

# UC San Diego Newsletters

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# News *letter*

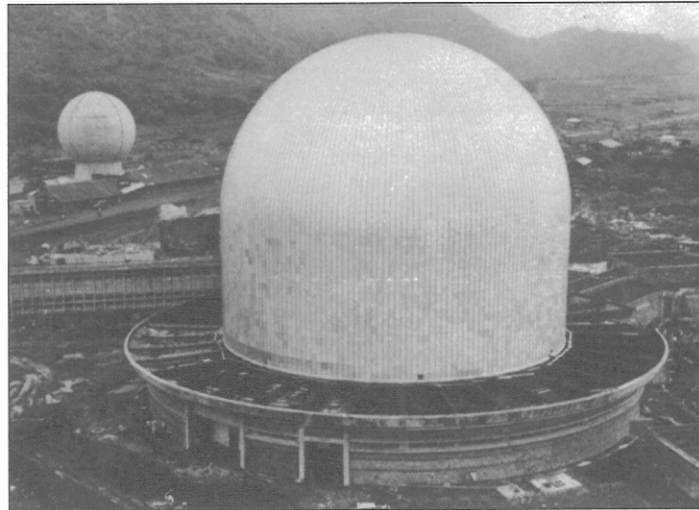
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Global Conflict and Cooperation  
of the University of California

## Nuclear Proliferation

IGCC's inaugural Newsletter, published in the fall of 1983, stated that "The focus of the institute's programs is the study of international conflict situations sufficiently severe so as to threaten their escalation into large-scale war, especially...nuclear war." On the tenth anniversary of that first issue, after the pivotal decade which saw the dismantling of the bipolar standoff between the U.S. and USSR nuclear superpowers, we headlined with reportage on the so-called "second tier" nuclear states: France, England and China.

Now, as the post-Cold War dust settles, regional security has emerged as the pivot upon which global security turns, and nuclear concerns have shifted away from global thermonuclear annihilation, toward the problem of regional nuclear proliferation. Who has nuclear weapons now? Who will develop them in the future? Why have some countries categorically turned away from their acquisition—even going so far as to dismantle existing weapons—while others seem bent upon joining the nuclear club despite all entreaties? *Can* their spread be halted? How? By deterrence? By building cooperative multilateral institutions? Should we even be concerned?

In this issue, we show that IGCC researchers tackle these knotty questions in many fora; sometimes directly, sometimes implicitly. In the Middle East, they provided the backdrop for a



This nuclear research reactor at Trombay, near Bombay, is one of India's growing wealth of nuclear facilities. It is one of the largest isotope producers in the world. (AP Wirephoto)

conference on nuclear proliferation in that region held in Cyprus from August 19–23, 1995 (p. 2; related *Feature* pp. 4–5). Led by the UCLA Center for International Relations, it was supported by the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Sandia and Lawrence Livermore National Laboratories and IGCC. Israeli, Lebanese, Egyptian, Syrian, Iranian, Jordanian, Kuwaiti, Swedish, Canadian and American experts brought their thoughts to bear upon the question.

In Asia, the IGCC-sponsored Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (p. 12) seeks to explore multilateral avenues that could alleviate major regional powers' security concerns, including concerns regarding potential North Korean nuclear proliferation.

In lab-to-lab workshops, UC China scholars provide feedback on substantive nuclear dialogues held between the Los Alamos, Livermore and Sandia National Laboratories and their counter-

part laboratories in China (p. 9). In addition, the Los Alamos Graduate Student Fellowship Program is specifically designed to train graduate students in non-proliferation issues and initiatives (p. 3).

Finally, we highlight viewpoints from Yair Evron and Gerald Steinberg on the role of nuclear weapons in Israeli security (pp. 6–7); include a Letter to President Clinton from Cyrus Vance, Herbert York, McGeorge Bundy, Robert MacNamara and Andrew Goodpaster on the relation between the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban and Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaties (p. 8); and excerpt Kenneth N. Waltz's new IGCC Policy Paper titled "Peace, Stability, and Nuclear Weapons" (p. 9).

On a somber note, we are all saddened by the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who worked tirelessly to bring lasting peace to the Middle East. We dedicate this issue to his memory. ■

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# UCLA Conference on Nonproliferation

Limassol, Cyprus, Greece, 19–23 August 1995

## List of Participants

**Dr. David ALBRIGHT**

Inst. for Science and Int'l Security,  
Washington, DC

**Amb. Youssef BARKETT**

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**Dr. Shahram CHUBIN**

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**Dr. M. Zuhair DIAB**

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**Dr. Lewis A. DUNN**

Vice President and Manager,  
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Corporation, Center for National  
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**Major General Moukhtar  
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UC Los Angeles, CA

**Dr. Ron LEHMAN**

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**Amb. James F. LEONARD**

Director, Council on  
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Beirut University College,  
Byblos, Lebanon

**Dr. Marvin MILLER**

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Inst. of Int'l Affairs,  
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Nonproliferation Arms Control  
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**Col. Majid RIHANI**

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Security Studies, Amman, Jordan

**Prof. Richard ROSECRANCE**

Director, Center for Int'l Relations,  
UC Los Angeles, CA

**Dr. Mustaffa SAIF**

U.S. Inst. of Peace, Washington, DC

**Dr. Zeev SCHIFF**

Ha'aretz (The Land),  
Tel Aviv, Israel

**Mr. Paul SEDRA**

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Canada

**Dr. Kamal SHEHADI**

Lebanon Center for Policy Studies,  
Beirut, Lebanon

**Dr. Gary SICK**

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Project, Columbia University

**Prof. Etel SOLINGEN**

Dept. of Politics and Society,  
UC Irvine, CA

**Prof. Steven SPIEGEL**

Dept. of Political Science,  
UC Los Angeles, CA

**Dr. Janice STEIN**

Dept. of Political Science,  
University of Toronto, Canada

**Dr. Abdullah TOUKAN**

Science Advisor to his  
Majesty King Hussein I,  
Amman, Jordan

**Dr. Sean TYSON**

U.S. Dept. of Energy,  
Washington, DC

**Dr. Fred WEHLING**

Coordinator of Policy Research,  
IGCC

**Dr. Michael YAFFE**

Foreign Affairs Office,  
U.S. Arms Control and  
Disarmament Agency,  
Washington, DC

## Shapiro Replaces Siverson as Steering Committee Chair



Martin Shapiro

IGCC is pleased to announce the appointment of Professor Martin M. Shapiro, UC Berkeley, as chair of the IGCC Steering Committee. Dr. Shapiro holds the James W. & Isabel Coffroth professorship of law at the Boalt School of Law, UCB. A specialist in constitutional law, Shapiro received his Ph.D. from Harvard University. He has previously taught at Harvard, Stanford, UC Irvine and San Diego, and held visiting appointments at Yale Law School, UC Riverside, Amherst College and the European University Institute, Florence, Italy. His recent research projects have focused on European Union and comparative public law, and law globalization.

