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IGCC Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue participants from China, Japan, Korea, Russia, and the United States board a troop transport helicopter enroute to a tour of the Korean DMZ.

Photo: M. Stankiewicz.

Regional Multilateral Cooperation — *Can it work?*

For the past decade or so, the international academic and diplomatic community has tested the idea—called “track-two” diplomacy—that, in a relaxed, unofficial atmosphere, where ideas can be explored without being interpreted as government policies, academic experts and policy officials can brainstorm creative solutions to impasses stalling conflict resolution in official forums, and build cooperative efforts in regions where no forum exists.

Since 1993, IGCC has led two “track-two” experiments, one in the Middle East and the other in Northeast Asia. IGCC’s series of workshops on Arms Control and Security in the Middle East have been an invaluable complement to the multilateral Middle East Arms Control and Regional Security (ACRS) process (see Spring ‘96 *Newsletter*). But in Northeast Asia, where a history of 20th century warlike relations, the convergence of the greatest concentra-

tion of military power on the globe, and flash points (North Korea and Taiwan) create worrisome uncertainties, no official inter-governmental security forum exists. While in the broader Asia-Pacific region, the ASEAN Regional Forum shows the most promise for official discussion of security issues, its focus is on Southeast Asia and region-wide conflict management (see p. 10)—not the U.S., Russia, China, Japan, and the two Koreas.

IGCC organized the Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD)¹ to encourage officials from the six participant countries to engage in collective problem solving and security cooperation, and perhaps lay the foundation for an official process. One of its values is as a forum for multilateral discussion of the

¹ A measure of its success is that its acronym has earned its own pronunciation—“nee-sad.”

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Securing Northeast Asian Energy

One of the goals of IGCC’s track-two discussions is to explore the potential of economic interactions among countries for positive—or negative—spillovers in their political and security relations. At a two-day workshop following the NEACD V meeting (see above), NEACD participants and energy officials and scholars explored premises regarding

linkages between energy and security in Northeast Asia.

Especially given economic complementarities in that fastest growing economic region in the world, with resource-rich, capital-poor areas (China, Russia) neighboring resource-poor, capital-rich areas (Japan, South Korea), the NEACD views maintaining a reliable supply of

energy as vital to regional economies. Participants fear that a supply crisis endangering the economic vitality of any one country could cause future conflict, so cooperative solutions to energy supply problems could be an excellent mechanism for mutual reassurance.

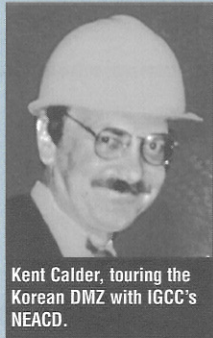
Energy officials from Japan, China, and South Korea presented their countries’ plans to meet energy demand over.

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Why Energy and Security in Asia?



Kent Calder, touring the Korean DMZ with IGCC's NEACD.

The view that increasing competition for energy resources, a consequence of increasing Asian economic growth, is producing growing insecurity in the Asia-Pacific region is best

proffered by Kent Calder in *Pacific Defense*, his 1996 analysis of the U.S. role in the future of Asia.*

Calder argues that economic growth gives Asian nations the resources to strengthen their military might, but that it also results in rising energy demands, and the resulting need to secure stable energy supplies in competition with one's neighbors increases global insecurity and a region-wide arms buildup.

Petroleum, coal, and natural gas continue to be in insufficient supply in Asia, which provides only 11 percent of global oil production and 4.5 percent of

reserves. Japan, with half the region's economic output, remains 95 percent dependent on oil imports. The growing Chinese economy's hunger for energy will soon make that country a net oil importer despite its status as the top supplier (with Indonesia) of energy in Asia. And increasing demand among other countries in the region will intensify competition for oil supplies and raise insecurity about neighbors' plans to ensure a supply of energy.

More important than rising Asian dependence upon Middle East oil-producing nations *per se* (an East-West center study estimates that Asia's share of oil imports from the Middle East will rise from 70 percent in 1993 to 95 percent in 2010) is the tension surrounding reliability of access to shipping lanes from the Middle East. The approaches to the Strait of Malacca (for smaller tankers) and the Lombok and Makassar Straits in Indonesia (for larger tankers) are surrounded by Southeast Asian nations (Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore) which control those straits and adjacent

waters with increasing naval might. Calder maintains that China's strengthening naval presence and territorial claims to waters of the South China Seas, reflecting its own desire to secure shipping lanes for its energy supply and trading routes, will likely further heighten tension in the waters of Southeast Asia.

One solution to the energy demand crisis in Northeast Asia is nuclear energy. However, growing civilian nuclear power programs raise the risk of diversion of nuclear materials for military purposes, as is widely feared in North Korea. Northeast Asia includes three nuclear weapons states (the U.S., Russia, and China), and Japan and South Korea maintain large and growing civilian nuclear programs which further contribute to anxieties in the region. ■

*Kent E. Calder, *Pacific Defense: Arms, Energy, and America's Future in Asia*, (New York: William Morrow, 1996.) See especially chapters 3 ("Looming Energy Insecurities") and 4 ("Asia and the Nuclear Threshold").

Energy Security continued from p. 1

the next quarter-century (see p. 4). Several common elements emerged from ensuing discussion. Energy supply and demand are not country-specific, but exist in a global market. In this global market, new relationships are developing between the Middle East and Asia, source of the fastest-growing energy demand, which are likely to lead to growing collaboration on trade, investment, and technology transfer in energy exploration and production. One Chinese participant noted the importance of China joining international energy markets and providing a suitable environment for foreign investment in its energy sector. Others noted that even if Japan can secure sufficient energy for itself, a China that cannot meet its own demands presents a perceived security threat to Japan.

Fossil Fuels

Fossil fuels remain the dominant source of energy in Asia, with most countries completely dependent upon imports.

Indeed, energy transportation of these imports is one of the most controversial and vital issues in the region: the regional supply issue is less resource than infrastructure related. Efforts to diversify supplies as competition for resources increases will be constrained by inadequate infrastructure. In particular, liquefied natural gas is expected to be the fastest-growing source of energy in the region in the next 25 years. While current importation of energy, especially from the Middle East, is reliably provided through maritime transportation, sufficient ship-unloading and storage facilities for this oil alternative do not yet exist. China's undeveloped internal transportation and imported fuel distribution system is another concern.

Cooperative Proposals

One of the more popular types of cooperative plans being examined by governments is oil and gas pipelines from non-Middle East areas to Northeast Asian energy consumers. For example, a pipeline connecting the resource-rich

Central Asian republics with Japan and Korea as well. Participants, however, viewed these plans as "pipe dreams." Said Fereidun Fesharaki, Director of the East-West Center's program on energy and minerals resources, "Pipelines are like [marriage]. They require massive investment and you cannot change your mind once they're built, so people are reluctant to embrace [them]." They are also vulnerable to terrorism.

Nonetheless, government analysis of pipeline projects continues because of the potential trust-building benefits of such multilateral endeavors. In a region lacking multilateral institutions, pipeline planning and other development projects seem a good way to foster multilateral engagement. A regional multilateral legal framework like the European Energy Charter, which secures investment for capital-rich energy infrastructure projects, protects investment against risk, secures WTO

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rules for energy-related trade, and provides an elaborate mechanism for dispute settlement, was proposed as a first-step requirement toward real multilateral cooperation.

