



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
5828 SOUTH UNIVERSITY AVENUE
CHICAGO · ILLINOIS 60637

October 14, 1993

Professor David Lake
Chair, IGCC Search Committee
IGCC Central Office
UC, San Diego
9500 Gilman Drive
La Jolla, CA
92093-0518

Dear Dave,

I am writing in response to your September 20, 1993 letter asking me for names of scholars who might be suitable for the IR position that UC-San Diego is trying to fill. You write that UCSD is searching for "a specialist in international relations, with an emphasis on international security," although you "are taking an expansive definition of the field."

I believe there are talented international security scholars who would fill the bill. However, after thinking about the matter, I have decided not to provide you with names. My reasoning is simple: I am not convinced UCSD is serious about hiring in the security field. I certainly do not think you are interested in building a program in this area. Outward appearances suggest that your aim is to go through the motions of looking for a security person, hire someone outside of the security mainstream, but then call that person a security expert. To be frank, I do not see the value of participating in such an enterprise.

Let me elaborate my thinking.

Although the points made below are mine alone, I have spoken with other security scholars over the years who share my views about UCSD. In fact, a colleague at another university recently told me he would be willing to provide you with names, but would discourage any security scholars from going to UCSD because of its apparent bias against security studies.

The best evidence of UCSD's hostility to security studies is that there are no international security experts on the faculty of either the School of International Relations or the political science department. You certainly have a lot of talented international relations scholars and formidable comparativists at UCSD, but not a single security expert. And there has not been one there for as long as I can remember.

This is remarkable because there has been great interest in security studies across the country since the late 1970s, when detente began to unravel, and Americans began thinking seriously about military matters. Other schools have managed to hire security specialists over the past 13 years. Chicago, for example, had nobody doing security in 1980, but now has Charlie Glaser, Steve Walt, and myself. I could point to similar stories at other universities.

Why hasn't UCSD hired a single security expert in the recent past?

It certainly cannot be due to lack of resources. You have a major political science department. IGCC is located at your school, and UCSD has had the tremendous resources that come with building a school of international relations. Furthermore, the UC system's present financial problems notwithstanding, it was financially well off for almost all of the 1980s, and as a departmental chair in the late 1980s, it appeared to me that UCSD was something of a favored child in the UC system. These resources, of course, made it possible to hire all the IR and comparative talent now located at UCSD.

One might argue that there are hardly any good people in security studies. This line of argument is analogous to the old claim that there are no good women or minorities in the field. The problem with this argument is that many other schools have managed to hire one or more security scholars over the past 13 years, and among their ranks are scholars whose publishing records are as impressive as many members of UCSD's faculty. As we both know, when it comes to hiring, universities can be very creative when they want to be, and there were and are a number of talented security scholars out there for UCSD to recruit.

It is worth noting that many students of security affairs believe they are held to tougher standards when it comes to hiring and tenuring decisions. Young security scholars with significant publishing records (e.g., a book in press and several articles) often have difficulty getting hired, while I can think of at least four IPE scholars at prominent universities who received tenure without having a published book. I am not suggesting that individuals in this latter category should not have been tenured, but only that there is a double standard at work.

A third explanation might be that there were a handful of excellent candidates that UCSD tried to hire, but they chose to go to other schools. I do not know in any detail what lengths you went to hire international security scholars in the past, but I am reasonably well-plugged into the gossip networks, and the clear impression I have is that UCSD made a perfunctory effort to hire in the security field, and saved its special efforts for other subfields.

I cannot think of a case where you went after a security scholar with an offer that would have been hard to turn down. I do not know of any case where you were involved in an intense competition with another school to hire a security person. I do not know of any effort by UCSD to hire a package of security scholars, a strategy often used to hire in subfields where recruitment is difficult because candidates fear being a token in a hostile environment, and also want colleagues to talk with. In fact, I can only recall one offer you have made in the security field in the past 13 years. On the other hand, I can easily think of cases where you competed vigorously for non-security scholars.

It is hard to view this pattern of behavior without sensing a chilly attitude towards security studies at UCSD. Of course, hostility to students of international security can be found at most universities, as any scholar in the subfield can tell you. However, the contempt appears to be particularly strong at UCSD.

I believe there are two main sources of this hostility, one ideological, the other methodological.

At the risk of oversimplifying, the IR field can be divided into three parts: Liberal, Post-structuralist, and Realist. Most (though not all) security scholars have at least one foot in the Realist camp. The vast majority of scholars who fall outside the Realist tradition -- to include virtually all comparativists as well as the Liberals and Post-structuralists

mentioned above -- tend to dislike Realism intensely. I am always amazed at how the mere mention of Ken Waltz's name (or even Joe Grieco's) can make non-Realists visibly agitated. A good part of this antipathy towards Realism is ideological in nature, as Realism is widely -- and incorrectly -- viewed in academia as a conservative or hawkish paradigm, while the political center of gravity in most political science departments is well to the left of center. Thus, political science departments are not going to be terribly receptive to security studies for ideological reasons.

The second source of contempt is methodological. Students of international security pay much attention to history, and often employ the comparative case study method. Political science departments have hired large numbers of formal theorists over the past decade, and they are often skeptical, if not outright hostile, to qualitative social science. From what I gather, this is especially true at UCSD.

Taken together, this combination of ideological and methodological biases constitutes a formidable barrier to security scholars, and one that other subfields of political science do not face.

My concern about UCSD's motives are further heightened by the claim that you intend to take "an expansive definition of the field" in your search for a security person. In other words, you will look for someone who does international security broadly defined.

This tactic is a familiar one, although it is almost never applied to other fields. When was the last time UCSD sought to hire in IPE, taking "an expansive definition of the field?" or in Latin American politics broadly defined? or in formal theory broadly defined? This tactic is reserved for delegitimizing specific fields, and the tactic works against security studies in three ways.

First, by defining the security field very broadly, which means amorphously, you can hire individuals with little background in the field and call them security experts. This tactic allows UCSD to hire a modeler or an IPE scholar who has written on a subject tangentially related to security affairs. By using an expansive definition of security, UCSD can maintain that it has hired a security person.

The MacArthur Foundation, working with SSRC, has employed this tactic frequently over the past decade, as it gave out millions of research dollars. Security scholars, and I mean mainstream security scholars, have been constantly surprised to see research grants earmarked for security studies going to scholars whose work, however worthy, had little to do with security.

