

DAVID G. VICTOR

Director, International Law and Regulation Laboratory
Professor, the School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego

UC San Diego, 9500 Gilman Drive #0519, La Jolla, CA 92093-0519
Tel: 1.858.534.3254 | Fax: 1.858.534.3939 | Email: david.victor@ucsd.edu
Revision: July 2011

EDUCATION

- 1997 Ph.D. (Political Science), MIT
- 1987 A.B. (History and Science), Harvard University

EXPERIENCE

- 2009 - present Professor, the School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego
- 2009 - present **Director, Laboratory on International Law and Regulation (ILAR) at the School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego**
ILAR examines the ways that international regulatory institutions affect behavior—looking across a wide array of issue areas from energy and environment to human rights, trade, and security. Most of ILAR’s research concentrates in two areas—the strategies that firms use to influence international legal agreements and on experimental research on the design and implementation of international agreements.
- 2006 - 2009 **Professor of Law, Stanford Law School.**
Taught courses in regulated industries, energy and environmental law as well as field seminars and supervised JD research projects.
- 2001 - 2009 **Director, Program on Energy and Sustainable Development (PESD), Stanford University.**
Responsible for raising more than \$15m and managing the Program’s \$2.3m per year annual budget. Senior Fellow, Freeman Spogli International Studies. Led PESD research on a wide range of issues in energy markets, with a special focus on the emerging markets of Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa. Studies examined global climate change policy after the Kyoto Protocol; the emerging global markets for coal and natural gas; energy services for the world’s poor; and the performance of state-controlled oil companies.
- 1998 - 2009 **Robert W. Johnson, Jr., Fellow for Science and Technology, Council on Foreign Relations, New York (Adjunct Senior Fellow 2001-2009).**
Head of CFR’s Science and Technology program; co-leader (with Benn Steil) of the CFR study on technological innovation and economic growth; Director of CFR’s task force on energy security (co-chaired by James Schlesinger and John Deutch) and senior adviser to the task force on climate change (co-chaired by George Pataki and Tom Vilsack). Led numerous study groups, such as on improving management of the \$50b U.S. strategic petroleum reserve and on international regulation of geoengineering.

- 1997 - 1998 **Research Scholar, Project on "Environmentally Compatible Energy Strategies, International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA), Laxenburg, Austria**
- 1993 - 1997 **Co-Leader, Project on "Implementation and Effectiveness of International Environmental Commitments (IEC)", IIASA, Laxenburg, Austria**
- 1990 - present Consultant and Policy Adviser
Various organizations, including: BP, plc, Chevron, Council on Foreign Relations, Duke Energy, Electric Power Research Institute, Entergy, Florida Power & Light; Halliburton, Honda Motor Co Ltd, METI, International Institute for Sustainable Development, New Zealand Ministry for the Environment, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, US Information Agency, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, and the L20 project of the University of Victoria.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- continuous Directed reading; thesis adviser for numerous undergraduate, master's, JSD and Ph.D. theses—Political Science, Earth Systems, Interdisciplinary Program in Environment and Resources, Management Science & Engineering, Law School. Chair of dissertation committee for Mark Hayes and Jeremy Carl; member of dissertation and thesis committees for Narasimha Rao, Nikit Abhyankar and Geoffrey Blandford (all Stanford). Member of dissertation committee for Daniel Maliniak (UCSD Political Science) and Yangyang Xu (Scripps Institute of Oceanography).
- Spring 2011 "International Organization," an intensive field seminar for PhD students, Department of Political Science, UC San Diego
- Spring 2011 "International Law and Regulation," required track course in international policies, School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego
- Winter 2011; Spring 2010 IRGN 428, "Politics of Energy Policy," School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, UC San Diego
- Winter 2009; Winter 2008 Law 227 (cross-listed as Earth Systems 205), "Political Economy of Energy Policy," an in-depth look at the major theories of political economy—such as public choice, principal-agent, organizations, and international political economy—with applications to major issues in energy policy. Core class for the "natural resources" track of Stanford's advanced degree in public policy.