The immediate, impending crisis for fossil fuel usage is environmental, espe-



IGCC Director Susan Shirk, NEACD I veteran Gen. Park Yong-ok (ROK), Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs First Asia Department Director Evgeni Afanassiev, China Inst. of Contemporary Int'l Relations Division of North American Studies Director Chu Shulong, at the Korean National Defense Club. Photo: M. Stankiewicz.

cially in China. Not only does air and water supply degradation severely impact China, but wind patterns cause similar concerns in Russia, Korea, and Japan. This may require regional cooperation for other countries in the region to learn about and adhere to the more rigorous environmental standards in Japan, and give countries in the region incentive to provide sufficient technology to help mitigate the problems in China.

Energy Alternatives

As fossil fuel stocks are limited in the long-term, their production costs are likely to rise to the level of alternate, renewable, cleaner sources of energy such as solar and wind power. The region has already invested heavily in nuclear energy, holding half of the world's nuclear capacity. But the potential for cooperative nuclear development raises unique security concerns regarding trade of nuclear technology and resources leading to weapons proliferation; safeguards and monitoring of nuclear production facilities; environmental impacts; and spent fuel management (see, pp. 8-9).

At the conclusion of the meeting, NEACD participants who took part in the Energy Workshop unanimously endorsed its format and value, and elected to have a similar workshop on a non-security issue following the NEACD's next meeting in New York. ■

evolving nature of bilateral relations in that region, particularly important this year following the April 1996 summit meeting between U.S. President Bill Clinton and Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto, which reaffirmed the U.S.-Japan security relationship. That reaffirmation provoked many questions about its impact on other countries and regional security. The fifth NEACD meeting,

held 9-12 September 1996 in Seoul, Korea, provided a forum for U.S. and Japanese officials to clarify aspects of that bilateral relationship.

Further, following just-completed agreements on long-time border disputes among China, Russia, and the former Soviet republics in Central Asia, Russian and Chinese participants had the opportunity to explain how confidence-building measures had improved interactions between the two long-term rivals.

The NEACD has for two years discussed principles governing state-to-state relations (see p. 6), focusing on identifying those of particular regional relevance. A lively discussion examined balancing the principle of sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs with the concept of a state needing to commit to obligations it has made in international agreements. Also important is the concept of safe passage at sea, since all of the countries rely upon naval transportation for trade and energy supply, critical to their growing economies. Continuing the Dialogue's recognition of the integral role economic relations can play in building cooperation and resolving regional tensions, an NEACD-organized Energy Workshop considered the security

significance of looming regional energy problems (see *Energy*, pp. 1, 3).

The NEACD has also been engaged in ongoing considerations of mutual reassurance measures² (see Spring, '96 *Newsletter*). The Seoul meeting examined several possibilities. In this region where no institutional mechanism for preventing misperception exists, the Dialogue decided to establish a working group on defense information sharing and transparency, which will examine the region's existing attempts at circulating published military doctrines, defense white papers, etc. More importantly, the working group will discuss which forms of defense information sharing have worked in other settings to lessen tension and insecurity, and identify the essential gaps in current Northeast Asian efforts.

The region's most conspicuous threat to stability remains the continuing division and military tensions on the Korean peninsula. Participants recognized that the Korean peninsula poses not only a threat of military conflict, but also a serious humanitarian problem, given the depressed economy and food shortages in the North. Resolution of these issues is hard to predict, and regional actors are ill-prepared to deal with their consequences. Cooperative efforts to limit instability and provide financial support and humanitarian aid are essential, but it is difficult to address these issues while North Korea remains absent from the NEACD. (North Korea has not participated in the Dialogue since the summer of 1993; all participants hope it will rejoin soon.)

The Seoul meeting culminated the first hosting rotation among participant countries. Previous meetings have been held in La Jolla (1993), Tokyo (1994), Moscow (1995), and Beijing (1996). The South Korean government demonstrated its enthusiastic commitment to the NEACD process with a meeting superbly organized by the Institute on Foreign Affairs and National Security, its national foreign policy training and research institution. The NEACD will return to the U.S. for its next meeting, scheduled for April 1997, in New York. Following that meeting, IGCC director Susan Shirk will chair a policy panel luncheon on the prospects for Northeast Asian security cooperation at the University of California Washington DC Center. For attendance information, contact Ronald Bee, IGCC External Affairs, phone (619) 534-6429; email rbee@ucsd.edu. ■

² Known in other regions of the world as confidence-building measures.

Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue V*

9-10 September 1996

NEACD V Energy Workshop†

11-12 September 1996

Seoul, Korea

Sponsored by: The University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation
Japan National Institute for Research Advancement
Korean Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security (IFANS)

NEACD V Presenters

National Perspectives on Northeast Asian Security

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Principles Governing State-to-State Relations

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Military Perspectives on Northeast Asian Security

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The Security Significance of Energy

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Fossil Fuels

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Cooperative Approaches

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NOTEWORTHY

Incoming IGCC Research Director for International Relations **Stephan HAG-GARD** (see p. 13) and IGCC Director **Susan L. SHIRK** both contributed chapters to *Internationalization and Domestic Politics* (New York: Cambridge U. Press, 1996), ed. Robert O. Keohane, Columbia U. and Helen V. Miller, Columbia U. **SHIRK** participated in the summer workshop of the Aspen Strategy Group, which she joined in 1993.

Outgoing IGCC Research Director for International Relations **David LAKE** (see related article, p. 13) and UC Irvine's Center for Peace and Conflict Studies director **Patrick MORGAN** have completed their co-edited *Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World*, Penn State Press, forthcoming 1997. The volume concludes several years of collaboration by a number of UC/IGCC and other faculty. Another fruition of two years' system-wide IGCC research (see Fall, '94; Spring, '96 *Newsletter*; IGCC Policy Papers 12, 13, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27; IGCC Policy Briefs No. 2, 3, 5) is *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict*, co-edited by **LAKE** and **Donald ROTHCHILD**, UC Davis, just accepted by Princeton U. Press, with 1997 publication anticipated.

UC Davis Asst. Prof. and 1994-95 IGCC Faculty Fellow **Scott GARTNER** and UCD Prof. **Randolph M. SIVERSON**, former IGCC Steering Committee Chair, co-authored "War Expansion and War Outcome," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40:1 (March 1996). With Patrick M. Regan, University of Canterbury, **GARTNER** co-authored "Threat and Repression: The Non-Linear relationship Between Government and Opposition Violence," *Journal of Peace Research* 33:4. **GARTNER'S Strategic Assessment in War** is forthcoming from Yale University Press.

