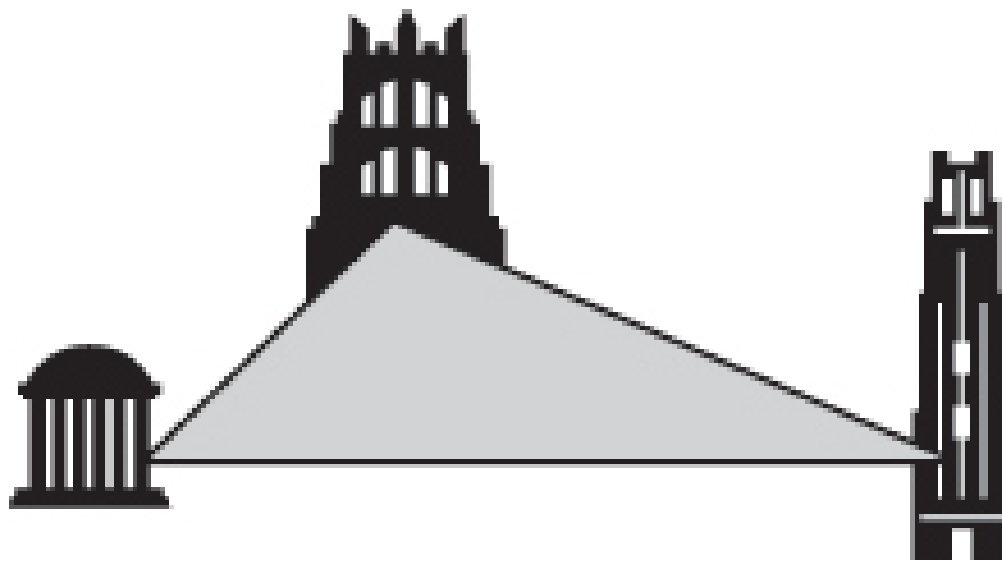


*Fifty Years of Interdisciplinary Scholarship:
A Brief History of the
Triangle Institute for Security Studies*



Frank A. Blazich, Jr.

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This history was originally intended as a concise, ten-page treatment of the organization's key accomplishments and transformations from decade to decade. Over the course of a year, this has grown with every new interview and the discovery of forgotten documents and publications. Special thanks are given to Dr. Richard H. Kohn, Dr. Alex Roland, and Dr. Carolyn Pumphrey. Together these three historians have acted as an editorial trident to ensure no stone was left unturned. Dr. Pumphrey in particular has been my tireless chief editor and allowed me unlimited access to the files held in the TISS archives in the organization's office at Duke University.

Special thanks are owed to all the individuals who generously allowed me to interview them for this history. In no particular order, Professors Joseph Caddell, Raymond H. Dawson, Robin Dorff, Peter Feaver, John Gilbert, Irving B. Holley, Ole Holsti, Richard H. Kohn, James Leutze, Alex Roland, Samuel R. Williamson, and Russel Van Wyk. Furthermore, thanks are given for their editorial comments, research suggestions, and encouragement in documenting the organization's work for the next fifty years.

Personal thanks are given to Dr. Nancy Mitchell and my sister, Dr. Joan M. Blazich for their advice, humor, and review of this manuscript and the author's plan of action. Dr. Mitchell recommended that I be given the chance to research and write this history. My sister, while working on her own book, has shared many a warm moment during long writing sessions late at night, commiserating gaps in the historical records, and celebrating the joys of completion.

Lastly, thanks must go to the many members of DUNC, TUSS, and TISS, who are not here with us today. Let this book stand as a witness to their contributions to the field of security studies.

FOREWORDS

Frank Blazich has done a fine job of drawing out the story of how an idea, or better said, a simple custom at Duke grew into what we called DUNC, pronounced “dunce,” a cooperative effort between the Duke History Department and the UNC Political Science Department. In those days the prevailing relationship between the two universities was one of rivalry, not cooperation. I remember attending a football game in the Duke stadium during which some jokesters from UNC flew over in a light plane and tossed out sky blue slips of paper with some jibe about “Dook.” Our cooperative effort between the two schools led us into a most friendly and productive relationship.

As Frank has shown, the initial association was exceedingly informal. We had no official membership and no officers. We just met. Usually two or three of us from each school would get together over lunch and plan an upcoming meeting. We had no real agenda. Usually one of us would offer to present a paper as a trial run for one we expected to deliver at a professional association meeting some time later. The critical response this evoked from faculty and graduate students present was always useful in helping the speaker perfect his pitch.

Frank starts his tale with DUNC, but there was actually a pre-history before DUNC. About once a month Ted Ropp and I would meet with a group of military graduate students in the old History Department seminar room in the Allen Building and discuss the work these students were doing, sometimes on a term paper, sometimes on a dissertation in progress. It was fun and productive. It was only after this custom had gone on for some time that Ted Ropp had the excellent notion of proposing a collaboration with UNC.

Don't blame Frank for missing this prehistory, it was my fault. About twenty years ago a young man from UNC came to me and asked if I had any records of our early collaboration that might be useful in preparing some sort of history. I dug up a fat folder filled with notes I had made of our informal planning sessions and our meeting with students. I confess I forgot all about that file. I am now at age 90 the only individual still living from the original group. My memory is hazy and I do not think anything came of the projected history.

Although we certainly had no long range plan, as Frank has shown, the DUNC group gradually evolved into a more formal organization. There were officers and committees. On occasion we had some funding, just barely enough to offer an honorarium to a visiting speaker, money we were able to get some dean or other official at one of the universities to give us. From these modest beginnings our organization grew into TUSS with wider objectives and still more formal structures. When we started seeking funding from foundations and the like in a sense we lost some of our control, for they began to shape our direction. And now the organization has grown into an institution. It has staffing and funding.

One insight should not be lost. Many of the papers and larger studies produced had considerable merit but never had the impact their merits warranted. As Frank brings out in his account of the Civil-Military Gap Project, the resort to aggressive briefings to bring results to the attention of policy-makers brought results, not only national attention but also influencing decision-makers. This is an idea to be pushed aggressively.

Professor I.B. Holley, Jr.
18 February 2009

Durham, North Carolina

It is humbling to serve as the Director of TISS during TISS's fiftieth anniversary. It is also a profound honor, for this is an organization that has a proud history and continues to play a special role on the local, regional, national, and even international stage.

The story told in these pages is the story of a community of scholars growing up alongside each other, enriching each other's understanding of the challenges and opportunities we collectively face, and sharpening each other's scholarly contributions to the debates on the most important issues of the day.

The strength of TISS has always been our diverse membership. We are one of the few organizations in the security studies world with such a rich tradition history, especially military history, and cross-disciplinary dialogue (and, yes, debate) has always been a TISS distinctive. TISS has active members with disciplinary backgrounds across the humanities, social sciences, and even the natural/physical sciences. And, of course, TISS members have served the country in a variety of positions, in uniform and out of uniform, in Democratic Administrations and in Republican Administrations, in the executive branch and the legislative branch, and in myriad positions in the media, the business world, and the academy.

Our organization further reflects the diversity of our member institutions. To my knowledge, we are the only research consortium consisting of a private school, a flagship state university, and a flagship land-grant state university. And our other core membership from local colleges and the region's fine historically black colleges and universities further adds to the rich mosaic. Different home institutions have different strengths and different emphases. TISS gets the benefit of all of them and our regional breadth and depth gives us a profile like none other.

I hope reading this story will give you a deeper appreciation for this special organization. And I hope the next 50 years of TISS' story is as rewarding as the first 50 years.

Professor Peter D. Feaver, TISS Director
22 February 2009

Durham, North Carolina

PART I

The Beginnings: 1950s to 1970s

In 1958, professors at Duke and UNC joined forces to create the Duke University – University of North Carolina National Security Policy Seminar (DUNC). Duke history professors Theodore Ropp, Irving B. Holley, and Harold Parker collaborated with Fred Lane of the Army Research Office, Durham, (AROD) and political scientist Robert H. Connery. At UNC, political scientists Shepard Jones, Andrew Scott, Keener C. Frazer, and Raymond Dawson joined with historian Robin Higham to bind the group together.¹ Higham, then an assistant professor of history at UNC, was the first executive secretary of the seminar, primarily to arrange the meetings.² The security seminar concept came into existence between 1957 and 1958. The first six regular and “various ad hoc meetings” were held in the 1958 – 1959 academic year.³

These early gatherings centered on informal interdisciplinary discussions. The meetings averaged one and a half hours in length. Planning for the meetings would take place over lunch, noted Holley, generally focusing on an upcoming paper, current event, or new publication.⁴ Summary papers of research in progress were presented by faculty to audiences of twenty to thirty fellow faculty, graduate students, military personnel, and interested

¹ Irving B. Holley, interview by author, Durham, NC, 5 May 2008; Raymond H. Dawson, interview by author, Chapel Hill, NC, 10 April 2008; Gene M. Lyons and Louis Morton, *Schools for Strategy: Education and Research in National Security Affairs* (New York: Praeger, 1965), 169. Dr. Holley gave the author a list of these eight names and stated they were the founders of the group. The four “main” people from the exact beginning appear to be Ropp and Holley from Duke, Scott and Jones from UNC. The origins of the organization have been largely reconstructed from oral interviews. Two sources have been found to resolve several issues, but unfortunately some discrepancies in evidence are unlikely to be resolved. Higham was an Assistant Professor of History at UNC from 1957 to 1963 before he accepted a position in the history department at Kansas State University.

² Lyons and Morton, *Schools for Strategy*, 169; Robin Higham to Mark Thompson, letter, 27 January 1990, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC; Curriculum Vitae for Robin Higham, 1990, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

³ Theodore Ropp, “Duke University – University of North Carolina National Security Policy Seminar,” *Military Affairs* vol. 27, no. 1 (Spring 1963): 8.

⁴ Irving B. Holley, interview by author, Durham, NC, 5 May 2008.

civilians. The seminar was structured with a chairman and secretary chosen by a policy committee, consisting of one member from the departments of political science and history at each university.⁵ Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) staff did not serve on the policy committee, but provided advice to the committee and participated in the seminar discussions.⁶ Typically, the Navy ROTC commanders attended the talks at the campuses, in addition to the many military officers earning masters or PhDs at Duke and UNC, beginning in the 1960-1961 academic year.⁷

The talks alternated between campuses. Duke talks met in the Allen Building (home of the history department), while UNC talks met in Caldwell Hall (home of the political science department). These informal meetings occasionally featured distinguished visitors and speakers, including Lieutenant General James M. Gavin, Michael Howard, Henry Kissinger, Louis Morton, and Harry H. Ransom. Funding for speakers was occasionally provided by the universities, but the seminar normally operated without an established budget.⁸ In Durham, on 12 April 1961, the first conference for DUNC, a joint endeavor with the Air Force Historical Foundation, was conducted on air power history. The one-day symposium featured papers by USAF Captain Thomas Hickam of Air University ("The USAF and the Occupation of Germany, 1945-1955"), University of Colorado Professor Howard L. Scamehorn ("American Air Transport and Airpower Doctrine in World War II"),

⁵ Representatives from the departments of economics at both universities were originally intended to serve on the committee, but this desire by Ropp never materialized. Records of these early chairmen and secretaries have not been located.

⁶ Ropp, "Duke – North Carolina National Security Policy Seminar," 8.

⁷ Raymond H. Dawson, interview by author, Chapel Hill, NC, 10 April 2008. Dr. Dawson noted there was one Air Force officer studying at Duke, but that Dr. Ropp began to have Air Force officers study military history under him in the 1961-1962 period. Ropp's first student in military history, Jay Luvaas, took his PhD in 1956.

⁸ Ropp, "Duke – North Carolina National Security Policy Seminar," 8. Gavin and Howard were the first two DUNC guest speakers, speaking in the 1958 – 1959 academic year. Source: Lyons and Morton, *Schools for Strategy*, 169.

and Douglas Robinson, M.D. (“The Zeppelin Bomber – High Policy Guided by Wishful Thinking”).⁹

The foundation of DUNC lay in its interdisciplinary discussion sessions, focusing on building interest in extracurricular scholarship for graduate students. Holley recalled the sessions as “wonderful mechanism[s] for trying out a paper” before publication. DUNC, he said, was a nursery for scholarly products, some of which had a real impact on the armed forces. Additionally, DUNC produced “a catalytic effect... pushing us into all kinds of assignments.”¹⁰ Higham stressed in a 1997 interview how much he enjoyed the monthly discussions of papers, “which brought together military historians and buffs.” He further acknowledged how he “made lots of contacts that would further my writing and editing of military history.”¹¹

Another benefit of DUNC was that graduate students from Duke and UNC came to attend classes at each other’s institution. UNC students studied under Ropp and Duke students enrolled in Dawson’s Political Science 149: Policy and National Security course.¹² For Ropp, DUNC allowed members the ability to “submit their ideas in their formative stages to informed and helpful criticisms from members trained in other disciplines. The line between political science and history is quite unclear. Such criticism, for this reason, can be very stimulating.”¹³ The joint university seminar was recognized as a successful and distinct oasis of interdisciplinary scholarship in the United States. In Gene Lyons and Louis Morton’s book, *Schools for Strategy*, DUNC was proclaimed as “the only academic effort in

⁹ “Air Power Symposium,” *Military Affairs* vol. 25, no. 1 (Spring 1961): 54.

¹⁰ Irving B. Holley, interview by author, Durham, NC, 5 May 2008.

¹¹ Robin Higham, interview by Roger Adelson, Manhattan, KS, September 1997.

¹² Raymond H. Dawson, interview by author, Chapel Hill, NC, 10 April 2008. Dawson noted that PoliSci 149 was first offered in the spring of 1961 and was then the *only* course at UNC “that had anything to do with national security.”

¹³ Ropp, “Duke – North Carolina National Security Policy Seminar,” 9.

the field [security studies] conducted jointly by two large universities, and it is the only program in the South.”¹⁴

DUNC’s development was boosted by two international events: the launch of Sputnik and the Vietnam War. The Soviet Union’s successful deployment of the world’s first man-made satellite in 1957 led to the passing of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (NDEA). A number of NDEA fellows studied at UNC and Duke and NDEA money funded the teaching position at UNC for Dawson. Dawson observed that the NDEA stirred interest for DUNC in the UNC political science department, but not necessarily in the history department.¹⁵ In 1968, Dawson was appointed Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and the General College. The same year, James R. Leutze joined the history department, having just received his PhD from Duke in military and diplomatic history.¹⁶

Nationwide, the shock of the Tet Offensive in Vietnam in January 1968 altered the public’s perceptions of the U.S. military effort in Southeast Asia. Protests calling for the removal of the U.S. Navy and U.S. Air Force ROTC programs from the university gripped the UNC campus. The Navy ROTC unit at UNC was the largest in the country, only the U.S. Naval Academy commissioning more officers. Dawson was opposed to abolishing it. But, as he said, “just being opposed to it wasn’t going to end the matter.”¹⁷ Dawson, in response to the protests to the ROTC programs, organized a committee on 19 April 1969 to “investigate the accreditation of ROTC courses and programs at Chapel Hill and matters relevant thereto.”¹⁸ History professor George Taylor, philosophy professor E. Maynard Adams,

¹⁴ Lyons and Morton, *Schools for Strategy*, 168.

¹⁵ Raymond H. Dawson, interview by author, Chapel Hill, NC, 10 April 2008.

¹⁶ Ibid.; James R. Leutze, interview by author, Raleigh, NC, 14 May 2008.

¹⁷ Raymond H. Dawson, interview by author, Chapel Hill, NC, 10 April 2008.

¹⁸ George V. Taylor, “Report of the Committee on Accreditation of ROTC Courses and Programs to the Administrative Boards of the General College and the College of Arts and Sciences,” (hereafter known as

sociology professor M. Richard Cramer, Paul deWitt, the midshipman commander of the NROTC Midshipman's Regiment, and Class of 1970 YMCA President Joseph Shedd comprised the committee. "It was a good committee. This was a very bright group of people, and they did a magnificent job," remembered Dawson.¹⁹

The committee's work, during a period of great uncertainty and disagreement with the federal government's policies, recommended several notable changes for ROTC at UNC. The committee agreed that "officer training...is not inadmissible in universities, but it differs significantly from all other programs, and its special character requires universities to consider with some care what place it should have in a scheme of higher education."²⁰ The committee's report, on 18 December 1969, recommended that "the university establish...a Curriculum on War and Defense for the purpose of studying war, militarism, defense, and associated problems from within the methodologies and perspectives of philosophy and the social sciences."²¹ The study of war as a social and moral phenomenon had been slighted by the academic community, and the committee believed the university "should take the lead in studying war and militarism as social problems and in preparing students for a profession which sometimes involves the use of force in society."²² The ROTC programs were to be continued, and ROTC subsequently fully integrated into the university academic community through the new curriculum. Maynard Adams, in particular, noted Leutze, was "a very forceful advocate for the whole concept, which I think is a very interesting and admirable thing." "I think Chapel Hill made the right decision," added Leutze, when, "instead of

"Taylor Report") 18 December 1969, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC, pg. 1, Curriculum on Peace, War, and Defense archives, Chapel Hill, NC.

¹⁹ Raymond H. Dawson, interview by author, Chapel Hill, NC, 10 April 2008.

²⁰ "Taylor Report," pg. 14, Curriculum on Peace, War, and Defense archives, Chapel Hill, NC.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pg. 32.

²² *Ibid.*, pg. 15.

saying ‘we’re going to divorce ourselves,’ they said instead, ‘let’s see if we can contribute to turning out more well-rounded officers who have a better understanding of the issues relating to peace and war.’²³

The University Faculty Council reviewed the committee’s recommendations in the spring of 1970. During the council meeting of 6 March 1970, anthropology professor John Honigmann proposed adding “Peace” to the title of the curriculum, a change which was passed by the Faculty Council.²⁴ On 9 April 1970, the Faculty Council adopted the revised “Taylor Report” for the Curriculum in Peace, War, and Defense (PWAD) to begin in the fall semester of 1971. Dean Dawson then managed to get state funding for a new position, the Director of PWAD and secretarial support as well; these funds were crucial in providing an office to support inter-university cooperation.²⁵

Since this time, PWAD and TISS have enjoyed a mutually supportive relationship. From the start, TISS benefited from the presence of a lively and interdisciplinary program on the UNC campus which brought in faculty members and undergraduates deeply interested in the study of war and peace and international security. DUNC members at UNC and Duke directly and indirectly assisted PWAD in its development, ensured that high-quality and viable Navy and Air Force ROTC programs continued on the UNC campus, and brought in a continual stream of speakers to the Triangle.

A search committee to find a director for PWAD began after the curriculum was approved. Adams acted as temporary director until the position was filled. In the fall of 1971, historian Samuel R. Williamson, then at Harvard, was interviewed for the position by

²³ James R. Leutze, interview by author, Raleigh, NC, 14 May 2008.

²⁴ Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Faculty Council Held on Friday, March 6, 1970, 4 PM in Murphey Hall, Founding Documents Folder, Curriculum on Peace, War, and Defense archives, Chapel Hill, NC.

²⁵ Samuel R. Williamson, email with author, Sewanee, TN, to Raleigh, NC, 6 February 2009.

Dawson, and he became the first director on 1 July 1972.²⁶ The position entailed directing PWAD, but also being a professor in the UNC Department of History.²⁷ One of Williamson's first tasks was to work with the various military branches to establish the new curriculum and establish the relationships necessary for PWAD to succeed. The U.S. Navy and U.S. Marine Corps accepted the PWAD curriculum without issue. Unfortunately, protracted negotiations with the U.S. Air Force, in particular the Alternate Curriculum Agreement (which proposed four civilian-taught and four Air Force courses as part of the PWAD program), as recommended in the Taylor Report, and the university's insistence upon a fourth elective in the senior year for cadets, curtailed the implementation of the curriculum. An interim agreement between the Air Force and PWAD was reached in December 1971, to be reevaluated in the 1974 – 1975 academic year.²⁸

By 1975, the Air Force sought to end the agreement regarding the Alternative Curriculum Agreement as reached in 1971. A long, painful, and arduous negotiation process reached an apex in November 1975, when Chancellor Taylor, Williamson, Adams, and Dean James Gaskin went to Maxwell Air Force Base in Montgomery, Alabama, and met with Lt. General Raymond B. Furlong, the Air University Commander, and Air Force ROTC Commandant Brigadier General James Brickel to reach an agreement. Williamson asked the Air Force officials to allow the Alternate Curriculum Program for PWAD to continue, but

²⁶ Williamson was formally offered the appointment as Associate Professor of History and Director of the Curriculum in Peace, War, and Defense on 3 February 1972. Source: Raymond H. Dawson to Samuel R. Williamson, Jr., letter, 3 February 1972, Folder – Correspondence, General, 1972 – 1974, 1976 – 1978, Curriculum in Peace, War and Defense papers, University Archives, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC, Box 1.

²⁷ Samuel R. Williamson, interview by author via telephone, Sewanee, TN, to Raleigh, NC, 2 May 2008.

²⁸ Chancellor J. Carlyle Sitterson to Brigadier General B.B. Cassidy, Jr., letter, 3 December 1971; Samuel F. Wells, Jr. to E. Maynard Adams, memorandum, 24 February 1971; Dean Raymond H. Dawson to Brigadier General B.B. Cassidy, Jr., letter, 19 April 1971; Brigadier General B.B. Cassidy, Jr. to Dean Raymond H. Dawson, letter, 6 May 1971; Lt. Col. Paul E. Smith to Dean Raymond H. Dawson, memorandum, 2 June 1971, Folder – Correspondence: Aerospace Studies/AFROTC, 1967 – 1968; 1971, Curriculum in Peace, War and Defense papers, University Archives, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC, Box 1.

General Furlong and Brickel both expressed their disapproval, and hinted that they would recommend the discontinuation of the Air Force ROTC program at the university.²⁹ Following the intervention of North Carolina Congressman Lawrence H. Fountain in December 1975, and briefings to the Secretary of the Air Force and Secretary of Defense, and the help of DUNC founder, Air Force Reserve Major General Irving B. Holley at Duke, both sides were able to overcome the previous rancor and renegotiate.³⁰ In February 1976, Williamson and Leutze met with Air Force officials at Air University and finally reached an agreement between PWAD, UNC, and the Air Force.³¹ Chancellor Taylor signed the new memorandum of agreement between the two parties on 11 March 1976.³² The foundation of PWAD was finally complete.

Williamson arrived as the UNC history department moved into the newly constructed Hamilton Hall. Opened in 1972, Hamilton seemed to Williamson to be “two pillboxes held together by an elevator shaft.” He and PWAD secretary Lorraine Wagor occupied adjoining offices on the fourth floor (as they remain to this day). The offices provided DUNC with

²⁹ Memorandum for Record on Meeting between the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and Air University, 6 November 1975, Folder – Correspondence, Aerospace Studies/AFROTC, 1975, Curriculum in Peace, War and Defense papers, University Archives, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC, Box 1.

³⁰ Holley was serving his active duty commitment to the Air Force at Air University while the negotiations were in progress in the fall of 1975 and after discussion with Williamson agreed to “sound out the terrain” at Air University on UNC’s behalf. Samuel R. Williamson, Jr. to Chancellor N. Ferebee Taylor, letter, 25 June 1975; Memorandum for record of telephone conversation between I.B. Holley and Samuel R. Williamson, 19 November 1975, Folder – Correspondence, Aerospace Studies/AFROTC, 1975, Curriculum in Peace, War and Defense papers, University Archives, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC, Box 1.

³¹ James R. Leutze, interview by author, Raleigh, NC, 14 May 2008; Major General James R. Brickel to Samuel Williamson, letter and attached memorandum of items discussed, 11 February 1976, Folder – Correspondence, Aerospace Studies/AFROTC, 1975, Curriculum in Peace, War and Defense papers, University Archives, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC, Box 1.

³² Chancellor N. Ferebee Taylor to Major General James R. Brickel, letter, 11 March 1976, Folder – Correspondence, Aerospace Studies/AFROTC, 1975, Curriculum in Peace, War and Defense papers, University Archives, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC, Box 1. Major General Brickel signed the memorandum of agreement on behalf of the Secretary of the Air Force on 3 March 1976.

“some sort of locus of organization,” noted Williamson.³³ PWAD brought acting Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Elmo Zumwalt to UNC in the fall of 1972 to speak to the campus body on supporting the curriculum. In 1973 and 1974, Williamson and physicist Albert Carnesale of North Carolina State University (NCSU) in Raleigh held arms control seminars at UNC. General Royal B. Allison, chief Air Force negotiator at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), spoke at these seminars, as did other senior U.S. officials.³⁴ Other notable PWAD speakers from 1972 to 1980 included Chalmers Roberts, Chief Diplomatic Correspondent of *The Washington Post*, Congressman Les Aspin, Air Force Major General Robert White, Cambridge University professor Jonathan Steinberg, Walter Lafeber, and Dr. Benjamin Spock.³⁵ DUNC members were also able to hear these speakers and, in turn, helped Williamson stabilize and strengthen the PWAD curriculum.³⁶ Leutze succeeded Williamson as PWAD director in 1978.³⁷

In the mid-seventies, DUNC began to expand its membership to include faculty outside of Duke and UNC. Leading DUNC faculty reached out to scholars from NCSU and North Carolina Central University (NCCU) in Durham. “As we broadened our reach, it invigorated the organization,” Leutze noted. “We had a...different concept, more ideas, more...points of view, more suggestions as far as programs and other things.”³⁸ Also, DUNC

³³ Samuel R. Williamson, interview by author via telephone, Sewanee, TN, to Raleigh, NC, 2 May 2008.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ UNC Archives, Academic Affairs: Curriculum in Peace, War and Defense, “An Inventory to the Records of the Curriculum in Peace, War and Defense in the University Archives, UNC-CH,” July 1986, pg. 3, PWAD Records Folder, Curriculum on Peace, War, and Defense archives, Chapel Hill, NC.