The chair was previously held by Randy Siverson, professor of political science, UC Davis, who has resigned after six years of service during which he played a major leadership role in IGCC's development as a genuinely multi-campus institution. From 1981-83 Siverson served on the UC Academic Council committee which founded IGCC, and then on the search committee for IGCC's first director. And he has not yet escaped us—Professor Siverson will now become a member of the Institute's International Advisory Board, and will chair the steering committee of the UC Davis IGCC campus program. ■

## Call for Applicants

The Los Alamos National Laboratory (LANL) has announced a Graduate Student Facilitator Program designed to train students in nonproliferation issues and initiatives, nuclear-related export control, international export control regimes, nuclear weapons technologies, dual-use and nuclear-related control lists of commodities and technologies, U.S. policies, procedures and practices in export controls, and international nonproliferation policy. Upon completion, facilitators will be placed in one of the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union to work directly with host export control authorities as representatives of LANL.

Candidates must be actively pursuing a graduate degree; those in the fields of international relations, political science, economics, nonproliferation and technical fields relating to nuclear engineering and international safeguards are preferred. Russian language skills are required, although students with otherwise exceptional credentials may be conditionally accepted pending language acquisition.

Students will be trained for one summer in technology issues relevant to nuclear issues at the LANL, and in export control and nuclear proliferation policy issues in the Departments of State, Energy, Commerce and Defense for eight weeks. While enrolled, they will be employed as graduate research assistants by the LANL.

**For more information and applications, call Ann Cernicek, LANL Special Programs, (505) 667-3246.**

## Noteworthy

Sadly, Prof. **Gordon MACDONALD** is leaving us to organize a UC San Diego campus-wide environmental research and teaching program. One of Dr. MacDonald's legacies is the student-edited *Journal of Environment and Development*, now available via **IGCC Online** (see p. 16). IGCC is actively **seeking a new director of International Environmental Policy Studies**; qualified candidates from the social sciences are encouraged to contact IGCC Director Susan Shirk.

**Stephan HAGGARD**, professor at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, has been appointed new director of UC San Diego's Project on International and Security Affairs (see p. 14). IGCC Director **Susan L. SHIRK** has been appointed to the Defense Policy Board, a group of independent experts that advises the U.S. Secretary of Defense. She recently testified on U.S. policy toward China to the House Committee on International Relations Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific.

We bid farewell to visiting scholars **Ji Guoxing** and **David KANG** (see Spring 1995 *Newsletter*). Kang is now professor of political science at Dartmouth University. Dr. Ji, who during his stay authored IGCC Policy Paper No. 19, "Maritime Jurisdiction in the Three China Seas," has returned to China to serve as director, Asian-Pacific Department, Shanghai Institute for International Studies. **Kori SCHAKE** (photo p. 10) joins IGCC as a visiting scholar for 1995-96 from service in the U. S. Office of the Secretary of Defense and Joint Staff. She is completing her dissertation, titled "NATO in Crisis: Allied Berlin Planning 1958-62" for the University of Maryland.

UC Los Angeles Coleman Center for African Studies Director **Edmond J. KELLER's** edited volume, *Africa in the New International Order*, is forthcoming from Lynn Rienner. Dr. Keller also authored the related IGCC Policy Paper No. 13, "African Conflict Management and the New International Order."

IGCC Research Director **David A. IAKE's** edited theoretical work, *Strategic Choice and International Relations*, has been accepted by Princeton University Press (see related article p. 11).

Columbia University Press has published *On Security*, by UC Santa Cruz Adlai E. Stevenson Program on Global Security Director **Ronnie LIPSCHUTZ**. Dr. Lipschutz co-authored, with Beverly Crawford, IGCC Policy Brief No. 2, "Ethnic Conflict Isn't." Also at UCSC, **Bruce LARKIN's** (photo p. 10) *Nuclear Designs* is imminently forthcoming from Transaction Publishers, Rutgers University, and **Michael E. URBAN's** *The Rebirth of Politics in Russia* has been accepted at Columbia University Press. Larkin and Urban are professors in the Department of Politics.

*The Journal of Conflict Resolution* has published "Action-Reaction or Rational Expectations? Reciprocity and the Domestic-International Conflict Nexus During the 'Rhodesia Problem'," by **Will H. MOORE**, UC Riverside, in the March 1995 issue.

The University of Michigan Press has announced publication of **Etel SOLINGEN's** *Scientists and the State: Domestic Structures and the International Context*. Solingen, a professor of political science at UC Irvine and 1994-95 IGCC Faculty Fellow, is now working on a book on domestic sources of regional conflict and cooperation which addresses the impact of political and economic liberalization on emerging regional orders, including chapters on the Middle East and Northeast Asia, among other regions. She is the author of IGCC Policy Paper No. 8, "The Domestic Sources of Nuclear Postures."

*Practical Peacemaking in the Middle East Vol. II: The Environment, Water, Refugees, and Economic Cooperation and Development*, edited by **Steven L. SPIEGEL** and **David J. PERVIN**, is now available from Garland Publishing.

*Power and Prosperity: Economics and Security Linkages in the Asia-Pacific*, edited by **Susan L. SHIRK** and **Christopher P. TWOMEY**, will be released by Transaction Publishers in early 1996.

# STUFFING THE GENIE BACK IN

## Richard Rosecrance on International Cooperation to Prevent Nuclear Proliferation

Claiming that “genie is now out of the bottle,” many view the spread of nuclear weapons as inexorable. At the very least, however, this view is premature, and it may turn out to be entirely wrong. In fact there are two world trends, and one of them involves resolutely stuffing the nuclear genie back into the bottle. For 50 years, particular nations have decided not to acquire nuclear weapons even as others sought to build them. At Chalk River, Canada in 1945 possessed the only operative nuclear reactor outside the United States. It could have been the world’s second nuclear power, but declined to be. In the 1960s Sweden and Switzerland had plenty of peaceful nuclear power, but decided not to develop nuclear weapons. Their abstention is all the more significant because it took place in a strategic context that would normally have facilitated spread: both countries were without allies (neither was in NATO); yet both faced a strong nuclear-armed enemy (the Soviet Union). In other cases, alliances with strong states made nuclear acquisition unnecessary, but this ameliorating condition did not exist in the Swedish and Swiss instances. And these two cases were actually accompanied by many more nuclear abstainers, including in Europe: Belgium, Holland, Germany and Italy; in Asia, Korea, Taiwan, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. Many lesser states also abjured opportunities to build weapons. The notion that any country which can develop bombs, automatically does so, is demonstrably false. The Ukraine, with nuclear weapons, is now committed to return them to Russia. The same is true of Belarus, Moldova and Kazakstan.

**While Israel has rejected the Egyptian position, it should consider several partial measures which could reduce Egyptian concerns and would help American and international efforts to prevent proliferation in the Middle East.**

**—Yair Evron**

There is also the chestnut that among major or non-aligned countries if one in a pair of opponents develops weapons, the other will do so as well. This argument perhaps accounts for the spread which starts with Russia, goes to China, then India, then Pakistan. But if rivalries outside alliances always proceed in tandem, it is difficult to jibe Israeli nuclear weapons with the Egyptian refusal to acquire them. Chinese nuclear detonations should have stimulated, at minimum, a Taiwanese bomb, but nonaligned Taiwan did not develop weapons. Until very recently, Brazilian and Argentinean rivals each stood on the threshold of nuclear weapons capability, but instead they reached agreement not to cross that threshold.