Second, allowing scholars who actually know little about security affairs to label themselves experts in the field demeans the security enterprise. In effect, it says almost anybody can be a security expert, and it implies that it does not take much expertise to move quickly into that field. A good example of this phenomenon at play was a recent attempt by one of the leading IPE scholars to make himself an editor of the Cornell Security Affairs series. Not surprisingly, a number of security scholars who heard about this story were angry. As one of them said to me, "no security expert would purport to be qualified to edit a political economy book series, why would an IPE expert think he is qualified to edit a security series? It shows disrespect for our field."

Third, saying that you are using an expansive or broad definition of security implies in a subtle but powerful way that security scholars are narrow, while those outside the field are broad-minded, and merely interested in trying to broaden the horizons of a body of scholars inflicted

with tunnel vision. This ploy echoes the familiar canard that security studies is atheoretical, lacking in rigor, or merely policy analysis about "bombs and bullets." This stereotype, as you surely know from having rubbed shoulders with Sam Huntington, Bob Jervis, Bob Art, Dick Betts, Ned Lebow, Steve Van Evera, Jack Snyder, Barry Posen, Bob Powell, Steve Walt, etc., is not to be taken seriously. Yet the image is constantly invoked to discredit the security field.

To be sure, security experts have to know a lot of technical detail about specific military subjects. If you study political-military affairs, you must know a great deal about both the political and military dimensions of your subject. I think similar strictures apply to students of political economy, who must have lots of detailed knowledge about specific aspects of the international economy.

Let me conclude my saying that although I am very impressed with UCSD's roster of talent in comparative politics and international political economy, I have a poor opinion of both the political science department and the School of International Relations and Pacific Studies as a place to do graduate study or do research. I simply do not believe that you can claim to have a major international relations program if you ignore one half of the field.

Just look at the newspapers and listen to the news every day. They abound with stories about different international security issues. I bet that over half of the column inches dealing with international politics in each day's NYTimes deals with security matters. How can you run a School of International Relations, which is policy-oriented by definition, and not have at least three people studying security issues? How can UCSD have responsibility for running IGCC when it has nobody on the faculty who studies security issues? How can your political science department train students to do international relations when it ignores one of the key parts of the field?

Furthermore, it is clear from the title of your IR school that it is Pacific-oriented. I participated in a seminar last year at Harvard on Asian security. To my surprise, I discovered that many experts believe that security issues are going to be increasingly important in this region in the decades ahead. This situation presents a wonderful opportunity for UCSD, as it has the resources to be the key center in the United States for studying Asian security issues. I assume the powers that be in the state of California who fund the study of international relations at UCSD expect you to do just that.

I also think that UCSD has a responsibility to study security issues in a serious fashion. Studying military affairs is terribly important because it is essential for the United States to think intelligently about questions of war and peace. Our society has a deep-seated interest in preventing war around the globe, and if we fail in that endeavor, we want to make sure we fight the war intelligently, and then do everything possible to fashion a peace settlement that makes further war unlikely. Research universities play a key role in our society in helping foster intelligent thinking about national security policy. This point is widely recognized, and I am sure it is one of the principal reasons that the state of California has generously funded the study of international relations at UCSD.

In short, you are expected to seriously study security issues.

Unfortunately, the evidence indicates that UCSD is going to continue its tradition of ignoring security studies.

I hope that you share this letter with your colleagues at UCSD, and don't mind if I pass it along to some of my colleagues in the security field.

Sincerely yours,

John J. Mearsheimer
Professor

October 23

Prof. John Mearsheimer
University of Chicago
Department of Political Science
5828 South University Ave.
Chicago Illinois 60637

Dear John:

In my role as chair of the IR/PS recruitment committee, David Lake forwarded me a copy of your letter dated October 14. I was extremely saddened by it, particularly by your apparent intention of initiating a campaign against UCSD. Rather than helping us in our quest to attract the best talent, your comments will only make our task all the more difficult. This is particularly puzzling given that your stated goal is to get us to live up to our responsibility to teach security "properly."

Before getting to the substantive meat of your letter, I want to tell you that I personally take offense at the stated assumption: that the Graduate School of International Relations and the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation are misleading the field and prospective candidates by advertising for a position we do not intend to fill. This is a serious allegation, based largely on your admittedly uninformed reading of our previous efforts to hire in this area. Since you confess that you "do not know in any detail what lengths [we] went to hire international security scholars in the past," your argument concerning our hiring efforts is purely speculative; you admit as much when you say that it is primarily as a result of your "gossip networks" that you gained the "impression" that we have only made a perfunctory effort in this field.

Moreover, you apparently are not informed about our faculty here, or about our program. IR/PS is a graduate school that offers a masters degree in international affairs, with a very small PhD program. Currently, we have 200 masters students and about ten PhD students. The interests of our PhD students (and our masters student) are spread across economics, comparative public policy and area studies as well as IR. The Political Science Department, as you know, is one of the better departments in the country, and has a dynamic group of 15-20 IR graduate students working on issues of both IPE and security.

When David Lake and I arrived, the IR faculty in both the school and the department took the opportunity to re-examine our IR offerings and to move toward the formulation of a fully integrated program, in which the PhD students in both IR/PS and the Department would be able to draw freely on the course offerings and advising services of all the IR faculty in both programs. All examination committees are joint, and students put together committees that draw freely on the resources of faculty in both the Department and

the School; for example, I am now chairing PhD committees of students in the Department.

The IR group consists of the following people: Peter Cowhey, Peter Gourevitch, Miles Kahler, David Lake, Paul Papayoanou, David Mares, Phil Roeder, and myself. Paul Papayoanou is a recent hire from UCLA, who does straight security issues: credible commitments and causes of war. You owe him an apology, since even by your constricted definition of what constitutes security, there is no way that he could possibly be considered anything other than a security specialist. Enclosed for your information is a copy of the syllabus for the core graduate security course, a course which Paul developed in consultation with the IR group.

Phil Roeder is a Soviet specialist with an interest in Soviet foreign policy among other things. David Lake's current work is on how states provide for their security, and is as steeped in realism as it could possibly be. David Mares' previous work is in IPE, but he is currently finishing an historical book about Latin American security policy, in which an assessment of countries' tendency to bandwagon or balance over time plays a central theoretical role. Miles Kahler is currently working on the relationship between economics and security in the Pacific Rim, the only possible way that the topic could be studied in the region. I should add that this is in addition to the research program of the IGCC, which focuses almost exclusively on security questions and has for some time, as well as the visitors which IR/PS hires in order to teach security courses on a regular basis and houses as visiting scholars.

