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From the Director

UC Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation



Peter F. COWHEY

THE CHALLENGES FACED BY IGCC in the last year have mirrored our nation's challenges. IGCC has faced some difficult economic times while refocusing its efforts on national security policy.

The California budget crisis arrived early for IGCC. Without warning, the California Legislature eliminated a line item in the state budget that provided one-third of IGCC's core budget. IGCC also absorbed the general budget cut of ten percent that was imposed on UC research units system-wide. Ironically, these large losses occurred just as our successful three-year effort to increase outside funding for research projects culminated in a \$2.9 million award for a new program, **Public Policy and Nuclear Threats: Training the Next Generation**, funded by the National Science Foundation (NSF).

The NSF award creates a major new capability for IGCC. A new generation of practitioners trained in strategic analysis, nuclear policy, and the role of arms control will be prepared to replace the nation's Cold War generation of analysts and policy leaders. IGCC is counting on them to become leaders of the future, particularly in foreign affairs. Schools funded under NSF's Integrative Graduate Education and Research Traineeship (IGERT) agree to undertake a cultural change by establishing new models for training Ph.D. candidates, ones that provide highly collaborative research environments and allow experiences for students that transcend traditional academic and research boundaries. The multi-campus, cross-discipline initiative developed by IGCC, its UC system-wide affiliates, and its partners at the Los Alamos and Lawrence Livermore National Laboratories, where many of the first generation of nuclear experts were trained, is a premier example of the type of project NSF seeks to fund.

Other IGCC programs are also exploring issues fundamental to nuclear security. This report describes several initiatives, but let me focus on just one. Since 1993 IGCC has organized the Northeast Asian Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD) with the financial support of the U.S. Department of Energy. NEACD is a track-two forum (government and non-government officials discussing matters of common interest outside the framework of formal diplomacy) that includes officials from the United

States, Russia, China, Japan, South Korea, and North Korea. UC scholars lead the discussions. After a long hiatus, North Korea returned to the talks just before the news that they had resumed their nuclear weapons program. Even as concern has escalated, North Korea has reaffirmed its desire to continue informal discussions with U.S. officials. While track-two discussions are not a substitute for the other tools of foreign policy, they exist to provide a broader range of options to policymakers. IGCC will continue to sponsor the discussions as long as the parties deem them to be valuable.

In the long term, IGCC believes that global security and prosperity depend also on sound economic and environmental policies. This year we have worked especially hard at developing new programs on environmental questions. The UC Revelle Program on Climate Science and Policy (UCRP) recently co-sponsored and hosted the Twentieth Global Change Forum with MIT's Joint Program on the Science and Policy of Global Change. Charles Kolstad of the Bren School of Environmental Science and Management at UC Santa Barbara has joined IGCC Research Director Jeff Vincent and Lisa Shaffer, SIO's director of international relations, in working on the program. At the same time, Prof. Vincent has been organizing a major new effort on the management of tropical forests in Southeast Asia, areas critical to the region's ecology. The resource management lessons learned there will be valuable for a broad range of natural resource and environmental management challenges facing the world. The project will marshal the combined resources of the UC system, Harvard University, and the Forest Research Institute Malaysia (FRIM).

These projects illustrate the range and ambition of IGCC's programs even in very tough financial times. As the state goes, so must the university: We must manage with fewer resources. As always, we welcome your suggestions for future projects. The challenges facing our country and the world are too great to let short-term difficulties deter us from conceiving new long-term strategies. We continue to lead through the high level of innovative thought and painstaking scholarly research the University of California is known for. As the university goes, so, we hope, go the state and the country.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Peter F. Cowhey".

From the IGCC Washington Office UC Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation

IGCC ESTABLISHED AN OFFICE IN WASHINGTON, D.C., in 1997 to promote greater interaction between University of California faculty and students and Washington policymakers. Its primary mission, to help find and administer policy-oriented international affairs research and education opportunities for UC faculty and students, is facilitated by Joseph McGhee, IGCC's Washington Representative.

IGCC policy seminars and conferences organized by the Washington office are an effective means of getting the results of UC research directly to policymakers and wielders of influence. Participants in these events include representatives from the U.S. government, foreign embassies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), international organizations, think tanks, foundations, and other universities and research organizations. The Washington office also uses its contacts in the foreign policy community to distribute the published results of UC research on a broad range of issues with global impact, including international security, banking and finance, civil/ethnic/cross-border conflict, weapons proliferation, trade, immigration, and international environmental, health, and cultural policy. McGhee's twenty-plus years of experience in international affairs enable him to easily assist UC faculty with research, interviews, Congressional testimony, scheduling, and short-term office space as needed.

The Washington office has been invaluable in assisting the IGCC Development office in identifying, securing, and ensuring timely disbursement of funding and other support for IGCC projects from government and private sector sources. This includes arranging visits by UC faculty and IGCC staff to funders to promote specific projects, and carrying out on-the-spot follow-up after such visits.

IGCC was the first UC multi-campus research unit to establish a presence in Washington, D.C. While first and foremost in the business of promoting and disseminating the work of UC faculty and graduate researchers in international affairs, IGCC seeks to be an active member of the academic community at UCDC as well. The Washington office supports undergraduate activities at UCDC through tours and programs at foreign affairs agencies and embassies, recruits candidates for the UCDC Director's Speakers Program, and helps to place UC students in appropriate Washington-area

internships. The office is instrumental in making IGCC's summer graduate internship program a success by finding awardees appropriate placements and providing support for them while they are in Washington.

Since the opening in September 2001 of the new UC Washington Center, which concentrates students, faculty, and program officers at a single site, the IGCC office has increased its student outreach activities and further integrated its activities with those of UCDC. IGCC sponsored the first public conference held in the new building and set up a dozen briefings and tours for UCDC undergraduates with such organizations as the Organization of American States, USAID, the Department of State, the World Bank, Amnesty International, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Chinese Embassy, the Mission of the European Union, the Italian Embassy, and the International Monetary Fund. Such efforts have led UC Washington Center Director Larry Berman to cite IGCC as the model for other UC research units that wish to set up an office in Washington.

Events of particular note in 2002 included the policy seminar "International Intervention in Civil Conflict," with IGCC Director Peter Cowhey as moderator and presentations by James Fearon and David Laitin (both of Stanford University), Donald Rothchild (UC Davis) and Philip Roeder (UC San Diego), and Barbara Walter (UC San Diego) and Jack Snyder (Columbia) (see page 22); presentation of the research findings of his latest book, *Financial Crises and What to Do About Them* by Barry Eichengreen (Economics, UC Berkeley) (see page 60); and discussion of the third APEC Program International Assessment Network report by Richard Feinberg (UC San Diego), with commentary by Ambassador Lawrence Greenwood of the U.S. Department of State and Minister Nongnuth Phetcharatana of the Royal Thai Embassy in Washington (see page 34). A similar schedule of events will be held in 2003.

Policy briefing and seminars to disseminate UC faculty research can be easily arranged by the Washington office. For further information, contact Joseph McGhee at josephmcghee@ucsd.edu.



Joseph MCGHEE

What Is IGCC?

A Multi-Campus Research Center for International Policy

AFTER THE TERRORIST ATTACKS of 11 September 2001, the U.S. government has focused on a worldwide war on terrorism, an Iraq that has not complied with United Nations Security Council resolutions to disarm, and a North Korea that has restarted its nuclear weapons programs in defiance of the 1994 Agreed Framework. More challenges loom ahead. More than ever, our citizens and policymakers are looking for new ideas to secure the peace at home and abroad. With the prospects of conflicts in many regions high, we must now think creatively about how to foster cooperation to prevent future conflicts, and mitigate the ones already underway.

Since 1983, the University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC) has studied the causes of international conflict and helped devise options for preventing or resolving it through international cooperation. IGCC's unique structure as a multi-campus research unit (MRU) for the entire University of California system enables research teams to be drawn from all ten UC campuses and the UC-managed Lawrence Livermore and Los Alamos National Laboratories, providing broad-based links to the U.S. govern-

ment, foreign governments, and policy institutes from around the globe.

Based at UC San Diego, IGCC supports individual faculty and graduate student research throughout the UC system as well as international affairs programs on each UC campus. IGCC is committed to educating the next generation of international problem-

solvers and peacemakers through research and teaching activities. The institute is the largest source of international studies dissertation and fellowship support in the UC system.

IGCC receives primary support from the Regents of the University of California and the Office of the President of the University of California. Additional funding has been provided by the National Science Foundation, the U.S. Dept. of Energy, the U.S. Dept. of State, the U.S. Dept. of Defense, the U.S. Institute

of Peace, the Japan-U.S. Friendship Commission, Japan's National Institute for Research Advancement (NIRA), and the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development. Important foundation support has come from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the Pew Charitable Trusts, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Rockefeller Foundation, the W. Alton Jones Foundation, the Ploughshares Fund, the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership, and the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

IGCC's Mission: Building Bridges Between Theory and Practice

IGCC builds bridges between the theory and practice of foreign policy by establishing the intellectual foundations for effective policymaking, injecting fresh ideas into the policy process. It provides opportunities and incentives for UC faculty and students to interact with government officials at home and abroad. Through collaborative research, conferences, and publications, the institute serves as a unique resource for the state of California, the nation, and the international community.


Whenever policy challenges require technical solutions to promoting cooperation among nations, IGCC expressly involves the Lawrence Livermore and Los Alamos National Laboratories in its projects. Lab participants have played integral roles in IGCC's Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue and Middle East Arms Control Workshops. In regional cooperation dialogues, teaching seminars, and nuclear weapons policy conferences, technical specialists from the labs learn about regional policymaking and UC faculty learn about the role of technology in building regional peace. IGCC has teamed with Livermore and Los Alamos National Laboratories to develop the **Public Policy and Nuclear Threats** program for training the next generation of experts in nuclear weapons policy. The events of 11 September 2001, and recent developments in the Middle East and Northeast Asia have reinforced our joint commitment to this program, which gets underway in July (see pages 7-9).

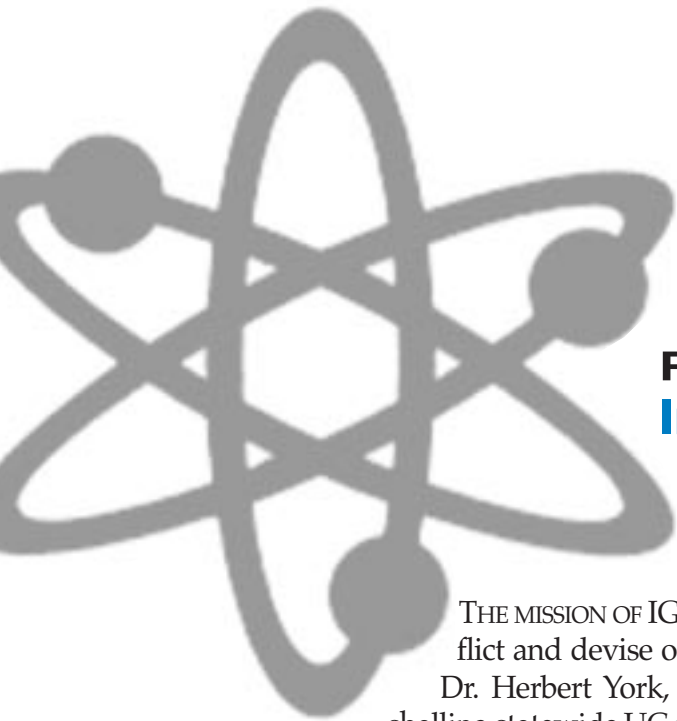
Since 1983, the University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC) has studied the causes of international conflict and helped devise options for preventing or resolving it through international cooperation.

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Research Initiatives

IGCC IS A LEADER in reframing the dimensions of traditional security studies and pioneering innovations in international cooperation. During IGCC's first five years (1983–88), research focused largely on averting nuclear war through arms control and confidence-building measures between the superpowers. Since then, the research program has diversified to encompass several broad areas of inquiry: regional relations, international environmental policy, internal conflicts, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Recently, researchers have examined the role of information technology in economic globalization and multinational cooperative regimes.

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Research Initiatives International Security Policy

THE MISSION OF IGCC since its inception has been to study the causes of conflict and devise options for resolving it through international cooperation. Dr. Herbert York, IGCC's founder, recognized this need and began marshalling statewide UC resources to support interdisciplinary research that would improve our understanding of world affairs and inform public policy. Now, as we teeter on the brink of war with Iraq, that exploration is ever more important.

IGCC refocused itself on the security aspects of this important mission in 2001. Participants in the **New Nuclear Agenda**, a joint project of IGCC and Lawrence Livermore and Los Alamos National Laboratories, explored the nonproliferation regime, how the end of the Cold War has changed deterrence, and the new threats posed by weapons of mass destruction. An important part of that new nuclear agenda is the recognized need to train a new generation of academics, analysts, and experts about weapons of mass destruction. In that light, in 2002 IGCC sought and won a \$2.9 million NSF grant for its innovative program, **Public Policy and Nuclear Threats: Training the Next Generation**. The six-year program begins this summer with an intensive seminar at UC San Diego. (More on the program can be found starting on page 7.) This multicampus effort brings together scholars from eight UC campuses and the national laboratories to train a new generation of nuclear policy experts. IGCC continues to explore the possibility of using this model to train experts on biological and chemical weapons policy as well.

IGCC-sponsored track-two dialogues in the Middle East (page 11) and Northeast Asia (pages 29–31) continue to provide secure forums for unofficial discussion among traditional adversaries. **Security in the Information Technology Age**, organized by Prof. Emily Goldman (UC Davis), explored the shift in security studies being brought about by the information age.

International Security Policy

Public Policy and Nuclear Threats: Training the Next Generation

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA'S INSTITUTE ON GLOBAL CONFLICT AND COOPERATION will train a new generation of scientists and social scientists who are capable and motivated to participate in the policy process related to nuclear threats. The program is funded by a \$2.9 million Integrative Graduate Education and Research Traineeship (IGERT) grant from the National Science Foundation (NSF).

The six-year, multi-campus initiative will recruit and train 20–25 doctorate-level Public Policy and Nuclear Threats Fellows. The fellows will be prepared to replace a Cold War generation of strategic thinkers, analysts, and policy leaders, many of whom are retiring. At present there is “no generation of experts with the breadth of knowledge and commitment to public service to replace them,” according to Susan Shirk, IGCC research director for global security studies.

Shirk, who is the principal investigator on the project, explains that the complex international environment, including threats from terrorism, require a “new community of scholars and practitioners trained in strategic analysis, nuclear policy, and the role of arms control.” Fellows will begin their training in the summer of 2003, eventually providing a cohort of new analysts and policymakers that IGCC is counting on to become leaders of the future.

A project with such a wide scope requires the expertise of a range of scholars, each with a unique contribution to make. In addition to Susan Shirk, the team leading the project includes physicist and IGCC Director Emeritus Herbert York, (UC San Diego); Michael Nacht, dean of the Goldman School of Public Policy (UC Berkeley); political scientist Robert Powell (UC Berkeley); and historian Tsuyoshi Hasegawa (UC Santa Barbara).

UC students from all science, social science, science, and humanities departments are eligible for the Public Policy and Nuclear Threats program. Fellows will be expected to fulfill their home department's Ph.D. requirements and participate in a number of IGERT-specific activities, beginning with an interdisciplinary summer seminar. They will interact with current policy officials and experts, and senior mentors who are leading figures in nuclear policy. IGCC, through its UC-wide connections, is fortunate to have access to the first gen-

eration of nuclear policy principals, including Herbert York, the founding director of IGCC and a former director of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL), and former Secretary of Defense Harold Brown.

As the program motivates University of California Ph.D. students to study the public policy and technology issues related to nuclear weapons, it seeks to also re-engage UC departments in such research. Sadly, UC scholars have steadily turned their attention away from research on nuclear weapons policy, as it did not generate sufficient research and fellowship funds. IGCC hopes this infusion of funding for top students will rekindle

The NSF IGERT Program

NSF IS AN INDEPENDENT FEDERAL AGENCY that supports scientific research and education in science and engineering disciplines from K-12 through graduate-level programs. Schools funded under IGERT agree to undertake a cultural change in graduate education by establishing new models for training Ph.D. candidates in a highly collaborative research environment that allows broad experiences for students that transcend traditional academic and research boundaries.

“IGERT is a flagship NSF program,” according to NSF Director Rita Colwell. “Whether it is to meet national needs in a post-September 11 environment, or to provide Ph.D.s in more traditional scientific and engineering venues, we are seeing the fruits of the creative efforts academic leaders are undertaking. Highly trained Ph.D.s in science and engineering are graduating from IGERT-sponsored programs who have experiences that both expand and mesh disciplines, and meet the career demands that relentless change in trends, tools, technology and tasks have placed on them.”

The IGERT award to IGCC is one of twenty-one NSF announced for 2002. The 2002 IGERT awards will raise to 100 the total number of the highly competitive awards NSF has funded since the program began five years ago.

research on this topic, as many intellectual and technological assumptions about previous nuclear policies demand re-examination. At present there are 30 UC faculty members from eight campuses and a wide range of disciplines committed to participating. In a continuation of IGCC's unique collaborations with the Lawrence Livermore and Los Alamos National Laboratories, twelve laboratory personnel will also participate. (For a complete list of participants and brief biographies, see the IGCC web site at <http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu/cprograms/IGERTbios.htm/>.)

International Security Policy

IGCC IGERT Fellowships for Incoming and Current UC Ph.D. Students

RECRUITMENT OF THE FIRST GROUP of **Public Policy and Nuclear Threats** Fellows has been underway since the NSF award was announced in October 2002. IGERT Program Coordinator Christi Gilhoi has been working closely with UC departments and IGCC campus-program affiliates to get the word out to as broad a range of potential candidates throughout the nation as possible.

nuclear policy must be nominated by their home department during the admissions process. There are also opportunities for current UC Ph.D. students and international students. Fellows must commit to participation in a number of IGERT-specific activities: an intensive interdisciplinary summer training seminar, policy workshops, monthly video conferences, summer internships at Livermore or Los Alamos National Laboratories and in Washington D.C., internships and/or research trips abroad, and the preparation of a paper related to nuclear policies. Additional coursework also may be required. Students will have an on-campus IGERT faculty advisor as well as their regular Ph.D. program advisor.

IGCC has made a strong commitment to recruiting a diverse cohort of IGERT fellows, using resources already in place within the UC system. These include the university's Office of Academic Advancement, which deals with faculty and graduate student affirmative action and diversity; the UC Leads Program, designed to identify educationally or economically disadvantaged undergraduates pursuing degrees in science, engineering, or mathematics who are likely to succeed in graduate school; CAMP, a California initiative that supports and helps retain undergraduates in the biological sciences, physical sciences, mathematics, and engineering; UC Alliance for Graduate Education and the Professorate, which works in partnership with federal- and state-sponsored preparation programs for undergraduate minorities; and the MESA (Mathematics Engineering and Science Achievement) Program. IGCC will also be doing targeted recruitment at selected historically black colleges and universities, via the nationwide HBCU network, and at women's colleges.

Campus programs staff are available to answer questions about the program. Please contact Christi Gilhoi at cgilhoi@ucsd.edu or (858) 534-7224. Additional IGERT information and an online application can be found on the IGCC website at <http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu/cprograms/IGERT.htm/> or by following the links on the IGCC home page at <http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu/>.

Types of Student Support

Incoming 2003 and 2004 University of California Ph.D. Students may receive up to five years of fellowship support (four years funded by NSF and a one-year teaching or research assistantship from their home UC department). Current IGERT fellowships include a \$27,500 annual stipend plus tuition/fee remission. In addition to their normal Ph.D. requirements, the IGERT fellows will take some additional courses tailored to their policy interests, participate in activities such as summer internships at the Los Alamos and Lawrence Livermore National Laboratories, workshops and videoconferences with experts and policymakers, internships in Washington, D.C., and abroad, and in-residence participation in a month-long interdisciplinary summer seminar at UC San Diego.

Incoming students must be nominated by their home department during the admissions process and complete the online application at <http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu/>. The deadline for incoming students depends on the admissions calendar of their home departments. *Only U.S. citizens and permanent residents are eligible to receive NSF fellowship funds.*

Current University of California Ph.D. Students (First, Second, or Third Year) may receive up to three years of NSF fellowship funding and the opportunity to participate in all IGERT activities. Current IGERT fellowships include a \$27,500 annual stipend plus tuition/fee remission. Current UC Ph.D. students should submit two letters of recommendation and unofficial transcripts, and complete the online application at <http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu/>. The application deadline for 2003 IGERT Fellowships for current UC Ph.D. students is April 4, 2003. Only U.S. citizens and permanent residents are eligible to receive NSF fellowship funds.

Current UC Students (Ph.D. Candidates) and UC International Ph.D. Students—The IGERT Associate Program: Some funding is also available for students to become IGERT Associates and participate in IGERT activities such as the summer seminar, internships, and academic-year activities. Current UC students at the dissertation level and UC international students (at all Ph.D. levels) are welcome to apply to join these activities. IGERT Associate candidates should also submit two letters of recommendation and unofficial transcripts, and complete the online application at <http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu/>.

Development of an online application has made it much easier to track and respond to students who express interest in the program.

In brief, students must meet the usual Ph.D. requirements of their respective departments. Incoming students who demonstrate an interest in

International Security Policy Public Policy and Nuclear Threats Summer Seminar

ONE OF THE MOST INNOVATIVE ASPECTS of the **Public Policy and Nuclear Threats** program is the summer seminar to be held at UC San Diego 7 July–2 August 2003. The curriculum promises to be a challenging mix of technical and social science topics. Students from the social sciences will receive a crash course in the basics of physics, nuclear reactions, and nuclear fuel cycles, while students from the hard sciences will be exposed to game theory, the history and politics of the Cold War, and the motives that drive states to acquire weapons of mass destruction. All will benefit from analysis of topics such as the weapons production complex, issues surrounding the current U.S. weapons stockpile, and the latest research on the causes of terrorism by experts from the UC campuses and beyond. The seminar is shaping up to be a rigorous, interdisciplinary experience for the fellows, with many opportunities to interact both in the classroom and at special outside events. Their experience will also

be enhanced by interaction with the senior policy mentors, several of whom will be making presentations during the seminar.

One of the goals of the intensive course is to lay the groundwork for formation of a cohesive cohort of fellows even as they disperse to their home departments to continue their training. Regular videoconferences and other interactive activities will be in place to support and strengthen these bonds throughout the year.

Development of the summer seminar is under the leadership of Robert Powell, Robson Professor of Political Science at UC Berkeley and the author of numerous works on international relations, most recently, *In the Shadow of Power: States and Strategies in International Politics* (Princeton U. Press, 1999). Powell's current research focuses on the study of continuing conflicts throughout the world. He is an expert on the application of game theory to nuclear deterrence.

International Security Policy Public Policy and Nuclear Threats Senior Mentors

IGCC IS FORTUNATE to have the participation of six senior mentors in the **Public Policy and Nuclear Threats** program. Each of the six is briefly profiled below. Their depth of experience in the areas of arms control, weapons deployment, nonproliferation policy, and policy advising will add a rich historical and experiential component to the program.

Ruth **ADAMS**, a recent visiting scholar at IGCC, is a member of the U.S. Pugwash Committee, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Board on Science and Technology of the National Academy of Science, and the Council of the Federation of American Scientists. Adams has been involved in the nonproliferation movement almost from its inception. She was one of the original attendees of Pugwash in 1957. From that core of twenty-two concerned scientists and scholars, Pugwash has grown into a worldwide network of about 3,000 scientists and policy analysts, with chapters in 50 nations, including Russia, China, India, and Pakistan, and has extended its original nuclear con-

cerns to examine the social duty of scientists toward population growth, economic development and environmental corruption. From 1978–83 Adams was the editor of the influential *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, best known for its "Doomsday Clock." She has also served as a program director for the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and as executive director of the Illinois division of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Physicist Harold **AGNEW** began his career at Los Alamos National Laboratory in 1946, eventually becoming director (1970–79). He was president of General Atomics from 1979–85, where he still serves on the board. In the 1960s Agnew was scientific advisor to the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe. Former President Jimmy Carter named Agnew to the General Advisory Committee of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He is a past recipient of NASA's public service award for services as a member of the

(continued on p. 48)



Ruth ADAMS
Photo: Staff

International Security Policy

Security in the Information Technology Age

THE INFORMATION AGE HAS TRANSFORMED the nature of security. As the activities of individuals, organizations, and nations increasingly are being conducted in cyberspace, the security of those activities is an emerging challenge.

An April workshop at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory brought together social scientists, technical computer science experts, and members of government, industry, and the national labs to examine issues bearing directly upon the provision of security in the information age. These include the implications of the information revolution for deterrence, crisis management and warfare; the problems that information warfare raises for democratic accountability; and the roles and responsibilities of the public and private sectors for providing security in the information age.

