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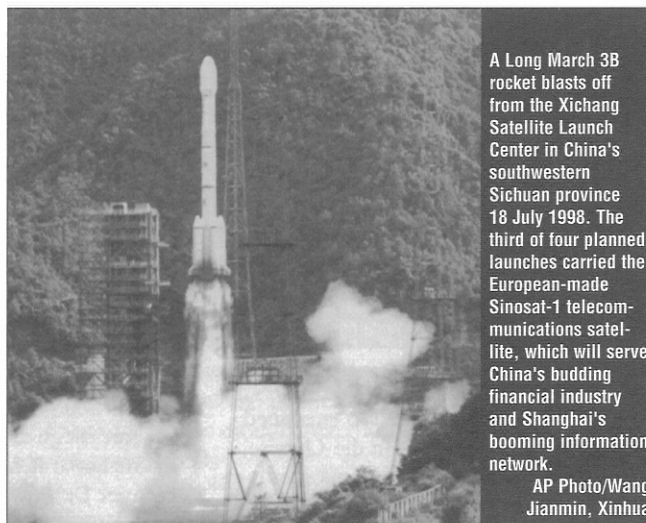
1998-09-01

The New China?

DETERIORATION of the world economy has sparked a heated controversy on the security implications of economic crisis. Until recently, Europe has been relatively immune from Asia's problems. But Russia's continuing collapse poses clear concerns for Europe, particularly if associated with the rise of nationalist sentiment, nuclear proliferation, arms sales, and decline in cooperation with the West. In Asia, where China's economy continues to grow at a robust clip, and Beijing is garnering kudos for its leadership, debate has centered on the relative standing of China and Japan.

Even if motivated by internal calculations, China's decision to support the *renminbi* helped avoid another debilitating round of beggar-thy-neighbor devaluations. Japan, by contrast, mired in recession, has come under harsh criticism for its failure to address financial rot. Critics of the Clinton administration argued that the president's decision to bypass Japan on his summit visit to China (p. 10) signaled a spillover of intra-alliance tension that could affect perceptions of U.S. security commitments. Over the longer run, some see a role reversal, with Japan's position as rising economic superpower becoming eclipsed by China's ascent as it continues to modernize its forces.

A critical issue in evaluating China's regional role is Beijing's relations with the provinces (see *Cadre*, below). Pessimists have argued that China could see its foreign policy pulled by compet-



A Long March 3B rocket blasts off from the Xichang Satellite Launch Center in China's southwestern Sichuan province 18 July 1998. The third of four planned launches carried the European-made Sinosat-1 telecommunications satellite, which will serve China's budding financial industry and Shanghai's booming information network.

AP Photo/Wang Jianmin, Xinhua

ing subnational imperatives, or even break up. More optimistically, Naughton and Yang find possibilities for political liberalization (*Viewpoints*, pp. 8-9).

The South Asian nuclear tests further complicated nonproliferation discussions and brought tough balance-of-power issues onto the regional security agenda. (*Feature*, p. 6) But rather than shutting down multilateral communication, this clash of regional security and economic forces thrust defense transparency and policy planning squarely into the fore at the Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue's Defense Information Sharing Study

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Chinese Cadre Monitoring

CHINA IS BY FAR the world's largest bureaucracy. All Chinese local governments and officials are considered to be subordinate to the central government. As a result, motivating and monitoring local officials is an enormous task.

In 1997, with generous funding from the Smith-Richardson foundation, IGCC embarked on a two-year research study of Chinese internal dynamics titled *China and Its Provinces: The Impact of China's Opening on its Economic and Political Integration*. The study aims to build a province-by-province data-

base to help assess the degree to which China's opening to foreign trade and overseas investment has frayed, strengthened, or altered national integration and central control in China. Toward that aim, Professors Dali Yang, University of Chicago (see *Viewpoints*, p. 9), and Barry Naughton, UC San Diego Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (see *Viewpoints*, p. 8), organized a workshop held in La Jolla, California 6-7 June, 1998. Under the auspices of the project's

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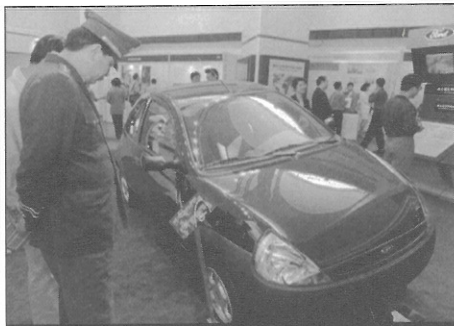
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Chinese Cadre Monitoring

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A Chinese policeman looks at a Ford KA2 car at an auto-mobility environmental protection technology exhibition in Beijing. Economic opening poses significant challenges to environmental protection standards enforcement.
AP World Wide Photos/Greg Baker

Center-Provincial Political Relationship Research Group, the workshop examined control problems inherent in the Chinese government's endeavors to monitor and reform its provincial and local cadre.

Beijing has tried to cope by shedding some functions, and strengthening control over others—for example, by introducing bonus payments linked to economic performance, political control, and compliance with birth planning targets. Officials who perform well on these specified targets receive substantial monetary awards.

At the same time, attempts to control official corruption have been mounted with-

out notable success. Separate monitoring agencies have been established, but in the absence of democratic supervision and public accountability, it is difficult to see much progress.

Over all, the workshop found evidence that the bureaucracy was adapting to immediate challenges, while slimming down and shrinking the scope of government. Less satisfactory was the development of specialized bureaucracies and separation of powers, which seem to be the next pressing items on Beijing's agenda.

The workshop was attended by 14 scholars (see *Participants*, p. 2), of whom 12 presented papers. Prof. Dorothy Solinger, Politics and Society Dept., UC Irvine, and UC San Diego Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies Lecturer Dr. Edwin Winckler served as discussants. Authors are revising the papers for future publication. For more information on the workshop, contact Prof. Barry Naughton, bnaughton@ucsd.edu. For further information regarding IGCC's *China and its Provinces* project, contact Ron Bee, rbee@ucsd.edu, (619) 534-3352. ■

For two participant Viewpoints on whether or not China is engaged in "real" reform, see pp. 8-9.

The New China? *continued from page 1*

Group in Seoul (p. 11), and the U.S.-Japan-Korea trilateral talks in La Jolla (p. 12).

In another region plagued by economic and security tension, UCLA Professor Steven Spiegel's Middle East Arms Control and Security Improvement project—the only multilateral military-to-military forum of its kind—brought regional officers and defense officials to Jordan to continue developing confidence building measures. (p. 5)

On the role of communication in diplomacy, IGCC has invested substantial resources to create web-based mechanisms for disseminating IGCC-funded research. A crucial part of this effort is our *Research Partners Finder*, available via IGCC Online (p. 16), used to identify faculty, project participants, and members of other related institutions by topical or regional interests. *IGCC Publications Online* comprehensively indexes

(and copyright permitting provides full text of) works by the IGCC community. In our *Wired for Peace* project (p. 10), we are experimenting with new ways to use developing technologies for diplomacy, confidence-building and dispute resolution.