Even more interesting is the fact that South Africa recently demobilized a capability which consisted of six and one-half bombs, returning nuclear material to civilian power projects. Despite Pakistan and India’s hesitation, capping and reducing nuclear capability is an international objective for many nations. It is a declared goal for the United States and Russia as well.

The reason for the hesitancy to acquire nuclear weapons has to do with the diminished utility that they provide. In the past, it was believed that nuclear weapons would not only deter nuclear

attacks but also conventional ones. (See General Gallois and Kenneth Waltz.) Yet the record of conventional engagement does not support the latter proposition.

America’s nuclear presence did not prevent China from intervening in Korea in October 1950 or the Tet Offensive against U.S. forces in Vietnam in January 1968. It did not deter conventional attacks by Syria and Egypt upon a nuclear-armed Israel in October 1973. As time has gone by, the credibility of nuclear use has greatly declined as measured by the writings of strategic analysts. Some even believe a “nuclear taboo” has come into existence which makes it well nigh impossible to be the first to use

nuclear weapons in a military encounter. (See Schelling.) Some have seen chemical or biological weapons as preferable and more usable. If this is true, even nuclear countries have to provide insurance. Typically, this means large conventional forces. This greatly adds to the cost of their total defense bill. If their conventional defense is adequate, moreover, they do not need nuclear weapons.

While the experts considered past Iraqi capabilities and the possibility of future nuclear development by Iran, Israel was the focus of much discussion. In certain respects, Israel now had less need for strategic capabilities than it might have done, say, in the late 1970s. Then it had to face the opposition of a still intact Soviet Union, eager to increase its position in the Middle East. Until 1979, it appeared that Iran might be a major nuclear foe; until the Osirak reactor was destroyed in 1981, Iraq had important nuclear capacities. These were built up again later, only to be dispatched in the Gulf War. The question is now whether Israeli nuclear weapons are needed in the aftermath of the end of the Cold War and the dismantling of the Iraqi capability.

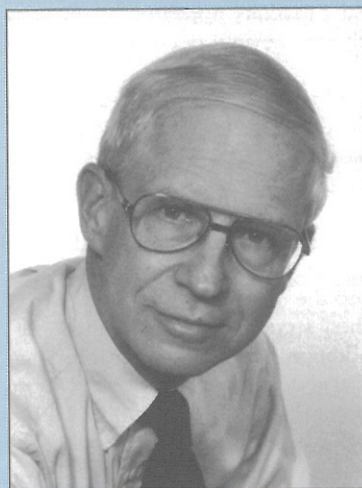
This was an important question to raise because Israel retained conventional superiority over its neighbors; it thus had much less reason to commit itself to a doctrine of nuclear escalation (*in extremis*). Russia was not a threat to Tel Aviv. Neither Egypt nor Syria had a nuclear program. Iran was miles away from a capability. Hence the number and magnitude of enemies had been greatly reduced. Further, the U.S. strategic connection with Israel had substantially increased.

The United States now prepositions large stockpiles of conventional arms in Israel. When an agreement on the Golan is reached, perhaps 1,000 American military observers will be permanently stationed on the Heights (as predecessors have been and still are today on the Mitla and Giddi passes in the Sinai). It will then become difficult to launch a conventional invasion of Israel without engaging American forces. Israel could then enjoy protections similar to those possessed by Japan which in the early version of the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty merely benefited from a U.S. commitment to station forces “in and about Japan.” If such guarantees were extended to Israel, the door to a progressive de-nuclearization of Israel could be opened.

Nations do not fashion foreign policy out of whole cloth. They look around to see what other successful nations are doing. Economically, the most successful nations today (with the possible exception of China) are non-nuclear states. The work of the NPT Review Conference in May, the agreement with North Korea, the denuclearization of South Africa—all these lead to a counter trend in world politics. The question for Israel is whether it wishes to contribute to spread or to enhance nuclear reversal in the Middle East. It is difficult to believe that a Middle East without nuclear weapons would be less favorable to Tel Aviv than one in which nuclear weapons were possessed by three or four major countries. Whatever Israel’s own interests, its long-term strategy surely must be to contribute to the denuclearization of *other* powers. At some point, participants

agreed, it will need to make a contribution to the success of that strategy. *For related views, see pp. 6-7.* ■

**Continued nuclear ambiguity remains the only viable Israeli option until peace agreements are reached and implemented with all Arab and Islamic states, including Syria, Iraq, Libya, and Iran.**  
**—Gerald Steinberg**

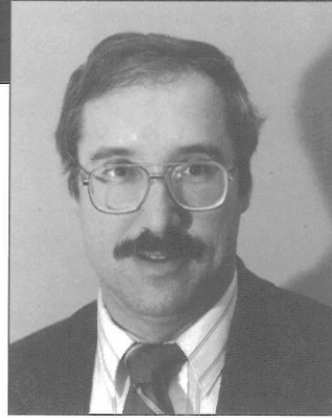


**Richard ROSECRANCE** is a professor of political science, director of the Center for International Relations, and associate dean of International Studies and Overseas Programs at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Specializing in international economics, strategy, history, and theory, his books include *America's Economic Resurgence: A Bold New Strategy*; *Beyond Realism: Domestic Factors and Grand Strategy*; and the highly acclaimed *The Rise of the Trading State*, which was published on three continents. He is now at work on a study of the Balance of Power in modern history.

## VIEWPOINTS:

# The Future of Israeli Nuclear Security Policy



Gerald Steinberg

## Confidence-Building and Israel's Nuclear Option

by Yair Evron

In the 1950s, Israel began its nuclear effort in response to security challenges then projected to indefinitely persist. Conflict with the Arab world appeared intractable to either diplomatic or political resolution; Arab hostility appeared fierce, extreme and constant. Moreover, these concerns were exacerbated by perceptions of the short- and long-term conventional military balance.

Israel searched for a military counterweight to basic asymmetries in demography and geography between the Arab states and itself. Israeli leaders realized that military victories could not bear political fruits, and their strategic objective was to deter war. A nuclear capability appeared as the optimal strategic deterrent, although several decision makers did not share this view.

Ultimately, Israel adopted an ambiguous nuclear posture. Although the ambiguity has eroded over time, in important respects Israel is still considered as a threshold country (in the same category as India and Pakistan), rather than a full-fledged nuclear power.

The changes which have now taken place in Arab-Israeli relations: the peace with Egypt, the Madrid process, the Jordanian-Israeli peace, and the agreements with the Palestinians, have diminished security threats and the likelihood of another war. In addition, the end of the Cold War, the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union, and changes in Russian foreign policy further inhibit destabilizing processes in the Arab-Israeli zone. Moreover, the global trend toward reducing the saliency of nuclear weapons could also affect Israeli considerations.

