no promises. ■



Ronnie D. LIPSCHUTZ is associate professor of politics and director of the Adlai Stevenson Program on Global Security at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

Healthy Competition

by *Steven Spiegel*

In the Middle East, regional international relations are fundamentally emulative: leaders have consistently altered their goals and behavior whenever there has been a major change in the global system.

Therefore, the most effective way to change regional patterns of politics is to change global ones.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, with the Middle East still under Ottoman Empirical dominion, Arabs and Israelis emulated post-Napoleonic European national movements. Arabs were particularly influenced by American missionaries, European intervention, and the Young Turks' secular nationalism. European Jews found Zionism by copying French/Italian/German versions. During the interwar period, evolving global ideologies (fascism, communism, liberalism) were similarly played out. In Egypt, Woodrow Wilson was a major hero. In Iraq, fascism was widely copied. The Jews had it all: socialism, liberalism, democracy, fascism and communism.

With the advent of the Cold War, the dominant theme of global politics moved to rhetorically-charged military confrontation. Deterred by nuclear weapons, the superpowers could not engage forces on the ground, but the Arabs and Israelis could and did, maintaining their own ideological veneer while pursuing policies distinctive of the global arena. Now, the prominent global theme has become economic consolidations (the European Union, NAFTA, and Asian economic tigers), challenged by countervailing fragmentations (the Balkans, Transcaucasia, Rwanda, Somalia, and Haiti). In the Middle East, while political and business elites forge agreements focusing on arms control, the environment, water, refugees, and economic development between Israel and the PLO; between Israel and Jordan; and among multilateral players, other forces pursue extremist fundamentalism and nationalism.

If a dominant global theme of American-led economic competition can both serve U.S. interests and encourage cooperation on lower levels of international politics, then American foreign policy should also seek to prevent a return to political competition among great powers. For if the United States chose instead a hostile face-off against a perceived new superpower challenger (China, a resurgent Russia, Japan, the European Union), that stance would likely be reflected in an intensified arms race and deterioration in relations among regional states in the Middle East as well. ■



Steven L. SPIEGEL is professor of political science at the University of California, Los Angeles

Predictive Models, Domestic Politics: A New Generation of IGCC Scholars

Part of IGCC's ongoing effort to build a UC scholarship community is its investment in Faculty Fellows, who receive stipends to relieve them of teaching duties so that they can complete book-length theoretical works having significant policy implications.

War Zones

Etel Solingen, associate professor of international relations at UC Irvine, has published on various themes in international relations, including theories of international cooperation, the international sources of the comparative political economy of science and technology, security regimes, and the democratic peace hypothesis.

In 1995-96, Solingen began work on a book manuscript titled *Globalization and Emerging Regional Orders*, with some of the empirical work subsequently funded by an award from The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. Her project examines the impact of economic liberalization on the emergence and consolidation of coalitions favoring and opposing economic liberalization. She examines how these coalitions pursue differing grand strategies both at home and vis-a-vis the global political economy, which shapes their regional policies.

Solingen concludes that liberalizing (internationalizing) coalitions, particularly where strong at home and in their region, create more cooperative regional relationships. Coalitions aggregating statist-nationalist interests and confessional movements are more prone to create and reproduce zones of war and militarized disputes, particularly where they prevail throughout a region. Regional equilibria among liberalizing and statist-nationalist coalitions exhibit more controlled conflict: neither extensive bloodshed nor effective cooperation. While the manuscript illustrates the general argument with examples drawn from virtually every region of the world, it provides an in-depth application to the Middle East, the Southern Cone of Latin America, and the Korean peninsula.

Solingen's other recent works include "Economic Liberalization, Political Coalitions, and Regional Orders," a chapter in *Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World* (Penn State Press, forthcoming 1997), edited by David Lake and Patrick Morgan (see p. 1). She has also just received a Social Science Research Council-MacArthur Foundation post-doctoral fellowship on "Peace and Security in a New World." She will study the implications of East Asian patterns of international relations.

Summitry in the Americas is a valuable mechanism for promoting convergence on fundamental principles, gaining multilateral support for U.S. policies, stabilizing Latin American democracy, and advancing free trade.

