



*Robert Horwitz*  
*Telephone: (510) 987-0887*  
*Email: robert.horwitz@ucop.edu*

*Chair of the Assembly of the Academic Senate*  
*Faculty Representative to the Regents*  
*University of California*  
*1111 Franklin Street, 12th Floor*  
*Oakland, California 94607-5200*

June 24, 2022

**THERESA MALDONADO, VICE PRESIDENT  
RESEARCH AND INNOVATION**

**Re: Five-Year Review of the Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation**

Dear Theresa:

At its June 22, 2022 meeting, the Academic Council approved the attached Five-Year Review of the Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC) Multicampus Research Unit (MRU). Following procedures outlined in the Compendium, the review was performed by a Joint Senate Review Committee, led by the University Committee on Research Policy (UCORP) with input from the University Committee on Planning and Budget (UCPB) and the Coordinating Committee on Graduate Affairs (CCGA).

The Review Committee recommends renewing the IGCC as an MRU for five years, and also encourages the IGCC to enhance transparency in decision-making, improve communication to clarify its priorities, take steps to expand its reach from UCSD to more UC campuses, expand its focus on undergraduate education, and develop a diversity plan. We request that that you forward the report to the IGCC director.

Academic Council members also expressed concern about a perception that the IGCC's activities are focused at one campus, that its systemwide activities are not well-documented, and that it may be insufficiently multi-campus in nature to justify its continued status as an MRU. We recommend that the IGCC provide a one-year report to the Office of Research and Innovation and the Academic Senate about its efforts to address these recommendations, and that UCOP consider disestablishing the IGCC as an MRU unless it can demonstrate satisfactory progress.

The Academic Council appreciates the time and effort the Review Committee spent in preparing and writing this report. In particular, I want to recognize the substantial contributions of UCORP Vice Chair Tannishtha Reya, who led the review.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Robert Horwitz".

Robert Horwitz, Chair  
Academic Council

Cc: Academic Council  
UCORP  
Senate Directors  
Executive Director Lin

Encl.

# Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation Five-Year Review

---

University Committee on Research Policy (UCORP)

(Lead Committee)

University Committee on Planning and Budget (UCPB)

Coordinating Committee on Graduate Affairs (CCGA)

June 1, 2022

## I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC) is a designated systemwide MRU (multicampus research unit) with a focus on providing academic leadership in the area of global conflict and cooperation. Because of IGCC's ambitious goals, its substantial budget, and a significant track record of accomplishments, the MRU plays a critical role in understanding and mitigating the threats to global peace. The importance of IGCC has become even more apparent in light of the ongoing conflict in Europe, and its potential to destabilize a highly connected and interdependent world.

Based on the five-year report from IGCC and a meeting with the IGCC leadership, the MRU review committee, led by the University Committee on Research Policy, offers a qualified recommendation for the renewal of IGCC. Recommendations from the review committee include expanding engagement with other UC campuses, increasing diversity in IGCC leadership and participant population, adding transparency in leadership decisions, expanding its focus on undergraduate education, and improving communication to clarify the priorities of the MRU and its systemwide impact. Conclusions and a full list of recommendations begin on page 9.

## II. INTRODUCTION

### a. History

IGCC was established in 1983 as the result of an initiative led by California Governor Jerry Brown, Jr., and UC President David Saxon and the recommendation of a Special Committee on Global Security and Cooperation that the University of California should deepen the study of peace and security to complement its management of the National Laboratories. Herbert York was appointed IGCC's first director in July 1983, and served until 1989. Dr. York joined IGCC after being a participant in the Manhattan Project, the first director of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (1952-1958), the first chancellor of UC San Diego (1961-1964), and interim chancellor (1970-1972). Dr. York was instrumental in launching the IGCC's Public Policy and Nuclear Threats program. In 1985, IGCC was approved as a multi-campus research unit to be housed at UC San Diego, hosted by the School of Global Policy and Strategy. John Ruggie was

appointed as the second director of IGCC in 1989. Under his leadership, IGCC expanded its interests to global climate change and environmental policies and started path-breaking research on multilateralism as an organizing principle for security and economics. Susan Shirk became director of IGCC in 1991, leading to the organization of the Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD) forum. She was succeeded in the leading position by interim Director Stephan Haggard (1997) and then by Peter Cowhey (1999-2006), before becoming Director again from 2007 to 2012. Tai Ming Cheung became the Director in 2012. (More about leadership on page 8).