On the other hand, the growth of powerful, militant Islamic movements hostile to current regimes, the peace process and the West; the possibility that Iran and Iraq might—though in some more remote future—acquire a nuclear weapons capability; and the continued proliferation of weapons of mass destruction throughout the Middle East, all contribute to the continued concern in Israel that the processes of instability might again be set in motion. On that complex background of positive and negative developments,

*Continued p. 7, col. 1*

## After the NPT Extension: Israeli Policy Options

by Gerald M. Steinberg

Although the Israeli polity is deeply divided on many issues, public opinion surveys and press reports reflect a broad consensus in favor of maintaining the current policy on nuclear ambiguity and deterrence. These policies can be traced to the beginning of the nuclear program under Ben Gurion in the 1950s. With the risks entailed in the peace process and territorial withdrawal, there is little support for relinquishing the nuclear option under existing conditions.

The ambiguity and restraint are seen as maintaining a deterrent against continuing military threats to national survival (a weapon of last resort), while allowing for eventual negotiation of regional limitations. According to Egyptian sources, the Israeli deterrent was responsible for limiting the scope of the combined Arab attack in 1973. The evidence indicates that the threat of massive retaliation dissuaded Saddam Hussein from using biological and chemical warheads prepared for SCUD missiles, and as Iran's capability develops, the role of deterrence will increase. In addition, the Israeli nuclear option is seen as one factor in persuading Egypt to abandon the military effort to destroy the Jewish state, and to enter into the peace process.

If Israel were to accept the NPT, it would open all facilities to the International Atomic Energy Agency, and give up its nuclear option. (Under the NPT, there is no mechanism for adding nuclear weapons states.) At the same time, there is no guarantee that the NPT and IAEA can prevent Iraq, Iran or other large and closed states from acquiring nuclear weapons. Iraq's ability to violate its commitments under the NPT, and the continuing uncertainty, remains a key factor in the consideration of this issue.

Many years ago, Israeli leaders reached a bilateral understanding with the United States, based on constraint and the maintenance of the ambiguity of the nuclear option. Throughout his tenure, the late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin emphasized the role of conventional deterrence while limiting the role of the nuclear option to existential threats.

*Continued p. 7, col. 2*

several issues are central:

First, the question of whether Israel should change its posture and adopt an explicit nuclear doctrine. This was never a rational option and is now even less so.

Second, the question of what the nature and main "missions" of Israel's ambiguous nuclear capability should be. The only two such rational missions are:

- *minimal strategic deterrence* against an essential threat to Israel—a 'last resort' option with a very low probability of ever being exercised, but that cannot be ruled out altogether, and
- *deterrence against a nuclear threat* in case another regional power acquires a nuclear capability.

Third, the possibility of limiting and eventually reducing the Israeli capability. Israel has already officially endorsed the idea of a Middle East Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone (MEN-WFZ). Its latest position is that negotiations on this should begin two years after peace treaties between Israel and all the regional powers have been signed. It appears indeed probable that if these conditions are met such negotiations would begin and would ultimately lead to an agreement. In the meantime, Arab states, led primarily by Egypt, are trying to convince or pressurize Israel into agreeing to start immediate negotiations on a MENWFZ or

Weapons of Mass Destruction-Free Zone. A persistent added Egyptian demand has been that Israel sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which became a major issue on the eve of the NPT review conference last May.

While Israel has rejected the Egyptian position, it should consider several partial measures which could reduce Egyptian concerns and would help American and international efforts to prevent proliferation in the Middle East. An important element is to signal Israeli overall readiness to gradually de-emphasize the nuclear element. The ambiguity surrounding the Israeli posture should therefore be maintained. A process of denuclearization could be achieved only when the Middle East—or at least the inner group of Egypt, Israel, Jordan and Syria—gradually becomes a cooperative security region. Partial measures could and should accompany this gradual move:

- declarations of intent by Israel;
- nonpublic assurances from Israel (possible through the United States) about the two limited missions of the Israeli capability;
- various versions of the cutoff proposals regarding the production of fissionable materials in the Middle East.

These confidence-building measures could be facilitated by additional measures: A formal American-Israeli defense alliance might be one; measures to limit the rise in conventional capabilities while assuring Israeli defensive conventional qualitative superiority is another. ■

**Yair Evron** is a professor of political science at Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv, Israel. (Photo not available at press time.)

However, as the NPT has gained acceptance throughout the international system, Israel's status as a nuclear threshold state, and one of three significant NPT "holdouts" (along with India and Pakistan) has become a source of pressure. In the past few years, Egypt has led a campaign aimed at forcing Israel to change its policy and relinquish its capability. This campaign reached its zenith during the 1995 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Extension Conference.

The indefinite extension of the NPT did not remove the issue of the nuclear weapons from the regional or international agenda. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction continues to be the subject of attention in the Middle East working group on Arms Control and Regional Security (ACRS), the meetings of the IAEA, the UN and other bodies. Israel is also an active participant in the Conference on Disarmament, where the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and fissile material production cut-off are under consideration.

While the ACRS is viewed as the primary forum for negotiation of arms limitations, to date, Israeli decision makers have

rejected pressure for explicit negotiations on nuclear policy and the NPT in ACRS. In February 1995, Shimon Peres declared that Israel will agree to begin discussions for a Middle East zone free

**Whatever Israel's own interests, its long-term strategy surely must be to contribute to the denuclearization of other powers.**

**—Richard Rosecrance**

of weapons of mass destruction two years after bilateral peace agreements have been signed with all states in the region, including Iran. Israel has yet to take an official position on the proposed cut-off, but in an interview published in September 1995, Rabin said that the global cut-off effort did not seem practical.

These policies might be based on the assessment that by accepting these initiatives, Israel would be embarking on a "slippery slope" that would lead to international inspection of Israeli nuclear facilities before other necessary regional conditions are in place. (Indeed, many proponents of the cut-off proposal view this as a "back door" to the NPT for India, Pakistan and Israel.) This, in turn, would jeopardize the policy of ambiguity.

The critical role of the nuclear deterrent as a weapon of last-resort in Israeli security policy, the step-by-step approach to arms control, and the slippery-slope analogy, also limit the scope of confidence building measures (CBMs) in this area. Israel has demonstrated a commitment to the eventual negotiation of a regional zone free of weapons of mass destruction and massive conventional arsenals, and has indicated a readiness to sign and ratify a CTBT (subject to resolving problems in the proposed verification procedures).

The Israeli nuclear policy is an integral part of the broader regional security framework. Changes in this policy will depend on the creation of a durable peace in the region, and the establishment of agreed regimes with comprehensive limits on the acquisition and deployment of both conventional and non-conventional weapons. ■

**Gerald Steinberg** is a member of the Political Studies Department, the BESA Center for Strategic Studies at Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan, Israel.