Sadly, we must dedicate this issue to the memory of Duma deputy Galina Starovoitova, murdered at age 52, who in the decade before her death emerged from a quiet academic post to leadership in Moscow's democratic movement. As President Boris Yeltsin's senior advisor on nationality issues and co-president of the Democratic Russia Party, she worked closely with reformers Yegor Gaidar, Anatoly Chubais, and Anatoly Sobchak. Known to us for her accomplishments and contributions to IGCC, she will be remembered by all for her courage and commitment to democracy and freedom. ■

China and its Provinces:

The Impact of China's Opening on its Economic and Political Integration

The Center-Provincial Political Relationship Research Group
"Cadre Monitoring" Workshop

La Jolla, California,
6-7 June 1998

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Strategic Weapons Proliferation

WHEN THE PROMOTIONAL flyer for a teaching seminar on strategic weapons proliferation was distributed across the state of California, one line read: "arms control has been less in the headlines and some say, less on the public policy agenda after the Cold War." The flyer was written before nuclear tests by India and Pakistan made headlines; before debate over transfer of U.S. satellite technology to China; before Russia proposed to sell missile technology to Iran; before North Korea threatened to throw out U.S. inspectors, withdraw from the Agreed Framework, and tested a long-range missile over Japan; and well before altercations with Iraq over weapons inspections culminated in renewed U.S. bombing.

By the 20 August 1998 opening day, proliferation issues had not only regained the headlines; the United States struck suspected terrorist and chemical weapons targets in Afghanistan and Sudan. As one result, five television stations descended on IGCC to conduct interviews with experts and seminar participants.

Current and former U.S. officials, representatives of non-governmental organizations, professors from the University of

California, California State Universities, State Community colleges, and UC graduate students attended the three-day event, co-sponsored by IGCC and the Washington D.C.-based Nonproliferation Policy Education Center. They sought to answer the question "how should we teach about strategic weapons proliferation today?" A series of panels aimed to answer that question by discussing nuclear technology and proliferation; nuclear safeguards; chemical and biological weapons technologies and controls; super-terrorism; missile technology and proliferation; the economics of proliferation; competitive strategies and proliferation; proliferation debate; and nonproliferation lessons from Iraq.

The seminar built on the longstanding IGCC traditions of sharing the latest research and writing on nonproliferation topics with those responsible for teaching about international affairs in California's post-secondary public education system, and of building bridges between the academic and policy communities on issues of international public policy.

For more information, contact Ronald J. Bee (rbee@ucsd.edu) ■

— NOTEWORTHY —

Bruce JENTLESON, IGCC Washington Research Director has been selected as the winner of the Chancellor's Award for Excellence in the Mentoring of Undergraduate Research. He has also been awarded a U.S. Institute of Peace senior fellowship for the topic "The United States and the Politics and Strategy of Post-Cold War Peace Operations."

Strategic Assessment in War by UC Davis professor of political science **Scott GARTNER** received Honorable Mention in the American Political Science Association's competition for best book published 1995-97. Former IGCC dissertation fellow **David BARTLETT's** *The Political Economy of Dual Transformations: Market Reform and Democratization in Hungary*, won the 1998 Edward A. Hewett Prize from the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, for outstanding publication on the political economy of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

IGCC Steering Committee Member and UC Irvine professor of political science **Etel SOLINGEN's** *Regional Orders at Century's Dawn: Global and Domestic Influences on Grand Strategy*

was published this year by Princeton University Press. *The Jordanian—Palestinian—Israeli Triangle: Smoothing the Path to Peace* (see Spring 1996 *Newsletter*), edited by **Joseph GINAT** and **Onn WINCKLER**, University of Haifa, was published this year by Sussex University Press.

1996-97 IGCC fellow **Mariana CONTE GRAND** is now teaching in Argentina. As a consultant to the Argentine government, she participated in United Nations climate change negotiations at Buenos Aires. Former IGCC dissertation fellow **David SONNENFELD** contributed "Tragedy and Innovation: Social Movements, Environment, and Technology in Indonesia's Pulp and Paper Industry" to *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 39, 1 (April 1998); and "From Brown to Green? Late Industrialization, Social Conflict, and Adoption of Environmental Technologies in Thailand's Pulp and Paper Industry" to *Organization and Environment* 11,1 (March 1998). UCLA professor of political science **George TSEBELIS** and University of Florida assistant professor of political science **Amie KREPPPEL** co-authored "The History of Conditional Agenda-Setting in

European Institutions" which appears in the *European Journal of Political Research* 33,1(1998). The May 1998 edition of *The World and I* included "When a God Awakes: Symbolism in Japan's Mysterious Creature Movies," by **Jerome F. SHAPIRO**, professor of Integrated Arts and Sciences at Hiroshima University. He also contributed "Atomic Bomb Cinema: Illness, Suffering, and the Apocalyptic Narrative" to *Literature and Medicine* 17, 1 (Spring 1998), a special issue on moving pictures edited by Joanne TRAUTMAN-BANKS.

On 25 June 1998 IGCC Director **Stephan HAGGARD** commented for ProfNet on "The Asia Crisis: A Pivotal Moment" (see <http://www.profnets.com/bubriefs-34.html#1>). IGCC visiting scholar **Dave KANG**, from Dartmouth College, lectured on "Crony Capitalism in Korean Development" at the Center for Korean Studies, UC Berkeley, on 25 September 1998. IGCC-UCDC Fellow **Marc ROSENBLUM** presented his colloquia "Abroad and At Home: Foreign and Domestic Sources of U.S. Migration Policy," 5 October 1998.

THE SANTIAGO SUMMIT OF THE AMERICAS: A FIRST-HAND REPORT

20 April 1998—University of California Washington D.C. Center

Sponsored by: **the University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC)**
in cooperation with the Institute for International Economics and
the North-South Center of the University of Miami

In our Spring, 1998 issue (p. 7) we summarized Prof. Richard Feinberg's firsthand report on the Santiago, Chile Summit of the Americas. The full list of policy audience members from the U.S.

Congress, U.S. government agencies, international organizations, embassies, non-governmental organizations, and think-tanks is now presented below.

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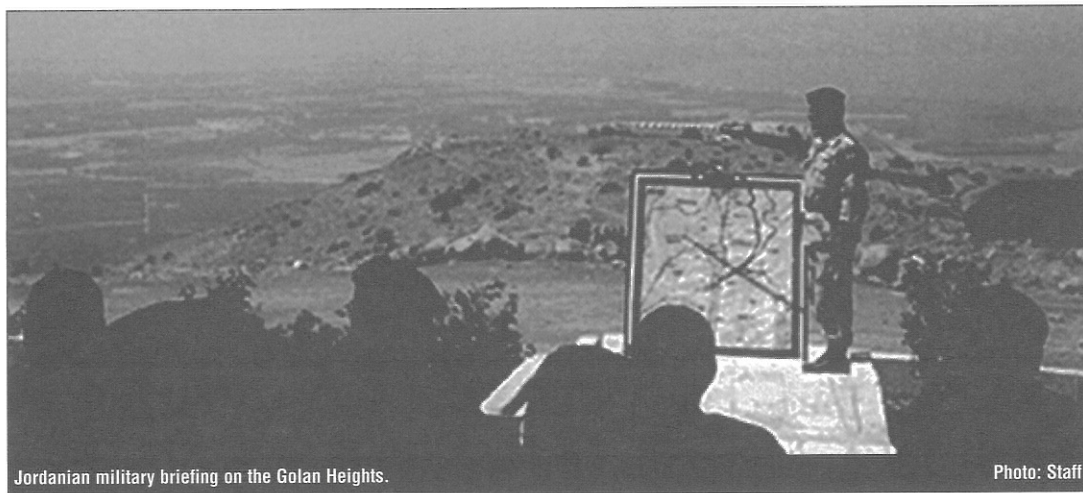
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Arms Control and Security Improvement in the Middle East



Jordanian military briefing on the Golan Heights.