You are also not informed about our search efforts in security over the past several years, nor even about the nature of the position. The position for which we are authorized to search is a joint position between IR/PS and the IGCC; in the latter role, the individual would have the title of Research Director. Given the somewhat reluctant to seek out a junior scholar, for fear of placing undue burdens on their time and prospects for tenure.

Nonetheless, we did try for several years to hire for this position at the junior level. Your charges put us in an awkward position: in order to rebut them properly, we would have to discuss the reasons why we failed to hire individual junior candidates. I can only say that the reasons for our failure to do so did not have anything to do with their conception of the field of security; rather, they rested on our judgements about the merits of their work and the extent to which they showed an interest in security questions in the Pacific Basin.

It is important to emphasize the latter point; IR/PS specializes in the international relations, politics and economics of the Pacific Rim, defined to include East and Southeast Asia and Latin America. In our introductory IR course, which is required of all our masters students, we provide an overview of international

politics that is comprehensive; Miles Kahler and I developed this course, and a syllabus is enclosed for your information. However, much of the field of security remains focused largely on questions of the ex-Soviet Union and Europe, and while this is certainly justified, scholars with these foci do not meet the teaching and research needs of IR/PS.

You are also apparently not aware of the fact that IR/PS has also conducted discussions with a number of senior security people since its founding, including over half of the people you list on p. 4 of your letter! All of these scholars already held positions at major universities, and thus it is not surprising that we would face difficulties in moving them. If you have new information that the people on your list are available to move, we would be delighted to hear it.

I can only assume that you are also not aware that we made an offer to Scott Sagan, who turned us down to stay at Stanford. Perhaps you don't consider Scott to be a serious security appointment, but if you don't, then I'm completely at a loss to understand what you are talking about. His dissertation was on the failure of deterrence in the Pacific prior to WWII, he has written on the causes of WWI, he has one book on nuclear targeting and a new one that applies organization theory to understand the behavior of militaries. This is in addition to spending time in the office of the Secretary of Defense.

Since you don't have a clear understanding of our program, faculty, the nature of the position, or the history of our search efforts, I can only surmise that your real objection has to do with the way we define security.

Frankly, I'm not clear why you are positioned to define the field of security to us, particularly with regard to a region in which you have never, to my knowledge, done research. Moreover, you misconstrue our reasons for defining security broadly, which in the first instance are merely prudential; an effort not to prematurely eliminate candidates who might be of interest.

That said, however, your implicit definition of the field of the field certainly gives me pause. Your letter manages to reproduce virtually every stale stereotype and dichotomy that most of us have been trying to break away from for years: the tired debate between "liberals" and "realists"; the distinction between comparative politics and IR; the debate between the rectitude of historical vs. other types of methods; indeed even the distinction between IPE and security itself.

It is widely accepted everywhere (outside Chicago, that is) that the most exciting work in the field of IR has been taking place at the intersection of these various methodological and theoretical approaches; comparative security policy that focuses on domestic politics and the dynamics of military organizations, the political economy of national security and grand strategy, the

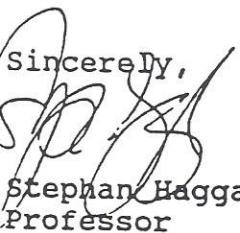
technological foundations of national security policy, and so forth. Your own colleague, Steve Walt, provides a perfect example. He is seeking to combine an analysis of revolution with the study of foreign policy. If we kept to your limited definition of the field, Steve--one of the top security people in the country--would fall into a suspect category; a comparativist poaching on the security area.

First, let me reiterate that it is precisely because of our recognition of the importance of security questions that we have advertised this position. We are looking forward to building the strength of our MPIA and PhD programs by adding to our faculty in this area. Yet we will not be bound by your--or anyone else's--definition of what is the "correct" way to study the field, or even what its boundaries are. Can you imagine David Lake, Peter Gourevitch, Miles Kahler or I passing judgement on what constituted "real" work on IPE, or presuming to tell Chicago what the boundaries of IPE should be? The effort would be preposterous.

I ask as a courtesy that if you have circulated your letter, that you provide me the names of the people to whom you have sent it. In my view, it contains a number of allegations that are false, and which could, if taken at face value, have the effect of harming our reputation and impeding our search efforts. If you have circulated your letter, I hope that you will understand that I have no choice but to circulate your correspondence and this letter to other people in the field as well. Unfortunately, these unsubstantiated allegations move quickly through professional networks, beyond those with whom we initially communicate.

I am sure you would expect those of us here to help the University of Chicago in its efforts to identify the best people in the field. I sincerely hope that you will change your mind and do the same for us by helping us in our search effort.

Sincerely,


Stephan Haggard
Professor

Graduate School of International Relations
and Pacific Studies
University of California, San Diego
9500 Gilman Drive
La Jolla CA 92093-0519

cc. Peter Gourevitch, Susan Shirk, David Lake, Miles Kahler, Peter Cowhey, Paul Papayoanou, David Mares, Phil Roeder.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

BERKELEY • DAVIS • IRVINE • LOS ANGELES • RIVERSIDE • SAN DIEGO • SAN FRANCISCO



SANTA BARBARA • SANTA CRUZ

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
AND PACIFIC STUDIES

LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA 92093-0519
(619) 534-1946 FAX # (619) 534-3939

Peter Gourevitch, Dean

October 27, 1993

Professor John J. Mearsheimer
Department of Political Science
The University of Chicago
5828 South University Avenue
Chicago, IL 60637

Dear John:

If your letter to David Lake was designed to provoke and annoy, it has succeeded in doing so.

I am disturbed by your judgment in writing and circulating such a long diatribe on the basis of so little information. You don't really know much about who we have tried to recruit in the field of security, or other fields, and why these efforts have not been successful. Despite the lack of knowledge, you do not hesitate to sweep a very wide and virulent brush of accusation.

Is this how you conduct your professional life and scholarship -- on rumor, innuendo, emotion? After reading your letter, I wonder if your strong sectarian feelings about your position in the profession, and your sense of victimization and persecution, allow you to be judicious and responsible.

There are many interesting issues on what constitutes the study of international security, how it relates to the rapidly changing world around us, how it links to developments in the social sciences. The interesting parts of your letter are the passages which relate to those issues.

We are particularly interested here in finding people interested in working out of theory as it deals with the Pacific region. It is not easy to do so. I noted that on your list of outstanding people in the security field on page four (a significant number of whom we have tried to recruit), none focus primarily on the Pacific.