# A Letter to the President

## MEMORANDUM

August 2, 1995

**TO:** The President, Vice President, Secretary Christopher, Secretary Perry, Secretary O'Leary, General Shalikashvili, National Security Advisor Lake, Deputy Secretary Talbott, Director Holum, Ambassador Crowe

**FROM:** Cyrus Vance, Robert MacNamara, McGeorge Bundy, Herbert York  
Concurring Statement by Andrew Goodpaster

**SUBJECT:** Nuclear Testing

We hear that the administration is considering a change in U.S. policy to permit "experiments" with explosive yields of up to several hundred tons under a "comprehensive" test ban treaty. Such experiments would be carried out underground at nuclear test sites and would be widely perceived as a continuation of nuclear testing.

We wish to express ourselves in the strongest possible terms against any such decision, unless new technical information has surfaced that mandates continued underground testing for stockpile safety and reliability. In the absence of a technical case for new testing—and it is our understanding that there is no such case—the President should firmly reject advice calling for a resumption of testing. He should not now be asked to reverse himself on a matter in which his public position is clear, strong, and sound. Any change in this position should lower, not raise, the current threshold.

The damage to the United States and to the President in redefining a CTB as allowing continued underground nuclear testing should not be underestimated. The negative reaction would be world-wide. Such a switch in U.S. policy at this point would make the President look like a shuttlecock

instead of a leader. The United States and other nuclear powers would be seen as cynically tricking the international community into making the NPT permanent and then backing out of their end of the bargain—a CTB by the end of 1996. Our nation's standing—and the word of our leaders—would be dealt a severe blow. A change in U.S. policy would kill prospects of completing negotiations in Geneva

on a CTB by 1996, and with it, the opportunity to reduce significantly the shadow cast by nuclear weapons. Even if a low-yield testing treaty could somehow be negotiated, it would complicate rather than advance our non-proliferation efforts.

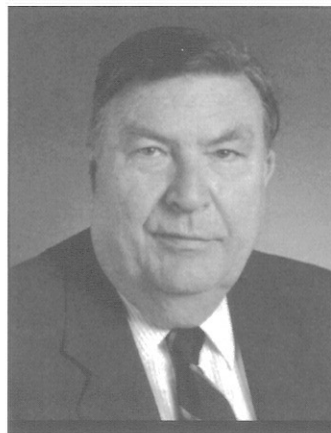
**We urge the President to reaffirm forthrightly his commitment to a comprehensive test ban treaty by 1996 and take visible steps to demonstrate that commitment.**

The long and tortured history of these negotiations suggests that internal brokered deals for interagency consensus do not serve the interests of the country or the President. Americans of all sorts want their President to reduce nuclear danger, not to equivocate. The White House must reaffirm a strong, clear, consistent message of presidential control over testing policy.

We urge the President to reaffirm forthrightly his commitment to a *comprehensive* test ban treaty by 1996 and take visible steps to demonstrate that commitment.

## CONCURRING STATEMENT BY GENERAL ANDREW J. GOODPASTER (USA, RET.)

I support the recommendation against permitting nuclear experiments with explosive yields measured in many tons. I believe the security of the United States, including optimum support for non-proliferation, will be best served by the verified observance of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, verified cessation of all nuclear weapons testing with no allowance for experiments at the level of many tons, and continued major reduction in nuclear arsenals to very low levels, with the goal of ultimate complete elimination of these weapons if such proves practicable by the time these low levels are achieved. ■



**Herbert F. YORK** was the founding director of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and IGCC. Twice UC San Diego Chancellor, he is now IGCC Director Emeritus. **Robert S. MacNAMARA** was Secretary of Defense during the Vietnam era. He now serves on the IGCC International Advisory Board.

Kenneth N. Waltz: excerpts from

## PEACE, STABILITY, AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The effective way to persuade states to forego nuclear weapons would seem to be to guarantee their security against conventional as well as nuclear threats. Few states, however, are able to guarantee other states' security or wish to do so. And guarantees, even if issued by the most powerful states, will not be found sufficiently reliable by states fearing for their security. Even at the height of the Cold War, America's promise to extend deterrence over Western Europe was thought to be of doubtful credibility. Since guarantees given by others can never be fully credited, each country is left to provide for its security as best it can. How then can one country tell another what measures to take for its own defense?

...The one definitive way to stop the spread of nuclear weapons would seem to be to launch strikes to destroy other states' incipient nuclear-weapons programs or to fight preventive wars—now termed “wars of non-proliferation”—against them. In truth, preventive wars promise only limited success at considerable cost. The trouble with preventive strikes is that one has to strike so hard that the country struck will be unable to resume its nuclear career for years to come. The trouble with preventive wars is that one has to fight them, win them, and impose effective controls over the indefinite future. The noblest wars may be those fought for the sake of establishing and maintaining peace, but I for one hope we won't take the lead in fighting them.

**For some countries, the alternative to nuclear weapons is to run ever-more expensive conventional arms races, with increased risk of fighting highly destructive wars.**

...Nuclear weapons continue to spread slowly, while conventional weapons proliferate and become ever more destructive. Nuclear weapons are relatively cheap, and they work against the fighting of major wars. For some countries, the alternative to nuclear weapons is to run ever-more expensive conventional arms races, with increased risk of fighting highly destructive wars. Not all choices are happy ones, and for some countries nuclear weapons may be the best choice available.

Nuclear weapons will long be with us. We should keep in perspective both the benefits they bring and the dangers they pose. States with huge nuclear arsenals may accidentally fire warheads in large numbers.... The accidents of small nuclear countries would be serious enough, but only large nuclear countries can do horrendous damage to themselves and the world. As ever in international politics, the biggest dangers come from the biggest powers; the smallest from the smallest. We should be more fearful of old nuclear countries and less fearful of recent and prospective ones. Efforts should concentrate more on making large arsenals safe and less on keeping weak states from obtaining the small number of warheads they may understandably believe they need for security. ■

*Kenneth N. Waltz is professor of political science at the University of California, Berkeley.*

*Excerpted from the Conclusion to IGCC Policy Paper No. 15, "Peace, Stability, and Nuclear Weapons." To order, see p. 16.*

## NATIONAL LABS SEEK UC CHINA EXPERTS

UC-managed Livermore and Los Alamos National Laboratories, along with Sandia National Laboratory, have established a program of substantive dialogues with their counterpart nuclear weapons laboratories in China to further the arms control and non-proliferation goals of both countries. The initial lab-to-lab workshops will focus on material protection, control and accounting; technical issues of monitoring and verification of a test ban; monitoring technologies and their application; export controls and technologies; and atmospheric sciences for nonproliferation.

On 3 November 1995, IGCC hosted a joint meeting of the Lab-to-Lab Steering Committee and a small group of UC China scholars to discuss how IGCC and other UC resources could contribute to the program. The group helped illuminate the broader context of Chinese domestic politics and China-U.S. relations which could affect the Lab-to-Lab process.

John Shaner, deputy director of the Los Alamos National Laboratory's Center for International Security Affairs, described the labs' previous experience cooperating with Soviet/Russian nuclear laboratories. There, lab members developed hundreds of science contacts—including many with chief weapons scientists in closed Russian institutes. Working together with technical resources developed trust, respect and communication outlets with people one step away from government decision makers in Russia. High ranking scientists in Russia now argue in favor of lab initiatives with their gov-

ernment, rather than relying on U.S. government officials to persuade their counterparts.