—Richard Feinberg

New Games and Power Ties

How do the links between domestic and international politics affect the way that states interact in the global arena? How do economic factors affect the grand strategies that states adopt to ensure their security?

In *New Games: Modeling Domestic-International Linkages* (special issue of the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, February 1997), co-edited with Robert Pahre (University of Michigan), Paul A. Papayoanou, assistant professor of political science at UC San Diego, and other contributors demonstrate how game theory can help scholars to think rigorously about the simultaneous or interactive effects of domestic- and international-level variables on state behavior, by providing them with what Pahre and Papayoanou call a rigorous flexibility. Game theory's central concepts and mathematical logic provide the rigor, but

scholars have substantial flexibility in applying the method to specific problems. Game theory thus enables scholars to make varied assumptions about the nature of domestic and international politics and their linkages, and to isolate the effects of such factors on states' strategies.

Comparisons across contributors' models show that, once domestic politics play a role in decision-making, bluffing in international relations is seldom a wise policy. Another finding is that the notion that a government may, by tying its hands domestically, gain bargaining leverage abroad, is only contingently true. Papayoanou concludes that policymakers should thus avoid bluffing or attempting to bargain hard if domestic political factors are influential in the overall process.

In *Power Ties: Economic Interdependence, Balancing, and War* (forthcoming University of Michigan Press) and related articles in *International Security* (Spring 1996) and *International Studies Quarterly* (March 1997), Papayoanou shows that economic interdependence has had a profound effect on great powers' strategies in balance-of-power politics since the late nineteenth century. His theoretical and historical analysis leads him to important policy implications on the use of economic statecraft. He argues that cultivating economic ties with democratic allies will tend to have beneficial security effects, for the stronger the economic stake that these states and their societies have in one another, the greater the capacity their leaders will have for credibly mobilizing against threats. By contrast, he warns, if economic ties become extensive with potential adversaries that have non-democratic institutions, internationalist economic interests may be locked out of the political process and dangerous security consequences can arise.

Immigration Policy

Jeanette Money, assistant professor of political science at UC Davis, demonstrates that understanding domestic pol-

Continued p. 10

Predictive Models, Domestic Politics (continued from page 9)

itics is crucial to understanding the policies a nation pursues internationally. She shows that even if a policy produces a net national gain, it will affect groups within the nation differently, at least over the short-term. These differences give rise to battles over the definition of what will become "the" national interest.

In the United States, the passage in California of Proposition 189, denying social services to undocumented aliens, marks that state's effort to retract the red carpet. But the national legislature, while adopting some of these policies, failed to reduce legal immigration levels as recommended by a presidential commission.

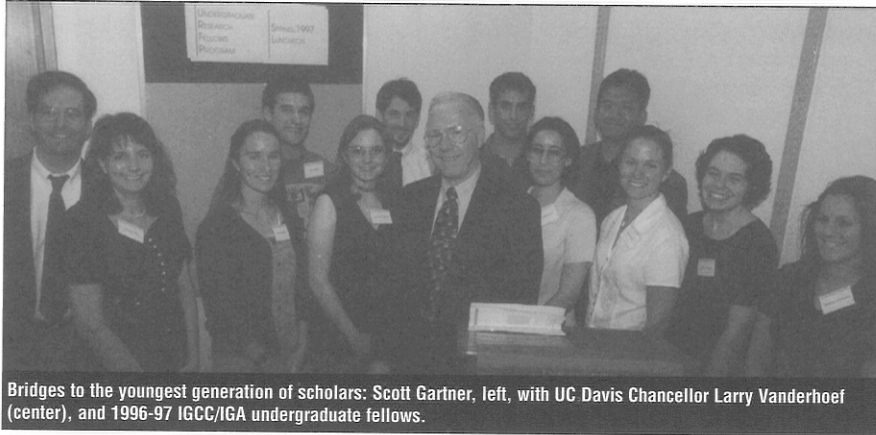
In France, Le Pen's anti-immigrant National Front garnered 10 to 15 percent of the national vote in support of its slogan, "France for the French." Yet the French government's efforts to reduce illegal immigration, through the requirement that citizens report the departure of foreign guests, met with large counter demonstrations.

