1993-94 USAF National Defense Fellow
by Judy Huang

This fall, Lt. Col. Dennis (Denny) Danielson joined ACDIS as the USAF National Defense Fellow for 1993-1994. After graduating from the Air Force Academy with a degree in electrical engineering, Danielson began a career with the Air Force that has taken him to many corners of the world during the past twenty years.

He served as a pilot in Southeast Asia and Germany and later taught jet training in Texas and Oklahoma. After obtaining a Master's degree in Space Program Technologies at the Air Force Institute of Technology, he worked for the U.S. Space Command in Colorado Springs and most recently in Alaska.

Spending a year with ACDIS will give Danielson an opportunity to apply his background to a concentrated study in the area of military space programs. In addition, he will serve as a liaison between the academic community and the military.

"I represent some of the views of the Air Force to the academic community engaged in discussion on arms control, and also represent back to the Air Force some of the views that are being circulated here," he said.

While at the University of Illinois, Danielson will primarily study issues related to the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty of 1972 and the question of whether the United States should be involved in cooperative missile warning arrangements.

With the end of the Cold War, the first issues to arise concerning the ABM Treaty were whether or not it still stands, and if so, with whom, Danielson said.

Some people have recommended abolishing the treaty altogether; but Danielson says he would not necessarily advocate this position. However, he does believe that if the treaty remains in effect, all parties would benefit from revisions to the terms.

The Clinton administration, unlike the Bush administration, has taken a narrow interpretation of the ABM treaty, Danielson said. Such a narrow interpretation greatly limits the levels of research and development that the United States can engage in and that will hurt the United States and other countries be-

Inside this issue . . .
South African Delegation Visit .............. 2
New Faces ...................................... 3-4
ACCESS Project ................................ 5
ACDIS Faculty ................................. 6
ACDIS Library .................................. 7
Occasional Paper Series ....................... 7

(Continued on Page 5)
South African Delegation Visits Campus

A joint delegation of representatives from the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Defense Force (SADF) visited the University of Illinois on September 13, as part of a three-week tour of the United States.

The ANC and the SADF each sent four members to participate in the tour, which was designed to show the role of the military in a democratic society and the integration of military institutions. The tour was funded by the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) and consisted primarily of visits to military bases and educational colleges. USIA is an independent unit of the U.S. Government that strives to cultivate understanding of different cultures and societies by bringing individuals from abroad into the United States and sending U.S. citizens to other countries.

Barry McConnell, former head of the University’s ROTC program and current Deputy Director of African Affairs in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, suggested the UIUC visit. McConnell believed that the unique mix of programs at Illinois—ACDIS, which focuses on regional security; the Center for African Studies, one of the leading area centers in the country; and the ROTC unit—would provide the visitors with an interesting and informative view of a major university.

Funding for the visit was provided by USIA, but ACDIS, the Center for African Studies, the Military Education Council-ROTC, and the Office for the Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs organized the day’s activities. The visit included discussions with staff from the Office of Admissions and Records, and LAS Admissions and Advising on admissions and retention of minority students, as well as discussions with the organizing units.

The visit incited protests by several African-American student and community groups who, unaware of the exact nature and composition of the visit, opposed the SADF presence on campus. The protesters claimed that by hosting these military representatives, the University was supporting racism.

University officials involved with the visit explained that the purpose was to teach the delegation “how to achieve racial integration, equality and equal representation from the university.” Vice Chancellor Stanley Levy explained that the visit of any individual or group to campus does not constitute an official endorsement by the University of the views or activities of that individual or group; he added that participation by campus units in these visits is fully consistent with established University policies and practices.

ACDIS Director Jeremiah Sullivan expressed surprise at the protests, in light of the nature of the delegation, which was “very focused on the future and not on replaying the past.”

The climax of the visit was a dinner with representatives of the participating campus units and the South African delegation at Silver Creek Restaurant, which was organized by ACDIS. The informal atmosphere led to a lively exchange of ideas and an opportunity for the participants to get to know one another on a more personal level.
ACDIS Welcomes New Faculty Member and Associates

As an interdisciplinary research program, ACDIS has grown and developed largely through the expertise and dedication of its faculty members and associates. This year, we are happy to welcome five new faculty members and scholars who will contribute their knowledge and talents to the organization.

New ACDIS faculty member Jerry Landay, associate professor of journalism, worked for more than thirty years as a writer, news correspondent, producer, and executive for numerous media organizations before coming to teach at Illinois in 1988.

His journalistic accomplishments run the gamut from writing for various newspapers to producing commissioned documentaries through the communication company he founded, The Landay Creative Group, Inc.

His newspaper credits include writing for The London Telegraph, The London Times, The New York Times, and The Chicago Tribune. In the broadcast arena, he worked for thirteen years with Group W radio and TV stations, where he spent time as a national political correspondent and chief foreign correspondent. He also worked as a news correspondent for CBS-News for eight years and as a White House correspondent for ABC-News during the Nixon and Ford administrations.

Landay's journalistic assignments have taken him to more than twenty countries; and his travels have nurtured his interest in international affairs. He developed an especially strong interest in the Middle East after covering the 1967 War, and he has written three books about the region.

Landay teaches courses in electronic journalism and documentary history/production, as well as a Campus Honors course called "Issues in Television." He also writes and speaks extensively on communications issues, and he is particularly interested in the role of television in global communication and its effect on international affairs.

Although Landay has been an ACDIS associate for several years, he will become more involved with the organization as a faculty member. ACDIS faculty members are selected for their knowledge of the overall ACDIS program and their interests, which overlap a wide range of the program's activities. They contribute ideas for program activities, submit papers for possible publication in the ACDIS Occasional Papers series, and take leadership roles in their areas of expertise that relate to the program's mission.

Jo Thomas, associate professor of journalism and new ACDIS associate, presented an ACDIS Showcase last spring on the political and social changes in Cuba, which she observed on a recent visit there.

Before coming to Illinois in 1987, Thomas worked as a reporter for several newspapers, most recently The New York Times. During her ten years with the Times, she reported on local, national, and international issues and held numerous positions. Her international posts included covering Cuba during the late 1970s and early 1980s, while she was Chief of the Times' Miami-Caribbean bureau, and reporting on Ireland and England during the mid-1980s.

Her experiences in both regions cultivated her expertise in those areas; and she continues to review books and write articles concerning both Ireland and Cuba.

[Continued on Page 4]
New Faculty
(continued from page 3)

Left: Bill Kelleher, assistant professor of anthropology and ACDIS faculty associate.

Right: Bill Sutton, University High School teaching associate and ACDIS faculty associate.

In addition to her outside writing projects and her involvement with ACDIS, Thomas has established herself as an outstanding teacher at UIUC. Students voted her one of the university's best teachers, ranking her among the top ten percent of all faculty.

Thomas received her Bachelor’s degree from Wake Forest College, and her Master’s degree in English from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Anthropology assistant professor Bill Kelleher, a new ACDIS associate, has conducted extensive studies on conflict in different regions of the world. His areas of specialization include class, ethnicity, and nationalism in Northern Ireland, as well as the connection between historical memory and present ethnic conflict. In addition, he has a strong interest in indigenous groups in third-world countries.

ACDIS provides a valuable opportunity for Kelleher to examine issues from a more theoretical, policy-oriented viewpoint than he usually uses as an anthropologist, he said.