T.R. Koncher from Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory explained that the China Lab-to-Lab program has scheduled five workshops in 1996 in conjunction with its Chinese counterpart, the

Chinese Academy of Engineering Physics (CAEP). Although conditions in China are different than Russia, potential similar positive results exist, as has already been illustrated during the period of strained Sino-U.S. relations last year, when Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui visited Cornell and American activist Harry Wu was detained by China. While other military and defense government-to-government contacts were canceled, Lab-to-Lab activities continued on schedule.

University of California China experts IGCC Director Susan Shirk, UC Los Angeles professor Richard Baum, and UC

Santa Cruz professor Bruce Larkin provided advice on how the China Lab-to-Lab Steering Committee could better utilize UC-system resources to support the project. Future collaborative work, such as a series of IGCC-sponsored seminars on China Lab-to-Lab topics, or a program to recruit UC scholars to provide research support for lab programs, is planned. UC students and faculty interested in participating in such an effort should contact Professor Shirk at IGCC. ■

*(Participants list, p. 10. See related article p. 12)*



**IGCC Director Susan Shirk with John Shaner, T.R. Koncher and Clyde Layne**

# CONTROLLING ETHNIC VIOLENCE

**T**ransnational ethnic conflict continues to be a major problem in international relations and a major part of IGCC's research agenda. IGCC's project "The International Spread and Management of Ethnic Conflict," funded by a grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts, brings academic researchers, opinion leaders and policy analysts together to investigate the complex connection between intergroup conflict and interstate relations. The project's fifth working group meeting, held May 5-6 in La Jolla, focused on the role of regional and international organizations in controlling ethnic violence.

This topic was explored from a practical standpoint by a panel of experienced diplomats serving in intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations: Henry Breed of the United Nations Office of the Undersecretary for Peacekeeping Operations, Heather Hurlburt of the Carnegie Endowment for Interna-

tional Peace, Dayle Spencer of PANGEA Inc., and Bruce Jentleson, director of the UC Davis Washington Center, examined the possibilities for preventive diplomacy, while Professors William H. Moore (UC Riverside), David Davis (Emory University), Gershon Shafir (UC San Diego) and Edmond Keller (UC Los Angeles) contributed theoretical analyses of the internationalization of ethnic disputes.

Original analyses of several aspects of ethnic conflict, developed for this series of workshops, have recently been published as IGCC Policy Papers. Two of these papers outline contending views on the degree to which major powers can, and should, act effectively to control inter-ethnic violence. Policy Paper No. 12, "U.S. Intervention in Ethnic Conflict," edited by IGCC Coordinator of Policy Research Fred Wehling, includes contributions from John Steinbruner, George Kenney, Michael Klare and Michael Mazarr. Policy Paper No. 16, "Ethnic

Conflict and Russian Intervention in The Caucasus," also edited by Wehling, contains pieces by Sergei Arutiunov, Andranik Migranyan, Emil Payin and Galina Starovoitova. Policy Paper No. 18, "Is Pandora's Box Half Empty or Half Full?" by Texas Tech University Professor Stephen M. Saideman, argues that ethnic-sparked secessionism is not as contagious across borders as once feared.

Related to this series, Policy Paper No. 13, "Transnational Ethnic Conflict in Africa" by Edmond Keller, examines how ethnic violence has strained political and social institutions past the breaking point in several African states.

A teaching seminar based on this project is scheduled for 29 February-2 March 1996 at UC Davis.

*Participants list, p. 11.* ■

*(See also PB No. 2, "Ethnic Conflict Isn't" and PB No. 3, "Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention." To order, see p. 16.)*

## China Lab-to-Lab Program Meeting

La Jolla, California, 3 November 1995

### List of Participants

**Prof. Richard BAUM**  
Dept. of Political Science,  
UC Los Angeles, CA

**Mr. Jor-Shan CHOI**  
Lawrence Livermore  
National Laboratory, CA;  
'95-'96 Science Fellow,  
Center for Int'l Security  
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Stanford U., CA

**Mr. Timothy  
FITZPATRICK**  
Dept. of Political  
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Mr. T.R. Koncher



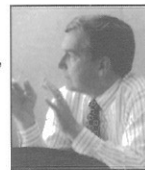
Prof. Bruce Larkin

**Mr. Willie HSUE**  
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China Lab-to-Lab Program,  
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**Mr. Harlan JENCKS**  
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**Mr. T.R. KONCHER**  
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Board of Studies in Politics,  
UC Santa Cruz, CA



Mr. Clyde Layne

**Mr. Clyde LAYNE**  
Sandia National  
Laboratory, NM

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**Mr. John SHANER**  
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**Prof. Susan L. SHIRK**  
Director, IGCC

**Mr. Michael STANKIEWICZ**  
Policy Researcher for Asia, IGCC



Ms. Kori Schake



Mr. John Shaner

# STRATEGIC CHOICE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

As part of its continuing effort to improve understanding of global conflict and cooperation, IGCC is sponsoring a project on Strategic Choice and International Relations, led by David A. Lake, IGCC Research Director for International Relations and professor of political science at UC San Diego, and Robert Powell, professor of political science at UC Berkeley. A planned volume tentatively titled *Strategic Choice and International Relations*—containing essays by Lake and Powell as well as Jeff Frieden, formerly of UC Los Angeles and now Harvard University, James

Morrow, Hoover Institution at Stanford University, Ronald Rogowski, UC Los Angeles, Peter Gourevitch, UC San Diego, Miles Kahler, UC San Diego, and Arthur Stein, UC Los Angeles—has recently been accepted by Princeton University Press.

This project is an outgrowth of IGCC's Workshop on International Relations, begun in 1990 to assess the state of international relations theory after the end of the Cold War. From the meetings of the workshop, the participants recognized a shared view of international relations not captured by existing theories and not

well articulated in the literature. This shared view focuses, first and foremost, on the strategic setting in which actors make foreign policy choices. In this way, the approach cuts across the levels of analysis that usually define theories of international relations, bridges the gap between security studies and international political economy, and brings together international relations and the other sub-fields of political science. The shared approach, and the project in particular, represent the kind of cutting edge multi-campus research that is the hallmark of UC faculty and IGCC. ■

## The International Spread and Management of Ethnic Conflict

La Jolla, CA 5–6 May 1995

### List of Participants

**Mr. Alemseged ABBAY**  
UC Berkeley, CA



Mr. Alemseged Abbay

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Mr. Henry Breed

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Prof. Edmond J. Keller

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Prof. D. S. Rothchild

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Dr. Dayle E. Spencer

**Dr. Fred WEHLING**  
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**Prof. Irwin WALL**  
Dept. of History, UC  
Riverside, CA



Prof. Irwin Wall

**Prof. C.S. WHITAKER**  
Palm Springs, CA

# NORTHEAST ASIA COOPERATION DIALOGUE III

## *Agricultural Prospects and a First Meeting of Military Minds*

**R**elations among Northeast Asian countries endured some tense periods during the last year, including the crisis over North Korea's nuclear program, the break in Sino-American relations following Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui's visit to the United States last spring, and continuing trade disputes between the U.S. and China, Japan and South Korea. However, the year also brought significant progress in the IGCC-founded Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD), a regional multilateral security track-two\* dialogue.