I am also appalled by the suggestion that there is an official UCSD party line and that we are deliberately willful, sly and sneaky, that we are not able to work with other professionals, nor train students. Your letter reads like the sort of thing lawyers are hired to do to attack competitors -- defense through offense and offensiveness. You have a beef against the profession, against the way security studies are treated, and appeared to have decided that we at UCSD must bear full responsibility for those ills.

Your department has, on more than one occasion, asked me for comments on your hiring and promotions. Do you suppose I and my colleagues here at UCSD are not qualified to write such letters since we have engaged in such extensive distortion, bias and ignorance? If so, please inform your department chair and colleagues.

Yours is not a constructive or helpful letter, John. You could have made many interesting intellectual points – charging us with intolerance, ignorance, ill-will, and misinformation is not constructive. It is false and mean. We have tried quite vigorously to recruit excellent people in the field of international security. I have been to many job talks and many recruitment dinners. I have written many letters for these recruitments. It has been painful to watch these efforts go to naught. Not try to hire in security? -- your accusations are baldly false.

Circulating rumors and innuendo is not what universities are about. Giving constructive advice is: we still need advice on names of people in the security field with particular expertise on Asia. Please help us.

Sincerely,

Peter Gourevitch
Dean

cc: Norman Nie, Chair
Department of Political Science, University of Chicago

David Lake, UCSD

PG/dbb



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
5828 SOUTH UNIVERSITY AVENUE
CHICAGO · ILLINOIS 60637

December 10, 1993

Professor Stephan Haggard
School of International Relations/Pacific Studies
University of California, San Diego
La Jolla, CA 92093-0519

Dear Steph:

I am writing in response to your letter of November 8. I had been intending to send Dave Lake a list of names, but in light of John Mearsheimer's letter and your own response, I thought a more detailed reply was in order.

I find myself in an awkward position regarding these issues. On the one hand, I have considerable admiration and affection for a number of people at UCSD (yourself included), and I do not want to strain those ties of friendship and professional accord. Furthermore, I was recruited by UCSD a few years ago, and I have no reason to believe that this interest wasn't genuine. On the other hand, I think Mearsheimer's characterization of the anti-security studies bias within IR is largely accurate, and I agree with many of his points about UCSD's failure to hire in the security field.

I want to be very clear about this: I do *not* believe there is an organized conspiracy against security studies either at UCSD or within the IR field as a whole. But I am increasingly convinced that many academics share a view of the world and our profession that is hostile to the serious study of war as a social and political phenomenon. And I fear that this view has discouraged UCSD from taking the steps necessary to build a more balanced program.

First of all, UCSD's situation must be seen within a larger intellectual context. Part of that context is the recurring claim that security studies is narrow, atheoretical, or trapped in old ways of thinking, and the related claim that the end of the Cold War has rendered the field (or its present practitioners) irrelevant and obsolete. As you might expect, I consider these arguments patently absurd, and somewhat akin to saying that the field of IPE was rendered obsolete by the collapse of Bretton Woods, or that it would be rendered obsolete if the latest GATT round is completed successfully. To be sure, the specific issues addressed by security scholars are changing, new approaches and theories will be developed and tested, and the relationship between the problem of war and other social and political issues will be examined in new ways. But the idea that organized violence will cease to be an important intellectual or political problem is barely worth discussing: just ask the Koreans, Bosnians, Angolans, Ukrainians, or Chinese.

A related issue is the effort to broaden the definition of "security" to include virtually anything that could affect human welfare (e.g., the environment, poverty, crime, public health, etc.). This effort has been accompanied by a campaign to recruit new people into the field, based on the belief that (1) security scholars are "narrow," (2) that they are "part of the problem, not part of the solution," and (3) that the only way to save the field was to bring in new people and new

ideas. These beliefs were perhaps most evident in the MacArthur/SSRC Program in Peace and Security (whose advisory committee has been dominated by people from outside the security field), and initiatives like theirs reflected a common but unsupported belief that the existing sub-field of security studies was moribund.

You can imagine how such views are perceived by people who have devoted years of careful study to these problems and who believe their work to be of considerable relevance to contemporary political issues. Moreover, the evidence overwhelmingly demonstrates that well-established members of the security field continue to do interesting, innovative and highly relevant work. Examples include Barry Posen's recent articles on "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power," and "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict"; Jack Snyder's various publications applying modernization theory to questions of nationalism and stability in Eastern Europe; Peter Liberman's forthcoming book on the "spoils of conquest" (which addresses issues raised by Dick Rosecrance in his book on "trading states"); Chris Layne's recent critique of "unipolar hegemonists" in International Security, or Deborah Avant, Jeff Legro and Beth Kier's forthcoming works that use cultural and organizational constructs to examine military policy. Similarly, it is hard to argue that Bob Pape's forthcoming book on military coercion does not speak to important theoretical and policy issues, given the recent use of airpower in the Gulf War, the debate over its possible use against Serbia, and the daily discussions over whether military force should be used to persuade North Korea to abandon its nuclear program. By contrast, with the exception of several historians, very few recent entrants from other disciplines or subfields have made a significant contribution thus far, if only because it takes time to acquire the necessary background. To be frank, I think the claim that security studies is of declining importance reflects wishful thinking rather than careful analysis; and as Michael Howard once noted: "when told that war is longer a danger, the sensible man will head for his bomb-shelter."

Part of the problem stems from the ambiguity of the term "security," a point Arnold Wolfers noted decades ago. But the real dispute is about content; one could call the field "strategic studies," or "war studies" without altering its subject-matter significantly. Like any sub-field, its precise boundaries are uncertain and permeable and its agenda shifts in response to new scholarly developments and to changes in the real world. The basic core of the field, however, is the study of war and the implications of this phenomenon for states and societies. The problem of war has been and remains a central issue for contemporary world politics, and any serious research and training program should be very well represented in this core area. This does not mean that other subjects (such as the environment, the world economy, public health, human rights, etc.) do not merit serious study, and it certainly doesn't mean that everyone should approach the subject of war from the same theoretical, methodological, or normative perspective. But it does mean that scholars who are primarily concerned with issues that have little to do with war should not be viewed as contributing to a department's portfolio in the area of international security affairs. Furthermore, the fact that someone has recently become interested in the field doesn't qualify him or her as an accomplished expert, until that expertise is demonstrated in a significant body of published work.