- Winter 2008 and spring 2005 Law 220, “Regulated Industries,” a survey on how the state intervenes to address major failures—mainly situations of natural monopoly and externality. Includes an introduction to the major theories of market failure, attention to how regulators address problems of asymmetrical information and federalism, and application to central cases in electricity, natural gas, telecommunications, environment (principally air pollution) and food/drug law.
- Winter 2007 and Spring 2003 Law 455, “Energy Law,” (in spring 2005 co-taught with Prof. Thomas C. Heller), an in-depth analysis of major issues in regulation of the energy system. Topics include all major aspects of U.S. oil & gas law, electricity law, and comparison with other countries. We review the experience with private investment in competitive markets as well as the performance of state-owned corporations.
- Spring 2007 Earth Systems 288/188, “The Political Economy of Energy in India” (intensive lecture course at Stanford followed by two weeks of field visits in India)
- Fall 2005 Public Policy 30P, “Energy and Development in the Brazilian Amazon” (three week field seminar in Brazil, mainly the Amazon region).
- Winter 2003 Political Science 118S, “International Environmental Politics” (Department of Political Science, Stanford Univ.)
- 1999 - 2001 Lecturer in Political Science and International Studies, Yale University (Taught Advanced Undergraduate Seminar: “Technology and International Relations”; Center for International and Area Studies and Department of Political Science, Yale Univ.)

PUBLICATIONS

(* indicates peer refereed publications)

Peer-Reviewed Books and Chapters in Books

(* David G. Victor, David Hults, and Mark Thurber, eds, 2011, *Oil and Governance: State-Owned Enterprises and the World Energy Supply* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), expected publication date November 2011. Author or co-author of chapters:

- (1) “Introduction” (with David Hults and Mark Thurber);
- (11) “Awakening Giant: Strategy and Performance of the Abu Dhabi National Oil Company,” (with Varun Rai);
- (20) “Conclusions and Implications” (with David Hults and Mark Thurber).

(* David G. Victor, 2011, *Global Warming Gridlock: Creating More Effective Strategies for Protecting the Planet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

(* David G. Victor, 2009, *The Politics of Fossil Fuel Subsidies* (Geneva: International Institute for Sustainable Development).

(*) David G. Victor, 2009, "Climate Accession Deals: New Strategies for Taming Growth of Greenhouse Gases in Developing Countries," in Joe Aldy and Rob Stavins, eds., *Post-Kyoto International Climate Policy: Implementing Architectures for Agreement*, chapter 21, pp. 618-648 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

(*) David G. Victor, 2007, "Fragmented Carbon Markets and Reluctant Nations: Implications for the Design of Effective Architectures," in Joe Aldy and Rob Stavins, eds., *Architectures for Agreement: Addressing Global Climate Change in the Post-Kyoto World*, chapter 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

(*) David G. Victor and Thomas C. Heller, eds., 2007, *Reforming Electric Power Markets in Developing Countries: Politics, Law and Institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). Author or co-author of chapters:

- (1) Introduction and Overview
- (7) Conclusions

(*) David G. Victor, Amy M. Jaffe and Mark H. Hayes, eds., 2006, *Natural Gas and Geopolitics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). Author or co-author of chapters:

- (1) Introduction and Overview;
- (2) Introduction to the Historical Case Studies: Research Questions, Methods and Case Selection;
- (4) Bypassing Ukraine: Gas to Poland and Germany from Russia
- (10) Politics, Markets and the Shift to Gas: Insights from the Seven Historical Case Studies
- (14) Gas Geopolitics: Visions to 2030

(*) P.R. Shukla, Thomas C. Heller, David G. Victor, Debashish Biswas, Tirthankar Nag and Ameer Yajnik, 2004, *Electricity Reforms in India: Firm Choices and Emerging Generation Markets* (New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill).

(*) Gordon S. Smith and David G. Victor, 2004, "Beyond Kyoto?" in Harold Coward and Andrew J. Weaver, eds., *Hard Choices: Climate Change in Canada* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press).