Money asks: Why do local views on immigration differ so dramatically from national positions? Her careful examination of immigration policy reveals a spatial distribution of costs and benefits based on the geographic concentration of immigrants in the host society. Both the benefits and costs of immigration are borne by groups in those regions where the immigrants are located.

She finds that short-term benefits of immigration are especially important to employers who, because of the nature of their production, must draw from local labor markets. These include in-person service providers and producers of primary products, who cannot move their production facilities elsewhere. Short-term costs are especially severe for citizens who share the public infrastructure with immigrants. In the long run, both new immigrants and established citizens contribute to the expansion of the public infrastructure, easing competition. But, in politics, short-term costs rather than long-

term benefits are crucial to generating political organization. Thus, immigration, like international trade, may be beneficial to the nation as a whole, but immigration

case studies: the British shift to convoys in World War I following the German imposition of unrestricted submarine warfare; the lack of change in British naval policy in the World War II Atlantic after Germany introduced "wolf packs"; the American decision to de-escalate in Vietnam after the Tet Offensive; and the Carter Administration's decision to launch the hostage rescue attempt in Iran. In each case, his dominant indicator



Bridges to the youngest generation of scholars: Scott Gartner, left, with UC Davis Chancellor Larry Vanderhoef (center), and 1996-97 IGCC/IGA undergraduate fellows.

policy gives rise to a spatially-based political battlefield.

Local interests may be translated into the "national" interest when locally organized groups are crucial to maintaining or gaining a national political majority. Money therefore asserts that those who hope to maintain openness to immigration must be sensitive to the impact of immigration on the local communities that host immigrants. National levels of immigration should be tailored to these local conditions rather than to national indicators.

Strategic Assessments

Building a solid bridge from theory to policy, in his new book, *Strategic Assessment in War* (Yale University Press, forthcoming 1997), Scott Sigmund Gartner, associate professor of political science at UC Davis, develops a theory to explain how military and government leaders evaluate wartime performance, how much they change strategies in response to this evaluation, and why they are frequently at odds when discussing its success or failure.

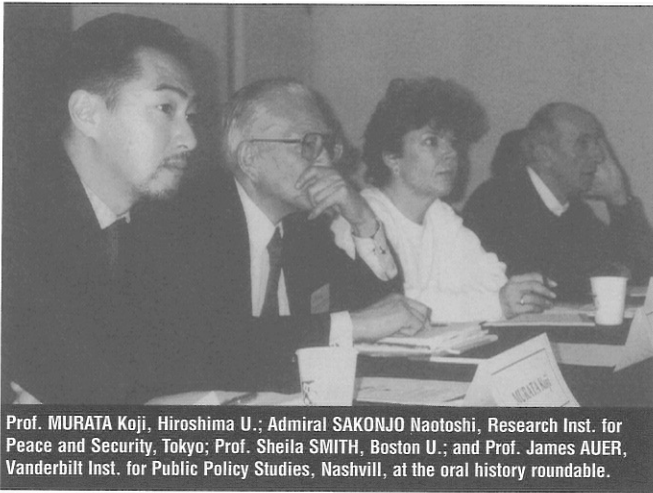
Blending history, decision theory, and mathematical modeling, Gartner argues that military personnel measure the performance of a strategy through quantitative "dominant" indicators. But different actors within a government use different indicators of success, so some will see the strategy as succeeding when others see it as failing. Gartner tests his argument with four

model better predicts the observed behavior than either a standard organization or action-reaction approach.

