

UC San Diego Newsletters

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From the Director

The dramatic world events of 1991 continued to astound us.

In the Soviet Union, the August defeat of the military coup and the end of communist party rule brought the Cold War to a definitive end after shaping the lives of two generations of people both East and West. In September, American unilateral cuts in tactical nuclear weapons, followed by similar Soviet cuts, broke the pattern of arms build-ups and negotiated arms reductions that had dominated international thinking for forty years.

As a result of these events, people throughout the world now feel that the threat of nuclear war between the superpowers is more remote than it has ever been. Yet our celebrations have been muted in tone. While the bipolar balance of power created great hazards, it also imposed a structure of predictability and stability on the world. With the old structure demolished, what will emerge to take its place?

New strategic uncertainties have emerged in the post-Cold War world:

- Suddenly the spectre of economic collapse, ethnic regional conflict, and loose nuclear weapons within the former Soviet Union seems just as disturbing as our old images of Soviet military threats.

- The reports of the United Nations inspectors revealing how badly we had underestimated the Iraqi nuclear weapons program have intensified our anxieties about nuclear proliferation in the Third World.

- The Pacific region has been relatively stable, however, there is increasing concern that American military reductions might trigger



Turbulent times in the Soviet Union: A crowd of about 100,000 people marches through Red Square in Moscow celebrating the collapse of August's hard-line military coup. (AP Wire Photo)

build-ups by the Japanese or the Chinese.

The end of military competition between the superpowers does not mean the end of armed conflict in the world, much less the end of history (in Francis Fukuyama's provocative term). Facing an entirely new security environment, IGCC has renewed its commitment to military security and arms control questions. From both an intellectual and a policy perspective, military security and arms control issues have become interesting again. The old bipolar structure is gone and the new structure is still inchoate. In the past each country could clearly identify its main threats; now each country faces a set of complex inter-

national possibilities that constitute strategic uncertainties instead of well-defined threats. How will nations respond to these uncertainties, and how will their responses aggregate? In other words, what will the new world order actually be?

IGCC is marshalling the formidable intellectual resources of the UC system and linking them to policy specialists outside the university to make sense of this new strategic environment. It has done this in several ongoing and new projects focusing on theoretical issues, regional security arenas, and nuclear proliferation.

To explore the fundamental theoretical questions raised by the new strategic environment, IGCC

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Noteworthy

Susan L. Shirk Appointed Acting Director of IGCC

Susan L. Shirk, a professor in UC San Diego's Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies and in the Department of Political Science, was appointed acting director of IGCC in the summer of 1991. Shirk replaces John Ruggie, who now serves as the dean of Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs.

Shirk, who holds a doctorate from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has just completed a book manuscript, *The Political Logic of Economic Reform in China* (University of California Press, forthcoming). Previous publications include her book, *Competitive Comrades: Career Incentives and*



Susan Shirk Student Strategies in China, and her edited book, *The Challenge of China and Japan*. Shirk serves on the board of directors for the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

UC San Diego Names Sciences Building after Herbert F. York

The University of California's Board of Regents has changed the name of the Undergraduate Sciences Building at UC San Diego to the "Herbert F. York Undergraduate Sciences Building". The change, recommended by UC President David P. Gardner, honors York's distinguished service as first chancellor of UC San Diego and his leadership as founding director of the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation. It also recognizes his role in the areas of national defense and public policy.



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is supporting inter-campus workshops. International relations scholars from all the UC campuses and several other universities on the west coast meet every six weeks in an inter-campus workshop on international change and international relations theory organized by David Lake (UC Los Angeles). A workshop led by Beverly Crawford (UC Berkeley) and Ronnie Lipschutz (UC Santa Cruz) examined the concept of "security" itself and how it was changing in the world today. Randy Siverson (UC Davis) held a workshop that discussed the behavior of democracies in international conflicts, considering the implications of the worldwide wave of democratic transformations for international relations.

With the end of global strategic competition between the superpowers, nations are focusing their attention on the strategic uncertainties in their own region. IGCC has also turned its attention to regional security in projects on the Pacific (led by Miles Kahler, UC San Diego), Middle East security (Steven Spiegel, UC Los Angeles), and Latin American security (Peter Smith,

UC San Diego). All three of these projects consider the prospects for multilateral approaches to confidence building and arms control in the regions after the end of the cold war.

IGCC is addressing the new fears of a new post-cold war epidemic of nuclear proliferation by examining three pairs of current or potential nuclear enemies: Argentina and Brazil, India and Pakistan, and the two Koreas. The first conference on this topic, planned for 1992, will examine why the governments of Argentina and Brazil decided to back away from nuclear weapons development programs, and consider whether this experience offers lessons for the India-Pakistan and Korea situations (for additional information about this project, see Thomas Graham's article elsewhere in this newsletter). IGCC and the Livermore Laboratories will also hold a teaching seminar for California higher education faculty on nuclear non-proliferation issues during the spring 1992. ■

—Susan Shirk

New Members Join IGCC Steering Committee

The IGCC Steering Committee has a number of new members for 1991-92, including a new chair. Randolph M. Siverson, political science, UC Davis, replaced John P. Holdren of the Energy and Resources Group, UC Berkeley, as chair of the committee last spring. IGCC greatly appreciates Holdren's contributions as chair of the steering committee and welcomes Siverson back into the IGCC fold. Siverson

was a member of the Special Committee of the Academic Council on Global Security and Cooperation, usually known by the name of its chair as the Haas committee, which recommended, in 1982, the establishment of IGCC and specified its scope and mission. Siverson was an early member of the Steering Committee and also chaired the search committee which conducted an interim review of IGCC in 1989

The Debate Over Nuclear Weapons:

IGCC's Research Agenda

By Thomas W. Graham

and recommended John Ruggie as the director to replace the retiring founding director, Herbert F. York.

Etel Solingen, a political scientist in UC Irvine's School of Social Sciences and a former IGCC graduate fellow, was appointed to the Steering Committee in the summer of 1990 to replace Julius Margolis, a UC Irvine economist. Due to the press of other commitments, Solingen had to resign from the committee and was replaced this fall by Patrick M. Morgan, an international relations specialist who recently accepted the Tierney Chair in Peace and Conflict Studies at UC Irvine.