In the first meeting of its kind, in April, military officials from participating countries joined the NEACD in Moscow to discuss security issues in a multilateral setting. Participants presented individual country perspectives by government and military officials regarding developments in Northeast Asian security. Continuing the Dialogue tradition of examining a different area of potential economic cooperation at each meeting,

experts from the UC Davis Department of Agricultural Economics discussed the cooperative possibilities generated by the role of agriculture production and trade in the region.

The meeting also included preliminary discussions of mutual reassurance measures (similar to confidence-building measures in other regions) and normative, declaratory principles governing state-to-state relations. Participants decided to establish two study projects to examine these subjects more deeply, each comprised of one member from each of the participating countries, aimed at preparing a set of options in each area to present to Dialogue members for future discussion.

In a sign of firm commitment to the NEACD, the Chinese delegation invited the other participants to Beijing, China for the next plenary session on January 8-10, 1996. Beijing will also be the site for the study project on principles, while the mutual reassurance measures study project will be held in Tokyo,

Japan. All of the Dialogue members are hopeful that North Korean representatives, who participated in the founding meeting of NEACD but have been absent since then, will attend the Beijing session. The background paper for this meeting has been published as IGCC Policy Paper No. 17 (see p. 16). ■

*The NEACD is designed to enhance mutual confidence and cooperation among countries in Northeast Asia. Participants include representatives from South Korea, North Korea, Russia, China, Japan and the United States, who rotate as national hosts with IGCC acting as secretariat. See related articles in the Spring, Fall 1994 Newsletters.*

*The NEACD III was hosted by the Center for Japanese Studies of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, and received partial funding from the National Institute for Research Advancement, Tokyo.*

\* A track-two dialogue includes government officials who attend meetings as individuals rather than representing their respective governments. The meetings also include private experts.

## Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue III

Podmoskovie, Russia, 26-28 April 1995

### List of Participants

#### OBSERVERS

**Dr. Edward T. FEI**

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**Mr. WI Sung Lac**

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#### PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

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**Ms. FU Ying**

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**Prof. JI Guoxing**

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Associate Researcher, Dept. of Agricultural  
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**RUSSIA** *continued*

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**Dr. Alexander SAVELYEV**  
Vice President, Inst. for National Security and  
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Director, Office of Regional & Security Policy,  
Bur. of East Asian & Pacific Affairs,  
U.S. Dept. of State

**Major General David McILVOY**  
Deputy Director, Politico-Military Affairs,  
The Joint Staff (J-5)

**Prof. Robert SCALAPINO**  
Robson Research Prof of Govt Emeritus,  
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**Prof. Susan L. SHIRK**  
Director, IGCC

**Mr. Kent WIEDEMANN**  
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**IGCC/MacArthur Fellows in International Environmental Security**

“Sometimes the environment provides a less threatening avenue to build better relations between two nations,”

says Changhua Rich, Ph.D. student, Board of Studies in Economics, UC Santa Cruz. Rich, who is conducting her doctoral research on the implementation of carbon emissions reduction between China and Japan, is one of six UC Ph.D. students funded in 1995-96 by a new IGCC fellowship program.

In December 1994, IGCC received a three-year grant from the MacArthur Foundation to fund graduate student and faculty fellows in regional relations, international environmental policy and the regional management of international environmental problems. Six UC doctoral students who are conducting research on international environmental policy within regional settings, were chosen to receive IGCC/MacArthur fellowships for 1995-96. Each fellow receives a 12-month, \$16,000 stipend, travel and research support, and will write an IGCC policy paper.

They will work together to produce a research seminar scheduled for spring 1996.

To lead the program, this year IGCC selected UC Santa Cruz professor Alan Richards, Board of Studies in Economics, as an IGCC/MacArthur Faculty Fellow. He will advise the six student fellows, providing guidance on the policy papers and research seminar. In addition to his role as faculty fellow, Richards has his

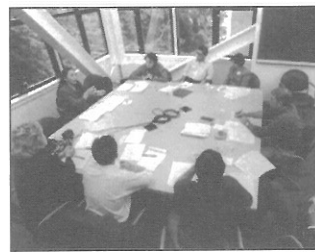
own ongoing research in managing water scarcity; he has published extensively on agricultural development and resource management in the Middle East and has participated in IGCC Middle East Peace Process ‘track-two’ conference Working Groups on Water (see related articles in Fall 1993; Spring 1994, 1995 Newsletters). His paper from the 1994 Vouliagmeni (Athens) conference,

“Markets and Water: Getting There from Here” is available via IGCC Online. ■

For a complete list of 1995-96 IGCC awards, see p. 14.



(L to R) Back row: IGCC/MacArthur Faculty Fellow Alan Richards, Brian Potter, IGCC Director Susan Shirk, IGCC Campus Program Coordinator Bettina Halvorsen. Front Row: Eugenio Bobenrieth, Paul Williams, Changhua Rich.



IGCC/MacArthur Fellows plan seminar.

UC Santa Cruz professor **Alan RICHARDS** has accrued distinguished international policy advisory and consultancy experience in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and throughout the Middle East and North Africa, conducting economic analyses, training programs and running implementation plans for organizations such as USAID, The World Bank, UNDP, IFAD, the RAND Corporation and the Egyptian Ministry of Irrigation. Proficient in five non-English languages, he holds degrees in economics, Middle Eastern Studies, political science and English. Among Richards' many publications are *A Political Economy of the Middle East* (with John Waturbury), and *Egypt's Agricultural Development, 1800-1980*, both from Westview Press.



**SWITZER FELLOW NAMED**

1993-1995 IGCC Fellow **David SONNENFELD**, Ph.D. candidate in sociology at UC Santa Cruz, has been named Switzer

Fellow for 1995-96. The Switzer Foundation Environmental Fellowship recognizes excellence in academic and scientific work, and commitment to solving environmental problems. Sonnenfeld will apply the \$10,000 award toward completing his dissertation on innovation in environmental technology in the pulp and paper industries of Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand. He recently presented papers at two national sociology conferences in Washington, DC.

## CAMPUS PROGRAM SAMPLING

Speakers in UC San Diego's Project on International Security Affairs (PISA) lecture series focusing on aspects of U.S. foreign policy include Jeffrey Knopf, University of Southern California, on the impact of protest on U.S. decisions to enter the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks, held 6 October; and Daniel Hallin, UC San Diego Communications Department, on "War as Popular Culture: The Media and Public Opinion in the Gulf War," 1 December. PISA also co-sponsored "The Fourth World Conference on Women: The Road to Beijing and Beyond," presented by 1995 UN Women's Conference, Beijing attendees Dr. Feelie Lee, UC Los Angeles Center for Pacific Rim Studies (recently appointed to the Women's Conference Center by First Lady Hillary Clinton), and medical anthropologist Dr. Barbara Pillsbury, founder-director of the Pacific Institute for Women's Health.