The workshop was co-sponsored by the Center for Security Studies and Conflict Resolution of the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, the Joint Center for International and Security Studies, the Center for Global Security Research (CGSR) at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL), and IGCC. The topic provided a unique intersection of IGCC research concerns, as it touched on both

international security issues and the rapid societal changes being brought about by the “cyber revolution.”

Participants met together in two sessions. The first addressed “New Paradigms for Information Age Conflict,” the second, “The Governance and Economics of Security in the Information Age.” Several scholars were commissioned to write papers designed to spur discussion among the entire group.

The workshop was organized by Prof. Emily Goldman (UC Davis), co-director of the Joint Center for International and Security Studies (JCISS). JCISS is a strategic partnership between UC Davis and the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California. The Center was founded in 1994 to foster a fundamental rethinking of the conceptual and ethical premises that have undergirded U.S. strategy and foreign policy for the past half-century. A unique collaboration between a civilian university and a military institution, JCISS strives to promote understanding between the defense and civilian communities, and to bring together members of both to generate new perspectives on critical security issues.

Livermore, California, 19 April 2002

Security in the IT Age

Introductions and Overview

SESSION 1: NEW PARADIGMS FOR INFORMATION AGE CONFLICT

Panel 1: Deterrence and Crisis Management

“Deterrence, Defense and Recovery in the Information Age”

Richard **HARKNETT**, University of Cincinnati

“International Crises in the Information Age”

Damon **COLETTA**, U.S. Air Force Academy

Panel 2: The Strategy and Organization for Information Warfare

“Wars of Disruption: International Competition and Information Technology-Driven Military Organizations”

Chris **DEMCHAK**, University of Arizona

“The Strategic Logic of Information Warfare”

Emily **GOLDMAN** and Matt **BISHOP**, UC Davis

SESSION 2: THE GOVERNANCE AND ECONOMICS OF SECURITY IN THE INFORMATION AGE

Panel 3: Democracy and Information Warfare

“Information Warfare and Democratic Accountability”

Miroslav **NINCIC**, University of California, Davis

“Information Warfare and Domestic Threats to Security: Definitions, Analogies, Remedies”

Pat **MORGAN**, University of California, Irvine

Panel 4: Managing Public-Private Responsibility for Security

“Private Sector Incentives for Improving IT Security”

Walter **BAER**, RAND Corporation

Conclusions

International Security Policy

Arms Control and Security Improvements in the Middle East

ARMS CONTROL AND SECURITY IMPROVEMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST 2002 saw the largest meetings ever of the Middle East Dialogues, which bring together security experts, academics, and officials from throughout the region for “track-two,” or unofficial dialogues. IGCC has been engaged in brokering such discussions since the mid-1980s and currently provides funding from government sources for a range of seminars and meetings. Led by Steven Spiegel (UC Los Angeles), up to six “track-two,” off-the-record dialogues on Mid-East Regional Security take place annually. Civil and military leaders meet quietly in a collegial setting to discuss specific options for improving regional security relations. The Burkle Center for International Relations at UCLA administers the civilian dialogues. IGCC directly administers the Arms Control and Security Improvements in the Middle East series, geared more toward military professionals.

Recent seminars have included participants from twenty-three countries, including Israelis, Palestinians, Turks, and others from key Arab states. Discussion issues have included the security concerns of individual states, the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, the progress of the “war on terrorism,” regional military codes of conduct, democratic culture, and the linkages between regional security and economic stability.

Many participants believed this year's meetings were particularly successful because of their positive atmosphere. Participants in one of the meetings were briefed on the Middle East Network Library (MENL), a virtual collection of resources dedicated to topics related to arms control, peace building, and human security in the Middle East, which has grown directly out of the Middle East

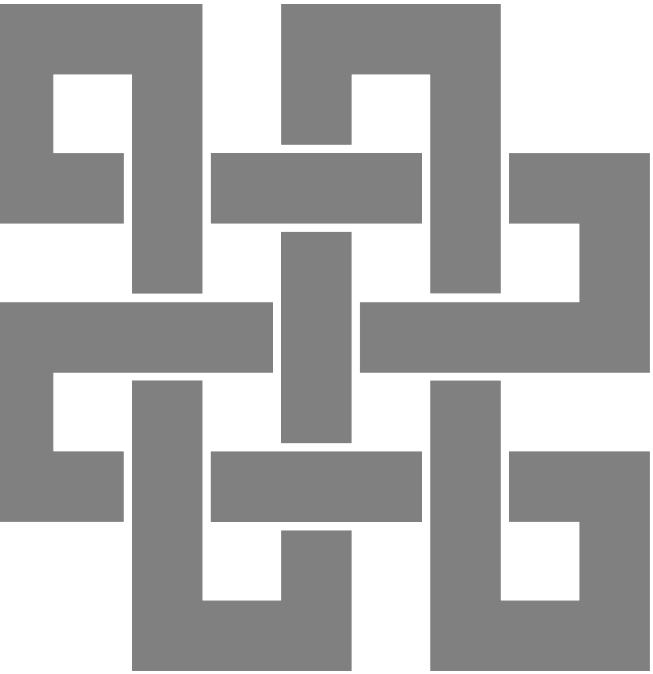
dialogues. The primary purpose of the MENL is to provide largely unpublished or hard-to-locate research and policy papers to specialists in order to aid ongoing discussions concerning these topics. Participants in another meeting explored the idea of establishing a regional security studies center.

Formerly funded by the U.S. Departments of Energy and State, all Middle East Dialogues are now funded by Congress through the U.S. Department of Defense. For background information on IGCC's past multilateral arms control efforts in the Middle East, visit the IGCC web site at <http://www.igcc.ucsd.edu/regions/default.html>. For more information on ongoing projects, contact Pinar Kizir Tremblay at pkizir@pop.bol.ucla.edu.



Steven L. SPIEGEL

Steven L. **SPIEGEL** is professor of political science at UC Los Angeles. A specialist on Middle East policy issues, he is internationally recognized for organizing meetings among Arab, Israeli, and North American academics, policy analysts, scientists, and other experts on methods for furthering the Middle East peace process. His publications include *The Arab-Israeli Search for Peace* (ed., Rienner, 1992), *Conflict Management in the Middle East* (ed., Westview, 1992), the award-winning *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict: Making America's Middle East Policy from Truman to Reagan* (U. Chicago Press, 1995), *World Politics in a New Era* (edited in second edition with Fred Wehling, Harcourt Brace College, 1995), and *The Dynamics of Middle East Nuclear Proliferation* (ed., with J. Kibbe and E. Matthews, Edwin Mellen, 2001). His classic book of U.S. foreign policy readings, *At Issue: Politics in the World Arena*, was produced in seven editions.



Research Initiatives

Innovations in International Cooperation

SINCE ITS INCEPTION, IGCC and its partners have been committed to conflict resolution through international cooperation. By supporting research from a multidisciplinary platform, IGCC has been on the front line of many innovative solutions in international problem solving.

For example, **The Great Silk Road Survey**, begun in 2001 with a project development award from the UC Office of the President, brought together experts from the oil industry, archaeology, geology, telecommunications, informatics, and international lenders in an ambitious program based around the new Caspian oil and gas pipelines from Baku, Azerbaijan, to Turkish ports on the Mediterranean Sea. The multi-faceted project opened conversations on many levels relating the Great Silk Road of the past to the energy, transportation, and telecommunications projects of the future, with an eye toward building local capacity to fund and sustain the project's many phases.

Continuing collaborations with the Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy (BRIE) and the Annenberg School for Communications at the University of Southern California have resulted in regular workshops on international communications regulation and the new economic transformation being brought about by rapid changes in information technology. 2002 saw the fruition of months of planning in the first **Spectrum Allocation and Assignment Policy Workshop** (see page 15), which brought together key government and business officials and leading scholars to discuss the international policy implications of third-generation (3G) technologies.

The Wired for Peace project (see page 19) continues its innovative use of the Internet as a tool for "virtual diplomacy" in Southeast Asia. Finally, UC researchers traveled to Ottawa for a one-day roundtable on **Religion and Conflict in an Era of Globalization** (see page 13) with the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development. The conference is another example of IGCC's work to bridge the gap between academia and government, exemplifying the advantages of creative engagement between the two kinds of public institutions.

Innovations in International Cooperation

Religion and Conflict in an Era of Globalization

DO THE PERPETRATORS OF VIOLENCE seek out the legitimacy of religion, or is it an essential characteristic of religion that in its extremes leads to violence? To put it simply, in acts of religious terrorism is religion being used by politics, or is politics being perverted by religion? And are these elements of religious violence exacerbated by the forces of globalization? These are intellectual questions with obvious policy implications in a world increasingly imperiled by acts of terrorism motivated by religious ideologies.

A team of scholars associated with the campuses of the University of California and colleagues from the University of Ottawa participated in a one-day roundtable at the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development (*Centre Canadien pour le développement de la politique étrangère*) in Ottawa to discuss these issues. "Religion and Conflict in an Era of Globalization," organized by the Institute of Global Conflict and Cooperation, brought together scholars who work on the interface of religion and violence and included specialists as well as several scholars who do comparative work and have attempted their own conceptual paradigms in dealing with these questions.

The discussion was organized under four general topics: 1) the background of religious conflict; 2) forms of religious conflict; 3) reactions and developments as a result of such conflict; and 4) the policy implications and the possibility of preventative measures. Mark Juergensmeyer (UC Santa Barbara) presented a general approach to the questions based on his recent comparative study of religious terrorism. John Hall (UC Davis) focused on religious ideologies of extreme movements, based on his recent comparative study of violent apocalyptic movements. Paul Lubeck (UC Santa Cruz) presented a paper on radical Islam, and summarized a major project that he is directing on Islamic movements in an era of globalization. Peter Beyer (University of Ottawa) discussed the issue of religious violence within this larger context. Ron Bee (IGCC) presented research on the control of weapons of mass destruction and how U.S. foreign

policy changed after 11 September 2001. Policy implications of the issues were discussed in a final session led by Juergensmeyer and Stephen Lee of the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development, with participation by Canadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs staff members.

Peter **BEYER**, associate professor of religious studies at the University of Ottawa, is one of North America's leading experts on religion and globalization. Recent books include *Religion and Globalization* (Sage, 1994) and *Religion im Prozeß der Globalisierung* (Ergon Verlag, 2001).

John **HALL** is professor of sociology and director of the Center for History, Society, and Culture at UC Davis. Recent books include *Cultures of Inquiry: From Epistemology to Discourse in Sociohistorical Research* (Cambridge U. Press, 1999) and *Apocalypse Observed: Religion and Violence in North America, Europe, and Japan*, with Philip D. Schuyler and Sylvaine Trinh (Routledge, 2000).

Mark **JUERGENSMEYER** is professor of sociology and religious studies and director of Global and International Studies at UC Santa Barbara. Among his many accomplishments, he has been a Fulbright Fellow, a Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; a Guggenheim Foundation Fellow; a United States Institute of Peace Fellow; and an American Council of Learned Societies Fellow. He is the author of *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (University of California Press, 2000), named as the Best Nonfiction Book of the Year by the *Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times*.

Paul **LUBECK** is professor of sociology and director of the Global Information Internship program at the Center for Global, International and Regional Studies at UC Santa Cruz. He has published extensively on globalization, industrializing states, African businesses, labor, Islamic social movements, and regional development strategies. He is currently directing a major project on Islamic movements in an era of globalization, funded by the Carnegie Foundation.

Do the perpetrators of violence seek out the legitimacy of religion, or is it an essential characteristic of religion that in its extremes leads to violence?

Innovations in International Cooperation

Governing the Global E-economy

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA E-ECONOMY PROJECT is a collaborative undertaking of IGCC, the Berkeley Round-table on the International Economy (BRIE), the California Institute for Telecommunications and Information Technology at UC San Diego and UC Irvine, and a number of units at the University of California, Berkeley, including the College of Engineering, the Haas School of Business, and the School of Information Management and Systems (SIMS). Participating faculty represent a broad interdisciplinary range of UC Berkeley departments as well as faculty from UC campuses at Davis, Irvine, Los Angeles, and Santa Barbara. The project fuses these academics' research agendas with the knowledge and concerns of industry leaders and policymakers, creating an intellectual resource that focuses on the profound transformation being wrought by new digital technologies.

The E-economy Project is developing new metrics, historical analogs, and business models, and more

The E-economy Project . . . began with an intentionally broad and basic question: How are digital networks and e-commerce changing the organization of industrial and economic activity?

effective policies, legal frameworks, and corporate strategies. It began with an intentionally broad and basic question: How are digital networks and e-commerce changing the organization of industrial and economic activity? Its ultimate goal is to create

a resource that involves industry leaders, policymakers, and academics in discussion and research to conceive new business models, more effective corporate strategies, and informed policies.

A series of workshops in Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C., have produced a large body of research and policy discussion. The first major summary of the project's work is *Tracking a Transformation: E-Commerce and the Terms of Competition in Industries* (Brookings, 2001). The volume documents how the information technology revolution of the last ten years has begun a fundamental economic transformation and analyzes the way this transformation will affect market structure and pricing models in several major industries: retail financial services, air travel, music, automom-

biles, semiconductors, hearing instruments, food, textiles, and trucking.

Following up on last year's highly successful meeting of researchers on the **Innovation, Regulation, and the Changing Terms of Competition in Wireless Telecommunications** project, a second collaborative meeting between participants from the Research Institute of the Finnish Economy (ETLA) and the E-economy Project was held 9 December 2002 at UC Berkeley (see participant list, page 18). It included presentations on topics such as security and privacy, the next generation network, intellectual property rights, and the political economy of the Internet. A follow-up meeting with the DG Information Society of the European Commission was held in Brussels 17 June 2002.

For more information on the E-economy Project, visit the project web site at <<http://e-economy.berkeley.edu/>> or contact Michelle Clark at mclark81@uclink.berkeley.edu.

John ZYSMAN is professor of political science at UC Berkeley and co-director of BRIE. Prof. Zysman received his B.A. at Harvard and his Ph.D. at MIT. He has written extensively on European and Japanese policy and corporate strategy. His interests also include comparative politics, Western European politics, and political economy. Prof. Zysman's publications include *The Highest Stakes: The Economic Foundations of the Next Security System* (Oxford U. Press, 1992), *Manufacturing Matters: The Myth of the Post-Industrial Economy*, with Stephen S. Cohen (Basic Books, 1987), and *Governments, Markets, and Growth: Finance and the Politics of Industrial Change* (Cornell U. Press, 1983).

Stephen S. COHEN is professor of regional planning at UC Berkeley and co-director of BRIE. He has extensive experience as an international economic consultant. In the United States, he has served as consultant to the White House, the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress, the House Banking Committee, the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, and the Department of Commerce. Cohen's books include *The New Global Economy in the Information Age: Reflections on Our Changing World* (co-author, 1993), *Reading Our Times* (co-editor, 1988), *Manufacturing Matters: The Myth of the Post-Industrial Economy*, with John Zysman (Basic Books, 1987), and *France in the Troubled World Economy*, with Peter Gourevitch (1982). He has received numerous awards, fellowships, and visiting professorships, including the Medal of Paris in 1975.

Innovations in International Cooperation

Spectrum Allocation and Assignment Policy Workshop

THE EFFECTS OF THE SPECTRUM POLICIES of the United States and Europe on the emergence of future generations of wireless services, especially those that will facilitate the emergence of broadband services, is a critical global issue. How will the impact of these policies intersect with changes in business strategies and technologies and shape the pace of innovation and the forms of competition?

A new collaboration between France's *École Nationale Supérieure des Télécommunications* (ENST), the University of California's California Institute on Telecommunications and Information Technology (Cal-(IT)²) and the E-economy Program of the University of California brings together key government and business officials and leading scholars in the fields of telecommunications and information technology to examine these questions (see participant list, page 16). The first Spectrum Allocation and Assignment Policy Workshop, hosted by the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies at UC San Diego in May 2002, provided an informal forum for interaction among international experts. Attendees considered how to best address the following issues:

- *Emerging best (and worst) spectrum allocation and assignment practices.* Do they really foster innovative and competitive markets?

- *Creation of a state-of-the-art analysis of wireless and information technology developments.* What will be features of the generation beyond 3G? How will it intersect with 3G? How will these services promote the emergence of a ubiquitous broadband infrastructure?
- *Analysis of the compatibility of European Union and US policies.* What are the implications of their differences? How do they influence the trajectory of technology development?

The workshop's institutional partners each bring a different expertise to the collaboration. ENST (<http://www.ENST.FR/>) is the premier research university with expertise on telecommunications and information technology in France. Cal-(IT)² a joint undertaking of UC San Diego and UC Irvine, (<http://www.calit2.net/>) is exploring the frontiers of the intersection of wireless networking and information technology. The E-economy Project, a joint program of IGCC and the Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy (BRIE) at UC Berkeley, continues to examine the policy and economic implications of the global network revolution. Planning for the 2003 workshop is now underway

Innovations in International Cooperation

International Workshops on Communication Regulation

MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES are introducing general competition as the new way of organizing their national communications industries. This transformation has produced numerous benefits, including faster network build-out and better service. It is commonly argued, however, that it takes sound competition and regulatory policies to deliver strong benefits to society. As the UN Development Program has pointed out, getting these policies right is important for development policy.

To aid these efforts, IGCC's E-economy Project and the Annenberg Center for Communications at the University of Southern California in 2000 established a Workshop on Communications Regulation. The workshops harness the convening power of the university to the analytic skills of its faculty to assist

policy-makers. The communications regulators of three developing countries are invited to present in depth one of their hardest policy challenges. A team of scholars and other industry experts then provides advice as to the "best practices" for solving the problem. Mixing senior regulators and leading analysts from several countries assures a blend of realism and imagination while drawing on diverse national experiences.

Previous workshops considered problems involving restructuring the pricing of telephone services, the funding of subsidies for poor households, and the promotion of telephone network construction in rural areas. The Markle Foundation has provided generous support for the workshops.

La Jolla, California, 12–14 May 2002

Spectrum and Services Beyond 3G

May 12

Keynote Speaker: Larry SMARR, Director, Cal-(IT)²

Technological Vision and Opportunities

May 13

Framing the Discussion

Gerard POGOREL, Head, Dept. of Economic and Social Science, ENST
Vision for the Workshop

Peter COWHEY, Director, UC Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation

Painting the Landscape, Identifying the Issues

Supply and Demand Surprises for Wireless

Panel members

Chair: Michael KLEEMAN, BRIE
Prof. Dale HATFIELD, Chair, Dept. of Interdisciplinary Telecommunications, University of Colorado, Boulder

Technological Breakthroughs and Their Implementation

Prof. François BAR, Dept. of Communications, Stanford University

What Do We Know About Killer Apps for Wireless?

Ed THOMAS, Director, Office of Engineering and Technology, FCC

Greg ROSSTON, Deputy Director, Stanford Institute for Economic Policy Research

Spectrum Allocation/Licensing: U.S. and European Approaches and Their Different Implications

Panel members

Chair: Scott HARRIS, Managing Partner, Harris, Wilshire, and Grannis, LLP

Prof. Martin CAVE, Spectrum Management Advisory Group

Beatrice DURAND, *Agence Nationale des Fréquences*

Spectrum Planning and International Affairs

Tom SUGRUE, Chief, Wireless Bureau, FCC

Dewayne HENDRICKS, FCC Technical Advisory Council

Industry Perspectives (1)

Panel members

Chair: Prof. John ZYSMAN, Co-Director, BRIE

Cengiz EVCI, Chief Frequency Officer, Alcatel

Tom LINDSTROM, Director, Telecom Policies and Regulations, Ericsson

Steve SHARKEY, Director, Spectrum and Standards Strategy, Motorola

Bill BOLD, Vice President, Government Affairs, Qualcomm

Industry Perspectives (2)

Panel members

Chair: Prof. John ZYSMAN, Co-Director, BRIE

Dominique BARTHEL, Senior Scientist, France Telecom

Jean Claude BOUILLET, Frequency and Protection Director, Bouygues Telecom

Diane CORNELL, Vice President, Regulatory Policy, Cellular Telecommunication & Industry Assn. (CTIA)

Jennifer WARREN, Senior Director, Lockheed Martin

Keynote Speaker: Reed HUNDT, McKinsey and Co., former chairman, FCC

Business and Policy Models

May 14 Market Development and Global Organizing Issues

Panel members

Chair: Prof. Jonathan ARONSON, School of International Relations, University of Southern California

John RICHARDS, Consultant, McKinsey and Co.

Discussant: Don ABELSON, Chief, International Bureau, FCC

The Wireless Communications and Information Technology Infrastructure: Possibilities and Constraints

Panel members

Chair: Larry SMARR, Director, Cal-(IT)²

Dave FARBER, former FCC Chief Technologist

Ramesh RAO, Director, Cal-(IT)² UC San Diego division

Agenda for the Future, Policy Synthesis, and Research Agenda

Panel members

Scott HARRIS, Managing Partner, Harris, Wilshire, and Grannis, LLP

Peter COWHEY, Director, IGCC
Gerard POGOREL, Head, Dept. of Economic and Social Sciences, ENST

PARTICIPANTS

Don ABELSON, Federal Communications Commission

Ben ANSELL, BRIE, UC Berkeley

Jonathon ARONSON, School of International Relations, University of Southern California

Rahmi BAJAJ, France Telecom Research and Development

François BAR, Dept. of Communication, Stanford University

Dominique BARTHEL, France Telecom Research and Development

William BOLD, Qualcomm

Jean Claude BOUILLET, Bouygues Telecom, France

Martin CAVE, Warwick Business School, University of Warwick

Diane CORNELL, Cellular Telecommunications and Internet Assoc., Washington, D.C.

Peter COWHEY, Director, IGCC

Beatrice DURAND, *Agence Nationale des Fréquences*, France

Cengiz EVCI, Alcatel, France

Dave FARBER, Dept. of Computer and Information Science, University of Pennsylvania

Molly GAVIN, Qualcomm

Scott Blake HARRIS, Harris, Wilshire and Grannis, LLP, Washington, D.C.

Dale HATFIELD, Dept. of Interdisciplinary Telecommunications, University of Colorado, Boulder

Christine HEMRICK, Cisco Systems

Dewayne HENDRICKS, Dandini Group

Craig HOLMAN, The Boeing Co., Seattle

Reed HUNDT, McKinsey and Co., Washington, D.C.

David HYTHA, Silicon Wave

Michael KLEEMAN, BRIE, UC Berkeley

Mikhail KLIMENKO, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego

Mark KNICKREHM

Larry LARSON, Dept. of Electrical and Computer Engineering, UC San Diego

Alex LIGHTMAN, Charmed Technology

Tom LINDSTROM, Ericsson, Washington, D.C.

Vincent MARET, Bouygues Telecom

Joseph MCGEEHAN, Dean of Engineering, University of Bristol

Roberto PADOVANI, Qualcomm

(continued on p. 18)

Innovations in International Cooperation

Globalization and Governance

A NEW VIEW OF GLOBALIZATION, the culmination of the two-year IGCC project **Globalization and Governance**, led by professors David A. Lake and Miles Kahler (UC San Diego), will soon be available in book form. *Governance in a Global Economy: Political Authority in Transition* will be released by Princeton University Press in late August. The introductory and concluding chapters and a complete table of contents can be found at <http://www.irps.ucsd.edu/faculty/mkahler/papers.html/>.

Globalization is often defined expansively as networks of interdependence that span intercontinental distances. As such, the term incorporates a host of profound changes: growing political linkages at the global level, erosion of local space and time as structures of economic life, and homogenization of social life through global standards, products, and culture.

Contemporary debate over globalization casts its political effects as both revolutionary and contradictory. Collectively, the project has shown how the effects of globalization on governance are more complex and contingent than many observers claim. *Governance in a Global Economy* focuses on a central aspect of globalization, economic integration at the global level. The reduction of barriers to economic exchange and factor mobility is gradually creating one economic space from many. In the process, important shifts in governance continue to occur in three directions: upward to the supranational level, downward to the subnational level, and laterally to the realm of private actors. However, these trends are neither universal nor uniform. The papers document these profound changes in governance and explore their causes. Rather than seeing globalization as an inexorable and impersonal set of

market forces, the authors emphasize how globalization changes the preferences of some actors, increases the bargaining power of others, and opens new institutional options for still others. In this way, they reintroduce agency and choice into the story of globalization and link its effects to how political authority is being reconstructed in the modern world.

Miles **KAHLER** is Rohr Professor of Pacific International Relations at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS) and director of the IGCC-affiliated Institute for

International, Comparative, and Area Studies (IICAS) at UC San Diego. He served as IGCC co-director of research on international relations in 2000–2001, sharing the position with Prof. David Lake. From 1994–96 Kahler was Senior Fellow in International Political Economy at the Council on Foreign Relations. His publications include *Leadership Selection in the Major Multilaterals* (IIE, 2001); *Legalization and World Politics* (co-editor, MIT Press, 2001); *Capital Flows and Financial Crisis* (ed., Cornell U. Press, 1998); and *International Institutions and the Political Economy of Integration* (Brookings, 1995).