Kelleher, who teaches graduate theory courses in anthropology, received his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in 1987 and began teaching at UIUC that year.

Associate professor Gerry Munck, who came to the political science department in 1990, joins ACDIS as a new faculty associate this year. ACDIS serves as a useful center for cross-disciplinary discourse and debate, he said.

In addition to participating in discussions and lectures, he has published articles in both Swords & Ploughshares and ACDIS Occasional Papers.

Munck received his Master's degree in Latin American Studies from Stanford University and his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California at Davis. He specializes in conflict resolution and democratization; and he has also studied the operation of military regimes, which was the topic of his doctoral dissertation. He teaches comparative politics courses, with an emphasis on Latin America.

While on leave this semester, Munck plans to spend several months in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile to conduct field work in his study of social movements and democracy there.

University High School teacher Bill Sutton was involved with ACDIS for several years as a graduate student at UIUC, and he now joins ACDIS as a faculty affiliate. Sutton, who teaches American history, hopes to expand the senior history curriculum at University High in the coming years and would like to incorporate ACDIS classes and seminars into the class offerings there.

Sutton received his Ph.D. in history from the University of Illinois in 1993. During his years at the Illinois, he was an ACDIS Humanities Graduate Fellow and also received support from ACDIS as a graduate teaching assistant. He instructed several classes, including Religious Studies 125, "War, Religion, and Society," which he particularly enjoyed because of his interest in religious history. He has focused his research on religious pacifism in the United States during the early 19th century. His other areas of research include capitalism and labor activism.
cause a number of countries have gained an interest in developing antiballistic missile systems, he said.

During the Cold War, the United States and the former Soviet Union were concerned mainly with the proliferation of long-range intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). Danielson says that while he supports continued research and development of strategic systems, he believes that there is a need for developing a theater ballistic missile defensive system.

"The threat of ICBMs, although it still exists, has been pushed aside somewhat by the growing threat of shorter-range theater ballistic missiles, many of which are falling into the hands of developing countries," he explained.

The Gulf War alerted many people to this reality, Danielson said. In response, countries have shown an increased interest in developing new defensive systems, as well as in organizing cooperative missile warning systems.

The Clinton Administration has responded by changing the name and the focus of the Strategic Defense Initiative. It is now called the Ballistic Missile Defense Office and emphasizes theater ballistic missile defense.

The United States would further benefit by revising the ABM treaty so that the country could increase research and development in the areas of ballistic missile defense and cooperative missile warning, Danielson said.

Danielson plans to write a paper about the ABM treaty based on his research at UIUC. He said that he appreciates the opportunity to conduct his studies here.

"I think that ACDIS is an excellent program because it is a real interdisciplinary program," he said. "The faculty involved encompass disciplines from throughout the university.

"I think it's a tremendous opportunity for me to interact with professional academics who are as concerned with international security and arms control as anyone in the military is. Any effort we undertake enhances our likelihood of finding alternative ways for dealing with international security and arms control that are much preferable to having to go to war."

In addition to his own research, Danielson will teach one session of the ACDIS undergraduate honors course, an interdisciplinary course that studies a wide range of problems faced by the United States and the world. The course is taught by various faculty members and visiting professors who lecture and lead discussions on their areas of expertise. Danielson will present a lecture on the U.S. military.

The National Defense Fellows program, formerly called USAF Research Associates program, has sent Air Force Officers to ACDIS for the past ten years. The program is designed to give officers a broader perspective on world issues, as well as domestic issues. Eighteen institutions, including Harvard, Stanford, and the Council on Foreign Relations participate in the program.

"It's a tremendous opportunity for me to interact with professional academics who are as concerned with international security and arms control as anyone in the military is."

ACCESS Project

ACCESS is a nonprofit, nonpartisan clearinghouse of information on international relations, peace and world affairs. They currently have a grant from the United States Institute of Peace to compile a database of organizations and individuals engaged in conflict resolution. The project is particularly interested in the efforts of indigenous groups and individuals. Information from the survey will be included in an international database entitled Guide to International Conflict Resolution Education, Training & Research.

ACCESS asks that any information about individuals or organizations involved in research in this area be directed to its Washington office:

ACCESS
1511 K Street, NW Suite 643
Washington, D.C. 20005

For more information about ACCESS or about the project, please call Lisa Alfred at (202)783-6050 or fax questions to (202)783-4767.
ACDIS Faculty

Political Science Professor Paul F. Diehl published his latest book, *International Peacekeeping*, last spring. In the book, Diehl examines the United Nations as an international peacekeeper and identifies characteristics of successful peacekeeping operations, based on multiple case studies. In addition, he offers policy guidelines for the deployment of peacekeeping forces, as well as a look at promising future roles for peacekeepers.

Two ACDIS faculty members have been promoted to full professor: David M. Desser has been named a professor in the Department of Speech Communication, and Steven J. Franke is now a professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering. The University of Illinois Board of Trustees approved their promotions in July, to take effect this academic year.

ACDIS Fellow and geography professor Arun P. Elhance wrote an op-ed piece for *The Christian Science Monitor*, which warned that because of the arid climate in Central Asia, shared waters could become a source of conflict within and among five newly independent nations: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.

Roger Kanet, Director of International Programs and Studies, gave a four-day lecture series entitled “Eastern Europe and the New States of the Former Soviet Union” at two workshops in Morgantown, West Virginia, last August. The workshops were “The Summer Seminar on Teaching World Affairs in the Post-Cold War Period” and “The Summer Seminar on Internationalizing English Composition Courses.”


Jo Thomas, associate professor of journalism, documented her most recent visit to Cuba in a cover article for the *New York Times Magazine* last spring. Thomas, who had last visited Cuba in 1980 when she was chief of the *New York Times* Miami bureau, described the deteriorating political and social landscape in the country’s current period of post-Soviet dependency.

Two ACDIS associates were among the UIUC faculty members and graduate teaching assistants who were honored at the annual Instructional Awards Banquet last spring. Political science professor Marvin G. Weinbaum was one of eleven professors to receive a Harriet and Charles Luckman Undergraduate Distinguished Teaching Award, the principal campus award for excellence in undergraduate instruction; and political science graduate student Amit Gupta was one of six teaching assistants to receive an LAS College Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching.

ACDIS News is always interested in where you are and what you are doing. Keep us informed. Send information on yourself or a colleague to:

ACDIS New Editor
Program in Arms Control, Disarmament, and International Security
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
330 Davenport Hall, 607 S. Mathews
Urbana, IL 61801


Global Change and the Korean Peninsula, Chang Hee Lee (Cambridge, MA: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 1993).


Requests for ACDIS Occasional Papers should be directed to the ACDIS office. Recent papers include:

Ahmar, Moonis
Indo-Pakistan Normalization Process: The Role of CBMs in the Post-Cold War Era, October 1993

Kanet, Roger E.
Coping with Conflict: The Role of the Russian Federation, October 1993
After the Babri Mosque

by Judy Huang

Ruchira Gupta has been a journalist in India for ten years and is currently a special correspondent for Business India. She has spent the past five months at ACDIS as a visiting Ford Scholar. While here, she has been conducting research on terrorist movements in South Asia and how they affect relations between the United States and that region.

On 6 December 1992 most of India and the rest of the world watched in horror as Hindu zealots demolished the Babri Mosque in Ayodhya.