³⁶ Samuel R. Williamson, interview by author via telephone, Sewanee, TN, to Raleigh, NC, 2 May 2008.

³⁷ UNC Archives, Academic Affairs: Curriculum in Peace, War and Defense, “An Inventory to the Records of the Curriculum in Peace, War and Defense in the University Archives, UNC-CH,” July 1986, pg. 1, PWAD Records Folder, Curriculum on Peace, War, and Defense archives, Chapel Hill, NC.

³⁸ James R. Leutze, interview by author, Raleigh, NC, 14 May 2008.

began to expand to engage in more outreach activities and to organize wider ranging conferences.³⁹ The only element missing from this expansion was the addition of funds.

In October 1977, David E. Bell, Executive Vice President of the Ford Foundation in New York City contacted UNC Chancellor N. Ferebee Taylor. The foundation identified UNC and Duke as institutions with scholars “in the field of international security and arms control” who might want to apply for a small grant to support research in either area.⁴⁰ On 2 November 1977, a small group met at Duke to discuss the feasibility of the foundation’s invitation.⁴¹ The two universities each organized a steering group to identify possible research areas. In a letter to various DUNC members at UNC, then Dean Williamson noted that the Ford invitation might offer a unique chance for UNC and Duke to adopt a cooperative approach in seeking a sizable grant.⁴²

The DUNC membership quickly prepared a proposal and submitted it to the foundation on 30 December 1977.⁴³ Titled “Proposal to Ford Foundation to Establish the Duke – UNC International Security Studies Program,” Joseph Kruzel, Joel L. Fleishman, and Robert W. Hughes on behalf of Duke, and by Samuel F. Wells, Jr., Samuel R. Williamson, Jr., and George R. Holcomb, representing UNC, submitted the document. The proposal

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ David E. Bell to Nelson F. Taylor, letter, 20 October 1977, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁴¹ Attending from Duke: Greg Fischer, I.B. Holley, Ole Holsti, Bruce Kuniholm, Theodore Ropp, Joseph Kruzel, Chancellor Kenneth Pye, Joel Fleishman, and Craufurd Goodwin. From UNC: Townsend Luddington, Samuel Williamson, Vice President for Academic Affairs Raymond Dawson, Gerhard Weinberg, Samuel Wells, and James Leutze. Source: Document titled “List of Persons Invited to Luncheon Nov. 2, 1977, Defense and Arms Control Studies,” Folder – Budget and Finance: Foundations: Ford Foundation Proposal, 1975-1979, Curriculum in Peace, War and Defense papers, University Archives, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC, Box 1.

⁴² Samuel R. Williamson, Jr. to UNC Colleagues, letter, 4 November 1977, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC. The group at Duke consisted of Joseph Kruzel, Irving B. Holley, and Greg Fischer; for UNC, James Leutze, Steve Rosefield, and Deil Wright.

⁴³ Joseph J. Kruzel and Samuel F. Wells, Jr. to Enid C.B. Schoettle, letter, 30 December 1977, Folder – Budget and Finance: Foundations: Ford Foundation Proposal, 1975-1979, Curriculum in Peace, War and Defense papers, University Archives, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC, Box 1.

argued that the Southeastern region of the United States lacked an “established center for research and training” for international security studies. Ford funding would allow Duke and UNC faculty to combine their strengths and collaborate on “a systematic and comparative examination of international security.” The proposal identified a number of potential areas for collaborative research, including security in an interdependent world, economic aspects of international security, and domestic influences on arms control and defense strategy. The proposal asked for \$785,500 from Ford between 1 January 1979 to 31 December 1983. It stipulated that Duke and UNC would provide additional funding for faculty grants, office supplies, a secretarial position, an assistant professor’s position (UNC), and one graduate research associate (UNC).⁴⁴

Ford initially reacted unfavorably to the proposal on 17 May 1978. As Leutze recalled, he traveled to New York with Williamson and Wells to meet with Susan Berresford of the Ford Foundation to try and convince Ford of the merits of the DUNC proposal.⁴⁵ The organization’s advancement was held back by a lack of funding. With outside support, it could hope to hold conferences, publish papers, and gain regional and even national visibility. As Leutze explained:

We contended – and one of the reasons that I think Susan Berresford gave us the money in the first place was that everybody looks to...a couple of places around the country if they are looking for anything on security studies, and we were saying, "No, there are other people that are interested in these same topics and are doing interesting work, and they ought to be heard also."⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Joseph J. Kruzal et al., “Proposal to Establish The Duke – UNC International Security Studies Program,” 3 January 1978, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁴⁵ Andrew M. Scott to UNC Colleagues in International Affairs on The Duke – UNC Proposal for the Ford Foundation, memorandum, 23 May 1978, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC; James R. Leutze, interview by author, Raleigh, NC, 14 May 2008.

⁴⁶ James R. Leutze, interview by author, Raleigh, NC, 14 May 2008.

The foundation agreed with Leutze and gave DUNC \$70,000 for three years, administered by Joseph Kruzel at Duke, to “stimulate cooperation and collaboration” between universities.⁴⁷

Additional funding came shortly thereafter. On 22 June 1979, Dr. Frank Trager, director of studies for the National Security Information Center, Inc. (NSCI) visited with members of DUNC to discuss the operations of the seminar and its future desires. A week later Leutze and Andrew Scott applied to the National Security Education Program for \$15,000 to “sponsor a series of programs at nearby community colleges on the SALT II treaty and debate...also to develop courses on the ‘Economics of Defense Intelligence Gathering’ in the post World War II era, and similar topics.” Further noted was the intention to hold several “two-day colloquia on national security topics.”⁴⁸ Trager quickly approved the \$15,000 in July.⁴⁹ Leutze invited several colleagues in October 1980 to brainstorm over dinner. By 1980, DUNC found itself “in the comfortable position of being able to support a number of innovative programs,” as outlined in the request for funds to the NSIC.⁵⁰ As the first phase of its history drew to a close, the future of DUNC appeared promising.

⁴⁷ James R. Leutze to Dietrich Schroeder, invitation, 22 October 1980, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC; Annual Report, 1978-1979 for the Curriculum in Peace, War, and Defense, pg. 6, Folder – Annual Reports, 1972/73 – 1978-79, Curriculum in Peace, War and Defense papers, University Archives, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC, Box 1.

⁴⁸ Andrew Scott and James R. Leutze to Frank Trager, letter, 29 June 1979, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁴⁹ Frank Trager to Andrew Scott and James R. Leutze, letter, 17 July 1979, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁵⁰ James R. Leutze to Dietrich Schroeder, invitation, 22 October 1980, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

PART II

Expansion and Exposure: The 1980s

Armed with substantial funding from the Ford Foundation, the Duke University – University of North Carolina National Security Policy Seminar (DUNC) entered the 1980s primed for expansion. Over the course of the decade DUNC would undergo a marked transformation from an informal association with very limited resources to a larger, well-funded, and better staffed organization. In 1983, North Carolina State University (NCSU) became a constituent member and, to reflect this broader base, DUNC renamed itself the Triangle Universities Security Seminar (TUSS). DUNC/TUSS would engage in increasingly ambitious programs and outreach activities.

As of 1980, DUNC (and then TUSS) began to hold annual spring and fall conferences, bringing to the Research Triangle some of the finest scholars and experts on security matters in the world. The first of these conferences took place on the UNC campus from 18 – 19 April 1980 with two panel discussions. As one might expect at the height of the Cold War, the panelists were to answer the question, “What national security threat does or might the Soviet Union pose for the United States?” Panelists were William Dyess, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Raymond Garthoff of The Brookings Institution, Richard Lowenthal from the National Humanities Center, and Andrew Marshall, director of the Office of Net Assessment for the Department of Defense.⁵¹ The target audience of these events, Robin Dorff remembered, was the scholarly community located in the Triangle – not just Duke, UNC, and NCSU, but also the many other smaller colleges in the Piedmont of North Carolina.⁵²

⁵¹ Undated document titled “Quail Roost Conferences, 1980-92, Topics and Speakers,” Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁵² Robin Dorff, interview by author via telephone, Carlisle, PA to Raleigh, NC, 8 February 2008.

The spring of 1981 saw the first of many conferences held at the Quail Roost Conference Center in Durham County. Few places have evoked fonder memories than the conferences held in this lovely rural setting. Located near Rougemont, Quail Roost Farm began in 1875 as the Quail Roost Hunting Lodge formed by a group of Durham businessmen and professionals. When the quail population declined in the 1920s, John Sprunt Hill, son-in-law to George W. Watts, acquired the stock in the hunting club and, in 1926, turned the 834 acre property over to his son, George Watts Hill. In the 1930s, Hill made the club into a dairy farm and the hunting lodge became a home for the farm manager. At peak operation in the 1940s, the farm had 1,800 acres and 300 head of “Golden Guernsey” cattle, considered one of the premier Guernsey herds in the world.⁵³ George constructed a large manor which his family first occupied in 1940. Following his move to Chapel Hill in 1962, he donated the home to the UNC to serve as a conference center. Following his death in 1993, the conference center was sold by the university.⁵⁴

The two-story manor and attached conference wing could only accommodate about fifty people, but the scenery made for vivid memories. Alex Roland recalled how “it was a lovely setting...The scenery was beautiful. The sunsets were over the mountaintop to the west. It was just gorgeous, and it was a treat for everybody. It was a treat for our visitors because the visitors would be put up in the guestroom right at the house, and all of us who were locals would drive out each day of these meetings.” Additionally, Roland felt the setting at Quail Roost was “so congenial that people just opened up. We had “marvelous

⁵³ Quail Roost Farm, “History of Quail Roost Farm,” <http://quailroostfarm.com/about.php> (accessed 12 May 2008).

⁵⁴ “Inventory of the George Watts Hill Papers, 1859 – 2000 Collection Number 4202,” Manuscripts Department, University Library of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, http://www.lib.unc.edu/mss/inv/h/Hill,George_Watts.html (accessed 12 May 2008); Stephen E. Massengill, *Durham North Carolina: A Postcard History* (Dover, NH: Arcadia Publishing, 1997), 121.

discussions out there, and atmospherics can make a difference, and that was just the ideal place to have [a conference]. People just let their hair down and talked casually.”⁵⁵ For Richard Kohn, who was first exposed to TUSS at a Quail Roost conference in the fall of 1989, the center had its drawbacks with a problem of limited conference space. Despite the limited space, Kohn relished “a tradition of going down into the kitchen at 10:00PM on Friday night. There was always a tremendous amount of ice cream in the freezer and we would all OD on ice cream.”⁵⁶

From 1980 until 1984, a spring conference was held at Quail Roost in either March or April and, as of 1985, a second conference was added in the fall. The earliest conferences – all organized around the general theme of “U.S. National Security: Agenda for the 1980s” - provide an interesting insight into the pressing security concerns of this decade.⁵⁷ Thus, for example, the April 1983 conference featured a talk by June Teufel Dryer from the University of Miami on “Civil-Military Relations in China,” while Robin Wright of *The Sunday New York Times* spoke on “Shi’ite Terrorism” at the March 1985 conference. The fall conferences from 1985 to 1989 covered “U.S. – Soviet Relations,” “The Lessons of Vietnam,” “The Military and the Third World,” “The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Perspectives for the U.S. and U.S.S.R.,” and “U.S. Civil-Military Relations in the 20th Century.”⁵⁸ These conferences involved participants coming from as many as twenty-two academic institutions and six states at a time, with a strong mix of local and out-of-state speakers.⁵⁹ These two-day events gave TUSS and its membership exposure to security studies networks far outside

⁵⁵ Alex Roland, interview by author, Durham, NC, 25 January 2008.

⁵⁶ Richard H. Kohn, interview by author, Durham, NC 28 January 2008.

⁵⁷ The speakers for all the conference and topics will be listed in an appendix in the back.

⁵⁸ Undated document titled “Quail Roost Conferences, 1980-92, Topics and Speakers,” Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*; Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 3, No. 2, Spring 1987.

of central North Carolina.

DUNC, and later TUSS, also continued the tradition of inviting speakers to address smaller groups of invited guests over dinner. On 17 November 1980, Josef Joffe, political editor for the German newspaper *Die Zeit*, spoke at Duke about “U.S. – European Relations in the Reagan Administration.” Following Joffe, DUNC invited Dennis Pirages (University of Maryland), Ted Moran (Georgetown University), John Burton (University College, London), and William Van Cleve (University of Southern California) to speak during the spring semester of 1981. The dinner presentations, planned by James Leutze and Joseph Kruzel, received such strong responses from the membership of DUNC that a second group for the 1981 – 1982 academic year was planned. From the fall of 1981 to the spring of 1982, Archelaus Turrentine (U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency), author and historian of cryptology David Kahn, Carl-Christoph Schweitzer (University of Bonn), William Quandt (Brookings Institution), Samuel Wells (Woodrow Wilson Center), and Allan Millett (Ohio State University’s Mershon Center) came to the Triangle to speak about their research or recent publications.⁶⁰

The dinner presentations generally featured military historians, political scientists, politicians, and military officers. Roland remembered one of these events during his first semester as a Duke faculty member in the fall of 1981. British military historian Michael Howard came to give an address, and for Roland the presentation was part of his introduction to TUSS and the intellectual community of the Research Triangle. Roland reminisced:

Michael Howard was sort of the dean of world military historians. ...So I was invited over to Chapel Hill to go out to this elegant French restaurant... And he...gave this marvelous talk. And then afterwards, a small group of us retired to the

⁶⁰ Various memorandums, letters, and announcements, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

lounge of the UNC planetarium, where we had port and cigars, and I thought I'd died and gone to heaven. I said, "Is this what it's like to be a faculty?" I had arrived....⁶¹

John Gilbert, a political scientist at NCSU, who served on the TUSS Executive Committee, noted that on rare occasion a speaker was less than engaging. On one occasion Gilbert chuckled, "I went to sleep. I don't think I was the only one that went to sleep but I may have been the only one who was snoring. And when my colleague told me about it afterwards laughing, I said, 'Well, why didn't you wake me up?' He said, 'Your snoring was more interesting than his speaking.'"⁶²

This decade also saw the formal inclusion of NCSU into the consortium. As noted earlier, faculty members from this Raleigh-based land-grant university had long attended DUNC meetings. At the urgings of Dorff, however, NCSU's Provost agreed in principle that it would like to sign on as a fully fledged co-sponsor of DUNC."⁶³ On 29 August 1983, Leutze, Roland, and Ole Holsti submitted an application to the Ford Foundation for funds totaling \$90,300 for three years to expand the activities of the seminar.⁶⁴ Following a memorandum to Dean Williamson on 9 January 1984, Leutze was authorized by UNC to expand DUNC to include NCSU "to establish an inter-university seminar in the area of national security policy."⁶⁵ A letter exchanged between the deans of arts and sciences at UNC, Duke, and NCSU on 24 January 1984 endorsed the expansion of the Duke – UNC National Security Seminar to include NCSU. To reflect its new character DUNC was

⁶¹ Alex Roland, interview by author, Durham, NC, 25 January 2008.

⁶² John Gilbert, interview by author, Raleigh, NC 1 May 2008.

⁶³ Robin Dorff, interview by author via telephone, Carlisle, PA to Raleigh, NC, 8 February 2008.

⁶⁴ James Leutze, Ole Holsti, and Alex Roland to Enid Schoettle, letter, 29 August 1983, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁶⁵ Samuel R. Williamson, Jr. to James Leutze, letter, 12 January 1984, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

renamed the Triangle Universities Security Seminar (TUSS).⁶⁶ The Ford Foundation approved the request for \$90,300 for three years in full on 18 April 1984. In the letter of approval, the foundation noted “the...expectation that in carrying out this grant your organization will take appropriate affirmative-action steps with respect to women and disadvantaged minorities.”⁶⁷

With the renaming and expansion of the organization came a revised definition of its mission and further development and clarification of its organizational structure. The primary purpose of TUSS was, as had been true of DUNC, to foster cooperative working relationships among area scholars, specifically those belonging to its three constituent universities. TUSS’s secondary purpose would be to promote individual and collective research projects undertaken by faculty and graduate students. TUSS would also organize lectures, conferences, and colloquia “to enrich the intellectual atmosphere and stimulate the exchange of ideas between faculty, graduate students and the professional community in the Triangle area.” Additionally, the seminar would encourage TUSS members to seek grants and funding for research, travel, and writing and conduct extensive outreach to women and minorities. As implied by its name, TUSS would “focus on security affairs extending beyond weapons and technology,” notably peacemaking, ecological concerns, arms control, and economic relations, among others.⁶⁸

An executive committee came into existence with two representatives from each university (one historian, one political scientist), with one member to serve as the Executive

⁶⁶ Ernest Friedl, Samuel R. Williamson, and Robert O. Tilman to concerned parties, letter, 24 January 1984, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁶⁷ Diane L. Galloway, Assistant Secretary for Ford Foundation, to Terry Sanford, letter, 18 April 1984, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁶⁸ Ernest Friedl, Samuel R. Williamson, and Robert O. Tilman to concerned parties, letter, 24 January 1984, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

Secretary.⁶⁹ James Leutze of UNC served as the first TUSS Executive Secretary. Andrew Scott of UNC joined Leutze as the UNC board members, Roland and Holsti represented Duke, and Dorff and Gilbert (both political scientists) served as the NCSU board members. A TUSS office was located in 401 Hamilton Hall on the campus of UNC, with Helen Wilson acting as the Executive Secretary's assistant. Beginning in 1984, two TUSS post-doctoral fellows, funded at \$16,000 a year, managed administrative, planning, and research and writing functions.⁷⁰

Fellows gave TUSS the staff to arrange conferences, talks, and grants. They were also entrusted with writing a newsletter to inform members of activities and upcoming talks. Arthur Echerd of UNC and Joseph Caddell of Duke were the first TUSS fellows.⁷¹ The original intention for TUSS was to form a second board with membership from the Deans of the three universities and a representative from the Triangle Universities Center for Advanced Studies (TUCASI). This board would devote itself exclusively to fundraising. Due to disagreements and doubts among the TUSS founders, the second Board never materialized.⁷² Formal operation of TUSS began on 15 March 1984 and the first TUSS newsletter arrived in mailboxes in the fall.⁷³ In addition to publishing the first TUSS newsletters, Echerd and Caddell created a TUSS speakers program in 1984. Public schools and civic organizations across the Research Triangle were now able to contact the organization and request TUSS members to present lectures on a variety of security-related

⁶⁹ Alex Roland, interview by author, Durham, NC, 25 January 2008. Dr. Roland noted that Dr. Leutze's "preferred formula was at least two faculty representatives from each school. At least one in political science and one in history." For NCSU, this was not the case.

⁷⁰ Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 1, No. 2, Spring 1985.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² James Leutze to Samuel Williamson, 17 January 1984, memorandum, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁷³ Ernest Friedl, Samuel R. Williamson, and Robert O. Tilman to concerned parties, letter, 24 January 1984, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.; Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 1, No. 1, Fall 1984.

topics.⁷⁴ This program provided a valuable outreach capability for TUSS and increased its visibility outside of the universities.

Alex Roland, who had been a graduate student at Duke in the seventies and returned to the Triangle as a faculty member in 1981, reflected on how the organization changed at this time. In some ways, much remained the same. The TUSS of the early eighties, he noted was still a bit parochial – something of a “talking club.”

We were a local community that enjoyed getting together and sharing interdisciplinary perspectives on a range of national and international security issues very broadly conceived. And we didn't imagine much more than that. There was no attempt at a formal program. We surely...did not and apparently could not develop a research agenda. And I don't recall us trying to become a recognizable center of activity where post-docs would come and other people would come to study. We weren't looking to make a reputation.⁷⁵

Simultaneously, Roland observed that the infusion of money, the creation of a formal structure, and the existence of regular programs that attracted audiences from as far as Maryland made it “an entirely different enterprise.” The TUSS post-doctoral fellows made it possible to dedicate constant effort to the business of organizing events and applying for grants – all of which bore fruit. The events themselves did, as TUSS members still remember, encourage the desire for collaboration. Caddell, for one, still remembers witnessing academics at dinner-talks “dig into their...pockets and pull out three by five cards, writing down citations” as ideas and information were freely exchanged.⁷⁶

Shortly after TUSS's creation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York contacted Duke Chancellor H. Keith H. Brodie. Carnegie Corporation President David A. Hamburg

⁷⁴ Activities Report of the Triangle Universities Security Seminar, Academic Year 1984-85, pg. 2, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁷⁵ Alex Roland, interview by author, Durham, NC, 25 January 2008.

⁷⁶ Joseph Caddell, interview by author, Chapel Hill, NC, 22 January 2008.

asked Brodie if any of the Triangle universities would be interested in developing a “proposal to facilitate U.S.-Soviet cooperation in addressing the problems of environmental pollution.”⁷⁷ Samuel Williamson passed on his information from Brodie to Leutze, asking him to convene a working group to explore the possibilities for a proposal.⁷⁸ After speaking with Carnegie officials, Andrew Scott reported to the Executive Committee in May that he felt a request for a planning grant was “a very sensible way to proceed.”⁷⁹ Following several small planning sessions, TUSS submitted a request for a planning grant of \$24,500 to “facilitate the preparation over a twelve-month period of a major proposal focused on the prevention of nuclear war.”⁸⁰

In the spring of 1985, TUSS received its requested \$24,500 as an eighteenth-month planning grant to develop the proposal for the Carnegie Corporation focusing on the prevention of nuclear war. Over the course of several meetings, the TUSS proposal evolved toward a concentration on improving public understanding of international security issues, using the seminar membership as the principle resource. Utilizing a series of summer institutes and workshops, specific groups of people, notably women, journalists, and high school social studies teachers, would be targeted due to their influence in the formation of public attitudes on foreign policy.⁸¹ The social studies teachers program envisioned a pair of statewide institutes during two consecutive summers. At each institute, fifty high school

⁷⁷ H. Keith H. Brodie to Samuel R. Williamson, memorandum, 16 April 1984, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁷⁸ Samuel R. Williamson to James R. Leutze, letter, 26 April 1984, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁷⁹ Andrew M. Scott to Members, TUSS Academic Advisory Committee, memorandum, 7 May 1984, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁸⁰ Draft Proposal to Carnegie Corporation of New York, undated, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC. The figure of “\$24,500” was penciled in on the one copy of the proposal. See also Abstract of Application for Grant, Contract, or Cooperative Agreement for “Proposal to Carnegie Corporation of New York on the Study of the Prevention of Nuclear War,” James R. Leutze, undated (believed late 1984-early 1985), Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁸¹ Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 1, No. 3, Summer, 1985; Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 2, No. 2, Summer 1986.

social science teachers would hear distinguished speakers on security topics and receive instruction in the use of security materials specially prepared for high school courses by the Mershon Center at Ohio State University. Each institute would be followed by eight two-day regional workshops to train more teachers.

For journalists, TUSS planned to sponsor a two-day conference on a security topic for representatives from some of the leading newspapers and magazines in the state. One year later, these journalists would attend a two- or three-day conference in Washington, DC, where they would meet other newsmen and distinguished policymakers and public relations officers from the White House, the departments of State and Defense, the Central Intelligence Agency, and foreign embassies. TUSS would also provide journalists with a list of regional experts on security subjects.

Initial planning was begun for a women's conference, sponsored by the North Carolina Council of Women's Organizations in cooperation with TUSS, to inform women's groups about security issues. At a two-day workshop following this initial conference, leaders of these organizations would pinpoint security issues of special interest to them. The program would culminate in a major conference on a security topic. The overall proposal would also contain a request for funds for research arising from these activities, including an evaluation of the effectiveness of these programs.⁸² Before final submission of the proposal, an evaluation component, involving use of outside observers and surveys to evaluate the results of the other three programs would be added. Each of the four components would operate under the direction of a TUSS supervisory committee, with overall guidance originating from the TUSS executive committee. Lastly, the TUSS office intended to add

⁸² Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 3, No. 1, Winter 1987.

another research fellow and secretary for administrative support.⁸³ The formal proposal noted that “the specter of nuclear holocaust threatens civilization, while rapid changes in international relations suggest genuine possibility of cuts in nuclear arsenals,” but “education programs for key elites should improve the quality of information reaching the general public.” The budget for the two-year proposal totaled \$236,933.⁸⁴

Unfortunately, the Carnegie Corporation rejected the grant proposal. Shortly before this news, Leutze announced his departure as Executive Secretary to become president of Hampton-Sidney College in Virginia. Robert Rupen of UNC replaced Leutze as the Executive Secretary and as director of the Curriculum in Peace, War, and Defense (PWAD) at UNC. On 1 July 1988, Rupen himself left TUSS, and was replaced by R. Don Higginbotham as Executive Secretary and PWAD chairman.