David A. **LAKE** (Ph.D. Cornell) is professor and chair of the political science department at UC San Diego, and former co-editor of the journal *International Organization*. He served as IGCC research director for international relations from 1992–96, returning in 2000 to share the position with Prof. Miles Kahler for this project. Lake's recent books include *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation* (co-editor, Princeton U. Press, 1998); *Entangling Relations: American Foreign Policy in its Century* (Princeton U. Press, 1999); and *Strategic Choice and International Relations* (co-editor, Princeton U. Press, 1999).

Collectively, the project has shown how the effects of globalization on governance are more complex and contingent than many observers claim.

Berkeley, California, 9 December 2002

ETLA-BRIE Collaborative Research Meeting

INTRODUCTION

Prof. John **ZYSMAN** (BRIE)

Session I: Open Networks/Next Generation Networks

Aija **LEIPONEN** (ETLA)

*Organization of Standardization in
Wireless Telecommunications*

Karem **TOMAK**

*Mobile Payment Strategies When
Consumers Maintain Mental
Accounts*

Session Chairs

François **BAR** (Stanford U.)

Jonathan **SALLET**

Session II: Technology, Security and Privacy

Abe **NEWMAN**

*The New Economy: Transatlantic
Policy Comparison Data Privacy*

David **BACH**

*The New Economy: Transatlantic
Policy Comparison: Industry Self-
Regulation in the New Economy*

David **BACH** and Abe **NEWMAN**

*Self-Regulatory Trajectories in the
Shadow of Public Power: Resolving
Digital Dilemmas in Europe and the
United States*

Taylor **BOAS**

*Freedom at the Core, Control at the
Periphery: Technology, Institutions,
and the Question of Internet Control*

Session Chairs

Petri **ROUVINEN** (ETLA)

Jay **STOWSKY** (BRIE)

Session III: Production

John **ZYSMAN**

*Production in a Digital Era:
Commodity or Strategic Weapon?*

Martin **KENNEY**

*What Goes Up Must Come Down: The
Political Economy of the U.S. Internet
Industry*

David **MAYER** and Martin
KENNEY

*Economic Action Does Not Take Place
in a Vacuum: Understanding Cisco's
Acquisition and Development Strategy*

Session Chairs

Steve **COHEN** (BRIE)

Steve **WEBER** (BRIE)

Session IV: Current Projects in Open Source/IP Policy

Steve **WEBER**

The Success of Open Source

Markku **STENBORG** (ETLA)

*Embedded Software and Strategic
Competition*

Laura **PAIJA**

*Distribution of Intellectual Property
Rights and the Development of
Technology Suppliers*

Session Chairs

Aija **LEIPONEN** (ETLA)

Jonathan **ARONSON** (University of
Southern California)

Session V: Next Year's Research and Design

Session Chairs

John **ZYSMAN** (BRIE)

Pekka **YLÄ-ANTTILA** (ETLA)

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UC Berkeley

Martin **KENNEY**

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Abe **NEWMAN**

Laura **PAIJA**

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Quintessence, LLC

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UC Berkeley

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Jennifer **BUSSELL**

Naazneen **BARMA**

David **LANCASHIRE**

Wei **LIANG**

Emilie **LASSERON**

Darius **ORNSTEIN**

La Jolla, California, 12–14 May 2002

Spectrum and Services Beyond 3G (continued from page 16)

David **PILSBURY**, Worldwide
Universities Network, University of
Leeds

Gerard **POGOREL**, *Ecole Nationale
Supérieure des Telecommunications*,
France

Ramesh **RAO**, Cal(IT)², UC San
Diego

John **RICHARDS**, McKinsey
and Co.

Greg **ROSSON**, Stanford Institute
for Economic Policy Research,
Stanford University

Steve **SHARKEY**, Motorola,
Washington, D.C.

Caroline **SIMARD**, Dept. of
Communication, Stanford
University

Larry **SMARR**, Cal IT², UC San
Diego

William **STENSRUD**, Enterprise
Partner, La Jolla, California

Tom **SUGRUE**, Federal
Communications Commission

Anne-Lise **THIEBLEMONT**,
Qualcomm

Ed **THOMAS**, Federal
Communications Commission

Jennifer **WARREN**, Lockheed
Martin

Mo **WIN**, IEEE

John **ZYSMAN**, BRIE, UC Berkeley

Innovations in International Cooperation

Wired for Peace: Virtual Diplomacy in Northeast Asia

WIRED FOR PEACE WAS BEGUN IN 1998 as an experiment in “virtual diplomacy,” using the power of the Internet and World Wide Web to bring regional security experts together. Designed in collaboration with the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, and funded by U.S. Institute of Peace, U.S. Department of Energy, Intel, and Microsoft, **Wired for Peace** provides a portal for policymakers, researchers, and academics to discuss pertinent security issues in contemporary regional affairs. The program is run in conjunction with IGCC’s Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue.

IGCC has collaborated with the Institute for Foreign Affairs and National Security (IFANS) in Seoul, South Korea, to stimulate more dialogue on the web site and increase web-site feedback and maintenance. Working together, IGCC and IFANS staff post articles from a broad range of international journals, newspapers, and websites that facilitate dialogue on regional security issues. Funding for these enhancements was provided by a grant from

the U.S. Department of State. A similar program will be initiated in Tokyo in the near future.

A recent redesign of the Wired for Peace site has made it more efficient and user-friendly. The new interface will prove to be both easier to use and maintain, as well as more aesthetically pleasing. The site continues to provide a secure discussion forum, an online library focusing on regional security issues, and links and information provided by the International Relations and Security Network (IRSN) and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). For more information on Wired for Peace, visit the web site at <http://www.wiredforpeace.org>, or contact John Cunnison at jcunnison@ucsd.edu.

John CUNNISON is research assistant to Prof. Susan Shirk at IGCC. He will receive his Master’s degree in Pacific International Affairs from UC San Diego’s Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies in June 2003. He is currently pursuing a career with the U.S. government.

Innovations in International Cooperation

Global Partners in Primary Care Innovation

FACULTY AT UC SAN FRANCISCO—Chris Kiefer, Peter Lovett, Jack Rodnick, and Bill Holzemer—continue to develop plans for Global Partners for Primary Care Innovation (GPPCI). The partnership between the UC San Francisco Schools of Medicine and Nursing and several overseas health-science training institutions was initiated in 2001 for the purpose of exchanging students and faculty in primary care training and research. Initial planning meetings included representatives from China, Cuba, South Africa, Thailand, and the United Kingdom, and faculty and students from UC San Francisco.

From September to December 2002, Prof. Kiefer spent six weeks each in South Africa and Thailand holding extensive discussions with faculty in Medicine and Nursing at the University of Natal (Durban), Mahidol University (Bangkok), and Proboromorajchanok Manpower Training Institute, Royal Thai Ministry of Public Health. Agreements were reached that will allow exchanges of faculty and students on a case-by-case basis, until full support funds are developed for the project. Under the

agreements, faculty from these institutions will travel to San Francisco to participate in seminars and faculty discussions, both as learners and as teachers, and will seek to establish collaborative projects in primary care research with UC San Francisco faculty. Students, medical residents, and faculty from UC San Francisco will be welcomed at the partner institutions also, primarily to conduct research with their faculty. The faculty collaborations are expected to continue after completion of the exchange visits, enriching both sides. It is hoped that similar agreements can be worked out with Cuba’s Ministry of Health, Capitol University in Beijing, and other overseas institutions. Those interested in participating in the exchange should contact Chris Kiefer at ckiefer@itsa.ucsf.edu.

Chris KIEFER is a professor in the Department of Anthropology, History, and Social Medicine at UC San Francisco, where he has taught in the School of Medicine for 30 years. His most recent book is *Health Work with the Poor: A Practical Guide* (Rutgers U. Press, 2000).



Research Initiatives

International Dimensions of Domestic Conflict and Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy

ETHNIC CONFLICT, traditionally regarded as a domestic problem, rapidly became a serious international security issue in the aftermath of the Cold War. As a bipolar world devolved into a multipolar one, five particular regions displayed heightened ethnic schisms and transnational conflicts: Eastern Europe, Africa, the former Soviet Union, the Middle East, and South Asia.

The **International Spread and Management of Ethnic Conflict**, a landmark project directed by Prof. David Lake (UC San Diego) and Prof. Donald Rothchild (UC Davis), slashed through a decade of muddy thinking to determine concrete conditions for the spread and management of ethnic conflict. Their findings were published as *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation* (Princeton U. Press, 1998). This work focused attention on concrete aspects of the interrelationships between domestic and foreign policies, and internal conflicts with real potential for spreading across international boundaries or otherwise commanding international attention. Particularly fruitful in cases with high potential for international repercussions are investigations of effective institutions for managing and terminating volatile civil conflicts; effective regulatory policies for managing international refugee and labor migration; and assessments of global economic restructuring impacts on internal institutional reforms.

IGCC continued to build on this line of research in 2003 with the successful continuation of the **Powersharing and Peacemaking** project led by Prof. Donald Rothchild (UC Davis) and Prof. Phil Roeder (UC San Diego). In addition, UC scholars went to Washington, D.C., to brief policymakers on the latest research into third-party intervention in civil conflicts and on the leadership transition taking place in the People's Republic of China.

International Dimensions/Domestic Sources

The Sixteenth CCP Congress and Leadership Transition in China

LEADERSHIP TRANSITION IN CHINA is less transparent and more unpredictable than that in liberal democracies. The postponement of the 16th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) from September 2002 to November 2002 raised a number of questions for China watchers about the upcoming leadership transition in China: Who would decide the outcome of the leadership transition in China? If Jiang Zemin wants to stay in power, what would be the institutional constraints on him? What is the factional landscape of China's political succession? Most importantly, what are the implications of China's leadership transition on the country's domestic development and foreign policy?

Six China experts gathered before a crowd of almost 200 at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars in Washington, D.C., to explore these timely issues in a September symposium co-sponsored by the Asia Program and the University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation. The six speakers were Susan Shirk, IGCC research director for security studies, Lyman Miller (Hoover Institution), Lowell Dittmer (UC Berkeley), Wilson Center Fellow Cheng Li (Hamilton College), Wilson Center Fellow David Shambaugh (George Washington University), and Richard Baum (UC Los Angeles). On the following morning, Shirk, Miller, and Dittmer spoke to a group of senior congressional staff on the same topic at a breakfast workshop on Capitol Hill.

Shirk argued that the outcome of China's succession will be decided by the "selectorate"—several hundred Party, government, and military officials who are members of the CCP's Central Committee. While Jiang Zemin is reluctant to retire, the majority of the selectorate probably want him to go. However, it is difficult and politically risky for the opposition to organize collective action to block Jiang. A compromise may allow Jiang and the other retiring Party veterans to continue to exercise informal influence over policymaking.

Miller examined China's leadership succession in the context of the country's institutional development over the last two decades. According to Miller, Jiang's designated successor, Hu Jintao, has been groomed to be the next Party leader for ten years. If Jiang retains his position, the effort to institutionalize China's political processes will have suffered a key setback, a move of profound significance for the

future of Chinese politics.

Dittmer placed China's leadership transition within the factional landscape. While the CCP does not recognize them, factional networks of patron-client ties have been a pervasive feature of Chinese politics. Dittmer identifies the four main factions in China today as the "Shanghai gang" surrounding Jiang, the faction associated with China's number two leader Li Peng, the retired Old Guard faction, and Hu Jintao's followers. Only the "Shanghai gang" clearly supports Jiang's efforts to retain the Party leadership. Li then shifted the focus from whether Jiang Zemin will retire to the competition between Hu Jintao and Jiang's closest associate, Zeng Qinghong. This ongoing contention between Hu and Zeng can potentially lead to disastrous consequences for China, but the leaders may find a way to compromise and cooperate.

Shambaugh discussed leadership transition in the army. Arguing that Jiang will retire from the Party, state and military leadership, Shambaugh described the new faces in the military leadership that reflect the trend toward a bifurcation between military and political elites in China. Whether this trend will move the People's Liberation Army (PLA) from being a "Party army" to a "national army" is the big question for the future.

Baum went beyond the issue of power transfer and looked into the prospects for meaningful political reform in the post-Jiang China. As suggested by democratization in other authoritarian or totalitarian regimes, fundamental political change could take place under leaders whose personal backgrounds contained little hint that they would initiate systemic transformation. China's new leadership thus may be open to institutional change under intensified sociopolitical stress.

While the six scholars differed on whether Jiang would fully retire from his current positions at the National Party Congress, they all agreed that China's leadership transition would have minimal impact on the country's domestic and foreign policies. An orderly leadership transition, however, would signify a mature government that the United States can more easily work with.

The symposium coincided with the publication of the Wilson Center's "Asia Program Special

(continued on p. 22)

International Dimensions/Domestic Sources

International Intervention in Civil Conflict

THE EFFECTS OF 11 SEPTEMBER 2001 still reverberate throughout the world. The terrorist attacks have already led the United States into Afghanistan. We may see future interventions in fragmented and unstable countries, which are hospitable to terrorist bases. However reluctantly, the United States seems likely to continue to face questions about how best to re-establish political order as part of building the foundations for the control of terrorism.

Three teams of scholars noted for their research in the field discussed their assessments of third-party intervention in civil conflicts in a policy seminar at the UC Washington Center in March. "International Intervention in Civil Conflict" was presented by IGCC and Stanford University and made possible through the generous funding of the Carnegie Corporation of New York (see participant list, page 23).

Professors James Fearon and David Laitin, both of Stanford University, presented their assessment of the Brahimi Report on reforming the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO), addressing its implications for work the UNDPKO might be asked to perform in Afghanistan and other trouble spots. Their research

is funded by the National Science Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Jack Snyder (Columbia University) and Barbara Walter (UC San Diego) discussed their work on barriers to civil war settlement, critical factors in achieving successful outside intervention, and the lessons the international community can draw from past efforts to rebuild failed states. Donald Rothchild (UC Davis) and Philip Roeder (UC San Diego) presented case studies from their ongoing IGCC research project **Powersharing and Peacemaking**, also funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. For more information on the project or to download the "International Intervention in Civil Conflict" PolicyPack, visit the IGCC web site.

Barbara F. **WALTER** is an associate professor of political science at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego. She is an authority on international security, with emphasis on internal wars, conflict resolution, and state building after war. She is the author of *Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars* (Princeton U. Press, 2002), and co-editor with Jack Snyder of *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention* (Columbia U. Press 1999). She received her Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Chicago in 1994.

International Dimensions/Domestic Sources

The Sixteenth CCP Congress

(continued from page 21)

Report: "The 16th CCP Congress and Leadership Transition in China," edited by Gang Lin and Susan Shirk. A limited number of printed copies are available from IGCC Publications. The report can also be downloaded from the IGCC web site at <http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu/>.

Richard **BAUM** is professor of political science and director of the Center for Chinese Studies at UC Los Angeles. He has written and edited eight books, including *China's Four Modernizations: The New Technological Revolution* (1980), *Reform and Reaction in Post-Mao China: The Road to Tiananmen* (1991), and *Burying Mao: Chinese Politics in the Age of Deng Xiaoping* (1996). In addition to his books, more than eighty of his articles have appeared in scholarly and popular journals.

Lowell **DITTMER** is professor of political science at UC Berkeley and the editor of *Asian Survey*. He is the author of many studies of Chinese domestic and foreign policy, including *China's Quest for National Identity* (1993), *China Under Reform* (1994), and *Liu Shaoqi and the Chinese Cultural Revolution* (rev. ed., 1997). His most recent book, with Haruhiro Fukui and Peter N. S. Lee, is *Informal Politics in East Asia* (Cambridge U. Press, 2000).

Cheng **LI** is professor of government at Hamilton College, a member of the Institute of Current World Affairs in Hanover, New Hampshire, and resident fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center. He is the author of *Rediscovering China: Dynamics and Dilemmas of Reform* (1997) and *China's Leaders: The New Generation* (2001). His writings have appeared in *World Politics*, *Asian Survey*, *The China Quarterly*, *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, *Modern China*, and elsewhere.

International Dimensions/Domestic Sources Powersharing and Peacemaking: Conditions for Success in Ethnically Divided Societies

IN THE EARLY 1990s, IGCC recognized that ethnic conflicts are serious international security issues, especially in Africa, Eastern Europe, Central and South Asia, and the Middle East. Democratic powersharing has often been a preferred solution in the settlement of such conflicts. However, the strategic problems of governance, third-party interpretation, and credible commitment in the aftermath of civil wars make powersharing schemes difficult to maintain. As a consequence, such political arrangements can prove a highly unstable basis for durable peace in multi-ethnic societies.

IGCC's **Powersharing and Peacemaking** project compares successful and failed experiments in ethnic powersharing and examines under what conditions such institutional arrangements might be appropriate. Case studies include work on decentralization, electoral systems, federalism and fiscal distributions in India, Russia, Eastern Europe, and Ethiopia, and two large-N studies on the effectiveness of powersharing alternatives. This research agenda builds on past IGCC work on durable peace settlements for civil wars and on the international spread and management of ethnic conflict.

The project is led by Prof. Philip G. Roeder (UC San Diego), a specialist in the politics of Soviet successor states, and Prof. Donald Rothchild (UC Davis), an expert in the field of ethnic conflict and conflict management in Africa. It is funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Philip G. **ROEDER** is associate professor of political science at UC San Diego. His research encompasses authoritarian politics and comparative ethnic politics, especially in the Soviet successor states. He is the author of *Red Sunset: The Failure of Soviet Politics* (Princeton U. Press, 1993), and *Soviet Political Dynamics* (HarperCollins, 1988). His articles have appeared in *American Political Science Review*, *World Politics*, and *International Studies Quarterly*.

Donald **ROTHCHILD** is professor of political science at UC Davis. His latest book, co-edited with Stephen John Stedman and Elizabeth Cousens, is *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements* (Lynne Rienner, 2002). Other recent works include *Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa: Pressures and Incentives for Cooperation* (Brookings, 1997), and *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation* (Princeton U. Press, 1998), co-edited with David Lake.

Washington, D.C., 18 March, 2002

International Intervention in Civil Conflict

PARTICIPANTS

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Nicole **BALL**, Consultant

Kurt **BASSUENER**, Co-Director, Democratization Policy Institute

Ronald **BEE**, IGCC

Amb. Richard **BOGOSIAN**, U.S. Dept. of State

Donald **BRAUM**, U.S. Dept. of State

Dr. Esther **BRIMMER**, School of Advanced International Studies, John Hopkins University

Colonel James **CHURCH**, Joint Chiefs of Staff/J-5

Steven **CLEMONS**, New America Foundation

Dennis **CULKIN**, Consultant

Peter **COWHEY**, Director, IGCC

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Mark **SCHNEIDER**, International Crisis Group

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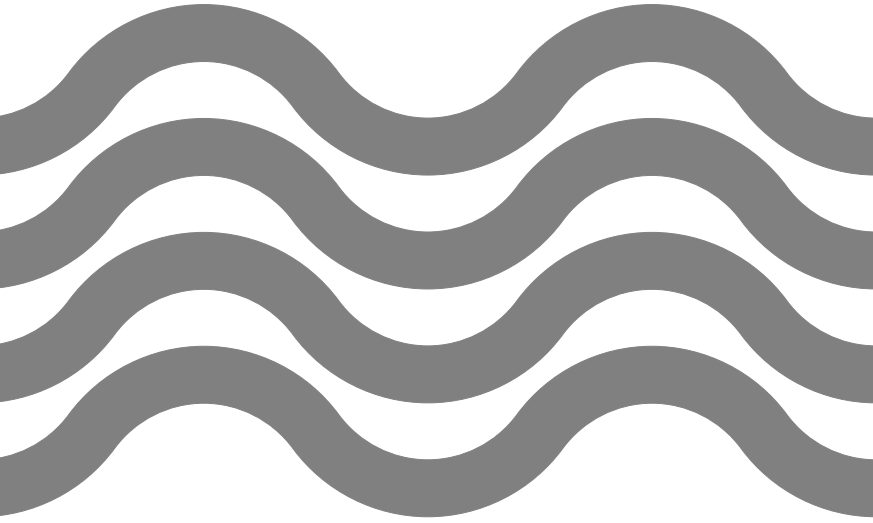
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Jay **TATE**, UC Berkeley

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Research Initiatives

International Environmental Policy

Disputes over dwindling water supplies. Pollution that spills into neighboring countries. Degradation of the global commons through ozone depletion, climate change, and loss of biological diversity. IGCC began its research program on international environmental policy in the 1990s in response to a growing need for greater scholarly and policy attention to such issues. The program seeks to promote cooperation between countries in addressing shared environmental problems. For example, climate change on a global or regional scale, whether warming or cooling, is a great concern to scientists and policy-makers alike. Most of the world's marine resources are held in common, necessitating joint management practices to avoid the depletion of fisheries and further degradation of aquatic environments. Restoration of basic agricultural, environmental, and health services after military conflict continues to be important in war-torn areas such as Afghanistan and Iraq.

IGCC supports international environmental policy research with conference grants, research grants to faculty members, dissertation fellowships, and internships in Washington, D.C. It promotes collaborative, multidisciplinary research by faculty and graduate students across the UC campuses by identifying environmental research topics of common interest and seeking grants to support research on those topics.

In January 2000 the ongoing **UC Revelle Program on Climate Science and Policy** was established as a joint project between IGCC, the Scripps Institution of Oceanography, and the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego. Other recent multidisciplinary projects include **Both Sides of the Border: Transboundary Environmental Management Issues Facing Mexico and the United States**, which concluded successfully with publication of an edited volume of the same name (Kluwer, 2002). A highlight of 2002 was IGCC's sponsorship of the largest-ever conference of environmental and resource economists, held in Monterey, California, in June.

International Environmental Policy

International Cooperation to Conserve Tropical Rainforests

TROPICAL RAINFORESTS PROVIDE many benefits to the countries where they are found and to the rest of the world. They contribute to the livelihoods of local communities, the protection of watersheds, and the generation of employment and revenue through timber production and, increasingly, domestic and international tourism. They are a globally important storehouse of carbon, the release of which contributes to global climate change, and home to an enormous range of plant and animal species.

Rainforests are threatened by agricultural conversion and by poor logging practices, threats that are not going to disappear. Conservation strategies must focus on the creation of incentives to protect unique habitats that are especially high in biodiversity and to harvest timber in more sustainable ways. Both aspects require international cooperation to succeed, and IGCC is conducting research aimed at facilitating such cooperation.

Several of IGCC's initiatives stem from IGCC Research Director Jeffrey Vincent's participation in an international Forestry Roundtable organized by the Global Environment Facility in March 2002. Participants identified the illegal logging and trade of forest products as principal impediments to international programs to protect biodiversity and to promote sustainable forest management. Vincent was invited to a follow-up meeting at the U.S. State Department in May that focused on bilateral and multilateral responses to illegal logging and trade. This meeting contributed to the formulation of the department's Congo Basin Initiative, which fights illegal logging in central Africa (especially the problem of "conflict timber").

After the May meeting, Vincent and IGCC research assistant Susana Ferreira completed a cross-country study on the impacts of corruption and lack of rule-of-law on timber harvests in 99 countries around the world, finding that successful efforts to reduce corruption and enhance rule-of-law could reduce harvests by up to 10–20 percent (depending on the country). He then began compiling additional cross-country data, with the help of research assistant Kevin O'Connell, to study smuggling and other illegal practices that afflict the international trade of forest products and opened a dialogue with the World Bank and Transparency

International about conducting a new cross-country survey on corruption in the global forest sector.

As 2002 came to a close, Vincent and Clark Gibson (Political Science, UC San Diego) organized a multi-campus proposal for a multidisciplinary workshop that will examine the links between rule-of-law and decentralization of control over forest resources in developing countries. Participants will include economists, political scientists, sociologists, and legal scholars from the Berkeley, Irvine, Los Angeles, Riverside, San Diego, and Santa Barbara campuses.

IGCC also launched several activities that focus more directly on biodiversity conservation in tropical rainforests. Vincent and IGCC Post-doctoral Fellow Matthew Potts (see page 60) spearheaded a multi-campus team that submitted a proposal to the National Science Foundation's (NSF) Biocomplexity and the Environment competition. The proposed five-year project, which will include extensive fieldwork in Malaysia, will develop improved methods for determining how to allocate forests between timber production and biodiversity conservation uses, taking spatial interactions between the uses and socioeconomic and ecological considerations into account. The team includes Richard Carson and David Woodruff (UC San Diego), J. R. DeShazo (UC Los Angeles), and Kurt Schwabe (UC Riverside), as well as collaborators from Harvard University and the Forest Research Institute Malaysia. Some of the same individuals also succeeded in obtaining funds for an Autumn 2003 workshop on international mechanisms to finance biodiversity conservation programs in tropical countries.