Also this fall, William R. Frazer, Senior Vice President for Academic Affairs, appointed David Belanger to replace Joel Primack as the UC Santa Cruz representative (both are physicists); David R. Mares to replace Ellen Comisso as the UC San Diego representative (both are political scientists); Thomas B. Newman, Department of Pediatrics, to replace Thomas M. Christie, School of Dentistry, as the UC San Francisco representative, and reappointed John F. Lofland, sociology, as the UC Davis representative. Committee members whose terms are continuing include Frederick Cummings, physics, UC Riverside; John Hopkins, Center for National Security Studies, Los Alamos National Laboratory; Walter Kohn, physics, UC Santa Barbara; David Lake, political science, UC Los Angeles; Milo Nordyke, Center for Technical Studies of Security, Energy and Arms Control, Livermore National Laboratory; Herbert F. York, physics, UC San Diego (ex officio); and John Zysman, political science, UC Berkeley. ■

One year ago, IGCC held an international conference in La Jolla which reviewed academic and policy thinking on nuclear weapons and arms control. At that time, the central debate focused on three questions: how large could reductions be in strategic nuclear weapons in a START II agreement; when would movement toward finite deterrence require including the U.K., France, and China in strategic arms control negotiations; and what is the relationship between strategic nuclear offense and defense weapons and nuclear proliferation.¹ A great deal has changed in this field in the last year. This essay reviews key developments in the field which have influenced IGCC's current research on arms control.

In September, 1991 the National Academy of Science's Committee on International Security and Arms Control (CISAC), chaired by IGCC Senior Fellow Mike May, completed its report on *The Future of the U.S.-Soviet Nuclear Relationship*. It called for a post-START II strategic nuclear force of 3,000-4,000 actual warheads, elimination of the most vulnerable forces such as MIRVed ICBMs, and elimination of tactical nuclear weapons based in Europe. It also called for improved technical and procedural steps to further reduce the chance of inadvertent nuclear war, discussion among the four Pacific powers (U.S., Japan, China, and USSR) about nuclear weapons matters and confidence building, and increased attention to nuclear proliferation.

The arguments presented in this important report, which track closely with discussion at the February 1991 IGCC conference, are likely to frame the debate over strategic nuclear weapons for the foreseeable future.

However, strategic nuclear weapons are not likely to remain the center of international debate over nuclear weapons for the next several years. As a result, IGCC will emphasize nuclear proliferation in its research during the 1991-92 academic year.

Tactical Nuclear Weapons

George Bush's unilateral initiative withdrawing and destroying all ground-launched short range nuclear forces, denuclearizing the surface ship Navy, terminating the MX and Midgetman programs, and eliminating modernization of various US nuclear systems has transformed the international nuclear landscape.² Most media discussion of the U.S. initiative has emphasized the possible lack of central control of tactical nuclear weapons in the Soviet Union. Less discussed has been the impact on the Pacific. Until the Bush initiative and President Gorbachev's response, U.S. policy with regard to nuclear weapons in the Pacific was considered by many as an obstacle to confidence building in that region.

Discussion at IGCC's international conference on Pacific security in the post-Cold War era, held in Beijing in mid-September, emphasized the need for a multi-year, multinational research effort on nuclear weapons and naval arms control in the Pacific.³ IGCC is reorienting its research to focus on the broad uncertainties facing security planners and academic specialists in the Pacific region. To supplement current research in the field, IGCC has established a Working Group on Military Security in the Pacific which will draw on the expertise of retired and active duty military officers in the San Diego and Southern California area.

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Noteworthy

Appoints New Postdoctoral Fellows

Qingguo Jia and **Eiichi Katahara** received IGCC postdoctoral fellowships in international peace and security for the 1991-92 academic year.

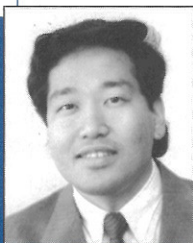
Jia is currently completing a book based on his dissertation, "Unmaterialized Rapprochement:



Qingguo Jia

Sino-American Relations During the Mid-1950s." After receiving his doctoral degree in government from Cornell University, he taught successively at the University of Vermont (1987), Peking University (1988-89), and Cornell University (1990-1991). He has published a number of articles on Sino-American relations, China's foreign policy, and Chinese domestic politics. Beside working on his book, Jia is conducting research for a new project on the relationship between cultural variations and inter-state relations in the Asia-Pacific region in the post-Cold War era. During his stay with IGCC, Jia is teaching a graduate seminar on China's foreign policy in UC San Diego's Graduate School on International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS) and participating in IGCC's on-going project concerning Pacific security relations.

Katahara was educated at Keio University (B.Ec.), the Australian National University (M.A. in International Relations) and Griffith University (Ph.D. in Asian and International Studies).



Eiichi Katahara

Before taking up his current position, he was a Lecturer in Japanese Politics in the Department of Political Science and a Research Fellow in the Australia-Japan Research Centre, both at the Australian National University, Canberra. Apart from working on the IGCC's project on Pacific security relations, Katahara is writing a book manuscript, "The Politics of Japanese Security Policy Making." He will also teach a course on Japan's foreign and defense policies at IR/PS.

James Clay Moltz is spending a second year as a postdoctoral fellow at IGCC. He is conducting research on Soviet foreign economic policy as well as on changing conceptions of security in the Asian-Pacific region. During the fall quarter, Moltz is teaching Soviet Foreign Policy at IR/PS. Moltz's article, "Soviet Assessments of the East Asian Economic Model," will appear in the next issue of the journal *Soviet Economy*.

Debate continued from page 3

Nuclear Proliferation

Developments in Iraq, North Korea, and Iran have increased the salience of the problem of nuclear proliferation. IGCC has four projects in the area. The first involves examining the current policy debate between winning versus managing nuclear nonproliferation.⁴ In cooperation with scholars at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and Stanford's Center for International Security and Arms Control, IGCC will produce a major research paper examining the technical, security, and political aspects of this issue. This material will in turn be made available to a Carnegie Corporation-sponsored task force which is examining nuclear, missile and advance conventional technology proliferation issues.

The second proliferation project will involve holding an international conference in La Jolla in 1992 on Argentina's and Brazil's evolution toward nuclear cooperation. Working with the Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies and the Institute of the Americas, the conference will bring together experts from Argentina, Brazil, the UC system, the Department of Energy laboratories, and the Washington policy community to examine how competitive nuclear weapons-related programs have been transformed into cooperative nuclear research programs in the region. Lessons learned from this conference will be considered in future examination of two other proliferation dyads: India-Pakistan and North and South Korea.