Leutze’s departure occurred as the Executive Committee was preparing a new proposal to the Ford Foundation. With the previous grant, the foundation had noted they wished to see greater outreach to women and minorities. In his notes for the new Ford proposal, Rupen concluded that women’s groups were “basically self starting and they have programs going on all the time...what we want to do is make use of that infrastructure.” Work with Historical Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) was a different problem as there was no organization. The issue was, “a matter of persistence. We have to follow through and we have got to have contract and...got to have them participate in our activities...go to them and so forth.” An excellent way to begin this was to bring in an

⁸³ Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 3, No. 2, Spring 1987.

⁸⁴ Grant Proposal from Triangle Universities Security Seminar to Carnegie Corporation of New York, 28 July 1987,

African American assistant as a TUSS fellow to establish and maintain contacts across the state.⁸⁵

The proposal, sent to the Ford Foundation on 20 August 1987, requested \$207,000 for the 1988-1990 period, \$80,000 in particular for minority outreach. Ten thousand dollars was requested for a conference planned for April 1988 in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of President Truman's order to desegregate the armed services.⁸⁶ A \$16,000 salary was requested annually to hire an African American TUSS fellow.⁸⁷ Rupen contacted Raymond Dawson in November 1987 asking him if he could recommend someone for this position.⁸⁸ Carl Victor Lennon accepted this position in December to assist Rupen in "development of national security and defense studies in black colleges and black studies programs in North Carolina," particularly to establish contact with African American faculty around the state to plan the April 1988 conference.⁸⁹ Also in December, the Ford Foundation approved a grant of \$176,500 for the 1988 – 1990 period, including funding for Lennon's research associate position and the outreach programs to women and minorities.⁹⁰

Another side of outreach concerned increasing the involvement of women in security studies. Despite the dismissal of the Carnegie proposal, planning for the 1987 Women's Fall Forum on National Security continued unabated. Held on 14 November 1987 at the

⁸⁵ Notes for the Ford Grant Application, undated (appears to be summer 1987), Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁸⁶ Triangle Universities Security Seminar, "A Proposal to Continue and Expand a Cooperative Program in Security Research and Public Outreach," 20 August 1987, pgs. 11-12, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁸⁷ Triangle Universities Security Seminar, "A Proposal to Continue and Expand a Cooperative Program in Security Research and Public Outreach," 20 August 1987, pg. 23, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁸⁸ Robert A. Rupen to Raymond Dawson, letter, 19 November 1987, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁸⁹ Robert A. Rupen to Carl Lennon, letter, 21 December 1987, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC; Robert A. Rupen to Whom it May Concern, letter, undated, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁹⁰ Diane L. Galloway, Assistant Secretary for Ford Foundation to H. Keith H. Brodie, letter, 4 December 1987, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

McKimmon Center at NCSU in Raleigh, the North Carolina Council of Women's Organizations (NCCWO) Forum titled "Demystifying the Arms Race: A Citizen's Guide to National Security" was the first NCCWO statewide conference on national security.⁹¹ Over 350 men and women attended the talks. Flora Lewis of *The New York Times*, U.S. Army Brigadier General E. Patricia Foote, and Sheila Tobias, author of *The Guns They Are Buying for Your Butter*, spoke on the politics of arms control, the role of the citizen in national security, and a woman's approach to defense spending. Anne Cahn of the Committee for National Security, Marvin Soroos of NCSU, Josefina Tiryakian of Duke, James Leutze of Hampton-Sydney College, and Nancy M. Yanofsky of the Foreign Policy Association's "Great Decisions" program led discussions on national security priorities, the impact of food and trade issues on national security, Central America, Soviet-American relations, and participation in security debates at the grass roots level.⁹²

The conference on "The Blacks and The Military," held 15 – 16 April 1988 at NCCU in Durham, was the first substantial TUSS collaboration with the historically black universities and colleges in North Carolina. As mentioned by Rupen in a letter to Cynthia Enloe in November 1987, the conference was intended "to open a concerted program to bring North Carolina blacks into the dialogue, and the activities and policies, dealing with military defense and national security."⁹³ Eugene Eaves, Assistant Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs and Director of NCCU's Center for International Studies, opened the conference. Topics ranged from "Black Women and the Military," to "Strategic and Conventional

⁹¹ Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 3, No. 2, Spring 1987; Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 4, No. 2, Summer 1988.

⁹² Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 4, No. 1, Spring 1988; Summary of TUSS Activities for July 1 – December 31, 1987, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham NC.

⁹³ Robert A. Rupen to Cynthia Enloe, letter, 13 November 1987, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

Weapons,” and “Comparative Ethnicity and Militarism.” Speakers came from Florida State University, the University of Maryland, University of Texas, Clark University, and from the Department of Defense.⁹⁴ Notable for North Carolina were attendees from Fayetteville State University, NC A&T University, High Point College, NCCU, Johnson C. Smith University (JCSU), Bennett College, Livingston State College, Elizabeth City State University, Winston-Salem State University, along with NCSU, UNC, Duke, and UNC-Charlotte.⁹⁵

Outreach to women and African-Americans at the end of the 1980s allowed TUSS to share the wealth of knowledge and experience accumulated among the three Triangle universities. From these first two conferences, TUSS began a movement that would continue on to the present. In the start of 1989, Russel Van Wyk accepted the position as the new TUSS post-doctoral fellow, in particular continuing the work of Lennon to build interest about TUSS and national security among women and minorities at campuses across North Carolina.⁹⁶ Van Wyk remembered that at first “I didn’t know what HBCU meant.” The goal of his efforts was “quite openly, to diversify the group [TUSS] more. The perception was that it was a club of white men, and there was some reality to that perception, but the group wanted to do something about it and probably also saw some benefit in potential funding if we went that way as well.”⁹⁷ With the Ford Foundation grant up for renewal in 1990, TUSS’s outreach efforts held tremendous potential for financial, intellectual, and professional growth in the organization.

⁹⁴ Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 4, No. 2, Summer 1988.

⁹⁵ Attendance sheet for conference “Blacks and the Military,” 15-16 April 1988, North Carolina Central University, Durham, NC, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁹⁶ Russel Van Wyk to Colleagues, letter, 7 February 1989, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC. Lennon in late 1988 apparently “dropped out of sight” and ceased his work for TUSS. Van Wyk was hired shortly thereafter. Don Higginbotham to Robert Rupen, letter, 10 January 1989, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

⁹⁷ Russel van Wyk, interview by author, Cary, NC, 15 August 2008.

PART III

Advancement: The 1990s

By 1990, the Berlin Wall had fallen, the Soviet Union was beginning to dissolve, and TUSS was firmly established in the Triangle scholarly community. Over the course of the decade into the next millennium the organization continued to expand and began to conduct research projects utilizing the extensive organizational membership. TUSS would become the Triangle Institute for Security Studies (TISS). With the end of the Cold War, however, issues over long-term funding would force a scaling back of speakers and conferences. Many were concerned about what this might mean for the future of security studies. In fact, this field has remained just as important now as it was in the Cold War. Nevertheless, many a discussion at Quail Roost and other TISS events in the early 1990s revolved around this issue.

Quail Roost held three TUSS conferences in 1990. From 2 – 3 February 1990, the first spring Quail Roost conference focused on the theme of “Changing Technologies and New Weapons Systems in Recent History.” Organized by Roland and Holley, the conference featured speakers from the U.S. Army and U.S. Air Force, and speakers about naval and space warfare. The second spring conference, from 30 – 31 March, focused on “Crisis Management,” with speakers presenting chronological crisis talks, beginning with the Munich Crisis and ending with crisis management during the Carter and Reagan administrations. The fall Quail Roost conference, discussed “Exporting the American Experience” from 19 – 20 October, with cases studies on Cuba, Panama, Philippines, and postwar transformations in Japan and Germany. Among these speakers was Stephen Ropp, son of founder Theodore Ropp.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 5, No. 2, Summer 1990.

Additionally, in the late spring of 1990, TUSS continued its outreach with African-American colleges in North Carolina. On 6 – 8 April 1990, TUSS together with the North Carolina Consortium for International and Intercultural Education (NCCIIIE), sponsored the inaugural Model United Nations (UN) in Charlotte. A total of 154 students and 30 faculty participated from Bennett College, Johnson C. Smith University, North Carolina A&T State University, NCCU, St. Augustine’s College, Shaw University, Winston-Salem State University, and Trent University in Canada. The event featured two international speakers: Ambassador Prezi Kamunanwire, Ugandan Permanent Representative to UN, and West German Bundestag Representative Freimut Duve.⁹⁹ At the end of April, TUSS cosponsored a regional conference in Greensboro on the theme of “Enhancing International Education on Historically African-American College Campuses.” Ambassador Edward J. Perkins, Director General and Director of Personnel, and Daniel Figgins, Diplomat-in-Residence from the U.S. Department of State, joined Ralph Hines, Chief of the International Education Program, U.S. Department of Education, as speakers.¹⁰⁰ At the start of 1991, TUSS and the NCCIIIE offered a faculty workshop organized by the Harvard University John F. Kennedy School of Government on “Utilizing the Case-Study Method in Teaching International Affairs.” Approximately twenty faculty members from area institutions met at NCCU from 17-19 January 1991 for the conference.¹⁰¹

TUSS’s work with women and minorities was driven internally through the efforts of the Executive Committee and the post-doctoral fellows in accordance with the external

⁹⁹ Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 5, No. 1, Winter 1990; Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 5, No. 2, Summer 1990.

¹⁰⁰ Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 5, No. 2, Summer 1990.

¹⁰¹ Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 6, No. 1, Summer 1991. The NCCIIIE was composed of Bennett College, Johnson C. Smith University, NC A&T University, NC Central University, St. Augustine’s College, and Winston-Salem State University.

desires of the Ford Foundation. The Model UN in 1990 was the first attempt by TUSS to involve a large number of minority undergraduates in a joint TUSS-HBCU program. Faculty at the HBCUs were “very receptive to approaching international relations and security from an interdisciplinary perspective,” keeping with one of the founding principles of TUSS.¹⁰² In a letter to Higginbotham about a meeting with Enid Schoettle of the Ford Foundation, Roland emphasized that the foundation was “very interested in our outreach activities with blacks,” and that they “want to see a reasonable, sincere, and ongoing campaign to establish better links with predominantly black colleges and universities and some activities that might promise sometime in the future to steer young blacks in to career patterns in this area.”¹⁰³ By this time, Van Wyk had been making progress with the HBCUs in the state after learning that “until I got the blessing of the president [of the college or university], I got nowhere...and then I met Prezell Robinson at St. Augustine’s College, and he said ‘this is good.’” Prezell helped Van Wyk work with other HBCU presidents and encourage them to join with TUSS. “He smoothed that road nicely for me,” recalled Van Wyk.¹⁰⁴

TUSS and St. Augustine’s College in Raleigh collaborated on 22 October 1990 to “share educational experiences between Soviet and American students and faculty in Raleigh.” TUSS, in cooperation with the NCCIE, helped initiate contact between the Moscow State Institute for International Relations (MGIMO) and several students from the consortium schools for a model UN in Moscow. The official contact between NCCIE and MGIMO was established in November 1990 when a Memorandum of Intent was signed,

¹⁰² A Proposal to Continue and Expand a Cooperative Program in Security Research and Public Outreach, Triangle Universities Security Seminar, 5 April 1990, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

¹⁰³ Memorandum from Alex Roland to Don Higginbotham on Meeting on 10 January with Enid Bok Schoettle of the Ford Foundation, 20 January 1990, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

¹⁰⁴ Russel Van Wyk, interview by author, Cary, NC, 15 August 2008.

providing for visits by MGIMO to North Carolina, and vice versa.¹⁰⁵ In July 1991, thirteen students and two faculty members studied for three weeks at MGIMO as the first phase of a formal exchange program. In September, MGIMO Vice Rector Ivan G. Tyulin wrote to NCCIIIE President Robert L. Albright that “we are ready to receive...representatives of the triangle Consortium (from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) if they are fully empowered and willing to have talks with MGIMO.”¹⁰⁶ Van Wyk recalled that there “was a competition [essay contest] from all the schools,” and the winners were sent to study in Moscow for a conference on “East-West Relations: Reintegrating the USSR.”¹⁰⁷ Van Wyk, and TUSS post-doctoral fellow Edward Phillips (who specialized in Russian history) both went to Moscow for the MGIMO conference from 17-24 November 1991 to begin TUSS’s work with the Soviet institution.¹⁰⁸

Thousands of miles away from the piedmont of North Carolina, the military forces of Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990. The armed forces of a coalition led by the United States devastated Iraqi military forces beginning in January 1991, and by 27 February Kuwait was declared liberated. As American units were returning home, the twelfth annual spring Quail Roost conference took place 4 – 6 April 1991. The conference, with the theme “The Persian Gulf Crisis: Use of National and International Power in the Post-Cold War World,” had been planned long before the war ended. The TUSS newsletter noted that “the timeliness of the topic and the involvement of co-sponsors made this the most heavily attended Quail

¹⁰⁵ North Carolina Consortium for International and Intercultural Education (NCCIIIE) – MGIMO Exchange: A Prospectus, 1991, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

¹⁰⁶ Ivan G. Tyulin to Robert L. Albright, fax, 18 September 1991, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

¹⁰⁷ Russel Van Wyk, interview by author, Cary, NC, 15 August 2008; Untitled attachment to letter from T. Jesse Dent, Jr. to Ivan G. Tyulin, 11 September 1991, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC. Dent faxed his letter and the unlabelled attachment to Van Wyk on 20 September 1991

¹⁰⁸ NCCIIIE Invoice, 4 November 1991, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

Roost Conference in recent memory, with sixty people representing thirty-four institutions present.”¹⁰⁹ Dorff remembered this conference in particular, remarking how:

It just so happened that by the time we got everybody convened, the war had ended, and we were probably one of the first to come out with an edited book. Bob Helms and I happened to co-edit the papers and presentations that were done at the conference, and it was one of the first published pieces to come out. I think that this is one example of where TUSS was really at the forefront of changes.¹¹⁰

The book, *The Persian Gulf Crisis: Power in the Post-Cold War World*, was published by Praeger Publishers in 1993.¹¹¹ The talk by U.S. Army Brigadier General Daniel W. Christman, emphasizing the end of the Cold War and the emerging threats in the world, garnered a particularly pithy response by a TUSS member, remembered dramatically by Gilbert. “General, you remind me of the problem of giving a small boy a hammer,” noted the audience member, “if you give him a hammer he is going to find something that needs hammering.”¹¹²

The fall TUSS Quail Roost conference in hindsight foreshadowed another monumental change in international security matters. Held 18 – 19 October 1991, the conference focused on the theme of “Evolution and Change in the Soviet Union: Implications for Security.” Later that fall, on 13 November, Melvin A. Goodman, a former Soviet specialist at the CIA and a member of the faculty at the National War College, gave a dinner lecture on the crisis in the Soviet Union and the CIA’s failure to assess it.¹¹³ As the fall of the Soviet Union at the end of 1991 brought joy to the hearts of millions of people

¹⁰⁹ Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 6, No. 1, Summer 1991.

¹¹⁰ Robin Dorff, interview by author via telephone, Carlisle, PA to Raleigh, NC, 8 February 2008.

¹¹¹ The book can be found online for free at <http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=27502916> (accessed 14 May 2008).

¹¹² John Gilbert, interview by author, Raleigh, NC, 1 May 2008.

¹¹³ Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 7, No. 1, Winter 1992.

worldwide, TUSS ended the year with a new Executive Secretary. At the end of the spring semester, Higginbotham took a leave of absence as chairman of PWAD and as the TUSS executive secretary. Russel Van Wyk, a post-doctoral fellow, became the acting chairman of PWAD and TUSS executive secretary for the 1991 – 1992 academic year.¹¹⁴

President George H.W. Bush declared that a “New World Order” was at hand, but unfortunately for TUSS, the end of the Cold War adversely affected funding. In July 1992, Richard H. Kohn became the new TUSS Executive Secretary and chairman of PWAD at UNC.¹¹⁵ Prior to Kohn’s arrival, Roland noted that during the period of Higginbotham and Van Wyk, there “was considerable discussion within the organization about definition, identity, future plans, what we wanted to do, who we wanted to be. I think all of us realized that we could not expect the Ford Foundation money to continue forever. In fact, I think we’d already been told by Ford soon after Kohn took over that we couldn’t expect the money forever.”¹¹⁶

On 7 May 1990, Higginbotham received a letter from Enid Schoettle of the Ford Foundation. While acknowledging the Foundation’s support for TUSS since the late 1970s, Schoettle stated “because of changing priorities, however, the International Affairs Program is reducing its support of public education activities in the field of international security studies.”¹¹⁷ Higginbotham informed the TUSS Executive Committee of the Ford Foundation acknowledgement and emphasized “Dr. Schoettle’s letter raises some serious questions for us to ponder with regard to the future of TUSS and its sources of funding.”¹¹⁸ This funding issue

¹¹⁴ Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 6, No. 1, Summer 1991.

¹¹⁵ Richard H. Kohn, interview by author, Durham, NC 28 January 2008.

¹¹⁶ Alex Roland, interview by author, Durham, NC, 25 January 2008.

¹¹⁷ Enid Schoettle to Don Higginbotham, letter, 7 May 1990, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

¹¹⁸ Don Higginbotham to TUSS Executive Committee, memorandum, 16 May 1990, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

remained at the forefront of TUSS matters when Kohn stepped into the position of Executive Secretary.

A big disadvantage for funding was the lack of organizational research. The foundations with funding wanted to see something. Roland recalled:

We were getting the same message from everybody. They [Ford Foundation] liked the organization; they liked what it did. They liked the conferences. They liked the speakers. They liked the community and getting together and talking, but we were such a disparate group, that there were no natural research topics or projects that fit enough people to really put together a proposal.¹¹⁹

Kohn further elaborated on what actions he and TUSS took regarding funding:

And so we undertook a very large and very extensive fund-raising effort with other foundations; I believe we even made some applications and were unsuccessful. So we simply applied to Ford again as though we didn't hear them, and Alex Roland and I went up there...to meet...the program officer for us at the Ford Foundation, and we laid it on the line.

And we said, "You can't abandon us; we're the only thing outside the Boston Corridor and Chicago and the West Coast, and you don't want to just discriminate against us." And we've got a good thing going, and we tried very hard, and she said to us, "Well, we understand, and you make a good point, but this is the last time." And they renewed us for 3 years, and their point I think was with the end of the Cold War they had lost that perspective, the security studies perspective, on national and international security.

They said, "Well, we've been faithful." I think they supported us since '79. "You know, we are not going to just abandon you, but we'll give you another three years to find some money, etc., etc., for your core operations." And we were never successful in doing that, so I turned around and dunned the three universities for our core money and we scaled back to one post-doc and tried to live within our means.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Alex Roland, interview by author, Durham, NC, 25 January 2008.

¹²⁰ Richard H. Kohn, interview by author, Durham, NC 28 January 2008.

With the last block of funding from the Ford Foundation, Kohn was able to consolidate the budget by eliminating the dinner element of the monthly speakers program and renaming the program as the “Faculty Seminar” series. This saved a great deal of money and opened up the talks to everyone, although the number of attendees rarely exceeded the number of people who attended the dinners by invitation.¹²¹

Kohn and the executive committee implemented other changes as well. Kohn decided to undertake a review of the identity, mission, programs, and activities of TUSS in the fall of 1992. First, in June a questionnaire was sent out to TUSS members asking for their views and opinions on the organization, although it received only twenty-two replies. Respondents noted they liked the “collegiality of meetings and conferences,” and the quality of the speakers. Areas for improvement included bringing in more graduate students, redirecting TUSS for active research, and including more history in the program content.¹²²

Subsequently, on 31 October at the Kenan Center in Chapel Hill, Kohn held a day-long retreat for the core faculty of UNC, Duke, and NCSU, along with a few of the TUSS faithful. The retreat was “mostly an attempt for the TUSS community to develop an agenda for itself,” in Roland’s opinion.¹²³ During the meeting, as Kohn remembered, “We raised every question we could think of about TUSS and how it worked and what we wanted it to do. The answer...was essentially continue what we’re doing, just do it better, more often, and as interestingly as possible.”¹²⁴ The conference reached conclusions that TUSS served a useful function, needed to actively promote programs to “enhance its status as the premier

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Memorandum to TUSS Executive Committee and TUSS Colleagues from Dick Kohn on October 31st Retreat on Future of TUSS, Background Paper, 21 October 1992, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

¹²³ Alex Roland, interview by author, Durham, NC, 25 January 2008.

¹²⁴ Richard H. Kohn, interview by author, Durham, NC 28 January 2008.

scholarly organization in security studies in the Southeastern United States,” include more international affairs topics in conferences and dinner speakers, and continue to enhance outreach efforts, particularly HBCU-related activities which were central to fundraising efforts, yet also entirely contingent on funding from all three universities.¹²⁵

The post-doctoral fellowships became two-year appointments advertised nationally (renewable for a third year). The post-doctoral position entailed “substantial administrative and planning responsibilities involving conference preparation, speaker arrangements, grant managements, outreach to faculty and graduate students (particularly women and minorities), and the publication of newsletters and proceedings.”¹²⁶ Kohn believed TUSS was also not active enough in outreach to HBCUs and women’s groups. Van Wyk had already established strong ties with African-American schools in the state and Kohn wanted to continue this effort.¹²⁷

For 1993, TUSS undertook several actions directed towards women and outreach to historically black colleges in North Carolina. A one-day TUSS conference on “Women’s International Human Rights” was held at Quail Roost on 27 March 1993. Shortly afterwards the spring Quail Roost conference focused on “Women and the Military,” attracting more than seventy participants. An outstanding selection of speakers made the conference a great success. The 2 – 3 April conference was sadly the last Quail Roost conference. The fall “Quail Roost” conference in October 1993 was held at the Carolina Inn on the UNC campus.¹²⁸ Also in October 1993, TUSS held its third annual workshop on graduate studies

¹²⁵ Memorandum for the Files from Henry Mattox on TUSS Reassessment, 5 November 1992, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

¹²⁶ Application for Triangle Universities Security Seminar Postdoctoral Fellowship, 15 June 1994, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

¹²⁷ Richard H. Kohn, interview by author, Durham, NC 28 January 2008.

¹²⁸ Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 8, No. 2, Summer 1993.

in international affairs and international security, hosting over eighty HBCU students and faculty at George Watts Hill Alumni Center at UNC. The workshop formed part of a larger Conference on International Careers in which TUSS joined the West Triangle and Wake County chapters of the UN Association, UNC, Duke, and NCSU as a sponsor.

In September, a TUSS outreach reassessment meeting was held in Greensboro between the Executive Committee and members of the HBCUs in North Carolina to discuss the future of the outreach program. This meeting coincided with the end of the current Ford Foundation grant and the development of new one for 1994. Five general initiatives for the outreach program were suggested in the meetings: the development of new courses with new methodologies, inclusion of security topics as partial modules within courses (modules taught by specialists), term-length seminars for undergraduates, guest speakers who could lend their expertise for a class on a specific topic, and seminars to assist HBCU professors in developing security studies.¹²⁹

During the meeting, Van Wyk spoke about a grant proposal to the U.S. Information Agency from TUSS, Johnson C. Smith University, and MGIMO to develop a partnership through the theme of “building democratic values through education.” The proposal intended to expand the informal relationship cultivated over the past two years into an interdisciplinary partnership which would, among other areas, “evaluate and revise the undergraduate and graduate degree requirements at MGIMO.” The proposal requested \$270,536 for an initial two-year period.¹³⁰ Van Wyk had met personally with the rector and

¹²⁹ Memorandum of Record from Dick Kohn on TUSS Outreach Reassessment Meeting, 21 September 1993, Greensboro Sheraton Hotel and Conference Center, 24 September 1993, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

¹³⁰ Proposal for a Partnership Between the Triangle Universities Security Seminar, Johnson C. Smith University, and Moscow State Institute of International Relations, Russia, 1993, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

vice rector of MGIMO, as well as the chancellor and provost at UNC and Johnson C. Smith University to develop the proposal and relationship.¹³¹ Unfortunately, as with the Carnegie proposal in 1987, the U.S. Information Agency did not support select the TUSS-Johnson C. Smith-MGIMO proposal, although Van Wyk acknowledged that “somebody funded bringing a student over [from Russia] and he got a masters in political science from UNC.”¹³²

Additionally in October 1993, Shaw University in Raleigh was awarded a research grant from the Department of Defense. The contract grant awarded \$320,585 to study why no African-American soldiers received the Congressional Medal of Honor during World War II. The principal investigator under the grant was Daniel Gibran, associate professor of international studies at Shaw. Kohn had been contacted by Gibran for help in applying for the contract, and Kohn later served as the project consultant. Archival research was completed in 1994 and the study delivered to the U.S. Army in January 1995 titled “The Medal of Honor and African Americans in the United States Army during World War II.” The U.S. Army, upon review of the study, recommended to Congress and the White House that seven African-Americans be award the Medal of Honor for their actions in World War II. On 13 January 1997 at a ceremony in the White House, President Bill Clinton awarded the medals, six posthumously. Kohn attended the ceremony with Gibran and remembered the project was “pure and simple the product of TUSS/TISS’s outreach to black schools...that resulted in righting an historic injustice. That thing would’ve never happened without TUSS/TISS.”¹³³

¹³¹ Russel Van Wyk, interview by author, Cary, NC, 15 August 2008.