ACDIS–Ford Visiting Scholar Ruchira Gupta, a special correspondent for Business India, experienced the horror firsthand; she was inside the mosque while it was being destroyed, and was dragged outside and nearly killed during the ensuing frenzy.

Since then, Gupta has spoken and written extensively about the causes and implications of the event. This January, she spoke about these issues, as well as the current situation in India, at an ACDIS lecture entitled “India: One Year after the Demolition of the Babri Mosque.”

The violent demolition of the mosque reflects the rise of a strong Hindu nationalist movement in India and indicates that democracy is not as well-rooted there as people had thought. Moreover, Gupta feels this Hindu nationalist push resembles the European fascist movements that emerged between the two world wars.

Inside this issue . . .
ACDIS Showcase ........................................... 2-3
ACDIS Friends ........................................... 3
Computer Teaches Global Literacy .................. 4-5
ACDIS Faculty ........................................... 5
Occasional Paper Series ................................. 7

Journalist Ruchira Gupta spoke about the demolition of the Babri Mosque in an ACDIS lecture.

“India’s experience offers what may well be the archetypal model of the way in which industrialization and modernization create the conditions for the birth of a fascist movement,” Gupta stated. “India is, in fact, to the developing countries of today what Germany was to the industrialized world sixty years ago.”

Gupta described the resurgence of Hindu nationalism, a half century after India gained its freedom, as the product of several factors: massive industrialization, rapid urbanization, and “social displacement.”

Ever since the government formulated its first five-year development plan in 1951, India’s industrial sector has grown by leaps and bounds, and the country has urbanized rapidly. Moreover, for about forty years, the Indian government has followed protective economic policies that closed the domestic market to imports and deliberately stifled the growth of large, professionally managed businesses.

These factors helped to nurture a large class of small owner-proprietors who controlled most of the industry and trade in India. This middle bourgeoisie survived largely because of the system of trade barriers that created an artificial environment in which small domestic businesses could succeed.

(Continued on page 6)
Global TV
Sending Mixed Signals

Television is the most powerful cultural, social, and political force operating daily in people’s lives, ACDIS faculty member Jerry Landay asserts; and American television is at the forefront of the industry.

Yet American commercial television programming leaves much to be desired, Landay said. Instead of exposing viewers to art, history, literature, and other cultures, most of the programs deliver formulaic story lines reflecting a mass-production industry and, he said, the globalization of such programming will lead to serious negative consequences.

Landay has worked in television as a writer, reporter, producer, and executive for over thirty years and is currently an associate professor of broadcast journalism at UIUC. He presented some of his ideas about television in an ACDIS Showcase, "Global TV: Communication or Commodity," last October.

The underlying problem with American commercial TV is that “communication is a human process, but it has been converted into a commodities trading operation.” According to Landay "the current American-dominated mediaocracy is run, not by communicators, but by commodities traders, who trade in numbers rather than ideas."

These media managers focus not on developing quality programs, but on amassing audiences for advertisers. In so doing, they have turned the industry into a trade in numbers—stripped of humanity and devoid of creativity. Moreover, they are increas-

ingly operating beyond the range of governments and are raising serious implications for national and global interests, he said.

To understand these implications of globalization, one must first be able to grasp the negative effects of commercial TV.

Landay cited studies by the American Medical Association and the National Institutes of Health—linking violence on TV to violence and aggressive behavior in our communities—as evidence that television’s message is carried into our lives.

When the message is bad, so are the effects on our lives. The message that most American commercial television is sending is a skewed view of the world and of our society. Moreover, television advertisements project an equally disturbing message.

"Every ad showing the glamour of this ‘good life’ of American middle-class materiality is a revolutionary statement to those who don’t have this kind of money,” Landay said. “It was a revolutionary statement in the L. A. ghetto. It’s a revolutionary statement here in this country. It will be a revolutionary statement for the rest of the world."

The programs and advertisements that we are sending to other countries will breed political turbulence in those societies. “The images that we show clash with the economic reality of many global peoples, creating tension and frustration and the politics of higher expectations,” he said.

To avoid these negative consequences, Landay emphasized the need for television programming that reflects sensitivity to the cultural uniqueness and concerns of the world audience. He proposed several approaches to use in achieving this goal.

To improve TV in the United States, he suggests reimposing quality standards for licensing, which were removed with deregulation; creating a national mass communication policy to define the social and cultural purposes of TV as a process and as an educational creative force; bringing all carriers of domestic programming, including cable, under the purview of the FCC;

(Continued on Page 3)
and most important, supporting public television and encouraging the public sector to produce for both the domestic and export markets.

In addition, Landay proposes imposing more rigorous antitrust regulation on television and related industries so that ownership is divided among producing, licensing, handling, and distributing interests.

In the international context, Landay argues for the creation of a new world cultural agency to establish general programming criteria for the global TV market. Such an organization would encourage countries to encourage companies to produce programs that meet standards of ethics and content.

After the presentation, faculty members and students in the audience enjoined Landay in lively debate about the various issues he had addressed.

Professor Marvin Weinbaum pointed out that Landay had made a one-sided case by ignoring the enormous cultural contributions that television has made to the U.S. and other societies. He also disagreed that the industry could be radically changed or that government regulation would lead to a better product.

Professor Steve Cohen, an expert on South Asia, disputed the premise that American TV lacks creativity and cultural significance. He argued that American TV plays a significant role in many of the countries where he has spent time, including India, China, and Pakistan.

"Western TV is culturally centered on the West, but it's important for these countries to be exposed to that and to be shocked by it," Cohen said. For example, Indian television is responding to MTV with similar programming that emphasizes the Indian culture. "They feel that they can compete with American TV. So this is not a problem of American domination; it is an example of fabulous competition among different civilizations."

But Jo Thomas, associate professor of journalism, described a different situation in Cuba, where she worked as a reporter for several years. "In a country with excellent health care and school systems, people wanted to go to America for blue jeans!" she said.

Thomas agreed with Landay's argument that American television is promoting the materialistic values of a commodities culture. And she added, "I don't know that the commodities culture represents freedom, and I think it's really worth looking at."

In response to the argument that American TV offers an excellent alternative to what is offered by state-run television in many countries, Landay conceded: "Anything is better than a tin pot dictator talking for hours to his minions."

Nonetheless, Landay emphasized his original point—that the commodities business has no place in communications. "Commodities traders deal with bellies and corn and soybeans. This is not that. This is the way we see the world. It is too important to be up for sale."

This is the way we see the world. It is too important to be up for sale.

Information Resource

Need information on grants, scholarships, and other funding opportunities? The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has a database accessible by telnet: info.acs.unc.edu. For details, e-mail hallman@unc.bitnet.
Logging On to the World
by Judy Huang

Political science professor and ACDIS faculty member Edward Kolodziej has developed a way to bring the world to his students' fingertips. Via computer keyboard, that is.

Using a Macintosh computer he received as a part of the Apple Strategic Development Grant Program, Kolodziej worked with library science graduate student Erik Johnson, who is the primary programmer at the Hypermedia Lab, to develop a computer program for his course, "Introduction to International Relations."

Kolodziej, who specializes in security policy, received the Apple award for his proposal to develop and test software that would provide students with self-taught, self-paced, computer interactive exercises to improve their "global literacy."