I should emphasize that there is nothing narrow about this conception of security affairs, and *no one* in the security field is trying to impose a rigid definition on its content. Security studies has always been a wide-ranging and interdisciplinary enterprise, and its members have included realists, liberals, critical theorists, historians, psychologists, economists, sociologists, physical scientists, and a host of other scholarly species. Think of the diverse backgrounds of people like Albert Wohlstetter, Tom Schelling, William Kaufmann, Marc Trachtenberg, Alex George, Bob Powell, or Ash Carter, all of whom could be considered legitimate members of the security sub-field. Around the core concept of war, the field addresses a diverse range of topics,

including military strategy, the causes of war and peace (a very broad topic by itself), civil-military relations, defense policy, crisis behavior and crisis management, and a host of other topics. What connects these topics is the central theme of organized violence by states (and occasionally by groups seeking to take over or establish a state). As I've argued elsewhere, including a host of important *but unrelated* subjects (e.g., public health, crime, domestic violence, child abuse, etc.) under the heading of "security" would rob the field of whatever coherence it now possesses.

Over the years, UCSD has appeared to embrace a view of the security studies field in which the core concerns were slighted and these peripheral issues were privileged. A few years ago, for example, UCSD explicitly sought to recruit "non-traditional" security scholars; even though it had yet to hire someone from within the basic core of the field. This year, you stated that you were taking "a broad definition of the field." This language may have been intended merely to ensure that you did not overlook a promising candidate from outside the mainstream, but it is hardly surprising that many viewed it as a reflection of a basic disinterest in the core issues of the field. And it is surely odd that security studies is routinely singled out for such treatment while other areas of political science are not. In short, I believe Mearsheimer is correct that the campaign to "broaden" security affairs has been both unnecessary and counter-productive, and that it reflects an attempt to delegitimize the field by portraying it as somehow "narrow" or otherwise inferior to other branches of the social sciences.

A related element of the overall intellectual context is the hostility or contempt for security studies that has been expressed by leading members of the IPE sub-field, including several members of UCSD's current faculty. You are a well-connected and experienced member of the discipline, and I find it hard to believe that you have never been exposed to such views. Let me give you just a few recent examples of the sort of thing I mean.

1. In 1988, I appeared on a APSA roundtable on "bridging the gap" between security studies and IPE (your colleague David Lake was one of the other panelists). During the discussion, a prominent senior IPE scholar stated that members of the IPE subfield could easily move into security affairs while security experts could not do IPE, because the former were better trained (i.e., they knew more economics). Not only would such a claim be news to people like Bob Powell, Jim Fearon, or Tom Schelling (whose knowledge of economics exceeds that of virtually anyone in the IPE field), but it would also surprise people like Bob Gilpin and Oran Young, who began their careers in the security area before moving into IPE. Moreover, this view ignores the fact that many members of both sub-fields have very similar graduate training.
2. At a roundtable at this year's APSA meeting, another prominent IPE scholar advised graduate students not to study security affairs because it provided inadequate social science training, citing the Avoiding Nuclear War project at Harvard as his principle example. The ANW project is hardly a representative sample of the security sub-field, and it is hard not to construe these comments as evidence of a basic hostility towards the field as a whole.
3. At a conference at USC a couple of years ago, Miles Kahler characterized my view of the "traditional" security affairs agenda as outmoded and of decreasing relevance for the new realities of world politics. This is an issue about which reasonable people can disagree, and I thought Miles' comments were responsible and well-intended. Nonetheless, this view has probably contributed to the perception that UCSD considers the serious study of war to be a lesser priority.

4. In a recent IO article ("Territoriality and Beyond"), John Ruggie lamented the lack of "epochal thinking" in IR more generally, but added that "the worst offender by far is the American field of security studies." He provided no evidence to support this claim (and overlooked a number of recent works by security scholars), and this statement struck many members of the security sub-field as yet another sign of (ill-informed) contempt by a senior IPE scholar.

5. Over the past few years, your colleague David Lake has made disparaging remarks about security affairs in a number of professional forums. He is entitled to his opinion, of course, but such views do not encourage members of the security field to view UCSD as a friendly environment.

6. When I attended a conference on domestic politics and foreign policy at UCSD two years ago, several graduate students with whom I spoke complained about the dearth of security experts on the faculty and described some of the more extreme advocates of rational choice approaches within the Political Science department as extremely intolerant of work that did not conform to their own notions of what political science should be.

Experiences like these have convinced me that a pejorative and stereotypical view of security affairs has become entrenched within the field of IR as a whole. There is a real irony here: security affairs is routinely accused of being narrow and hide-bound, yet my experience is that its members are among the most catholic members of the profession. Even Mearsheimer, who has an undeservedly fierce reputation, is a model of tolerance when it comes to hiring and promotion decisions here at Chicago. He was chosen to be chair here at Chicago precisely because he had a well-deserved reputation for fair-mindedness and integrity, and he certainly never tried to promote his own intellectual agenda while serving in that capacity or as an ordinary member of the department. He has strong opinions and expresses them freely, but those who know him well can attest that he is deeply committed to promoting a lively and wide-ranging discourse rather than seeking to impose a single narrow view upon the field. Just ask someone like Andy Moravcsik, who has debated John on several occasions and who credits John for encouraging him to publish his views on liberalism and IR theory. In short, no one I know is trying to impose a particular vision upon the field of IR or the sub-field of security studies; I only wish that the same level of tolerance were evident in other areas of the discipline.

UCSD's Record

The above discussion should be seen as the background against which UCSD's performance is viewed by members of the security sub-field. Since the founding of the IR/PS school, UCSD has not hired a single senior scholar in security affairs. It did hire one junior security scholar (an ABD with no publications), and several senior IPE scholars (Miles, David, yourself, and Lawrence Krause). You also made a tenured offer to Scott Sagan at Stanford, and have courted a number of others with varying degrees of enthusiasm and persistence.

The question is whether this constitutes a "serious effort." I have no doubt that you and your colleagues believe that you have made a sustained effort in this area; indeed, I would not be surprised if your inability to hire in the security area has been a source of some frustration. But why was it possible for Chicago, MIT, Stanford, Princeton, Berkeley, Cornell, Duke, Toronto, UCLA, Pittsburgh, Virginia, Ohio State, Notre Dame, Georgetown, Yale, Lehigh, Minnesota, Harvard, Michigan, and a number of other schools to hire in the past decade, while UCSD did not? If UCSD has really been eager to get someone, how do you explain this anomaly? Some of

these schools even made multiple hires in the security field during this period, yet UCSD can claim only one junior appointment. I do not know the details of your efforts--except in my own case--but like Mearsheimer, I am unaware of any case where you went after a security scholar with the sort of offer that would have been difficult to turn down.