¹³² Thomas E.E. Spooner to Russel Van Wyk, letter, 23 August 1993, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC; Russel Van Wyk, interview by author, Cary, NC, 15 August 2008.

¹³³ Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 9, No. 1, Winter 1994; Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 9, No. 2, Summer 1994; Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 12, No. 1, Winter 1997; Richard H. Kohn, interview by author, Durham, NC 28 January 2008. The study

This tremendous accomplishment notably occurred while the organization reorganized itself, including the name. In the fall of 1994, the Executive Committee asked “is TUSS really a seminar?” While a seminar is considered a small, usually temporary group gathered to discuss research and explore ideas, as an organization TUSS had over 750 members and was almost 40 years old. “Seminar” confused potential funders of the organization as being a temporary, rather than an established group.¹³⁴ Professor Holley, in a memorandum to Kohn, recommended leaving the “TUS” part alone, but changing the final letter from seminar to something else. He thought “syndicate,” “colloquium,” and “confederation” as the best choices. He rejected “collective,” largely because it “seemed to have a decidedly Marxist implication.”¹³⁵ Kohn himself was inclined to use either “Triangle Center for Security Studies (TCSS) or Triangle Institute for Security Studies (TISS).”¹³⁶

In the spring of 1995 the committee decided to rename the organization as the latter, and the organization’s third title has been ever since the Triangle Institute for Security Studies.¹³⁷ As explained in the newsletter:

The Executive Committee settled on “TISS” for several reasons. First, the term “institute” conveys the proper impression of a permanent organization without requiring the application and certification process within the state system that might have been required to become a “center.” “Security studies” has the virtue of retaining the two final letters in our acronym while being a roughly accurate description of the

was published as the book *The Exclusion of Black Soldiers from the Medal of Honor in World War II* in 1997 by McFarland and Company of Jefferson, NC. U.S. Army First Lieutenant Vernon Baker was the only living recipient. A complete listing of the recipients and their award citations is available online from the U.S. Army Center of Military History, <http://www.history.army.mil/html/moh/mohb.html> (accessed 15 May 2008).

¹³⁴ Triangle Universities Security Seminar Newsletter, Vol. 10, No. 1, Winter 1995.

¹³⁵ Memorandum from Bill Holley to Dick Kohn, 16 February 1995, Curriculum on Peace, War, and Defense archive, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, NC.

¹³⁶ Memorandum to TUSS Executive Committee from Dick Kohn, 13 March 1995, Curriculum on Peace, War, and Defense archive, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, NC.

¹³⁷ Richard Kohn to Geoffrey Wiseman, letter, 19 June 1995, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

academic terrain we cover. We wanted a new name that was not far from our old one, since we do not want to create the impression that our purpose or activities have changed.¹³⁸

This change was also testament to the longevity of the organization, which began as a small group of scholars interested in security matters and transitioned into an institute. Just prior to the name change, TUSS began the ambitious “Study of War” project.

Roland conceived the idea of the project at the end of the 1980s. Around 1923, University of Chicago professor Charles E. Merriam convened various faculty members, mostly from the social sciences, for research on the causes of war. A group of twenty-five research assistants led by professor Quincy Wright worked seven years to prepare sixty-six studies. A total of forty-five of the studies were accepted as masters theses or doctoral dissertations and ten books were published from the research. Wright eventually took his lectures from the 1933 – 1934 academic year discussing the results of the study and used them to write his two-volume classic *A Study of War*, published in 1942. Roland approached Kohn as the fiftieth anniversary of Wright’s magnum opus neared and thought TUSS could undertake a similar study. Unfortunately, there was not enough time to arrange the project for 1992.¹³⁹

The Executive Committee agreed to pursue the project in 1993. The logic behind the project became more than a mere homage to Wright’s work. The TISS newsletter explained:

As the twentieth century draws to a close, and in the wake of the Cold War, it may be time to undertake another comprehensive and authoritative treatment of war. Assembling and advancing research in the various relevant disciplines relating to the subject should be important not only to scholars

¹³⁸ Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 10, No. 2, Summer 1995.

¹³⁹ Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 9, No. 2, Summer 1994; Alex Roland, interview by author, Durham, NC, 25 January 2008.

in a number of fields, but also to policy-makers and the public in general throughout the world.¹⁴⁰

A series of ten one-day, disciplinary workshops were planned beginning in January 1994 and continuing through to April 1996. After these workshops, a plenary conference was planned, at which one person from each discipline/workshop was selected to summarize the state of scholarship on the topic of war in his or her discipline and “decide whether a major interdisciplinary project should undertake a scholarly study of war.” The workshops covered the following topics (in chronological order): anthropology, biological sciences, economics, sociology, law, history, psychology, literature, philosophy, religion, linguistics, conflict resolution, and political science.¹⁴¹

Roland did the bulk of the work of recruiting speakers and organizing the one-day workshops. The project was interdisciplinary at its core, much as Wright’s project had been decades prior. The workshops were all well attended by the TUSS/TISS membership and took place in Chapel Hill, Durham, and Raleigh. For Roland, all the workshops were a joy: “they went from good to fabulous.” The plenary conference took place 11 – 13 June 1997 at the First Division Museum at Cantigny in Wheaton, Illinois, funded in part by the Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation. Roland remembered at this session, “we got the anthropologists arguing with each other in just the way we would expect, and some people sort of arguing across disciplines in a very healthy, constructive way.”¹⁴²

A major purpose of the plenary session was to assess if TISS should undertake a long-range, long-term Study of War project. Anticipated as a ten-year effort, the project would be a collaborative effort drawing upon faculty and graduate students from across the

¹⁴⁰ Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 9, No. 2, Summer 1994.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Alex Roland, interview by author, Durham, NC, 25 January 2008; Richard H. Kohn, interview by author, Durham, NC 28 January 2008; Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 12, No. 2, Summer 1997.

Triangle and the United States. The TISS newsletter detailed how “selected participants would prepare studies focusing on issues identified by the committee as crucial to the larger project. TISS expects the research agenda to evolve dialectically as scholars discover new and unanticipated avenues of research and as emerging studies reshape the committee’s views of the state of our knowledge.” This dream, however, did not materialize. Eleven papers from the plenary session were eventually collected for publication, but never found their way into print. The entire process, however, did yield tangible results for TISS. Kohn felt TISS “took away from it a very keen appreciation for what some disciplines were doing with the study of war and what some were not. I think it was a very stimulating intellectual exercise for the TISS community. Insofar as TISS was an interdisciplinary operation, we brought in disciplines we had never brought in before.”¹⁴³

Amidst the Study of War project, TISS remained busy with administrative and outreach changes. In 1996, TISS worked with former post-doctoral fellow Henry Mattox in the creation of the electronic journal *American Diplomacy*. Mattox, former Foreign Service officer, led a group of retired diplomats in the Research Triangle to launch the journal with the assistance of UNC, TISS, and PWAD. Available free to all users, the journal offered commentary and opinion on foreign affairs, national security issues, and diplomatic history. Today, the journal has reached readers in over sixty-two countries across the globe. The goal for the journal has remained:

to draw on the expertise of actual practitioners of diplomacy as well as the analytical skills of outstanding academicians to educate readers regarding current international issues in a responsible, nonpartisan manner not readily available

¹⁴³ Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 12, No. 1, Winter 1997; Richard H. Kohn, interview by author, Durham, NC 28 January 2008. The TUSS/TISS Study of War project is not entirely dead, as the study intends to be published on the TISS website in the foreseeable future.

elsewhere. Also, through the publication of the memoirs of retired and active Foreign Service personnel we hoped to promote greater public understanding of the rigors and rewards of Foreign Service life and of the role of diplomats in shaping and carrying out American foreign policy. It was our further hope that the journal might interest youthful readers in considering the Foreign Service as a career.¹⁴⁴

Kohn took leave as Executive Secretary for the 1995 – 1996 academic year to work on his research, with Van Wyk acting as Executive Secretary during this period.¹⁴⁵

Also that academic year, Kohn and Van Wyk invited Samuel Wells of the Woodrow Wilson Center to advise TISS on fundraising and long-term planning.¹⁴⁶ In his report, Wells commented that the “lack of basic research and publication for the Institute reflects the situation that the researchers associated with TISS do not share a central core of interests.” To remedy this, he suggested that the organizational objective “should be to provide an umbrella for research and to maintain a network to support teaching and community education and outreach in the broad field of security studies.” Coupled with the actions taken by Kohn and the Executive Committee, the changes sought to produce a “leaner and more focused operation, better prepared to compete for funding in a post-Cold War era in which foundation support for security studies is considerably reduced.”¹⁴⁷

When the Ford Foundation funding ended in 1996, TISS reduced the post-doctoral fellowships to one position.¹⁴⁸ Kohn took leave again for research during the 1996 – 1997 academic year and Cori Dauber, professor of communication studies at UNC, became acting

¹⁴⁴ Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 11, No. 2, Summer 1996; Bart Moon, “About American Diplomacy,” American Diplomacy Publishers, Chapel Hill, NC, http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/static/about_history.html (accessed 15 May 2008).

¹⁴⁵ Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 10, No. 2, Summer 1995.

¹⁴⁶ Memorandum from Russ Van Wyk to T.I.S.S. Core Members, 20 September 1995, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC.

¹⁴⁷ Samuel F. Wells, Jr. to Russel Van Wyk, letter, 5 February 1996, Curriculum on Peace, War, and Defense archive, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, NC.

¹⁴⁸ Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 11, No. 2, Summer 1996.

Executive Secretary.¹⁴⁹ On 12 May 1997, the TISS Executive Committee met with representatives from St. Augustine's College, NCCU, Winston-Salem State University, and Shaw University to “discuss how TISS can improve its efforts to support faculty from North Carolina's historically black colleges and universities.” At the recommendation to move from *outreach* to *inclusion*, the Executive Committee voted to expand the board to include two members from the NCCIE.¹⁵⁰ Newly expanded and fresh on the heels of the Study of War project, TISS began an even more extensive and ambitious research project.

The Civil-Military Relations project began in 1997 thanks to a convergence of individual actions and interests. The project upon completion garnered national and international attention for TISS at the start of the new millennium. Holsti noted how he came across an article in the *Wall Street Journal* by Thomas E. Ricks on the growing divide between civilians and the military in the U.S. Holsti felt that much of Ricks's article was based on speculative data. Consequently, using some of his own research information, he substantiated Ricks's claims. Ricks, in turn, used a draft of Holsti's data for an expanded *Wall Street Journal* article.¹⁵¹ While Holsti was confirming Ricks's observations, Kohn was asked by the Smith Richardson Foundation if he would be interested “in doing something on the gap between the military and society.” Kohn sent an email around TISS asking who would be interested and Peter Feaver of the Duke Political Science department accepted the challenge. Smith Richardson requested that Kohn and Feaver work together on the project and awarded TISS a \$500,000 grant.¹⁵²

With Feaver and Kohn as the principal investigators, the project assembled an

¹⁴⁹ Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 12, No. 1, Winter 1997.

¹⁵⁰ Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 12, No. 2, Summer 1997.

¹⁵¹ Ole Holsti, interview by author, Durham, NC, 31 January 2008.

¹⁵² Richard H. Kohn, interview by author, Durham, NC 28 January 2008.

impressive array of scholars. “We could target scholars who really did the things that we wanted to do, and we could offer them some support and support for their graduate students,” remarked Roland about the Smith Richardson funding. The project, “Bridging the Gap: Assuring Military Effectiveness When Military Culture Diverges from Civilian Society,” sought to answer three main questions: what is the nature of the gap, what factors shape the gap, and what does the gap matter for public policy. Faculty and graduate students from Duke, UNC, the University of Maryland, University of Kentucky, University of Wisconsin, Duquesne, the U.S. Military Academy, Temple University, UCLA, Loyola – Chicago, SUNY – Albany, Florida International, and the University of Chicago participated. A major survey of approximately 250 questions each tailored to civil – military relations issues was conducted, one of civilian elites, one of military officer opinion, and one – a shortened version to be administered by telephone – of the general public. The larger of the two for military personnel, civilian elites and officers in-residence at the state and war colleges, was also given to undergraduates at the service academies and ROTC units nationwide.¹⁵³

In 2000 the project’s work came to fruition. Approximately 4,891 military personnel and civilians were surveyed. Feaver detailed how the project “produced a lot more than I expected. We showed that it was a much more complex problem than the op-ed commentary on the subject up to that point had indicated, although of course we knew this before going in and were doing serious social science that we knew was going to present a more complex picture.”¹⁵⁴ The project’s findings were published by MIT Press in 2001 as *Soldiers and*

¹⁵³ “Civil-Military Relations Methods,” Triangle Institute for Security Studies, <http://www.pubpol.duke.edu/centers/tiss/research/cmr/civmilmethod.php> (accessed 3 January 2009); Alex Roland, interview by author, Durham, NC, 25 January 2008; Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 13, Summer 1998; Richard H. Kohn, telephone conversation with author, Durham to Raleigh, NC, 29 July 2008.

¹⁵⁴ Peter Feaver, interview by author via telephone, Durham, NC to Raleigh, NC, 19 December 2008.

Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security, and in a special edition of *Armed Forces and Society* in the winter of 2000, titled “Media and Education in the U.S. Civil-Military Gap.”¹⁵⁵

Together or separately, Kohn and Feaver conducted over sixty separate briefings. Notable among those briefed were F. Whitten Peters, Secretary of the Air Force; Dr. Morton Halperin, Director, Policy Planning, State Department; Dr. Hans Binnendyk, Senior Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control on the National Security Council Staff; Congressman Ike Skelton (D-MO); General Richard B. Myers, Vice-Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff; Bernard Rostker, Undersecretary of the Army; Lt. Gen. Daniel J. Kaufman, Superintendent, U.S. Military Academy; General Eric Shinseki, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army; General James Jones, Commandant, Marine Corps; and General Michael Ryan, Chief of Staff, Air Force. The project received press coverage in the *New York Times*, *Washington Times*, *The Washington Post*, *USA Today*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Agence France Presse*, *China Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *NBC Nightly News*, and *The Newshour with Jim Lehrer*, among others.¹⁵⁶

Within the TISS community, the project’s recognition validated the organization’s efforts over the past forty years. “Boy, that was a good study,” noted Roland; “it was done with core faculty here and graduate students and inviting the right people and bringing them in. It was focused, relevant, contemporary, significant, done well, done on time, and came to really clear important conclusions that every time Kohn and Feaver went out to brief that, we

¹⁵⁵ Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 15, 2000.

¹⁵⁶ “Focused Briefings, Triangle Institute for Security Studies, Durham, NC, <http://www.pubpol.duke.edu/centers/tiss/research/cmr/briefings.php> (accessed 15 May 2008); “Discussion in the Media,” Triangle Institute for Security Studies, Durham, NC, <http://www.pubpol.duke.edu/centers/tiss/research/cmr/media.php> (accessed 15 May 2008). Both of these links include complete listings of the briefings and media mentions of the Civil-Military Relations project.

were getting this great advertising.”¹⁵⁷ Kohn resolutely stated how the project “really put TISS on the map from a research perspective,” and thought “it was a very successful program because it contradicted the anecdotal evidence to a large part, and a lot of assumptions in people’s minds.”¹⁵⁸ The project in Holsti’s opinion embodied “the ability of people in the organization to...instead of being stuck in old traditional ways of thinking to look beyond that.” This was representative of the evolution from DUNC to TISS. Fifty years before, a proposal for conducting a research study would have probably been met with a book suggestion.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Alex Roland, interview by author, Durham, NC, 25 January 2008.

¹⁵⁸ Richard H. Kohn, interview by author, Durham, NC 28 January 2008.

¹⁵⁹ Ole Holsti, interview by author, Durham, NC, 31 January 2008.

PART IV

Today and Tomorrow: The New Millennium

The new millennium brought significant administrative changes to TISS. At the end of 1999, Kohn stepped down as Executive Secretary and Feaver became Director of the organization.¹⁶⁰ This was the first time since the 1960s that leadership was assumed by someone at Duke rather than UNC. The TISS offices moved from UNC to Duke, ending a forty year tradition. At the same time, TISS broke with its customary reliance on post-doctoral fellows. To reduce costs and also ensure more administrative continuity, daily operations of the organization was entrusted to a part time staff member. The last post-doctoral fellow, Carolyn Pumphrey, became its first Coordinator in January 2000.

After a brief stop on Campus Drive, TISS set up shop in the John Hope Franklin Center for Interdisciplinary and International Studies as part of Duke University's International Studies program.¹⁶¹ In 2005 it moved to Rubenstein Hall and came under the administrative umbrella of the Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy. Here it has thrived. As part of its "Wielding American Power" grant, the Carnegie Foundation provided funds to TISS to rebuild its website. A visit to <http://www.tiss-nc.org> provides free access to all the TISS and TISS newsletters, information on research projects, contact information, and a wealth of additional information.¹⁶²

In the fall of 2000, Feaver and Hein Goemans of Duke launched the "New Faces" Conference. The conference was designed to foster and promote efforts at interdisciplinary scholarship in security studies by inviting advanced graduate students and recent PhDs from

¹⁶⁰ Feaver remains the director at the time of this history.

¹⁶¹ Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 14, 1999; Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 15, 2000.

¹⁶² Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 20, Fall 2005; Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 21, Fall 2006; Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 22, 2007.

across the country to present their research. The purpose of the conference – which is still ongoing- is “to provide young and upcoming scholars with the opportunity to get critical feedback on their work at a vital time in their career.” It gives them a chance to foster links with other scholars and thereby promote interdisciplinary studies. It also has had considerable benefit for local graduate students, who have been able to participate in the event as speakers and discussants, and has given TISS quite a bit of visibility across the nation, especially among political science departments. The conference “makes TISS known in the community of younger scholars,” proudly acknowledged Feaver.¹⁶³ In fact, Penn State recently started a New Faces Conference, modeled on the TISS program, recognition of the great utility of the conference. At the time of this writing, TISS will be holding the ninth annual New Faces Conference in the fall of 2008, a testament to the quality and vitality of this program.¹⁶⁴

During this same period TISS decided to involve more undergraduates in the organization. Many meetings had always been open to the public, but seminars had generally been reserved for graduate students and faculty members. In the fall of 2000, Duke University alumnus Warren Wickersham offered to subsidize undergraduates from Duke so that they could afford to attend TISS conferences. A handful of undergraduates became formal members of TISS and joined the mailing list. The Duke students were known as Wickersham Undergraduate Fellows. TISS allocated matching funds to permit students from NCSU and UNC also to participate as Millennium Undergraduate Fellows. Since the program began in the 2000 – 2001 academic year, TISS has invited on average over a dozen to three dozen undergraduates a year to participate in the organization’s conferences and

¹⁶³ Peter Feaver, interview by author via telephone, Durham, NC to Raleigh, NC, 19 December 2008.

¹⁶⁴ Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 15, 2000.

events.¹⁶⁵ In 2006, to simplify matters, all undergraduates became known as Wickersham Scholars.

In 2003, TISS began another research project, this time in collaboration with Duke's Terry Sanford Institute for Public Policy. Generously funded by the Carnegie Corporation, the project, "Wielding American Power: Managing Interventions after September 11," was directed by Peter Feaver and Duke professor Bruce W. Jentleson. The project focused examined the role of American power. Researchers asked two main questions. First, what is the scope of American power and what limits it? And second, what scope and limits should there be?¹⁶⁶

The project built on the success of the Civil-Military Gap research. Asked to comment about the project, Feaver explained:

It was a very rich project, spread over a broader topic area [than the Civil-Military Gap research]. We wanted to study in the post 9-11 world what America's role in the world is, and what are the kinds of questions that emerge from it. It turns out we had a community of people here at TISS that were asking different parts of that question that fit together under the broad umbrella of wielding American power.

Chris [Gelpi] and I picked up on the thesis that had been identified in our earlier book about public casualty tolerance, and designed a focused study on American casualties, views on casualties, and how this shapes their willingness to support military operations, and that became a very high profile piece of that whole project, and that got a lot of attention in the media and in the policy world because it was so timely and it

¹⁶⁵ Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 15, 2000.; "Undergraduate Programs," Triangle Institute for Security Studies, Durham, NC, <http://www.pubpol.duke.edu/centers/tiss/about/Wickershams.php> (accessed 16 May 2008).

¹⁶⁶ Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 18, Fall 2003. For a thorough outline and write-up of the Wielding American Power project study, see "Wielding American Power," Triangle Institute for Security Studies, Durham, NC, <http://www.pubpol.duke.edu/centers/tiss/research/power/> (accessed 16 May 2008).

involved a series of surveys we conducted from 2003 to 2004 as the Iraq War was unfolding.¹⁶⁷

Interdisciplinary groups of scholars were organized for the project. A team of Allen Buchanan and Robert Keohane focused on key normative issues of legitimacy raised by preventive war strategies, while a group composed of Feaver, Christopher Gelpi, graduate student Jason Reifler, and Holsti addressed the crucial U.S. domestic political dilemma of public opinion on the use of force. Steven Wilkinson's group examined the impact of economic liberalization on ethnic conflict, and finally the Jentleson project group reviewed the policy relevance of Carnegie's International Peace and Security "Self-Determination" grants program. Data was gathered in 2003 and 2004 and TISS held a conference on 7 February 2004 to review the project findings. A second conference was held from 14 – 15 February 2005 in Washington, DC cosponsored by the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, to facilitate participation from government policy-makers. A third conference from 17 – 18 February 2006 was funded by the Carnegie Corporation's No-Cost Extension, designed to examine the causes and consequences of both combatant and noncombatant casualties in warfare.¹⁶⁸

The project, which ended in 2006, resulted in a number of publications. Buchanan and Keohane published their findings in an article "The Preventive Use of Force: A Cosmopolitan Institutional Proposal," in *Ethics and International Affairs*, January 2004. Feaver, Gelpi, and Reifler prepared a book, *Paying the Human Costs of War: American Public Opinion and Casualties in Military Conflicts*, which was published by Princeton University Press in 2009. Utilizing the project research, Holsti reviewed and analyzed the

¹⁶⁷ Peter Feaver, interview by author via telephone, Durham, NC to Raleigh, NC, 19 December 2008.

¹⁶⁸ Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 20, Fall 2005; "Wielding American Power: Managing Interventions After September 11 – General Findings," Triangle Institute for Security Studies, Durham, NC, <http://www.pubpol.duke.edu/centers/tiss/research/power/findings.php> (accessed 16 May 2008).

extensive body of polling data on global attitudes towards American foreign policy using international survey data. His book, *To See Ourselves as Others See Us*, is in the final stages of publication at the time of this writing. Besides the *Report on Policy Relevance of The Carnegie Corporation's International Peace and Security 'Self- Determination' Grants Program*" Jentleson also worked on a book, *Force and Diplomacy: Striking a Balance*, due for publication shortly.¹⁶⁹

The Wielding Power project has had a marked effect on public discourse. In particular, it has been influential in shaping public perceptions of casualty aversion. The theory that the American public is willing to accept casualties provided that they see the possibility of victory was one with great resonance at a time when the United States was deeply embroiled in a conflict in Iraq. Gelpi, Feaver, and Reifler briefed their research widely throughout the world, the country, the media, and especially the policymaking community, including both the Bush and the Kerry campaigns in 2004. Peter Feaver served on the National Security Council staff from 2005 to 2007 and ensured that some of these ideas were heard at the highest level.

Over the last ten years, TISS has continued to produce timely conferences and workshops. A number of these were conducted jointly with, and partly funded by, the U.S Army War College's Strategic Studies Institute. Quite a few were attended by students from Fort Bragg's John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center. Several of them proved to be particularly prescient. The Conference on Transnational Threats took place before 11 September 2001, and the conference on the American Media in Wartime took place on the very day that U.S. troops moved into Iraq during Operation Iraqi Freedom. One of the

¹⁶⁹ Triangle Institute for Security Studies Newsletter, Vol. 21, Fall 2006; Ole Holsti, interview by author, Durham, NC, 31 January 2008.

speakers scheduled to participate was an embedded journalist advancing with U.S. combat personnel.

The most recent conference, on Global Climate Change, has continued to stimulate interest at the highest level. The conferences organized during this period were relatively small in size (about 80 to 120 persons) but did result in publications, which made the ideas more widely available. The published conference proceedings include *Transnational Threats: Blending Law Enforcement and Military Strategies* (2000), *The Rise of China in Asia: Security Implications* (2002), and *Global Climate Change: National Security Implications* (2008). All three books were edited by TISS Program and Outreach Coordinator Carolyn Pumphrey and published by the U.S. Army War College's Strategic Studies Institute (SSI). A monograph, *Deception 101 – Primer on Deception*, was also published by SSI from a talk given by Joseph Caddell at the Fall 2003 conference.