"Students we get, however well-trained they may be analytically, seem to have very shallow informational knowledge about states and foreign peoples," Kolodziej said. "And in the absence of having some idea of how these states look, where they are, their ethnic composition, and other gross demographic information, it's very difficult to begin making generalizations about international relations."

Kolodziej decided to address this problem by computer because computerized techniques present an efficient, effective way to teach basic information.

"I would never waste time in class to teach this, and it's not worth giving an exam on it," he said. "But this is a quick, easy way to teach them this stuff, and it covers all of it, instead of a random exam at the end. This way, students won't walk away with spotty knowledge about the map of the world and the demographic makeup of the world society."

The program teaches students about the geography and gross demographics of different countries through a series of self-correcting exams; and students are required to pass all of the exams with a score of ninety percent or better in order to pass the course.

The exams are organized into nine geographical regions, with a map of the region for each test. Students simply click on a particular country or capital that is demarcated on the map and then answer various questions about that state or capital.

The program is divided into two parts: the "nation-state" portion and the "demographics" portion. The nation-state part tests basic geographic knowledge concerning nearly one hundred and fifty states and about seventy-five capitals. Information is provided in the course materials, and students can study the material beforehand or even use it as they go through the exams.

"They can crib as much as they want," Kolodziej said. "The object is that they're forced essentially to have the material pass through their minds somehow, at least through their fingers and their eyes."

The demographics portion of the program involves more detailed information about the states, such as gross national product, per capita income, and ethnic composition. These exams differ from the basic nation-state exams because students get all of their information from the computer, instead of from the course materials.

Before giving the exam, the computer presents students with a series of multiple-choice questions about the countries' demographics. The program allows students to continue choosing answers until they pick the correct one. In this way students learn the information through the program. After going through all of the questions, the computer randomly tests the students on that information.

Kolodziej used this program as a part of his course curriculum for the first time last fall. Students enjoyed using the program because they could pace themselves and could take the exams at various campus locations whenever they chose. And because the exams are self-correcting and students are identified by social security number, Kolodziej was able to monitor student progress simply by checking from his computer.

The nation-state portion of the exam ran smoothly, according to Kolodziej. The demographics part, however, suffered some...
Logging On
(continued from page 4)

Professor Ed Kolodziej discussed with ACDIS News the software that has been developed to teach students global literacy.

Although the program is working perfectly, Kolodziej plans to continue developing more complex programs. “Maybe in a couple of years we’ll have them do simple exercises on balance of power because the computer is amenable to that,” he said. However, he noted, such a program would require a great deal of expertise, time, and money and it would depend upon whether such resources are available.

Kolodziej believes that such resources ought to be spent on developing sophisticated computerized techniques as learning devices. “The possibilities are limitless for developing programs that perform analytic functions and decisional processes,” he said. “The human mind simply cannot match the computer’s capacity for memory and cross-factor analysis.”

“We need to train students much more for the next century,” he added. “Of course, there are limits to what a computer can ultimately do, but the control of the future will be in those who control these decision-making programs.”

ACDIS Faculty

Political science professor Paul F. Diehl was one of fourteen UIUC faculty members to receive a University Scholar award for 1993. The University Scholars program recognizes outstanding faculty members by presenting financial awards to some of the university’s most talented scholars in various fields. The fourteen winners each received $6,000 for three years to support their academic endeavors. In addition, seven annual awards of $12,000 each for three years were given to senior faculty members.

Diehl, who specializes in the study of the causes of war, was recognized as one of the leading international relations scholars in the country and as an award-winning teacher. His latest book on international peacekeeping efforts, International Peacekeeping, was recently published by The Johns Hopkins University Press.


Arun P. Elhance, former associate faculty member, recently wrote an op-ed piece in the Chicago Tribune, in which he lobbied for the inclusion of India on the United Nation’s Security Council. Elhance is a co-director of the Program in International Peace and Security for the Social Science Research Council in New York.

Roger E. Kanet, Director of International Programs and Studies, organized a panel, “Developing Patterns in Russian Foreign Policy” and presented a paper, “Russia and the ‘Near Abroad,’” at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in Honolulu last November. Kanet also served as a participant on a round-table and a discussant on another panel at the meetings.
"By virtually banning the entry of foreign, professionally managed firms and by severely discouraging the growth of large Indian firms, the government ensured that no existing manufacturer would feel threatened by superior imports or the sudden investment in a large, modern plant by a rival Indian concern," Gupta explained. "In fact, no Indian firm felt it necessary to discard outmoded technology."

To protect itself, the new, small and medium manufacturing class early on established close connections with the different political parties, especially the Congress party, to ensure that these controls were continually reinforced.

"These connections were made through money," Gupta said. "All the political parties needed money, and the new bourgeoisie were only too glad to oblige."

"By 1974, the Indian economic system bore a remarkable resemblance to that of Germany under the fascists. It had the same overt hostility towards big business, the same elaborate regime of controls to curb the growth of big, professionally managed concerns, the same xenophobia towards foreign businesses, and the same autarchic determination to be self-reliant at any cost."

Given these characteristics, stability clearly depended upon the Congress' continued support of policies that would protect the bourgeoisie class. For a while the system remained protective, but the 1980s brought political developments that changed all of that.

Gupta described three events that she said shocked middle class voters into bringing three previously separate impulses into a single organized challenge to democracy. The first event, in 1985, involved a nine-month conflict in Gujarat over educational and job quotas that favored certain disadvantaged castes and tribes.

The second shock arose from a 1985 Supreme Court case in which the court awarded a Muslim woman a larger divorce settlement than had been fixed under Islamic law. In effect, it subordinated Muslim personal law to secular law. The orthodox Muslims saw this as an intolerable insult because the Supreme Court had put itself above God, Gupta explained.

To appease the Muslims, Congress adopted an amendment that would overturn the Supreme Court's ruling, placing Muslim personal law above challenge in any court of law. While this may have calmed the Muslim community, it inflamed the Hindu community. Together, the Gujarat agitation and the divorce case "set large numbers of Hindus wondering whether the democratic system was not inimical to their aspirations, if not an outright threat to them," Gupta said.

The third was a massive program of economic reform embarked upon in 1985. In one dramatic move, the government abolished many of the controls that had protected Indian businesses for nearly forty years, leading to a sudden increase in competition throughout industry.

These three developments worked to the advantage of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the main vehicle for Hindu nationalism in India. They strengthened the party by bringing together three groups: the BJP, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP).

"Although all three organizations have tried to maintain a facade of independence, this has fooled no one, because key members of both the BJP and the VHP are, or have been, members of the RSS," stated Gupta.

She went on to explain that these groups hoped to increase their support by wooing the conservative, right-center voters away from the Congress. They played on the Hindu nationalist undercurrent running through the country, and used the dispute over the Babri Mosque as a catalyst for mounting a challenge against the democratic system.

Beginning in 1988 the BJP and VHP coalition undertook a campaign to mobilize the Hindu population against the Muslims. "The entire movement fed on hatred," Gupta said. "It inflamed historical grievances, emphasized past humiliations by Muslims, and exhorted avenging prior wrongs."

The movement focused on a plan to tear down the Babri Mosque in Ayodhya and to rebuild in its place a Hindu temple. From 1988 to 1990 the BJP and VHP campaign to
India (continued from page 6)

begin construction on the temple led to clashes with police, riots, and deaths.