The fruits of IGCC 1990-92 Dissertation and 1995-96 Faculty Fellow, UC San Diego Asst. Prof. **Paul PAPAYOANOU'S** labors have been accepted in several publications. "*Independence, Institutions, and the Balance of Power: Britain, Germany and World War I*" appeared in *International Security* 20:4 (Spring 1996). With 1992 IGCC Dissertation Fellow **Robert PAHRE** (Asst. Prof., U. Of Michigan School of Public Policy), he co-edited *Modeling Domestic-International Linkages*, a special edition of *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, to appear in February 1997. "Economic Interdependence and the

Balance of Power" will be published in *International Studies Quarterly* 41:2 (June 1997). **PAPAYOANOU** is also a contributor to Lake and Morgan's *Regional Orders*. **PAHRE'S** "Multilateral Cooperation in an Iterated Prisoner's Dilemma," based on his dissertation, appeared in the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 38:2.

IGCC 1992-93 Dissertation Fellow **Julliann ALLISON** has contributed "Trade Liberalization and the Natural Environment: Conflict or Opportunity?" to Sheldon Kamieniecki, George Gonzalez and Robert Vos, ed., *Flash Points on Environment Policymaking: Controversies in Achieving Sustainability* (Albany: SUNY Press, forthcoming 1997). 1990-92 IGCC Dissertation Fellow **Jeffrey LEGRO**, now Asst. Prof., U. Of Minnesota, examined bureaucratic organizational cultures in "Culture and Preferences in the International Cooperation Two Step," *American Political Science Review* 90:1 (March, 1996). A paperback edition of 1992-93 Dissertation Fellow **Tom WELLS' The War Within: America's Battle Over Vietnam** has been published by Henry Holt (1996).

General Principles of International Interaction*

by Robert A. Scalapino

To outline “general principles” in a revolutionary age is a daunting task. Change—rapid, pervasive change—characterizes virtually every society and region. Hence, new policies and ideas are constantly required if a state is not to slip into obsolescence.

Economic Development—A Universal Quest

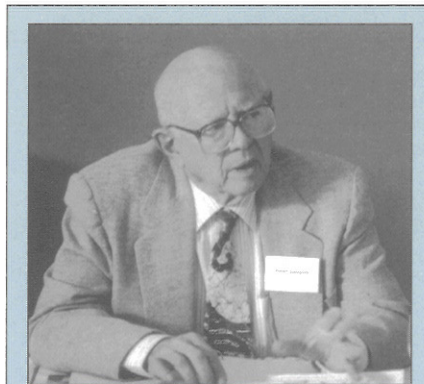
Whatever differences of culture and system, all peoples are now demanding improvements in their lives that can only come from rapid, continuous economic development. Economic progress, moreover, is highly dependent upon participation in regional and global economic interchange. Only through such connections can there be the transmission of technology and capital essential to economic growth. Autarky is a certain road to backwardness.

Economic interdependence is thus to be welcomed, whether it takes the form of institutions such as ASEAN, APEC and the WTO or emerges in non-institutional forms such as natural economic territories (NETs), the economic entities proliferating in East Asia today that cross-cut political boundaries.

All governments should support the broad goals of organizations like APEC that aim at an open trading system. Certain temporary exemptions or special provisions are appropriate to acknowledge developmental differences but these should not be made into permanent privileges. The objective should be to enable maximum market access for all parties under fair and equal conditions, together with technological advance-sharing, while still legally protecting technological proprietorship. Only in this manner can the “developed” and “developing” societies be brought into harmonious, constructive economic interaction, to accelerate global growth.

The Nation-State—Rights and Obligations

The nation-state remains the central institution of governance and the focal point of allegiance on the part of its citizens. National sovereignty is an important political principle that should be fully respected. At the same time, we are living in a new and complex age in which the nation-state coexists with other institutions seeking to



Robert A. SCALAPINO

Author of nearly 400 articles and 40 books and monographs on Asian politics and U.S. foreign policy in Asia, Robert A. SCALAPINO was the founding director of the University of California, Berkeley Institute of East Asian Studies, and is the UCB Robson Research Professor of Government Emeritus; Director Emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations; and Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He holds the Republic of Korea's Order of Diplomatic Service Merit, Heung-In Medal, and the Japanese Order of the Sacred Treasure.

make and enforce rules. At the economic level, as noted, sub-regional, regional and global institutions now exist. Through these institutions, progress is being made in establishing rules and principles for trans-national economic intercourse. Every state has the right to accept or reject these rules, but once accepted, it has the obligation to enforce them in its own policies. Failure to do so constitutes a legitimate reason for arbitration through available sources or other responses by those party to the agreement.

Adhering to Commitments

All United Nations member states have agreed to accept certain basic principles of conduct in the community of nations. Further, many have officially accepted such strategic agreements as the Non-Proliferation Treaty or a wide range of other strategic and political commitments, some bilateral, some multilateral. In such instances, states have an obligation to adhere to commitments made unless the

covenant is officially dissolved or the state concerned withdraws in a legal manner. If they violate their commitments, states are liable to penalties. Sovereignty cannot be invoked to protect those who transgress legal obligations.

Accepting Open Discussion

In an age of electronic communications and massive media operations, every nation's domestic policies are more transparent, both to its own citizens and to the world. Inevitably, those policies will be subject to discussion, at home and abroad, and the image of each government and society will be affected by perceptions, whether accurate or inaccurate. Correspondingly, pressures on a nation's foreign policies, whether from the average citizen or elites, will emerge. This is now a political fact of life.

Human Rights

Political systems, however, will continue to differ as will interpretations of political values. It is entirely appropriate that we debate the essence of such concepts as “human rights” and “democracy.” A degree of agreement, however, is in place, as various declarations on human rights testify. Torture, for example, is universally condemned, as is genocide.

External Sanctions

In certain instances, by agreement, *ad hoc* coalitions under the auspices of the United Nations have intervened in an effort to halt such activities. This is in accord with the UN charter, and should be considered legitimate.

On these matters, an effort to advance understanding and agreement should proceed through multilateral dialogue wherever possible. Only when a nation is in violation of an international charter or legal agreement to which it is a signatory should external sanctions be considered, whether the issue be one of economic, security or political policy. Yet every nation should understand that its policies in these realms will be scrutinized by others and in certain instances, subjected to the type of criticism that can influence their policy-makers.

The Future: Multilateral Cooperation

There are many reasons for hope in looking at international relations today. The

Continued p. 7

risks of a global major power war are at their lowest point in this century. We have the beginnings of a complex institutional structure, formal and informal, to deal with various types of controversies, from the economic to the strategic. With still accelerating advances of science and technology, the developmental process can be shortened and made less arduous, although that fact bequeaths certain new types of problems.

It is the human factor that must cause the greatest concern. In this highly materialist age, can fundamental values be established or maintained that eschew racism and separatist cultism? Can nationalism, now rising in all parts of the globe, be made compatible with the essential requirements of interdependence? Can leaders help in the educational process, translating complexity into understandable and acceptable terms for citizens? To these challenges, we must address ourselves.

Given the fragility of our regional and global institutional structures for peace-making and peace-keeping, we must encourage a range of supplementary activities intended to buttress those structures. Track-two operations—unofficial and quasi-official—are a continued necessity, and they should be encouraged to explore the full range of security issues for the future: control of sophisticated conventional weapons; terrorism, domestic and international; drugs and other illicit traffic; environmental issues; population growth; and resource needs, notably energy and food. These are the looming issues of the 21st century, affecting every aspect of our lives, and we are not yet prepared to deal with them adequately.