Armed Conflict in Africa, edited by Pumphrey and Rye Schwartz-Barcott and published by Scarecrow Press in 2003, was based on a conference held in February 1999 co-sponsored by TISS, the University Center for International Studies (UNC), *American Diplomacy*, and the Institute for African-American Research (UNC). It has been considered one of the finest ever conducted by TISS. Kohn believes that “the quality of the people that Carolyn [Pumphrey] found was just breathtaking. The quality of the conference was as high as any conference I have ever been to,” a sentiment also expressed by Caddell.¹⁷⁰ The decision to publish the conference proceedings was not only in response to the deep and breadth of the speakers, but to “bridge the gap between African studies and security studies,”

¹⁷⁰ Richard H. Kohn, interview by author, Durham, NC, 28 January 2008; Joseph Caddell, interview by author, Chapel Hill, NC, 22 January 2008.

to stimulate the readers as much as the conference did the attendees.¹⁷¹

Over the last decade, TISS continued its efforts to bring quality speakers to the people of North Carolina. The speakers program which began in 1984 was maintained even after staff cutbacks which resulted in cutbacks in other outreach efforts. Each year TISS draws upon its members – faculty, graduate students, and men and women retired from the military, intelligence, and diplomatic services – to produce a list of qualified speakers. TISS then sends these speakers to community groups who are interested in learning more about national security issues. Since 1993, TISS has organized 306 talks.¹⁷²

This service, always valuable, became particularly important early in the new millennium. On 11 September 2001, terrorists affiliated with the Al-Qaeda terrorist organization crashed hijacked American commercial aircraft into the World Trade Center Towers and the Pentagon. Across the campuses of the Triangle and in local communities, citizens sought to engage in informed discussion. TISS provided speakers who had thought long and deeply about these issues. In 2005 it joined a group of community colleges in an effort to help educate first responders about terrorism.

At the beginning of this history in the fall of 2007, TISS was continuing to bring to the Research Triangle speakers who have been at the forefront of American security and foreign policy. In October 2007, former U.S. Secretary of Defense under President Bill Clinton, William Perry, was the first keynote speaker invited to help open the new Global Education Center at UNC with an address and a panel discussion on global security with various TISS members. Perry was accompanied by professors Gerhard Weinberg, Cori

¹⁷¹ Carolyn Pumphrey and Rye Schwartz-Barcott, eds., *Armed Conflict in Africa* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2003), xii.

¹⁷² Triangle Institute for Security Studies Annual Reports on Outreach, 2001 – 2007, Triangle Institute for Security Studies archive, Durham, NC. Of note, speaker requests peaked sharply in 2002-03 as a result of post 9-11 interest.

Dauber, Timothy McKeown, Peter Feaver, and Richard Kohn. Perry spoke on the change from a Cold War military structure to the conflict in Iraq, acknowledging the problems facing the United States, particularly the need to restore American prestige and credibility both militarily and diplomatically. These needs, Perry contended, would have to be of the highest importance for the new presidential administration.¹⁷³

On 5 March 2008, Zbigniew Brzezinski, former U.S. National Security Advisor to President Jimmy Carter, spoke as the second keynote speaker for the celebration of the opening of the Global Education Center at UNC. His appearance organized by TISS, Brzezinski spoke about how the future of security depends on the interaction of three trends: a global political awakening, the rapid rise of critical global problems that cannot be resolved by any one country (centrality of global issues), and the massive shift in global distribution of power from the Atlantic region to Asia. These three issues, argued Brzezinski, will guide the United States in the twenty-first century. Kohn and Feaver served as discussants for Brzezinski's talk and as moderators for a question-and-answer session from the audience of undergraduates, graduate students, faculty, university administrators, TISS members, retired diplomats and military personnel, and the public.¹⁷⁴

In 2008, Feaver launched a new program at Duke under TISS auspices called the Program on American Grand Strategy (AGS). Inspired in part by the Yale program on Grand Strategy and also by the long-term successful partnership between TISS and the Peace, War, and Defense curriculum at UNC, the AGS program seeks to deepen the community of scholars — undergraduates, graduates, and faculty — at Duke studying issues of America's

¹⁷³ William Perry, "Global Security: Challenges Now and in the Future," (panel discussion, Global Education Center, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, NC, 20 October 2007), notes by author.

¹⁷⁴ Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Global Security Challenges," (lecture and discussion, Global Education Center, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, NC, 5 March 2008), notes by author.

role in the world, historically and today. The AGS program has partnered with TISS to bring numerous high-level speakers to the area, including David Sanger of the NYT, Kurt Campbell of the Center for New American Security, Deputy National Security Advisor Juan Zarate, and John Lewis Gaddis.

While TISS's core membership remains historians and political scientists, the composition of the organization has changed dramatically over the past half century. From DUNC beginning as a small, local group of professors at two universities, TISS now has a membership that numbers close to a thousand. University professors of philosophy, sociology, physics, chemistry, religion, communications, and languages have diversified the field of security studies. Students from the high school level to doctoral candidates can hear TISS speakers and attend conferences. TISS moved the organization to be a regional entity, and the more recent research projects into the Civil-Military Gap and Wielding of American Power have brought TISS to a level of national recognition and notoriety.

As TISS celebrates fifty years of interdisciplinary, interinstitutional scholarship, research, and education, the organization can take pride in its accomplishments. The countless speakers at conferences and evening lectures have been a virtual "who's who" of top scholars, journalists, policy-makers, and observers of domestic and international security matters. TISS publications and research projects have reached and influenced Americans from the high school level to the White House. Graduate and undergraduate student participants in the organization have gone on to distinguished careers in collegiate institutions, the armed forces, and in the federal government. When Theodore Ropp, I.B. Holley, Harold Parker, Fred Lane, Robin Higham, Shepard Jones, Andrew Scott, Raymond Dawson, Robert Connery, and Keener Frazer first created the Duke University – University

of North Carolina National Security Policy Seminar, little could they have imagined how a shared interest in scholarship on national security would transform itself into the Southeast's premier institution for research and education on the subject.

Appendix 1 – TUSS/TISS Executive Directors

Name	University	Academic Year(s)
Dr. James R. Leutze	UNC-CH	1984 – 1987
Dr. Robert Ruben	UNC-CH	1987 – 1988
Dr. R. Don Higginbotham	UNC-CH	1988 – 1991
Dr. Russel Van Wyk (AD)	UNC-CH	1991 – 1992
Dr. Richard H. Kohn	UNC-CH	1992 – 1999
Dr. Russel Van Wyk (AD)	UNC-CH	1995 – 1996
Dr. Cori Dauber (AD)	UNC-CH	1997
Dr. Peter Feaver	Duke	2000 – Present
Dr. Charles Carlton (AD)	NCSU	2001 – 2002
Dr. Alex Roland (AD)	Duke	2005 – 2007

AD = Acting Director

Appendix 2 – TUSS/TISS Executive Board Members

Name Year(s)	University	Academic
Dr. Tami Biddle	Duke	2000 – 2002
Dr. William Boettcher	NCSU	2006 – Present
Dr. Linda Brady	NCSU	2002 – 2006
Dr. Charles Carlton	NCSU	1994 – 2005
Dr. Mark Crescenzi	UNC-CH	2007 – Present
Dr. Cori Dauber	UNC-CH	1997 – 1998
Dr. Robert H. Dorff	NCSU	1984 – 1997
Dr. Eugene Eaves	NCCU	1998 – 2006
Dr. Jeffrey Elliot	NCCU	2006 – Present
Dr. Peter Feaver	Duke	1998 – 2001
		2002 – 2005
		2007 – Present
Dr. Christopher Gelpi	Duke	2005 – 2007
Dr. John Gilbert	NCSU	1984 – 1994
Dr. Joseph Glatthaar	UNC-CH	2006 – 2007
Dr. Karen Hagemann	UNC-CH	2007 – Present
Dr. R. Don Higginbotham	UNC-CH	1988 – 1991
Dr. Ole Holsti	Duke	1984 – 1998
Dr. Richard H. Kohn	UNC-CH	1992 – 2006
Dr. Bruce Kuniholm	Duke	1987 – 1989
Dr. James Leutze	UNC-CH	1984 – 1987
Dr. Timothy McKeown	UNC-CH	1989 – 2007
Dr. Nancy Mitchell	NCSU	2005 – Present
Dr. Kristen Neuschel	Duke	2001 – 2002
Dr. Alex Roland	Duke	1984 – 2000
		2003 – Present
Dr. Robert Rupen	UNC-CH	1986 – 1988
Dr. Andrew Scott	UNC-CH	1984 – 1989
Scott Silliman	Duke	2001 – 2002
Dr. Thomas H. Stafford, Jr.	NCSU	1997 – 2001
Dr. Russel Van Wyk	UNC-CH	1991 – 1992
Dr. Alicia Ward	Shaw	1997 – 1998

Appendix 3 – T USS/TISS Post-Doctoral Fellows

Name	Academic Year
Joseph W. Caddell	1984 – 1985
Arthur Echerd	1984 – 1985
Everard Smith	1985 – 1986
David W. Hogan	1986 – 1987
Luba Rucanska	1987 – 1989
Mark Thompson	1989 – 1990
Russel Van Wyk	1989 – 1991
Elizabeth Rogers	1990 – 1991
Alan Downs	1991 – 1992
Ted Phillips	1991 – 1992
Henry Mattox	1992 – 1994
Jill Stuart	1992 – 1993
Matthew Oyo s	1993 – 1996
Benjamin Fordham	1994 – 1995
Patrick Cronin	1995 – 1996
Douglas Peifer	1996 – 1997
Carolyn Pumphrey	1997 – 2000

Appendix 4 – TUSS/TISS Conferences

Spring (April) 1980: U.S. – Soviet Relations in the 1980s

Panel Discussion: “What National Security Threat Does or Might the Soviet Union Post for the United States?”

Participants:

William Dyess, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State
Raymond Garthoff, Brookings Institution
Richard Lowenthal, National Humanities Center
Andrew Marshall, Department of Defense

Spring (April) 1981: U.S. National Security – Agenda for the 1980s

Speakers:

Colin Gray, Hudson Institute: “U.S. Strategic Options for the 1980s”
Steven Rosefielde, UNC-CH: “Calculating the Soviet Defense Budget”
Bruce Kuniholm, Duke Univ.: “American Interests in the Persian Gulf”
James Harf, Ohio State Univ.: “Problems in Teaching National Security Issues”
Lawrence J. Korb, Department of Defense: “U.S. Defense Policies in the 1980s”
William Beecher, *Boston Globe*: “A Journalist’s View of National Security Policy”

Spring (March) 1982: National Security Issues for the 1980s

Speakers:

Jack H. Behrman, UNC-CH: “Economic Bases for the Security Alliance”
Heinrich Vogel, Woodrow Wilson Center: “The State of East-West Relations – A German View”
Steven L. Canby, Defense Consultant: “What Wastes and Mismanagement Really Are: Can Strategy and Tactical Method Eliminate Them?”
Albert Carnesale, Harvard Univ.: “The Future of Nuclear Weapons”
Robert Art, Brandeis Univ.: “NATO in the Era of Parity”

Debate: “Two Views of Soviet Power”

Participants:

Steven Rosefielde, UNC-CH
Richard A. Stubbing, Duke Univ.

Spring (April) 1983: National Security Issues for the 1980s

Speakers:

June Teufel Dryer, Univ. of Miami: “Civil-Military Relations in China”
George Quester, Univ. of Maryland: “Nuclear Proliferation”
Gregory Treverton, Harvard Univ.: “Security Issues in Latin America”
Thomas Trout, Univ. of New Hampshire: “Teaching the Basic National Security Course”
James Harf, Ohio State Univ.: “Comparing the Basic National Security Textbooks”
Jeffrey Record, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis: “Rapid Deployment and American Security in the Persian Gulf”
Franklin Spinney, Department of Defense: “Defense Planning and Weapons Procurement”

Spring (March) 1984: National Security Issues for the 1980s

Note: This is the first TUSS conference

Speakers:

- Richard K. Betts, Brookings Institution: “Conventional Deterrence: Braking the New Optimism”
- John Mearsheimer, Univ. of Chicago: “The Conventional Balance in Europe”
- Christopher Hill, Woodrow Wilson Center: “European Foreign Policy Cooperation and its place in International Politics”
- Robin Dorff, NCSU: “Teaching National Security Today”
- Bruce Kuniholm, Duke Univ.: “Turkey and the Persian Gulf”
- Graeme Bannerman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Staff: “Foreign Aid and Foreign Policy Making”

Spring (March) 1985: National Security Issues for the 1980s

Speakers:

- Steven L. Canby, C&L Associates: “From Conventional Inferiority to Superiority at \$75 Billion Less”
- Zara Steiner, Cambridge Univ.: “Intelligence Operations and Foreign Policy”
- Robin Wright, *The Sunday Times*: “Shi’ite Terrorism”
- William R. Corson, Lt. Col., U.S. Marine Corps, retired, *Penthouse* and *Omni*: “Covert Operations in the U.S. by Soviet Intelligence Organizations”
- Patrick Parker, Naval Postgraduate School: “Arms Control and Deterrence”
- William LeoGrande, American Univ.: “The Current Crisis in Central America”
- Tom Latimer, House Committee on Intelligence Staff: “U.S. Intelligence and Foreign Policy”

Fall (November) 1985: United States – Soviet Relations

Speakers:

- Robert Rupen, UNC-CH: “The Evil Empire”
- Jerry Hough, Duke Univ.: “Domestic Imperatives of Soviet Foreign Policy”
- Paul S. Sarbanes, United States Senate: “Observations on U.S. – Soviet Relations”
- Alvin Rubinstein, Univ. of Pennsylvania: “Rivalry in the Third World as a Factor in the Future of Soviet-American Relations”
- Vojtech Mastny, Boston Univ.: “The Role of Eastern Europe in U.S. – Soviet Relations”
- Robert Kaiser, *The Washington Post*: “The Enduring Irony of Soviet-American Relations – Nothing to Fight About and No Way to Cooperate”
- Roy M. Melbourne, U.S. Foreign Service, Retired: “Commentary and Overview”

Spring (March) 1986: Science, Technology, and the Military

Speakers:

- John M. Collins, Library of Congress: “An Overview of the U.S. – Soviet Military Balance”
- Gordon McCormick, RAND Corp: “Changing Technology and its Implications For Naval Strategy”
- Daniel O. Graham, High Frontier: “SDI – A Change in Strategy from Offense-Only Mutually Assured Destruction to Defense-Oriented Assured Survival”

Dietrich Schroerer, UNC-CH: "Verification – A Technical or Political Issue?"
James C. Fletcher, Univ. of Pittsburgh: "SDI – Is it the Principal Focus of New Technology?"
Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Institute for Policy Analysis: "Extended Deterrence and Strategic Defense: Political-Technical Issues"
Jack Ruina, MIT: "The ABM Treaty and Evolving Technology"
Robert O'Connell, ACDA: "Weapons History and its Meaning for the Future"

Fall (October – November) 1986: The Lessons of Vietnam

Speakers:

George C. Herring, Univ. of Kentucky: "Vietnam and the Uses of History"
Ole Holsti, Duke Univ.: "The Lessons of Vietnam: Surveys of American Leaders, 1976, 1980, 1984"
Alexander S. Cochran, Jr., U.S. Army Center of Military History: "Observations on the Impact of Vietnam Upon American Military Doctrine"
Timothy J. Lomperis, Duke Univ.: "The Fraud of People's War"
Sandie Fauriol, Project on the Vietnam Generation: "Different Methods of Teaching the Vietnam War"
Guenter Lewy, Univ. of Mass.-Amherst: "Five Lessons of the Vietnam War"
General John W. Vogt, U.S. Air Force, retired: "LINEBACKER and the Easter Offensive"
Paul M. Kattenburg, UNC-CH: "Vietnam Today: Judging the Past from the Present"

Spring (March) 1987: National Security Needs and Resources

Speakers:

James Clay Thompson, UNC-G: "Introductory Remarks: A Broad View of Defense Resources, Strategies, and Policies"
Rear Admiral William C. Mott, U.S. Navy, retired: "Trouble in the Third Kingdom"
Marvin S. Soroos, NCSU: "Security and Multiple Global Interdependencies"
David R. Segal, Univ. of Maryland: "The All Volunteer Force in the 1980s"
Robert J. Art, Brandeis Univ.: "Legislating Defense: Congress and the Defense Budget"
Linda R. Bradley, Emory Univ.: "The Pentagon and Defense Choices"
Theodore Ropp, Duke Univ.: "Some Conclusions"

Fall (October) 1987: The Military and the Third World

Speakers:

Tito Chingunji, UNITA: "Current Situation in Angola"
Paul B. Henze, RAND Corp.: "Military Communism in Ethiopia"
Stephanie G. Neumann, Columbia Univ.: "The Arms Sales and Third World: Lessons From Recent Wars"
Larry P. Goodson, UNC-CH: "The Afghan Mujahideen: A Personal Account"
Stephen T. Leonard, UNC-CH: "Theory and Practice of Liberation Theology"
Rear Admiral William C. Mott, U.S. Navy, retired: "The USSR and the National Liberation Wars"

Panel Discussion: “Congress, the Military, and the Presidential Elections”

Participants:

Robert J. Art, Brandeis Univ., Chair
Archie D. Barrett, House Committee on Armed Services Staff
Alton Frye, Council on Foreign Relations
Lawrence J. Korb, Univ. of Pittsburgh
Thomas L. McNaugher, Brookings Institution

Spring (March) 1988: The Nuclear Age

Speakers:

Gerard Clarfield, Univ. of Missouri: “Nuclear History: 1940-1980”
Michael Nacht, Univ. of Maryland: “Nuclear Weapons Policy: The Past and the Future”
George H. Quester, Univ. of Maryland: “Nuclear vs. Conventional Defenses for NATO: What is New?”
Albert Carnesale, Harvard Univ.: “Avoiding Nuclear War in the Longer Run”
Cynthia Robert, Hunter College: “The USSR and the Nuclear Era”
Edward Luttwak, Center for Strategic and International Studies: “The Nuclear Era is Over”
Richard Stubbing, Duke Univ.: “Some Conclusions”

Fall (October) 1988: The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Perspectives for the U.S. and USSR

Speakers:

Geoffrey Parker, Univ. of Illinois – Champaign-Urbana: “The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Early Modern Period”
Enno E. Kraehe, Univ. of Virginia: “The International Systems, 1815-1885”
Lamar Cecil, Washington and Lee Univ.: “The National Power and Human Fallibility: The Road to War in 1914”
Gerhard Weinburg, UNC-CH: “The Great Powers and the Second World War”
John Lewis Gaddis, Ohio Univ.: “The U.S., USSR, and the Long Peace”
William H. McNeill, Univ. of Chicago: “Commentary and Overview”

Spring (March-April) 1989: The Post-Reagan Era in American Foreign Policy: Challenges, Opportunities, and Constraints in the 1990s

Speakers:

Samuel F. Wells, Jr., Woodrow Wilson Center: “The Perils of Planning: The Development of Foreign Policy Agendas Since 1945”
Ole Holsti, Duke Univ.: “American Reaction to the USSR: Public Opinion”
Bruce Kuniholm, Duke Univ.: “Palestinian/Arab-Israeli Policy Options”
Lars Schoultz, UNC-CH: “End of an Era? U.S. Policy Toward Latin America”
Melvin Goodman, National War College: “Gorbachev’s American Problem”

Fall (October) 1989: U.S. Civil-Military Relations in the 20th Century

Speakers:

- Edward M. Coffman, Univ. of Wisconsin: "Background of Recent Civil-Military Relations"
- Mark Stoler, Univ. of Vermont: "World War II"
- Brig. General Roy Flint, U.S. Army, U.S. Military Academy: "Korea"
- Paul Kattenburg, Univ. of South Carolina: "Vietnam"
- Lawrence Korb, The Brookings Institution: "Post -Vietnam"
- Russell Weigley, Temple Univ.: "Commentary and Overview"

Winter (February) 1990: Changing Technologies and New Weapons Systems in Recent History

Speakers:

- Robert O'Connell, U.S. Army Foreign Science and Technology Center: "The Inner Dynamics of the Great U.S.-Soviet Arms Race"
- Richard P. Hallion, Air Force Systems Command: "Between Scylla and Charbydis: The Acquisition of Air Force Fighter Aircraft Since 1945"
- Price Bingham, Air War College: "Doctrine: The Key to the Effectiveness of Air Force Fighter/Attack Aircraft"
- Matthew Meselson, Harvard Univ.: "Chemical Weapons, Anti-Chemical Protection, and the Ascendancy of the Defense"
- Larry Schweikart, Univ. of Dayton: "Contractor Investment and Program Management Lessons from the Trident Submarine and National Aerospace Plane Programs, 1972-1989"
- Donald R. Baucom, SDI Office: "Clausewitz on Space War"

Spring (March) 1990: Crisis Management

Speakers:

- Gerhard Weinberg, UNC-CH: "The Munich Crisis: Before and After"
- Michael H. Hunt, UNC-CH: "The Korean Crisis: The View from Beijing"
- George Herring, Univ. of Kentucky: "Eisenhower and the Crisis in Indochina"
- Ole Holsti, Duke Univ.: "The Cuban Missile Crisis"
- Hans Heyman, Defense Intelligence Agency: "Crisis Management During the Carter and Reagan Administrations"
- Norman Graebner, Univ. of Virginia: "Commentary and Overview"

Fall (October) 1990: Exporting the American Experience

Speakers:

- Louis Perez, Univ. of South Florida: "The Cuban Case"
- Steve Ropp, Univ. of Wyoming: "The Panamanian Case"
- Timothy Lomperis, Duke Univ.: "The Philippine Case"
- Margaret McKean, Duke Univ.: "The Japanese Case"
- Thomas Schwartz, Vanderbilt Univ.: "The German Case"
- Col. Joseph Beasley, U.S. Army, retired: "Commentary and Overview"

Spring (April) 1991: The Persian Gulf Crisis: Use of National and International Power in the Post-Cold War World

Speakers:

- Brig. General Daniel W. Christman, U.S. Army: "Desert Shield/Desert Storm: A Case Study of the Military Role in the Emerging National Security Policy?"
- Samuel R. Williamson, Univ. of the South: "The Search for Security in the International System: Historical Perspectives from 1815, 1918, and 1945"
- Robert Jervis, Columbia Univ.: "Discussant"
- Inis L. Claude, Univ. of Virginia: "The Gulf War and the Prospects of World Order by Collective Security"
- Jack Donnelly, UNC-CH: "Discussant"
- Christine Helms, Consultant: "The Arab Dimension: Internal Perspectives – The Political and Cultural Background of the Iraqi Invasion"
- Gordon Newby, NCSU: "Discussant"
- Bruce R. Kuniholm, Duke Univ.: "U.S. Responses to the Persian Gulf Crisis in Historical Perspective: American Involvement in the Middle East Since 1945"
- Hatem Hussaini, Shaw Univ.: "Discussant"
- Kimberly A. Elliott, Institute for International Economics: "Non-military Responses to the Iraqi Invasion: Economic Options"
- James Leitzel, Duke Univ.: "Discussant"
- James Blackwell, Center for Strategic and International Studies: "Military Responses to the Gulf Crisis"
- Glenn Snyder, UNC-CH: "Discussant"

Panel Discussion:

Participants:

- Robin Dorff, NCSU
- Robert Helms, Research Triangle Institute
- Gerald Iafrate, U.S. Army Research Office
- Steven Van Evera, MIT

Fall (October) 1991: Evolution and Change in the Soviet Union: Implications for Security

Speakers:

- David Griffiths, UNC-CH: "The Changing Configuration of Ethnic Problems in Russian and Soviet History"
- Martha B. Olcott, Colgate Univ.: "Nationalism and Current Soviet Policy"
- Steven Rosefielde, UNC-CH: "Defense Spending, the Military Industrial Complex, and Economic Reform"
- Bruce Menning, U.S. Army Combined Arms Center: "The Soviet Military and Changes in the Soviet Position: Internal and External Implications"
- Elena Nikitina, Institute of World and International Relations (USSR): "Environmental Issues and Soviet Policy"
- Thomas Remington, Emory Univ.: "Commentary and Overview"

Spring (March) 1992: Ethnicity and Nationalism as Challenges to International Security

Speakers:

- Rod Mackler, U.S. Department of State: "Yugoslavia: A Surfeit"
- Robin Dorff, NCSU: "Political Management of Ethnic Conflict: Lessons from Switzerland"
- Rene Lemarchand, Univ. of Florida: "Ethnic Conflict in Former Belgian Africa: What Else is New?"
- Richard Fox, Duke Univ.: "Hindu Nationalism, Sikh Separatism, and Other Anti-Modernist Nationalisms in South Asia"
- Neil Nevitte, Univ. of Calgary: "Quebec, Canada, and Continent"
- John Stone, George Mason Univ.: "Commentary and Overview"

Fall (October) 1992: The Future of American National Security Policy

Speakers:

- Anna K. Nelson, American University: "Forging the Cold War National Security Policy: A 'Lesson' from the Past?"
- Don M. Snider, Center for Strategic and International Studies: "National Security Decision making during Disequilibrium: The Bush Administration, 1989-1991"
- Peter D. Feaver, Duke Univ.: "Managing Nuclear Proliferation"
- William Arkin, Greenpeace International: "Destruction of the Environment"
- Alvin Bernstein, National Defense Univ.: "Satellites, Sensors, Mini-Projectiles and Microbots: Preparing for Conflict in the 21st Century"
- Hermann Fr. Eilts, Boston Univ.: "U.S. Security Policies in the Middle East After the Gulf War"
- Richard J. Barnet, Institute for Policy Studies: "The New Security Agenda"

Spring (March) 1993: Women's International Human Rights

Speakers:

- Alice Miller, Women's Task Force for Amnesty International USA: "Understanding and Action"
- Lahoma Romocki, AIDS Division of Family Health International, RTP: "The Dilemma of Commercial Sex Workers"
- Sebla Dawit, Center for Women's Global Leadership at Rutgers Univ.: "Gender Violence and Human Rights: Harmful Practices in Africa"
- Stanlie M. Jones, Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison: "Towards a Theoretical Articulation of Human Rights with Women's Rights"

Spring (April) 1993: Women and the Military

Speakers:

- D'Ann Campbell, Austin Peay State Univ.: "Women and the American Military: An Historic Overview"
- Carol Burke, John Hopkins Univ.: "The Workplace or the Clubhouse: A Look at Military Culture"

Mady W. Segal, Univ. of Maryland: "The Social Construction of Women's Military Roles: Past, Present, and Future"
General Maxwell R. Thurman, U.S. Army, retired: "Report of Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces"
Major Rhonda Cornum, U.S. Army: "Myths and Realities of Women in Combat: A Participant's View"
Carol E. Cohn, Harvard Univ.: "Women, Gender, and the Military"
Judith Stiehm, Florida International Univ.: "Soldiering: Uniformity, Difference, and Asymmetry"

Fall (October) 1993: Security Studies in the 1990s

Speakers:

Samuel P. Huntington, Harvard Univ.: "The Clash of Civilizations"
Richard H. Shultz, Tufts Univ.: "Suggestions for an Introductory Security Studies Course Based on His at Tufts"
Daniel J. Gibran, Shaw Univ.: "On Argument that the Field of Security Studies is a Specialized Branch of the Field of International Relations and has to be Understood in the Context of International Relations Theory as a Whole"
Roy Godson, National Strategy Information Center: "Continuing Importance of Intelligence and Intelligence Studies"
Alberto R. Coll, U.S. Naval War College: "Importance of Low Intensity Conflict and its Place in the Security Studies Curriculum"
Robin H. Dorff, NCSU: "Role of Economics in Security Studies"
Timothy J. McKeown, UNC-CH: "Treating Economic Issues and National Security Policy"
Anatoly Torkounov, MGIMO: "Promised and Problems of Teaching Security Studies in Russia Today"
Ivan G. Tioulin, MGIMO: "The State of Research on Security Studies and International Relations in Russia"
Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., Tufts Univ.: "The Continuing Relevance of the Study of Defense Policy After the Cold War"
William J. Flavin, U.S. Army War College: "Reiteration that the Defense and Military Component is a Vital Part of American National Security Policy"
Richard Norton, Boston Univ.: "Importance of Collective Security in the Post-Cold War Era"
Eric J. Mlyn, UNC-CH: "The Need to Broaden the Field of Security Studies"

Winter (January) 1994: Anthropology and War

Speakers:

Robert L. Carneiro, American Museum of Natural History: "From Autonomous Villageto the State: The Role of Warfare"
Carol R. Ember, Hunter College, City Univ. of New York: "Democracy and Peace: a Cross-Cultural Study"
Melvin Ember, Human Relations Area Files: "Causes and Consequences of War: A Cross-Cultural Study"

Jonathan Haas, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago: "The Origins of War and Ethnic Violence"

R. Brian Ferguson, Rutgers Univ.: "Local and Global Factors in Generating War"

Spring (April) 1994: The Biological Sciences and War

Speakers:

Ronald J. Barfield, Rutgers Univ.: "Animal Models for the Understanding of Human Aggression"

George W. Barlow, Univ. of California, Berkley, retired: "War as an Adaptation Gone Wrong"

Benson E. Ginsburg, Univ. of Connecticut: "Genes, Experience, and Social Aggression"

Peter H. Klopfer, Duke Univ.: "Evolutionary Processes in the Development of Sociality"

Fall (September) 1994: Economics and War

Speakers:

Craufurd D. Goodwin, Duke Univ.: "What Economists Say about War, and Why"

Christopher M. Davis, Oxford Univ.: "Analysis on some of the Similarities and Differences between Quincy Wright's Treatment of Economics and War in his 1941 Book, *A Study of War*, and that of Marxist and Soviet Economists"

Charles Wolf, Jr., RAND Corp.: "A Happier Side to the Dismal Science?"

Martin Shubik, Yale Univ.: "Terrorism, Technology, and the Socio-Economics of Death"

Fall (November) 1994: Sociology and War

Speakers:

Michael Mann, UCLA: "A Macro-Sociological Approach to the History of War"

Martin Shaw, Univ. of Hull, England: "Analyzing the Fragmentary Peace: New Challenges for the Sociology of War and Militarism"

James Burk, Texas A&M Univ.: "Major Trends in Civil-Military Relations"

Laura Miller, Northwestern Univ.: "Women Soldiers and the Changing Face of War"

Winter (January) 1995: Law and War

Speakers:

John Norton Moore, Univ. of Virginia: "Democracy, Deterrence and War: Toward a New Paradigm in War Avoidance and Foreign Policy"

Leslie Green, Univ. of Alberta: "Enforcing the Law in International and Non-International Conflicts"

Ruth Wedgwood, Yale Univ.: "Current Controversies in the Law of War"

Col. James P. Terry, U.S. Marine Corps: "Issues of Operational Law"

Yoram Dinstein, Tel Aviv Univ.: "The Legal Lessons of the Gulf War"

Spring (April) 1995: Psychology and War

Speakers:

- Col. Gregory Belenky, U.S. Army, Walter Reed Army Institute of Research: "Organized Warfare and Combat Operations: The Interaction of Neurobiology and Technology"
- Anthony Kellett, Directorate of Strategic Analysis of the Canadian Department of National Defense: "Combat Motivation: The Behavior of Soldiers in Battle"
- Robert J. Ursano, Uniformed Services Univ. of the Health Sciences: "Psychiatric Responses to the Trauma of War and Disasters"
- Michael G. Wessells, Randolph-Macon College: "Psychology and the Threat of Nuclear War"

Fall (September) 1995: Political Science, Conflict Resolution, and War

Speakers:

- Glenn Snyder, UNC-CH: "The Evolution of International Security Studies"
- Kenneth Waltz, Univ. of California, Berkley: "The Future of War"
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Stanford Univ.: "The War Choice: Why is War Ever Chosen over Peace?"
- Jack Levy, Rutgers Univ.: "Framing, Loss Aversion, Crisis Bargaining and War"
- Thomas Schelling, Harvard Univ.: "The War That Did Not Happen"
- Bruce Russett, Yale Univ.: "The Kantian Project"
- Ole Holsti, Duke Univ.: "Public Opinion, Foreign Policy, and War"
- Anatol Rapoport, Univ. of Toronto: "The Institutional Approach to the Study of War"

Spring (March) 1996: History and War

Speakers:

- William McNeill, Univ. of Chicago: "A Natural History of Human Evolution"
- Ralph Sawyer, Ralph Sawyer, Inc.: "Chinese Warfare: The Paradox of the Unlearned Lesson"
- Walter Kaegi, Univ. of Chicago: "Quincy Wright, Arnold Toynbee, and Byzantine Military History"
- Gerhard Weinberg, UNC-CH: "World War II: A Different Kind of War"

Fall (November) 1996: Humanities and War

Speakers:

- Col. Joseph Cox, U.S. Army, U.S. Military Academy: "The Changing Nature of War Literature"
- Peter Paret, Institute for Advanced Study: "The Reflection of War in Art"
- Stanley Hauerwas, Duke Univ.: "Religion and War in Human Experience"
- Col. Charles R. Myers, U.S. Air Force, U.S. Air Force Academy: "Philosophers and Warriors"

Summer (June) 1997: Study of War Summary Conference

Speakers:

- George Barlow, Univ. of California, Berkeley: "War as an Adaptation 'Gone Wrong'"

Robert A. Hinde, Cambridge Univ.: “War: Some Psychological Causes and Consequences”

Commentators: Peter H. Klopfer, Duke Univ.; Lionel Tiger, Rutgers Univ.; Dan Christie, Ohio State Univ.; Robert O’Connell, U.S. Army National Ground Intelligence Center

Brian Ferguson, Rutgers Univ., Newark: “Anthropological Perspectives on War”

Lionel Tiger, Rutgers Univ., New Brunswick: “Durkheim, Sociology, and the Science of Bodies in Conflict”

Commentators: Carolyn Ember, Yale Univ.; Melvyn Ember, Yale Univ.; Robert O’Connell, U.S. Army National Ground Intelligence Center; James Davis, Harvard Univ., Univ. of Chicago

William McNeill, Univ. of Chicago: “The Human Experience of War and Violence”

Col. Joseph Cox, U.S. Army, U.S. Military Academy: “The Changing Nature of War Literature”

Commentators: Michael Howard, Oxford Univ.; Gerhard Weinberg, UNC-CH; Peter Paret, Institute for Advanced Study; Samuel Hayes, Princeton Univ.

Craufurd Goodwin, Duke Univ.: “Economics and the Study of Law”

Alex Roland, Duke Univ.: “The *Pax Technologia*: Quincy Wright and the Influence of Technology upon War”

L.C. Green, U.S. Naval War College: “Law and War Since World War II”

Commentators: Judith Reppy, Cornell Univ.; Richard Garwin, IBM; W. Hays Parks, George Washington Univ.; Robinson Everett, Duke Univ.; William Arkin, Independent Scholar

Jack Levy, Rutgers Univ.: “The Study of War in Political Science”

Anatol Rapoport, Univ. of Toronto: “Conflict Resolution in the Light of an Evolutionary Theory of War”

Commentators: Robert Jervis, Columbia Univ.; Barry Posen, MIT; Bruce Russett, Yale Univ.; Glenn Synder, UNC-CH

Winter (January) 1998: Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy: Bridging the Gap

Speakers: (Note, four roundtable discussions with moderator, presenter, and questioners)

Ole Holsti, Duke Univ.: “The Social Science Study of the Public Role in American Foreign Policy”

Moderator: Thomas J. Hynes, State Univ. of West Georgia

Questioners: David Cheshier, Georgia State Univ.; Erik Doxtader, UNC-CH

G. Thomas Goodnight, Northwestern Univ.: “Public Argument and the Study of Foreign Policy”

Moderator: Carol Winkler, Georgia State Univ.

Questioners: Michael Hunt, UNC-CH; Timothy McKeown, UNC-CH

Warren P. Strobel, *The Washington Times*: “Methodological Implications in the Debate over the ‘CNN Effect’”

Moderator: Richard H. Kohn, UNC-CH

Questioners: Peter Feaver, Duke Univ.; Richard Sobel, Harvard Univ.

Panel: “Bridging Gaps: Do We Really Have Something to Say to One Another?”

Participants:

Henry Mattox, U.S. Foreign Service, retired, NCSU

Catherine Lutz, UNC-CH

Clifford Griffin, NCSU

Ole Holsti, Duke Univ.

Moderator: Cori Dauber, UNC-CH

Winter (February) 1999: Conflict in Africa

Speakers:

Ali A. Mazrui, SUNY, Binghamton: “An Introduction to Conflict in Africa”

Anthony Clayton, Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, UK: “The Roots of Violence In Africa Since 1945: Frontiersmen”

Julius Nyang’oro, UNC-CH: “The Economic Context of Conflict in Contemporary Africa”

René Lemarchand, Univ. of Florida, Gainesville: “Ethnic/Genocidal Violence in the Great Lakes: Ethnicity and Myth”

Pearl Robinson, Tufts Univ.: “Democratization and Violence: War, Peace Movements, and State-Building”

Claude Welch, SUNY, Buffalo: “Non-Governmental Organizations and their Potential for Conflict Reduction in Africa”

Pauline Baker, U.S. Fund for Peace and Georgetown Univ.: “Early Warning and Policy Assessment for Failing States”

Bona Malwal, St. Antony’s College, Oxford, UK: “Negotiations in the Sudan”

Richard Joseph, Emory Univ.: “Closing Remarks”

Winter (February) 2000: Transnational Threats: Blending Law Enforcement and Military Strategies

Speakers:

Peter Feaver, Duke Univ.; Maj. General Robert J. Scales, Jr., U.S. Army, Commandant of U.S. Army War College: “Welcoming Remarks”

Spike Bowman, FBI: “Transnational Threats Viewed as a Law Enforcement Issue”

Daniel S. Roper, Joint Staff Directorate for Strategy, Plans, and Policy: “Transnational Threats from DoD’s Perspective”

Lt. General Kenneth A. Minihan, U.S. Air Force, retired, Former Director, NSA: “Terrorism by Weapons of Mass Destruction”

Daniel J. Gallington, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence: “Information Warfare”

William Olson, U.S. Senate Caucus on International Narcotics Control: “International Organized Crime and Drug Trafficking”

Bruce Hoffman, RAND Corp.: “Terrorism by Weapons of Mass Destruction”

Commentators: Jeffrey F. Addicott, U.S. Army; Victor Utgoff, Institute for Defense Analyses

Elizabeth Rindskopf-Parker, Univ. of Wisconsin: “On Gap between Military Intelligence and Law Enforcement Communities”

Daniel Kuehl, National Defense Univ.: “Information Warfare and Defense of U.S. Information Systems”

Commentators: Phillip Lacombe, Veridian Corp.; Richard H.L. Marshall, NSA
Phil Williams, Univ. of Pittsburgh: “International Organized Crime and Drug Trafficking”

Commentators: Thomas Fuentes, FBI; Col. James McDonough, U.S. Army, retired, Florida Office of Drug Control Policy

Roundtable Discussion: Proposals for Action

Participants:

David Crane, Department of Defense: “Suggestions from Department of Defense Perspective”

William Natter, House Armed Service Committee: “Suggestions from Congress”

Jeffrey Hunker, National Security Council: “Suggestions from the Executive Branch”

Spring (March) 2001: The Rise of China: Security Implications

Speakers:

Joe Grieco, Duke Univ.: “The New China in the New Era of World Politics?”

Kurt Campbell, Center for Strategic and International Studies: “Hegemonic Prophecy and Modern Asia: Lessons for Dealing with the Rise of China”

Shu Guang Zhang, Univ. of Maryland: “Between Capability and Intention: A Chinese Strategic Culture Perspective”

Michael Chambers, Indiana State Univ.: “China: A Threat to its Neighbors?”

Sumit Ganguly, Univ. of Texas: “Assessing India’s Response to the Rise of China: Fears and Misgivings”

Bin Yu, Wittenberg Univ.: “Russia and China: Historical Ironies, Dividing Ideologies and Accidental ‘Alliance’”

Tsuneo Watanabe, Center for Strategic and International Studies: “Japan’s Changing Perceptions of China: Towards Realism and Nationalism in Transitional Politics”

Susan Shirk, Univ. of California, San Diego: “Comment: Chinese Views of India, Russia, and Japan”

Admiral Dennis Blair, U.S. Navy, Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Pacific Command: “Banquet Speech”

Emerson Niou, Duke Univ.: “Comprehending Strategic Ambiguity: U.S. Policy Toward Taiwan Security”

Andrew Scobell, U.S. Army War College: “North Korea on the Brink: Breakdown or Breakthrough?”

David Rosenberg, Middlebury College: “Flash Points in the South China Sea”

John Garver, Georgia Institute of Technology: “The Gestalt of Sino-Indian Balance”

David Lampton, John Hopkins School of International Studies: “Bush and China: Thinking Strategically about the Next Year’s Choice”

Arthur Waldron, Univ. of Pennsylvania: “Sources of Chinese Conduct”

Winter (February) 2002: Terrorism: Threat and Response

Speakers:

Charles Carlton, NCSU; Douglas Lovelace, U.S. Army War College: “Welcoming Remarks”

Carol Winkler, Georgia State Univ.: “Defining Terrorism”

Milton M. Hoenig, International Center for Terrorism Studies: “The Roots of Terror”

Charles Kennedy, Wake Forest Univ.: Discussant

Louise Richardson, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study: “To Escalate or Not to Escalate: That is the Question”

Rohan Gunaratna, St. Andrews Univ., Scotland: “International Terrorism: Strategy, Tactics, and Ideological Objectives”

Benjamin Miller, Hebrew Univ. of Jerusalem: Discussant

Augustus Richard Norton, Boston Univ.: “Islamic Terrorism”

Aref Al-Khattar, St. Paul’s College: “Religion and Terrorism: How Fundamentalists Justify the Use of Violence”

Akram Khater, NCSU: Discussant

Panel: International Dimensions

Participants:

Ian Lesser, RAND Corp.: “Coalition Warfare: Challenges”

David L. Mack, Middle East Institute: “Non-Military Ways to Deal with Terrorism”

Bruce Jentleson, Duke Univ.: Discussant

Panel: Homeland Defense

Francis Hoffman, U.S. Commission on National Security in the 21st Century: “Homeland Security: The Organizational Dimension”

Christopher Schroeder, Duke Univ.: “Civil Liberties and Homeland Defense”

Richard H. Kohn, UNC-CH: Discussant

Panel: The Role of the U.S. Armed Forces

Col. Randall Larsen, U.S. Air Force, retired, ANSER Institute for Homeland Defense: “Balancing Missions: The Role of the U.S. Armed Forces in Combating Terrorism at Home”

Stephen Biddle, UNC-CH: “America at War”

Christopher Gelpi, Duke Univ.: Discussant

Panel: Policy Implications

Participants:

Cori Dauber, UNC-CH: “Media Strategies for the War on Terrorism: Reconceptualizing the Battlespace *as* a Battlespace”

Robert H. Dorff, U.S. Army War College: “Developing a Sound National Policy”

David Paletz, Duke Univ: Discussant

Winter (January) 2003: Evaluating the Preemption Doctrine

Panels: “What is the best case one can make *for* the Bush doctrine?;” “What is the best case one can make *against* the Bush doctrine?”

Participants:

Thomas Donnelly, Project for the New American Century
David Welch, Univ. of Toronto
Robert Pape, Univ. of Chicago
Chaim Kaufmann, Lehigh Univ.

Spring (March) 2003: The American Media and Wartime Challenges

Speakers:

Daniel Hallin, Univ. of California, San Diego: “Vietnam: A Defining Experience”
Carol Winkler, Georgia State Univ.: “Presidents, the Media, and Terrorism: A Historical Perspective”
Thomas R. Lansner, Columbia Univ.: “The Evolution of War Reporting in the Twentieth Century”
Cynthia Kennard, Univ. of Southern California: “The Changing Landscape of Television War Coverage”
Colin Soloway, *Newsweek* (via videoconference): “Reporting from the Front”
S. Robert Lichter, The Center for Media and Public Affairs: “Media Bias and the War Against Iraq”
Scott Deatherage, Northwestern Univ.: “Coverage Decisions, Public Interest and Economic Constraints”
James Hamilton, Duke Univ.: “The Market for War Coverage”
Lawrence K. Grossman, Digital Promise Project: “The Economics of War Reporting”

Fall (November) 2003: Strategic Deception in Modern Democracies: Ethical, Legal, and Policy Challenges

Speakers:

Joseph Caddell, NCSU and UNC-CH: “Defining Deception”
Michael Pillsbury, Office of the Secretary of Defense: “The Chinese Tradition of Deception”
Everett Wheeler, Duke Univ., UNC-CH: “Reelections and Response”
Gene Nichol, UNC-CH: “U.S. Domestic Legal Constraints”
Scott L. Silliman, Duke Univ.: “International Legal Constraints”
Jane Dalton, Department of Navy: “Interpreting the Law: A Military Perspective”
Elizabeth Kiss, Duke Univ.: “The Use of Deception: Democracy at Risk?”
J. Carl Ficarrotta, U.S. Air Force Academy: “Strategic Deception in the War on Terrorism”
Albert C. Pierce, U.S. Naval Academy: Discussant
Douglas H. Dearth, UK Defense Intelligence and Security Centre: Chair
Jennifer Sims, Georgetown Univ.: “Deception: Attractions and Pitfalls”
James Monnier Simon, Intelligence Enterprises: “Deception: Attractions and Pitfalls”
Andrew Garfield, King’s College, London: “Strategic Deception: The British Perspective”
John Leide, U.S. Army, retired: “The Experiences of a Military Commander/Planner”

Admiral William Oliver Studeman, U.S. Navy, retired, former director of NSA and Acting Director of CIA: “The Intelligence Operator Perspective”
Daniel T. Kuehl, National Defense University: “Information Warfare: Legal and Ethical Issues in Cyberspace”
Douglas H. Dearth, UK Defence Intelligence and Security Centre, Chicksands: “The Uses of Deception in Operations”
Robert Zelnick, Boston Univ.: “Broadcasting and Deception”
Dana Priest, *Washington Post*: “The Battlefield: The View from the Press”

Reflections Panel:

Participants:

Peter Feaver, Duke Univ.
Douglas Lovelace, U.S. Army War College
William Arkin, *Los Angeles Times*

Winter (February) 2004: Wielding American Power

Speakers:

Allen Buchanan and Robert Keohane: “Normative Constraints: Preventive War and Human Rights”
Steven Wilkinson: “Liberalization and Ethnic Conflict”
Ole Holsti, Duke Univ.: “Public Opinion and Multilateralism”
Christopher Gelpi, Peter Feaver, and Jason Reifler, Duke Univ.: “Paying the Human Costs of War”

Winter (February) 2005: Agenda for Strategy and Policy Planning

Panel: The Intellectual Challenge of Mid-Range Strategy and Planning

Participants:

James Steinberg, The Brookings Institution
Lynn Davis, RAND Corp.
Steward Patrick, Center for Global Development
Richard Falkenrath, The Brookings Institution

Panel: The Institutional Challenge of Mid-Range Strategy and Planning

Participants:

Kurt Campbell, Center for Strategic and International Studies
Joseph Collins, National War College
Richard Betts, Columbia Univ.

Panel: Planning Policy #1: Rogue States – Containment, Accommodation, Pre-Emption

Participants:

Robert Litwak, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
Miroslav Nincic, Univ. of California, Davis
Andrew P.N. Erdmann, National Security Council
Steven R. Grummon, Department of State

Panel: Planning Policy #2: Coalitional and International Institutional Dynamics

Participants:

Robert Keohane, Stanford Univ.
Anne-Marie Slaughter, Princeton Univ.
Andrew Hoehn, RAND Corp.

Keynote Speaker: Zbigniew Brzezinski, John Hopkins Univ.

Panel: Planning Policy #3: Casualty Aversion and an “Iraq Syndrome?”

Participants:

Philip Everts, Leiden Univ.
Walter B. Slocombe, Caplin and Drysdale
Christopher Gelpi, Duke Univ.
Albert C. Pierce, U.S. Naval Academy

Panel: Planning Policy #4: Anti-Americanism and Responses to American Power

Participants:

Ole Holsti, Duke Univ.
Helle Dale, The Heritage Foundation
Robert Satloff, Washington Institute for Near East Policy
Robert Keohane, Stanford Univ.

Spring (March) 2005: The Rise and Fall of Empires

Speakers:

Peter Feaver, Duke Univ.; Douglas Johnson, U.S. Army War College; Alex Roland, Duke Univ.: “Welcome and Opening Remarks”
Stephen Howe, Ruskin College, Oxford: “Introductory Talk: Dominant Paradigms in British and American Empire”

Panel: How Empires Start

Participants:

Fred Donner, Univ. of Chicago
Henry Kamen, Higher Council for Scientific Research, Barcelona
James D. Tracy, Univ. of Minnesota

Panel: Limits to Imperialism

Participants:

Robin D.S. Yates, McGill College, Canada
Everett Wheeler, Independent Scholar, Durham, NC
James Pritchard, Queens Univ., Canada

Panel: The End of Empire

Participants:

George Lane, Univ. of London, UK
Donald Quataert, SUNY, Binghamton
Ross Hassig, Independent Scholar, Tucson, AZ

Keynote Speaker: Karl E. Meyer, World Policy Institute: “The Great Game, Now and Forever”

Panel: American Empire

Part I: A Reassessment

Participants:

Charles Maier, Harvard Univ.
Ian Baucom, Duke Univ.
Georgiy I. Mirsky, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow

Part II: National Security Implications

Participants:

Conrad Crane, U.S. Army Military History Institute
Douglas Johnson, Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College

Winter (February) 2006: Casualties and Warfare

Panel: Targeting Civilians in Warfare

Participants:

Benjamin Valentino, Dartmouth College
Paul Huth, Univ. of Maryland
Stathis N. Kalyvas, Yale Univ.
Alexander B. Downes, Duke Univ.

Panel: Casualties and the Rules of Engagement

Participants:

Helen Kinsella, Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison
Lyle W. Cayce, U.S. Army
Colin Kahl, Univ. of Minnesota

Panel: Impact of Casualties on the Military

Participants:

Stephen Biddle, Council on Foreign Relations
Conrad C. Crane, U.S. Army Military History Institute
Deborah Avant, George Washington Univ.

Panel: Public Opinion and Casualties

Participants:

Christopher Gelpi, Duke Univ.
Renée Richardson, Duke Univ.
William A. Boettcher III, NCSU
Michael D. Cobb, NCSU

Panel: Measuring Civilian Casualties

Participants:

Richard Garfield, Columbia Univ.
Beth Osborne Daponte, Yale Univ.
William M. Arkin, NBC-TV

Panel: IGO's, NGO's, and Casualties

Participants:

Alan J. Kuperman, Univ. of Texas-Austin
Kelly M. Greenhill, Wesleyan Univ. and Harvard Univ.
Sarah Kenyon Lischer, Wake Forest Univ.