Jeffrey R. VINCENT is professor of environmental economics in the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS), UC San Diego. His research focuses on natural resource and environmental management in developing countries, especially ones in Asia. He is lead author of *Environment and Development in a Resource-Rich Economy: Malaysia Under the New Economic Policy* (Harvard Studies in International Development, 1997) and co-editor of the *Handbook of Environmental Economics* (forthcoming).



Jeffrey R. VINCENT

International Environmental Policy

Both Sides of the Border

Minisymposium

IN THIS NEW CENTURY, transboundary environmental issues continue to multiply. Pollution control, water allocation, control of straddling oil fields, wildlife conservation, management of common marine resources, and the long-term effects of environmental degradation are relevant to researchers on both sides of many borders.

After first looking at what defines a border community, a group of UC scholars in the natural and social sciences, their Mexican colleagues, and researchers from several U.S. government agencies then examined the implications of two sets of policies on water allocation and availability, air pollution, transportation, energy, hazardous materials disposal, and habitat protection along the U.S.–Mexico border. The two-year IGCC project was headed by Linda Fernandez (UC Riverside) and Richard Carson (UC San Diego). Research results are now available in *Both Sides of the Border: Transboundary Environmental Management Issues Facing Mexico and the United States* (Kluwer, 2002), co-edited by Fernandez and Carson. The table of contents and ordering information are available on the IGCC web site at <http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu/>.

In conjunction with the book's release, IGCC held a minisymposium in November at UC San Diego, where six of the chapter authors presented their findings to an audience of students, faculty, and interested local officials. The event was moderated by Jeffrey Vincent, IGCC's research director for international environmental policy.

Linda **FERNANDEZ** is assistant professor of environmental and resource economics at UC Riverside. Currently, she conducts research on national wetlands policy, incentives to manage offshore fisheries in the presence of offshore oil mining, cost-benefit analyses of fuel alternatives, and pollution control on international borders such as the U.S.–Mexico border. She received her Ph.D. in Environmental Economics from UC Berkeley in 1996.

Richard T. **CARSON, Jr.**, is professor of economics at UC San Diego and a senior fellow at the San Diego Supercomputer Center. Carson has extensive experience in the assessment of the benefits and costs of environmental policies. He has been a consultant to a number of non-profit organizations and government agencies. Carson's writings have appeared in numerous professional journals and edited volumes.

International Environmental Policy

The Second World Congress of ERE

THE SECOND WORLD CONGRESS of Environmental and Resource Economists was held 24–27 June in Monterey, California. The event, which was cosponsored by IGCC, attracted nearly a thousand participants from more than 40 countries, including dozens of faculty members and graduate students from throughout the UC system. The 150 paper and panel sessions spanned a wide range of environmental research topics, including many related to international environmental policy (for example, international trade and the environment, international environmental agreements, global climate change, and tropical deforestation). Kenneth Arrow (Stanford University) and Daniel McFadden (UC Berkeley), both Nobel Laureates in Economics, gave keynote addresses.

Prof. Michael Hanemann of UC Berkeley chaired the organizing committee. The program committee

was chaired by Richard Carson, former IGCC research director for international environmental policy, with current IGCC Research Director Jeffrey Vincent serving as vice chair. Additional contributions by IGCC included partial funding of the program committee coordinator and a successful effort to raise funds to provide travel grants for more than 60 participants from developing countries.

The Giannini Foundation of Agricultural Economics at UC Berkeley, Davis, and Riverside and the Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics at UC Berkeley were the lead sponsors of the congress. In addition to IGCC, cosponsors included the Bren School of Environmental Science and Management at UC Santa Barbara and the Department of Economics at UC San Diego. More details are available at the congress website at <http://weber.ucsd.edu/~carsonvs/>.

International Environmental Policy

University of California Revelle Program on Climate Science and Policy

THE UC REVELLE PROGRAM ON CLIMATE SCIENCE AND POLICY (UCRP), a joint program of Scripps Institution of Oceanography (SIO), the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC), and the UC San Diego Graduate School of International Relations/Pacific Studies (IR/PS), had a quiet year spent monitoring developments at the global and national level and planning a major conference co-hosted with MIT's Joint Program on the Science and Policy of Global Change in January 2003.

Established in 2000 to bring together scientists, policymakers, and the private sector to improve communication and enhance the impact of natural and social science on the issue of global climate change, the program supplements the research conducted throughout the UC system by providing additional avenues for connecting science and policy. The UCRP Executive Director participated in "Earth Week" at UC Berkeley in the spring, presenting an overview of international developments in climate negotiations. Several graduate students and faculty from UC campuses were accredited as part of the UCRP delegation to attend the Eighth Conference of the Parties (COP-8) of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change held in India, although no formal program was presented by the delegation.

In 2002, UCRP completed its first mini-grant program, which provided travel grants for students from any UC campus to attend the annual meeting of the American Geophysical Union in San Francisco in December 2001. In return, the seven students who were selected from five campuses were required to provide a brief written summary of their observations and insights on how well climate science and policy were integrated and communicated at the sessions they attended. These modest grants made it possible for graduate students who typically do not have funding to attend professional science meetings to gain a new perspective that should enhance their own careers in the future. The student reports are posted on the program's web site at <http://ucreveille.ucsd.edu/>.

In late January 2003, approximately 100 international leaders in climate science, economics, and policy gathered at SIO in La Jolla to attend the Twentieth Global Change Forum of the MIT

Climate Science and Policy Program, jointly sponsored with the UC Revelle Program. The program theme was "Instabilities in the Human-Climate System." Scientific experts addressed ocean processes and the paleontologic record, polar processes and instabilities, rapid change and possible irreversibilities in land ecosystems, and ocean biodiversity and biological processing. The Secretary of the California Environmental Protection Agency and the Group Vice President for Ford Motor Company discussed subnational climate policy programs, followed by a panel of international negotiators and experts discussing the future of a fragmented climate regime. There was lively discussion throughout by the participants, who included industry, government, and academic experts. The collaboration between the MIT program and the UC Revelle Program dates back to 1998, when the MIT program directors participated in the UCRP delegation to the climate negotiations in The Hague at COP-6.

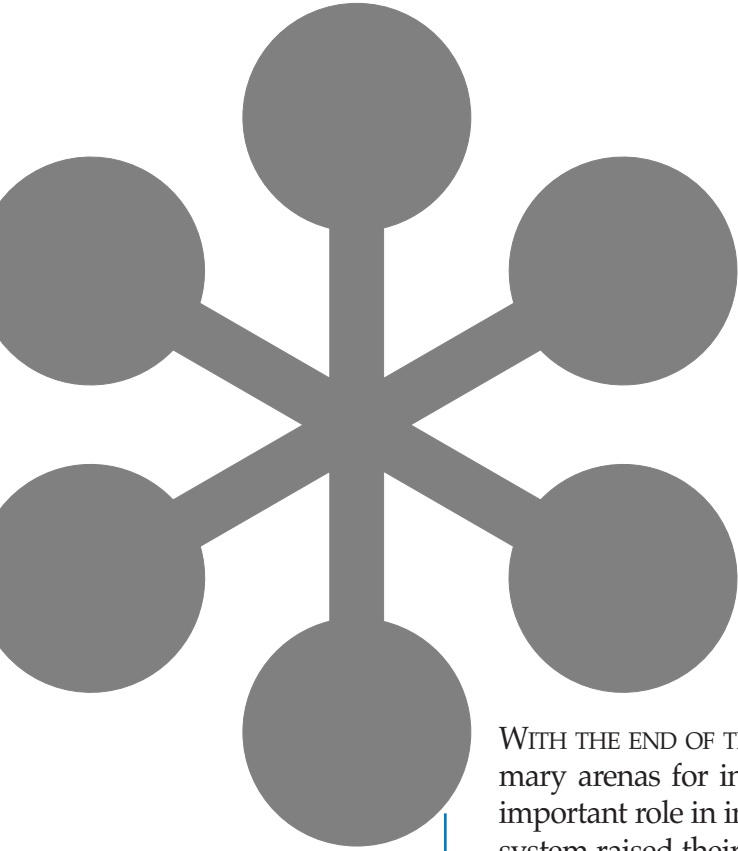
In the coming year, the Revelle Program anticipates new programmatic activity focused on the impacts of climate change on the state of California. A speaker series on climate science and policy in the context of an interdisciplinary graduate seminar on marine science, law, and policy at UC San Diego is also planned, and will involve participants from SIO, IR/PS, the departments of Political Science and Economics at UC San Diego, and the University of San Diego School of Law.



Lisa SHAFFER

Photo: Staff

Lisa **SHAFFER** (Ph.D., George Washington U., 1994) is Director of Policy Programs and International Relations, Scripps Institution of Oceanography, UC San Diego, and adjunct professor at UC San Diego's Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS). She has served in various positions in NASA, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), and the private sector. Prior to joining Scripps, she was director of external relations for NASA's Mission to Planet Earth program, the world's largest environmental science program.



Research Initiatives Regional Relations

WITH THE END OF THE COLD WAR, regions captured increased attention as primary arenas for interstate relations. While regions have always played an important role in international governance, the demise of the bipolar security system raised their profile and importance in both intellectual and policy circles. IGCC recognized this early on, and helped shape the comparative study of regional governance and a number of activities employing regional understandings of conflict and cooperation. It provided support to David Lake (UC San Diego) and Patrick Morgan (UC Irvine) to articulate how and why regions had become more important since 1989, embedding this trend squarely within international relations theory. The result of this work, *Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World* (Pennsylvania State U. Press, 1997) helped reconceptualize regional relations for international relations scholars, as well as underpin IGCC's policy-oriented research agenda, including its regionally-based track-two programs in Northeast Asia and the Middle East. The events of 11 September 2001 and continuing troubles in the Middle East serve to highlight the importance of regional cooperation for conflict prevention and resolution, and coordination of counter-terrorism initiatives.

Regional Relations

The Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue

THE NORTHEAST ASIA COOPERATION DIALOGUE (NEACD) held two plenary sessions in 2002. The spring conference was held in Tokyo and Okinawa in April and hosted by The Japan Institute of International Affairs. The second, held in Moscow in October, was hosted by the Russian Academy of Social Sciences' Institute of Far Eastern Studies. The Moscow meeting was particularly significant because four officials from the DPRK's Institute for Disarmament and Peace participated in the discussions. The DPRK is one of the founding-member countries of NEACD, but has not joined the discussion since 1993. NEACD participants in Moscow welcomed DPRK participation as a major development in Northeast Asian track-two diplomatic processes.

In keeping with tradition, the first day of the Moscow Plenary focused on national perspectives of regional security. Representatives for all six countries gave presentations and answered questions. The theme of the second day was Northeast Asian energy security, specifically the effect of energy supply and demand trends on regional energy security.

The Moscow meeting was extended by one day to convene a special Infrastructure and Economic Development Workshop. Experts in Northeast Asian energy issues and issues relating to railroad infrastructure were invited to deliver presentations to NEACD participants. The presentations shed light on complex economic and political issues driving both energy policy and railroad infrastructure development in Northeast Asia (see participant list, page 35).

In conjunction with each of the plenary sessions, the ongoing NEACD Defense Information Sharing Study Project convened its sixth and seventh meetings (see participant lists, page 31). Military and defense officials met to discuss the specifically military dimensions of regional cooperation.

Meeting roughly every eight months, NEACD provides a "track-two," or unofficial, forum where foreign and defense ministry policy-level officials, military officers, and academics from China, Russia, North and South Korea, Japan, and the United States are able to meet and frankly discuss regional security issues. Founded in 1993, the forum is considered the leading track-two forum in Northeast Asia. At present there is no official "track-one" multilateral process in Northeast Asia. The next NEACD and the Defense Information Sharing Study Project will convene in Beijing in June 2003.

Susan **SHIRK**, professor of political science at UC San Diego and the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS), was IGCC's director from 1991–97, where she founded the Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue in 1993. From 1997–2000, Shirk served as the deputy assistant secretary for China, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. Department of State. She returned to IGCC as research director of Global Security Studies. She is the author of *How China Opened Its Door: The Political Success of the PRC's Foreign Trade and Investment Reforms* (Brookings, 1994) and *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China* (U. California Press, 1993), and the editor of *Power and Prosperity: Economic and Security Linkages in the Asia Pacific* (Transaction, 1996).

Tokyo, Japan, 25–26 April 2002

NEACD Plenary Session XII

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Prof. **LEE** Seo-hang, Director General, Inst. of Foreign Affairs and National Security, Seoul

Mr. **LEE** Sun-jin, Director-General, Policy Planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Seoul

Mr. **WHANG** Joung Il, Assist. Secretary to the President, Foreign Affairs and Trade, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Seoul

Lt. Col. **YOO** Jae Ik, Policy Officer, International Disarmament Division, Ministry of National Defense, Seoul

The Russian Federation

Dr. Anatoly **BOLYATKO**, Director, Center for Asian-Pacific Studies, Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Moscow

Dr. Pavel **KAMENNOV**, Inst. for Far Eastern Studies, Moscow

Mr. Victor **TRIFONOV**, Principal Counselor, Bureau of Asia-Pacific Regional Issues, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow

The United States of America

Ms. Patricia **DEDIK**, Director, Office of International Policy Analysis, U.S. Dept. of Energy, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Christopher **LAFLEUR**, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary, U.S. Dept. of State, Washington, D.C.

(continued on p. 30)

Tokyo, Japan, 25–26 April 2002

NEACD Plenary Session XII

(continued from page 29)

Mr. Mark **MOHR**, Senior Advisor, U.S. Dept. of Energy, Washington, D.C.

Prof. Susan **SHIRK**, Research Director, Inst. on Global Conflict and Cooperation, La Jolla, California

Lt.Col. Gerard **STOLAR**, Japan Country Director, USCINCPAC, J-5, Camp Smith, Hawaii

RADM William **SULLIVAN**, Director, Strategic Planning and Policy, USCINCPAC, Camp Smith, Hawaii

Prof. Bob **URIU**, Political Science Dept., University of California, Irvine

The People's Republic of China

Prof. **CHU** Shulong, Professor of International Studies, School of Public Policy and Management, Tsinghua University, Beijing

Col. **DING** Bangquan, Researcher, Strategic Studies Inst., National Defense University, Beijing

Mr. **HAO** Yinbiao, Deputy Director of Multilateral Affairs, Asian Dept., Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Beijing

Mr. **HONG** Xiaoyong, Acting Director of Policy Planning, Asian Dept., Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Beijing

Maj. **LI** Donglei, Asian Bureau, Foreign Affairs Office, Ministry of National Defense, Beijing

Ms. **MA** Jia, Second Secretary, PRC Embassy, Tokyo

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Mr. Sung Y. **KIM**, First Secretary, Political Section, U.S. Embassy, Tokyo

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Mr. **SAITO** Ken, Assist. Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo

Prof. **MORIMOTO** Satoshi, PHP Research Institute, Takusyoku University, Tokyo

Mr. **TAKAMIZAWA** Nobushige, Director, Defense Policy Bureau, Intelligence Division, Japan Defense Agency, Tokyo

Mr. **TOMITA** Koji, Director, National Security Policy Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo

Mr. **YACHI** Shotaro, Deputy Vice-Minister for Foreign Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo

Observers

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Mr. John **CUNNISON**, Assist. to Research Director, Inst. on Global Conflict and Cooperation, La Jolla, California

Major **MAEKAWA** Koji, Joint Staff Office, J-5, Japan Defense Agency, Tokyo

Moscow, Russia, 2–4 October 2002

NEACD Plenary Session XIII

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RI Dong Pan, Researcher, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Pyongyang

CHA Gon Il, Senior Researcher, Inst. for Disarmament and Peace, Pyongyang

PAK Song Il, Researcher, DPRK Inst. for Disarmament and Peace, Pyongyang

The Republic of Korea

Prof. **AHN** Byung-joon, Political Science Dept., Yonsei University, Seoul

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Prof. **LEE** Seo-hang, Director General, Inst. of Foreign Affairs and National Security, Seoul

Col. **KIM** Jeong-gi, Army Attaché to Russia, Ministry of National Defense, Moscow

Mr. **KYUN** Jea-min, Deputy Director General, Security Policy Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Seoul

The Russian Federation

Mr. Eugeny V. **AFANASYEV**, Director, Second Asian Dept., Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow

Mr. Kirill M. **BARSKIY**, Division Head, Second Asian Dept., Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow

Prof. Anatoly **BOLYATKO**, Director, Center for Asian-Pacific Studies, Inst. of Far Eastern Studies, Moscow

Vasily N. **DOBROVOLSKY**, Ambassador at Large, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow

Mr. Alexander **IVANOV**, Director, Bureau of Asia-Pacific Regional Issues, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow

Col. Valeriy **IVANOV**, Principal Directorate for International Military Cooperation, Russian Federation Ministry of Defense, Moscow

Prof. Yuri **KHROMOV**, Deputy Director, Institute for Strategic Studies, Moscow

Mr. Gregory S. **LOGVINOV**, Deputy Director, Bureau of Asia-Pacific Regional Issues, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow

Prof. Vasily **MIKHEEV**, Deputy Director, Institute for Far Eastern Studies, Moscow

Alexei A. **SAPOZHENKOV**, Attaché, Bureau of Asia-Pacific Regional Issues, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Moscow

Major General Vladimir **SIZOV**, Prof., Dept. of Strategy, Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy, Moscow

(continued on p. 47)

Okinawa, Japan, 22–23 April 2002

NEACD Defense Information Sharing Study Project

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Mr. **NIWA** Tadashi, Chief of Long Term Defense Plans Office, Joint Staff Office, J-5, Japan Defense Agency, Tokyo

Mr. **SUZUKI** Atsuo, Director, Office of Strategic Studies, Defense Policy Bureau, Tokyo

The United States of America

Brig. Gen. Tim **GHORMLEY**, Deputy Commanding General, III Marine Expeditionary Forces, U.S. Marine Corps, Okinawa
Lt. Col. Mike **PEZNOLA**, Plans Officer, U.S. Marine Corps, Okinawa
Prof. Susan **SHIRK**, Research Director, Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, La Jolla, California

Special Presenter

MajGen Jim **CARTWRIGHT**, Commanding Officer, Marine Air Wing, U.S. Marine Corps., Okinawa

Observers

Mr. Tyler **ALLEN**, Assistant to Research Director, Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, La Jolla, California
Mr. John **CUNNISON**, Assistant to Research Director, Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, La Jolla, California
Major **MAEKAWA** Koji, Joint Staff Office, J-5, Japan Defense Agency, Tokyo

Moscow, Russia, 30 September–1 October 2002

NEACD Defense Information Sharing Study Project

PARTICIPANTS

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The People's Democratic Republic of Korea

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Prof. Susan **SHIRK**, Research Director, Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, La Jolla, California
Captain Gary **STARK**, Director, Northeast Asia Division, PACOM, U.S. Navy, Camp Smith, Hawaii

Observers

Mr. John **CUNNISON**, Assistant to Research Director, Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, La Jolla, California

Regional Relations

The APEC International Assessment Network (APIAN)

SINCE 1989, THE ASIA PACIFIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION (APEC) forum has generated official declarations with hundreds of action items covering trade integration, financial stability, environmental protection, technical cooperation, and such social matters as labor rights and educational training. APEC's purpose is to create a more cooperative and fluid security environment throughout the Pacific Rim.



Richard E. FEINBERG

Photo: Alan Decker

When APEC began, there was no independent monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of APEC initiatives. This absence created some skepticism about APEC within the academic and general communities. Without scholarly input, APEC is deprived of valuable sources of expert information and critical feedback. In addition, without transparency and public debate, APEC officials often do not feel

obliged to act upon official promises.

The APEC International Assessment Network (APIAN) was created in 1999 as a collaborative, independent project among participating APEC Study Centers (ASC), to track and assess the design and execution of select APEC initiatives. Led by Professor Richard Feinberg (UC San Diego), APIAN's goals are to enhance knowledge among government officials and the general public with regard to APEC activities, to encourage the fulfillment of APEC objectives and commitments, and to identify ways for APEC to improve its performance. It has now become an established entity in the APEC system. APIAN leaders are being invited to testify before important planning and decision-making forums. APIAN is providing APEC Study Centers a channel for expert input into APEC, as well as establishing a forum for interchange and study among regional scholars. APIAN publications are also helping to educate the public about APEC and regional integration in the Asia Pacific.

APIAN has issued several major policy reports. The first of these, "Learning from Experience," was released in November 2000 just before the annual Leaders Meeting of the APEC Forum in Brunei. The issue reports generated for "Learning from Experience" have been published as an edited volume, *Assessing APEC's Progress: Trade, Ecotech, and Institutions* (ISEAS, 2001).

The second APIAN policy report surveys APEC activities in light of the recommendations of the first. "APIAN Update: Shanghai, Los Cabos, and Beyond," includes recommendations on trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, economic and technical cooperation, and institutional reform. It was widely circulated at the November 2001 APEC Leaders Meeting in Shanghai, where Feinberg briefed APEC senior officials, business leaders, and the media on its findings.

The third APIAN report, "Remaking APEC as an Institution," focuses on the institutional reform of APEC. Among the specific issues considered are trade liberalization and facilitation, investment, human resource development, economic and technical assistance, and APEC's relations with other inter-governmental institutions. A number of APEC officials have expressed interest in this aspect of APIAN's work, which occurs at a time when APEC itself is examining its institutional mechanisms.

APIAN serves as an important test case of the theory that expert nongovernmental organizations can augment the effectiveness of multilateral organizations through tracking and evaluating their activities and offering suggestions for enhancing their performance. APIAN offers a testable hypothesis that informal partnerships between private and public actors can enhance the objectives of both in fostering effective international action.

APIAN's second edited volume, *APEC as an Institution: Multilateral Governance in the Asia Pacific*, will be published in Spring 2003. For more information, or to download APIAN policy reports, visit http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu/research/intl_political_economy/apian.html/.

Richard E. FEINBERG (Ph.D. Stanford), professor of international political economy at UC San Diego's Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS) and director of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Study Center, is an authority on U.S. foreign policy, multilateral institutions, and summity (APEC, Summit of the Americas, G-8). He has written more than 100 articles and books. He has served as President of the Inter-American Dialogue, as Executive Vice President of the Overseas Development Council, on the policy planning staff of the U.S. Department of State, and in the Office of International Affairs of the U.S. Treasury Department. He joined IR/PS in 1996.

Regional Relations

Bush, Putin, and Jiang: The Agenda for the APEC Leaders Meeting in Los Cabos, Mexico

HOW TO BEST FOSTER INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION in counter-terrorism efforts? What can and should be done about Iraq? These pressing issues were on the agenda as world leaders assembled for the annual APEC Leaders Meeting in Los Cabos, Mexico, 25–27 October 2002. Other issues at stake included global and regional trade initiatives and APEC's response to critics of globalization.

Professor Richard Feinberg, director of the APEC Study Center at UC San Diego, provided comments on the Los Cabos agenda at an October policy briefing sponsored by IGCC. He also presented findings from the third Policy Report of the APEC International Assessment Network (APIAN), which was released in August 2002. The report, widely endorsed by experts from the APEC economies, assesses APEC as an institution and proposes reforms to enhance its efficiency and effectiveness. Ambassador C. Lawrence Greenwood, the State Department Coordinator for APEC, and Minister Nongnuth Phetcharatana of the Royal Thai Embassy offered their official perspectives on the third APIAN report, the Los Cabos meeting, and APEC issues for the coming year.

The event was one of a number of policy briefings arranged by IGCC's Washington Representative

Joseph McGhee. These events, designed to help disseminate the policy applications of UC faculty research, are held at the centrally-located UC Washington Center. For more information or to schedule an event, contact IGCC Washington Representative Joe McGhee at joseph.mcghee@ucc.edu or Ron Bee, IGCC Development and External Affairs, at rbee@ucsd.edu.

Ambassador C. Lawrence **GREENWOOD**, Jr., is U.S. APEC Coordinator at the Department of State. In this capacity, he manages U.S. economic relations with the East Asia and Pacific region. He entered the United States Foreign Service in 1976, after graduating from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He has served in the Department of State's Economic and Business Bureau and in U.S. embassies in the Philippines, Senegal, Japan, and Singapore.

Minister Nongnuth **PHETCHARATANA** is Deputy Chief of Mission at the Royal Thai Embassy in Washington, D.C. She has served previously as the Thai Foreign Ministry's Director of Policy and Planning, as head of its First European Division, and as Director of the North American Division. She was also posted to the Royal Thai Embassy in Budapest and has considerable experience in the Ministry's Department of ASEAN Affairs. Before joining the Foreign Ministry, Phetcharatana was a journalist with the *Bangkok Post* newspaper.