Despite the growing “togetherness” of our interdependent world, moreover, ignorance and misunderstandings concerning other societies are rife. We need a wide range of facilities for cross-cultural dialogue and education, especially for younger generations who are frequently concentrating only on their immediate environment and personal goals. Will they be ready for the twenty-first century?

Every nation will continue to seek to defend its national interests by engaging simultaneously in bilateral, regional and global interaction. The aim must be to make each of these levels as compatible as possible with the others. ■

* Prepared for presentation at the Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue V, Seoul, Korea, 9–10 September 1996.

East Asian Investment Networks

Discussions of U.S. trade policy in the Asia-Pacific region have generally focused on key bilateral relationships: the long-standing rivalry with Japan; periodic problems with the newly industrializing economies; the emergence of China as a major trading power. Yet those trade relations are increasingly embedded in international production networks that transcend national economies and include not only American and Japanese firms, but also Korean and overseas Chinese investors.

With generous support from the Japan–U.S. Friendship Commission, IGCC, in collaboration with the Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy (BRIE), has embarked on a two-year project on the nature of American, Japanese and overseas Chinese investment networks in the Asia-Pacific region. The project has completed studies of Taiwan’s automobile industry (Gregory Noble, UC Berkeley) and the textile, auto and electronics industry in Vietnam. Current research, led by BRIE’s Michael Borrus and Dieter Ernst and IGCC’s Stephan Haggard (see p. 13), examines regional competition in the electronics industry.

In the 1960s, American and Japanese electronics firms began to move production “offshore,” first to Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore; then, beginning in the mid-1980s, throughout Southeast Asia. Japanese firms were motivated by an interest in servicing Asian markets, and by the attraction of low-wage labor that would facilitate their push into the large and lucrative American market. The strategy of American firms, by contrast, was largely a defensive antidote to stiff Japanese competition.

In the 1980s, the American strategy came in for harsh criticism. After focusing on cost reduction rather than technological leadership, the consumer segment of the industry went into steep decline. Michael Borrus pronounced the electronics industry “left for dead,” as the United States lost its position in one segment after another.

By the 1990s, however, it became clear that such post mortems were premature. Japanese firms built closed, hierarchical international production networks that mirrored their successful domestic production strategies. American firms, by contrast, forged alliances with increasingly sophisticated suppliers in newly industrializing countries, revitalizing American industry in a number of product areas and posing new competitive challenges to Japanese firms.

The project considers the evolving nature of international production networks from three distinct geographical perspectives. Studies of the United States (Michael Borrus, BRIE) and Japan (Dieter Ernst, BRIE) consider the problems facing the technological leaders, and the extent to which Japanese and American firms are converging or continuing to diverge in their approach to international production. Studies of Korea, Taiwan (Dieter Ernst), and Singapore (Wong Poh Kam, National University of Singapore) consider the challenges facing the newly industrializing countries, and how they seek to position themselves in the face of rising wage costs and rapid technological change. Studies of Malaysia (Greg Linden, BRIE) and Vietnam (Jan Annerstedt and Ngyuen Ha, BRIE), consider problems facing lower-income countries as they seek to position themselves in the regional division of labor.

The study demonstrates the difficulties for all countries in the region of pursuing protectionist trade policy strategies. It also shows the critical importance of market access for American multinationals, suggesting some of the new issues such as competition policy likely to crowd the future trade agenda.

Project results will be presented at a February, 1997 policy luncheon for scholars, experts, media and government officials at the University of California Washington, DC Center. For attendance information contact Ronald Bee, IGCC External Affairs, phone (619) 534-6429; email rbee@ucsd.edu. ■

VIEWPOINTS:

Northeast Asian Energy and Security: Cooperative Fuel Disposal and Peaceful Nuclear Development

Developing a Regional Nuclear Energy Compact

by *Jor-shan Choi*



Nuclear power cannot be a major energy source in the world's energy economy unless the lingering radioactive waste disposal problem is resolved; international fears of nuclear weapons proliferation, a great impediment to nuclear-energy use in developing countries, are mitigated; the costs of nuclear energy production are lowered, and unfavorable public perception of reactor safety, inflamed by the Three Mile Island mishap and the Chernobyl disaster, is overcome.

Given the global trend toward more regional economic development, group security arrangements, and collaborations on safety issues transcending national boundaries, a possible solution to these problems in Northeast Asia is the formation of a regional nuclear energy compact for nuclear cooperation. Such a compact could resolve Northeast Asian nuclear proliferation concerns through effective spent fuel and radioactive waste accounting, management and disposal. It could establish appropriate nuclear power plant operation safety cultures to allay public fears. It could promote regional economic cooperation supported by a reliable and environmentally-sound nuclear energy supply.

East Asia, comprised of China, Japan, North and South Korea, Taiwan, and the Russian Far East, contains declared nuclear weapons states (China and Russia), sizable and ambitious nuclear energy programs (Japan and South Korea), and budding energy programs (North Korea), making it the most dynamic nuclear energy development region in the world today. Countries in the region share close proximity and common needs for stable and reliable energy supplies, radioactive waste disposal, reactor safety, and regulatory standards. They also share territorial disputes, overlapping security interests, both interdependency and competition in regional economic expansion—and historically-rooted mutual mistrust of expansionist aims. The likelihood of forming a regional cooperative framework would depend not only on the goodwill of the states and their desire to join, but may also require the participation of the United States in the formation phase of the framework.

Certainly, we have arrived at the time to discuss cooperative nuclear framework options. However, the compact I propose here does not carry a particular nameplate (such as ASIAATOM or PACIFICATOM): we must preserve flexibility in this early dialogue stage. Tough questions regarding energy, environment, security, safety, domestic policy, and economics must be considered in order to map a framework for regional nuclear energy development.

Nuclear energy is a proven resource, but can it overcome issues of waste disposal, non-proliferation and safety to compete with other alternatives? Use of nuclear energy could lessen the environmental degradation from fossil energy use, but, could problems with radioactive waste disposal become the Achilles'

Continued p. 9 col. 1

A Proposal for Regional Spent Fuel Storage

by *Atsuyuki Suzuki*



To allay international fears of nuclear weapons proliferation by either nations or terrorists, an international safeguard system is inevitably required for managing spent nuclear fuel and post-reprocessing separated plutonium, which can be used in weapons manufacture. Experts advise that nuclear waste should be disposed of in deep underground repositories, to isolate it from the biosphere for the thousands of years required before radioactive decay renders it harmless. Many countries understand deep underground storage to be safe and feasible; most of the required technologies are already available. However, any permanent storage scheme seems inevitably to encounter the NIMBY (not in my backyard) syndrome.

An intermediate storage facility could delay countries' decisions for permanent underground storage until NIMBY issues have been ameliorated and proliferation concerns resolved. However, such a repository would be highly capital-intensive, and most producers of spent nuclear fuel have nuclear programs too small to justify the cost. There is also a danger that "intermediate" facilities could become by default permanent.

I propose an East Asian regime to build and operate a facility for intermediate storage of spent fuel from regional nuclear power plants, called the East Asian Collaboration for Intermediate Storage (EACIS). The facility would be devoted only to intermediate storage of civilian spent fuel, not to its final storage, nor to military-related fuel storage. The latter measure would facilitate collaboration among weapons- and non-weapons states.