## **b. Mission and scope**

IGCC investigates global challenges to peace and global cooperation by fostering rigorous research, training, and outreach on international security, economic development and violence, health, and the environment. As a University of California system-wide Institute, IGCC gathers expert researchers from across all UC campuses and the Lawrence Livermore and Los Alamos National Laboratories, along with U.S. and international researchers. Over the past five years, IGCC has sought to increase the sources of funding, deepen the connections with stakeholders and other researchers, and to launch new multi-pronged initiatives.

The scope of the present activities includes sponsored projects as well as projects internally sponsored by IGCC. Internally sponsored projects include a project aiming at fighting mis/disinformation, manipulation and deception in politics, and two projects that aim at addressing environmental-related challenges. Other projects focus on improving national security. The internally sponsored projects have been developed in recent years and appear as more limited in scope, although in some cases they have no planned end date. Sponsored projects vary greatly in scope and duration, from one-year to multi-year endeavors. The largest number of sponsored projects are sponsored by the US military agencies, e.g., the Office of Naval Research, the Department of Energy, and the Department of Defense. A sizable number of projects tackle issues in national security, understanding the perception of the US population toward military defense, and the role of technology in national security. Many projects investigate China's role and ambitions in the current geopolitical landscape.

## **c. Service to University and State**

IGCC provides multiple services to the University of California and the State. More specifically, IGCC contributes to the University of California's fundamental missions of teaching, research, and public service through its research, training, and outreach activities. In addition to an extraordinary publication output, during the review period, IGCC has also held 57 conferences, dialogues, and workshops; planned and executed 10 multi-day training programs; and hosted and supported numerous lectures, briefings, and webinars. IGCC research informs state, national, and international policy through workshops, talks, briefings at government agencies and other venues. Another core IGCC mission is to support graduate student researchers and stimulate innovation in specific research areas relevant to large global challenges. Over the past five years, IGCC has granted \$686,000 in funds to support 28 dissertation fellows from all ten UC campuses; \$60,000 in funds to support trainees in the Public Policy and Nuclear Threats

(PPNT) Boot Camp; and supported 4 postdoctoral fellows and more than 50 graduate assistant researchers. The number of applications to the IGCC training programs has increased over the past five years, however the impact of the research and training programs on underrepresented communities is unclear. Overall, although arguably difficult, it would be desirable to identify ways for recording and quantifying the impact of research policy initiatives developed by IGCC.

**d. Regional, National and International Visibility**

IGCC carries out research that is mission-relevant to federal and state government agencies with broad reach, by the nature of the research, at the national and international level. For example, ongoing research includes funding support from the US State Department to conduct research on China's science, technology, innovation, and industrial policy – a topic of pressing interest to the US government and broader international community. Further examples include IGCC projects supported by the Department of Defense, Naval Postgraduate School, Department of Energy, and others. IGCC researchers routinely advise federal and California state policymakers and government stakeholders. Communication and outreach efforts include publications, interviews, blog posts, podcasts, news stories, and social media. Over the review period, IGCC has collaboratively produced nearly 400 publications, including books, book chapters, journal articles, and op-eds in leading national and international newspapers and magazines. IGCC aims to reestablish an active presence in Washington, D.C. and engage congressional staffers. Through the National Security Professional Military Education (PME) initiative, IGCC aims to develop a comprehensive academic education infrastructure to support the Department of Defense and national security establishment. Further examples are noted below.

**e. Internal interactions between Units**

There was no specific report regarding internal interactions between units. Although IGCC leadership is primarily based at UCSD under Director Tai Min Cheung; it is actively trying to improve representation across the UC system. IGCC has 4 Research Directors, including Neil Narang at UC Santa Barbara. All new IGCC funded initiatives are required to include collaboration with other UC campuses.