Meanwhile, by 1991, the BJP had garnered enough support to win 21 percent of the seats in the Parliament. More important, in Uttar Pradesh (U.P.), the state where Ayodhya is located, the BJP won a majority of the seats and formed the government.

Since the Congress no longer controlled U.P., it could not force compliance with a Supreme Court directive in July of 1992 that prohibited the building of a permanent structure at the Babri site until all appeals against such action were heard.

Leaders from the BJP, the VHP, and the RSS all agreed to abide by the directive and to perform only a symbolic ceremony on 6 December 1992. But the militant core of the VHP prevailed and on December 6 the mosque at last came down.

"Once news spread that the mosque was demolished, enraged Muslims took to the streets, damaging or desecrating a number of temples in several cities," Gupta said. "To quell them and prevent a huge Hindu backlash, the state authorities retaliated with unprecedented and unnecessary severity. Over the next week, 1,179 persons were killed, of whom perhaps three-quarters fell to police bullets."

The leaders of the BJP and RSS were aghast and insisted that there had been no conspiracy; and leaders of the VHP echoed these remarks, said Gupta.

"Within the Congress Party, Mr. Narasimha Rao immediately became the target of attack by people who believed he should have dismissed the U.P. government and declared President’s rule before December 6," she added.

To safeguard his position and to help the Muslim members of his party and government, Rao de-nounced the demolition as a betrayal of democracy by the U.P. government and dismissed them. He also banned Hindu fundamentalist groups, including the RSS and the VHP; and he dismissed the BJP governments in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Himachal Pradesh.

These drastic actions "made the BJP, the VHP, and the RSS appear to be martyrs in the eyes of as yet uncommitted middle voters," Gupta said. "And with the dismissal of the BJP state governments, the fascist challenge stood resurrected."

"That is where India stands today," Gupta explained. "The demolition of the mosque has killed for the foreseeable future any chance of the BJP presenting itself as a middle-right party prepared to work within the framework of secular democratic politics. It can now only make its bid for power as the party of Hindu revivalism."

"If its vote exceeds 30 percent, it will emerge as the largest single party in parliament. But even if this does not happen, and the BJP fails to form the government straightaway, India’s future as a secular democracy will become extremely uncertain."
ACDIS Bids Farewell to Director Sullivan

by Judy Huang

When ACDIS Director Jeremiah Sullivan came to the University of Illinois as an assistant professor in 1967, he planned to conduct research and teach classes in his field of expertise—high energy physics—which he did. He did not plan to develop expertise in the areas of arms control and security, or to serve as director of ACDIS for eight years. But he managed to do that as well.

Sullivan is glad that his career took this unexpected turn. As he prepares to retire as director on May 20, to spend a year as a visiting scholar at Harvard University, he looks back fondly on his years at ACDIS.

“I’ve enjoyed this immensely,” he said. “It has been a tremendous experience, and, as I’ve said on many occasions, I think I’ve had the best job on campus. I’m going to miss it.”

Officially, this job has been a halftime directorship, which Sullivan balanced with a full teaching load in the physics department. In actuality, the job has more closely resembled a full-time one, and was quite consuming, Sullivan said. “But it has been a tremendous broadening experience, which I wouldn’t trade for anything,” he added.

“The amount I’ve learned on the job about regions, geography, international politics, and domestic matters in countries around the world is just enormous,” he said. “I’ve had to learn a great deal.”

Jeremiah Sullivan (pictured right) has served as ACDIS director since 1986. This spring he stepped down and after a well deserved sabbatical year will resume his full-time position in the physics department.

“It’s been tremendously broadening for my physics teaching as well, because I’ve learned a lot about classical physics. When I teach physics now, I have a tremendous range of examples of applications that are timely.”

In addition to providing an incredible learning experience, being ACDIS director has also given Sullivan an invaluable opportunity to work with people from many departments and programs at the university.

“It’s fun to work with people who have different kinds of training and to learn how they approach problems,” he commented. “I count as my best friends people from a wide range of departments, and I value that highly. I’ve kept one foot in technology, but I’ve roamed very widely in other fields; and this job has made that possible.”

Sullivan’s involvement with ACDIS began even before he became director. In 1980, two years after the program came into being, he was recruited as a faculty...
ACDIS Workshop on Verification

Looking Beyond Peace
by Chetan Kumar and Neeraj Kaushal

News reports from around the world today are filled with talk of peace accords, confidence-building measures, and arms control agreements as the policy communities around the world seek to address the proliferation of conflict in the aftermath of the Cold War. Yet before the goals stated in these accords and agreements become reality, some fundamental issues remain to be settled. For instance, how will these accords be enforced? How will their implementation be monitored? Who will monitor them, and what technologies will be employed?

These were some of the issues addressed by the ACDIS Workshop on the Verification of Regional Arms Control and CBM Agreements, held on March 3, 1994. Participants in the workshop, which included teams from Sandia National Laboratory and Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL), presented information about a variety of technological systems currently in use and under development for use in confidence building.

The workshop revolved around the thesis that technological monitoring of accords and agreements can be just as successful at the regional level as it is at the bilateral and global levels. This theme is of significant interest to the members of the workshop who have been conducting research at ACDIS concerning the development of confidence-building measures and regimes in South Asia for the control of nuclear technology and other threats. Stephen P. Cohen, professor of history and political science at the University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign and director for this research, coordinated and chaired the workshop.

The workshop progressed in four sessions. The first session consisted of a summary of earlier ACDIS work on verification. Susan Burns, an ACDIS Visiting Project Coordinator for a Department of Energy (DOE) sponsored study, is revising and expanding a 1989–1990 research project conducted for Los Alamos National Laboratory on verifying regional arms control agreements in South Asia. Her presentation summarized the findings of the Los Alamos project and examined those characteristics of the Indo-Pak nuclear standoff in South Asia that differentiate it from other conflicts such as the Cold War superpower nuclear rivalry.

Burns also explored the implications of these differences for the development of effective nuclear verification regimes in South Asia. One of the most important conclusions of the Los Alamos project was that India and Pakistan should undertake confidence-building measures involving conventional weapons as a first line of defense against the use of nuclear weapons in a possible conflict.

The second session of the workshop, a series of presentations by the team from the Sandia labs, outlined the labs' verification projects and their current and possible future applications. Dr. Arian L. Pregenzer, manager of Sandia's Verification and Monitoring Analysis Department and leader of this Sandia team, provided a brief summary of Sandia's recent research into the development of verification technologies, including those with relevance for regional arms control agreements. She also provided initial details on a new Cooperative Monitoring Center, funded by the DOE's Office of Non-Proliferation Policy, where they will begin hosting visits this summer from arms control specialists from throughout the world.

The purpose of the center is to introduce these visitors to some of the new technologies that could be used to monitor compliance with regional arms control and environmental agreements. In addition to educating these visitors about verification technologies, the center will also attempt to promote greater communication between these experts by serving as a forum for international and regional collaboration on monitoring applications. Some of the hardware and software available for examination and evaluation at the center include magnetic sensors, infrared breakbeams, seismic sensors, and sensor field data.