The third proliferation project will involve a UC Teaching Seminar on Nuclear Proliferation to be held at Livermore, California in the spring of 1992. IGCC, Livermore's Center for Technical Studies, and Los Alamos's Center for National Security Studies will combine their expertise to outline the state of the art in the field and identify ideas and materials appropriate for teaching in this area at both the graduate and

undergraduate level.

Finally, IGCC will be a member of an international Nuclear Non-Proliferation Network (NNN) being developed by Leonard Spector at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, D.C. This international EMAIL/bulletin board will allow leading researchers in the field to communicate with each other, share documents, participate in electronic conferences, and be aware of relevant upcoming conferences.

With termination of the Cold War, the relative importance of strategic nuclear weapons and U.S.-Soviet arms control will decline. However, other nuclear weapons and arms control issues will remain important areas for research which is being conducted at IGCC and throughout the UC system. Scholars who are working in these areas should be in touch with this author in order to be included in future projects.

¹ The papers from the conference and a synthesis of the discussion is being published in David Goldfischer and Thomas W. Graham (1991), *Nuclear Deterrence and Global Security in Transition* (Westview).

² See Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College "The Bush Arms Control Initiatives: An Early Assessment."

³ On September 9-7, 1991, IGCC co-sponsored a conference on "Pacific Security After the Cold War" with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing. Academic and policy specialists representing the U.S., the U.S.S.R., Australia, Canada, Japan, China and Thailand attended the conference.

⁴ A preliminary version of this study has been published by Thomas Graham (1991), "Winning the Nonproliferation Battle," *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 21, No. 7 September. ■

A New Perspective on the Russian Far East

By James Clay Moltz

As part of its ongoing Pacific security project, IGCC sent James Clay Moltz, a postdoctoral fellow and Russian specialist at the IGCC central office, to the Russian Far East in April-May 1991 to investigate the possibilities for future cooperative research and exchanges with scholars in this region. Moltz visited over a dozen research institutes and other organizations during his trip. As a result of his findings, two scholars from this region—Pavel Minakir from Khabarovsk and Rafik Aliyev from Vladivostok—attended the IGCC Pacific Security Conference in Beijing in September. In the following account, Moltz describes his experiences in Khabarovsk and in the then-“closed” city of Vladivostok, home to the Russian Pacific fleet.

The Russian Far East's strategic location on the Pacific Rim, its vast military power, and its abundant natural resources make the region an important one to watch in the coming decades. This is particularly true because the region is now opening up to foreign investment and other contacts, breaking the mold of what was previously a closed and protected reserve run largely by the military.

During a trip in late April and early May of this year, I journeyed to the Russian Far East's two largest cities—Khabarovsk and Vladivostok—where I visited the major research institutes, and also spoke with government officials, enterprise heads, and trade representatives about economic conditions in the region, the potential role of foreign investment and trade, and the changing definition of security in the Pacific Rim.

The findings of my trip indicate that there are a number of talented academic analysts in the Russian Far East who might make important contributions to future cooperative research in the fields of Pacific Rim security, economics, and environmental studies.

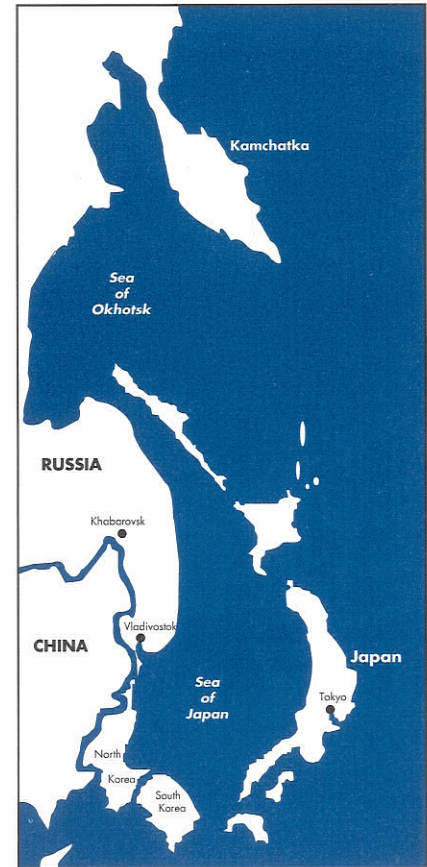
I first traveled to Khabarovsk which is situated only about an hour and forty minutes by plane from the west coast of Japan. Founded in the 1850s, it is an industrial city of over 600,000 people. The international airport in Khabarovsk is the region's largest, with links to China, North Korea, South Korea, Japan, and (in summer) the United States.

Khabarovsk is on the trans-Siberian railroad and sits strategically at the junction of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers.

Conditions in the city are difficult due to the economic crisis in the country at large. During my visit, some food items were rationed, but the real complaint was the woeful lack of variety and the poor quality of food, rather than a fear of actual starvation.

The local population is overwhelmingly Russian, although there are a smattering of citizens of Chinese, Mongol, and local tribal extraction. Many look forward to the increasing influx of foreigners and foreign investment as a way out of their current troubles, with or without help from Moscow. There is a certain optimism on this score among the local people because of the many natural resources in the Russian Far East and the presence of wealthy neighbors in Japan, South Korea, and possibly the United States, willing to invest. There are currently a number of foreign enterprises in Khabarovsk, including three restaurants (Korean, Chinese, and Japanese), two business centers (U.S., Japanese), and two stores (U.S., Japanese).

Within the city's academic community, most of the major institutes in Khabarovsk are affiliated with the Far Eastern Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences whose Presidium (headquarters) is in Vladivostok. Major institutes include the Institute of National Economy,



the Institute of Economic Research, the Far Eastern Social-Political Institute, and the (new) Institute for the Comprehensive Analysis of Regional Problems. There is also a major railroad institute (for training managers), and the Institute of Water and Ecological Problems. A recent creation is the Soviet-American School of Business Administration (SASBA) in Khabarovsk, formed between a local university in cooperation with faculty from the business school at Portland State University.

The Institute of Economic Research—now headed by economist Pavel Minakir—deals with economic issues from three perspectives: regional, republican, and international. I met with its director and two deputy directors,

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Noteworthy

IGCC Central Office

Gordon J. F. MacDonald, Director of Environmental Policy Studies, published several articles recently. "Removing the Uncertainty in Climate Change" and "Brazil 1991: Who Needs this Meeting," appeared in *Issues in Science and Technology* (7, 1991); "This Common Inheritance, An American View" was published in *Energy and Environment* (2, 1991).