Photo: Staff

AS PART OF ITS continuing effort to promote constructive dialogue among military leaders of the Middle East, IGCC, in conjunction with the Jordanian Armed Forces, hosted its third in a series of six workshops, in Amman, Jordan 13–16 September, 1998. These meetings bring together senior military officers from Arab countries, Israel, and the Palestinian Authority to discuss regional security issues on an informal basis. The meetings are chaired by project leader Prof. Steven Spiegel, political science, UC Los Angeles. He works closely with Prof. Bruce Jentleson, Research Director for Washington at the IGCC/UC Davis Washington Center and Dr. Michael Yaffe, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

The inaugural meeting of this unique series was held 16–19 November 1997 in Washington, D.C. (see Fall, 1997 *Newsletter*, p. 4). During the second meeting, co-hosted by the National Center for Middle East Studies on 23–26 March, 1998 in Cairo, Egypt, regional participants held, *inter alia*, a panel discussion on security concerns in the Middle East and discussed effects of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD).

The Amman conference focused on regional security trends, concentrating specifically on military balances, weapons effects, military doctrine, and the role of the military in improving regional security through arms control, confidence-building measures, and mili-

tary education. The Jordanian Armed Forces presented its national security perspectives, which included an on-site briefing on cooperative de-mining efforts, the strategic significance of the Golan Heights, and border security.

A major address, delivered by Dr. Anthony Cordesman, senior fellow and co-director of the Middle East Program of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C., emphasized that regional parties are not sustaining, equipping and training their troops efficiently. This situation will become exacerbated as preparation for conventional warfare becomes more difficult, expensive, and socially disruptive. Cordesman fears that these problems, in turn, will increase incentives for regional states to obtain nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons as a means to supplement their military power.

Colonel (ret.) Hans Dieter Lemke of Germany's Political Science Institute Research Center for International Politics and Security [Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Ebenhausen] delivered a presentation on military doctrines and future security arrangements, drawing largely on lessons of Cold War military planning, doctrinal development, and arms control in Europe. He noted that Europe may today be experiencing a fundamental change in the military's character and of the soldier's image in

line with a model of the "guardian soldier;" that is, a member of a national armed forces who closely cooperates in a regional security framework to protect regional and national interests. Colonel Lemke suggested that this model of a guardian soldier may some day be applicable to the Middle East, especially under the auspices of a future regional security organization.

organization.

The participants had the opportunity to meet with His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hassan at the Royal Palaces, who expressed great support and interest for the work being done by the group and thanked them for their efforts. When asked a question about the utility of confidence-building measures in the Middle East, the Crown Prince noted that he was deeply in favor of these efforts, but was concerned that others were more obsessed with "obstacle-building measures."

This workshop was made possible by generous hospitality of the Jordanian Armed Forces, and by generous financial support from the U.S. Department of Energy and the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

For comment on related regional security issues, contact: Prof. Miles KAHLER (mkahler@ucsd.edu) on the foreign policy implications of the military crisis and bargaining process between Iraq and the United States; Prof. Paul PAPAYOANOU (ppapayoa@ucsd.edu) on the political economy of security policies, and U.S. domestic policies behind the U.S. response to Iraq and relations with allies; and Prof. Gershon SHAFIR (gshafir@ucsd.edu.) on the Middle East Peace Process, the Israeli peace movement, and national/regional conflict as related to various forms of citizenship. ■

The India-Pakistan Nuclear Tests and East Asian Responses

Robert A. Scalapino

No Surprises

THE DECISION OF the Vajpayee BJP government in New Delhi to conduct nuclear tests in mid-May, 1998, followed several weeks later by tests in Pakistan, was no great surprise to either the major powers or the testers' Asian neighbors. It has long been known that India and Pakistan were nuclear-threshold nations. Relevant external assistance had been available to both nations from a variety of sources. In an earlier era, Russia had provided India with weaponry and military technology, as China and the United States had done for Pakistan. Both had refused to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).

Further, both countries had strong reasons for advancing their nuclear programs. The Kashmir impasse remained, with occasional bloody flare-ups. Key Indians regarded China as a primary threat, not merely because of its growing strategic capacities and economic penetration of peripheral regions, but because of its intimate ties with Pakistan. The Hindu-Moslem cleavage was not alleviated by domestic political events in either nation. India, under its new, hypernationalist government, deeply resented that it had never been accepted as a major power. With Russia's role as ally severely limited by its economic and political crises, and the United States exhibiting minimal regional interest, Indian desires for self-assertion grew. Pakistan witnessed its own rise of determined nationalism amidst deepening unhappiness with U.S. policies.

First Response

In response to the tests, most regional states expressed dismay or regret, albeit muted, and, excepting Australia, without threat of sanctions. Only two East Asian nations responded vigorously: China and Japan.

Beijing reacted quickly, using increasingly harsh words. The Foreign Ministry initially expressed "serious concern," but next asserted "deep shock" at India's "outrageous contempt" for the international effort to halt testing, adding that India's action would have "serious consequences" for South Asian peace and security. While China then joined publicly with other major states in seeking to prevail upon Islamabad to refrain from counter-testing, once Pakistan had done so, Beijing made a clear distinction between tit and tat. When he met with Jean Miot, president of the Agence France Press in Beijing on 3 June, Jiang Zemin reasserted that China opposes all nuclear tests and will not resume them, adding "We oppose the nuclear tests conducted by India and have expressed deep regret over the nuclear tests carried out by Pakistan. However, India originated the tense situation in the region."

Behind these words lay the knowledge that Indian Defense Minister George Fernandes and other Indian leaders viewed China as India's principal threat, and had asserted this publicly. New Delhi worries about China's capacity to engage in rapid military modernization, accepting reports that China is developing new generations of advanced, solid-fuel ICBMs with multiple warheads—and Indian military officials insist that China has been transferring increasing amounts



Robert A. SCALAPINO speaks at IGCC's Washington D.C. Center

Photo: Michael Campbell

of nuclear and missile technology to Islamabad. China cautiously refrained from applying economic sanctions to India, signaling a position soon followed by Russia, France, Britain, and most other European and Asian states.

For Japan's part, Foreign Minister Obuchi Keizo told the Indian Ambassador to his country that Tokyo "strongly demands that India discontinue developing nuclear weapons immediately." Japan subsequently suspended \$26 million in annual non-humanitarian aid grants, and refused to host a World Bank-sponsored meeting to discuss further international assistance. These actions, plus consideration of a partial freeze on loans (annual total: roughly \$1 billion), were naturally unwelcome in New Delhi. After the Pakistan tests, Japan announced that it would also cut subsidized loans and grants (annual total: \$400 million) to Islamabad.

The United States had taken the lead in threatening economic restrictions, but quickly moderated its tough line. Domestic agricultural and business sectors argued that with few nations imposing sanctions,

penalties were ineffective and certain to hurt American producers more than the targeted countries. Abetting these considerations was the powerful realization that unilateral or thinly supported economic sanctions were not likely to produce a change in offenders' policies. Pakistan quickly turned to Gulf nations to compensate for U.S. and Japanese cuts. Whether India and Pakistan would

sign the CTBT would hinge upon other factors. In mid-July, Congress gave President Clinton the authority to temporarily waive most remaining sanctions. For all the rhetoric, evidence suggests their limited application in either country.