Following Pregenzer's presentation, members of the Sandia team described applications of monitoring technologies used in the past, as well as possibilities for the future. Craig Dean, of Sandia's Command and Control Studies Department, explained the role that monitoring technolo-
gies played in assisting UN peacekeeping forces in their task of enforcing a cease-fire between Israel and Egypt following the 1973 war.

Kent Biringer and Larry Trost, of Sandia's Arms Control Studies Department, presented several scenarios for simulating regional cooperation in reaching arms control and verification agreements. These simulations provide the Center with a realistic framework for evaluating monitoring technologies, educate participants in the Center's programs about the various uses of technology in verifying agreements, and, hopefully, aid in evaluating the terms of potential agreements.

In each simulated scenario, researchers analyze key issues, including (1) the provisions of the potential agreements, (2) the agreement's degree of amenability to monitoring, (3) the goals of the conflicting parties, (4) the objectives of the monitoring procedures, (5) the nature of the phenomena that could be concretely monitored, (6) the degree of intrusiveness that might be permitted by the parties signing the accord, and, taking all of the above into consideration, (7) the realistic assessment of the various monitoring options available.

The simulations focus not just on military confidence-building measures, but also on regional cooperation on issues such as trade, finance, human rights, and culture. Measures currently being developed by Sandia include confidence-building technologies for resource-sharing, disaster relief, and pollution control in the nonmilitary domain, as well as nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, and strategic delivery systems in the military domain.

Biringer and Trost also discussed some of the software currently under development for use with the simulation of these scenarios. They displayed the CMC Workstation Demonstration Capability that models the interactions between electronic sensors and the movements of various objects of interest—such as tanks, jeeps, or, presumably, oil spills and radiation clouds—during the verification stage of a particular scenario.

Keith Nakanishi of Lawrence Livermore conducted the third session of the workshop. He discussed the uses of regional seismology for the purpose of confidence-building in South Asia. The value of such technology has been emphasized on several occasions when India expressed alarm that unverified "seismic events" in Pakistan's remote provinces could be nuclear tests. Seismic monitoring technologies that were specifically developed to detect nuclear signatures in these events could greatly improve the information each side has of the other's nuclear testing, thereby reducing secrecy and paranoia, and thus helping to raise the level of mutual confidence in the region.

The workshop concluded with a joint presentation by two members of the University of Illinois faculty, Jeremiah Sullivan, ACDIS director and professor of physics, and Paul F. Diehl, professor of political science. They discussed their new ACDIS research project on the Policy, Technology and Norms of Peacekeeping (PTNP).

PTNP will explore the role of advanced technology in fulfilling the monitoring requirements of peacekeeping operations conducted by the UN and other international organizations. Diehl described the difficulties in using such technology in an era when UN operations are no longer limited to keeping peace between parties that have reached an agreement, but often include bringing recalcitrant parties (frequently through coercion) to the negotiating table and sometimes involve restructuring entire states that have collapsed as a result of conflict. Sullivan suggested that although technology might not ease all of the UN's new burdens, the pace of technological development might make life considerably easier for future UN forces on the ground by facilitating better command and control of operations and by making it easier to detect military violations of accords and cease-fires.

Each presentation was followed by extensive discussion between the presenter and the invited participants. All of the participants expressed considerable satisfaction over the quality of the discussion that, although at times contentious, was replete with useful information. Above all, participants appreciated the effort ACDIS went to, to put together a useful workshop on what can be considered, given the current international climate, a very timely subject.
The Hidden Treasures of ACDIS

by Victor Lieberman

Scholars visiting the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign might be put off by the immense and geographically dispersed system that constitutes the University Library, the third largest academic library in the nation. But for faculty and students interested in peace and disarmament studies, this otherwise frightening situation is mediated somewhat by the more approachable ACDIS Library (on the third floor of Davenport Hall).

The collections of the ACDIS Library—officially a “reading room” as it is not a part of the U of I library system, but a “library” to all those who study and work here—can be broadly divided into three categories of materials: books, “gray literature,” and periodicals. The collection has grown over the years largely through gifts, exchanges with other organizations in the fields of peace and disarmament studies, and judicious purchase.

Faculty associated with ACDIS have been generous through the years, and our modest (though significant in many ways) collection of books attests to this continuing benevolent interest. The book holdings tend to reflect the research fields of the donors, contributing to the present emphasis on South Asian, Near East, and former Soviet Union material held by the library.

A unique component of the ACDIS Library is its “gray literature” holdings. This consists largely of newsletters; publications issued by ACDIS; and various occasional papers, reports, pamphlets, articles, and unpublished documents received by the ACDIS Library either through gift, exchange, or “AUMCs” (arrivals under mysterious circumstances). Whatever their genesis, we embrace them all, if only to establish a priority of claim in the event another suitor surfaces.

The importance of the gray literature collection is that it provides the library with flexibility in how it is able to handle and present material to its users, in some respects providing greater access than is available at larger collections (where the same material may be held, though handled differently). Items that might not be treated at all in a more traditional catalog of printed works (reprints, typescripts manuscripts, sections of larger works) or might not be treated at the piece level if part of a larger series or work, can be brought out and presented to the researcher in the general context of the library’s entire collection. Although the vertical/pamphlet file concept is hardly new to libraries, it has been put to good use at ACDIS.

A recent survey of the newsletter holdings in ACDIS revealed surprisingly little overlap with the University’s collection, or even with other library collections throughout the state of Illinois. Although this may be due more to lack of cataloging and participation in Illinois’ online library network (ILLINET), it nonetheless points to the limited accessibility of this type of material for scholars who are unfamiliar with other institutions and their “unreported” holdings.

These publications, although sometimes limited as to what they have to offer to the scholar of non-proliferation and arms control issues, provide a unique snapshot of the American and international peace movements through their reports of the activities and events of their sponsoring bodies.

Newsletters vary in the scope and depth of their coverage, from those limited to reporting calendars of events, classes and other news at their issuing organizations, to lengthier newsletters often containing in-

[Hidden Treasures, Continued on page 9]

Victor Lieberman worked in the ACDIS library during the 1993–94 academic year. He received his Master’s degree in Library and Information Science in August 1994.
Visiting scholar Neeraj Kaushal is already back in her native India, but this past spring she spent four months with ACDIS studying the relationship between defense and development in India.

Kaushal, a senior assistant editor for the Indian magazine Business Today, said she wanted to look at the Indian defense budget from an economic instead of political point of view—an outlook she said is sorely lacking in India. “There is very little work being done in India on the topic,” she said. “Defense is treated there as a sacred cow . . . no one wants to talk about it.”

She analyzed the defense budget to find excess expenditures, money that could be used instead for the development programs she sees as a necessity for India. One large area of waste she identified was the practice of buying armaments from the public sector instead of opening up the buying process to competing bidders from both the public and private sector. Many officials make deals through an “old-boys’ network” where familiarity breeds higher prices. She explained, “a uniform that would cost $100 in the market is sold to a friend for $200.”

Another area of the budget she suggested targeting is the very large Indian army, which she estimates at 1.25 million soldiers. Her recommendation would be to reduce the army by 25 percent, “more of a long-term solution,” resulting in an estimated savings of $700 million out of the almost $7 billion Indian defense budget. She felt that one way to accomplish this would be to limit the years that someone can serve, perhaps forcing retirement at age 35 or 40. “Officers could join the police or join other security forces. They should get a preference [over other applicants].”