To prevent indefinite "storage-creep," the storage period would be fixed in advance by a prescribed formula. That is, the minimum and maximum storage time would be designated; and following the minimum number of years (say, 30), participating countries would decide whether to extend the time and, if so, for how long—up to the maximum (say, 50 years).

Obviously, the host country would need large economic and technological incentives. To this end, all participants in the collaboration would be subject to an incentive/tax system in which each is obliged to look for a final geological repository within the minimum length of intermediate storage time.

This part of the regime would provide for construction and operation of an international facility for research on underground geological nuclear waste disposal, called the East Asian Collaboration for Underground Research (EACUR). During the intermediate storage period, the EACUR facility would be devoted to research and development of geological disposal technologies. One of its most effective features would be public educa-

Continued p. 9 col. 2

heel of nuclear technology? Given that nuclear technology which produces useful energy could also produce weapons-usable material, what would be the most effective means to render the technology proliferation-resistant? Nuclear power has an excellent safety record, but can it afford another Chernobyl accident?

Especially for East Asian economies, could nuclear energy be justifiable: in fulfillment of "energy self-reliance" policies? as a future exportable commodity? as a bargaining chip on security matters? as an employment avenue for displaced weapons scientists and engineers? Nuclear technology is capital-intensive. Could the operating costs and construction time be sufficiently minimized to keep energy production competitive with alternative fuel resources?

The region of East Asia is unique in its cultural backgrounds, economic systems, historical perspectives, and nuclear program developments. Instead of rushing to form a EURATOM-like organization, an appropriate approach would be first to set up forums where countries can freely exchange ideas on nuclear energy, environmental awareness, proliferation resistance, nuclear safety, waste management, and economic cooperation.

Topics of discussion must include the selection of a host country for the provision of spent-fuel storage and High Level Waste disposal and the setting of agreeable criteria for economic compensation to the host country for:

- providing spent-fuel storage and HLW disposal service;
- establishing a regional Stored Nuclear Materials monitoring and control regime;
- promoting transparency of regional nuclear programs;
- providing coordinated management and inspection of separated SNM by technical experts from regional states to supplement the International Atomic Energy Agency Safeguards and security programs;
- establishing a network of fuel-cycle facilities, adhering to the SNM control regime mentioned above, to ensure the reliable supply of fresh nuclear fuel and the receipt of spent nuclear fuel to and from member states;
- enforcing a regional safety culture for nuclear facility operations, based on the acceptable international regulations and standards;
- developing prudent safety practices, and providing training to regional operation personnel;
- coordinating regional emergency response to radiation release accidents;
- establishing a regional development banking network for lending favorable loans to regional nuclear energy developmental programs; and
- promoting regional economic cooperation through stable, economical and environmentally-accepted sources of nuclear energy. ■

Jor-shan CHOI is a nuclear safety and arms control expert at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. During 1995–96, he was a Science Fellow at the Stanford University Center for International Security and Arms Control (CISAC).

tion, by demonstrating the safety and technical feasibility of geological disposal, in order to overcome NIMBY resistance.

In East Asia, there are only a few countries now operating nuclear power stations, but many other countries are interested in doing so. Anti-nuclear environmentalists are likely to see international collaboration as a way of both prolonging and expanding nuclear power use, and therefore oppose it. It must be emphasized to the concerned populations that spent fuel is already with us—storage is necessary irrespective of whether or not nuclear power usage expands to new countries. Medical and scientific research also generate a variety of radioactive waste. That material must be safely managed and stored as well.

The economies of scale inherent in cost-sharing would add flexibility to present East Asian national nuclear energy programs. Without collaboration, spent fuel will most likely remain on-site at nuclear power plants—currently the cheapest option. And at on-site storage, in the absence of international safeguards, spent fuel poses not only a local safety hazard, but spawns weapons proliferation fears—suspicions about North Korea's nuclear program arose because of a lack of transparency regarding its nuclear program. But if additional plants are added to existing international safeguard

regimes (IAEA), the burden of inspecting such widely dispersed facilities could overwhelm IAEA budgets.

To realize this proposal, close collaboration among East Asian governments is of course essential, but just as important is commercial collaboration among electric utilities, who in principle should and could share associated costs. Vital is identifying potential participants, then focusing on financial commitments and economic issues. The Tokyo chapter of the World Association of Nuclear Operators, or a similar agency, could serve as organizer.

Equally important is approval by nuclear suppliers, who are responsible for guaranteeing that exported nuclear technologies and fuels are used only for peaceful purposes. This is especially true in the case of the United States, with its so-called contamination principle, which means that not only nuclear fuels originating there, but also any fuels mixed with U.S.-supplied fuels, remain subject to U.S. legislation.

I believe that Japan is ready to participate in such a regime, even though Japanese legislation currently allows only for expansion of on-site storage. Both Japanese utilities and the Japanese public will see that this proposal adds flexibility and international harmony to Japan's existing nuclear power program. ■

Atsuyuki SUZUKI is a professor of nuclear engineering in the Dept. of Quantum Engineering and Systems Science, U. Of Tokyo. He is one of Japan's leading proponents of a PACATOM multilateral nuclear cooperation regime.

"The end of the Cold War has meant that in all regions of the world, the respective principle security threats have become much more regionally rooted than globally transmitted..."

**—Bruce W. Jentleson,
University of California, Davis**

Southeast Asian Economic Integration and Environment

In one of the world's fastest-growing economic regions, on 5-6 September, 1996 IGCC co-hosted, with the Jakarta, Indonesia-based Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), a workshop on *Economic Integration and Environment in Southeast Asia*. Researchers, government officials and representatives from international organizations participated (see p. 13) in the gathering, timed to precede the December, 1996 World Trade Organization (WTO) ministerial meeting,



Participants in the IGCC/CSIS Workshop on Economic Integration and Environment in Southeast Asia (see p. 12).



Indonesian Environment Minister Sarwono Kusumatmadja opens the workshop. To his right: CSIS Director Hadi SOESASTRO

At that meeting, the first since the WTO-predecessor General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade (GATT)'s 1994 far-reaching trade liberalization package, trade and environment will be high on the agenda.

The Honorable Sarwono Kusumatmadja, Minister for Environment of Indonesia, opened the workshop, attended by U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia Stapelton Roy. The Minister called urgent attention to challenges to the regional ecological and natural resource base resulting from the rapid economic growth in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). He pointed out that linkages between economic integration and the environment are multifaceted and complex, and that policy solutions which show a simultaneous commitment to both open trade and environmental responsibility are called for.

Twenty-one case studies (see p. 13) on topics including forestry, energy policy, marine pollution, obnoxious facilities, environmental impact assessment, economic valuation, and institutional and political responses to sustainable development were presented at the gathering.

Environmental Concerns

Of most immediate concern were environmental problems directly affecting living conditions and population health, such as urban air pollution, access to safe drinking water, and degradation of the natural resource base that provides livelihood for local communities and indigenous peoples.