"Winning the Nonproliferation Battle," by **Thomas Graham**, IGCC's Academic Coordinator for Policy Research, appeared in the September 1991 issues of *Arms Control Today*, (Vol. 21, No. 7). Graham also contributed a chapter on "Nuclear Deterrence, Arms Control, and Confidence Building in South Asia" in *New Perspectives for a Changing World Order* (Eric Arnett, ed.) published by the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington, D.C., 1991.

IGCC Program Participants

Several former IGCC dissertation fellows have recently joined political science departments: **Paul A. Papayouan** will start teaching at UC San Diego in the spring quarter, **Karen Litfin** has joined the University of Washington faculty, **James Fearon**, the University of Chicago faculty, and T.V. Paul has travelled to Montreal to join McGill University's faculty. In October, 1990, **Kim Hays**, an IGCC dissertation fellow from 1987 to 1989, became a teaching and research fellow at the Institut für Soziologie at the University of Bern, Switzerland. Her dissertation, "Practicing Virtues: How Moral Traditions Are Lived at Quaker and Military Boarding Schools," has been accepted for publication by the University of California Press.

Steven Weber's book, *Cooperation and Discord in U.S.-Soviet Arms Control*, the research for which was supported in part by IGCC, has been published by Princeton University Press. **Mark L. Wheelis** (microbiology, UC Davis) had a paper, "The Role of Epidemiology in Strengthening the Biological Weapons Convention," based on research supported by an IGCC grant, published in a 1991 book edited by E. Geissler and R.H. Haynes, *Prevention of a Biological and Toxin Arms Race*, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin.

Carol Rank, an IGCC dissertation fellow in 1987-88 in UC Berkeley's School of Education, is now working at the Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, in England.



Clay Moltz against the backdrop of the (then) Soviet Pacific Fleet, Vladivostok

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as well as with about 15 researchers. In order to attract hard currency, the institute has recently created a private consulting firm (ConVen) which acts as a "middle man" for foreign companies seeking to form joint ventures with local enterprises.

Overall, the Institute of Economic Research is probably the most "academic" in Khabarovsk and has some excellent and innovative theorists, although most of its researchers are more practically-oriented. The Institute has recently moved into a new building outside of the city and hopes to finish a conference room and small hotel within the building soon.

Within the institute, there are 14 sectors, most focusing on aspects of the domestic economy and working on projects for the regional government. Two sectors, however, focus exclusively on international relations: the Sector on Economic and Political Problems of the Asian-Pacific Region and the Sector on New Forms of Foreign Economic Relations. Some of the specialists in these sectors include Dep. Director Oleg Renzin (Japanese economics), Victor Smolyak (South Korea), Evgeniy Kovrigin (Japanese politics and economics), and Yevgeniy Kozyonov (Sino-Soviet relations). Smolyak is also now heading a joint

venture consulting group formed recently with South Korean funding. Other researchers at the institute include: Andrei Syrkin, who works on center-regional relations in the area of economic planning and Dep. Director Vladimir Starikov, who studies issues related to the use and protection of natural resources in the region.

Another major institute in Khabarovsk is the Far Eastern Social-Political Institute, formerly the Far Eastern Higher Party School. I met with the Pro-Rector (Deputy Director) Vladimir A. Likhobabin of the institute, who is a law graduate of Moscow State University. The school formerly trained officials for higher Party posts in the region, but now it has shifted its emphasis to training people for jobs in the regional soviets and in factory management. They are hoping to set up a business school—with Western help—within the next few years. As with the Institute of Economic Research, the faculty here advises local government officials on the transition to a market economy.

I had other meetings with the director of the Khabarovsk Regional Library (Alexander Bukreyev), the Russian director of a U.S.-Russian joint venture business center (Alexander Efanov), a local wilder-

ness tour agency director (Sergei Chebatov), the young American manager of a new joint venture fishing operation on the Amur (Paul Wilkinson), and various members of the Kraiispolkom (regional Council of People's Deputies) and Gorispolkom (city Council of People's Deputies) located in Khabarovsk.

After a week in Khabarovsk, I set off on the overnight train to Vladivostok, a distance of about 600 kilometers (360 miles). Arriving early the next morning, the first impression I had of Vladivostok was of a large and heavily-industrialized city. Its layout bears clear evidence of the government's twin dictums of national defense and industrial production, leaving little room for concern about the health of the people who live here or for the natural environment. Air and especially water pollution are major problems in Vladivostok.

The most obvious fixture in Vladivostok is the Russian Navy. The city is the home of the Pacific Fleet, whose headquarters presides over Golden Horn Harbor. According to a local government official I spoke with, about one-third of the city's factories serve the military in some capacity. A sizable minority of Vladivostok's population of about 850,000, therefore, benefits from favors doled out by the Navy, including food, housing, and privileged services in other areas. It is this population that strongly opposed opening the city—either to foreigners or to other Soviet citizens, who until 1988 could not visit Vladivostok without a special "propiska" (permit). The local government passed a resolution in September 1990 declaring that the

city should be opened, but Moscow refused to change its policies. But a post-coup declaration by Boris Yeltsin opened the city as of January 1, 1992.

During my stay, I was the guest of the Institute of Economics and International Ocean Studies and its director Rafik A. Aliyev. In his two years as director, Aliyev has been trying to make the institute more "international" and more "modern" (i.e. moving it from Marxist-Leninist to Western-style analysis, especially in questions of political economy).

In my meetings at the Institute, I was impressed by the high quality of the researchers. In addition, perhaps because of the military's presence and the city's significance as the Russian "window on the East," there was a great sense of "dynamism" in the individuals and in their research programs.

The Institute has a number of sectors (among a total of 12) conducting research in areas of international relations: the Sector on Innovation in the Economies of Region, the Sector on Sino-Soviet Economic Relations, the Sector on Foreign Policy of the USSR, and the Sector on Market Relations (focusing on management issues and economic methods in capitalist economies).

I met with a total of about 20 researchers during the course of my visit; several had research agendas that parallel IGCC's interests. Evgeniy Zharikov is working on environmental problems and has developed a number of models to predict the ecological costs of building various industrial enterprises in the Russian Far East. Anna Shkuropat, head of the Sector on Market Relations, is working on developing economic models of



The Institute of Economics and International Ocean Studies, Vladivostok

Japan, South Korea, and the United States to test their applicability to the regional economy. Tamara Troyakova is currently conducting research on the changing dynamics of U.S.-Japanese economic relations. In the Sector on Northeast Asia (under Aliyev), Mikhail Terskiy is studying the relations between municipal government structures and the business communities in Japan and South Korea as possible models for the reform of such relations in Vladivostok. Victor Virlamov is looking at management techniques in Japan and South Korea and is working with managers in the Primorskiy Krai (Far Eastern Maritime Region) to apply these methods in local industry.