Instead, it appears that UCSD has never recognized that it would have to make a very concerted and aggressive effort to attract top-quality security scholars to its ranks. To offer a contrasting example: consider how Princeton dealt with a perceived gap in American Politics and Quantitative/Formal Methods a few years back. They made a joint offer to your colleagues Gary Cox and Matt McCubbins, and though this attempt was unsuccessful (in part because UCSD went to great lengths to keep them), it sent a very powerful signal that Princeton was serious. The following year, they wooed Larry Bartels from Rochester by offering him a chair (despite his youth), and then landed Howard Rosenthal and Thomas Romer from Carnegie-Mellon (along with one or two junior people). To my knowledge, UCSD has never tried to woo a package of security scholars (or even a pair), which would overcome one person's natural fear of being isolated as the only security scholar within the department or the School. Similarly, has UCSD ever made a truly stunning offer intended both to signal serious intent and to override any reluctance to commit to a relatively new institution? I don't know the details of the offer that you made to Scott Sagan, but I do know that he ultimately decided to forego tenure at UCSD in order to await Stanford's decision. I also know that he was not offered a full professorship, despite the fact that he has published two books and that many consider his most recent book on nuclear accidents to be outstanding. He has also produced a healthy number of excellent articles. This record equals that of a number of full professors at top-flight universities (including some members of the UCSD faculty), and while it would be unusual to jump someone all the way to full, it is not unprecedented, particularly when an institution really needs to make a bold move.

I'm also somewhat surprised that UCSD interviewed Dick Betts but failed to offer him a position, insofar as he is a scholar of remarkable accomplishment who would have gone a long way to solving your problems (i.e., some of his work has dealt with Asian security issues). As far as I know, you never interviewed Robert Pape (now at the Air War College), Tom Christensen (Cornell), Jonathan Mercer (Stanford post-doc), Ted Hopf (Michigan), Beth Kier (Berkeley), Thomas Berger (Harvard post-doc), Jeff Legro (Minnesota), David Welch (Toronto), Ido Oren (Minnesota), Peter Feaver (Duke), Thomas Homer-Dixon (Toronto), James Wirtz (Naval Post-graduate School), Charles Kupchan (Georgetown), Jack Levy (Rutgers), Charles Glaser (Michigan/Chicago), John Lepingwell (Illinois), Peter Liberman (Tulane), or Kimberly Zisk and Randy Schweller (both at Ohio State), all of whom are more qualified and accomplished in the field of international security than any current members of your faculty, and all of whom were actively on the market at some point in the past decade. One could add Michael Brown (formerly of IISS and now at Harvard), Stephen Rosen (Harvard), or Aaron Friedberg (Princeton). I am not saying that you should have gone after all of them, but it is difficult to understand how you could have overlooked or rejected every one. That is especially surprising in the case of someone like Tom Christensen, who works on Chinese security policy and IR theory and was hired with enthusiasm by Cornell, or Thomas Berger, whose dissertation compared Japanese and German security policy from a cultural (and explicitly non-realist) perspective.

Finally, it didn't help UCSD's reputation to have first appointed John Ruggie as head of IGCC, and to have subsequently replaced Ruggie with Susan Shirk. Don't get me wrong: John and Susan are terrific scholars and I recognize that necessity can force universities to make unusual decisions, but it is hard to view either of them as having an extensive background in issues of global conflict. A small point, perhaps, but entirely consistent with a pattern of behavior in which issues of war and peace are treated in a relatively cavalier fashion.

The bottom line--and I really do mean this in an constructive spirit--is that there are good reasons why UCSD is regarded as a school with little interest in the field of international security. This impression may perhaps be unfair, but do you really think there is no basis for it whatsoever? Whether deserved or not, it will take a concerted effort to overcome this negative impression. You have the potential for a great program--a talented faculty already in place, an intriguing and increasingly relevant focus on Asia, a tempting location, and a fine university behind you. With a different strategy, I believe you could have filled out your portfolio long ago. So who might you consider?

Until a few days ago, the most promising candidate was probably Bob Pape, whose book is in press in the Cornell Series and who has several major articles to his credit. Unfortunately for you, he was just offered a job at Dartmouth and will probably take it. I have also heard good things about Jonathan Mercer (a Jervis/Snyder student from Columbia who is now at the Stanford Arms Control Center), but I don't know his work personally. An unusual but very attractive possibility for you would be Chris Layne, a Waltz student from our era who has written a number of solid articles despite maintaining a full-time career as an attorney. Most of his early work was more policy-oriented (e.g., Foreign Policy-type stuff), but he has recently returned to serious scholarly work and has already produced some fine pieces. He published the lead article in International Security last spring and has an excellent manuscript-in-progress criticizing the Doyle et. al. literature on the "Liberal Peace." I have many disagreements with him, but I think he is the most intellectually respectable advocate of a "neo-isolationist" position, and his work is getting better and better. Moreover, he has a powerful personal incentives to stay in southern California, so your chances of landing him would be good.

Now, to put in a plug for a few of my own students. We have had a bumper crop of IR talent here at Chicago over the past few years, and three or four of them are likely to hit the job market next year. All of them are *excellent*, so the following list is not a rank-ordering: (1) Alicia Levine (presently at the Stanford center on a pre-doc), writing a dissertation on the dissolution of multinational empires (why are some violent, others peaceful?); (2) Henk Goemans, writing a dissertation on war-termination combining some formal work with a series of case studies; (3) Barbara Walter, who is writing a very promising (and extremely relevant) dissertation on why civil wars are never ended via negotiated settlements, unless there is substantial and prolonged foreign involvement; and (4) David McIntyre, who is testing Realist, Liberal, and "Technological" explanations for the absence of war in South America. There are a few others in the pipeline as well, but they are not as far along and won't be on the market for some time.