Despite the vulnerability of ASEAN countries, with their thousands of miles in low-lying, densely populated coastal areas, to global warming-induced sea level rise, this was not generally regarded as a priority Southeast Asian issue. Neither was biodiversity conservation, despite concerns with preserving "natural capital" and sustainable development.

Participants argued that environmental objectives can only be achieved if a genuine high-level political will develops to do so, but that ASEAN governments fear dampening the region's economic bonanza. However, it was shown that direct effects on the environment of trade liberalization and economic integration need not be negative; many are (or could be) positive.

Negative Growth Effects

Where domestic environmental measures are weak, environmental problems indeed result from rapid economic growth. Southeast Asian countries increasingly experience growth-related environmental degradation directly affecting health and living conditions of the population, such as air pollution from industrial production and urban vehicles. The regional contribution to the buildup of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere is also accelerating, as countries struggle to keep up with rapidly growing energy demand. Countries still plan to meet the bulk of their future energy needs by developing

traditional energy sources, such as oil and coal, thereby locking in technologies which will inevitably lead to higher levels of air pollution and greenhouse gas emissions. In some ASEAN countries, such as Indonesia, there is a discussion of developing nuclear power plants, despite the great controversies surrounding such a project. There is no broad effort to develop renewable energy alternatives, even though encouraging small-scale projects do exist to promote solar voltaic and thermal power generation.

Population increases and land use changes pressure land resources: tropical timber harvesting and the accompanying loss of biodiversity has attracted the most Western attention, as Southeast Asia has the highest absolute rate of deforestation in Asia. Economic integration, and more specifically increased trade liberalization, may exacerbate these environmental problems when environmental costs are not sufficiently reflected in prices for goods and services. The goal of attracting foreign direct investment can increase the pressure for resource extraction from pristine natural ecosystems and mitigate against attempts to introduce higher environmental standards.

Liberalization's Positive Potential

Economic integration among ASEAN countries and beyond and freer trade in key economic sectors was seen by many participants as a prerequisite for economic development and improved environmental policy performance. Economic growth and higher income levels can provide financial resources to address emerging environmental problems, such as for building sewage treatment facilities.

Continued p. 11

However, export demand resulting from freer trade has influenced decisions of governments to grant logging concessions with serious environmental consequences, dislocating indigenous people and destroying biological diversity in the region. Still, in some cases trade liberalization in the forestry sector could actually result in reduced logging in some ecologically vulnerable areas. Forestry policies in the region may for example have been less driven by foreign demand for timber than by national land use trends resulting from rural development policies and favoritism guiding the allocation of logging rights.

Eco-labeling requirements in Northern markets can provide a more secure marketing environment, promoting positive competitiveness. Where environmental costs are adequately reflected in the price of goods and services, and where liberalization forces governments to reduce subsidies and tax exemptions, competition can make inefficient resource-extracting and pollution-intensive industries unprofitable, spurring efforts to cut wastage and recapture manufacturing by-products.

How should ASEAN countries respond to the environmental challenges resulting from export-oriented economic growth?

Policy Enforcement

In view of the current economic boom in Southeast Asia, considerable political will is necessary to mitigate further serious degradation of the natural resource base. Although all ASEAN countries have formally enacted various environmental laws and regulations, institutional capacities for developing, implementing, and particularly for enforcing environmental measures are still very limited. There is often a serious lack of trained field personnel to implement or enforce existing policies.

Environmental Impact Assessment

Strengthened Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) procedures for judging longer-term environmental implications of large investment projects are seen as perhaps the most promising environmental policy instrument available for improving integration of environmental and economic objectives.

However, empirical experience from ASEAN and from OECD countries points to many shortfalls with EIA that make clear that they can only complement—not

replace—political decision making. EIAs are often relatively expensive and require well trained personnel. To be most useful they need to be conducted before work on the project has started—and therefore on uncertain assumptions. Effective EIAs must be based upon commonly agreed standards, lest they become little more than window dressing.

Systematic efforts to calculate the economic value to local communities of sustainable use of the natural resource base that could provide baselines for EIAs are also still very few. As for OECD countries, none of the ASEAN nations have yet introduced natural resource accounting as part of national economic assessments. EIA instruments need to be strengthened and incorporated in appropriate forms into the procedures of sectoral government agencies.

Public Participation

The personalized, top-down environmental policy formulation process characteristic of many ASEAN countries is susceptible to strong special interest influence. Public participation in the process by political parties, local interest groups and indigenous communities is limited. As a result, there is a lack of transparency and accountability in policymaking.

Emerging domestic non-governmental environmental organizations play a small but increasing role in lobbying governments on environmental issues, raising the awareness for environmental problems in the general public and in pushing for appropriate political responses. The extent of this involvement however varies widely. Broader participation of the public in efforts to identify and address environmental problems should be encouraged, including efforts to improve environmental education.

ASEAN Integration

All participants saw a great need for increased regional and international cooperation on environmental policy issues. Some saw the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC) as playing a catalytic role to encourage more attention to environmental issues and sustainable development in the region. But they maintain that APEC is no substitute for stronger integration of Southeast Asian environmental efforts within ASEAN. Coordination of policy initiatives and har-

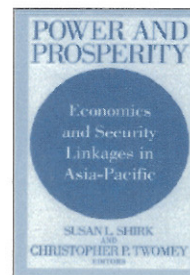
monization of standards and procedures would make it easier for ASEAN countries to compete in the world market even while increasingly integrating environmental objectives in economic decisions. Many were not convinced, however, that ASEAN as an organization would provide much leadership on this. Participants emphasized the need for other channels for intra-regional contacts among experts and policy makers.

The workshop final report will be published as IGCC Policy Paper No. 28 later this academic year. ■

U.S.–Japan Security-Economics Archive

The Japan–U.S. Friendship Commission has agreed to fund an IGCC–National Security Archive project titled “Power and Prosperity: Linkages Between Security and Economics since 1960.” The project combines IGCC’s expertise on Asian economics and security with the National Security Archive’s network of historians to look at key turning points in U.S.–Japanese relations for insights, lessons, and suggestions for improving cooperation in the years to come. Newly declassified documents will be assessed along with oral histories of major American and Japanese political figures. Dr. Susan Shirk, IGCC director, and Dr. Robert Wampler, director of the Japan Project at the National Security Archive, will coordinate this project, which will convene a conference of scholars and dignitaries in spring, 1997 at UC San Diego.

The project follows previous IGCC work funded by the Ford Foundation, published as *Power and Prosperity: Economics and Security*



Linkages in Asia-Pacific (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1996), ed. Susan L. Shirk and Christopher P. Twomey, ISBN 1-56000-252-2.