**f. External interactions**

IGCC research by nature requires extensive external interactions between researchers and federal government stakeholders and policymakers. In addition to examples noted above, the Disinformation Initiative on mis/disinformation convenes experts from academia, government, and industry, and conducts research to better understand the global landscape and develop lessons for US policy makers. The Maritime Futures Initiative brings together experts from policy, economics, industry, security, law, innovation, and sustainability. IGCC is working with the UC San Diego Government Relations team to seek funding for a Professional Military Education (PME) Consortium. IGCC is developing a curriculum in Geo-economics, Innovation, and National Security (GINS) to be implemented at PME institutions. IGCC offers annual training programs for future policymakers including Science, Innovation, and Technology in

China (SITC) and Public Policy and Nuclear Threats (PPNT) Boot Camp. Past participants and alumni go on to hold federal policymaking positions.

### **III. EVIDENCE FOR ACCOMPLISHMENT**

#### **a. Research**

IGCC research efforts cover multiple projects targeting a variety of issues. The breadth of these efforts are demonstrated by the long list of sponsored projects, with funding support from multiple federal agencies and institutions. The impact is also displayed by the large number of publications listed in Appendix 3 of IGCC's report as well as the frequent hosted events, about one per month, with many participants. These metrics indicate an extensive and active research output.

A significant component of IGCC funds is devoted to graduate fellowships for completion of dissertations related to IGCC related research. This appears to be a successful approach to advancing a broad research program and developing a large number of program alumni; it was noted that past alumni continue to be a resource for the program in sustaining relationships among the research community and governmental agencies.

#### **b. Undergraduate Education**

Although IGCC primarily focuses on faculty research and graduate education, it does make contributions to undergraduate education in the UC. The IGCC notes that all of its public lectures are open to undergraduates, which is a significant contribution to undergraduate education. It also employs undergraduate students in a number of its research projects and programs. We encourage IGCC to deepen its outreach to undergraduate students. In addition to the academic contributions IGCC can make to undergraduate education at UC, IGCC has the opportunity to mentor a diverse group of students who might pursue graduate education or public policy. We welcome the IGCC leadership's commitment "to better impact undergraduate education and ... include this in future strategic planning initiatives."

#### **c. Graduate Education**

IGCC offers a number of dissertation fellowships each year – twenty-eight during the five-year review period. These fellowships are funded by the State of California as a line item in the state budget. The application process is increasingly competitive. A majority of fellowship recipients appear to come from UCSD, but graduate students from other UC campuses also received fellowships. The IGCC Steering Committee selects which applicants will receive fellowships. As in other aspects of the IGCC's work, more transparency is needed. We recommend the formation of a Fellowship Committee made up of faculty affiliates on a rotating basis. We also would like to see the IGCC track fellowship applicants and recipients by gender and URM. The IGCC also offers mentorship opportunities for graduate students seeking to pursue careers in national security policy, especially in Washington D.C. In the review committee's conversation with the IGCC's leadership, the latter noted a lack of diversity in the national security establishment. Given the highly diverse population of the State of California, the IGCC seems

well placed to prepare a diverse body of students for academic and policy careers in this area, particularly by recruiting from within the UC. IGCC also supported more than fifty graduate student researchers, presumably through grants obtained by affiliated faculty. There are increased applications to its training programs, although the report is short on details.

#### **d. Recognition of Excellence Beyond UC**

IGCC shows evidence of external reputation in research productivity, recognition and impact. The MRU's research has a record of securing federal funding for multiple projects, including those involving international researchers. It has a significant and continuous record of publications, which are listed in the report. A noteworthy example of its research recognition is the U.S. State Department's choice of IGCC to organize long-term research capacity to understand China's science, technology, innovation, and industrial policy.

Further recognition of the expertise and impact comes from the frequent requests from media outlets for expert consultation. Director Cheung is frequently invited to speak about IGCC related topics to governments, teaching institutions, and think tanks. The Research Directors Eli Berman (UCSD), Joshua Graff Zivin (UCSD), and Neil Narang (UCSB), have national recognition and serve on several governmental committees and boards.