Asian Fallout

Several trends dominate the Asian scene. First, the Indian justification for testing—that national security lies either in global disarmament or equal security for all—resonates in many quarters. Why, asks India, is the global nuclear club exclusive? Why should India accept a semi-colonial status, with its security determined for it by others? Still, all Asian states except India and Pakistan have signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and are parties to the CTBT; signatories hope that, with their nuclear status recognized, those two countries will follow suit.

Second, few ASEAN members are prepared to publicly affront China. On the surface, relations between China and most neighbors have improved recently. There is hope that the combination of daunting domestic challenges and growing economic interdependence will encourage China to act in accordance with its oft-repeated Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Yet China's rise as a major power is

**When will we have reliable missiles?
It depends on how you define reliable.**

—Herbert F. York

(U.S. News and World Report, 1959)

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seen as inevitable, and a resurgent nationalism that has relegated Marxism-Leninism to a minor position carries with it the worry of a renewed Middle Kingdom complex. From the perspective of small Asian states—and some large ones as well—it is therefore important to maintain a balance of power. With Pakistan close to chaos and its future alignment feared leaning toward China, India looms as an important part of the balance. Outside South Asia, India's growing military strength is generally viewed as non-threatening. Similarly, the U.S. pledge to retain a strategic position in East Asia with specific treaty commitments to the Republic of Korea and Japan is generally welcomed.

SAARC, the principal regional organ of the South Asian nations, mired in both the India-Pakistan controversy and the Sri Lankan civil conflict, has been able to play little role in support of either peace or prosperity. ASEAN (the more successful sub-regional organization in Asia) served for years to bring regional leaders together, making available a collective voice in negotiations—or confrontations—with the major powers. But its enlargement to add states with very different economic and political systems; the regional economic crisis, with Indonesia (its largest member) in near-chaos; assertion by some states that criticism—even involvement of others in internal crises—is entirely necessary and proper; and bilateral quarrels between members leave ASEAN fighting for its life, with its protégé, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), affected. Solace afforded by a collective body of small states has been replaced by apprehension about neighbors' stability and doubts over degrees of compatibility.

Thus, security issues have increased in complexity throughout South and Southeast Asia. Up to now, the Islamic world has been remarkably united in praising Pakistan's actions, but should the conflict within Afghanistan take on fissure-producing regional dimensions—Iranian involvement, for example—the situation would become even more so. In this setting, Japan's economic health, China's nationalist goals, and the future of U.S. neo-isolationist and protectionist currents all become highly relevant concerns.

Global Fallout

Global responses to the tests raise broader issues. Economic sanctions have again been brought into question as an effective means of punishment or control. When states feel that their national interests are at stake, they are prepared to take substantial risks and accept considerable costs—and it has proven extremely difficult to get agreement from key international players to apply sanctions. (Indeed, the United States had a struggle even to get the Group of Eight to accept the word "condemn" in criticizing India.)

While unilateral action may be particularly effective against those categorized as "rogue states" (think of U.S. strikes in Afghanistan; Sudan), that effectiveness comes at a cost. The U.S. image throughout much of the Islamic world is more negative than at any time in history. Allies elsewhere have been noticeably restrained in their support. If non-proliferation is to remain a major objective, it would seem essential for nuclear states themselves to make progress in weapons control, and a heavy premium rests upon the United States and Russia. It will be difficult to deal with others from a high moral ground until the massive nuclear reserves of these two powers can be significantly reduced, and other nuclear states brought into negotiations for further reductions, transparency and safeguards. Yet START II remains mired in the Duma, stalling START III negotiations.

Equally important will be meeting genuine security needs of non-nuclear states—remembering that security also relates to domestic concerns. Asia's massive economic crisis must receive top priority, with efforts to combine domestic reform with external assistance. While bilateral ties, as between the United States and the Republic of Korea, and the United States and Japan, must be preserved, it is also vital to

strengthen regional negotiating bodies. In Northeast Asia, where these states come into closest contact with China and Russia, and territorial disputes, economic problems, and issues of divided states intersect with greatest intensity, a Northeast Asia Security Organization (NEASO) should be formed—even if initially restricted in scope and dependant upon bilateral talks.

For it is not merely the public demonstration of a long-known nuclear capability in South Asia that calls for a NEASO. We live in an age where three great forces intersect: internationalism, nationalism, and communalism. Only as these three forces are made compatible can security in its most fundamental sense be enhanced—and such integration is of necessity multilateral. Further, intensive multilateral action must be taken on 21st Century survival issues: environmental protection, resource preservation and enhancement, population controls, and the implications of revolutionary military technology. The realm of ICBMs, precision-guided aircraft, and communication satellites may well pose a far greater threat to the security of most nations than nuclear weapons as such. As we continue to wrestle with weaponry that was avant-garde in the mid-20th Century, we must prepare for the far more complex tasks already upon us. ■

Robert A. SCALAPINO is Robeson Research Professor of Government Emeritus at the University of California, Berkeley.

What Now?

What challenges do the Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests pose for U.S. policy? Robert **EINHORN**, U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Nonproliferation, gave an overview to American experts on South Asia at a 22 October 1998 UC DC workshop. Organized by Neil **JOECK** of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL) and Ronald **BEE** of IGCC, the event addressed missile proliferation controls, crisis management, regional confidence-building, and "non-weaponized deterrence" between India and Pakistan. Joeck and colleague Steve **GRAY** explained steps between testing and nuclear weapons production.

Can the United States assert influence on regional nuclear developments? Some held that India and Pakistan were driven by domestic political considerations, not external threats. Others rebutted: because stakes are high for the global nonproliferation regime, the United States must make every attempt to influence outcomes. Prof. Robert **SCALAPINO**, Robson Research Professor of Government Emeritus, UC Berkeley, delivered the keynote (Feature). Mitchell **REISS**, Korean Energy Development Organization (KEDO) commented.

Other participants were: David **ALBRIGHT** (Inst. for Science and Int'l Security), Elizabeth **BOLES** (UC Berkeley), Bruce **BLAIR** (Brookings), Stephen **COHEN** (Brookings), Ed **FEI** (US Dept. of Energy), JoEllen **GORG** (Stimson Ctr.), Tom **GRAHAM** (Rockefeller Foundation), Stephan **HAGGARD** (IGCC), Bob **HATHAWAY** (US House Int'l Relations Committee), Tim **HOYT** (Nonproliferation Policy Education Ctr.), Bruce **JENTLESON** (UC Davis), Peter **LAVOY** (Pentagon), Bob **LEVINE** (National Defense U.), Fred **MACKIE** (LLNL), Jonathan **MEDALIA** (Congressional Research Service-CRS), Jack **MENDELSON** (Arms Control Assoc.), Marvin **MILLER** (MIT), Jerry **MULLINS** (LLNL), Michael **NEWBILL** (Stimson Ctr.), George **PERKOVICH** (W. Alton Jones Foundation), Tony **PINSON** (US Dept. of State), Daniel **PONEMAN** (Hogan & Hartson), Jacqui **PORTH** (US Information Agency.), Brad **ROBERTS** (Inst. for Defense Analysis), Caroline **RUSSELL** (US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency), Bob **SHUEY** (CRS), Henry **SOKOLSKI** (Nonproliferation Policy Education Ctr.), Sung **KIM** (US Dept. of State), Robert **SUTTER** (CRS), Ashley **TELLIS** (RAND), Ken **WIESBRODE** (Atlantic Council of the US), and Leonard **WEISS** (US Senate Government Affairs Committee). ■

United States Policy in China

U.S.-China Policy: The Big Picture

by Barry Naughton

PRESIDENT CLINTON visited China in June following months of criticism of his administration's China policy. So many of the details of that policy have been called into question that we are in danger of losing sight of the big picture. But that big picture should be clear: Deliberate and steady engagement with China works.