Economic Integration and the Environment in Southeast Asia

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

Jakarta, Indonesia, 5-6 September 1996

PRESENTERS

Opening Remarks

Honorable Sarwono KUSUMATMADJA
Min. for the Environment, Jakarta

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Dr. Hadi SOESTASTRO Dir., CSIS

Introduction: ASEAN Regional Perspectives; Trade and Environment

Dr. Raymond CLÉMENÇON Environ-
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Dr. Mari PANGESTU, CSIS

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United Nations Environment
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Jogjakarta, Indonesia



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ROUND TABLES

*Impact of Economic Integration
on Environmental Policymaking*
*The Role of Regional and
International Organizations*

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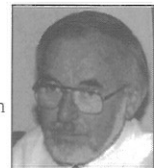
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Prof. David WOODRUFF
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Steering Committee Update



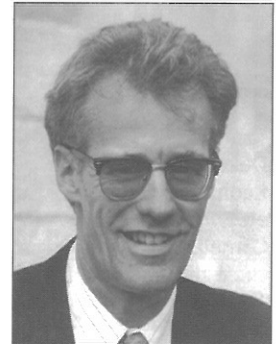
(L to R): IGCC Steering Committee members Pion-Berlin, Solingen, Hasegawa, Saxenian, Wittman, Chrzanowski, Stein, Lipson, Wilen, and Shapiro, at their Fall, 1996 La Jolla meeting. Photo: UCSD OLR

IGCC welcomed four steering committee appointees this fall. Professor Etel Solingen, (see IGCC Policy Paper No. 8; Spring, '96 *Newsletter*) Department of Politics and Society, UC Irvine, replaces Professor Martin McGuire, UCI Department of Economics, who recently completed a three-year term. Professors AnnaLee Saxenian, City and Regional Planning, UC Berkeley; Juliene Lipson, Mental Health, Community, and Administrative Nursing, UC San Francisco; and James Wilen, Agricultural and Resource Economics, UC Davis; will serve one-year 1996-97 appointments while Professors Steven Weber, Afaf Meleis, and Peter Richerson are on leave.

The committee advises the director on ongoing program activities and allocates IGCC fellowship and grant funds. ■

New Research Director

This fall, IGCC has the good fortune to welcome as Research Director for International Relations Professor Stephan Haggard (Ph.D. UC Berkeley, 1983) from UCSD's Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies. Before joining the UCSD faculty in 1991, he taught for nearly a decade at Harvard University.



Professor Stephan Haggard

A member of the Council on Foreign Relations and past consultant to AID, the World Bank, and the OECD, Haggard's research interests include international and comparative political economy, with particular emphasis on developing countries and a strong background in the Pacific Rim region. (See related article, p. 7.) A prolific writer, his recent books include *Developing Nations and the Politics of Global Integration* (Brookings, 1995) and, with Robert Kaufman, *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions* (Princeton U. Press, 1995).

With Haggard's welcome, IGCC must bid a sad farewell to David A. Lake, who will leave IGCC on 1 January, 1997 to assume, with Peter Gourevitch, editorship of *International Organization*. During his tenure at IGCC, Lake headed three multi-year projects which made substantial contributions to the development of international relations theory and its application to policy research issues. The results of these projects, to be published as *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict* (Princeton: Princeton U. Press); *Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World* (University City: Penn State Press), and *Strategic Choice and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton U. Press), are forthcoming c.1997. ■

1997-98 Dissertation Fellowships and Faculty Grants

Proposals for the 1997-98 competition will be accepted in the following categories:

Dissertation Fellowships:

Currently enrolled UC graduate students from all disciplines who have advanced to Ph.D. candidacy are eligible to apply for a \$12,000, nine-month stipend, with the possibility of one-year renewal.

Travel and research support up to \$4,000 is also available in the first year.

Research and Research Conference Grants:

UC Faculty from all disciplines are eligible to apply for up to \$15,000 in support for up to three consecutive years. Special consideration will be given to projects that overlap IGCC research priorities.

Teaching Grants:

Course development is a high priority at IGCC. IGCC offers seed money to prepare new course materials or incorporate new teaching methods. Eligibility is as for research grants, above.

IGCC/MacArthur Ph.D. Fellowships:

Through a MacArthur Foundation grant, IGCC funds Ph.D. dissertation fellowships in three specific fields of research: regional relations, international environ-

mental policy, and regional management of international environmental problems. Ph.D. fellowships provide 12-month, \$16,000 stipends and up to \$5,000 in travel and research support. IGCC will choose a 1997-98 faculty fellow to mentor student fellows. Student fellows will organize a research seminar and will each write a policy paper or brief.

Applications Available:

Applications are available for all categories as of mid-November 1996. All proposals are due by 3 February 1997. For applications or more information, contact your local campus program office or the IGCC Campus Programs Coordinator (see masthead, p.15).

Deadline: 3 February 1997

Campus Program Notes

UCB's IIS Fall, 1996 International Relations Theory Colloquium included speakers Benjamin Cohen, UCSB; Duke U.'s Joseph Grieco and Robert Keohane; and Charles Kupchan, Council on Foreign Relations. Lowell Turner, Cornell, and Etel Solingen, UCI, will conclude the series on November 15 and 27. To support inter-campus efforts to expand student access to prominent speakers, IGCC has funded lecture teleconferencing between IIS and UCSC's SPGS during 1996-97.

UCD's IGA and the Joint Center for International and Security Studies are hosting an IGCC/Women In International Security teaching seminar on weapons of mass destruction 21-23 November. Faculty from UC, Cal-State, and California community colleges are invited.

Wayne Sandholtz, UCI Politics and Society, is 1996-97 GPACS Acting Director while Patrick Morgan takes leave. In June, GPACS speakers included two members of the Palestinian National Council: Middle East Peace Process negotiator the Honorable Hanan Ahrawi, and frequent radio commentator Prof. Naseer Aruri.

The UCLA Center for International Relations (CIR) is now the Institute of International Relations and Policy (IIRAP).

In September 1996, Professor Christie Kiefer, Program in Health and Human Survival, UCSF, gave an address on militarism and peace at the *International Conference on the Biology and Sociology of Violence*, Valencia, Spain. The Netherlands' Elsevier will publish the conference papers. ■

Regional Relations Fellows Meet

Six 1996-97 IGCC/MacArthur fellows (see sidebar) met 11 October, 1996, at UC Los Angeles, to present summaries of their dissertation research and begin organizing a seminar on regional relations to be held in spring, 1997. UCLA professor Arthur Stein, Political Science, selected as the 1996-97 IGCC/MacArthur Faculty Fellow, will mentor the students as they develop policy implications of their theoretical work, to be published as IGCC Policy Papers or Policy Briefs.