The Newest Generation

Gartner also chairs the unique UC Davis undergraduate research fellows program funded by IGCC and Davis's own Institute of Governmental Affairs (see Newsletter XI-1). Recent awards have gone to Leoli Calzolari and political science professor Donald Rothchild (see p. 2) to examine ethnic conflict, the basis for political fears, and their manifestation in political life; Katherine Tebrock and political science professor Randolph Siverson (see p. 7) to study how institutional structures constrain political leaders and thereby affect international issues; political science professor Larry Berman, who, with Joshua London, examined George McGovern's voting record and relationship with Lyndon Baines Johnson, and, with Neal Presa, reviewed recently declassified documents from the Johnson, Nixon, and Ford presidencies for a book on the lengthy process of American disengagement from Vietnam; Sarah Newton and anthropology professor Suad Joseph, to analyze Middle Eastern states' constitutional articles defining citizenship, in order to assess transformations in the idea of citizenship there; and to Shirley Schecker and political science professor Jeannette Money, to complete her book, outlined above. ■

National Security Archive



Prof. MURATA Koji, Hiroshima U.; Admiral SAKONJO Naotoshi, Research Inst. for Peace and Security, Tokyo; Prof. Sheila SMITH, Boston U.; and Prof. James AUER, Vanderbilt Inst. for Public Policy Studies, Nashville, at the oral history roundtable.

Since 1960, how and why has the U.S.-Japan relationship evolved from being mostly hierarchical, dominated by the United States, to today's balanced one that allies the world's two strongest economic powers? How has the broad, close security alliance withstood periods of trade and investment rivalry?

In a unique pairing of American and Japanese scholars, 20 research fellows and a distinguished advisory panel, building on declassified documents and oral histories, produced and discussed parallel studies at a joint IGCC-National Security Archive (NSA) workshop held in La Jolla, California 14-16 March 1997. Titled "Linkages Between Security and Economics in the Evolving Political Economy of US-Japanese Relations Since 1960," this was the second of four planned meetings.

Feature sessions were "Emerging Patterns of Security and Economic Relations, 1945-1968," "US-Japanese Security Relations," "U.S.-Japanese Economic Relations," and "US, Japan, and Problems of Asian Security and Order." A unique, one-day oral history roundtable included former senior government officials from both countries, including Reagan-era U.S. Trade Representative William Brock. They conducted a frank exchange about relevant events and intergovernmental negotiations.

Several workshop attendees also participated in a public policy forum (aired on UCSD-TV), titled "U.S.-Japan Relations: Past and Future." Susan Shirk (IGCC Director), Akira Iriye (Harvard University), Paul Giarra (US Dept. of Defense consultant), Mac Destler (Univ. of Maryland), Yuzo Murayama (Osaka Univ. of Foreign Affairs), Douglas Paal (former National Security Council director for Asia under Reagan and Bush), Sheila Smith (Boston University), and Susumu Yamakage (Univ. of Tokyo), examined future directions of the U.S.-Japan relationship, concluding that it is likely to play an increasing role in the economic and security development of the entire Asia-Pacific region. ■

Integrating Asia

The changing nature of international business presents the United States with trade policy challenges and opportunities in Asia, and trade and investment relations are increasingly embedded in cross-national production networks (CPNs) that transcend national economies.

On February 28, IGCC hosted a policy luncheon at the UC Washington DC office to share preliminary results from a two-year project, conducted with the Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy (BRIE), that studied American, Japanese, and overseas Chinese electronics industry CPNs from perspectives of the advanced industrial states (Japan and the U.S.), the newly-industrialized countries (Taiwan, Korea, and Singapore), and developing countries (Vietnam and Malaysia).

Since intra-regional investment, rather than government-to-government agreements, is driving Asia-Pacific integration, project leaders recommended that the United States extend current bilateral trade and investment strategies region-wide, by:

- Affirming the long-standing U.S. policy of maintaining an open market at home. Exposure to international competition has helped numerous American industries dominate product innovation and standards definition.
- Not being preoccupied with legally binding agreements in multilateral trade forums. While APEC provides a natural venue for pursuing a regional strategy, it is equally important as a venue for deepening U.S. investment ties with Asian partners.
- Exploiting U.S. firms' own bargaining power in countries where conducting business remains problematic. These countries can participate in rapidly changing production networks only if



IGCC director Susan Shirk, IGCC research director for international relations Stephan Haggard, UCDC director Bruce Jentleson, UC San Diego economist Barry Naughton, and UC Berkeley economist Michael Borrus at UCDC policy briefing.

they provide trade partners with a hospitable policy environment.