Panel: The Media and Casualties

Participants:

Cori Dauber, UNC-CH
Robert Entman, George Washington Univ.
Sean Aday, George Washington Univ.

Spring (March) 2007: Global Climate Change: National Security Implications

Speakers:

- Spencer R. Weart, American Institute of Physics: “How We Came to See Global Climate Change as a Threat”
- Robert Corell, The Heinz Center: “The Science of Climate Change”
- Richard Matthew, Univ. of California, Irvine: “The Threat Assessment”
- Erika Weinthal, Duke Univ.: “Water Conflict”
- Andrew Price-Smith, Colorado College: “Disease”
- Nazli Choucri, MIT: “Demographics and Conflict”
- Brian Fagan, Univ. of California, Santa Barbara: “An Archaeologist Looks at Ancient Climate Change: Cooling, Warming, Drought, and the Flail of God”
- Kent Butts, U.S. Army War College: “Climate Change: Complicating the Struggle Against Extremist Ideology”
- Joshua Busby, Univ. of Texas, Austin: “Under What Conditions Climate Change Could Pose a Threat to U.S. National Security Interests”
- John T. Ackerman, Air Command and Staff College: “The Perfect Storm and U.S. Defense Strategy”
- Dennis Tänzler, Adelphi Research, Germany: “Transatlantic Climate and Energy Policy Making”
- Simon Rich, formerly, Louis Dreyfus: “Making Clean Power Happen: The Role of the Corporation”
- Anthony Leiserowitz, Yale Univ.: “Communicating the Risks of Global Warming”
- Paul Kern, U.S. Army, retired: “Climate Change and Security”
- Michael Glantz, Center for Capacity Building: “Early Warning Systems”
- Robin Dorff, Creative Associates: “Good Governance and Stability”
- Henry Gaffney, Center for Naval Analyses: “Defense Planning”
- E. Thomas Morehouse, Jr., Institute for Defense Analyses: “Climate, Security, and Energy”
- David Sheets, Army Environmental Policy Institute: “Military Technology and Renewable Energy”
- Karen Hulme, Univ. of Essex: “The Law, the Environment, and Combat Operations”
- Bert B. Tussing, U.S. Army War College: “Disaster Preparedness”
- Maj. General William L. Nash, U.S. Army, retired, Council on Foreign Relations: “Peacekeeping”
- Douglas Johnson, U.S. Army War College: “Strategic Challenges”
- Richard Weitz, Hudson Institute: “Lessons Learned”

Appendix 5 – DUNC/TUSS/TISS Speakers

1958 – 1963

Lt. General James M. Gavin, U.S. Army, retired
Michael Howard, Oxford Univ.
Henry Kissinger, Harvard Univ.
Louis Morton, Office of Chief of Military History, U.S. Army
Harry Howe Ransom, Vanderbilt Univ.

1972

November 3: Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, U.S. Navy, Chief of Naval Operations: “Sea Power and the Silent War”

1973

January 29: Jerome Kahan, Brookings Institution: “Salt II and Beyond: The Coming Issue of Arms Control”
April 16: Josiah Bunting, U.S. Naval War College: “Military Fiction”
September 25: Chalmers Roberts, Chief Diplomatic Correspondent, *The Washington Post*: “Watergate, National Security and the Press: What are the Limits?”
October 15: Lt. General Royal Allison, U.S. Air Force, retired: “Negotiating Salt I with the Russians”
December 13: Richard Wasserstrom, UCLA: “War Crimes: Some Problems of Responsibility”

1974

January 28: Congressman Les Aspin (WI): “Legislating Defense Policy”
February 4: Major General Robert White, Commandant, U.S. Air Force Reserve Officers Training Corps
October 15: Jonathan Steinberg, Cambridge Univ: “The Risorgimento: Ideological and Economic Backwardness in 19th Century Italy”

1975

January 15: Walter Lafeber, Cornell Univ: “Roosevelt, Churchill and the Origins of American Involvement in Indochina”

1978

September 17: Dr. Benjamin Spock, anti-war activist, retired pediatrician: “On the political Significance of 1968”

1979

September 27: Edward Ifft, Chief of the Office of International Program Policy, International Affairs Division, NASA
October 15: William Rodgers, Minister of Parliament, House of Commons, United Kingdom: “Defense Priorities in a No-Growth Economy – The Politician’s Dilemma”
November 19: James W. Kerr, Federal Emergency Management Agency: “Dr. Strangelove on the Beach or Everything You Have Always Wanted to Know about All Out War”

December 10: Senator Robert Morgan (NC) and William Dyess, U.S. Department of State

1980

February 6: Ronald McLaurin, Abbott Associates, Inc.

February 25: Brig. General Margaret Brewer, U.S. Marine Corps: "The Role of Women in Combat"

March 13: Patrick Parker, Chairman, Department of National Security Affairs, U.S. Naval Postgraduate School

March 20: Barry Lynn, United Church of Christ: "The Case against Registration and the Draft"

March 24: Nafhat Nasr, American Univ., Beirut: "The Lebanese Civil War in Perspective"

March 25: Col. Carl Bernard, U.S. Army, Retired: "The French Military Policy: Implications for U.S. MBFR Positions"

April 7: Kosta Tsipis, MIT

April 10: Antonia H. Chayes, Undersecretary of the U.S. Air Force: "On U.S. Defense Policy Issues"

April 11: Robert Hyslip, Former Assistant Secretary of the Australian Navy

September 18: Marshall Shulman, Special Adviser to the U.S. Secretary of State for Soviet Affairs: "U.S. – Soviet Relations: From Rorschach to Rashomon to Bumper Stickers"

November 17: Josef Joffe, Political Editor of *Die Zeit*, Germany: "U.S. – European – Soviet Relations"

1981

February 19: Dennis Pirages, Univ. of Maryland: "Environmental Concerns and National Security"

March 4: Ted Moran, Georgetown Univ.: "U.S. Security and Energy Interests in the Persian Gulf"

March 23: John Burton, Univ. College, London: "Security and Systemic Crises"

March 25: William Van Cleave, USC: "U.S. Defense Policy: Agenda for the 1980's"

April 1: Donald McHenry, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations: "The United Nations in a Changing World"

April 14: Ronald Morse, Woodrow Wilson Center: "Japan's Energy Security"

April 16: Ted Ropp, Duke Univ.: "A Half Century of Defense Studies"

Early April: Davis Bobrow, Univ. of Maryland: "American Strategic Policy"

Early April: David Yost, Naval Postgraduate School: "French Defense Policy"

Early April: Col. Ted Warner, U.S. Air Force: "U.S. Nuclear Targeting Policy"

September 16: Michael Howard, Oxford Univ.: "Arms Races and the Causes of War"

September 17: Peter Vigor, Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst: "Comparative Economic Systems, Eastern and Western European"

September 30: Donald Schurman, Queen's Univ., Canada: "Alfred Thayer Mahan: The Historian Reconsidered"

October 13: Michael Kraft, U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Edmund Finegold, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency: "Weighing the AWACS: A Diplomatic Dilemma"

October 28: David Kahn, *Newsday*: "Current Research Trends in Intelligence Gathering"

- November 2: Frank Snepp, formerly U.S. Central Intelligence Agency: “The First Amendment and National Security”
- November 9: Congressman Charles Rose (NC) – “Intelligence Gathering and Foreign Policy”
- November 11: William Kincade, Arms Control Association: “Security Strategy and New Technology”
- November 12: Brig. General Roy E. Moss, U.S. Marine Corps: – “Management of Military Operations in a Changing Environment”
- November 18: Carl-Christoph Schweitzer, Univ. of Bonn, Germany: “The Current State of U.S. – European Relations”
- February 25: James Fallows, *The Atlantic Monthly*: “Current Trends in National Defense Planning”

1982

- January 21: Michael Mandelbaum, Harvard Univ.: “Security Problems in Comparative Perspective”
- January 26: John Duke Anthony, School of Advanced International Studies, John Hopkins Univ.: “The Arab Gulf States: Political Stability and Regional Security”
- February 23: Ambassador Robert Neumann, Center for Strategic Studies, Georgetown Univ.: “Policy and Tactical Alternatives in U.S. – Arabian Peninsula Relations”
- March 3: David Clinard, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency: “European Regional Security Issues”
- March 23: William Quandt, Brookings Institution: “U.S. Policy Options in the Gulf and Southwest Asia”
- March 24: Richard Barnett, Institute for Policy Studies: “Peace in the Reagan Era”
Hans Adolph Jacobsen, Univ. of Bonn, Germany: “German-American Relations and *Ostpolitik*”
- April 7: Adam Bromke, McMaster Univ., Canada: “U.S. and European Responses to Events in Poland”
- April 13: Admiral Thomas Hayward, Chief of Naval Operations, U.S. Navy: “The Defense Debate: Stage III”
- April 17: Andre Martel, Univ. of Montpellier, France: “Defense Doctrine and the Organization of Forces in France Since 1962”
- September 13: Col. Steven Love, British Army, Defense Attaché, British Embassy, Buenos Aires, Argentina: “Recent Falkland/Malvinas War”
- October 20: Alan Wildman, OSU: “1917: The Disintegration of the Russian Army”
- November 4: Samuel Wells, Director of International Security Program, Woodrow Wilson Center: “The Future Economic Restraints of Defense Spending”
- November 18: Allan Millett, Director of the Program in International Security and Military Affairs, Mershon Center, OSU: “Problems in Writing a History of a Large Organization”

1983

- January 18: Rich Inderfurth, National Security Affairs Correspondent, ABC News: “Confessions of a Defense Correspondent: What We Do Well and Not So Well in Covering Defense Matters”

- February 11: William Bader, Vice President for Foreign Policy and Defense Studies, SRI International: “Congress and National Defense: The Changing Role in the Foreign Policy Process”
- Theodore Tulchinsky, Director of Public Health Service, Ministry of Health, Israel: “Public Health in Wartime: Experiences in Beirut on the Part of the Israeli Government”
- April 7: Arno Mayer, Princeton Univ.: “Rethinking the Unthinkable: The Final Solution in History”
- April 11: Bogdan Denis Denitch, CUNY: “A New Foreign Defense Policy for the United States”
- April 18: Col. Franklin Margiotta, U.S. Air Force, Director of Research, National Defense Univ.: “The Human Implications of Advanced Military Technology”
- April 25: John Keegan, Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst: “The Making of the Allied Leadership in the Second World War”
- October 11: Edward Azar, Univ. of Maryland: “Lebanon, Its Past, Its Present, and Its Future”
- October 12: Thomas McNaugher, Brookings Institution: “The Military Lessons Learned from the Middle East”
- October 13: Michael Curtis, Rutgers Univ.: “Israel’s Future in the Middle East: Has David Become Goliath and Can Goliath Live with His Neighbors?”
- October 14: Bruce Kuniholm, Duke Univ.: “The Future of U.S. – Israeli Relations”

1984

- September 25: James P. McGregor, U.S. Information Agency: “Federal Careers for Social Scientists”
- October 9: John Noble Wilford, Science Correspondent, *New York Times*: “Arms Race in Outer Space”
- October 17: Father Robert F. Drinan, Georgetown Univ.: “Arms Race and the Upcoming Election”
- October 23: Cmdr. William Withrow, U.S. Navy, Retired: “The Nuclear Arms Race – Who’s Ahead?”
- October 29: Thomas Simons, Director, Office of Soviet Union Affairs, Bureau of European Affairs, U.S. Department of State: “U.S. – Soviet Relations: A Prospectus”
- November 7: U.S. Air Force National Security Briefing Team: Discussion on USAF view of military defense, Soviet build-up in the past decade, and future of defense in the U.S. and USSR
- November 15: Yaron Ezrahi and Sidra Ezrahi, Hebrew Univ. of Jerusalem, Israel: “Peace Now: A Worldwide Organization”
- December 4: John Seiler, U.S. Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center, Ft. Bragg, NC: “Implications of South Africa’s Evolving State Security System”

1985

- January 16: Roy Godson, Georgetown Univ.: “Soviet Intelligence and Disinformation”
- February 12: Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder (CO) – “How Do We Work for Peace”
- April 1: Pawel Kloczowski, Jagiellonian Univ., Krakow, Poland: “Religion and Politics: A Polish Perspective under the State of War”

- April 4: Richard Falk, Princeton Univ.: “Nuclear Winter, Star Wars, and the Future of U.S. Security”
- April 10: Hartmut P. VonStrandmann, Univ. College, Cambridge: “Germany and the Origins of the First World War”
- April 11: A.K. Chowdhury, Consul General of Bangladesh and Deputy Permanent Representative of Bangladesh to the United Nations: “South Asian Regional Cooperation”
- July 8: Zeljko Jerkic, Zoran Pirolic, Gjoko Popovski, Laslo Tot, Ivo Viskovic, Yugoslavian journalists and academics: “U.S. Security and Defense Issues”
- August 16: Albert Carnesale, Harvard Univ.
- October 7: Richard Viets, former Ambassador and member of the South Africa Study Group, U.S. Department of State: Regional fact-finding mission to solicit opinions from academic community on American policy towards South Africa
- October 10: William Kincade, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: “Nuclear Strategy and Arms Control: New Approaches”
- November 3-5: Vikentii A. Matveev, *Izvestia*, Moscow; Peter Vigor, Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, UK.
- November 5: Richard Crampton, Univ. of Kent, England: “International Terrorism – The Bulgarian Complicity”
- December 11: Klaus-Richard Böhme, Royal Staff College of the Armed Forces, Stockholm, Sweden: “The Armed Forces and Military History in Sweden”

1986

- January 9: James E. Akins, former U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia: “Mideast Prospects”
- January 29: Jill Crystal, expert on Kuwait and Qatar
- February 20: George Pendleton, President, The Western Foundation
- March 18: Anne H. Cahn, The Committee for National Security
- April 7: Walter A. McDougall, Univ. of California, Berkeley
- April 16: James Harf, Mershon Center, OSU
- May 7: Daniel Harkins, Charles E. White, Mitchell Pote, David Yelton, Mark Swaragen: Graduate student presentations by UNC-CH, Duke Univ., and NCSU PhD candidates
- July 28: Anne H. Cahn, Committee for National Security; James Harf, Mershon Center; Robert Litwak, International Security Studies, The Wilson Center; Bill Kincade, Carnegie Endowment; Christine Murray, U.S. Department of State; John Flint, Univ. of Pittsburgh
- October 21: Richard Stubbing, Duke Univ.: On conclusions from his new book *The Defense Game: An Insider Critiques the Pentagon and its Leadership*
- November 5: J.D. Bruce Miller, Australia National Univ.: “Aspects of Pacific Security”
- December 1: Melvin Goodman, formerly Soviet Analysis Branch, U.S. Central Intelligence Agency: “Gorbachev’s American Problem”

1987

- March 18: Lt. General Walter F. Ulmer, U.S. Army, retired: “Leadership and the Modern Army”

- March 23: Stephen R. Sestanovich, National Security Council Senior Director for Policy Development: “What’s Gorbachev Up To?”
- May 11: Everett Wheeler, Duke Univ.: “Toward a History of the Concept of Stratagem”
- May 28: Robert Griffiths, Beth Rogers, Edward Lehoucq, Luba Racanska, Jennifer Weeks, Mitchell Pote: Graduate student presentations by UNC-G, UNC-CH, and Duke Univ. PhD candidates
- September 21: Tyrus W. Cobb, National Security Council: On foreign policy expectations from Reagan Administration during last eighteen months in office
- October 1: Robert A. Rupen, UNC-CH: On personal observations of changes in China, after return from a trip to Asia and Philippines
- December 8: Robert A. Rupen, UNC-CH: On the INF Treaty and Soviet – U.S. Relations in the Gorbachev Era

1988

- January 28: Milan Hauner, Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison: “Soviet Global Strategy and the Southern Tier”
- February 25: General Alfred M. Gray, U.S. Marine Corps, Commandant, U.S. Marine Corps: “Marine Strategy and the Thinking Warriors”
- April 6: Louis Dupree, Duke Univ.; Nazif Shahrani, UCLA; Robert Canfield, Washington Univ. at St. Louis; Farhad Kazemi, New York Univ.; Robert Wirsing, Univ. of South Carolina; Alex Alexiev, Rand Corporation: Panel discussion on future of Afghanistan and Soviet Union
- September 22: Betty Lall, Director of Arms Control Verification Studies, Council on Economic Priorities: “Current U.S. – Soviet Arms Control Agreements and Negotiations”
- October 26: Brian Urquhart, former United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs: “Can We Afford to Lose the United Nations as Peace-Maker and Peace-Keeper?”
- November 2: Col. Curtis V. Esposito, U.S. Army War College: “U.S. – Soviet Policies in the Third World: Conflict or Convergence?”
- December 7: David Chandler, Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst: “Napoleon: The Man and the Leader”

1989

- February 21: Bruce DeHart, Tim Borstelmann, Larry Goodson, Dan Kuehl, Dan Harkins: Graduate student presentations by UNC-CH and Duke Univ. PhD candidates
- March 21: Daniel Axelrod, Univ. of Michigan: “Star Wars: Offense or Defense?”
- April 21: Horst Boog, Office of Military History, Freiburg, Germany: “Problems of World War II Research in the Military Archives”
- September 26: John Lynn, Univ. of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign: “‘See the Conquering Hero Comes:’ The Promise of Military History for Reinterpreting the Modern Era”
- October 26: Edward Luck, President, United Nations Association, U.S.A.: “Common Security: Building Structures for Peace”
- November 2: Norman Myers, consultant in environment and development: “The Environmental Dimensions to National Security”

1990

March 20: Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, Bonn Univ., Germany: On likelihood and ramifications of German unification

April 17: Dan W. Figgins, Jr., U.S. Department of State: “Environmental Decisions: Politics, Economies, and the Sciences”

October 2: Dietrich Schroerer, UNC-CH: “The End of World War II, But Hardly Peace in Our Time”

October 13: Julia Henderson, President, Orange and Durham Counties Chapters of the United Nations Association: “World Security – Our Security: Focus on Population Growth and Sustainable Development”

December 4: Robert Johansen, Notre Dame Univ.: “The Evolving Definition of Security”

1991

February 19: Charles Carlton, NCSU: “Going to the Wars: The Experience of Civil War in the British Isles, 1638 – 1660”

March 23: Lt. General Dave R. Palmer, U.S. Army, Superintendent, U.S. Military Academy, West Point: “The Evolving Influence of History on the Military Profession”

April 24: Elizabeth Rogers, Philip Shimon: Graduate student presentations by Duke Univ. PhD candidates

October 1: Peter Coclanis, UNC-CH: “The economic impact of the American Civil War”

October 7: Peter Marshall, British diplomat and former Commonwealth Deputy Secretary-General: “The UN in the 1990s”

November 13: Melvin A. Goodman, U.S. National War College: “The Crisis in Soviet Union and the Failure of the CIA to Assess it”

1992

January 23: General John A. Shaud, U.S. Air Force, Retired: “NATO in Transition: A Military Perspective”

April 7: Sergei Khrushchev, Brown Univ.: “Nikita Khrushchev’s Reforms in the Former Soviet Union”

April 30: Patrick Cronin, Stuart Leibiger: Graduate student presentations by UNC-CH PhD Candidates

September 22: Robin Dorff, NCSU; Eric Mlyn, UNC-CH; Daniel Gibran, Shaw Univ.: “Security Studies in the 1990s”

November 12: Augusto Varas, Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences, Santiago, Chile: “U.S. – Latin American Security Concerns in the Post – Cold War Era”

December 1: General Maxwell R. Thurman, U.S. Army, Retired: “National Security Challenges for the Clinton Administration”

1993

January 19: Timothy J. Lomperis, Duke Univ.: “The Making of a Democracy and the Unmaking of an Insurgency”

February 18: Richard H. Kohn, UNC-CH: “The American System of Civilian Control of the Military”

March 16: John Lonnquest, Ben Fordham, Yao Aziabu: Graduate student presentations from Duke and UNC-CH PhD candidates

September 28: Lt. General Sergei A. Kondrashev, KGB, Ministry of Foreign Intelligence, Russia: “The Origins and Consequences of the Cold War”

November 11: James L. McCullough, U.S. Central Intelligence Agency: “The Changing Agenda for the CIA in a Post – Cold War Era”

1994

January 11: Matthew Oyos, James Crawford, Curt Ryan: TUSS Fellow and graduate student presentations by UNC-CH PhD candidates

February 9: Stephen D. Biddle, Institute for Defense Analyses: “Why the Gulf War Turned Out as it Did: A Military Analysis”

March 14: Iqbal Singh, Duke Univ.: “The Prospects for Conflict (and Nuclear War) in South Asia”

April 5: Alex Roland, Duke Univ.: “Gender and War”

October 20: Clifford Griffin, NCSU: “The Prospects for U.S. Success in Haiti”

December 15: Peter Feaver, Duke Univ.: “Jimmy Clinton and All That? The Domestication of U.S. National Security”

1995

February 13: Douglas Foyle, Jonathon Gordon, Blair Haworth: Graduate student presentations by UNC-CH and Duke PhD candidates

March 21: Lynn Eden, Stanford Univ.: “Constructing Destruction: The Making of Organizational Knowledge About the Effects of U.S. Nuclear Weapons”

October 30: Martin Sherwin, Tufts Univ.: “The Mission of the Enola Gay: The History and Politics of Hiroshima, 1945 – 1995”

November 21: Cori Dauber, Erik Doxtader, UNC-CH: “Rhetoric and the Study of War”

December 12: Eliot Cohen, School of Advanced International Studies, John Hopkins Univ.: “The Revolution in Military Affairs Debate”

1996

February 1: Kurt Campbell, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Asian and Pacific Affairs: On Sino-American security policy in the twenty-first century

February 14: George Tenet, Deputy Director, U.S. Central Intelligence Agency: “Do We Need the CIA?”