#### **e. Public Service and Outreach**

IGCC has invested resources in increasing outreach via publications targeting specialized and lay public. Their social media and newsletters reach 7000 people according to the report. IGCC is now managing the online magazine, Political Violence At A Glance. The report mentions that IGCC researchers frequently meet with policymakers and government stakeholders at State and Federal level, but without elaborating.

### **IV. BUDGET**

#### **a. Overview**

The materials used in this assessment included: the past four years of IGCC Annual Reports (from 2016-17 to 2019-20), the IGCC five year self-review, and IGCC responses to the MRU review committee's questions.

In this review period (FY17-FY21), the major funding change was that in 2018-19, IGCC was provided "a state budget line item in the amount of \$1M." Prior to this, much of the IGCC efforts were funded by campus and PI efforts, in particular UCSD and Director Cheung. With permanent state funding reestablished, it is critical that IGCC engage other campuses and report extramural activities as emerging from the IGCC's efforts rather than from a PI's own research activities. In addition, during the review period there were fluctuations in revenue and expenditure that should have been explained in the narrative section of the five year review (identified below).

## **b. Profile of Expenses**

The IGCC five year review describes the \$1M systemwide funds as budgeted for salary and benefits, workshops and training sessions, fellowships, campus grants, travel, a speaker series, student internships and as a supplement for the PPNT program. The impacts of COVID-19 impacted some of those plans. The revenue table in Appendix I/Budget I shows substantial increases in expenditure with:

- Salary and benefits, which went up from \$967K in FY17, to \$1.2M and \$1.5M in FY20 and FY21 respectively.
- Sub-grants to UC recipients, which went up from \$6K in FY17, to \$725K, \$1.02K, \$760K, and \$350K in subsequent years.

The increase in salary and benefits should be better explained. The IGCC five year review states that systemwide funds were used to launch the Catalyst National Security Innovation Initiative, although the effort was stymied by the COVID-19 pandemic. Indeed, the impacts of COVID are noticeable in FY21 expenses, especially with:

- Gen Admin/Overhead, which went down to \$8K in FY21, from an average of \$470K for the previous four years.
- Meeting costs, which went down to \$680, from an average of \$141K for the previous four years
- Travel, which went down to \$4K, from an average of \$212K for the previous four years.

Sub-grants to non-UC recipients went down to \$50K, from an average of \$200K for the previous four years, although it is not clear what drove that change.

## **c. Central Support**

Appendix I/Budget I shows revenue and expenditure in this review period. Although a state line item of \$1M annually was established in 2018-19, the actual UCOP systemwide funds reported were somewhat erratic; no funds were reported distributed in FY20, and \$793K was distributed in FY19. By contrast, FY18 and FY21 provided a more steady flow of \$1.07M and \$1.1M respectively by systemwide funds. The lack of funds distributed in FY19 and the lower amount in FY20 were not explained in the IGCC five year review.

## **d. Local campus support**

Director Cheung was awarded a resource package as part of his directorship (in 2017-2022), which included \$6,000 in support of an annual administrative stipend of \$12,000, funding for his director's salary, 0.50 of the business officer salary and benefits, 0.25 of the financial analyst salary, and \$5,000 for supplies and expenses. Two IGCC Principal Investigators also have matching funds (2.5 percent of direct costs) from campus entities for their Minerva grants. Both PIs have funding from the Graduate Division, restricted to funding Graduate Student Researchers.



Five years ago, IGCC staff were merged with several staff members of the School of Global Policy and Strategy (GPS) to form the GPS Shared Services Center, which is now reorganized into the GPS Fiscal Affairs unit. This unit provides administrative support to IGCC and GPS. It also provides funding for 0.50 of the business officer, 1.00 of a financial analyst, 1.00 of a program manager, and 3.00 of the conference and fiscal assistants.

#### **e. External support**

There has been a dramatic decline in external funds, starting especially in FY20. The extramural funds in the last five years are: \$3,387,684 (FY17), \$4,050,427 (FY18), \$2,596,474 (FY19), \$110,973 (FY20), \$943,517 (FY21). Moreover, the role of IGCC in securing funds is not clear: In FY21, the total expenditure was \$2,122,744, but the majority (\$1,922,744) were incurred at UCSD. It appears that other campuses have not financially benefited from IGCC. In Appendix 2, 20 external grants with MRU direct support are listed. Most of these grants are written by Director Cheung and do not have any Co-PIs. The role of IGCC members in bringing in external funds is not clear.