**UC Santa Barbara's Global Peace and Security Program (GPSP)** held talks by Dr. Dimitrij Rupel, mayor of Ljubljana, capital of Slovenia, on "The Peace Process in the Former Yugoslavia," 24 October; Dr. Ainslee Embree, professor emeritus at Columbia University, on "India and Her Neighbors," 26 October, and Dr. Hylke Tromp, professor of sociology at the University of Groningen, on "The New World Order: Anarchy?" and "New Dimensions of Security: The Environment," 1 and 2 November. On 13 November Dr. Daniel Ellsberg spoke on "Ending the Nuclear Weapons Era."

**Global Peace and Conflict Studies (GPACS) at UC Irvine** hosted Lennart Meri, president of Estonia, speaking 25 October on "A Democratic Estonia and the New International Order." Other non-UC speakers included Joyce Neu, Carter Center for Conflict Resolution, on "Third Party Intervention: Strategies for Peace in Bosnia and Estonia," 5 October; Evan Koop, U.S. State Department, on "Recent Trends in U.S.-Mexican Relations," 17 October; Peter Haas, University of Massachusetts, Amherst on "The Future of International Environmental Governance," 27 October; and Professor Joanne Gowa, political science, Princeton University, on "Democracy and War," 30 November.

## IGCC Ph.D. DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIPS, RESEARCH AND RESEARCH CONFERENCE GRANTS AWARDED FOR 1995-1996

### IGCC/MACARTHUR DISSERTATION FELLOWS IN THE REGIONAL MANAGEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS

**Bobenrieth, Eugenio Sebastian**, UCB, *Forest Reserves in Latin America: Environmental Conflict, Regulation Uncertainty, and Forest Stock Response*

**Carlisle, Heather L.**, UCB, *Hydropolitics in Post-Soviet Central Asia*

**Potter,\* Brian Christy**, UCLA, *International Fishery Access After Ocean Enclosure: Fisherman, Institutions and Resource Management*

**Rich, Changhua Sun**, UCSC, *Northeast Asia Regional Collaboration: China-Japan Joint Implementation of Carbon Emissions Reduction*

**Walker, Peter Abel**, UCB, *Roots of Crisis: Population, Environment, and the Social History of Smallholder Tree Planting in Malawi*

**Williams,\* Paul A.**, UCLA, *Equitable Resolution of Water-Sharing Disputes Between Dominant Upstream States and Weaker Downstream States*

### IGCC/MACARTHUR FACULTY FELLOW

**Richards, Alan**, UCSC, *Managing Water Scarcity: Interactions Between International River Negotiations and Domestic Economic Reform Conflicts (Also research grant awardee.)*

### IGCC DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP AWARDEES—RENEWALS

**Cline, Mary Karol**, UCLA, *Alternative Paths of Development. Understanding Regional Differentiation in the Russian Federation*

**Fuller, Melissa Ann**, UCLA, *Nations Dividing: Ethnic Conflict and its Implications for International Stability*

**Lin, Patricia**, UCB, *Extending Her Arms: Military Families and the Transformation of the British State, 1793-1815*

### IGCC DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP AWARDEES—NEW

**Brooks, Risa A.**, UCSD, *Conflict and Coalitions: Civil-Military Relations, Military Doctrine and Patterns of Crisis and Conflict in Historical Europe and Contemporary Middle East*

**Chase, Kerry Andrew**, UCLA, *Regional Trading Blocs: Building Blocks or Stumbling Blocks for Integration & Cooperation?*

**Crowly, Angela Martin**, UCI, *Top Gun, Top Dog?: The Political Economy of Fighter Planes in a Changing World Order*

**Ellison, David L.**, UCLA, *Labor Capital, Eastern Europe and the European Union*

**Eyal, Gil**, UCLA, *The Breakup of Czechoslovakia: A Sociological Explanation*

**Ghamari-Tabrizi, Behrooz**, UCSC, *A Comparative Study of the New Islamic Movements: Iran and Egypt*

**Herbert, Anne-Maria Louise**, UCB, *Normative Development Through International Organization: The League of Nations and the Evolution of Human Rights Law, 1919-1945*

**Kaye, Dalia Dassa**, UCB, *Multilateralism in the Middle East: The Theories and Practice of Institutional Origination*

**Latham, Michael E.**, UCLA, *Modernization as Ideology: Social Scientific Theory and American International Development Policy, 1961-1963*

**Murtaza, Niaz**, UCB, *Conflicts and Famine in The Horn of Africa*

**Ovenden, Margaret E.**, UCSD, *Children, Charity, Development and Salvation: Cultural Transformations and Clashes Among U.S. Donors and Ecuadorian Beneficiaries in the Process of International Child Sponsorship*

**Reynolds, Andrew Stephen**, UCSD, *Democratic Consolidation & Regional Cooperation in South Africa*

**Richardson, John P.**, UCSD, *Slovak Nationalism: Its Origins and Implications for Stability in Central Europe*

**Skuban, William Eugene**, UCD, *The Construction of National Identity in Peru: The Case of Tacna and Arica, 1880-1930*

### RESEARCH CONFERENCE GRANT AWARDEES

**Kahler, Miles**, UCSD, *Domestic Politics and International Law*

**Enriquez, Laura**, UCB, *Return to the Market: The Comparative Political Economy of Re-entry into the Global Economy in South Africa, Vietnam and Nicaragua*

### RESEARCH GRANT AWARDEES—RENEWALS

**Rocke, David M.**, UCD, *Capacity Uncertainty and Multilateral International Agreements*

**Schurman, Rachel**, UCB, *International Conflict and Cooperation in Implementing the Law of the Sea*

**Solingen, Eitel**, UCI, *Domestic Determinants of Regional Cooperation: Bargaining in the Multilateral Middle East Peace Talks*

### RESEARCH GRANT AWARDEES—NEW

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**Kaplan, Cynthia**, UCSB, *Linking Nationalism and Democratization Through Political Event Coding in Estonia*

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**Money, Jeanette**, UCD, *Silent Invasions. State Capacity and Undocumented Migration*

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**Roecker, Philip G.**, UCSD, *Ethnic Conflict in the Soviet Successor States*

**Shafir, Gershon**, UCSD, *Economic Liberalization, Peacemaking and Regional Integration in the Middle East*

**Stein, Arthur A.**, UCLA, *Systemic Heterogeneity and International Stability*

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Coordinator, IGCC University of California, San Diego, 9500 Gilman Drive, Dept. 0518, La Jolla, CA 92093-0518, or tel. (619) 534-7224.

**Deadline: Feb. 1, 1996**

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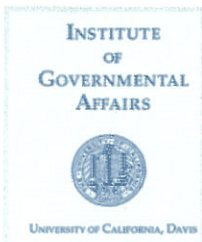
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