1996-97 IGCC Fellowships and Grants Awarded

IGCC/MacArthur Fellowships In Regional Relations

- * **Chase, Kerry A.**, UCLA, *Industries, Firms and Regional Trade Blocs: Building Blocks or Stumbling Blocks*
- Hancock, Kathleen Jo**, UCSD, *Economic and Security Relations Between Russia and the Other Former Soviet States*
- Kreppel, Amic D.**, UCLA, *The Development of the European Parliament and Supranational Party System*
- Lobell, Steven E.**, UCLA, *Managing Hegemonic Decline: Dilemmas of Strategy and Finance*
- Parsons, Craig Alexander**, UCB, *Altered States? National Institutions and the European Union*
- Unger, Natasha**, UCSD, *"Fortress Europe"; Anti-European and Anti-Immigrant Mobilization and Small Town Civic Traditions*

IGCC/MacArthur Faculty Fellow

Stein, Arthur, UCLA, Dept. of Political Science

IGCC Fellows

- * **Brooks, Risa**, UCSD, *The Domestic Origins of International Conflict: Political-Military Relations, Policy Oversight and Grand Strategy in Historical Germany and Contemporary Egypt*
 - * **Crowly, Angela Martin**, UCI, *Top Gun, Top Dog? The Political Economy of Fighter Planes in a Changing World Order*
 - Dubrule, Hubert F.**, UCSB, *British Observers of the American Civil War: The Discourse of Modernization of Total War*
 - Dylla, Bronwyn N.**, UCLA, *Barriers to European Free Trade: An Analysis of EU State Aids*
 - Kessler, Alan E.**, UCLA, *Globalization, Domestic Institutions and the Political Economy of International Migration*
 - Ratliff, John Milton**, UCSD, *The Japanese InfoCommunications Debate and the Future of the Global Information Infrastructure*
 - Schaberg, Marc Woodson**, UCR, *Globalization of Financial Markets and National Economic Policy*
 - Xu, Xiaopeng**, UCB, *Factor Mobility and International Fiscal Policy Coordination*
- IGCC Fellows: Working Group in International Environmental Policy**
- Conte Grand, Mariana**, UCLA, *International Environmental Agreements: A Game Theoretic Approach*
 - McAfee, Kathleen Elaine**, UCB, *The Global Environment Facility: North-South Tensions and the Challenge of Green Development*
 - * **Rich, Changhua Sun**, UCSC, *Northeast Asia Regional Collaboration: China-Japan*

Joint Implementation (Group Leader)
Ruttan, Lore M., UCD, *Choosing to Cooperate: Lessons from Fisheries and Implications for Internationally Shared Resources*

Small, Eric E., UCSC, *Simulating Anthropogenic Regional Climate and Hydrologic Changes in the Aral Sea Region: Guiding Policy Decisions With a Regional Earth System Model*

Steinberg, Paul F., UCSC, *The Impact of International Environmental Agreements on Biodiversity Policy in Costa Rica and Bolivia*

Winslow, Margrethe, UCB, *Environmental Quality, Equity and Economic Growth*

1996-97 Research Grants

Dalton, Russell, UCI, *The Linkage Between Domestic and Global Environmentalism*

DiMento, Joseph F., UCI, *Practical Peacemaking in the Caucasus: the Link Between Environmental Cooperation and Security*

Karp, Larry, UCB, *Limited Cooperation in International Environmental Agreements*

Lake, David A., UCSD, *Entangling Relations: American Foreign Policy in its Century*

* **Lohmann, Susanne**, UCLA, *Dynamics of Informational Cascades: International Causes and Consequences of the East German Revolution*

* **Powell, Robert**, UCB, *Bargaining in the Shadow of Power*

* **Rocke, David M.**, UCD, *Evolution of Multilateral International Agreements*

Saxenian, AnnaLee, UCB, *Immigrant Networks and Industrial Transformation: The Internationalization of the Silicon Valley Workforce*

Siverson, Randolph, UCD, *Trade and Conflict: The Major Powers, 1905-1970*

* **Solingen, Etel**, UCI, *Domestic Determinants of Regional Cooperation: Democratization and the Middle East Peace Process*

Sonnino, Paul, UCSB, *Reconciling the Irreconcilable: The Treaty of Westphalia as a Model for Global Conflict Resolution*

1996-97 Research Conference Grants

Lohmann, Susanne, UCLA, *Trade and Monetary Integration in the European Union: Institutional Foundations of Linkage Politics*

Solinger, Dorothy J., UCI, *Program in Conference and Research Workshop Support: The State and Sovereignty in the World Economy*

1996-97 Teaching Grant

Foran, John, UCSB, *Teaching Case Methods in International Affairs*

* Renewal



[L to R] Top: Richards; Cléménçon; Howarth; fellow Brian Potter, UCLA; Ackerman; Arild Underdal, U. of Oslo; Ron Bee, IGCC External Affairs; Oran Young, Dartmouth U.; fellow Heather Carlisle, UCB; Brian Wright, UCB; IGCC Director Susan Shirk; Daniel Bromley, U. of Wisconsin; Gordon Munro, U. of British Columbia; fellow Paul Williams. Bottom: Paul Steinberg, UCSC; Linda Fernandez, UCB; Bettina Halvorsen, IGCC Campus Programs; Kathleen McAfee, UCB; Rich, Eugenio Bobenrieth, UCB.

Political Economy of International Environmental Policy

On June 3–4, 1996 at UC Santa Cruz, in a two-day seminar referred to by IGCC/MacArthur Faculty Fellow Professor Alan Richards as an “Aristotelian lineup of earth, air, fire, and water,” five UC Ph.D. students working on problems of international environmental and natural resource disputes presented policy recommendations based on dissertation projects funded through a three-year grant from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation to support work in regional relations and international environmental policy (see Fall '95 *Newsletter*).

Richards, Board of Studies in Economics, UC Santa Cruz, guided the 1995–96 fellows as they coordinated the seminar program and drafted policy recommendations based on their research. Richards opened the meeting, observing that while environmental cooperation is receiving increasing recognition by policy organizations and national governments, serious gaps still exist between theoretical advances and the mechanics of policymaking leading to international environmental agreements.

The fellows' presentations dealt with carbon emissions reduction negotiations between China and Japan, forest reserve regulation in Latin America, fishing access negotiations in the North Pacific, water resource management in post-



1995–96 IGCC/MacArthur Fellow
Chunghua Rich

Canada and Norway. They represented a range of disciplines, including agricultural and resource economics, geography, marine sciences, environmental studies, and political science. Dr. Richard Ackermann, Environment Department, World Bank, contributed a policy analysis perspective. In his closing comments he stated that institutions such as the World Bank are learning that development ever more involves building constituencies to support change and incorporate environmental concerns within affected countries. Without this social framework there

is little institutions such as the World Bank can do to speed up development.

Edited seminar papers will be published, with an introduction, as IGCC Policy Paper No. 29. The 1995–96 IGCC/MacArthur fellows will continue meeting along with selected 1996–97 IGCC fellows with a grant from the William and Flora Hewlett

Foundation. (See p. 14). 1995–97 fellow Changhua Rich, UCSC Economics, led the first working group meeting 14 October, 1996, at the UC Santa Cruz campus. Professors Richard Howarth, UCSC Environmental Studies, and Ronnie Lipschutz, Board of Studies in Politics and Adlai Stevenson Program on Global Security, provided practical advice and feedback on the preliminary research summary presentations. IGCC environmental project leader (see p. 11) Dr. Raymond Cléménçon, former section head and WTO negotiator for the Swiss environmental agency, also attended. ■

Soviet Central Asia, and transboundary water-sharing accords. All explored themes of property rights, side payments, and the role of international institutions in international environmental policy.

Seminar participants included UC scholars and academic experts from the U.S.,

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David Lake, September 1996

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IGCC is developing new projects on nuclear proliferation in South Asia, U.S. foreign policies toward so-called "rogue" states, and the creation of durable peace settlements following civil conflicts. UC faculty interested in

participating in these projects please contact IGCC director Susan Shirk (email sshirk@ucsd.edu) and send a curriculum vita. IGCC also welcomes UC faculty ideas for new policy-oriented research projects.

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