I also had meetings at the Institute of History, Archaeology, and Ethnography of the Peoples of the Far East. The Sector on Japanese Studies includes about 12 researchers and works mainly on postwar history in the area of Soviet-Japanese relations. Down the hall is the Sector on Chinese Studies (about 8 researchers). This sector also consists mainly of historians, but there are a few scholars focusing on modern Sino-Soviet relations, including Head of Sector Gennadiy Tkachenko and Nikolai Rebchenko focusing

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on political relations, and Tamara Romanova on economic relations.

Of the other meetings I had during my stay in Vladivostok, my visit with Yuri Avdeev, the vice president of the Gorispolkom (Vladivostok Council of People's Deputies), proved especially enlightening. Avdeev is an economist by training and worked formerly at the Institute of Economics. We discussed the running of the city, its prospects of becoming "open" (now a reality), and the problems locally with the (then) Soviet Navy. Topping his list of other concerns were the city's housing shortage, its high crime rate, pollution, and the unwanted duty of providing services to the military population from local taxes.

Various local officials (as well as one visiting Japanese journalist I met during my stay) told me that there is considerable Japanese interest in setting up joint ventures in the city. Historical ties, the city's comparatively well-developed technological base, and its port facilities, make it a favorable site for investment. It is also very well situated for the opening of new trade routes between the Russian Far East and potential partners in South Korea, Japan, and China. Most importantly, the city has excellent human resources.

As a result of my trip, I am optimistic about the possibilities for cooperative research opportunities between scholars in the UC system and scholars in the Russian Far East. Researchers who wish to learn more about particular scholars in their fields should contact me at the IGCC central office. ■



Main Street, Khabarovsk



Golden Horn Harbor, Vladivostok

Campus Programs Spotlight

IGCC Awards Eleven Research and Teaching Grants for 1991-92

By Kathleen A. Archibald

Four of the research projects funded for 1991-92 by IGCC's Steering Committee focus on international agreements.

David M. Rocke, a professor in UC Davis' Graduate School of Management, received a grant to work with his colleague, George W. Downs, Princeton University, on tacit bargaining and the maintenance of arms treaties. They will use formal modeling and simulation to study strategies states may use to deter violations and to reestablish the integrity of treaties which have been violated. Peter F. Cowhey and Peter H. Smith of UC San Diego's political science department were awarded funds for a pilot project examining the political economics of the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Ronnie D. Lipschutz, acting director of the Adlai Stevenson Program on Global Security and a faculty member with the Board of Studies in Politics, UC Santa Cruz, is focusing on the way international environmental agreements are implemented at the local level. China's participation in prospective global agreements to reduce greenhouse gas emissions is the focus of John P. Holdren's project. Holdren, Professor of Energy and Resources,

UC Berkeley, will investigate the factors, including assistance from advanced industrial nations, likely to affect China's ability to comply with a global compact on greenhouse-gas reduction.

Ernst B. Haas of Berkeley's political science department maintains a data bank of interstate disputes referred for management to international organizations. He will use his IGCC grant to update this data base with information on the apparent trend to expand the security-maintenance task of international organizations by linking human rights and democratic governance to the maintenance of peace. Haas wants to ascertain the novelty and significance of this trend and to assess its effect on the conflict-management role of international organizations and on traditional norms of non-intervention and sovereign statehood.

Steven Weber, also of Berkeley's political science department, is examining the way in which beliefs about the balance of power held by key decision makers in powerful states have helped mold the organizations currently playing the central role in the transformation of Europe. The metamorphosis of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the creation of the European

Bank for Reconstruction and Development will be used as case studies.

Arthur A. Stein of UC Los Angeles' political science department is studying the responses of non-revolutionary states to the perceived threat represented by revolutionary states. If the legitimacy of the political order is challenged by a revolutionary state, other nations are likely to form a coalition against it, even if—contrary to balance of power theory—the revolutionary state is militarily weak. Stein will concentrate on the period immediately following the Russian Revolution.

Steven L. Spiegel, a professor of political science at UC Los Angeles, received IGCC funding to explore U.S. domestic reactions to proposals regarding arms control, economic restructuring, and the peace process in the Middle East. Spiegel will study the role of various interest groups, especially the American Jewish community, in constraining and shaping U.S. Middle East policy in the post-Gulf War environment.

Harvey Molotch and Richard Flacks, sociology professors at UC Santa Barbara, are examining media treatment of dissent in the Vietnam and Gulf Wars. They are interested

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in how the mass media have depicted the anti-war movement's orientation to troops fighting in the two wars. They will analyze media treatment during the Gulf War of both Vietnam era protesters and Gulf War protesters to see if, as Molotch and Flacks hypothesize, the latter were indeed characterized as "supporting the troops," while the former were characterized as having been "anti-troop." They will also analyze the way the media portrayed protests against the Vietnam War at the time.

Philip E. Tetlock, a professor of psychology and director of Berkeley's Institute of Personality Assessment and Research, received support for a preliminary study of

"good judgment" in international politics. Research psychologists have studied "good judgment" across a variety of professional areas—radiologists' diagnoses of malignancy, stock-market analysts' forecasts of price trends, meteorologists' predictions of weather—and Tetlock wishes to explore the feasibility of undertaking similar research on good judgment in international affairs. Tetlock will conduct in-depth interviews with specialists on the Soviet Union, Poland, and Israel. These experts will be asked to delineate alternative futures for the region they study. The interviewer will ensure that answers pass the falsifiability test, i.e., when the speci-

fied time has elapsed, a researcher would be able to look at events in the region and determine whether an expert's forecast was right or wrong without the need for ex post respecifications.

David H. Warren, a psychology professor and director of the University Honors Program at UC Riverside, received a grant to develop a lower-division seminar, "Conflict Resolution as a National Security Paradigm," to be offered in the honors program. Current development of the honors program has as its primary theme the introduction of an international orientation in the curriculum. ■

IGCC Briefed on U.S. Preparations for UNCED



Left to right: IGCC's Acting Director, Susan Shirk, Ambassador Robert Ryan, IGCC's Director of Environmental Policy Studies, Gordon MacDonald.