Let me close this overly long letter on a more personal note. I *deplore* this sort of internecine academic squabbling; it wastes time, and it distracts us from the more important task of using our training, insights and energies to improve the human condition (which is what I take our task to be). I entered the academic world expecting to find a community of scholars committed to a vigorous but fair-minded exchange of ideas; instead, I have found a world of turf-protection, pointless debates, methodological imperialism, and naked self-interest. No doubt I was naive, but that doesn't make the situation any less regrettable. To take our own case: I view our friendship as having been founded on healthy disagreements and mutual respect, and I have been alternately stimulated, irritated, enlightened, and edified by our various disagreements over the years. That is my model for how the academic world should operate, but that ideal of collegiality and tolerance is increasingly rare. I've entered this particular discussion because I have become convinced that security studies was being unfairly maligned by a considerable segment of the business, and because I am concerned that these attitudes may eventually impoverish the field and render it even less able to make a meaningful contribution to important

social and political issues. In doing so, I am not suggesting that the security sub-field is perfect (far from it!), that it should occupy pride of place within the field of IR as a whole, or that UCSD does not have many fine scholars in other areas. As I said (and I meant it), I have great respect for you and many of your colleagues. Accordingly, I think you should sit down and consider whether some of the above concerns have any merit, and then consider what steps could be taken to alleviate them. If I can be of any further assistance, please don't hesitate to call.

With best regards,

Stephen M. Walt
Associate Professor



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

5828 SOUTH UNIVERSITY AVENUE

CHICAGO · ILLINOIS 60637

December 16, 1993

Professors Peter Gourevitch (Dean) and Stephan Haggard
Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies
University of California, San Diego
La Jolla, California 92093-0519

Dear Peter and Steph,

I am writing in response to your letters of October 23 and October 27, 1993. I thought it would make good sense to respond to both of you in the same letter. I will not cover every point in your two letters, but will instead concentrate on the main arguments you employ to rebut my claims about UCSD's hostility to security studies. Before doing so, however, a few preliminary comments are in order.

First of all, I am sorry that my letter of October 14 made you so angry. That was not my intention. I was mainly interested in letting you know that I think UCSD has a serious problem when it comes to hiring in the subfield of international security. I assumed that if my frank assessment was wide of the mark, which it might have been, you would have had little trouble discrediting my case. If I was essentially correct, however, I wanted to make sure that the issue was out in the open, so that it could be discussed widely by members of the IR community.

Second, I do not think it was inappropriate for me to comment about UCSD's definition of the security subfield. Steph writes in his letter, "Can you imagine David Lake, Peter Gourevitch, Miles Kahler or I passing judgement on what constituted 'real' work on IPE, or presuming to tell Chicago what the boundaries of IPE should be? The effort would be preposterous."

I guess we have a disagreement here, but if Chicago had no faculty in IPE and was searching in that subfield, I would certainly want your advice on how to define and think about the subfield, and I would pay careful attention to it. When I was chair of the Chicago department, I often phoned people in subfields I knew little about to ask them to educate me about their areas. Of course, I was free to use their advice as I saw fit, as you are with mine. Still, I would think you would be interested in hearing my views about the security subfield. After all, wasn't that the purported purpose of David Lake's original letter to me?

Third, I have heard from many security scholars who have read my October 14 letter, and there appears to be widespread agreement with the arguments I set forth. Younger scholars were especially supportive. A few of my senior colleagues initially thought that I had somewhat overstated the case, although they recognized there was a real problem at UCSD. Dick Betts and Jack Snyder said as much in letters to you. However, after corresponding with you, they have come to believe that the problem at UCSD is more serious than they first thought.

Fourth, I want to emphasize again that I have much respect for the scholarship of the comparativists and IR scholars at UCSD. I just think that collectively you have a marked bias against security studies.

I also want to make clear that although I have intellectual differences with some members of the IPE community, I have a deep-seated and long-standing respect for that subfield. I encouraged both Jack Snyder and Steve Van Evera to read the IPE literature in the early 1980s when we were post-docs at Harvard. I have consistently taught the major IPE works in my IR theory courses, and I have always maintained that a university aiming to be an IR powerhouse could only achieve that goal if it was very strong in IPE. Furthermore, I have never been one to verbally bash IPE as a subfield, and, to be honest, I have not heard other members of the security subfield engage in such behavior. Unfortunately, as discussed below, the feeling is not mutual when it comes to IPE attitudes towards security studies.

Let me now turn to the three main arguments that UCSD appears to employ to rebut my argument that it is hostile to the study of international security.

The first claim is that UCSD already has a handful of talented scholars working on security topics. This line of argument is laid out on page 2 of Steph's letter, where he lists the UCSD faculty who have some interest in questions about international security. After seeing that list of names, I thought maybe I should advise UCSD to search in IPE, not security studies, since so many on your faculty are now "security experts."

The second claim is that UCSD does have a problem in the security subfield, but that it has made a good faith effort to rectify the problem and will continue these efforts in the future. This line of argument informs Peter's letter to me.

Finally, there is the claim that international security is "a field in terminal decline," and therefore the root of the problem is not to be found at UCSD, but in the security subfield itself. This claim implies that security studies is a bankrupt subfield. Traces of this line of argument are evident in Steph's letter to me. The claim is most clearly articulated in Steph's letter to Dick Betts, which is not dated, but was obviously written in late November 1993.

Before analyzing each of these claims, it is probably worth noting that they are mutually contradictory. For example, how can you claim to have lots of faculty working in the security subfield, and, at the same time, admit that you have a dearth of talent in that area? Also, if the subfield is in terminal decline, why are so many people at UCSD doing security-related work? And if that is the case, why isn't the subfield on the upswing? Furthermore, if the security subfield is in terminal decline, why would you try to hire people in that area? It makes no sense.

Let me now respond to each of your three responses to my argument that UCSD appears to have contempt for the study of international security.

I fully recognize that a handful of UCSD faculty have some interest in security affairs, but I do not believe that there are any full-fledged security experts on your faculty. I did not think this was a point of disagreement between us. I have had a handful of conversations with UCSD faculty over the past decade about hiring in security studies, and nobody claimed to me that you already had security experts at UCSD. On the contrary, the conversations were always predicated on the assumption that it was important to hire at least one security person, and then possibly build greater strength in that area.

I also recognize that UCSD has made some effort to hire in the security subfield. My point, however, was that the effort has been largely perfunctory. Please note that perfunctory was the only word I underlined in my October 14 letter. I did that on purpose. I see no evidence in your

responses to me, or in the many conversations I have had about this issue, that makes me think my impression -- that your efforts to hire security scholars were cursory -- was wrong.

Furthermore, I understand that there are individuals at San Diego who would like to hire security experts. David Mares surely fits in this category, and I think Phil Roeder and Peter are of a similar mind. There are a lot of other voters at UCSD, however, and from a distance it sure looks like those other voters are hostile to the study of international security.