- Generating regional support for elaborating strong intellectual property norms. This is feasible, given Asian economies' growing innovative capability and competition for scarce investment.
 - Eliminating trade barriers rooted in government standards.
- Even bilateral economic relations with Japan and China can benefit from a more explicit regional component. Other regional middle-income countries face the same difficulties as the U.S. in dealing with those major economic powers; the U.S. could mobilize regional support for reducing trade and investment barriers in fora such as WTO accession negotiations.

The studies will be published as *Integrating Asia: American, Japanese, and Chinese Investment Networks in the Electronics Industry*, edited by Michael Borrus, Dieter Ernst and Stephan Haggard. A related work, *The China Circle: Economics and Electronics in the PRC, Taiwan, and Hong Kong*, ed. Barry Naughton, is forthcoming this summer from the Brookings Institution Press. ■

Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue VI



Early arrivals to NEACD VI, at an informal gathering held at Arden House, New York, prior to the meetings.

For four years, IGCC-sponsored track-two dialogues¹ have pioneered multilateral cooperation in Northeast Asia, where no official forum for intergovernmental multilateral discussions exists.² The most recent meeting, held in Harriman, New York in April 1997, marked the beginning of the second round.

Dialogue VI participants expanded discussion of national and military perspectives on security in the Northeast Asian subregion to a full day, finding it to be the most valuable session of the meeting. Each country gave presentations from both a foreign ministry/state department representative's and a defense/military official's perspective, including the country's regional policies and its concerns about the policies of other NE Asian countries. Presentations were followed by a question and answer period that led to frank exchanges about issues such as the evolving US-Japan security relationship, Sino-Russian relations, the humanitarian crisis in North Korea, China's transparency regarding its growing military capability, and theater missile defense.

The Dialogue agreed that future meetings should include sessions driven by NEACD participant scholars' own research. Academic participants will lead sessions focused on timely, relevant issues in Northeast Asian security. For example, a Chinese scholar might introduce discussion about the role of US-Japan security arrangements in the region, or a Japanese academic might examine the region's

major powers' response to the growing Korean peninsula crisis.

Preliminary discussions about defense information sharing held interessionally by two participants were reported to the Dialogue. Under the premise that dialogue is more important than the specific defense information shared, the NEACD aims to provide a forum for discussion of current efforts at information sharing, systematic discussions of military perspectives and defense policies, to clarify information currently found in information sharing documents, and to encourage voluntary and unilateral information sharing.

Dialogue participants also seek to inform themselves about the activities underway in other multilateral regional organizations. At the New York meeting, briefings were held updating the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) work on emergency and disaster relief and the achievements of the Korean Energy Development Organization (KEDO), which is implementing the Agreed Framework of 1994 between North Korea and the United States that froze North Korea's nuclear weapons development.

Continuing the Dialogue's examination of the positive impact of cooperation in non-security areas such as food, environment, and energy on regional security, a workshop on Maritime Trade and Shipping underscored each of the region's countries' dependence on free access to markets and resources provided by secure shipping routes through Asian waters. The workshop examined controversial issues

of rules and norms of secure shipping in NE Asia and safe passage in sea lanes of communication (SLOCs).

Following the New York meeting, several private participants in the Dialogue briefed the Washington, DC-based Asia security policy community about NEACD. Each scholar focused upon why his/her country finds participation in a multilateral security fora in this region vital. Following the end of the Cold War, the traditional bipolar structure in Northeast Asia is yielding a new but still undetermined order among nations. Countries hope that participating in multilateral discussions will reduce the potential uncertainties and miscommunications that can arise from this evolution. For Russia and the United States, they seek to define their role in Asia following the collapse of superpower rivalry in Asia. South Korea, which has endured many invasions from its neighbors, hopes to try and secure its borders—and eventually those of a unified Korea—against future aggression. Japan hopes to develop a more positive role with its neighbors in Asia and assuage resentments that are the legacy of its aggression in World War II, while China seeks to reassure its neighbors of its intentions as it develops into a global and regional power. The discussion in Washington not only exposed a wide range of US policymakers to the role the Dialogue is playing in addressing some of these issues, but also gave US policymakers the opportunity to influence future research and projects of NEACD participants as they prepare for their next meeting in Japan in fall 1997.