In 2018, IGCC received funding from a \$3.7 million Lab Fee Research Program award entitled “Great Power Competition in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.” The Lead Principal Investigator was Susan Shirk, UC San Diego. Collaborating sites were Berkeley, Irvine, Los Angeles, and Lawrence Livermore Laboratory.

The Lab Fee program funds projects proposed by PIs from multiple UC campuses and one of the three UC affiliated national labs. It is not clear why the report states that this award was received by IGCC. Like other lab fee awards listed at <https://ucop.edu/research-initiatives/programs/lab-fees/2018%20LFRP%20Awards.html>, this award was given to the proposing PIs who can spend the funds at their own discretion. The role of IGCC in securing and managing the funds should have been described. This applies to the other extramural funds discussed above as well (most of which are federal grants). The report has provided some numbers about direct costs for supporting MRU infrastructure and program activities, but it does not explain what role the MRU played. It is important to distinguish between proposals that are regularly written by UC faculty (with affiliation to IGCC) as a part of their job as researchers in their own academic departments and those in which IGCC was directly involved. Without detailed information about the role of IGCC in those grants, it is hard to gauge the success of IGCC in securing external funds.

#### **f. Projected support**

Director Cheung has been working with the USAF Office of Commercial and Economic Analysis to develop a \$9 million per year initiative to build a civilian consortium for Professional Military Education (PME) to support the Department of Defense and national security establishment in training their workforces on Geoeconomics, Innovation, and National Security (GINS) skills and to produce academically rigorous and policy relevant knowledge that supports the needs of educating military and civilian students and faculty on GINS. This initiative is currently in the pending National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) for FY22 and will be debated and voted on by Congress in late September. Additionally, IGCC has proposed a \$2.5 million research and

dissemination program to the State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR). The proposed program aims to empower stakeholders in low- and middle-income countries and elsewhere to more effectively counter China's aggressive industrial and innovation policies, by generating and disseminating ground-breaking research and building the capacity of researchers, civil society, and private sector.

## **V. ADMINISTRATIVE GOVERNANCE**

### **a. Leadership**

IGCC is led by a core research team that includes Director Tai Ming Cheung (UC San Diego), Research Directors Eli Berman (UC San Diego), Joshua Graff Zivin (UC San Diego), and Neil Narang (UC Santa Barbara), and Director Emeritus Susan Shirk. Marie Thiveos Stewart serves as Strategic Programs Manager and Lindsey Morgan is Associate Director responsible for strategy development, stakeholder engagement, and communication. Governance is shared with a Steering Committee composed of representatives from all ten UC campuses and the National Labs; this group oversees the grants and fellowships and advises the IGCC Director and Research Directors.

Program decisions are currently made by the Director, but IGCC is considering convening a more general Advisory Council. The Steering Committee, which meets once per year, oversees grants and fellowships. The term of service on the Steering Committee is three years, and can be extended by mutual agreement. When members step down they are asked to recommend a replacement faculty member from their campus. Research Directors are brought in for their portfolios and manage research projects with a great deal of autonomy. Review Committee members noted that an advisory board is generally recommended for MRUs, and that such a board would help build consensus about decisions, including ways to expand participation, determine long-term priorities, and facilitate outreach to other campuses. The institute wants to strengthen its strategic communication, to be able to make its research accessible to non-technical audiences and influence those in positions of power, as well as disseminating more broadly to media and think-tanks

### **b. Director**

IGCC Director, Professor Tai Ming Cheung, is a professor at the School of Global Policy and Strategy at U.C. San Diego and has served in the position since 2012. Dr. Cheung's scholarship focuses on Chinese and East Asian defense and national security affairs. Dr. Cheung is highly recognized in his field and serves as a consultant to and member of relevant committees such as the International Institute for Strategic Studies. He also maintains a prolific academic output, including a new book in 2022 (*Innovate to Dominate: The Making of the Chinese Techno-Security State Under Xi Jinping*), grants, and courses. Dr. Cheung leads several IGCC initiatives and has been instrumental in increasing state funding for the MRU. Overall, the Director is a strong leader in the field and has promoted and increased the MRU activities in the past years.