Washington, D.C., 17 October 2002

Bush, Putin, and Jiang

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Italo **ACHA**, Embassy of Peru
 Masahiko **ADACHI**, Fujitsu Ltd.
 Michael **ALLER**, Brookings Institution
 Arrow **AUGEROT**, U.S. Dept. of Commerce
 Claudia **BARRIENTOS**, National Dem. Institute
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 Dmitry **BESKURNIKOV**, EC/CONS, Embassy of Russia
 Maria **BUSTAMANTE**, *Straits Times*

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Regional Relations

Global Issues in the German-American Partnership: Changing Relations with Russia and China



William M. CHANDLER

Photo: Staff

Governments have begun to adapt their security priorities and alliance relations. Solidly established patterns of transatlantic cooperation remain in place, but new relations with former adversaries have also emerged.

THE END OF THE COLD WAR created an initial euphoria based on the diminished likelihood of large-scale conflicts, but this gradually gave way to the reality of explosive regional conflicts. Conflicts were particularly strong in the Near East, with the 1990–91 Gulf War, and in southeastern Europe, where historic divisions festered into ethnic cleansing and sectarian war. The nature of security threats is also changing as we move from interstate tensions and conflicts to less predictable and often underestimated non-state terrorists prepared to launch attacks on civilian targets. In these contexts, governments have begun to adapt their security priorities and alliance relations. Solidly established patterns of transatlantic cooperation remain in place, but new relations with former adversaries have also emerged.

In the context of these new security threats, the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, in cooperation with the Federal German Press and Information Office, the *Deutsch-Amerikanischer Arbeitskreis*/German-American Research Group (DAA) and the Consortium for Atlantic Studies (CAS) held a conference 14–16 March 2002 to examine and evaluate changing transatlantic relations with Russia and China. Attendees included leading scholars and governmental experts on Russia, China, and international relations, drawn from across the United States and Germany. Consistent with the mission of IGCC, participants represented several campuses of the University of California as well (see participant list, page 35).

The principal goals of the project are to deepen our understanding of the nature of new security

threats and to evaluate the extent of new forms of cooperation and competition between the U.S.–European partnership and Russia and China. A related goal involves the fostering of regular communication and cooperation within an international community of scholars and policymakers.

Given the tragic shocks of September 11 and its aftermath, it is indisputable that understanding new forms of international competition and cooperation in response to terrorism is a matter of the highest importance. This conference and its follow-up report, available on the IGCC web site, will significantly contribute to our understanding of these new challenges. A follow-up workshop in Washington, D.C., is planned for sometime in 2003.

IGCC's partners in this undertaking are the German Press and Information Office (BPA) of the Federal Government, Berlin; the *Deutsch-Amerikanischer Arbeitskreis*; the Consortium for Atlantic Studies; and the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Affairs (IR/PS).

For further information on the project, please contact IGCC Research Director William M. Chandler at wchandler@ucsd.edu.

William M. CHANDLER (Ph.D., University of North Carolina) is a professor of political science at UC San Diego and IGCC Research Director for International Relations, a position he shares with J. Lawrence Broz. His research and teaching have concentrated on European affairs, with particular focus on German, French, and Italian politics as well as on issues of European integration. He is a member of the editorial advisory board of *German Politics*, a regional director of the Conference Group on German Politics, and has served on the board of directors of the Canadian Political Science Association. He is the author of *Public Policy and the Provincial Powers* (McGraw-Hill, 1979), and co-editor of *Federalism and the Role of the State* (U. Toronto Press, 1987), and *Challenges to Federalism: Policy-Making in Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany* (Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, 1989).

La Jolla, California 14–16 March 2002

Global Issues in the German-American Partnership

WELCOME

Peter **COWHEY**, Director, IGCC
Freiherr **VON STACKELBERG**, Press and Information Office of the Federal German Government

Panel 1: Changing Agendas Pre- and Post-September 11, 2001: Terrorism and Political Response

Chair: William M. **CHANDLER**, IGCC
David A. **LAKE**, UC San Diego
Wolfgang-Uwe **FRIEDRICH**, DAA
Rüdiger **LENTZ**, Deutsche Welle
William **GREEN**, CSU Santa Barbara

Panel 2: The New Russia: Internal and External Transformations

Chair: Wolfgang-Uwe **FRIEDRICH**, DAA
Timothy **COLTON**, Harvard University
George **BRESLAUER**, UC Berkeley
Phil **ROEDER**, UC San Diego
Peter **SCHMIDT**, SWP, Berlin

Panel 3: The New China: Internal and External Transformations

Chair: Gerald R. **KLEINFELD**, CAS
Susan **SHIRK**, IGCC
Rick **BAUM**, UC Los Angeles

Gudrun **WACKER**, SWP, Berlin

Panel 4: International Security and NATO

Chair: Christian **SOE**, CSU Long Beach
Peter **SCHMIDT**, SWP, Berlin
Reinhard **HESSE**, Federal Chancellor's Office, Berlin
Gerald R. **KLEINFELD**, CAS
Dieter **DETTKE**, Ebert Stiftung

Panel 5: Terrorism and Science: What Can Be Done to Make Us Safer?

Chair: William M. **CHANDLER**, IGCC
Presentation by Prof. Frieder **SEIBLE**, Jacobs School of Engineering, UC San Diego

Panel 6: Roundtable: Terrorism and New Security Challenges

Chair: Wolfgang-Uwe **FRIEDRICH**, DAA
Miles **KAHLER**, Director of the Institute for International, Comparative and Area Studies, UC San Diego
Hugh G. **HAMILTON**, Jr., President, American Council on Germany
Knut **DETHLEFSEN**, Georgetown University
Mary **MCKENZIE**, Grossmont College
Rüdiger **LENTZ**, Deutsche Welle

Panel 7: Roundtable: Future Directions in World Affairs?

Chair: Ronald **BEE**, IGCC
Reinhard **HESSE**, Federal Chancellor's Office, Berlin
Ambassador Robert **ELLSWORTH**
James **SPERLING**, University of Akron
Gerlinde **BERND**, UCSB

Conference Organizing Committee

Prof. William M. **CHANDLER**
Research Director
IGCC
University of California, San Diego
Professor Wolfgang-Uwe **FRIEDRICH**
Vice President
University of Hildesheim
Professor Gerald R. **KLEINFELD**
Director
CAS

Moscow, Russia, 4 October 2002

Infrastructure and Economic Development Workshop

PARTICIPANTS

Dr. Kengo **ASAKURA**, President, Eco and Energy Corp., Tokyo, Japan
Amb. Igor **BUBNOV**, Director, Moscow International Petroleum Club, Moscow, Russia
Ms. **CUI** Wen, Assoc. Research Fellow, Inst. of Economic Planning, Beijing, PRC

Mr. **GAO** Shixian, Director, Center for Energy Econ. and Dev. Strategy, State Development Planning Commission, Beijing, PRC
Dr. Markku **HEISKANEN**, Visiting Senior Fellow, Nordic Inst. of Asian Studies, Copenhagen, Denmark
Prof. Eugene **KHARTUKOV**, Director General, International Center for Petroleum Business Studies, Moscow, Russia

Prof. **LEE** Sang-gon, President, Korea Energy Economics Inst., Seoul, Korea
Mr. **LU** Xusheng, Director of Exchange and Cooperation, Ministry of Railways, Beijing, China
Dr. Pavel **MINAKIR**, Director, Khabarovsk Economics Inst., Khabarovsk, Russia

Dr. Keun-wook **PAIK**, Associate Fellow, Sustainable Development Programme, Royal Inst. of International Affairs, London, UK
Mr. Igor **SOLYARSKIY**, Vice President, JSC Transneft, Moscow, Russia



Research Initiatives

Campus Programs

IGCC'S CAMPUS PROGRAMS PROMOTE research, training, and outreach on each of the UC campuses. Through its annual internship, fellowship, and grant competition, IGCC stimulates independent and collaborative research among and between faculty and students. During 2002, IGCC funds supported research activities for undergraduate and graduate students, university faculty, visiting scholars, government officials, and the general public.

Since its inception, IGCC has committed significant resources on all UC campuses to stimulating research and course development on the causes of international conflict and opportunities to promote international cooperation. It is one of the largest sources of graduate research support in the United States in international studies and over the years has funded over 300 individual dissertation fellowships in political science, economics, sociology, anthropology, literature, history, communications, urban development, legal studies, philosophy, geography, energy resources, environmental studies, and religious studies.

IGCC has also committed significant resources to the support of individual and collaborative UC faculty research through research, conference, and teaching grants. These are designed to stimulate independent research and education projects on international issues of contemporary importance.

For the 2002–2003 academic year, the IGCC Steering Committee funded a total of eight summer internships in Washington, D.C., twenty-three doctoral dissertation fellowships, and twelve faculty grants from a wide range of disciplines, including biology, history, social ecology, environmental science, religious studies, geology, political science, education, sociology, public policy, anthropology, and agriculture and resource economics policy. (See listings, pages 39, 41.) A searchable database of past awards is available on the IGCC web site at <http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu/cprograms/>.

The independent IGCC-affiliated campus program offices reflect the unique intellectual resources and diversity of each campus in the UC system. Highlights of this year's campus programs activities begin on page 42. More details on each campus program can be found in the directory starting on page 60.

As the campus programs and the services IGCC provides to them continue to grow and change, IGCC continues to seek innovative partnerships with extramural organizations that benefit UC graduate students and faculty and provide a bridge between UC scholars and the national and international policy communities.

Campus Programs

Internships

ONE OF THE MAJOR SUCCESSES of the IGCC Washington office is the master's and pre-doctoral International Affairs Graduate Summer Internship Program in Washington, D.C. The interdisciplinary program is open to graduate students with interests in international affairs. Over the past four years, students have been placed at such diverse organizations as the World Bank, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the Asia Foundation, Human Rights Watch, Women, Law, and Development International, the Congressional Research Service, Physicians for Social Responsibility, World Resources Institute, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and the International Human Rights Law Group/Cambodia Project.

For the summer of 2002, IGCC offered internships to eight master's or predissertation doctoral-level students, allowing recipients to gain experience working in the city where U.S. foreign policy is

made. Graduate students in master's, J.D., M.D., or professional degree programs gain valuable practical experience, preparation, and contacts for future career opportunities. Similarly, graduate students in the early stages of doctoral programs gain valuable experience and have an opportunity to refine their research interests. A first-hand account of one intern's experience is featured on page 38.

Outside of the summer internship program, there are opportunities for UC San Diego students to work in the IGCC central office as interns during the academic year. In addition, IGCC research directors have been instrumental in helping students find internships related to their interests that are not based in Washington, D.C. For more information, contact the IGCC central office.

Graduate students . . . gain valuable practical experience, preparation, and contacts for future career opportunities.

International Affairs Graduate Summer Internship Program

2002 Interns

*partial funding

Sweena **AULAKH**
Public Health Policy and Management
UC Berkeley

Physicians for Social Responsibility, summer 2002

Kyle **BEARDSLEY**
Political Science
UC San Diego
World Bank, summer 2002

Paula **CASTRO**
Urban Planning
UC Los Angeles
World Bank, summer 2002

Lisa **DAGUE**
Graduate School of Education and Information Studies
UC Los Angeles
Peace Corps committee, summer 2002

Sapna **KANOOR**
Law
UC Los Angeles
Coalition for International Justice, summer 2002

Eugene **KIM**
Law, UC Davis
Department of Justice, summer 2002

Ely **RATNER***
Political Science
UC Berkeley
U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, summer 2002

Hannah **SHOLL**
Law, Boalt Hall
UC Berkeley
U.S. Attorney's office, summer 2002

Campus Programs

Internships and Fellowships

Washington, D.C., Internship

With the support of the UC Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation and following my first year of law school, I was able to work as a summer research intern with the Africa Program of the Environmental Law Institute (ELI). ELI is an internationally recognized, nonpartisan research and education center addressing environmental issues of domestic and international concern. ELI works with business, government, academic, and public interest sectors to address environmental concerns through seminars, trainings, publications, and other projects.

During the summer of 2002 and continuing into the present school year, I have been assisting with research on constitutional law and governance issues as they relate to the role of members of Parliament (MPs). Specifically, I have been examining constitutional provisions of all fifty-three African nations to define the factors that influence MPs in their roles as representatives of constituencies and the nation. The question I am currently investigating is whether MPs are more committed to serving the interests of the people they have been

The internship provided me the unparalleled opportunity to work in the ever-expanding and diverse field of international environmental law.

elected to represent or the political parties of which they are members. IGCC has provided me the unparalleled opportunity to work in the ever-expanding and diverse field of international environmental law. My experience with ELI has reaffirmed my commitment to environmental law and has confirmed my desire to pursue a career in international environmental law. My internship with ELI has also led me to more seriously consider a legal career not much explored by or encouraged of law students: that of policy work in international environmental law.

In addition to the internship with ELI, IGCC provided visits to international organizations such as the World Bank. I enjoyed meeting the other IGCC interns and working with the IGCC staff members from both the Washington, D.C., and San Diego offices. Their conscientious support was invaluable in making possible a truly wonderful introduction to international environmental law and policy.

Eugene Kim is a second-year law student at UC Davis.



Ethan HOLLANDER

Ethnic Violence and Military Conquest

With the generous support of IGCC, I have spent the past year as a visiting scholar at Berlin's *Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung* (Center for Research on Anti-Semitism). I have also done a great deal of research at the nearby German federal archives.

The materials and mentors available here have greatly assisted me. I have developed a more precise measure of the relative autonomy of countries within the Nazi sphere of influence. I have collected evidence that key members of the German high command were often willing to sacrifice anti-Jewish policy for agreements of military or economic cooperation. And I have determined that, in addition to the more conventional political and economic rewards of advocacy, collaborators were also able to exploit local Jewish communities, accepting ransom payments and bribes in return for forestalling Nazi persecution.

I believe my project has important implications for U.S. foreign policy in the aftermath of September 11. My thesis implies that history has repeated itself: Once again, a hegemonic power (this time, a global rather than a European one) has declared war on a non-state entity (this time, a true threat (al Qaeda), rather than an imagined one ('world Jewry')), and asked its allies to help root out the enemy within. But if History is a soothsayer, the United States will not be able to rely on the 'charity' of its allies in the global hunt for al Qaeda. Incorporating the insights I have gained, I plan to illustrate how institutional relationships between Nazi Germany and its neighbors during World War II may shed light on how interstate institutions will operate in the future, as the United States and its allies grapple with the problem of non-state, terrorist networks.

Ethan Hollander is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science at UC San Diego. His project uses the Holocaust as a case to understand the interface of two enduring global phenomena: imperialism and ethnic hatred (in this case, anti-Semitism).

Campus Programs

Herbert York Fellowships

THE FIRST IGCC HERBERT YORK FELLOWSHIP was awarded to Zeb Hogan (UC Davis), who received support for his work “Endangered Species: New Symbols of Transnational Cooperation in the Mekong River Basin?” Named for the renowned physicist and IGCC founder, the fellowship is intended to support innovative research on international policy issues in natural science, engineering, or science policy. It is not restrictive, however, and may be awarded to an outstanding applicant from any discipline with research interests related to the intersection of science and international policy. Reflecting Dr. York’s distinguished career, there is special interest in topics relating to arms control, but all subjects pertaining to science and international policy receive serious consideration. IGCC Herbert York Fellowship recipients are invited to consider

spending at least one quarter at the Lawrence Livermore or Los Alamos National Laboratories.

A postdoctoral fellowship program at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, also named for Dr. York, is now accepting applications. Herbert York Postdoctoral Fellows will work in the Center for Global Security Research (CGSR) at LLNL, which brings together experts from the science and technology and policy communities to explore innovative ways in which science and technology can enhance national security. The program seeks candidates with recent doctorates in science and engineering. Fellows will focus on the interface between technology and policy and be expected to provide new insights into national security challenges. The program will select its first fellow this summer for a one-year fellowship, renewable for a second year.

IGCC 2002–2003 Ph.D. Dissertation Fellows

*partial funding

David **BACH**, UC Berkeley, Political Science, *Varieties of Cooperation: States, Firms, and Transnational Market Governance*

Christopher Manes **BACON**, UC Santa Cruz, Environmental Studies, *Small-Scale Coffee Production, Rural Livelihoods, and Global Coffee Markets: Can Smallholders in Nicaragua Have Globalization on Their Own Terms?*

Nielan M. **BARNES**, (renewal), UC San Diego, Sociology, *Collaboration Between the U.S. and Mexican HIV/AIDS Sectors: The Role of Community-based Organizations and Federal Funding Policies in Creating a Binational Political-Organizational Field*

Vincent F. **BIONDO**,* UC Santa Barbara, Religious Studies, *Religion and Violence: Muslim Immigrants in the United States and Great Britain*
Yu-fang **CHO**, UC San Diego, Literature, *Women’s Rights Discourse and the Rhetoric of Insurmountable Differences in U.S.–China Relations: American Women’s Work of Benevolence Across the Pacific, 1870s–1900s*

Subhadra **GANGULI**, UC Riverside, Economics, *“Pollution Havens” in Mexico? An Econometric Analysis of Industrial Relocation from the U.S. to Mexico Before and After NAFTA*

Tina **GEHRIG**, UC Irvine, Anthropology, *Symptoms in/of Exile: The Afghan Experience of Asylum in Germany*

Michael **HAWES**, UC San Diego, Political Science, *Manipulative Multilateralism: The United States and Control of International Organizations*
Zeb **HOGAN**, UC Davis, Wildlife, Fish, and Conservation Biology, *Endangered Species: New Symbols of Transnational Cooperation in the Mekong River Basin?*

Shulamith Deborah **KANG**, UC Berkeley, History, *Conflicts of Interest: Federalism, Immigration Law, and the INS on the U.S.–Mexico Border*

Scott **KASTNER**, UC San Diego, Political Science, *Commerce in the Shadow of Conflict: Domestic Politics and the Relationship Between International Conflict and Economic Interdependence*

Masahiro **KONDO**, UC Irvine, Economics, *Designing a Mechanism of International Cooperative Actions: A Solution to Environmental Protection*

Ricardo **LOPEZ**, UC Los Angeles, Economics, *International Trade and Technology Transfer: Exploring the Effects of Trade Policies for Developing Countries*

Bryan **MCDONALD**, UC Irvine, School of Social Ecology, *Considering the Science, Nature, and Politics of Genetically Engineered Food*
Stephanie **MCWHORTER**, UC San Diego, Political Science, *Freedom’s Curse? Understanding Violence in New States*

Frederic **MERAND**, UC Berkeley, Sociology, *Towards A European Army: Military Officers and the Creation of a European Defense Force, 1945–2000, France, Germany, Great Britain*

Kirsten L. **RODINE**, UC Berkeley, Political Science, *Global Diffusion of Regulatory Reform in Telecommunications*

Wolfram **SCHLENKER**, UC Berkeley, Agricultural and Resource Economics, *Global Climate Change and the Future of Irrigated Agriculture*

Susan **SHEPLER**, UC Berkeley, Education, *Making and Remaking Child Soldiers in Sierra Leone*

Patricia **SULLIVAN**, UC Davis, Political Science, *The Utility of Force: Determinates of Success and Failure in the Use of Military Force as an Instrument of Statecraft*

Julie E. **TAYLOR**, UC Los Angeles, Political Science, *Prophet Sharing: Strategic Interaction Between Islamic Clerics and Middle Eastern Regimes*

Karla M. **WESLEY**, UC Davis, Geography, *Global and Local Conflicts in Peruvian Amazon Conservation: A Comparative Analysis of Contested Space in Protected Areas*

Campus Programs

Dissertation Fellows



Webs, Not Walls: International Organizations as Networks and Hierarchies in Kosovo

Anne-Marie HOLAHAN

My research, conducted in Kosovo and completed in the fall of 2001, was a study of how international organizations in Kosovo are managing to cooperate and coordinate in unprecedented ways. I explored how hierarchical, bureaucratic organizations with very different cultures—the United Nations, the militaries, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, nongovernmental organizations, and the European Union—managed to work together as one temporary network organization, the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), with the goal of reestablishing security and rebuilding the institutions of a destroyed society.

I compared the sources of, and obstacles to, cooperation between international organizations in two municipalities in Kosovo. One was making considerable progress toward the goals of the mission, the other much less so. The different outcomes were dependent on the degree of ‘networkedness’ of the international organizations in the particular municipality, and their ability to extend that network to include the embryonic local institutions. I found that the mostly

hierarchical organizations involved become ‘network organizations’ internally to enable them to become part of a larger network organization such as UNMIK. Network organizations require more horizontal structures, a greater degree of trust, and a free flow of information. The necessary transformation from hierarchies to hierarchies able to become networked organizations requires changes at three levels in the hierarchical organizations. First, the organizational or business-design level must enable point-to-point access to the needed person or location in one’s own organization or another organization within the mission; second, the appropriate information technology must be used to facilitate communications and knowledge management; third, and most crucial, the institutional culture must be one that facilitates the ongoing creation of trust, cooperation, and communication. The extent to which these three levels in each of the organizations, and in the overall network organization that was the UNMIK, had the characteristics of a ‘network’ organization strongly influenced the success of the mission.

Anne Marie Holohan received her Ph.D. in Sociology from the UC Los Angeles in May 2002.



International Racial Antagonism and Racial Internationalism

Omayra CRUZ

The generous IGCC support that I received during the 2001–02 academic year enabled me to transform the horizon of questions that guide my dissertation, effect substantial material development of my research, and deepen my overall level of analysis. Research trips to the National Diet Library in Tokyo and the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace brought me in contact with important archives and fresh sources with which to interrogate the social and cultural dimensions of U.S. foreign policy; and the stipend that I was awarded allowed me the time to carefully peruse a wide range of material.

My dissertation considers political and cultural intersections of race and foreign policy in a wide variety of historical periods, circumstances, and regions. I focus on black U.S. internationalism,

especially as it pertains to Asia and issues of U.S. expansion. In the end, I plan to formulate an answer to the following question: If the territorial ends of America, including the line of demarcation between expressions of national interest, are due to domestic concerns rather than foreign policy, then for whom is this distinction serviceable; and when might such a line of demarcation be employed to critique the structures of privilege that it is meant to protect? Thus far, my research findings indicate that an answer must merge considerations of epistemology and racialization, form a clear distinction between domestic and foreign concerns, and critically analyze “truth-relations” through which we consider the mobilization of counter-narratives.

Omayra Cruz is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Literature at UC San Diego. She is editor of the Journal of Visual Culture and is co-author of Popular Culture in Contexts (Sage, forthcoming 2004).

Campus Programs Faculty Grants

2002–2003 RESEARCH CONFERENCE GRANT RECIPIENTS

*partial funding

Joshua **AIZENMAN**, Economics,
UC Santa Cruz
*Regional and International
Implications of the Financial Instability
in Latin America*

Jonah **LEVY**, Political Science,
UC Berkeley
*The State After Statism: Economic and
Social Policy in the Global Age*

2002–2003 FACULTY RESEARCH GRANT RECIPIENTS

Clark **GIBSON**, Political Science,
UC San Diego
*Creating Democracies from Abroad?
The International Sources of Africa's
Political Liberalization*

Emily O. **GOLDMAN**, Political
Science and Institute of
Governmental Affairs, UC Davis
Strategy Under Uncertainty

David A. **LAKE**,* Political Science,
UC San Diego
*The Incredible Shrinking State:
Modeling Territorial Dynamics in the
International System*

Luisa **LAMBERTINI**, Economics,
UC Los Angeles
*The Optimal Design of Monetary and
Fiscal Institutions in EMU*

Ronnie D. **LIPSCHUTZ**,
Politics/CGIRS, UC Santa Cruz
*Globalization, Social Regulation, and
Transnational Campaigns: Innovation
in International Cooperation or More of
the Same?*

Phillip **MCCALMAN**, Economics,
UC Santa Cruz
*The International Exploitation of
Intellectual Property Rights: A Study
of the Motion Picture Industry*

Giovanni **PERI**,* Institute of
Governmental Affairs and
Economics, UC Davis
*Generation and Diffusion of Ideas in
the International Scientific
Community: Is Knowledge Global?*

Barbara F. **WALTER**, Graduate
School of International Relations
and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego
*Explaining the Persistence of
Territorial Conflict (renewal)*

Amy **ZEGART**, School of Public
Policy and Social Research, UC Los
Angeles
*Stuck in the Moment: Why American
National Security Agencies Adapted
Poorly to the Rise of Terrorism After
the Cold War*

2002–2003 TEACHING GRANT RECIPIENT

Gary **RICHARDSON**, Economics,
UC Irvine
*Bolshevik Revolutions in Russia and
Abroad: Ideology, Ethnicity, and
Conflict During the Twentieth Century*

IGCC CAMPUS PROGRAM ACTIVITY AWARDS

UC Berkeley Institute of
International Studies

*Violent Environments and Green
Rights: Environment, Human Rights,
Corporate Accountability, and
Governance*

UC Irvine Center for Global Peace
and Conflict Studies

*Prosecuting Perpetrators: National,
Transnational, and International
Judicial Mechanisms*

UC Los Angeles Burkle Center for
International Relations
Burkle Center Speaker Series

UC San Diego Institute for
International, Comparative, and
Area Studies (IICAS)

From Empire to Nation

*Ocean Science, Law and Policy
Seminar*

UC Santa Barbara Global and
International Studies Program
*COWHIG Graduate Student
Conference*

*Global Forces in the Post Cold War
World*

Election Monitoring in Latin America: The Transnational Politics of Democracy Promotion

My dissertation asks how and under what conditions transnational collaboration to monitor elections can contribute to democratic consolidation in Latin America. I theorize that monitoring may provide institutional guarantees and incentives useful for improving the quality of electoral processes. In addition, transnational monitoring activities can connect citizens to associations and governments in a way that increases civic education and skills, building lasting social capital. To test these ideas, I am mapping election monitoring activities throughout Latin America since the late 1980s, and developing case studies of monitoring experiences in three countries: Mexico, Peru and Nicaragua.