Within the past year, policies in China have fundamentally changed in ways that are strongly favorable to American interests and values. They have clearly facilitated and encouraged positive Chinese actions. Indeed, 1997–98 was the most significant period of liberalization since before the 1989 Tiananmen massacre. The opening is so palpable that it is called the “third wave of reform,” after Deng Xiaoping’s initial 1979–80 liberalization, and the second wave of reforms under Zhao Ziyang in the mid-1980s. Asian publications outside China have dubbed 1998 another “Beijing Spring.”

A visit to one of Beijing’s new privately run bookstores reveals a scene inconceivable only a few years ago: Near the entrance, tables are stacked high with the latest popular books. Nearly all discuss the current wave of reforms, and argue for more liberalization and further opening.

Topping the best-seller list is a book called “Crossing Swords”—a direct refutation of the fashionable book of two years ago, which had advocated a new nationalism and assertiveness. According to the authors of “Crossing Swords,” only further opening to outside economic, social and political influence can stimulate the domestic changes that China needs.

In economics, China has launched a difficult and ambitious program of state-owned enterprise reform. For years, China pursued reforms, but held back from attacking the entrenched state-owned companies. But within the last several months, thousands of small-scale state enterprises have been privatized, sold off to managers and workers or converted to joint stock companies and listed on stock exchanges.

These changes are real: Firms are being closed down, restructured and relaunched. The costs are high, too: The number of laid-off state workers has soared, and unemployment has become a significant social and political issue. The Chinese government is willing to persevere in policies that are costly in the short-run, but which lay the foundation for sustained long-run growth.

Finally, China’s policies in the face of the broader Asian financial crisis have been constructive and beneficial to regional and U.S. interests. Less affected than other countries in the region, China has played a positive role by maintaining a strong and stable currency. Inevitably, this means that China has lost export competitiveness compared to other Asian countries that have devalued their currencies.

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Does Constitutional Supervision Have a Real Future in China?

by Dali L. Yang

THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT faces enormous challenges reforming its economy, but some of its recent decisions are drawing surprisingly laudatory reviews. Can we assess who is and will be responsible for decision making? Conventional wisdom gives the Communist Party political supremacy. This is logical, because the Party has been the supreme power, especially in the late Mao era. Today, Party leaders emphasize the supremacy of the Party and repeatedly admit that the Party leads the National People’s Congress (NPC), or legislature. Shortly after former Premier Li Peng took on the chairmanship of the NPC in 1998, he noted that the NPC, State Council, Supreme People’s Court, and the Supreme People’s Procuratorate were all state organs under the leadership of the Party.

But there is growing evidence that the NPC is shedding its rubber stamp image and slowly taking on its role as defined by the Constitution (promulgated in 1982 and since twice amended), which states that *the NPC* is the highest organ of state power, with all power emanating from it. It is the sole body that can amend the Constitution, and supervises its enforcement, including electing the President and Vice President and approving the President’s nominations of Premier, Vice Premiers, State Councilors, and Ministers. The NPC can also recall or remove its appointees from their offices.

Evidence of increasing congressional oversight is apparent in legislation pitting the NPC’s staff against the Legislative Affairs Bureau of the State Council. Recent NPC leaders, even when mentioning the leadership of the Communist Party, nevertheless emphasize the NPC’s constitutional roles. Li Peng’s statement that Chinese laws embody the party line and once made, should not be violated by any individual can be interpreted to mean that they are even applicable to Party leaders.

The constitutional authority of the NPC was conveyed to me by a university professor in Beijing, who was seconded for a special review to an NPC committee. Though not a legislator himself, he invoked the committee’s power to request information and reports from government ministries. In due time, the ministries sent representatives, usually vice ministers, to report on the subject and provide additional information.

Thus far, the NPC has not exercised its power to remove anyone from office or reject a candidate up for NPC approval. There are a number of mechanisms put in place by the Party to ensure this, but official candidates now must go through a round of secret electronic balloting in the NPC. The NPC occasionally holds up approval of laws and the fact that officials have to make reports on the work of government subject to congressional approval also constrains the behavior of party officials. Thus, it is time to examine the impact of an increasingly assertive NPC on political performance.

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U.S.-China policy: The Big Picture

continued from page 8

China's role was critical when the U.S. Federal Reserve intervened to prevent further depreciation of the Japanese currency—and to provide moral support to China, which with Hong Kong has been the main force for stability in the Asian currency markets. It is indeed ironic that the United States and China are acting together to maintain Asian economic stability, while Japan remains on the sidelines, unable to get its house in order.

By keeping its currency strong, China accepts that it cannot rely on export growth to fuel its economic growth and instead began in early 1998 to increase domestic demand in order to maintain growth rates. As a result, by the end of this year, China took in more imports from other Asian countries, and probably more from the United States as well.

That allows the most troubled Asian economies to export their way out of their economic crisis (leaving them more space to export to the United States and Europe) and also means that China's trade imbalance with the U.S. will start to diminish. All these things are good for Asian economic stability, and directly and indirectly good for U.S. interests.

China is a huge and complex nation, and there are many Chinese policies that are misguided and harmful. But overall, China is a nation going forward rapidly: No nation in the world has come as far in the last 20 years. U.S.-China policy is certainly not perfect, but remember:

Political liberalization, economic reform and constructive and realistic international economic policies during a time of international crisis are the big things that affect most people in important ways. The U.S. policy of engagement with China has contributed to positive outcomes in these areas, and as a result has to be judged an overall success. ■

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NAUGHTON is Sokwanlok Professor of Chinese International Affairs at the UC San Diego Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, and is available for media comment on related issues. The real audio version of his 25 June, 1998 National Public Radio *Morning Edition* interview can be heard at: <http://www.npr.org/ramfiles/980625.me.07a.ram>

Does Constitutional Supervision

Have a Real Future in China?

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All Politics are Local

The Constitution also gives local people's congresses the authority to examine and approve plans for economic and social development and the budgets of their administrative areas. While the NPC is more ponderous and more attentively constrained by the Party leadership, a breakthrough in the relationship between people's congresses and government may already have happened in some localities. Beijing, where the party secretary dominated the political scene, is especially instructive. Following the downfall of Party boss Chen Xitong in one of the most visible corruption cases, the Beijing People's

Congress pushed for more supervision over budgeting. By 1997, this increased congressional power appears to have become somewhat institutionalized. Other localities have been able to assert this power more gradually, especially Wuhan, Shenyang, and Guangdong.

The most important explanations of these trends are the Communist Party's declining legitimacy and rising social tensions. Party leaders have sought to overcome these problems by creating new sources of legitimacy, especially the rule of law. As the idea of rule of law becomes widely accepted, it is natural that advocates for constitutional government would be tolerated. Leading figures have

called for people's congresses at all levels to strengthen their monitoring of governments. More officials in their prime are now serving, giving people's congresses greater clout and visibility vis-à-vis the Party and governments. In Guangdong this year, local people's congress elections were hotly contested.