February 20: Thomas Griffith, Douglas Peifer: Graduate student presentations by UNC-CH PhD candidates

April 9: Robert O’Connell, National Ground Intelligence Center, U.S. Army: “The Origins and Future of Warfare”

May 10: Sheila Widnall, Secretary of the U.S. Air Force: “The Future of the U.S. Air Force”

September 17: Robert Keohane, Duke Univ.: “Commitments in the U.S. Foreign Policy, 1778 – 1989”

September 23: Col. Kenneth Allard, U.S. Army: “Bosnia: The End Game”

October 8: Philip Morison, MIT: Analysis on the proliferation and control of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons

October 17: Lynn E. Davis, Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security: “Non-Proliferation for the 21st Century”

- October 28: Edwin Dorn, Undersecretary of Defense: "Race in the Military"
- October 30: Deborah Shapley, author: "My Experience as Robert McNamara's Biographer: McNamara's Memoir and Where the Truth about McNamara Stands Today"
- December 10: Lt. General Julius Becton, Jr., U.S. Army, retired: "Forty Years in the U.S. Army"

1997

- February 4: Colin Soloway, *U.S News and World Report*: "A Journalist's Reflection on Current Events in the former Yugoslavia"
- March 21: Elkhon Nuriyev, Western Univ. in Azerbaijan and Fulbright Visiting Professor at Georgetown Univ.: "Oil and Politics in Eurasia: Cooperation versus Competition"
- April 16: Gearóid Ó Tuathail, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State Univ.: "Critical Geopolitics"
- September 10: Vincent Davis, Univ. of Kentucky: "End of the Cold War: What Has Changed and What Has Not"
- October 2: Judit Katona-Apte, Program Officer with the World Food Program: "Getting Food to the Hungry: The Work of the UN in Humanitarian Operations"
- October 8: Klaus Böhme, Swedish Staff and War College: "Swedish Neutrality: History and Problems"
- November 5: Thomas Ricks, Pentagon Reporter, *Wall Street Journal*: "The Growing Gap between the Military and American Society"
- November 11: David Jackman, Associate Representative of the Quaker United Nations Office: "UN Peacekeeping"
- November 13: Ken Rutherford, Co-founder of the Landmine Survivors Network: "U.S. Landmine Policy and the International Campaign to Ban Landmines"
- December 10: Hein Geomans, Duke Univ.: "War and Punishment: The Causes of War Termination"

1998

- February 11: Catherine Lutz, UNC-CH: "War's Wages: A Military City and the American Twentieth Century"
- April 8: Major General Anthony John Trythall, British Army, retired: "Military History and War: The Contemporary Relevance of Major General J.F.C. Fuller"
- September 24: Amy Smithson, Senior Associate at the Henry L. Stimson Center: "The U.S. and the Chemical Weapons Convention: Supporter or Subverter?"
- October 6: Jeremy Black, Univ. of Exeter, England: "War, Technology, and the Rise of the West, 1450 – 1998"
- November 5: William Felix Atwater, Director, U.S. Army Ordnance Museum: "The Role of the Military Museum"
- December 9: Robert Cottrol, George Washington Univ.: "On gun control in America"

1999

- January 21: Tami Biddle, Duke Univ.: "Sir Arthur Harris's War: Expectation, Perception, and Controversy in the World War II Strategic Bombing Campaign"
- March 3: General George "Lee" Butler, U.S. Air Force, retired: "The Future of Nuclear Weapons"

April 14: Wayne Lee, David Silbey: Graduate student presentations by Duke PhD candidates
October 21: Jiri Dienstbier, former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of
Czechoslovakia: "NATO, the Czech Republic, and Kosovo"
November 11: Nancy Mitchell, NCSU: "Realpolitik or Humanitarian Rights? Jimmy
Carter and Zimbabwe"
December 14: Richard H. Kohn, UNC-CH; Peter Feaver, Duke Univ.: Report on TISS
Project "The Gap between Military and Civilian Society"

2000

January 11: General Richard B. Myers, U.S. Air Force, Commander-in-Chief of NORAD
and U.S. Space Command "Space and National Security"
January 31: General Henry H. Shelton, U.S. Army, Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff:
"Current Issues in National Defense"
March 15: Major General Robert H. Scales, Jr., U.S. Army, Commandant of U.S. Army War
College: "Preparing to Fight: The Army in the Twenty-First Century"
April 6: Cori Dauber, UNC-CH: "The Status of Women in the Armed Services"
October 19: Benjamin Miller, Hebrew Univ. of Jerusalem, Israel: "The Recent Arab-Israeli
Crisis: Return to the Old Middle East"
November 2: John Sebastian Cox, Chief Historian for Royal Air Force, United Kingdom:
"Historiography of the Battle of Britain"
December 1: Congressman Ike Skelton (MO): On insights into elections of November 2000
December 14: David Hermann, Fordham Univ.: "Why the First World War Lasted So Long"

2001

January 18: Kanti Bajpai, Jawaharlal Nehru Univ., New Delhi, India: "Nuclear Weapons,
Grand Strategy, and Political Ideologies in India"
January 23: Lloyd Axworthy, former Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Director of
Liu Center for the Study of Global Issues, British Columbia, Canada: "Current
Security Concerns"
February 8: Jean Bethke Elshtain, Univ. of Chicago: "Women and War"
March 22: Christoph Heusgen, Director of the Policy Unit of the Secretariat General of the
Council of the European Union: "European Security and Defense Policy"
April 2: Ariel Levite, former Israeli Deputy National Security Adviser: "Strategies of
Discriminate Force: Limited War Revisited"
April 12: Peter Karsten, Univ. of Pittsburgh: On personal study of civil-military relations in
comparison to recent TISS work
April 17: Rye Barcott, UNC-CH: "Collective Youth Violence in East Africa's Largest Slum"
April 26: Cynthia Watson, Associate Dean of the National War College: "Civil-Military
Relations in Columbia"
September 11: Joanna Bourke, Birbeck College, London, England: Changed topic in regards
to morning events and spoke on "Psychology of Victims and Perpetrators of Acts of
Extreme Violence"
October 26: Jeremy Black, Univ. of Exeter, England: "Rethinking Military History"
November 14: David Hamburg, President Emeritus of the Carnegie Corporation: "No More
Killing Fields: Principles and Practices to Prevent Deadly Conflict"

2002

- January 24: Seymour Mauskopf, Duke Univ.: “Pellets, Pebbles, and Prisms: Suiting Black Power for Scaled Up Guns in English Munitions, 1860 – 1885”
- March 19: Linda Brady, NCSU: “The Role of Negotiation in War Termination”
- April 18: Edward T. Linenthal, Univ. of Wisconsin, Oskosh: “Reflections on 9/11 and Oklahoma City: Violence and the American Landscape”
- April 25: David Hamburg, President Emeritus of the Carnegie Corporation: On 1990s Carnegie Commission to try and work out how the Conflict in Yugoslavia might have been prevented, outlining findings of Commission
- August 27: Mel Middleton, Executive Director of Freedom Quest International: “Genocide, Slavery, and Terrorism in Sudan: The Corporate Connection”
- November 21: Amy Smithson, Senior Associate at the Henry L. Stimson Center: “U.S. Readiness for Unconventional Terrorism: Reasons for Concern, Course of Action”
- December 12: Andrew Bacevich, Director of the Center for International Relations, Boston Univ.: “Invading Iraq and the New American Imperialism”

2003

- January 18: Richard Slatta, NCSU: “Simón Bolívar: Idiosyncratic or Prototypical Military Leader?”
- February 28: General Richard B. Myers, U.S. Air Force, Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff: Off-the-record meeting two weeks before the commencement of Operation Iraqi Freedom
- April 24: John Balaban, Poet-in-Residence, NCSU: “The Arts in Warfare: Vietnamese Tradition of Oral Poetry”
- October 14: Michael Krepon, Founding Director of Henry L. Stimson Center: “Cooperative Threat Reduction”
- November 20: Brig. General Stanley J. Jaworski, Chief of Staff, Pennsylvania Air National Guard: “Homeland Defense and the Air National Guard”

2004

- January 15: Steven Wilkinson, Duke Univ.: “Explaining Ethnic Violence in India”
- March 4: Brian Linn, Texas A&M Univ.: “War in American Military Thought”
- March 31: Eliot Cohen, School of Advanced International Studies, John Hopkins Univ.: “The Wars for Empire and Independence along America’s Warpath”
- April 13: Charles Allen, Assistant Director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency for Collection: On concerns that intelligence community failed to prevent 9/11 and incorrectly assessed the gravity of threat posed by Iraqi WMDs
- October 28: General Sir Rupert Smith, former Deputy Supreme Commander, Allied Powers, Europe: “War: A Trial of Strength or a Clash of Wills?”
- November 11: Lt. General Tad J. Oelstrom, Director of National Security Program, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard Univ.: “Russia: Which Road is it On?”
- December 9: Peter Feaver, Duke Univ.: “Casualties and the Iraq War”

2005

January 11: Jack Granatstein, York Univ., Canada: “Can Canada Wage War or Keep the Peace?”

April 25: Hew Stachan, Oxford Univ.: “Meaning of Strategy”

September 29: Alex Downes, Duke Univ.: “Democracy and Civilian Victimization in War”

November 17: Yoav Gelber, Hartl Institute for the Study of Zionism, Univ. of Haifa, Israel: “The Israeli Defense Force (1967 – 1973)”

2006

January 26: Stephen Gent, UNC-CH: “Military Intervention in Civil Wars”

February: Dirk Bönker, Duke Univ.: “World Power, Race, and Navalist Geopolitics in Germany and the U.S., 1890 – 1918”

April 6: Jeffrey Record, U.S. Air War College: “Comparing Iraq and Vietnam”

November 3: Clark Ervin, Director of the Aspen Institute Homeland Security Initiative: “Conversation with Clark Kent Ervin”

October 11: Mia Bloom, Univ. of Georgia-Athens: “Suicide Terrorism”

November 15: Lawrence Grinter, Jon Wolfsthal, Jalil Roshandel – Panel discussion on Nuclear Proliferation

December 7: Joseph T. Glatthaar, UNC-CH: “Robert E. Lee and the Transformation of Military Culture in the Army of Northern Virginia”

2007

January 18: Gabriel Sheffer, Hebrew Univ. of Jerusalem, Israel: “Civil-Military Relations in Israel”

February 22: Wayne Lee, UNC-CH: “Leashes on the Dogs of War: A Model for Understanding Violence in War”

April 12: Kelly Greenhill, Wesleyan College: “The Power of the Image: Abu Ghraib”

October 1: Loch K. Johnson, Univ. of Georgia-Athens: “Challenges of Strategic Intelligence”

October 19-20: William Perry, former Secretary of Defense: “Global Security: Challenges Now and in the Future”

December 13: Peter D. Feaver, Duke Univ.: “The White House Years”

2008

January 28: Thomas J. Chistensen, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs: “China – U.S. Relations”

February 7: Michael S. Doran, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Support to Public Diplomacy: “War of Ideas”

February 28: Dominic Johnson, Univ. of Edinburgh, Scotland: “Perceptions of the Iraq Conflict”

March 5: Zbigniew Brzezinski, former National Security Adviser: “Global Security Challenges”

September 19: Sebastian Lukasik, Duke Univ.: “Combat and Identity on the Western Front, World War I”

October 6: Jim Peacock, UNC-CH; Kerry Fosher, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse Univ.; Robert Albrow, American Univ.: – “Anthropology and Military Forum”

October 24: Robert K. Brigham, Vassar College: “Iraq, Vietnam, and the Limits of American Power”

October 30: Pierro Gleijeses, School of Advanced International Studies, John Hopkins Univ.: “Cuban Relations with South Africa”

November 21: John Lynn, Univ. of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign: “Women’s Participation in Early Modern Armies”

December 2: Cynthia Enloe, Clark Univ.: “The Iraq War: Feminist Lessons”

Appendix 6 – TISS New Faces Conferences

September 22-23, 2000

- Tanisha Fazal, Stanford Univ.: “Selection Mechanisms and the International State System”
- Mira Sucharov, Georgetown Univ.: “The International Self: Israel and the Palestinians, 1948 – 1995”
- Erin Mahan, Univ. of Virginia: “John F. Kennedy, Charles de Gaulle, and Western Europe: The Burden and Dilemma of the Atlantic Alliance, 1961 – 1963”
- Peter Furia, Princeton Univ.: “The Significance of ‘Allegiance’ in International Relations”
- Risa Brooks, Univ. of California, San Diego: “Institutions at the Domestic/International Nexus: the Political-Military Origins of Strategic Integration, Military Effectiveness and War”
- Jonathan Phillips, UNC-CH: “Building a Cape Fear Metropolis: Fort Bragg, Fayetteville, and the Sandhills of North Carolina, 1898 – 1945”
- David Mendeloff, MIT: “Truth-Telling and Mythmaking in Post-Soviet Russia: Historical Ideas, Mass Education, and Interstate Conflict”
- Mark D. Sheftall, Duke Univ.: “The Glories and the Sadness: Shaping the National Memory of the First World War in Great Britain, Canada and Australia, 1919 – 1939”

September 28-29, 2001

- Elizabeth Stanley Mitchell, Harvard Univ.: “Working Out the Inevitable: Domestic Coalition Shifts in War Termination”
- Ronald Krebs, Columbia Univ.: “A School for the Nation: Military Institutions and the Boundaries of Nationality”
- Alexander Downes, Univ. of Chicago: “Barbarism and War”
- D’Arcy Brissman, Duke Univ.: “Democracy by Drill and Harrow: The American Occupation and Haitian Civil-Military Relations, 1915 – 1934”
- David Fautua, UNC-CH: “The ‘American Century’ Army: The Origins of the U.S. Cold War Army, 1949 – 1959”
- Anne-Marie Gardner, Princeton Univ.: “The Internationalization of Self-Determination Claims”
- Lucy Chester, Yale Univ.: “The 1947 Partition of South Asia and Its Lessons for Modern Peacemaking”
- David Campbell, Univ. of Calgary, Canada: “The History of the 2nd Canadian Division, 1914 – 1918”

September 27-28, 2002

- Lorenz Luthi, Yale Univ.: “The Early Vietnam War: A Sino-Soviet-Vietnamese Perspective, 1964 – 1966”
- Taylor Fravel, Stanford Univ.: “The Long March to Peace: China and the Settlement of Territorial Disputes”
- Sarah Lischer, Harvard Univ.: “Catalysts of Conflict: How Refugee Crises Lead to the Spread of Civil War”

- Erik Riker-Coleman, UNC-CH: "Soldiers: Evolving World of the U.S. Military Elite, 1968 – 1998"
- Christopher Hamner, UNC-CH: "Combat Experience and Response in American Infantrymen: The War for Independence, the Civil War, and the Second World War"
- Erez Manela, Yale Univ.: Making a World of Nations: The Wilsonian Moment and the Origins of the Postcolonial World"
- Jacques Hyman, Ohio State Univ: "Pride, Prejudice and Plutonium: Explaining Decisions to Acquire Nuclear Weapons"
- Sterling Michael Pavelec, Ohio State Univ.: "Turbojet Aircraft in Britain, Germany and the United States: A Multi-National Comparison of Aeronautical Engineering"
- Michael Koch, Penn State Univ: "Parliaments and Foreign Policy: Parties, Costs and Conflict Behavior"
- Carmela Lutmar, New York Univ.: "Winners, Losers and Puppets: The Politics of Deposed Leaders"

September 12-13, 2003

- Giacomo Chiozza, Duke Univ: "Love and Hate: The Political Sources of Anti-Americanism"
- Alexandre Statiev, Univ. of Calgary, Canada: "Soviet Pacification Policy in the Western Borderlands, 1943 – 1950"
- Jamie Morin, Yale Univ.: "Did Congress Shape America's Post-Cold War Defense? Measuring the Role of Parochialism during Budgetary Retrenchment"
- Kevin Sweeney, Ohio State Univ.: "Jumping on the Bandwagon: An Interest Based Explanation for Great Power Alliances"
- Brett Benson, Duke Univ: "Understanding Commitments in International Relations: Credibility, Scope, and Transparency"
- Michael Allen, Northwestern Univ.: "Leave No Man Behind: Body Recovery as Casualty Aversion after the Vietnam War"
- Reşat Bayer, Penn. State Univ.: "Paths from War"
- Gregory Koblentz, MIT: "Pathogens as Weapons: International Security Implications of Biological Warfare"

September 10-11, 2004

- Krista Wiegand, Duke Univ: "Territorial Disputes: Why Settlement is Not Always the Best Strategy"
- Dirk Bönker, John Hopkins and Duke Univs.: "Militarizing the Western World: Navalism, Militarism, and State Building in Germany and the United States Prior to World War I"
- Mark Jacobsen, Ohio State Univ.: "Minds, then Hearts: U.S. Political and Psychological Warfare during the Korean War"
- Patricia Sullivan, Univ. of California, Davis: "The Utility of Force: War Aims and Asymmetric War Outcomes"
- Holger Schmidt, Columbia Univ.: "Knowing When to be an Honest Broker: Impartiality and Third Party Intervention in Violent Conflict"

- L. Kendall Palmer, UNC-CH: “Power-Sharing Extended: Policing and Education Reforms in Northern Ireland and Bosnia-Herzegovina”
- Sebastian Rosato, Univ. of Chicago: “Dual Containment and European Integration”
- Helen T. Lennon, Yale Univ.: “Film as Evidence in International War Crimes Tribunals”

September 9-10, 2005

- Michael Horowitz, Harvard Univ: “The Spread of Revolutions in Military Affairs: Causes and Consequences for International Conflict”
- Robert C. Blackstone, Univ. of Kansas: “The Draft and American Society during World War II”
- Adam Seipp, UNC-CH: “An Immeasurable Sacrifice of Blood and Treasure: Demobilization, Reciprocity, and the Politics of the Streets in Munich and Manchester, 1917 – 21”
- Joseph Paul Vasquez, III, Univ. of Notre Dame: “Politics by Ordinary Means: Democracy, the Social Composition of Militaries and International Conflict”
- Stephen B. Long, UNC-CH: “Cooperation under Duress: Explaining the Violation and Enforcement of International Agreements”
- David C. Carlson, UNC-CH: “‘Cooperation Earnestly Sought:’ A Micro-History of the Battle of Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, 1898”
- Carolina Yezer, Duke Univ.: “Memory and Truth in the Shadow of War: Local and National Reconciliation in the Peruvian Andes”
- Boaz Atzili, MIT: “When Good Fences Make Good Neighbors: The International Effects of ‘Border Fixity’”

September 15-16, 2006

- Todd S. Sechser, Stanford Univ.: “Winning Without a Fight: Power, Appeasement, and Compellent Threats”
- Catharina Wrede Braden, Harvard Univ: “Casualty Aversion and the Credibility of Democratic Regimes”
- Jacob Kathman, UNC-CH: “The Geopolitics of Civil War Intervention”
- Wayne Wei-Siang Hsieh, Univ. of Virginia: “The Old Army in War and Peace: West Pointers and the Civil War Era, 1814 – 1865”
- Michael G. Findley, Univ. of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign: “Spoiling the Peace or Seeking the Spoils?: Civil Wars and the Role of Spoilers”
- Mark L. Bradley, UNC-CH: “Bluecoats and Tar Heels: The Transition from War to Peace in North Carolina, 1865 – 1877”
- Paul K. MacDonald, Columbia Univ.: “Hierarchic Realism and Imperial Rule in International Politics”
- Daniel Jonathan Sargent, Harvard Univ.: “From Internationalism to Globalism: The U.S. and the Transformation of International Politics, 1965 – 1980”

September 7-8, 2007

- Kyle Joyce, Penn. State Univ.: “A Theory of War Expansion”
- Leo Blanken, Univ. of California, Davis: “Rational Empires: An Institutional Theory of Imperial Expansion”
- Michael Allsep, UNC-CH: “Elihu Root, New York Elites, and the Creation of the Military-Industrial Complex”
- Lindsay Cohn, Duke Univ: “Who Will Serve? Education, Labor Markets, and Military Manpower”
- Robert Robinson, Ohio State Univ.: “Creating Foreign Policy Locally: Migratory Labor and The Texas Border, 1943 – 1952”
- Daniel Walker, Vanderbilt Univ: “Competing Interests: The Cold War Diplomacy of Cyrus Vance”
- Sarah Kreps, Georgetown Univ.: “Multilateralism under Unipolarity: A Study of Post-Cold War U.S. Military Interventions”
- Lindsay Heger, Univ. of California, San Diego: “In the Crosshairs: The Targets of Unconventional Violence”

September 5-6, 2008

- Sebastian Lukasik, Duke Univ.: “‘Remember the Man at the Front:’ Military Service, Combat and American Identity in the Progressive Era”
- Edward Gutierrez, Ohio State Univ.: “Sherman was Right: The Experience of AEF Soldiers in the First World War”
- Keren Yarhi Milo, Univ. of Penn.: “In the Eye of the Beholder: Capabilities, Doctrine, Behavior and the Assessment of the Adversary’s Intentions”
- Jenna Jordan, Univ. of Chicago: “When Heads Roll: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation”
- Carolyne Davidson, Yale Univ.: “Dealing with de Gaulle: The United States, France, and the Problem of NATO, 1963 – 1970”
- Edward Kolla, John Hopkins Univ.: “The Transformation of Political Legitimacy During the French Revolution and the Birth of Modern International Law”
- Matthew Fehrs, Duke Univ.: “Are you Talking to Me? The Domestic Politics of Government Signaling in International Conflicts”
- Thomas Dolan, Ohio State Univ.: “Declaring Victory and Admitting Defeat”
- Jacqueline Whitt, UNC-CH: “Conflict and Compromise: American Military Chaplains and the Vietnam War”

Appendix 7 – TUSS/TISS Publications

Books

Feaver, Peter D., and Christopher Gelpi. *Choosing Your Battles: American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2003.

_____, _____, and Jason Reifler. *Paying the Human Costs of War: American Public Opinion and Casualties in Military Conflicts*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 2009.

_____, and Richard H. Kohn, eds. *Soldier and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001.

Feaver, Peter D., Richard H. Kohn, and Lindsay P. Cohn. "Introduction."

Holsti, Ole R. "Of Chasms and Convergences: The Attitudes and Beliefs of Civilian and Military Elites of the Eve of a New Millennium."

Davis, James. "The Brass and the Mass: Attitudes and Opinions Among Senior Military Officers and a US Cross Section: 1998-99."

Gronke, Paul and Peter D. Feaver. "Uncertain Confidence: Civilian and Military Attitudes about Civil-Military Relations."

Segal, David R., Peter Freedman-Doan, Jerald R. Bachman, and Patrick M. O'Malley. "Attitudes of Entry-Level Enlisted Personnel: Pro-Military and Politically Mainstreamed."

Weigley, Russell F. "The American Civil-Military Culture Gap: A Historical Perspective, Colonial Times to the Present."

Burk, James. "The Military's Presence in American Society."

Bianco, William T., and Jamie Markham. "Vanishing Veterans: The Decline in Military Service in the US Congress."

Desch, Michael C. "Explaining the Gap: Assessing Alternative Theories of Divergence of Civilian and Military Cultures."

Fordham, Benjamin O. "The Civil-Military Gap and Peacetime Military Policy."

Miller, Laura, and John Allen Williams. "Civil Rights vs. Combat Effectiveness? Military Policies on Gender and Sexuality."

Roman, Peter J. and David W. Tarr. "The Military Leadership, Professionalism, and the Policy Making Process."

Cohen, Eliot A. "The Unequal Dialogue: The Civil-Military Gap and the Use of Force."

Feaver, Peter D., and Richard H. Kohn. "Conclusion."

Helms, Robert F. II, and Robert H. Dorff, eds. *The Persian Gulf Crisis: Power in the Post-Cold War World*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1993.

Holsti, Ole R. *To See Ourselves as Others See Us: How Publics Abroad View the United States After 9/11*. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 2008.

_____. *American Public Opinion on the War in Iraq*. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, forthcoming.

Pumphrey, Carolyn W., and Rye Schwartz-Barcott, eds. *Armed Conflict in Africa*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2003.

Pumphrey, Carolyn W., ed. *Transnational Threats: Blending Law Enforcement and Military Strategies*. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2000.

_____. *The Rise of China in Asia: Security Implications*. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2002.

_____. *Global Climate Change: National Security Implications*. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2008.

Monograph

Caddell, Joseph W. *Deception 101 – Primer on Deception*. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2004.

Articles

Chandra, Kanchan, and Steven I. Wilkinson. "Measuring the Effect of 'Ethnicity.'" *Comparative Political Studies* 41, no. 4-5 (April 2008): 515-563.

Cohen, Eliot A. "Why the Gap Matters." *The National Interest* (Fall 2000): 38-48.

Feaver, Peter D., and Richard H. Kohn. "The Gap." *The National Interest* (Fall 2000): 29-37.

_____, David Filer, and Paul Gronke. "The Reserves and Guard: Standing in the Gap Before and After 9/11," in Barbara A. Bicksler, Curtis L. Gilroy, and John T. Warner, eds. *The All-Volunteer Force: Thirty Years of Service*. London: Brassey's, 2004.

_____, Takako Hikotani, and Shaun Narine. "Civilian Control and Civil-Military Gaps in the United States, Japan, and China." *Asian Perspective* 29, no. 1 (2005): 233-71.

_____, Christopher Gelpi, and Lindsay Cohn. "American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force," in Peter Karsten, ed., *Encyclopedia of War and American Society*. London: Sage Publications; 133-137.

Gelpi, Christopher. "How Many Casualties Will Americans Tolerate?" *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 1 (January/February 2006): 139-144.

_____, and Jason Reifler. "Success Still Matters: A Reply to Berinsky and Druckman." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 72, no. 1 (Fall 2007): 125-133.

_____, and _____. "Casualties, Polls, and the Iraq War." *International Security* 31, no. 2 (Fall 2006): 186-198.

_____, _____, and Peter Feaver. "Iraq the Vote: Retrospective and Prospective Foreign Policy Judgments on Candidate Choice and Casualty Tolerance." *Political Behavior* 29, no. 2 (June 2007): 151-174.

Holsti, Ole R. "To See Ourselves as Others See Us: How Publics Abroad View the United States in the Post-9/11 Era." *Public Opinion Pros* (May 2005).

_____. "Identity of the U.S. Military." *Perspectives in Politics* 2 (September 2004): 557-560.

_____. "Politicization of the U.S. Military? Crisis or Tempest in a Teapot?" *International Journal* 57 (Winter 2001-2002): 1-18.

_____. "Civil-Military Relations: How Wide the Gap? Response." *International Security* 24 (Fall 1999): 204-207.

_____. "A Widening Gap Between the Military and Society? Some Evidence, 1976-1996." *International Security* 23 (Winter 1998-1999): pp. 5-42.

"Media and Education in the U.S. Civil-Military Gap." *Armed Forces and Society* 27, no. 2 (Winter 2001).

Feaver, Peter D., and Richard H. Kohn. "Overview." 177-182.

Wiegand, Krista, and David Paletz. "The Elite Media and the Military-Civilian Culture Gap." 183-204.

Dauber, Cori. "The Role of Visual Imagery in Casualty Shyness and Casualty Aversion." 205-230.

Harper, Howard. "The Military and Society: Reaching and Reflecting Audiences in Fiction and Film." 231-248.

Snider, Don M., Robert F. Priest, and Felisa Lewis. "The Civilian-Military Gap and Professional Military Education at the Precommissioning Level." 249-272.

Stiehm, Judith. "Civil-Military Relations in War College Curricula." 273-294.

"Special Section: The Civil-Military Gap in Comparative Perspective," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 26, No. 2 (June 2003).

Feaver, Peter D. "The Civil-Military Gap in Comparative Perspective." 1-5.

Kümmel, Gerhard. "The Winds of Change: The Transition from Armed Force for Peace to New Missions for the Bundeswehr and its Impact on Civil-Military Relations." 7-28.

Vennesson, Pascal. "Civil-Military Relations in France: Is there a Gap?" 29-42.

Strachan, Hew. "The Civil-Military 'Gap' in Britain." 43-63.

Other

Holsti, Ole R. *A Widening Gap Between the Military and Society? Some Evidence, 1976-1996*, in Project on U.S. Post-Cold War Civil-Military Relations. Project on Cold-War Civil-Military Relations (October, 1997), Olin Institute, Harvard University. Working Paper No. 13.

Wilkinson, Steven I. *Colonialism, Democracy and Conflict*. Book manuscript in preparation, likely to be published in the Comparative Politics series at Cambridge Univ. Press.