These developments underscore how scholarly work in the field of international relations can benefit policymakers and diplomats, and how the agendas of foreign affairs officials also can help drive research of academic institutions. ■

¹ That is, discussions among private scholars and government officials participating in a private capacity.

² Since 1993, six meetings of the IGCC-founded Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD) have explored the potential of multilateral confidence-building to reduce mistrust and avert conflict in the region. The five participant countries in the Dialogue (China, Japan, South Korea, Russia, and the United States) each demonstrated commitment to the process by hosting one of the first five meetings. North Korea was also invited. See IGCC Newsletter XII-2.

Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue VI*

2-3 April 1997



NEACD VI Maritime Trade Workshop†

Harriman, New York

4 April 1997

Sponsored by: The University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC), Japan National Institute for Research Advancement (NIRA), Tokyo

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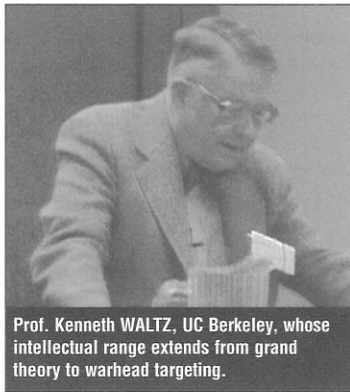
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The Politics of Non-Proliferation

The UC-managed Los Alamos National Laboratory (LANL) has long hosted nuclear nonproliferation training seminars for non-technical professionals, believing that nonproliferation efforts are better served if policy makers have an understanding of the technical basis for their decisions. On 9-13 December 1996 in Los Alamos, NM, LANL's Nonproliferation and International Technology Group, with IGCC, undertook the converse effort—policy-related training for the scientists and engineers who analyze international proliferation threats.

"The Challenges of International Security," a week-long seminar about the future of international relations, international security, China, and Russia, promoted discussion among 14 UC international security scholars, LANL technical analysts responsible for weapons of mass destruction (WMD) studies, and advanced UC Ph.D. students. All agreed that understanding the political motivations of proliferant countries could help the LANL experts better sort out the technical routes those countries might take in their attempts to develop WMD.



Prof. Kenneth WALTZ, UC Berkeley, whose intellectual range extends from grand theory to warhead targeting.

The seminar surveyed central security problems of the post-Cold War world, taking a regional approach. From contrasting perspectives, Kenneth Waltz, Stephan Haggard, and



Los Alamos National Laboratory teaching assistants [L-to-R, B-to-F] Robert RAUCHHAUS, Michael TIERNEY, Richard RUPP, Timothy FITZPATRICK; Richard ANDRES, Kathleen HANCOCK, Karen ADAMS.

Miles Kahler (see p. 7) asked: Will future conflict be shaped primarily by the rivalries of the major powers, or by other actors such as firms, ethnic and social movements, or international and regional institutions? What implications do democratization and market-oriented reform have for international security?

Discussions followed on ethnic conflict, proliferation, and the increasing importance of regional conflicts and dispute settlement procedures. The seminar then moved to regional analysis, including a review of the security situation in Northeast Asia, the diplomacy of the Korean peninsula, and the challenge the current crisis in North Korea poses for Russia, China, the United States and Japan. Finally, two days were devoted to parallel studies of China and Russia. ■

Supply, Demand, and Weapons of Mass Destruction

On 21-23 November, 1996, on the UC Davis campus, fourteen experts on the emerging issues of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) presented up-to-date and policy relevant information to UC, Cal-State, and California community college faculty and graduate students.

Topics and presenters included *WMD Issues Now and into the 21st Century*, Sheila Buckley, arms control consultant and Dr. Lisa Bronson, Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for European and NATO Policy, Department of Defense; *Policy Challenges of Preventing WMD Proliferation*, Dr. Amy Sands, Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute for International Studies; *Iraq—A Case of WMD Demand*, Dr. Judith Yaphe, Institute for National Security Studies, National Defense University and Dr.