Are these the signs of a transfer of political authority from the government to the people's congresses? If this evolution continues, congressional monitoring of government performance will have a significant impact on the behavior of government leaders. As we assess the groundbreaking political decisions taken by Chinese leaders at all levels, it is imperative to analyze and understand this dynamic. ■

YANG is an assistant professor of political science at the University of Chicago. His books include *Beyond Beijing: Liberalization and the Regions in China* (1997) and *Calamity and Reform in China* (1996).



Workers prepare the wings to be joined with the part of the fuselage of an MD-90-30 passenger jet at the Shanghai Aircraft Manufacture plant in Shanghai, China. The jet is jointly made by China and U.S. aircraft manufacturer McDonnell-Douglas.

AP Photo/Xinhua, Liu Zhongyang

Wired for Peace: Virtual Dialogue in Northeast Asia

W IRED FOR PEACE: *Virtual Dialogue in Northeast Asia* (W4P), a three-year project launched by IGCC in 1997, will test whether internet technologies can improve regional transparency, forge intra-regional working relationships, improve meeting efficiency, and keep alternative lines of communication open if bilateral relationships become divisive in Northeast Asia. These hard-to-measure benefits depend on regional participants' will to engage in a technology-based confidence-building exercise. While W4P has already shown that the technology for an international intranet can work, diplomats and their governments must now decide themselves if "Virtual Dialogue" is a useful tool for better diplomacy.

It does seem clear that when diplomatic relationships are strengthening, as they are in Northeast Asia, such technologies can facilitate and expand those relationships. And, unlike traditional tools, such intranets hold the further possibility of opening or maintaining communications when face-to-face talks are politically impossible. Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD) participants (p. 11) recognize—from policy researchers to academics, from diplomats to uniformed military—that knowledge is power, and the speed by which knowledge is shared influences how power is used, molded, and applied. Given the unabashed enthusiasm IGCC has thus far encountered, we are hopeful about the prospects for regional cooperation using these technologies.

In late 1995, as the Internet exploded off of hacker's desks and into California's Silicon Valley, IGCC and the UC Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL) Center for Global Security Research (CGSR) agreed to examine its potential applications to regional multilateral peace-building, and demonstrated possibilities at the third Workshop on Arms Control and Regional Security in the Middle East, held in Petra, Jordan (see *Policy Paper* 23; Spring 1996 *Newsletter*).

Regional participants, recognizing the possibilities for an information lifeline in a region plagued by border closings, telecommunications gaps, and spotty print distribution, were enthusiastic, but Washington policymakers, at that time far from California's cybersession, were skeptical. IGCC/CGSR persevered, and in 1997 won funding to link social scientists and policymakers with science and technology experts, in order to develop internet



U.S. President Bill Clinton looks over an internet site 1 July 1998 at a Shanghai Internet Cafe.

AP Photo/J. Scott Applewhite

applications for building multilateral cooperation in another region known for unresolved tensions and potential animosities—Northeast Asia.

Seed grants from the United States Institute of Peace and the U.S. Department of Energy, and a \$350,000 equipment and support grant from the INTEL corporation, enabled IGCC, the UC Davis Sun Technology Research Excellence Center, and LLNL's Information and Security Technology Center (ITSC) to launch the project. To support collaborative research and discussion within the NEACD, the team designed a web-based prototype, critiqued by Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and American scholars and technical experts at a multinational workshop held in La Jolla 6–8 May 1998, and tested by multilingual focus groups recruited from the UC San Diego Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies.

Major project milestones were marked by invited presentations by Wired for Peace project manager Jennifer Pournelle at the third International Security Forum "Networking the Security Community in

the Information Age" conference, held in Zürich, Switzerland from 19–21 October 1998, and the eighth NEACD plenary held 11–13 November 1998 in Moscow. The meetings proved hugely successful and inaugurated equipment fielding.

Co-organized and co-sponsored by the Center for Security and Conflict Studies at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH), the Swiss Department of Defense, the George C.

Marshall European Center for Security Studies, and the NATO Defense College, the Zürich event hosted hundreds of European Community participants from government ministries, research institutes, universities, and non-governmental organizations, with a keynote address delivered by Ambassador Sergio Balanzino, Deputy Secretary General of NATO. Pournelle kicked off a panel on computer-enhanced negotiation that also featured presentations by representatives from three W4P partner institutions:

Columbia University, the International Relations and Securities Studies Network at ETH, and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. The panel delivered recommendations to the plenum, which included senior-level members from major U.S./European security community bodies such as NATO, Partnership for Peace, and OSCE.

Pournelle and LLNL ITSC programmer Pamela Harris then co-presented at the Moscow plenary (see the forthcoming Spring, 1999 *Newsletter*). They showed how all NEACD participants can have readily available, user-friendly access to documents and data on regional security cooperation in the language of their choice. IGCC reached its first cooperation and fielding agreement with the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Far Eastern Studies (IFES) in December 1998, and is planning to conclude similar agreements with Chinese, Korean, and Japanese counterparts in the spring of 1999. For more information, contact Jessie Zhou (jiezhou@ucsd.edu), or Dan Pinkston (dpinkston@ucsd.edu). ■

Wired for Peace: Virtual Dialogue in Northeast Asia

SECURITY AND INTERNET TECHNOLOGY PLANNING WORKSHOP

6-8 May, 1998, La Jolla, California

A Project of: UC IGCC, UC Davis SunTREC, and UC-managed LLNL CGSR

Sponsored by: INTEL Corporation, United States Institute of Peace, and United States Department of Energy

Hosted by: University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation



Wired for Peace Security and Internet Technology Planning Workshop participants following a tour of the San Diego Supercomputer Center.

Photo: Alan Decker

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Defense Information Sharing Breakthrough

THE SECOND MEETING of the Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD) Defense Information Sharing (DIS) study project, the first multilateral military-to-military forum involving active members of the military and defense establishments of China, Japan, South Korea, Russia, and the United States, met 8–9 July 1998 in Seoul, Korea (see *Participants*, p. 13).

The U.S. DOE-founded event provided attendees an opportunity to discuss current examples of defense transparency, based on a compendium of NEACD governments' most recent white papers, gathered and disseminated by the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) (see "Read" at <http://neacd.llnl.gov/>). Defense Ministry/military officials made presentations related to these. They highlighted documents that were released in 1998—the first year that all five NEACD countries will have published a transparency document in the same year (in July, China released what is essentially its first defense white paper; Russia followed suit in the fall)—and described some of the processes and difficulties in determining what information is published in them.

Three themes dominated discussion: the purposes of a DIS document; potential topics for inclusion in a DIS document; and the US–Japan Guidelines as an example of how transparency can contribute to regional security and confidence-building.

Participants identified three fundamental "transparencies" promoted by DIS documents. The first—and widely considered the most important—is transparency with a country's own citizens. DIS documents are a government's best tool for communicating threat perceptions, defense strategies, and military budgets to its own people. The second is transparency with a country's neighbors and the international community: sharing perceptions, strategies, and budgets broadly with other governments helps generate concrete bases for discussion. Finally, and not to be overlooked, is the importance of DIS documents as a source of information for scholars and security policymakers, who deepen discussion with their analyses of regional security and defense issues.

Because individual nations play differing roles in global security relations, and have differing political and social organizational structures, that no single model exists for a good DIS document is widely accepted. Nevertheless, participants advanced ideas about types of information that would be most useful for achieving domestic, international, and scholarly transparency, including:

- Defense policy and doctrine, especially regarding threat definition;
- Military force structure;
- Military budget data, including definition of what is included, what excluded, and how calculated;
- Ministry of Defense organizational structure and decision-making; and
- Force modernization and future force planning.