Presidents Bush's coordinator of the U.S. preparations for the upcoming United Nations Conference on Environment and Development ("Earth First"), Ambassador Robert Ryan, appeared at an IGCC luncheon in September. The Ambassador discussed his efforts in coordinating the administration's policy for the

conference in front of an audience of press, local government officials, faculty and students. Ambassador Ryan also reviewed the progress of the first three preparatory committee meetings for the UN conference and prospects for the fourth and final preparatory committee meeting to be held in New York City in

March. The upcoming UN conference will be the largest of its kind ever held, with eight to ten thousand governmental delegates and ten to twenty thousand non-governmental delegates expected to attend. The conference will cover three basic areas: climate change, biodiversity, and forest management. ■

New Environmental Journal founded by UC San Diego Graduate Students

By Chris Purpura

With the waning of the Cold War, the priorities of the world community have changed dramatically. Global environmental concerns and economic development problems are quickly rising to the top of the international agenda. In response, a group of graduate students from UC San Diego's School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS) have founded a new academic environmental journal called *The Journal of Environment and Development* (*E&D*). The impetus to establish the journal came at the suggestion of Professor Gordon MacDonald, IGCC's director of Environmental Policy Studies, who also serves as a Professor at IR/PS.

The new journal has received funding from IGCC, Scripps Institute of Oceanography, IR/PS, and the Graduate Student Association of UC San Diego. *E&D* will focus on how governmental policies, private businesses, multilateral institutions, and non-governmental organizations affect third world economic development and the environment. The first issue, due out in April, will contain papers from the November 1991 conference, The Latin American Environment and Hemispheric Technological Cooperation, co-sponsored by IGCC and the Institute of the Americas. The conference was designed as a prelude to the Brazil 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development.

Future issues of the journal will address topics such as collective action on problems surrounding environmental issues; the effect of energy use and development on climate change; environmental effects of the debt crisis; analysis of international regimes that seek to integrate

the issues of environment and development; environmental technology transfer and direct foreign investment; industrial relocation, environmental protection, and international competitiveness; rural/urban migration and population control; and poverty and deforestation. *E&D* will publish in-depth scholarly articles, shorter applied works, and book reviews.

The journal will be organized, edited and managed by students, recruited from IR/PS, UC San Diego departments in the social and natural sciences, and from other University institutions at all of the University of California campuses. The journal staff will work with an advisory committee and a pool of academic referees. Articles will be solicited primarily from academics, policy makers, and legal scholars. Students in relevant disciplines will also be encouraged to submit scholarly articles for consideration. Since the refereeing process will be anonymous, students' work will be judged on an equal basis with that of professionals. *E&D*, which will originally be published twice a year, will be targeted to an audience of policy makers, legal scholars, business leaders, and natural and social scientists who have an interest in both the policy-making process and the content of specific environment and development policies.

Submissions of original, unpublished work in English are welcome. Manuscripts, subscription information and general inquiries should be addressed to the Managing Editor, *The Journal of Environment and Development*, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego, 9500 Gilman Drive, La Jolla, CA 92093-0519. ■

IGCC Publications

IGCC Policy Briefs:

1. Michael M. May, *What Do We Do with Nuclear Weapons Now?* (15 pp., 1990).

IGCC Studies in Conflict and Cooperation:

1. David P. Auerswald and John Gerard Ruggie, eds., *The Future of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy*. (87 pp., 1990).

2. Miles Kahler, ed., *Beyond the Cold War in the Pacific*. (155 pp., 1991).

Other Titles Available:

Alan Sweedler and Brett Henry, eds., *Conventional Forces in Europe*. (102 pp., 1989).

Alan Sweedler and Randy Willoughby, eds., *Europe in Transition: Arms Control and Conventional Forces in the 1990s*. (119 pp., 1991)

David Goldfischer and Thomas Graham, eds., *Nuclear Deterrence and Global Security in Transition*. (199 pp., 1991) \$29.95 To order, please contact Westview Press directly at (303) 444-3541.

Publications can be obtained at no charge (unless otherwise noted) by contacting:

University of California,
San Diego
IGCC Publications, (0518)
9500 Gilman Drive
La Jolla, CA 92093-0518

IGCC Graduate Fellowships Awarded to 29 UC Students

Ten UC doctoral candidates had their dissertation fellowships renewed for a second year and another fifteen received first-year dissertation fellowships for 1991-92. IGCC's Steering Committee also awarded four pre-dissertation fellowships to UC students at an earlier stage in their graduate careers.

Dissertation Fellowship - Renewals

Edward H. Alden of UC Berkeley, *"The Price of Democracy: Self-Images and National Security Policy in the Cold War Era"*

Charles R. Dannehl of UC Davis, *"Objectives in the Distribution of Soviet Foreign Economic Aid: A Quantitative Analysis"*

David E. D'Lugo of UC Los Angeles, *"Warfare as a Commodity: The Role of Comparative Advantage in the Production of Security"*

Christina Holmes of UC Los Angeles, *"Sino-Soviet Relations 1976-1990: The Dynamics of Rapprochement"*

Wade L. Huntley of UC Berkeley, *"The People and the Bomb: Democracy and National Security in the Nuclear Age"*

Jeffrey W. Legro of UC Los Angeles, *"Residual Cooperation: Submarine, Aerial, and Chemical Warfare, 1919-1945"*

Paul A. Papayoanou of UC Los Angeles, *"When Great Powers Ally: Economic Interdependence, Security Threats, and the Strategy of Commitment"*

Cherie J. Steele of UC Los Angeles, *"The Middle of History: The Evolution of the International System"*

Zuoyue Wang of UC Santa Barbara, *"American Scientists, Politics, and the Nuclear Arms Race in the 1960's"*

Katja Weber of UC Los Angeles, *"Alliances and Confederations: A Transaction Costs Theory of Security Arrangements"*

Dissertation Fellowships - New

Andrew J. Aldrin of UC Los Angeles, *"Autonomy and Innovation in Soviet Aerospace Industry"*

Nina Bakisian of UC Santa Barbara, *"The Danubian Federation Projects: Motions for Unity in an Age of Nationalism and Dissent"*

Thomas J. Bickford of UC Berkeley, *"The Role of the People's Liberation Army in Chinese Politics"*

Maryellen Boyle of UC San Diego, *"Democratization of the Communist Information Order: Press, Information and Politics in the GDR 1989-90"*