One example of unwise procurement decisions being made in India is the recent decision to buy a second jet trainer for aircraft pilots at a cost of $2 billion, Kaushal said. “Many people said ‘we have one trainer, why do we need another?’ Everyone who wants to learn driving doesn’t go buy a car first.” But the defense lobby is very strong and the government has already okayed the transaction and budgeted for it, she said.

While in the United States, Ms. Kaushal also participated in a conference at the University of Notre Dame titled “Bombs, Carrots and Sticks: Economic Sanctions and Nuclear Non-Proliferation.” In a paper presented there, she argued that sanctions cannot force India to cut down its nuclear weapons program because it only hardens India’s political resolve to defy anti-proliferation efforts. “Diplomatic incentives may work, but there’s no certainty,” she said, adding that because India is a democracy, she believes that softer methods can increase perceptions in the electorate and parties that defiance of nonproliferation forces will make India’s position in the world community more difficult.

Kaushal is from Delhi and received her master’s degree from the Delhi School of Economics. Her research is being published as an ACDIS Occasional Paper.

ACDIS Visiting Project Coordinator Susan Burns has been something of a jack-of-all-trades in the academic world. For now, however, she has settled on studying issues related to nuclear proliferation in South Asia, particularly those involving India and Pakistan.

Burns, who only confesses to being “in kindergarten during the Cuban Missile Crisis,” began her career as an art major at
associate. Since that time, and particularly during his years as director, he has observed changes as well as consistent features in the program.

The main changes have been the growth of ACDIS and the different issues that the program addresses now. The program has grown in visibility both on campus and off. All of the UIUC colleges and most departments know about the program; and it is now recognized, along with programs at a number of elite universities, as one of the major national programs in the area of arms control and security.

Along with this greater visibility, the number of faculty has increased over the years from three founders in 1978 to seventeen faculty members and nineteen faculty associates and affiliates today. Likewise, the impact on students has increased as well. In addition to the undergraduate honors seminar, which has been offered each semester for over ten years, more teachers are referring students to ACDIS for advice and assistance.

The issues that are of interest to ACDIS obviously have changed with the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the former Soviet Union. Over the last several years, the problems of ethnicity and nationalism, related to transition to democracy and market economies, have become very important.

In addressing these new issues, the ACDIS approach has remained consistent over the years, Sullivan said. “The way ACDIS was defined from the beginning was such that the end of the Cold War didn’t require us to go through some massive redefinition of ‘who are we’ and ‘what are we.’ We were broad in the sense that we looked at regional issues and bilateral relationships and that reflects a great deal of foresight early on.”

“In fact, one of the things that’s made my job easier is that I didn’t have to wrestle with that issue. When I assumed the job of director there was a really good base of program goals, program philosophy, and program style already laid out.”

The basic philosophy of the program is that issues of security, international cooperation, and conflict resolution are not issues that any one discipline has the tools to address entirely, Sullivan said. The program is rooted in the idea that one needs to come at these problems from a variety of directions.

“The goals are to bring expertise, knowledge and analytical techniques to these problems of contemporary importance,” he added. “The particular problems have evolved, but the way one approaches them has not.”

Another consistency in the program has been the quality of faculty, staff, and students associated with it, Sullivan said.

“The students that are affiliated with the program continue to be some of the best students, those who are willing to try something unusual. What has changed is that the students we have now are more oriented toward professional careers in this area than was the case earlier.”

“That’s one of the good things we’ve done for students,” he added. “They see

Director of International Program and Studies and Associate Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, Roger E. Kanet, describes some of many innovations of the ACDIS program that were accomplished under the direction of Jeremiah Sullivan.

ACDIS Faculty and Visiting Scholars as well as the UIUC community honor Sullivan for a job well done.
through this program that they can put some of their knowledge to work in this area."

Sullivan said that ACDIS differs from some interdisciplinary programs in the caliber of faculty members it attracts.

"Sometimes interdisciplinary programs tend to attract people who are looking for some other home because they know they are underachieving in their base home," he explained. "But that's not the case here. One of the things that was present at the beginning, and that I've managed not to spoil, was that the faculty that got involved in the program, like the students, are not ones who are failing in their own disciplines. They are the best."

The same can be said about the ACDIS staff, Sullivan said. "I regard this as the most productive, efficient and capable office that I have seen on campus. We have terrific people who are enormously creative and productive, and that's helped the growth of the program also. I will certainly miss working with them, as well as with the faculty and students here."

Sullivan said he will also miss the special relationship with the university that he has had as director of ACDIS.

"This position has given me a unique window on the university, the administration, the departments and colleges, and a great understanding of how this place works," he explained. "I was able to see the cornucopia of exciting intellectual activities that are going on at this university all the time. I've been at Grand Central."

As much as Sullivan has enjoyed his years as director, he is also looking forward to the coming year, when he will take a well deserved sabbatical as a visiting scholar at the Center for Science and International Affairs at the Kennedy School of Government of Harvard University.

While there, he will write about defenses against intermediate range ballistic missiles, an issue that is beginning to emerge as an important question. "Not a great deal has been written about it yet, and I think that I have something significant I could contribute," he said.

Sullivan will also work on developing the reading lists and refining the content of two new technical seminars that he plans to teach when he returns to UIUC. The seminars will be taught in the same style as the ACDIS undergraduate seminar. One of the courses will be titled Science, Technology, and Economic Productivity, which is of great contemporary importance, he said. The other will be called Pathological Science, a novel course that will study the processes of checks and balances in scientific research by looking at case examples of when the system went off the rails.

He also plans to spend some time unifying his understanding of physics and the earth sciences, and he may develop a new undergraduate elective physics course incorporating earth sciences.

After his year at Harvard, Sullivan will return to teach full-time in the physics department; but his professional activities and research will remain in the general area of security, arms control, technology and policy.

He will also continue to be a full-fledged member of ACDIS, where he hopes to contribute to the program in new ways.

"I'm looking forward to Steve Cohen coming in as director," he said. "He is a very creative guy with a different style, and I have the deepest admiration and respect for him. He will generate new kinds of excitement here."

"I will have more time to do writing and thinking than I've had in the past eight years as an administrator, and I'm looking forward to that," he said. "I'm looking forward to doing things here that I haven't been able to do as director."

"The faculty that got involved in the program, just like the students. . . . They are the best."

Those of us at ACDIS who have had the pleasure of working with him thank him for his hard work and dedication and hope his sabbatical year is a satisfying and successful one.
Northern Illinois University (NIU), but dropped her studies after her first year. She returned as a major in evolutionary biology and animal behavior, but as she explained, there are scarcely more jobs in evolutionary biology than in art. After receiving her bachelor of science degree from NIU, Burns entered the wildlife-management program at Iowa State University but soon left: “I couldn’t deal with hunters.”

Ironically, dealing with people with weapons is exactly what Burns now studies. After writing about the Afghan war for a basic course in international relations, Burns became interested in South Asian politics and entered the master’s degree program in political science at the University of Illinois in 1988. During the course of her studies she did a paper on problems with U.S. foreign policy towards Pakistan for a course taught by Professor Stephen Cohen; impressed with her work he asked her to worked with him on a Department of Energy (DOE)–Los Alamos National Laboratory sponsored study to examine the technical and political aspects of verification methodology applicable to India and Pakistan.