The IGCC dissertation grant allowed me to make significant progress. Through extensive fieldwork, I have now almost completed my data collection. I spent two weeks in Washington, D.C., to get a better understanding of the involvement of different international actors in election monitoring. I carried out preliminary interviews with representatives of the Carter Center, the National Democratic Institute, and the National Endowment for Democracy, and conducted on-site research in the library of the Organization of

American States. In November (with additional support from the Pacific Rim Research Program and an invitation from the Carter Center) I spent three weeks in Managua, Nicaragua, observing

the monitoring of national elections, conducting interviews, and gathering documents. Later, with IGCC support, I spent nearly two months in Lima doing fieldwork for the Peru case.

My research to date indicates an important role for the transnational network of actors who come together to monitor elections. I believe that my research will demonstrate that their role in building democracy transcends electoral processes to the extent that their activities build and reinforce democratic norms and networks of civic participation in the countries where monitoring occurs.

Sharon F. Lean is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science at UC Irvine and a fellow with the Center for the Study of Democracy.



Sharon F. LEAN

Campus Programs

Conferences, Seminars, and Workshops

IGCC SUPPORTS CAMPUS-BASED EVENTS that stimulate research by bringing world-class speakers and scholars together in the academic community. For more information, contact the appropriate campus program office. A directory of campus program offices begins on page 60.

UC Berkeley Institute of International Studies

Berkeley Workshop on Environmental Politics, Colloquium Series

1 February 2002. "Evolution's Rainbow: Gender and Sexuality in Nature"
Joan **ROUGHGARDEN**, Dept. of Biology, Stanford University

22 February 2002. "Using Conflict Resolution Techniques to Strengthen Weaker Parties in Environment- and Development-related Disputes"
Meng-Chu **WONG**, 2001–02 Environmental Politics Fellow, UC Berkeley

1 March 2002. "Writing on Environmental Politics to a Non-University Audience: Telling the History of Indigenous Fishermen"
Ben **ORLOVE**, ESPM, UC Davis

5 April 2002. "Wildlife Wars: Beyond Distributive Justice in Tanzania"
Richard **SCHROEDER**, Center for African Studies and Dept. of Geography, Rutgers University

19 April 2002. "Land and Resource Rights and Entitlements in Zimbabwe's Communal Areas"
Amanda **HAMMAR**, Center for Development Research, Copenhagen, and 2001–02 Environmental Politics Fellow, UC Berkeley

10 May 2002. "Land Rights Transformation Among the Pastoralist Masai in Kenya"
Esther **MWANGI**, Dept. of Political Science, Indiana University

20 September 2002. "City Natures: Civic Spaces and Practical Ecologies"
Sarah **WHATMORE**, Dept. of Geography, The Open University, Milton Keynes, UK

4 October 2002. "Coping with Water Scarcity: The Governance Challenge"
Alan **RICHARDS**, Dept. of Environmental Studies, UC Santa Cruz

18 October 2002. "Purity and Pollution, Racial Degradation and Environmental Anxieties"
Jake **KOSEK**, Dept. of Anthropology, Stanford University

1 November 2002. "Narratives of Spatiality and Temporality in Conflicting Legal, Anthropological, and Indigenous Traditions"
David **TURNBULL**, School of Social Inquiry, Deakin University, Australia

13 November 2002. "The Use of Climate Forecasts in Africa and Latin America: Case Studies from Uganda and Peru"
Benjamin S. **ORLOVE**, ESPM, UC Davis

13 December 2002. "Social Structure Change and Environmental Management: Lessons from and for Community-based Resource Management in the Sis Oasis, Morocco"
Hsain **ILAHIANE**, Dept. of Anthropology, Iowa State University

International Relations Theory, Colloquium Series

8 February 2002. "Form and Substance in International Agreements"
Kal **RAUSTIALA**, UCLA Law School

22 February 2002. "In the Shadow of International Law: Examining How International Legal Systems Influence International Politics"
Karen **ALTER**, Northwestern University

26 April 2002. "Industrial Location and Trade Politics in Europe"
Marc **BUSCH**, Queen's School of Business

25 November 2002. "Northeast Asia: The 'Organization Gap' and Beyond"
Kent E. **CALDER**, director, Princeton University Program on U.S.–Japan Relations

Aspen Institute Public Lecture

28 February 2002. "Rethinking Global Governance: Reflections on War in the Age of Globalization"
Amb. Princeton **LYMAN**, Global Interdependence Initiative

Issues in Foreign Policy After 9-11

28 January 2002. "The United States and the Islamic World I; Saudi Arabia"
Lowell **BERGMAN**, Dept. of Journalism, UC Berkeley

4 February 2002. "The Conduct of U.S. Foreign Policy"
Peter **TARNOFF**, former Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs

11 February 2002. "Rogue States and Weapons of Mass Destruction"
Amb. Robert **GALLUCCI**, Georgetown Foreign Service School

25 February 2002. "Ideas in U.S. Foreign Policy"
Mark **DANNER**, Dept. of Journalism, UC Berkeley

4 March 2002. "The United States and the Islamic World: Israel-Palestine Conflict"

Ian **LUSTICK**, Dept. of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania

11 March 2002. "U.S.–Russian Relations"
George **BRESLAUER**, Dept. of Political Science, UC Berkeley

18 March 2002. "Dissent and the War on Terrorism"
Noam **CHOMSKY**, Dept. of Linguistics, MIT

1 April 2002. "U.S.–European Relations"
Josef **JOFFE**, editor, *Die Zeit*

8 April 2002. "Terrorism and Geopolitics"
John **MEARSHEIMER**, Dept. of Political Science, University of Chicago

15 April 2002. "After 9-11: The Case of the Shifting Paradigm?"
Tom **FARER**, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver

22 April 2002. "Civil Liberties and Security"
Sanford Elberg Public Lecture

25 April 2002. "Internationalism in the Wake of September 11: A Contrarian's View"
Christopher **HITCHENS**, columnist for *The Nation*

Miscellaneous

13 February 2002. "Human Migration and the Photography of Sebastian Salgado"
Candace **SLATER**, Townsend Center for the Humanities

Michael **WATTS**, Dept. of Geography, UC Berkeley

Tim **CLARK**, Dept. of Art History, UC Berkeley

Nancy **SCHEPER-HUGHES**, Dept. of Anthropology, UC Berkeley

29 April 2002. "Globalization and National Security"
Steven **WEBER**, Dept. of Political Science, UC Berkeley

David **CARON**, School of Law, UC Berkeley

Amb. Nils **ELIASSON**, head of Migration and Asylum Policy Department, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sweden

Espen Barth **EIDE**, director of the UN Programme, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs

13 May 2002. "Terrorism and Public Health"
Laurie **VOLLE**, M.D., IIS visiting scholar

24–27 January 2002. Environmental Justice and Political Ecology Dissertation Workshop

4–7 April 2002. Diasporas, Exiles, and Refugees Dissertation Workshop

Campus Programs

Conferences, Seminars, and Workshops

18 September 2002. "Challenges to and Prospects for Peace in the Democratic Republic of Congo"

Jacques **DEPELCHIN**, Secretary General, RCD/Kisangani-*L'Organization Politique, République Démocratique du Congo* (Co-sponsored by the Center for African Studies)

22 October 2002. "NATO Enlargement"

A. Elizabeth **JONES**, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, U. S. Dept. of State (Co-sponsored by BRIE and the Institute of European Studies)

31 October 2002. "Hate Crimes, Excessive Force, and Modern-day Slavery: The Work of Federal Civil Rights Prosecutors"

Albert **MOSKOWITZ**, Chief of the Criminal Section, Civil Rights Division, Dept. of Justice (Co-sponsored by the Human Rights Student Board, Boalt Hall)

1 November 2002. Human Rights Center Summer Fellows' Conference

22 November 2002. "Accountability for Crimes Against Humanity and War Crimes in East Timor"

James **DUNN**, United Nations expert on crimes against humanity in East Timor, 2000-01 (Co-sponsored by the Human Rights Center)

UC Davis Institute on Governmental Affairs

Human Rights Speakers Series

6 December 2002. "War in Iraq: An Impending Refugee Crisis?"

Gil **LOESCHER**, Senior Research Fellow for Migration, Forced Displacement, and International Security, International Institute for Strategic Studies

UC Irvine Center for Global Peace and Conflict Studies

Prosecuting Perpetrators: International Accountability for War Crimes and Human Rights Abuses Seminar

International Conflict and Cooperation Lecture Series

Margolis Lecture

20 May 2002. "The Future of Human Rights and Democracy in China"

WEI Jingsheng, Chinese dissident and Nobel Prize nominee

UC Los Angeles Burkle Center for International Relations

Bernard Brodie Distinguished Lecture on the Conditions of Peace

23 January 2002. "Foreign Policy of the Bush Administration: A One-Year Assessment"

The Hon. Warren **CHRISTOPHER**, former U.S. Secretary of State

Center for Social Theory and Comparative History Annual Colloquium Series

11 February 2002 "The War on Terrorism"

Tariq **ALI**, author, playwright, activist

David **REIFF**, author

Benjamin **SCHWARZ**, senior editor, *Atlantic Monthly*, and 2002 CSTCH fellow

The Political Study of International Law Speakers Series

28 January 2002. "Free Trade, Sovereignty, Democracy: The Future of the WTO"

Claude **BARFIELD**, senior fellow, the American Enterprise Institute

6 March 2002 "The Politics of War Crimes Trials"

Gary **BASS**, Princeton University

25 April 2002. "A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide"

Samantha **POWER**, executive director, Carr Center for Human Rights, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Sixth Annual Arnold C. Harberger Distinguished Lecture on Economic Development

25 April 2002. "Macroeconomic Stabilization Policies and Economic Development"

Robert A. **MUNDELL**, Nobel laureate and professor of economics, Columbia University *Marschak Colloquium*

1 March 2002. "Conflict Resolution Between Honor-Oriented Societies"

Barry **O'NEILL**, Dept. of Political Science, UC Los Angeles

UC Los Angeles Extension Lecture Series: The World Today Beyond The Headlines

30 April 2002. "Infinite Justice: September 11, Crime Versus War, and the World Rule of Law"

Tad **DALY**, visiting scholar, Burkle Center for International Relations (Co-sponsored by the Burkle Center for International Relations)

UC Los Angeles Burkle Center for International Relations Town Hall Meeting

7 January 2002. "Egyptian Reflections on the Middle East Post-September 11"

His Excellency Nabil **FAHMY**, ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the United States

7 February 2002. "The Reconstruction of Afghanistan after Twenty-Three Years of Destruction"

Hasan **NOURI**, president of Rivertech Inc., chair of International Orphan Care, and a founding member of the Afghanistan-America Foundation.

William **CARROLL**, former president of the American Society of Civil Engineers

Burkle Center for International Relations Seminars

9 January 2002. "The Remnants of War: Thugs as Residual Combatants"

John **MUELLER**, Woody Hayes chair of National Security Studies, Mershon Center, Ohio State University

14 January 2002. "Factional Politics in Contemporary Iran: Implications for U.S. Policy"

Mark **GASIOROWSKI**, Dept. of Political Science, Louisiana State University

14 January 2002. "Israelis and Palestinians: Is There Any Hope?"

Daniel **PIPES**, director of the Middle East Forum and columnist for the *New York Post Commentator*: Steven L. **SPIEGEL**, associate director, Burkle Center for International Relations

16 January 2002. "The Role of Iran in the War Against Terrorism"

Jalil **ROSHANDEL**, visiting professor of political science, UC Los Angeles

24 January 2002. "Israel and Chemical/Biological Weapons: History, Deterrence, and Arms Control"

Avner **COHEN**, senior fellow, Center for International Security Studies, University of Maryland

21 February 2002. "Iran and Bush's Axis of Evil: What Does it Mean for the Middle East?"

David **MENASHRI**, incumbent of the Parviz and Pouran Nazarian Chair in Modern Iranian Studies, Tel Aviv University

Campus Programs

Conferences, Seminars, and Workshops

Respondent: Jalil **ROSHANDEL**, visiting scholar, Burkle Center for International Relations
22 February 2002. "After the Taliban: The United States and the Future of Southwest Asia"

Mohammed **AYOOB**, University Distinguished Professor of International Relations, Michigan State University (Co-sponsored by the Doshi Chair in Indian History)

25 February 2002. "State Sovereignty, Self-Determination, and Humanitarian Wars: Lessons from the Former Yugoslavia"

Raju G. C. **THOMAS**, Allis-Chalmers Distinguished Professor of International Affairs, Marquette University (Co-sponsored by the Doshi Chair in Indian History, UC Los Angeles)

19 February 2002. "Terrorism and the Reshaping of Intelligence"

Greg **TREVERTON**, senior policy analyst, RAND Corporation and senior fellow, Pacific Council on International Policy

20 February 2002. "Should Saddam Hussein Be Toppled? The Case Against Iraq"

Paul **JABBER**, president, Globicom Inc. (Co-sponsored by the Dept. of Political Science, UC Los Angeles)

23 February 2002. "Terrorism as a Threat to Democracy and Pluralism: The Case of India"
Conference director: Damodar **SARDESAL**, UC Los Angeles

25 February 2002. "Suicide Terrorism in the Middle East: Is It Islamic?"

Joshua **TEITELBAUM**, research fellow, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University
28 February 2002. "Rethinking National Security"

Albert **CARNESALE**, Chancellor, UC Los Angeles

28 February 2002. "Evaluating Missile Defense Programs"

Philip E. **COYLE**, III, Senior Fellow, Center for Defense Information, Washington, D.C.; and director, Operational Test and Evaluation for the Pentagon

4 March 2002. "'Open Skies' for the 21st Century: A New Approach to Missile Defense and the Global Public Good"

Martin C. **MCGUIRE**, Dept. of Economics, UC Irvine

7 March 2002. "The U.S. and Japan in the 1930s: Japanese Risk Acceptance and American Miscalculation"

Gitty M. **AMINI**, visiting assistant professor, Dept. of Political Science, UC Los Angeles

13 March 2002. "Bioterrorism: Past History and Prospective Futures"

Peter **KATONA**, M.D., School of Medicine, UC Los Angeles

5 April 2002. "Bargaining, War, and Alliances"
Harrison **WAGNER**, University of Texas

10 April 2002. "Nuclear Sabotage: The Next Terrorist Threat?"

Bennett **RAMBERG**, vice chairman, Center for Government and Public Policy Analysis

17 April 2002. "Developing a European Defense Identity: A British Perspective"

Calum **MACDONALD**, MP, member of the House of Commons representing Scotland

18 April 2002. "The Current Middle East Crisis: Where Do We Go from Here?"

Steven **SPIEGEL**, associate director, Burkle Center for International Relations and professor of political science, UC Los Angeles (Co-sponsored by UC Los Angeles Hillel)

24 April 2002. Los Angeles Symposium on UN World Summit for Sustainable Development

29 April 2002. "Russia (1991–2001): A Reassessment of Macroeconomic Performance in Comparative Perspective"

Vitali **MELIANTSEV**, Dept. of Economics, Moscow State University

8 May 2002. "The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention"

Alan J. **KUPERMAN**, visiting scholar, Center for International Studies, University of Southern California

Discussant: Tad **DALEY**, visiting scholar, Burkle Center for International Relations

15 May 2002. "American Unilateralism: Foreign Policy in the Aftermath of Sept. 11"
Mike **SHUSTER**, diplomatic correspondent, National Public Radio

20 May 2002. "Nuclear Deterrence: The Role of Common Knowledge"

David **HOLLOWAY**, Dept. of History, Stanford University

22 May 2002. "Technical Issues in Homeland Defense"

Steven **KOONIN**, provost and professor of physics, California Institute of Technology

Discussant: John M. **CORNWALL**, Dept. of Physics and Astronomy, UC Los Angeles (Co-sponsored by the Center for European and Russian Studies, UC Los Angeles)

28 May 2002. "The United States, the United Nations and the European Union: Allies in the Twenty-First Century?"

Pierre **SCHORI**, ambassador of Sweden to the United Nations

29–30 May 2002. "Bioterrorism in the New World Order: Managing a Multifaceted Problem"

Keynote speakers: Bill **PATRICK** and Ken **ALIBEK**. Closing interview by Alvin **TOFFLER** (Co-sponsored by the Burkle Center for International Relations and the Los Angeles Terrorism Early Warning (TEW) Group)

14 June 2002. "Reforming the Russian Economy"

Yegor Timurovich **GAIDAR**, the first prime minister in the government of Russian President Boris Yeltsin; currently director of the Institute for the Economy in Transition, Moscow

The Burkle Workshop in International Studies

22 November 2002. "Filling in the Folk Theorem: The Role of Gradualism and Legalization in International Cooperation to Combat Corruption"

Duncan **SNIDAL**

6 December 2002. "Circling the Wagons: Soft News and Isolationism in American Public Opinion"

Matthew **BAUM**, UC Los Angeles

[UC Riverside Program on Global Studies](#)

Globalization, Inequality, and Transnational Social Movements Colloquium Series

23 April 2002.

Vandana **SHIVA**, Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology, New Delhi (Co-sponsored by the Institute for Research on World-Systems)

28 October 2002. "Transition in the Japanese Financial System in the Age of Globalization"
Shigeo **NAKAO**, Dept. of Economics, Osaka City University (Co-sponsored by the Dept. of Economics)

Campus Programs

Conferences, Seminars, and Workshops

20 November 2002. "Civil-Military Relations, Security, and Threats in the Post 9-11 World: Some Observations on Latin America"
David **PION-BERLIN**, Dept. of Political Science, UC Riverside (Co-sponsored by Latin American Studies)

2 December 2002. "The Limits of Settlement Growth: A Global View"

Roland **FLETCHER**, Dept. of Archaeology, University of Sydney (Co-sponsored by the Dept. of Anthropology and the Institute for Research on World-Systems)

UC San Diego Institute for International, Comparative and Area Studies (IICAS)

Project on International and Security Affairs (PISA) Seminar Series

15 February 2002. "Resolving Conflicts Between Honor-Based Societies"

Barry **O'NEILL**, Dept. of Political Science, UC Los Angeles

8 March 2002. "Democracy from Above? Regional Organizations and Democratization"

Jon **PEVEHOUSE**, Dept. of Political Science, University of Wisconsin

15 March 2002. "Alliances, Perceptions, and International Politics"

Erik **GARTZKE**, Dept. of Political Science, Columbia University

19 April 2002. "Patterns of Transnational Terrorism, 1970-99: Alternative Time Series Estimate."

Todd **SANDLER**, Dept. of International Relations and Economics, University of Southern California

1 May 2002. "Bargaining While Fighting"
Robert L. **POWELL**, Dept. of Political Science, UC Berkeley

17 May 2002. "When Bad Policy Is Good Politics"

Bruce **BUENO DE MESQUITA**, Dept. of Politics, New York University
Center for Comparative Immigration Studies Seminar Series

8 January 2002. "The 'Brain-Gain' Hypothesis: Migration of Elites and Socioeconomic Development"

Uwe **HUNGER**, visiting research fellow, CCIS
Commentator: Wayne CORNELIUS, director, CCIS

22 January 2002. "Gender and Migration: An Integrative Approach"

Nana **OISHI**, visiting research fellow, CCIS; researcher, International Labour Organization
Commentator: Nancy GILSON, visiting lecturer, Dept. of Political Science, UC San Diego

5 February 2002. "Transnationalism of the Heart: The Cultural Psychology of the New Immigration"

Marcelo **SUÁREZ-OROZCO**, Victor S. Thomas Professor of Human Development and Psychology and co-director, Harvard Immigration Projects, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University

19 February 2002. "Immigrant Women in the U.S. Domestic Service Industry"

Kristin **MAHER**, Dept. of Political Science, San Diego State University

Rhacel Salazar **PARRENAS**, Dept. of Women's and Ethnic Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison

28 February 2002. Winter 2002 Workshop of the UC Comparative Immigration and Integration Program (Co-sponsored by CCIS and the International Organization for Migration (IOM))

Chairs: Philip MARTIN, Dept. of Agricultural and Labor Economics, UC Davis; Wayne CORNELIUS, Director, CCIS

5 March 2002. "Redefining the Boundaries of Belonging: Thoughts on Transnational Religious and Political Life"

Peggy **LEVITT**, Dept. of Sociology, Wellesley College

Commentator: David FITZGERALD, Dept. of Sociology, UC Los Angeles

12 March 2002. "Economic Valuations, Threat Perception, and Inter-Ethnic Hostility: Russian Attitudes and Policy Responses Toward Chinese Migration in the Russian Far East"

Mikhail **ALEXSEEV**, Dept. of Political Science, San Diego State University

Commentator: Philip ROEDER, Dept. of Political Science, UC San Diego

20-21 May 2002. The Struggle for Indian Rights in Latin America Conference

Conference coordinators: Nancy POSTERO and Leon ZAMOSK (Co-sponsored with the Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies)

3 October 2002. Global and Regional Security Governance Conference

Organizer: William CHANDLER, Dept. of Political Science, UC San Diego

30 October 2002. Rosemary Foote Seminar
Moderator: Miles KAHLER, director, IICAS
15-16 November 2002. Sixth Annual Social Science Research Conference "Credit, Trust, and Calculation"

Organizers: James RAUCH, Dept. of Economics, UC San Diego; Akos RONA-TAS, Dept. of Sociology, UC San Diego; Christopher WOODRUFF, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego

5 December 2002. "Terrorism, Iraq, and Weapons of Mass Destruction"

Leslie H. **GELB**, president, Council on Foreign Relations

Commentator: Miles KAHLER, director, IICAS Marine Science, Law, and Policy Seminar

8 October 2002. "Marine Resources and Biodiversity in Coastal Ecosystems"

Paul **DAYTON**, SIO

15 October 2002. "Developing Countries and Coastal Resource Economics"

Dale **WHITTINGTON**, University of North Carolina

22 October 2002. "Environmental Taxes and Marketable Allowances"

Talbot **PAGE**, Brown University

29 October 2002. "Fishery Management Under Multiple Uncertainty"

Christopher **COSTELLO**, UC Santa Barbara

5 November 2002. "The Science of Beach Erosion"

Bob **GUZA**, SIO

12 November 2002. "The Economics of Beaches"

Michael **HANEMAN**, UC Berkeley

19 November 2002. "Legal Aspects of Coastal Water Quality"

Bruce **REZNIK**, San Diego BayKeeper

26 November 2002. "Science of Coastal Water Quality, Wetlands, and Estuaries"

Lisa **LEVIN**, SIO

6-7 December 2002. From Empire to Nation Workshop

Organizers: Joseph ESHERICK, Dept. of History, UC San Diego; Hasan KAYALI, Dept. of History, UC San Diego; Eric VAN YOUNG, Dept. of History, UC San Diego

Campus Programs

Conferences, Seminars, and Workshops

UC San Francisco Program in Health Science and Human Survival
 May 2002. Fourth Annual International Health Conference

UC Santa Barbara Global and International Studies Program

Global Peace, Security, and Human Rights Lecture Series

16 January 2002. "Hit to Kill: The New Battle Over Shielding America from Missile Attack"

Bradley **GRAHAM**, military and foreign affairs correspondent, *Washington Post*

28 January 2002. "Flirting with Danger: Confessions of a Reluctant War Reporter"

Siobhan **DARROW**, CNN correspondent

11 February 2002. "Women as Peacebuilders in Africa"

Tecla **WAANJALA**, director, Kenya Peace and Development Network (PeaceNet)

16 January 2002. "There Is No Dayton Chic: the Abject Heartland in 'Ellen' and 'Roseanne'"

Victoria **JOHNSON**

23 January 2002. "Reflecting on Changing Times and Intimate Citizenship"

Ken **PLUMMER**

29 January 2002. "South and Central Asia: A Region in Turmoil"

Mark **JUERGENSMEYER**, professor of Sociology and director of Global and International Studies, UC Santa Barbara