Robert G. Darst, UC Berkeley, *"The 'Greening' of Soviet Foreign Policy, The USSR Reappraises International Interdependence"*

Jane I. Dawson of UC Berkeley, *"The Dynamics & Impact of Citizen Protest in Late Communist Societies: A Case Study of the Anti-Nuclear Power Movement in the Soviet Union"*

Eileen Doherty of UC Berkeley, *"Organizational Responses to Multi-Polarity"*

Marysia H. Galbraith of UC San Diego, *"National Identity in a Supranational World: The Experience of Polish Youths"*

Nicoletta F. Gullace of UC Berkeley, *"Women & the Ideology of War: Recruitment, Propaganda, & the Mobilization of Public Opinion in Britain 1914-18"*

Robert P. Hager, Jr. of UC Los Angeles, *"Moscow & the Central American Crisis"*

Susan B. Martin of UC Berkeley, *"Nuclear Weapons, Relative Gains, and International Economic Cooperation"*

Jennifer C. Olmsted of UC Davis, *"Palestinian Households' Education & Migration Decisions: How They Have Been Affected By the Gulf Crisis & the Migration of Soviet Jews"*

William J. Reese of UC San Diego, *"Nationalism Without Separatism: The View of the World From Bengal"*

Stephen M. Saideman of UC San Diego, *"The International Relations of Secession Cooperation & Conflict in Africa & Asia"*

Adam N. Stulberg of UC Los Angeles, *"Soviet Grand Strategy in the Post-War Era: The Enigma of Self-Encirclement"*

Pre-dissertation Fellowships

Jianjun Chen of UC Davis, *"Sources of Chinese Foreign Policy: Implications for Regional Cooperation in Asia"*

Barbara M. Connolly of UC Berkeley, *"Prospects for Integration among Eastern & Western Europe: An Issue-Type Approach"*

Melissa Dawson of UC Los Angeles, *"The Media and the Creation of a Stable Democracy in the Soviet Union"*

Peter Henning Loedel of UC Santa Barbara, *"German Monetary Politics: Cooperation in the Post-Währungsreform Period?"*

New Teaching Seminars Inaugurated

By Kathleen A. Archibald

An intensive seminar on global climate change, held in La Jolla November 15-16, opened a new series of IGCC teaching seminars designed to strengthen and further internationalize undergraduate education in the UC and Cal State systems. This first seminar, organized by Gordon J.F. MacDonald, IGCC's Research Director of Environmental Policy Studies and a professor in UCSD's Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, was attended by a multidisciplinary group of thirty faculty members and graduate students from throughout the UC and Cal State systems. Scientific, economic, and policy issues related to global climate change were covered, with presentations by Professors V. Ramanathan, UC San Diego; Anthony E. Hall, UC Riverside; Stephen J. Decanio, UC Santa Barbara; as well as Gordon MacDonald. The vast majority of participants rated this first seminar as "excellent" in providing "a good background on global climate change," in "helping (me) improve (my) teaching," and in terms of

intellectual stimulation and professional contacts.

IGCC expects to hold several additional teaching seminars in 1991 and 1992. A methodologically-oriented one on game-theoretic approaches to international conflict and cooperation is being planned for mid-March.

Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory expects to sponsor and host a seminar later in the spring focusing on the proliferation of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles. Iraq's nuclear weapons program and the emerging role of the United Nations will be covered, as will the proliferation challenges posed by the demise of the Soviet Union.

R. Stephen Humphreys, Professor of History, UC Santa Barbara, is organizing a "deep background" teaching seminar on the Middle East for the fall of 1992. This seminar will provide participants with a thorough grounding in the geography, history, demography, and cultures of the Middle East, before moving on to a consideration of current policies and events.



Professor V. Ramanathan of the California Space Institute addresses IGCC's Teaching Seminar on Global Climate Change

Other seminar topics under consideration include pedagogy in courses on war/peace and other global issues and the human dimensions of ecological change. UC faculty members teaching undergraduate courses have suggested, via a recent IGCC survey, additional topics for future teaching seminars, such as the ongoing changes in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. And IGCC invites additional suggestions for teaching seminar topics, both from would-be participants and would-be presenters.

UC and Cal State faculty teaching undergraduate courses comprise the primary target audience. Advanced graduate students soon to embark on teaching careers are also invited to apply to attend, as are faculty from nearby community colleges. Most seminars will address the policy dimensions of issues considered and will be designed for multidisciplinary audiences. They are to be held at various locations taking advantage of the strengths represented on different UC campuses and at the Lawrence Livermore and Los Alamos National Laboratories. Attendance at IGCC teaching seminars is limited, with participants selected on a competitive basis. Food, lodging, and travel expenses are covered by IGCC. ■



UC and Cal State faculty and graduate students attend IGCC's teaching seminar on Global Climate Change

Campus Programs Respond Quickly to Gulf Crisis

By Kathleen A. Archibald

Campus-program representatives met in La Jolla in May and again in October to exchange information about projects and to work out more effective ways of sharing and developing resources.

Participants at the May meeting were particularly interested in learning about the events organized on other campuses in response to the Gulf crisis. IGCC funds were credited by several campus programs as making it possible to mount public-education events on short notice and thus to provide their communities, on and off campus, with information on the Gulf crisis as it unfolded.

At UC Berkeley, a panel of speakers on the Gulf War, organized by the Institute of International Studies (IIS) drew an audience of 1500. IIS followed up with a lecture series, "Confrontation in the Gulf," which continued to draw between 100 and 250 people throughout the spring semester. Papers presented in this series will be published in a monograph, "Confrontation in the Gulf: University of California Professors Talk about the War"; it is expected out in November. IIS also hosted,



Professor John A. Ernest, UC Santa Barbara

with a separate IGCC grant, a conference for UC faculty and graduate students from the four Northern California campuses. This meeting of 56 scholars working on issues of international conflict and cooperation also focused on events in the Middle East.

The UC Davis campus program joined with UCD Student Forums to present a series of speakers on the Gulf crisis during the 1990 fall quarter; at the end of the quarter, they joined with other UC organizations, including the International Relations Program, the Institute of Governmental Affairs, the Experimental College, and the Department of Psychology, to host a teach-in. The Davis program, working again with several academic and student service units, followed up in the spring quarter with a course, "The United States and the Persian Gulf in Perspective." The course, open to the public and available for one or two units of credit, was organized by Dennis Dingemans, a faculty member in geography and international relations, and Anna-Maria White, then the IGCC liaison officer on the Davis campus.