Janne Nolan, Brookings Institution, and *The Former Soviet Union—Supply-Side Proliferation*, Dr. Emily Ewell, Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute for Internal Studies.

Attendees gained valuable technical and policy-oriented information to pass on in their own classrooms. Several of the speakers have been invited to speak at UC and other campuses since the seminar.

The speakers were sponsored by Women In International Security (WIIS). The University of Maryland, College Park-based international organization also set up the program format and took their speakers on a West coast tour. The local hosts, the Institute of Governmental Affairs and the Joint Center for International and Security Studies, gave generous administrative support. The collaboration of all



Judith YAPHE, Institute for Security Studies, National Defense University and Janne NOLAN, Brookings Institution

four organizations on this seminar epitomizes the type of coordination and strong multicampus bonds for which IGCC continually strives, in order to share resources throughout and beyond the University of California. ■

Environmental Policy Scholarship

IGCC Ph.D. dissertation scholars continue to forge strong relationships between graduate students and faculty working on international environmental policy. Since 1995, grants from the John D. & Catherine T. MacArthur and William and Flora Hewlett Foundations have sponsored scholars conducting research on regional sources of conflict and cooperation on environmental problems. This past year a select working group of these scholars (See Fall '96 *Newsletter*, pp. 14–15) met voluntarily and their efforts culminated in a research seminar titled *International Environmental Policy: Sources of Regional Environmental Cooperation*, held 14 April 1997, at UC Berkeley. The seminar was hosted by the UC Berkeley Institute of International Studies.

IGCC scholars Changhua Rich, UC Santa Cruz, economics; Mariana Conte Grand, UC Los Angeles, economics; Peter Walker, UCB, geography; Lore Ruttan, UC Davis, environmental studies, and Brian Potter, UCLA, political science, organized the seminar, which provided useful cross-fertilization of ideas among ecological scientists and social scientists. The scholars were responsible for identifying and inviting the nine UC faculty and fifteen fellow UC graduate students who participated from disciplines including economics, agricultural and resource economics, geography, political science, agronomy and transportation studies.

Additionally, Professor Daniel Bromley, Chair, Department of Agricultural and Applied Economics, University of Wisconsin, Madison and an expert in environmental and ecological economics, provided an informal summary of the scholars' presentations and initiated a stimulating discussion on the role of academia in general in informing policy decisions. "To be simply analytical is a weak activity," said Bromley, "we also need to be able to explain individual and collective behavior, not just analyze it."

This research seminar is an example of forums IGCC continues to try to provide to help UC scholars, especially Ph.D. students, receive feedback and ideas on their research in an informal setting.



Prof. Helen INGRAM, Drew Chace and Erin Warminton chair for social ecology of peace and international cooperation, UC Irvine, critiquing Peter Walker's presentation.

Bringing together scholars from several disciplines reveals how environmental problems are approached from different intellectual and methodological traditions. The range of interchange allows dissertation fellows to broaden their research perspectives and view their own problems through the lenses of alternative methods of thought. In addition, participants are exposed to the language and rhetorical methods different disciplines use to discuss environmental problems. Professor James Wilen, Agricultural and Resource Economics, UC Davis, commented that "ultimately we seek to synthesize some generalities from the various perspectives that can be brought to bear on environmental issues; interdisciplinary communities and opportunities for interchange like this one offer scholars a reality check on both the methods and the intellectual perspectives that their disciplines bring to environmental problems."

A follow-on meeting to this seminar is expected to take place in Fall '97. Additional information will be posted on the *IGCC On line* once it becomes available. For copies of the seminar materials contact Bettina Halvorsen, IGCC Campus Programs Coordinator, bhalvorsen@ucsd.edu. ■

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New Releases. For a complete listing, see *IGCC Online* or contact us for our latest catalog.

Books

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Available this fall from Penn State Press.

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ed. Barry Naughton
Available this summer from the Brookings Institution Press

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Herbert F. York, 1997
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IGCC is happy to receive submissions of work from eligible authors, or suggestions for other outreach avenues that we might pursue.

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