30 January 2002. "Bollywood and Visual Print Capitalism in Maharashtra"

Kajiri **JAIN**

6 February 2002. "Globalism and Tolerance in Early Modern Geography"

Dennis **COSGROVE**

21 February 2002. "Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations in the Post-Soviet World"

Ronald G. **SUNY**

13 February 2002. "The Chamber of My Thought"

Ruquayya **KHAN**

20 February 2002. "Enemies of the Enlightenment"

Darrin **MCMAHON**

27 February 2002. "Anthropology, Virtual Reality, and Linearity"

Nadine **WANONO**

6 March 2002. "Figures of Famine"

Parama **ROY**

13 March 2002. "Ridley Scott's 'Gladiator' and the Spectacle of Empire: Global/Local Rumbblings Inside Pax Americana"

Rob **WILSON**

17 May 2002. *COWHIG Eighth Annual Graduate Student Conference*

Women, Culture, and Development Program

22 March 2002. "New Approaches to Women, Culture, and Development"

Nancy **GALLAGHER**, Dept. of History, UC Santa Barbara

Sondra **HALE**, Depts. of Anthropology and Women's Studies, UC Los Angeles

Rema **HAMAMI**, Depts. of Anthropology and Women's Studies, Birzeit University

Mary **HANCOCK**, Dept. of Anthropology, UC Santa Barbara

Raka **RAY**, Dept. of Sociology, UC Berkeley

Shahnaz **ROUSE**, Dept. of Sociology, Sarah Lawrence College

Hull Lecture

29 April 2002. "Back to the Middle: Black Feminist Thought, Multidimensional Identity and the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance"

Lisa **CROOMS**, Howard University

November 2002. Kamala **KEMPADOO**, Womens' Studies Dept., University of Colorado, Boulder

UC Santa Cruz IGCC-UCSC Program

11-12 January 2002. Smoke and Mirrors: Air Quality and Environmental Justice Workshop (in collaboration with the Depts. of Environmental Studies and Sociology, UC Santa Cruz, and IIS, UC Berkeley)

28 January 2002. "Israel and Palestine: The Search for Justice and Security"

Joel **BEINEN**, Stanford University

27 February 2002. "The Challenge of the HIV-AIDS Crisis to Democracy in South Africa"

Princeton N. **LYMAN**, executive director, the Global Interdependence Initiative, Aspen Institute

Humanistic Methodologies in the Social Sciences

Colloquium Series

Globalization in Crisis? Hegemony, Islam and Governance Colloquium

14 January 2002. "Why Are Islamic Social Movements Thriving Under Globalization? Implications for Governance"

Paul **LUBECK**, Dept. of Sociology, UC Santa Cruz

Discussant: Ronnie **LIPSCHUTZ**, Dept. of Politics, UC Santa Cruz

28 January 2002. "The United States, the Cold War, and 'Useful' Muslims"

Joel **BEINEN**, Dept. of History, Stanford University

4 February 2002. "Paradise Lost: Kashmir, South Asia, and Geopolitics"

Nirvikar **SINGH**, Dept. of Economic, UC Santa Cruz

11 February 2002. "From Poster Child to Basket Case: The Rise and Fall of the Argentine Economic Experiment"

Manuel **PASTOR**, Dept. of Latin American/Latino Studies, UC Santa Cruz

21 February 2002. "Law, Limits, and Justice in the Global Terror War"

Richard **FALK**

25 February 2002. "Rethinking Global Governance: Reflections on War in the Age of Globalization"

Princeton N. **LYMAN**, executive director, the Global Interdependence Initiative, Aspen Institute

11 March 2002. Farish **NOOR**, International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World, University of Leiden

8 April 2002. Alan **RICHARDS**, Environmental Studies Dept., UC Santa Cruz

22 April 2002. Hayward **ALKER**, University of Southern California

6 May 2002. Elizabeth **PERRY**, Harvard University

8 May 2002. Graham **PEARSON**, Director General of the United Kingdom Chemical and Biological Defence Establishment

29 May 2002. Mel **GOODMAN**, Center for International Policy

7-10 March 2002. Globalization, State Capacity, and Islamic Movements Conference

14 November 2002. "The Case Against War"

Moscow, Russia, 2–4 October 2002

NEACD Plenary Session XIII

(continued from page 30)

The United States of America

Mr. Richard **DEVILLAFRANCA**, Director, Regional and Security Policy, East Asian and Pacific Affairs Bureau, U.S. Dept. of State, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Jeffery **LOGAN**, Senior Research Scientist, Pacific Northwest National Laboratory, College Park, Maryland

Mr. Mark **MOHR**, Senior Advisor, U.S. Dept. of Energy, Washington, D.C.

Prof. Robert **SCALAPINO**, Inst. of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley

Prof. Susan **SHIRK**, Research Director, Inst. on Global Conflict and Cooperation, La Jolla, California

The People's Republic of China

Prof. **CHU** Shulong, Professor of International Studies, School of Public Policy and Management, Tsinghua University, Beijing

Mr. **HONG** Xiaoyong, Director of Policy Planning, Asian Dept., Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Beijing

Prof. **SU** Ge, Vice President and Senior Research Fellow, China Inst. of International Studies, Beijing

Mr. **TU** Jingchang, Third Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Beijing

Lt.Col. **ZHAO** Bao, Ministry of National Defense, Beijing

Ms. **ZHU** Jun, Third Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Beijing

Japan

Col. **HATA** Keijiro, Deputy Director for Policies, J-5, Joint Staff Office, Japan Defense Agency, Tokyo

Major **MAEKAWA** Koji, Joint Staff Office, J-5, Japan Defense Agency, Tokyo

Prof. **MORIMOTO** Satoshi, PHP Research Inst., Takusyoku University, Tokyo

Mr. **OTABE** Yoichi, Foreign Policy Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo

Dr. **SHIGEIE** Toshinori, Director, Japan Inst. of International Affairs, Tokyo

Mr. **SUZUKI** Atsuo, Director, Office of Strategic Studies, Defense Policy Bureau, Tokyo

Mr. **TAKERO** Aoyama, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo

Prof. **TANAKA** Akihiko, Inst. of Oriental Culture, Tokyo University, Tokyo

Observers

Mr. John **CUNNISON**, Assist. to Research Director, Inst. on Global Conflict and Cooperation, La Jolla, California

Washington, D.C., 17 October 2002

Bush, Putin, and Jiang

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Andrei **KRAVTSOV**, Embassy of Russia

Jamal **LE BLANC**, Fujitsu Ltd.

Edward **LEVINE**, SFRC staff

Amb. James **LILLEY**, AEI

Bryan **LOHMAR**, Economist, USDA

Stephen **LISTON**, U.S. State Dept., WHA/EA

James **MATLACK**, American Friends Service Committee

Joseph R. **MCGHEE**, IGCC Washington Office

Eileen **MCLUNG**, U.S. Treasury Dept., Customs

Randy **MITCHELL**, U.S. Dept. of Commerce

Fernando **MONINA**, WWIC

Kelly **MORPHY**, Academy for Educational Development

Richard **NANTO**, Congressional Research Service

David **OLIVE**, Fujitsu Ltd.

Uichiro **OSHIMA**, *Tokyo Chunichi*

Alexis **PAUL**, U.S. Treasury Dept., Customs

Min. Nongnuth **PHETCHARATANA**, DCM, Thai Embassy

Krisda **PIAMPONGSANT**, Counselor, Thai Embassy

Betsy **PICKERING**, Academy for Educational Development

Luis **RODRIGUEZ**, WWIC

Todd **ROSENBLUM**, Staff of Sen. Bayh

Nori **SAWAKI**, *Tokyo Shimbun*

Valerie **SCHAEUBLIN**, Embassy of Canada

Miryam **SCHIFF**, Wesleyan College

Prof. Wilfried **SCHLEINER**, UC Davis

Robert **SHEPARD**, U.S. Dept. of Labor

Dr. John **SHILLING**, independent consultant

Alice **SMITH**, Staff of Rep. Davis Su-Mei **SOONG**, Korea Econ. Inst. of America

Supat **TANGTRONGCHIT**, Counselor, Thai Embassy

Susan **THEILER**, Economist, USDA

John **TSAGRONIS**, USAID/PPC

Peggy **TSAI**, UCDC

Kristen **VAN DAM**, UC Berkeley

Dr. Zhi **WANG**, USDA

Min. Seng Foo **WONG**, Embassy of Malaysia

Min. Lourdes **YPARRAGUIRRE**, Philippines Embassy

International Security Policy

Senior Mentors

(continued from page 9)



Harold BROWN

Photo: Rachel York-Williams

Aerospace Safety Advisory Panel and of the Ernest Orlando Lawrence Award for his contributions to the development of nuclear weapons and for his outstanding success in working with the armed services to assure the maximum safety and effectiveness of atomic weapons systems. He is a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and has also served as a member of the US Army Science Board and the White House Science Council.

Former Secretary of Defense Harold **BROWN** began his career as a lecturer in physics. In 1952 he went to work for the newly founded Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, under the directorship of Herbert York. Brown was Secretary of the Air Force during the administration of Lyndon Johnson (1965–69), and returned to government service when President Jimmy Carter appointed him Secretary of Defense in 1977. In the interim he was president of the California Institute of Technology and served as a member of the U.S. delegation to the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT I and SALT II) with the Soviet Union. Brown currently works with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a private policy research institute in Washington, D.C.

Until his recent retirement, Physicist Michael **MAY** was a professor in the Department of Management Science and Engineering at Stanford University. He served as director of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory from 1965–71. He is currently chair of the World Association of International Studies (WAIS), and a senior fellow of the Institute for International Studies, both based at Stanford. In the 1970s, he was a member of the U.S. delegation to the SALT II talks with the Soviet Union, and technical representative on the Threshold Test Ban Treaty negotiating team in Moscow. He has received both the Distinguished Public Service Medal and the Distinguished Civilian Services Medal from the Department of Defense.

Admiral (Ret.) Robert H. **WERTHEIM** graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1945 and began a long and distinguished military career, retiring in 1980 with the rank of admiral. Along the way he received advanced training in management at Harvard University, ordnance engineering at the

Naval Postgraduate School, and an M.S. in Nuclear Physics from MIT. He was a member of the Navy's first special nuclear weapons assembly team. In addition to his work as a private consultant for Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC), Adm. Wertheim is a member of the Secretary of Energy's Laboratory Operations Board, the University of California President's National Security Panel, the Joint Department of Defense/Department of Energy Advisory Committee on Nuclear Weapons Surety, and of advisory groups to the United States Strategic Command, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, and Charles Stark Draper Laboratory. He is a fellow of the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics and of the California Council on Science and Technology.

Herbert F. **YORK** was tapped to work on the Manhattan Project the year he received his M.S. in Physics from the University of Rochester (1943). His illustrious career includes many distinctions, among them science advisor to President Eisenhower and first chief scientist and co-founder of the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA/DoD). From 1979–81 York was an ambassador and chief negotiator at the trilateral Comprehensive Test Ban talks between the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union, held in Geneva. His academic career included stints as the first chancellor of UC San Diego (1961–64), and founder and first director of IGCC (1983–88). He was also acting chancellor of UC San Diego from 1970–72. In 2000, he received three major awards recognizing his contributions to science. The first, the Enrico Fermi award, is a Presidential award—one of the oldest and most prestigious science and technology awards given by the U.S. Government. It recognizes scientists of international stature for a lifetime of exceptional achievement in the development, use, or production of energy (broadly defined to include the science and technology of nuclear, atomic, molecular, and particle interactions and effects). York also received the Vannevar Bush award from the National Science Foundation's National Science Board. Finally, York received the Clark Kerr Award for Distinguished Leadership in Higher Education, created in 1968 by UC Berkeley's Academic Senate to honor individuals who have made an extraordinary and distinguished contribution to the advancement of higher education.



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Administration

Dissemination

IGCC in Washington, D.C.

IN 1997, IGCC ESTABLISHED AN OFFICE in Washington to promote closer links between UC researchers and the policy community. IGCC's unique structure enables research teams to be drawn from all UC campuses and the UC-managed Lawrence Livermore, Lawrence Berkeley, and Los Alamos National Laboratories. IGCC's Washington Representative Joseph McGhee helps facilitate the communication of ideas and research results to "the hill" through conferences, seminars, workshops, and policy briefings. The office has provided the U.S. Congress with expert testimony, member and staff briefings, and opinion-editorials, articles, and publications by UC faculty on subjects such as the Asian economic crisis, global climate change, comparative immigration policy, Middle East policy, Asian security cooperation, Latin American affairs, and nuclear issues in South Asia.

With time, funders have become more particular about seeing evidence of dissemination of research results. Policy briefings and seminars to disseminate UC faculty research can be easily arranged by IGCC's Washington office, and plans for such events can be built into initial grant proposals. For more information or to schedule a meeting, contact Joseph McGhee at joseph.mcghee@ucdc.edu; or Ron Bee, IGCC Development and External Affairs, at rbee@ucsd.edu.

Special IGCC Washington events held in 2002 are listed below and further featured on pages 22, 33, and 60.

18 March 2002. "International Intervention in Civil Conflict."

James **FEARON**, Stanford University

David **LAITIN**, Stanford University

Donald **ROTHCHILD**, UC Davis

Philip **ROEDER**, Dept. of Political Science, UC San Diego

Barbara **WALTER**, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS), UC San Diego

Jack **SNYDER**, Columbia University

24 September 2002. "Financial Crises and What to Do About Them."

Barry **EICHENGREEN**, Dept. of Economics, UC Berkeley

17 October 2002. "Bush, Putin, and Jiang: The Agenda for the APEC Leaders Meeting in Los Cabos, Mexico."

Richard **FEINBERG**, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS), UC San Diego

Teaching Seminars

IN AN EFFORT TO PROMOTE undergraduate teaching of contemporary international security issues and provide educators with new course materials, IGCC sponsors semiannual one- to two-day intensive teaching seminars. Faculty from throughout the University of California, the California State Universities, and California community colleges attend, as well as UC Ph.D. students. Faculty organizers take advantage of the strengths represented on the UC campuses and the National Laboratories to pull together programs suited to a multi-disciplinary audience. Agendas include small group discussions, samples of course syllabi, case studies, or other demonstrations of experiential teaching techniques.

Opinion-Editorial

IGCC FACULTY ARE SOUGHT OUT as commentators on world affairs. Below is a small selection of the interviews, letters and comments that appear in the public media in 2002.

Peter **COWHEY**. "U.S. Arms Pipeline Flows to Gulf Arabs." *Los Angeles Times*, 15 November 2002. IGCC Director Peter Cowhey interviewed.

Richard **FEINBERG**. "A Closing of Ranks in Los Cabos." *San Diego Union-Tribune*, 25 October 2002.

Richard **FEINBERG**. "Terrorism Clouds Weekend Trade Talks." *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 24 October 2002. Professor Richard Feinberg interviewed.

Richard **FEINBERG**. "U.S. Foreign Policy Has Changed—for the Better." *The Straits Times*, 21 December 2002.

Susan **SHIRK**. "A New North Korea?" *The Washington Post*, 22 October 2002.

Susan **SHIRK**. "Change Means Stability for China." *USA Today*, 20 October 2002, IGCC Research Director Susan Shirk interviewed.

Mark J. **SPALDING**. "Environment's a Nonpartisan Issue." *Anchorage Daily News*, 11 December 2002.

Steven L. **SPIEGEL**. "Middle East: Impasse Begs American Involvement." *Los Angeles Times*, 4 August 2002.

Public Lectures and Colloquia

IGCC PROVIDES A SUBSTANTIAL RESOURCE to the public as well as the academic community. In keeping with its work to find peaceful solutions to current world conflicts, IGCC faculty speak in public forums, respond to inquiries by the press and provide news analyses. IGCC Washington events are highlighted on pages 22 and 33. For a sampling of scholarly events open to the public at the campuses, see pages 42–46.

Partner Institutions

IGCC'S DIRECTOR AND RESEARCH DIRECTORS are directly involved by invitation in high-level policy discussions, such as Wilton Park (U.K.) conferences, Aspen Institute retreats, and testimony before U.S. Congressional subcommittees.

In addition to affiliate programs based on nine of the ten UC campuses, IGCC's research partners often act as co-publishers and disseminate research findings through their own programs. These include the UC Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy, the UC San Diego Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, Scripps

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Dissemination

Institution of Oceanography, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory's Center for Global Security Research, the Annenberg School for Communication at USC, and the Washington, D.C.-based Nonproliferation Policy Education Center. IGCC also enters into partnerships with appropriate overseas academic institutions for its ongoing track-two projects.

Particularly strong in this regard are information technology collaborations. For example, until a decade ago, from the IGCC perspective Europe naturally remained at the core of "the East-West divide." Now, European integration, security relations within and among the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) states, and the transformation of Eastern and Central European economies command new attention at the nexus of economics and security. The University of Ulster/UN University Initiative on Conflict Resolution and Ethnicity (<http://www.incore.ulst.-ac.uk/>) launched a series of international workshops on the Future of Internet Services on Conflict and Ethnicity in the late 1990s. A significant result of resulting institutional relationships is IGCC membership in the NATO Partnership for Peace Consortium of Defense Academics and Security Studies Institutes (<http://www.pfpconsortium.org/>), which opens significant opportunities for bridging academic expertise directly into European region-building efforts. The Swiss Federal Institute of Technology's International Relations and Security Network (ISN) (<http://www.isn.ethz.ch/>) and the ISN-Stockholm International Peace Research Institute Facts on International Relations and Security Trends federated database initiative (<http://first.sipri.org/>) support both our **Wired for Peace** infrastructure in Northeast Asia and the IGCC web site. Based in Berkeley, California, the Nautilus Institute is strengthening 'virtual ties' with the Koreans, while the

University of Toronto's Munk Center has adapted and deepened this technology in the Middle East with its Middle East Network and the Middle East Network Electronic Library, a repository of electronic documents related to Middle East research and policy.

Publications

IGCC publishes research findings and policy recommendations in online periodical series circulated internationally among research institutions, businesses, and government agencies. Providing opinion on current issues, reporting on ongoing research, encouraging and informing public debate on critical issues concerning global conflict and cooperation, IGCC's in-house publications rapidly disseminate the policy-relevant results of academic endeavor. Substantial works are also placed with international publishers, peer-reviewed journals, and academic presses, where they help lay the theoretical foundations for research insights among current and future generations of scholars. A complete listing of IGCC publications is available on the web site, including full-text IGCC publications and abstracts; policy packs, pithy summaries of specific policy recommendations and background data provided as downloadable Power-Point presentations; and IGCC policy papers and briefs.

IGCC is pleased to be working with the California Digital Library's E-scholarship Repository. This central storehouse of materials provides researchers access to a wealth of downloadable files using the powerful search and retrieval systems of the UC libraries. It also provides UC scholars with a way to widely disseminate preliminary findings and working papers. Please contact Lynne Bush (lbush@ucsd.edu) for more information on how IGCC Publications can help you get materials into the repository.

IGCC Online

<http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu/>

SINCE ITS INCEPTION, SOME 182,000 VISITORS have viewed and downloaded publications and information from the IGCC web site. In 2002, there were 10,530 unique visitors to the site, who come from 93 countries and span the online spectrum, with traffic spread fairly evenly across user categories, domains, and topical interests. The most popular publication was still Policy Paper 52: *Understanding Europe's New Common Foreign and Security Policy* by Michael Smith, with Policy Paper 33: *Maritime Trade and Security in Northeast Asia* a close second.

More than half of IGCC web visitors spend 1–10 minutes per visit; about five percent spend more than half an hour. Top referrers: UC Berkeley's Globetrotter, NYU's Globalbeat and the Nautilus Organization. Most common search keyword: NEACD.

IGCC's online searchable databases provide a wealth of information on past IGCC fellowship and grant recipients, potential research partners, and IGCC publications. The latter further affords the opportunity to browse and buy books authored by IGCC affiliates. Events listings announce upcoming events at IGCC, IGCC's campus programs, and the IGCC Washington, D.C., office. Multi-lingual search capabilities, using Eurospider technology, enable keyword searches in five languages. World links provide a structured, annotated catalogue tailored to researchers in international relations and security fields.

The site is undergoing a major redesign, including a new interface, to provide better access to IGCC resources. Look for an email announcement about the relaunch sometime in the late Spring of 2003.

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Supporters

Supporters

IGCC RECEIVES ITS PRIMARY SUPPORT from the Regents of the University of California and the UC Office of the President (Office of Research). Additional funding has been provided by the National Science Foundation, the U.S. Dept. of Energy, the U.S. Dept. of State, the U.S. Dept. of Defense, the U.S. Institute of Peace, the Japan–U.S. Friendship Commission, Japan’s National Institute for Research Advancement (NIRA), the National Science Foundation, and the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development. Important foundation support has come from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the Pew Charitable Trusts, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Rockefeller Foundation, the W. Alton Jones Foundation, the Ploughshares Fund, the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership, and the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Research Directors

IGCC’S RESEARCH DIRECTORS CONSULT with the director, steering committee, and campus program heads to frame development goals and lead substantive UC system-wide research efforts within their areas of competency.

Peter F. COWHEY Director

Peter F. **COWHEY** is dean of the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS) at UC San Diego. His major fields of research are international political economy, comparative foreign policy, and international relations theory. His current research includes the political determinants of foreign policy, the reorganization of the global communications and information industries, and the future of foreign trade and investment rules in the Pacific Rim. In 1994 Cowhey took a leave from UC San Diego to join the Federal Communications Commission. In 1997 he became the Chief of the FCC’s International Bureau, where he was in charge of policy and licensing for international telecommunications services, including all satellite issues and licensing for the FCC. Prior to becoming bureau chief, he was the Commission’s Senior Counselor for International Economic and Competition Policy.

Cowhey has published extensively on international telecommunications markets and regulation. He is author of *The Problems of Plenty: Energy Policy and International Politics* (University of California Press, 1984) and co-author of *When Countries Talk: International Trade in Telecommunications Services* (Ballinger, 1988); *Managing the World’s Economy: The Consequences of Corporate Alliances* (Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993); and *Structure and Policy in Japan and the United States: An Institutionalist Approach* (Cambridge U. Press, 1995).

J. Lawrence BROZ International Relations

J. Lawrence **BROZ** is associate professor of political science at UC San Diego. He received his Ph.D. in political science from UC Los Angeles in 1993. Professor Broz’s current research focus is the institutions of monetary and financial policymaking—central banks, exchange rate regimes, and so on—which exhibit remarkable variation across countries and over time. Analytically, he draws from open economy macroeconomics and positive political economy and employs both quantitative and case study research methods. He is the author of *International Origins of the Federal Reserve System* (Cornell U. Press, 1997) and a number of articles in *International Organization* and other top journals. Prof. Broz was awarded the Thomas Temple Hoopes Prize for Excellence in Teaching, Harvard University, in June 1994. Broz shares the position of research director of international relations with William Chandler.

William CHANDLER International Relations

William **CHANDLER** is professor of political science at UC San Diego. He completed his undergraduate education at Cornell University and his Ph.D. at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. His research and teaching have concentrated on European affairs, with particular focus on German, French, and Italian politics. He also studies issues of European integration. Chandler previously served as a guest professor in Germany at Tübingen and Oldenburg Universities. He is a member of the editorial advisory board of *German Politics*, a regional director of the Conference Group

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Research Directors

on German Politics, and has served on the board of directors of the Canadian Political Science Association. He is the author of *Public Policy and the Provincial Powers* (Mc-Graw-Hill, 1979), and co-editor of *Federalism and the Role of the State* (U. Toronto Press, 1987), and *Challenges to Federalism: Policy-Making in Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany* (Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, 1989). Chandler shares the position of research director of international relations with J. Lawrence Broz.

Susan SHIRK Security Studies

Susan SHIRK is professor of political science at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS). She is an Asia specialist, with an emphasis on Chinese politics, U.S.–China relations, and Northeast Asia. Shirk was IGCC’s director from 1991–97, where she founded the Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue. From July 1997 to September 2000, she served as the deputy assistant secretary for China in the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs in the U.S. Department of State. Shirk is the author of *How China Opened Its Door: The Political Success of the PRC’s Foreign Trade and Investment Reforms* (Brookings, 1994) and *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China* (University of California Press, 1993), and the editor of *Power and Prosperity: Economic and Security Linkages in the Asia Pacific* (Transaction, 1996). She has served on the board of directors for the National Committee on U.S.–China Relations, the editorial board of the *American Political Science Review*, and the Pentagon’s Defense Policy Board, and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Jeffrey VINCENT International Environmental Policy

Jeffrey VINCENT is professor of environmental economics at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS), UC San Diego. He joined IGCC in 2001 after serving as a fellow at the Harvard Institute for International Development (1990–2001) and as an assistant professor at Michigan State University (1987–1990). His research focuses on national resource and environmental management in developing countries, espe-

cially in Asian countries. In addition to his research, Vincent has extensive experience on advisory and capacity-building projects sponsored by the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, USAID, the UN Commission for Sustainable Development, the UN Development Program, the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, and other international organizations. He is lead author of *Environment and Development in a Resource-Rich Economy: Malaysia Under the New Economic Policy* (Harvard Studies in International Development, 1997) and co-editor of the *Handbook of Environmental Economics* (North-Holland, 2002).