Ms. Burns contributed two chapters to the resulting book, *Nuclear Proliferation in South Asia: The Prospects for Arms Control*. The first chapter dealt with arms-management policies, such as protecting nuclear facilities or even weapons from terrorists, malfunction, and attack—the latter to guarantee a country’s ability to respond to a first strike. Also covered in this chapter were crisis-prevention measures that could be undertaken, such as establishing hotlines and confidence-building measures between hostile powers. The second chapter detailed arms-limitation programs that could be implemented, such as prohibitions and restrictions on production and testing and various verification procedures used to monitor compliance with agreements and treaties.

In December 1993 Burns returned to ACDIS as a project coordinator to work on a new study sponsored by DOE and expand on her earlier research. Ms. Burns is collaborating with ACDIS faculty member Clifford E. Singer, professor of nuclear engineering at UIUC, on a study of the performance of the Indian nuclear power industry since the 1970s. She believes that if a more realistic picture of India’s civilian nuclear program can be drawn, the United States and other nations can pinpoint the areas they could target with offers of assistance or aid, “a carrot,” to influence India to open up its nuclear program to inspection. “If India is serious about using nuclear power for electricity, there might be a way to decrease India’s interest in developing nuclear weapons,” she said.

Ms. Burns is also currently looking into ways of reliably verifying non-weaponization agreements, in which India and Pakistan would keep nuclear warheads or materials separate from delivery vehicles such as aircraft or missiles. Unlike traditional proliferation control approaches, monitoring for this type of agreement would focus on the delivery vehicles, not nuclear facilities. For the future, Burns said she would like to look into ways that verification and monitoring methods can be used as confidence-building measures between hostile countries such as India and Pakistan.

Ms. Burns has been invited to send two months this winter at Sandia National Laboratory where she will continue her work on South Asia verification issues. When she’s not thinking about nuclear proliferation in South Asia, Burns paints watercolors, plays softball or baseball, and takes care of her two cats. ■
The following is a selected list of recent acquisitions that are now available in the ACDIS Library.


The ACDIS Library subscribes to approximately forty serial publications, with an almost equal number of serials and newsletters coming in as gifts or exchanges.

Hidden Treasures (continued from page 4)

depth articles relating to security and arms control issues, or including topical bibliographies and reviews. The ACDIS collection is especially rich in materials dating from the mid-eighties to the present.

The ACDIS Library subscribes to approximately forty serial publications, with an almost equal number of serials and newsletters coming in as gifts or as part of exchange relationships set up between ACDIS and the sponsoring body. ACDIS publishes its quarterly Swords and Plowshares, its Occasional Papers Series, and this newsletter.

The library is staffed by one part-time graduate student from the University's School of Library and Information Science and a part-time undergraduate assistant. Recently, the library has also benefited from the industrious part-time efforts of another student from the library school, who is assisting with cataloging our ample, though we believe to be diminishing, cataloging backlog of library materials.
ACDIS Establishes Foundation Gift Account: Friends of ACDIS

The Program in Arms Control, Disarmament, and International Security (ACDIS) at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign announces the establishment of **Friends of ACDIS**, an account with the University of Illinois Foundation. Contributions to the account will be used to further the teaching, research, and public education activities of the program.

Founded in 1978, the ACDIS program has grown to become a leading academic center in the field of security, arms control, and conflict resolution. Program faculty are drawn from the physical sciences, social sciences, humanities, media studies, and area studies. ACDIS graduates may be found in government, in public policy centers, in the media, and in academic institutions working on a wide range of peace and security issues of contemporary importance.

Contributions should be designated “UIF-Friends of ACDIS” and may be sent directly to UI Foundation, Harker Hall, MC-386, 1305 West Green Street, Urbana, IL 61801 (217 333-0810). Gifts designated for specific program activities are also welcomed. All contributions are tax deductible.

---

ACDIS Faculty

ACDIS faculty member and professor of history and Jubilee Professor of Liberal Arts and Sciences, **Paul W. Schroeder**, has published *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848* in the Oxford History of Modern Europe series of the Oxford Press.

**Stephen P. Cohen**, ACDIS faculty member and the new director, traveled to Nathiagali, Pakistan, in May for the second annual South Asian Summer School in Arms Control. Directed by Chris Smith of the Centre for Defence Studies, King’s College, and coordinated by Cohen the summer school brings together young academicians, journalists, and government officials from India, Pakistan, and China to study and discuss nuclear proliferation, arms control, and confidence building measures in South Asia.

Five ACDIS faculty members were listed in the incomplete list of teachers ranked as excellent by their students for fall semester 1994: **David Goodman** for Asian Studies 225; **Peter Fritzsche** for History 478; **Mark Leff** for History 362 and 350; **Paul Diehl** for Political Science 386; and **Carol Leff** for Political Science 440 and 335. Congratulations!

---

ACDIS Students

**Piper Hodson**, former ACDIS Librarian and political science graduate student, has been awarded a 1994–95 Hubert H. Humphrey Doctoral Fellowship by the US Arms Control and Disarmament agency (ACDA) for research on her dissertation, entitled "Framing Proliferation: Insights from Prospect Theory." Ms. Hodson expects to use the award to conduct interviews with academicians and policy makers in India and Pakistan.

Two ACDIS graduate students were listed on the incomplete list of teachers ranked as excellent by their students for fall semester 1994: **Richard Leitch** for Asian Studies 150; and **Jeff Roberg** for Political Science 280.
"Old" Friends


Paul has accepted a one-year position as an assistant professor in the Department of Politics at Lake Forest College for AY 1994-94.

Tamara Resler, a former ACDIS Fellow and MacArthur scholar, has accepted a tenure-track position at the University of Wyoming beginning fall of 1994. She works in the areas of Soviet/post-Soviet politics and ethnonationalism, and her dissertation examines ethnic minority rights in Russia, Ukraine, and Lithuania. She has an article on "Foreign Influence on National Minority Rights" in the summer 1994 issues of Swords and Ploughshares.

Major Thomas A. Wuchte, U.S. Army, a former graduate student in political science and ACDIS associate, has been assigned to the Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Wuchte, an Army Corps of Engineer officer and Foreign Area Officer, recently had an article, "Military Construction in Russia," published in The Military Engineer.

Occasional Paper Series

Requests for ACDIS Occasional Papers should be directed to the ACDIS editor, please refer to the publication number when ordering. Recent issues include:

Schroeder, Paul
"A Historian's Perspective of the New World Order"
May 1994
(ACDIS SCH:3.1994).

Faklaris, Cori
"Power of the Womb: The Relationship between Population Strategies and the Status of Women"
July 1994
(ACDIS FAK:1.1994).

Waslaker, Sundeep
"Abolishing Nuclear Weapons: Rajiv Gandhi Plan Revisited"
July 1994
(ACDIS WAS:2.1994).

Wuchte, Thomas A.
"Nuclear Weapons Storage in Russia: A Cooperative Approach to International Security in the 1990s"
August 1994
(ACDIS WUC:1.1994).

ACDIS News is always interested in where you are and what you are doing. Please keep us informed. Send information on yourself or a colleague to:

ACDIS News Editor
Program in Arms Control, Disarmament, and International Security
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
330 Davenport Hall, 607 S. Mathews
Urbana, IL 61801

or

Internet: acdis@uiuc.edu
Fax: 217-244-5157