### **c. Personnel, Space, and Resources**

As noted above, IGCC shares administrative staff support and office space with the School of Global Policy and Strategy (GPS). In addition to the leadership team, IGCC staff includes a business officer, financial analyst, and conference and fiscal assistants.

### **d. Contract and grant support**

IGCC has a strong foundation of grant support with \$2 million in indirect costs. This is supplemented with a line item of \$1 million in the California state budget. This provides an exceptionally strong foundation to undertake the diverse goals of the MRU.

## **VI. ADVISORY COMMITTEE**

The IGCC 5 year report offered little information about governance and the role of the Research Directors or Steering Committee. The governance structure was clarified to some extent in response to UCORP questions. It seems that the role of the Steering Committee has been limited to decisions on the dissertation fellowships, rather than guidance of the MRU strategy and research decisions, which are mostly made by the Director. UCORP recommends that the Steering Committee's role be expanded to include input on the planning for the MRU. In addition, UCORP recommends establishing an Advisory Committee that draws on external experts to broaden the input on MRU strategic planning; the Director indicated that formation of an Advisory Committee is being considered. UCORP notes that the MRU's activities are mostly centered on activities at UCSD. A goal for the next period would be to include more leadership and voices from other campuses, and the Advisory Committee would be an opportunity to do that.

## **VII. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **Conclusions**

1. IGCC plays a critical role in the area of global conflict and cooperation. The importance of the goals of the IGCC have been highlighted by the destabilizing impact of the ongoing war in Europe.
2. IGCC has made impressive inroads in bringing together experts from across the UC system together with researchers from other universities and international thought leaders to discuss issues of global importance at hosted conferences, dialogs, and workshops.
3. IGCC has a substantial budget, with \$1M/year in committed state funds and \$2M/year from indirect costs. This strong foundation puts IGCC in a unique position relative to other MRUs, and provides it with an opportunity to make a meaningful global impact.
4. The funding of dissertation fellowships for graduate students on all ten UC campuses is an important undertaking. IGCC is making good use of resources by supporting and training the next generation of leaders in this area.

5. A communications director will be very helpful for IGCC in communicating its goals and articulating its mission to the University community and the general public over the next five-year cycle.

## **Recommendations**

1. IGCC appears to be predominantly focused on UC San Diego. In order to truly function as a multi-campus research unit, a plan to expand engagement with other UC campuses should be articulated.
2. Most program decisions appear to be made by the Director with only informal consultation with the Steering Committee. IGCC should consider adopting a more formal process with distributed authority over decisions. This will enable a more inclusive leadership team and ensure greater transparency in decision-making.
3. In addition, IGCC would benefit from an external advisory board to provide oversight and input from others beyond the existing Steering Committee.
4. IGCC should track the participation of people from historically underrepresented groups in its leadership, faculty affiliates, and recipients of fellowship support. This will allow IGCC to address inequities if and when they emerge. In addition, IGCC should develop a diversity plan to increase representation in leadership and membership and expand diverse perspectives.
5. Given the University of California's role in undergraduate education, IGCC should consider increasing the involvement of undergraduate students and providing a path for their training within IGCC.
6. IGCC should clarify its focus as an MRU and communicate its priorities more effectively. IGCC currently appears to be overly diffuse and broad-ranging, thus making an impact on any particular front more challenging and difficult to assess. In addition, IGCC should track and evaluate the impact of its disparate programs in order to change direction and priorities if needed.

## **Submitted by:**

### **Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC) Review Committee**

Lead: Tannishtha Reya, UC San Diego, UCORP Vice Chair

Lea Grinberg, UCSF

Michele Guindani, UC Irvine

Javad Lavaei, UC Berkeley

Cynthia Schumann, UC Davis

David Stuart, UC Santa Barbara

UCPB Liaison: Dard Neuman, UC Santa Cruz

CCGA Liaison: Adam Sabra, UC Santa Barbara