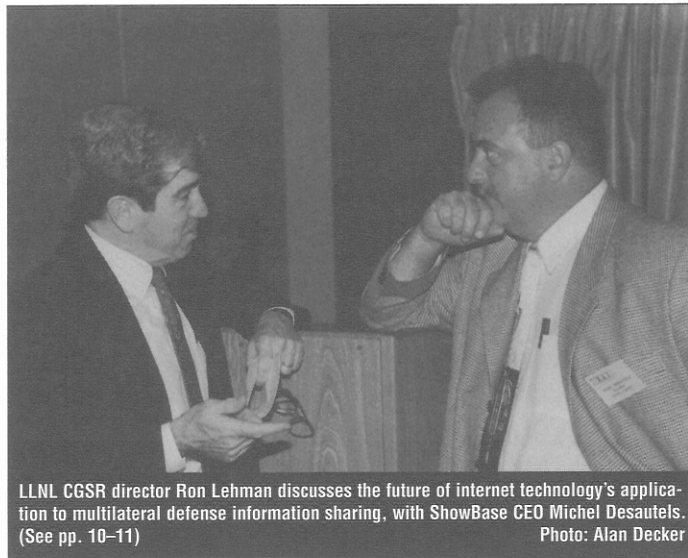
Several presentations addressed the effects of the regional financial crisis on national defense planning, concluding that Japan's military budget will be flat for three years, Russia's military has been reduced several times over, and South Korea has reduced/delayed weapon procurement plans.

Discussions of transparency surrounding the *US–Japan Defense Guidelines* provided an excellent example of the importance of DIS documents. Highlighting the significance of these *Guidelines* for both Japan's domestic audience and its regional neighbors, U.S.–Japan security arrangements were accorded their own separate chapter for the first time in the United States' 1998 version of *Defense of Japan*.

The meeting took advantage of its location in Seoul to devote a session to analysis of the security situation

on the Korean peninsula. United States Ambassador to South Korea Stephen Bosworth, former Executive Director of the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO—implementors of the Agreed Framework between the United States and North Korea), led off the discussion with a sobering assessment of the security situation in Korea. This was complemented by perspectives from Prof. Lho Kyongsoo, Seoul National University, and Dr. Koo Bon-hak, Korean Institute for Defense Analyses (KIDA).

Participants appreciate the DIS project's heavy emphasis upon participation by defense and military officials, and agreed to proceed with exploring areas of defense information sharing suggested by the range of options outlined above in more depth. The project's momentum was accelerated at the November 1998 NEACD VIII plenary in Moscow, Russia, where participants shared their perspectives on Northeast Asian security, assessed NEACD's role in the region's security architecture, analyzed the potential security impact of the year-long financial crisis gripping the region, and reviewed a prototype of IGCC's Wired for Peace project, which aims to provide a regional mechanism for easy exchange of such information (see p. 10). A full report will follow in the Spring, 1999 *Newsletter*. ■



LLNL CGSR director Ron Lehman discusses the future of internet technology's application to multilateral defense information sharing, with ShowBase CEO Michel Desautels. (See pp. 10–11)
Photo: Alan Decker

NORTHEAST ASIA COOPERATION DIALOGUE

Defense Information Sharing Study Project
Seoul, Korea, 8-9 July, 1998

Sponsored by IGCC, with generous support
from the U.S. Dept. of Energy

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IGCC Hosts U.S.-Japan-Korea Trilateral Talks

IGCC'S ROLE as a primary center for research and confidence-building in Asian security and diplomacy was highlighted 29-30 June 1998 when it hosted official Trilateral Talks among Dept. of State/Ministry of Foreign Affairs Policy Planning staff from Japan, South Korea, and the United States. Policy planners from the three countries meet annually (sometimes more frequently) to discuss regional and global foreign policy issues. These policy planning talks—open to official participants only—provide a unique and important conduit at the Assistant Secretary or Director General level among three major Asian-Pacific powers for foreign policy coordination and exchange of views on current issues.

Hosting responsibilities are rotated and it is customary for the venue to be outside the host country's capital. IGCC and La Jolla offered a perfect location for the meeting, given IGCC's coordination role in the unofficial, track-two multilateral Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (pp. 10-13 above), in

which many of the same officials participate in their private capacities. South Korea hosted last year's meeting in Kyongju, the ancient capital of the Silla Dynasty.

Delegates included: from the U.S. State Department, the Director of Policy Planning and the head of the Korea Desk; from Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Director General of the Foreign Policy Office, the Director of Policy Planning, and the Director of National Security Policy; and from the Republic of Korea's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Deputy Minister for Policy Planning, the Deputy Director-General for North American Affairs, and the Director of Inter-Korean Policy.

Attendees also received some exposure to the San Diego community. San Diego Padres General Manager Larry Lucchino hosted the delegates in the owner's box at a home game, while IGCC hosted a dinner at which participants were introduced to leading international affairs scholars in the UC San Diego Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies. ■

1998–99 IGCC Fellowships and Grants Awarded

IGCC/MacArthur Fellowships in Regional Relations—European Regional Integration

- CICHOWSKI, Rachel A.**, UCI, Politics & Society, *The Evolution of Environmental and Social Priorities for Europe: Interest Groups, the European Court and the Construction of Supranational Policy.*
- DARDEN, Keith A.**, UCB, Political Science, *Creation of New Forms of Regional Order in the Former Soviet Union.*
- JABKO, Nicolas P.**, UCB, Political Science, *The New Europe and the Market from Organizational Strategy to Institutional Change.*
- MOOSEBRUGGER, Lorelei K.**, UCSD, Political Science, *Institutions with Environmental Consequences: The Politics of Agrochemical Policy Making.*

IGCC/MacArthur Faculty Fellow in Regional Relations—European Regional Integration

WEBER, Steve, UCB, Political Science

IGCC Fellows

- BAUM, Matthew A.**, UCSD, Political Science, *Managing Foreign Crises in the Communication Age: How the Media and Public Opinion Constrain the Decision to Use Force.*
- FEELEY, Maureen C.**, UCSD, Political Science, *Institutionalizing Human Rights in Kenya: The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations and Transnational Advocacy Networks.*
- HOWARD, Lisa Marje**, UCB, Political Science, *Organizational Learning and Forgetting: The United Nations and Civil War Termination.*
- HUGHES, David M.**, UCB, Anthropology, *War, Refugees and the Environmental Conflict on*

the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border.