Steph noted in his letter that I might not be aware that UCSD made an offer to Scott Sagan. I was well aware that UCSD made that offer. In fact, UCSD asked me to write a letter on Sagan's appointment, which I gladly did. Moreover, I noted in my October 14 letter that I was aware of one offer you had made in the security subfield during the past 13 years. That was the Sagan offer.

I might add that I think Sagan would have been an outstanding hire. He has produced first-rate scholarship, and is well on his way to establishing himself as one of the leading scholars in the security subfield. Nevertheless, he did not chose to leave Stanford for UCSD. More importantly, however, there have been many other qualified security candidates over the years who UCSD might have tried to hire, but did not. Again, perfunctory is the operative word to describe UCSD's behavior.

Now we come to my main argument: that UCSD has been not been able to hire in security studies because it is fundamentally hostile to that subfield. If I had any doubts about this claim, Steph's letter to Dick Betts erased them completely. It is a remarkable letter and it provides powerful support for my case. Let me remark on what Steph wrote in his letter to Dick.

After noting that UCSD received a lot of correspondence on my October 14 letter from scholars in both the IPE and security subfields, he characterizes the IPE response in the following way: "those in IPE were more inclined to view this as special pleading for a field in terminal decline." Wow! If this doesn't reveal a serious "attitude" problem in the IPE community towards security studies, I don't know what would. I always thought there was at least some grudging respect for our enterprise among IPE scholars, but I guess I was wrong.

Steph then goes on to write: "But there is a problem in the security field that is somewhat akin to that with area studies. I view area studies as absolutely essential to our understanding of the world; we have to have people out there who actually know something. On the other hand, there is a fascination with the particular, and with theories that have stagnated, which raises questions of the theoretical (though not substantive and policy) merit of the inquiry. I'm not sure how to solve this problem."

Leaving aside the patronizing tone of this paragraph, two key points are in order.

First, Steph's comments provide support for my original claim that hostility to security studies at UCSD not only comes from IPE, but also from formal theorists. It is becoming increasingly apparent in the hiring process at major universities that the formal modelers and their allies are going to considerable lengths to delegitimize the traditional study of comparative politics. They do this by labelling comparativists "area studies experts," and claiming they are atheoretical, and therefore either not fit to be in a political science department, or possibly allowed in as second class citizens. You are doubtless aware of this tactic, as the UCSD political science department is quite well-known for having a politically powerful and narrow-minded group of modelers. The formal modelers, of course, portray themselves

as the true comparativists, who do real theory, and therefore should populate and control departments.

Thus, by linking security studies with area studies, and then employing the standard rhetoric about our supposed "fascination with the particular," and our alleged lack of theoretical sophistication, it is easy to discredit the security subfield and sell the argument that it deserves at most a marginal place in the world of social science.

Second, I think this description of the security subfield is simply preposterous. What is the evidence that the subfield is in terminal decline? What is the evidence that we are "fascinated with the particular?" What is the evidence that the theories we develop are "stagnant?" What is the evidence that our work is more narrowly focused than other subfields of political science? Are you really prepared publicly to discount the recent work of Bob Jervis, Sam Huntington, Steve Walt, Barry Posen, Jack Levy, Ken Waltz, Scott Sagan, Bob Powell, Jack Snyder, Steve Van Evera, Bob Art, and the many other security scholars who by any serious standard are doing important and creative work?

Dick Betts told me that he had proposed to Steph that he and some of his colleagues who think security studies is a bankrupt subfield make their case in print in a key IR journal. Then, those of us in the security community can respond to these charges in detail in writing. Perhaps the relative accomplishments and shortcomings of IPE should be put on the table as well. I would welcome the opportunity to engage in such a debate, as I am confident that the case against security studies has no basis in fact. Thus, I strongly second Dick's suggestion, and look forward to getting this matter out into the open where I think it will be discussed in more fruitful ways than has been done behind closed doors.

Sincerely yours,

John J. Mearsheimer
Professor

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
FAX 617-258-6164

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02139

December 21, 1993

Professor Stephan Haggard
Graduate School of International Relations and
Pacific Studies
9500 Gilman Drive
UC San Diego
La Jolla, CA 92093-0519

Dear Steph:

Thanks for your note of November 8. I don't normally send letters to members of other departments opining on how they should do business, but Mearsheimer's letter and yours made points that I thought merited a comment from me.

My bottom line on the matter is quite simple: U.C. San Diego has for many years been guilty of educational malpractice. I find it simply inexcusable that since its inception it has failed to teach seriously in the security affairs area. The political science department and the IR/PS School have a duty to acquaint students with the major questions and substance in the field of international relations. They have failed to do that. Failing for a year or four or five while having some bad luck on the hiring front is one thing, but 20+ years, or however long it's been for the political science department, is shameful. Such a record reveals a disregard for one's educational responsibilities. It is unprofessional.

I also find UCSD's record dismaying because I think the study of the use and control of force is important for the good of the world, and the peace of the world. This shouldn't surprise you, since I have chosen to focus my professional life on that subject. Any society that does not understand what the use of force can accomplish, what risks and dangers are involved in its use, and what policies are and are not required to secure the nation is a danger to itself and to others. We were such a society during the decades before 1965, and I think this was a major reason for the Indochina disaster. The peoples of Europe were such societies before 1914, and this was a major cause of World War I. Hence I take a dim view of any school that slights these questions in its curriculum, as UCSD has since the beginning. Such a policy serves humanity badly.

I think there has been a marked attitude improvement on this score among the UCSD faculty in recent years, reflected in UCSD's offer to Scott Sagan and its approaches to Bob Art and others. So there's some irony, even injustice, in criticizing the current

UCSD faculty, since the main sins were committed by those in charge in the 1970s and early 1980s. Still, the language UCSD used in its call for names for its advertised IR/security job--indicating that it takes an "expansive definition of the field" of security--is a sign of continuing unseriousness on this matter.

With that background, I frankly thought your letter, and Gourevich's, showed a lot of chutzpuh. Instead, UCSD should be ashamed of behaving in a fashion that required correction from the outside. I gather that Mearsheimer's letter caused some consternation at UCSD, and some have suggested that the tone was a bit harsh. My own view is that Mearsheimer's letter was rather too polite; I would have been less polite had I been the author. He did UCSD and the field a service by offering an honest, and in my view measured and accurate, audit on UCSD's policies. I saw nothing whatever in his letter that was "misguided." UCSD should be embarrassed that he had to write it, and owes him a thankyou note for it.

Best regards,

Stephen Van Evera