Steering Committee

Financial Summary

INCOME Fiscal Year 2001–2002

INTRAMURAL FUNDS:

UC Regents	895,641
State of California—Global Peace Funds	550,000
General Funds	88,530
Temporary Funding	169,334
Carry Forward from FY 00/01	255,702

EXTRAMURAL FUNDS (Sponsored Projects):

Extramural Contracts and Grants	1,689,240
Carry Forward from FY 00/01	1,323,905

TOTAL INCOME **\$4,972,352**

EXPENDITURES Fiscal Year 2001–2002

Campus Programs*	\$ 697,985
New Project Initiatives	43,292
Academic and Research Staff Support	251,456
Administration/Washington Office	595,297
Sponsored Projects (Extramural Contracts/Grants)	1,856,483
Other (Publications, Research Expenses)	85,572

TOTAL EXPENDITURES **\$3,530,085**

Unexpended Intramural and Extramural Funds 01/02** **\$1,442,267**

TOTAL **\$4,972,352**

*Campus Programs includes awards for fellowships, internships, research, teaching, block grants, activity grants, and Campus Program and Steering Committee Meetings

**Unexpended intramural funds balance to carry forward \$ 285,605
Unexpended extramural funds balance to carry forward \$1,156,662

Management 2002

Steering Committee

THE ICGCC STEERING COMMITTEE is composed of UC faculty from each campus and representatives of the Livermore and Los Alamos National Laboratories. It advises the director on ongoing program activities and allocates fellowships and grants.

Chair

Fredrik LOGEVALL is the chair of the ICGCC Steering Committee. He has taught in the History Department at UC Santa Barbara since 1992. His fields of interest are U.S. Foreign Relations and Twentieth-Century U.S. History. He has also been a co-leader in the Cold War History Group at UC Santa Barbara. This group provides a highly intellectual forum for discussion among students and faculty, and has been invigorated by the addition of two dozen eminent scholars from outside UC Santa Barbara over the past three years. Logevall received his Ph.D. from Yale University in 1993. His recent publications include *Choosing War: The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War In Vietnam* (University of California Press, 1999). In 2000, he received the Pacific Coast Branch Book Award from the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association.

UC Berkeley

Michael NACHT is dean of the Goldman School of Public Policy at UC Berkeley. He holds a B.S. in aeronautics and astronautics from New York University and a Ph.D. in political science from Columbia University. He began his career as a missile aerodynamicist at the NASA Lewis Research Center in Cleveland, Ohio. From 1994 to 1997, Nacht served as Assistant Director for Strategic and Eurasian Affairs of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He directed the Agency's work on nuclear arms reduction and missile defense negotiations with Russia and designed the first high-level nuclear arms dialogue with China. For his efforts, he was granted the agency's Distinguished Honor Award, its highest form of recognition. Prof. Nacht served previously for more than a decade each on the faculty of the School of Public Affairs in the University of Maryland at College Park and at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government. He was the founding co-editor of the journal *International Security*. Prof. Nacht teaches and writes in the fields of U.S. national security and foreign policy and on management strategies for public organizations. He is the author of five books and numerous other publications, most recently *National Missile Defense: An American Perspective on Missile Defense and National Security in the Twenty-First Century* (Paris: French Institute of International Relations, 2001).

UC Davis

Martin KENNY is professor of community studies and development in the Department of Human and Community Development at UC Davis. He received his Ph.D. from Cornell University in 1984. His fields of interest include technology and regional development, Japanese foreign direct investment, labor relations, and biotechnology and society. He was the 2000 Arthur Andersen Distinguished Visitor Senior Project Director for the Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy (BRIE) at UC Berkeley. His most recent books include *Understanding Silicon Valley: The Anatomy of an Entrepreneurial Region* (ed., Stanford, 2000); and *Beyond Mass Production: The Japanese System and Its Transfer to the United States*, coauthored with Richard Florida (Oxford, 1993).

UC Irvine

Etel SOLINGEN is professor of political science and international relations at UC Irvine. She is the editor of *Scientists and the State* (U. Michigan Press, 1994) and author of *Industrial Policy, Technology, and International Bargaining: Nuclear Industries in Argentina and Brazil* (Stanford U. Press, 1996). Her most recent book is *Regional Orders at Century's Dawn: Global and Domestic Influences on Grand Strategy* (Princeton U. Press, 1998). She has also published extensively on globalization, international and regional security regimes, democratization, international institutions, and comparative political economy, with a special emphasis on the Middle East, Latin America, and East Asia. She is vice president of the International Studies Association and former president of its International Political Economy Section. She received a John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Research and Writing Award on Peace and Cooperation in 1995.

UC Los Angeles

Allen SCOTT is professor in the Department of Geography at UC Los Angeles and associate dean at the School of Public Policy and Research, UC Los Angeles. He was professorial chair at Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris in 1999. He completed his B.A. at Oxford University and received his Ph.D. in Geography from Northwestern University in 1965. Prof. Scott's current research interests encompass issues such as the cultural economy of cities, industrial organization and location, and regional development. His publications include *Regions and the World Economy: The Coming Shape of Global Production, Competition, and Political Order* (Oxford U. Press, 1998), *Technopolis: High-Technology Industry and Regional Development in Southern California* (U. of California Press, 1993), and *The Urban Land Nexus and the State* (Pion, 1980). He was a Borchard Foundation Scholar in 1997.

Management 2002 Steering Committee

UC Riverside

Prof. Stephen CULLENBERG, chair of the Economics Department at UC Riverside, joined the steering committee in 1999. From 1993–1999 he was director of the IGCC-affiliated International Economic Conflict and Cooperation Program at UC Riverside. The program emphasized the economic and political economy aspects of global cooperation. Cullenberg is an expert in international political economy and Marxian economics and a member of the editorial board for the journal *Rethinking Marxism*. His most recent publication is *Postmodernism, Economics, and Knowledge* (Routledge, 1997), co-edited with Jack Amariglio and David Ruccio.

UC San Diego

Clark C. GIBSON is associate professor of political science at UC San Diego. He received his Ph.D. from Duke University in 1995. His research interests include the politics of development, democracy, and the environment and has explored issues related to these topics in Africa, Central and South America, and the United States. The results of this work have appeared in journals such as *Comparative Politics*, *World Development*, *Human Ecology*, *African Affairs*, *Ecological Economics*, and *Environmental History*. Prof. Gibson's research into the politics of wildlife policy in Africa appears in his book, *Politicians and Poachers: The Political Economy of Wildlife Policy in Africa* (Cambridge U. Press, 1999). He has also co-edited two volumes: *People and Forests: Communities, Institutions, and Governance* (MIT, 2000) and *Communities and the Environment: Ethnicity, Gender, and the State in Community-Based Conservation* (Rutgers U. Press, 2001).

UC San Francisco

Judith JUSTICE, Institute for Health Policy, is associate professor of medical anthropology and health policy at UC San Francisco. Her research interests include international and domestic health policy, child health, reproductive health, comparative medical systems, the role of nongovernmental organizations and development, health beliefs and practices in Asia, and immigrant and refugee health. She was awarded the Fulbright Senior Scholars Grant in 1998–1999 for her work *Re-examining*



Members of the IGCC Steering Committee at its Autumn 2002 meeting, La Jolla, California. L. to R.: Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, Clark Gibson, Judith Justice, Fredrik Logevall, Eileen Vergino, Martin Kenney, Kory Budlong-Sylvester, Etel Solingen.

the Fit Between International Health Policies and Local Realities.

UC Santa Barbara

Tsuyoshi HASEGAWA is professor of modern Russian and Soviet history at UC Santa Barbara. He received his Ph.D. from Washington University in 1969. He was co-founder of the Center for Cold War Studies with Professor Logevall in 1994. Prof. Hasegawa's fields of interest include the political and social history of the Russian revolution, Russian/Soviet-Japanese relations, and Soviet military history. He has extensive teaching experience in Japan. His publications include *The Northern Territories Dispute and Russo-Japanese Relations* (International and Area Studies, UC Berkeley, 1998), *Russia and Japan: An Unresolved Dilemma between Distant Neighbors*, edited with Jonathan Haslam and Andrew Kuchins (International and Area Studies, UC Berkeley, 1993), and *The February Revolution, Petrograd, 1917* (U. Washington Press, 1981).

UC Santa Cruz

Nirvikar SINGH is professor of economics at UC Santa Cruz. His major fields of interest include political economy, public finance, federalism, economic development, technology change and growth, international and interstate water disputes, and water allocation. From 1992–1995, he served as chair of the Economics Department at Santa Cruz. In 1997, Singh served as a consultant to the World Bank on issues of local government reform and water issues in India. He is a referee for the National Science Foundation and the University of California Energy Institute.

Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory

Eileen VERGINO is deputy director of the Center for Global Security Research. She is responsible for helping to plan and implement studies in the Center, with an emphasis on examining the ways in which technology can enhance international security. Vergino is the former director of education programs at LLNL. She was responsible for creating, plan-

Management 2002

Campus Program Directory

ning, developing, and implementing education outreach programs with regional and national impact for students and teachers from elementary school through graduate degree programs. She worked for over sixteen years as a seismologist in the LLNL Treaty Verification Program and has a degree in Geophysics from M.I.T.

Los Alamos National Laboratory

Kory BUDLONG-SYLVESTER, Nonproliferation and International Security Division, joined the Steering Committee in 2000. He is a technical staff member working on a variety of nonproliferation and arms control topics. He is currently LANL's principal investigator for a multi-laboratory project that supports the International Atomic Energy Agency in the area of integrated safeguards. Budlong-Sylvester received his Ph.D. from the Nuclear Engineering Department at M.I.T. in 1997.

Campus Program Directory

IGCC FUNDS CAMPUS PROGRAMS that promote undergraduate education, research, and community outreach on each UC campus. Each program is structured differently to best serve student, faculty, and local community audiences. Campus program activities include lectures by visiting scholars, seminar series, minor certificate programs, graduate colloquia, and public symposia. For more information on a particular program, contact the respective campus office.

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Michael J. Watts is professor of geography at UC Berkeley and the director of the Institute of International Studies (IIS), which is the IGCC-affiliated program at UC Berkeley. His research interests include development, food and natural resource policy, Third World political economy, political ecology, famine and other social effects of natural disasters, human rights and gender issues, peasant societies, and markets and the environment. His most recent book is *Globalizing Food* (Routledge, 1997) co-edited with D. Goodman. Watts became director of IIS in 1994.

UC Davis

Institute of Governmental Affairs

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Alan Olmstead is a professor in the UC Davis Economics Department and director of the Institute of Governmental Affairs (IGA), a UC Davis organized research unit. IGA serves as a research base for social science faculty in eight departments and schools on the UC Davis campus. It also hosts visiting scholars from throughout the United States and around the world. Olmstead and IGA agreed to house the UC Davis IGCC campus program beginning in 1994. Olmstead's research interests include economic history, technological change, financial markets, and public policy economics. His current research examines American agricultural history, agricultural productivity, induced innovation, and transition economics.

UC Irvine

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Wayne Sandholtz is a professor in the Department of Politics and Society at UC Irvine. In 1997, Sandholtz was appointed director of the Global Peace and Conflict Studies Program (GPACS), a UC Irvine organized research unit. GPACS has housed the UC Irvine IGCC campus program since its inception in 1983. Sandholtz's research and teaching interests emphasize international political economy, international institutions, and the European Union. He recently completed a project on European monetary integration and is currently researching the emergence of normative rules in international society.

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Geoffrey Garrett is vice provost of International Studies and Overseas Programs and professor of political science at UC Los Angeles. Before joining UC Los Angeles in 2001, he was professor of political science, director of the Program in Ethics, Politics and Economics, and director of the Leitner Program in International Political Economy at Yale University. He has been a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences and a National Fellow of the Hoover Institution. He holds M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Duke University. Prof. Garrett is author of *Partisan Politics in the Global Economy* (Cambridge U. Press, 1998) and has published over forty articles in academic journals on numerous aspects of politics, economics, and law in market economies. His current research focuses on the domestic effects of globalization around the world and on the political dynamics of European integration.

UC Riverside

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Management 2002

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Juliann E. Allison is assistant professor of political science and co-director of the Program on Global Studies at UC Riverside. She received her Ph.D. from UCLA in 1995. She teaches international political economy and environmental politics. Professor Allison's most recent publications include "Trade Liberalization and the Natural Environment: Conflict or Opportunity?," in *Flash Points in Environmental Policy-making*, and "Birds of a Feather: Democratic Alliance Choices in the 20th Century," in the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. In addition to editing *Conflict, Cooperation, and Information*, she is currently completing *Following the Leader: Commitment and Leadership in International Air Quality Negotiations*.

Christopher Chase-Dunn is a Distinguished Professor of Sociology at UC Riverside and co-director of the Program on Global Studies. His recent research focuses on intersocietal systems, including both the modern global political economy and earlier regional world-systems. Chase-Dunn is the founder and co-editor of the electronic *Journal of World-Systems Research*. He is currently organizing an institute for research on world-systems.

UC San Diego

Institute for International Comparative and Area Studies (IICAS)

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The newly formed Institute for International Comparative and Area Studies (IICAS) became the UCSD campus affiliate in

December 2001. Its director, Miles Kahler, is a specialist in international relations and international political economy. His current research and teaching interests include globalization and governance, international relations of the Pacific region, the evolution of the nation-state, international institutions, and the political economy of international finance. Edited and authored publications include *Legalization and World Politics*, *Capital Flows and Financial Crises*, and *International Institutions and the Political Economy of Integration*. From 1994 to 1996 he was Senior Fellow in International Political Economy at the Council on Foreign Relations. Kahler is a member of the editorial board of *International Organization* and of the Executive Committee of the Program for International Studies in Asia.

UC San Francisco

Program in Health Science and Human Survival

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Chris Kiefer is a professor in the Department of Anthropology at UC San Francisco and director of the Program in Health Science and Human Survival, the IGCC-affiliated campus program at UC San Francisco. The program offers the main international health courses available at UC San Francisco and sponsors a multi-campus (UC San Francisco, UC Berkeley and Stanford) International Health Interest Group which has over forty participating faculty. Kiefer's research interests include international health policy and health services delivery in developing nations.

UC Santa Barbara

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Mark Juergensmeyer is a professor in the Department of Global and International Studies, Sociology, and Religion at UC Santa Barbara, and former department chair. Juergensmeyer is chair of the Global Peace and Security Program (GPS), IGCC's affiliated campus program at UC Santa Barbara. He also currently serves as director of the Global and International Studies Program at UC Santa Barbara, which houses GPS. His current research interests include the comparative study of religious terrorism, the study of the sociology of global religion, and ethnographic introductions to religion.

UC Santa Cruz

IGCC-UCSC Program

<http://www2.ucsc.edu/cgirs/programs/igcc/index.html>

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Ben Crow is associate professor of sociology and the campus program director for the IGCC-UCSD Program at UC Santa Cruz, housed at the Center for Global, International, and Regional Studies. Crow's current focus is on peasant agriculture in south Asia; he has spent almost ten years studying the rural rice and finance markets of Bangladesh, exploring the thesis that access to markets varies by social class and gender. Crow, whose work draws upon economics, sociology, and anthropology, was trained as a civil engineer. He earned his B.Sc. in civil engineering from Central London Polytechnic (now Westminster University), and his Ph.D. from the University of Edinburgh. Publications include *Markets, Class and Social Change: Trading Networks and Poverty in Rural South Asia* (Palgrave, 2001) and *Survival and Change in the Third World* (Oxford U. Press, 1988).

Management 2002 Facilities

The Lawrence and Ewa Robinson Complex

THE ROBINSON BUILDING COMPLEX (RBC), home to IGCC's main administrative offices, sits on two acres at the northwest corner of UC San Diego. Located adjacent to the Institute of the Americas, the complex is a "campus within a campus," and houses both IGCC and the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS), the only professional school of international affairs in the UC system. Structures include a 300-seat auditorium, a computer laboratory, lecture halls, the IR/PS Library, student commons, faculty offices, and an administration/student services building.

The complex is named in honor of Lawrence and Ewa Robinson, whose generous donation helped to fund construction of the school, and whose continuing support provides invaluable assistance to IR/PS students and programs.



The Robinson Building Complex is home to the UC San Diego Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies and IGCC's main administrative offices.

Photo: Alan Decker



UC Washington Academic Center

Since 1997, IGCC has maintained offices in Washington, D.C., at the UC Washington Academic Center, which moved to its brand-new facility at 1608 Rhode Island Avenue, NW, in 2001. The eleven-story, mixed-use facility serves both as residence for almost 300 UC students and as home to the University's academic programs in the nation's capital.

The center has several teaching venues, including a 96-seat auditorium on the first floor, a multipurpose room that can be subdivided into three classrooms, a computer lab, a distance learning lab, two seminar rooms, and four conference rooms. All venues have access to the building's extensive array of multimedia, network, Internet, and video-conferencing services. The auditorium is designed to be a showcase for distance learning technology. It is to be not only a teaching venue but also a place for lectures, academic symposia, forums of educators, national policymakers, and leaders, and virtual town meetings.

Visiting IGCC faculty and students may reserve short-term office space in advance by contacting the IGCC Washington office. Doctoral dissertation students and faculty using the Library of Congress holdings can make arrangements through IGCC for the use of study carrels in the Library's Jefferson Building.

The UC Washington Academic Center at 1608 Rhode Island Avenue, NW.

Photo courtesy of UCDC

Noteworthy Announcements

Upcoming Deadlines

Doctoral Fellowships, Faculty Research Grants, and Washington, D.C, Graduate Internships in International Affairs (2003–04)

Applications for fellowships, research grants, and internships are available annually in mid-November from the IGCC web site under “Campus Programs,” or through any of the nine UC campus program offices. These are available only to graduate students and faculty within the University of California system. Application deadlines are the end of January for internships and early February for dissertation fellowships and faculty research and teaching grants. Decisions are usually announced in mid-April. Applicants can find out more about IGCC funding opportunities by emailing igcc-cp@ucsd.edu for a 2004 schedule of campus-based informational workshops.

Visiting Scholar Program

IGCC’s visiting scholar program facilitates independent research by scholars on leave from their home institutions. The institute offers no stipend, but does provide office space, computing support, and Internet access. Space is limited, and preference will be given to scholars whose research relates to ongoing projects at IGCC or who plan to work directly with a faculty member at IGCC or at the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies at UC San Diego. To apply, please send a current curriculum vitae, a brief project proposal, a statement indicating your funding sources, and two references to Director Peter Cowhey. Deadlines are rolling, with award announcements from February through May 2003 for the 2003–04 academic year.

Noteworthy

IGCC Set to Host Prestigious Conference. The Political Economy of International Finance (PEIF) conference brings together top economists and political scientists to share research findings on topics of importance in international finance. In October, Prof. J. Lawrence **BROZ**, Co-Research Director for International Relations at IGCC, presented a paper at the 2002 conference at Georgetown University. IGCC will host the next meeting in La Jolla, California, sometime in January 2004. Expected participants include the Santa Cruz Center for International Economics (SCCIE), the International Monetary Fund, the San Francisco Federal Reserve Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), and the U.S. Treasury Office of International Affairs. The ongoing forum is supported by Harvard University, the International Monetary Fund, and Georgetown’s McDonough School of Business.

Pugwash Conference Held at UC San Diego. The fifty-second Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs was convened at UC San Diego 10–14 August 2002, bringing together participants from more than 50 countries for five days of workshops, panel discussions, and plenary meetings. Discussions revolved around how new developments in science and technology can address the challenges to global sustainability and security facing the international community. Many lectures and plenary sessions were open

to the public, including the keynote address by former Secretary of Defense William **PERRY**. Public Policy and Nuclear Threats mentors Ruth **ADAMS** and Herbert **YORK** were among the presenters.

Student Researcher Wins Environmental Internship. Graduate Research Assistant Susana **FERREIRA** and IGCC Research Director Jeffrey **VINCENT** evaluated the predictive accuracy of new cross-country statistics developed by the World Bank to measure the impact of natural resource depletion on long-run macroeconomic performance. Her work led to a paid 2002 summer internship at the World Bank for Ferreira.

Former IGCC Dissertation Fellows. Jennifer D. **KIBBE**, who received a fellowship in support of work on her dissertation “What Makes U.S. Presidents Decide to Overthrow Other Governments? Toward a Theory of Covert Action Decisionmaking” is now a John M. Olin Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution. Kibbe was a UCDC Fellow in 2000–01 and an IGCC Dissertation Fellow in 2001–02. She received her Ph.D. from UC Los Angeles in 2002. Christopher J. **COSTELLO**, IGCC’s 1999–2000 Sea Grant Fellow, is now an assistant professor of Environmental and Resource Economics at the Bren School of Environmental Science and Management at UC Santa Barbara. He received his Ph.D. from UC Berkeley in 2000.

Noteworthy IGCC Welcomes NSF Post-Doctoral Fellow

MATTHEW POTTS JOINED IGCC in October 2002 as a post-doctoral fellow with a three-year National Science Foundation Bio-Informatics Fellowship. His research focus is the development of spatially explicit tropical forest growth models that integrate the economics and ecology of forest management decisions. Although many different forest models exist, none are currently able to jointly predict timber yield and biodiversity conservation over time. The outputs from this new approach will provide policymakers and economic planners in tropical countries with the tools and knowledge they need to make economically- and ecologically-efficient decisions. In addition, it will hopefully lead to greater awareness and protection of rapidly vanishing biodiversity in tropical forests.

Potts' project is being done in collaboration with IGCC Research Director Jeff Vincent; Professor Takashi Kohyama, Hokkaido University, Japan; and researchers at the Forest Research Institute Malaysia (FRIM). He will be making numerous trips to Malaysia to collect field data and talk to for-

est managers and planners. In his first year at IGCC, Potts has been concentrating on improving his knowledge of environmental economics and developing the conceptual framework of his forest growth model. In July 2003, Potts will move to Sapporo, Japan, for a year to work on the development of species and spatially explicit forest growth models. In the third year of his fellowship, he will return to IGCC to integrate his ecological model with economic data on biodiversity and timber value. The fully integrated model will then be used to test hypotheses about the optimal management of tropical forests for biodiversity and timber value.

MATTHEW POTTS received his B.S. in pure mathematics from the University of Michigan in 1996 and his Ph.D. in applied mathematics from Harvard University in 2001. Prior to joining IGCC, he was a research fellow at the Center for International Development at Harvard University. Throughout his years at Harvard, he was deeply involved in the management and analysis of data drawn from the Center for Tropical Forest Science Permanent Sample Plots.

Noteworthy IGCC Washington Event

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA WASHINGTON CENTER welcomed Prof. Barry Eichengreen (UC Berkeley) for a timely and valuable program on financial institutions on 24 September 2002. Prof. Eichengreen presented the conclusions of his newly published book, *Financial Crises and What to Do About Them* (Oxford U. Press, 2002), and further discussed his research on strengthening international financial architecture and institutions. The event was co-sponsored by IGCC and Oxford University Press.

In his book, Eichengreen describes the progress that has been made in limiting the frequency of crises and strengthening the international financial system, but also shows that initiatives in this area have unintentionally made life more difficult for the poorest countries. Another place where official efforts have fallen short is in not creating new ways of resolving crises. Repeated rescues by the International Monetary Fund allow investors to escape without losses, encouraging them to lend without full regard for the risks. This makes the international system more prone to crisis. That the

IMF has repeatedly come under pressure to bail out countries, however, reflects the absence of other acceptable ways of resolving the financial difficulties of emerging markets. Eichengreen concludes that the best way to enhance the efficiency and stability of international financial markets is by pushing for changes to the provisions of loan agreements that will enhance the capacity of creditors and debtors to resolve financial problems on their own.

Barry **EICHENGREEN** is the George C. Pardee and Helen N. Pardee Professor of Economics and professor of political science at UC Berkeley, where he has taught since 1987. He is also Research Associate of the National Bureau of Economic Research in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Research Fellow of the Centre for Economic Policy Research in London. Prof. Eichengreen has published widely on the history and current operation of the international monetary and financial system. His most recent books are *Capital Flows and Crises* (MIT Press, 2003), and *Financial Crises and What to Do About Them* (Oxford U. Press, 2002).

IGCC NEWSWired: An Annual Review

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The Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation

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