- MEYER, Megan B.**, UCLA, Social Welfare, *Cross-National Study of Peace and Conflict Resolution Organizations.*
- HICKEN, Allen D.**, UCSD, International Relations and Pacific Studies, *Political Institutions and the Credibility of Commitments.*
- ORRENIUS, Pia M.**, UCLA, Economics, *The Role of Income Shocks in Migration Behavior and Migrant Self-Selection: The Case of Return Migrants From Mexico.*
- POGGO, Scopus S.**, UCSB, History, *War and Conflict in Southern Sudan, 1955–1972.*
- ROSS, Amy J.**, UCB, Geography, *Geographies of Justice: Truth Commissions in Guatemala and South Africa.*
- SEAVER, Brenda M.**, UCI, Politics & Society, *Democratic Instability and War: How Democratization Leads to International Conflict (1816–1995).*
- SHARLACH, Lisa B.**, UCD, Political Science, *Sexual Violence as a Political Terror: A Comparative Study.*
- STATLER, Kathryn C.**, UCSB, History, *The Franco-American Conflict over Indochina 1950–1956.*
- TEGHILLO, Tamara Ree**, UCI, Anthropology, *Jardin de Infantes: Adoption, Children's Rights, and National Resurrection in Argentina.*

IGCC/UCDC Fellow

ROSENBLUM, Marc R., UCSD, Political Science, *Abroad and at Home: Foreign and Domestic Sources of U.S. Migration Policy.*

IGCC Faculty Research Grants

GOLDEN, Miriam, UCLA, Political Science, *The Politics of International Openness and Labor Markets.*

HASEGAWA, Tsuyoshi, UCSB, History, *The Summer of 1945: The Atomic Bomb, the Soviet–Japanese War, and Japan's Surrender.*

KARP, Larry, UCB, Agricultural and Resource Economics and Policy, *Why Do Developed and Developing Countries Disagree about "Joint Implementation" of Environmental Measures?*

LAKE, David A., UCSD, Political Science, *The Rent Seeking State: Monopoly Politics, Democratic Control and Political Authority.*

STEIN, Arthur A., UCLA, Political Science, *Assassins of Accord: Extremists and Peace Agreements.*

SWEET, Alec Stone, UCI, Politics & Society, *The Judicialization of the Trade Regime.*

IGCC Faculty Research Conference Grants

- DIMENTO, Joseph F.**, UCI, Global Peace and Conflict & Urban and Regional Planning, *The Third Generation of International Environmental Law: Phase I, Irvine Conference.*
- FEINBERG, Richard E.**, UCSD, APEC Study Center and Grad School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, *Tracking APEC Implementation.*
- MARTIN, Philip**, UCD, Agricultural Economics, *Another Miracle? Managing Migration in Asia.*
- MORGAN, Patrick**, UCI, Politics & Society, *The Liberal Transition: Understanding the Evolution of the East Asian Regional International System.*
- PION-BERLIN, David**, UCR, Political Science, *Civil-Military Relations in South America: New Analytical Perspectives.*

IGCC Graduate Summer Interns

FUNDED BY a generous grant from the UC Office of the President, five IGCC graduate interns in international affairs (see Spring 98 *Newsletter*, p. 14) worked at Washington D.C.-based agencies from 22 June–28 August 1998. IGCC's Washington office was instrumental in obtaining their first-choice placements.

Timothy **KNICKERBOCKER**, UC San Diego Dept. of Anthropology studied Kenyan community-based conservation at the World Resources Institute.

Nadezhda **MARINOVA**, UC San Diego Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, did environmental impact studies at the World

Bank's Development Research Group.

Judith **STEVENSON**, UC Los Angeles Dept. of Anthropology helped develop a version of the Women, Law and Development International (WLDI)'s "Human Rights Step-by-Step" program for teaching human rights advocacy skills to women in developing countries, for implementation in South Africa.

Charles **SONG**, UC San Diego Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies and American University School of Law, conducted field interviews for the International Human Rights Law Group's Cambodia Project.

Gerhard **PETERS**, UC Santa Barbara Dept. of Political Science, in the Congressional Research Service's Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division, updated NATO expert Stanley Sloan's report to Congress on Senate consideration of accession of Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary to the North Atlantic Treaty.

For information on or applications for internships at the IGCC Washington office, contact IGCC Washington Research Director Professor Bruce W. Jentleson (bjentleson@ucdavis.edu), or International Affairs Program Coordinator Monique Kovacs (mkovacs@ucsd.edu). ■

IGCC/MacArthur Spring Seminars Examine Regional Order and Global Forces on the Environment

WHAT IS A REGION? Does geography, economics, international agreement, ethnicity or a combination of these things define regions? What forces influence nation states to cooperate and others to be excluded? *Do Regional Relations Matter?* On 15–16 May 1998, nine IGCC/MacArthur Scholars in Regional Relations presented aspects of European political and economic regional integration, the politics of integrating immigrant communities, economic integration in the states of the former Soviet Union, and domestic constraints on European industrial assistance in Newport Beach, CA. The participating faculty (including several contributors to *Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World*, David A. Lake and Patrick M. Morgan, eds., Penn State Press, 1997) provided valuable feedback.

On 31 May–1 June 1998, IGCC returned to Newport Beach to host *The Environment in Context: Democracy, Capitalism and Culture*, organized by IGCC/MacArthur Scholars in International Environmental Policy. Perhaps influenced by the location, the group's mentor, Professor Helen Ingram, School of Social Ecology, UC Irvine, opened the seminar by re-christening the Cold War as the "muscle beach" era for global environmental protection, in that

bilateral conflicts of large global actors then largely overshadowed environmental concerns. The five Ph.D. students who presented their dissertation research illuminated how present-day research methodologies and discourse on international environmental policy take cultural influences, nongovernmental (NGO) actors, and the forces of economic liberalization into greater consideration. Participants included academics, governmental policy analysts, and NGO representatives.

IGCC's three-year Ph.D. fellowship program on the study of regional relations and regional international environmental policy (see Spring, Fall, 1997 *Newsletters*) has thus far directly benefited over thirty junior scholars; many more have indirectly benefited through participation in annual research seminars. The IGCC/MacArthur program continues in 1998–99, with scholars examining various aspects of European regional integration. All revised seminar papers are made available via IGCC Online, and several are in press in the IGCC Policy Paper and Policy Brief series (see p. 16). For more information, or copies of the seminar materials, contact IGCC Campus Programs Assistant Jennifer Harrison (jharrison@ucsd.edu). ■

Steering Committee Additions

IGCC IS PLEASED to welcome four new members to its 1998–99 Steering Committee. From UC Berkeley, political science professor Steve **WEBER** was nominated to become the committee chair, and will be replaced by Professor Nancy **PELUSO**, Environmental Sciences and Policy Management. From UC Davis, Emily O. **GOLDMAN**, political science professor and director of the International Relations Program will replace professor of environmental studies Peter **RICHERSON**. Professor Mark I. **LICHBACH**, chair, political science, will replace professor David **PION-BERLIN** from the same department at UC Riverside. Finally, from the UC Los Angeles department of political science, Professor Deborah W. **LARSON** will replace Professor Arthur **STEIN**. IGCC thanks the departing members for their dedicated service to the committee. For more information see "Faculty and Staff" at IGCC Online (<http://www-igcc.ucsd.edu>). ■

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Books

Regional Orders at Century's Dawn: Global and Domestic Influences on Grand Strategy

Etel Solingen, ed.

Princeton University Press, 321 pp., 1998, ISBN 0-691-05880-6 (paper)

The Jordanian-Palestinian-Israeli Triangle: Smoothing the Path to Peace

Joseph GINAT and Onn WINCKLER, eds.

Sussex University Press, 220 pp., 1998
ISBN 1-898723-82-6 (hardcover)/1-902210-03-4 (paper)

IGCC Policy Briefs ISSN 1089-8352

Averting Water Wars: Managing the Israeli-Palestinian Water Crisis

David Zilberman and Richard Carson
IGCC-PB No. 11, December 1998

IGCC Policy Papers ISSN 1088-2081

The Changing Order in Northeast Asia and the Prospects for

U.S.-Japan-China-Korea Relations

Robert A. Scalapino

IGCC-PP 47, December 1998

ISBN 0-934637-63-6

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Michael Stankiewicz, ed.

IGCC-PP 45, October 1998

ISBN 0-934637-61-X

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Paul A. Papayoanou and Scott L. Kastner

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