A town meeting organized by the Project in International and Security Affairs (PISA) and the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies at UC San Diego on January 15 drew an overflow crowd of more than 500 to a discussion that ended just 20 minutes before the United Nations deadline for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait.

Several other campus programs organized town meetings including the Global Peace and Security



(left to right) Professor Christie W. Kiefer, UC San Francisco, Ms. Rebecca Britton, UC Davis, and Ms. Anna-Maria White, UC Davis

Program (GPAS), UC Santa Barbara, and the Global Peace and Conflict Studies program (GPACS), UC Irvine. GPAS also joined with other UC Santa Barbara organizations to subsidize the publication of the Gulf Crisis Reader, a collection of articles providing background information on the Persian Gulf. The 254-page publication, prepared by Marguerite Bouraad-Nash, lecturer in political science and now an associate chair of GPAS, contained 31 articles on political actors and institutions in the area, oil resources, U.S. policy, etc. and became a best seller on campus. In addition to the town meeting, GPACS at UC Irvine organized a class, "The Persian Gulf and the New World Order," for the spring quarter. It was taught by Tom Grant, then a postdoctoral fellow and now a special projects officer at GPACS, who also spoke to community groups about the Gulf War.

The importance of helping inform the Persian Gulf debate led faculty members at UC Riverside, where the IGCC campus program had been dormant for a number of months, to organize a town meeting and to take the first steps toward reviving an IGCC-supported campus program there.

At UC Los Angeles, the Academic Senate covered the costs of presenting a series of six brown-bag luncheon seminars. The Center for International and Strategic Affairs (CISA) and the von Grunebaum Center for Near Eastern Studies jointly organized the series. ■

IGCC Grant and Fellowship Opportunities, 1992-93



IGCC, through its grant and graduate fellowship programs, supports projects on all UC campuses related to global conflict and cooperation. Projects supported in 1991-92 are described elsewhere in this Newsletter. Information about 1992-93 competitions is provided below.

The IGCC Steering Committee, a multidisciplinary group with representatives from each UC campus and from the Livermore and Los Alamos National Laboratories, reviews proposals and applications for grants and graduate fellowships and decides upon awards. In evaluating a proposal, the Steering Committee considers quality, appropriateness to an academic institution, potential contribution to understanding global conflict and cooperation, and policy relevance.

In addition to the grants and fellowships available within the UC community, IGCC's central office also awards up to three postdoctoral fellowships in international peace and security each year.

Graduate Fellowships

IGCC offers fellowships to UC graduate students in all disciplines. Students who expect to complete requirements for the doctorate within two years may apply for a dissertation fellowship. Dissertation fellows must be advanced to candidacy by June 30, 1992. These fellowships provide a stipend of \$1000 a month for up to twelve months (and may be renewed for a second year if satisfactory progress is demonstrated), plus research expenses, including travel.

UC students in master's programs

or the early years of a doctoral program are offered shorter-term fellowships covering a broader range of projects. These fellowships are for a maximum of \$6000; funds may be allocated to stipend (at \$1000 per month) and/or travel and other project expenses. These awards may be used for a wide variety of projects: to pursue a master's thesis, explore a dissertation topic, produce a film, gain public-policy experience, or organize and conduct some other project relevant to IGCC's purposes.

The deadline for receipt of graduate fellowship applications at IGCC's central office is February 17, 1992. The deadline for receipt of applications to renew dissertation fellowships for a second year is earlier: January 24, 1992.

Research and Teaching Grants

These grants are intended to stimulate innovative research and teaching on issues of global conflict and cooperation. Research projects, course preparation, and conferences have been supported in the past. Grants are typically for less than \$15,000. The Institute has a particular interest in supporting collaborative, multidisciplinary work which addresses complex policy issues relating to war and peace, global ecology, and international economic relations. Anyone authorized to submit proposals to statewide or extramural agencies through the University of California system is eligible for IGCC grant support.

The deadline for receipt of grant applications at IGCC's central office is also February 17, 1992.

Campus Program Grants

IGCC offers support to programs focusing on issues of global conflict and cooperation on all UC campuses. While these programs vary from campus to campus, most help organize multidisciplinary teaching programs and all of them sponsor educational events for the general public and their campus communities and serve a liaison function for IGCC, helping students and faculty on their campuses learn about and make connections with appropriate IGCC programs. Campus-program representatives are listed at the end of this article.

The deadline for receipt of campus-program proposals in IGCC's central office is February 6, 1992.

Further Information about Graduate Fellowships and Grants

To receive guidelines and application forms for graduate fellowships and grants, contact your campus-program representative (listed below) or IGCC's central office (IGCC (0518), UC San Diego, 9500 Gilman Drive, La Jolla, CA 92093-0518; (619) 534-3352.

Postdoctoral Fellowships

IGCC initiated a postdoctoral fellowship program in 1990 and will award up to three such fellowships in 1992-93. New (as of July 1, 1992) and recent (within the past five years) recipients of the doctoral degree are invited to apply for these fellowships in international peace and security. Postdoctoral fellows spend the academic year in residence at the IGCC central office

Opportunities continued from page 16

on the UC San Diego campus. They are expected to complete a book, monograph, or other significant publication while in residence as well as to participate in collaborative activities at IGCC. Preference will be given to scholars working on environment, development, and global security; Pacific security relations; post-Cold War international relations; or arms control.

Applicants for postdoctoral fellowships should submit (1) a three-to five-page, double-spaced statement of their intended project; (2) a curriculum vitae; (3) four letters of reference attesting to their professional competence and the importance of their projects; and (4) one or more writing samples. **These application materials should be sent** to Postdoctoral Fellowship Competition, IGCC (0518), UC San Diego, 9500 Gilman Drive, La Jolla, CA 92093-0518, **by March 2, 1992.** ■

Campus-Program Representatives

Berkeley:

Mr. Harry Kreisler
(510) 642-1106

Los Angeles:

Ms. Gerri Harrington
(213) 825-0604

San Francisco:

Prof. Christie Kiefer
(415) 476-7543

Davis:

Ms. Rebecca Britton
(916) 752-6562

Riverside:

Prof. David H. Warren
(714) 787-5323

Santa Barbara:

Prof. John A. Ernest
(805) 893-4718

Irvine:

Dr. Paula Garb
(714) 856-6410

San Diego:

Prof. Peter F. Cowhey
(619) 534-0354

Santa Cruz:

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(408) 459-2833

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