(*) David G. Victor, 2004, "WTO's efforts to Manage Differences in national Sanitary and Phytosanitary Policies," in David Vogel and Robert Kagan, eds., *Dynamics of Regulatory Change: How Globalization Affects National Regulatory Policy* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press).

(*) David G. Victor, 2003, "International Agreements and the Struggle to Tame Carbon," in James M. Griffin, ed., *Global Climate Change: The Science, Economics and Politics* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar), pp. 204-229.

(*) Benn Steil, David G. Victor, Richard Nelson, eds., 2002, *Technological Innovation and Economic Performance* (Princeton, Princeton University Press). Author or co-author of chapters:

- (1) "Introduction and overview," with Benn Steil and Richard Nelson
- (16) "Innovation and performance in the electric power industry".

(*) David G. Victor and Rebecca U. Weiner, 2002, "A Great Transformation in World Trade Law: Can the WTO Stay Afloat?," in Barry Krisoff, Mary Bohman and Julie A. Caswell, eds., *Global Food Trade and Consumer Demand for Quality*, pp. 33-41, proceedings of the International Agriculture and Trade Research Consortium, 26-27 June 2000, Montreal, Canada (New York: Kluwer).

(*) David G. Victor, 2001, *The Collapse of the Kyoto Protocol and the Struggle to Slow Global Warming* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

(*) David G. Victor, 2001, "Whale Sausage: Why the Whaling Regime Does Not Need Fixing," in: Robert L. Friedheim, ed., *Toward a Sustainable Whaling Regime* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press).

(*) David G. Victor, 2000, "Risk Management and the World Trading System: Regulating International Trade Distortions Caused by National Sanitary and Phytosanitary Policies," in: *Incorporating Science, Economics and Sociology in Developing Sanitary and Phytosanitary Standards in International Trade: Proceedings of a Conference* (Washington: National Academy Press), ch. 6. [Also online at: <http://www.nap.edu/catalog/9868.html>]

(*) David G. Victor, 1999, "The Regulation of Greenhouse Gases--Does Fairness Matter?" in: F. Tóth, ed., *Fair Weather? Equity Concerns in Climate Change* (London: Earthscan), chapter 12.

(*) David G. Victor, Kal Raustiala, Eugene B. Skolnikoff, eds., 1998, *The Implementation and Effectiveness of International Environmental Commitments: Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: MIT Press). Author or co-author of chapters:

(1) Victor, Raustiala, Skolnikoff, "Introduction and Overview,"

(4) Victor, "The Operation and Effectiveness of the Montreal Protocol's Non-Compliance Procedure,"

(6) Victor, "Regulation of Trade in Hazardous Chemicals and Pesticides," and

(16) Raustiala and Victor, "Conclusions."

(*) David G. Victor with Abram Chayes and Eugene B. Skolnikoff, 1993, "Pragmatic Approaches to Regime-Building for Complex International Problems," in: N. Choucri, ed., *Global Accord: Environmental Challenges and International Responses* (Cambridge: MIT Press).

Peer-Reviewed Articles

(*) Emilie M Hafner-Burton, David G. Victor and Yonatan Lupu, 2012. "Political Science Research on International Law: The State of the Field," *American Journal of International Law* (in press winter 2012 issue).

(*) Robert O. Keohane and David G. Victor, 2011, "The Regime Complex for Climate Change," *Perspectives on Politics* vol. 9 (1), pp. 7-23.

(*) Fang Rong and David G. Victor, 2011. "Coal Liquefaction Policy in China: Explaining the Policy Reversal since 2006," *Energy Policy*, vol 39, pp. 8175-8184.

(*) Valentina Bosetti and David G. Victor, 2011. "Politics and Economics of Second-Best Regulation of Greenhouse Gases: The Importance of Regulatory Credibility" *The Energy Journal* vol. 32 (1) pp. 1-24.

(*) Varun Rai, David G. Victor, Mark C. Thurber, 2010. "Carbon Capture and Storage at Scale: Lessons from the growth of analogous energy technologies," *Energy Policy* vol. 38, pp. 4089-4098.

(*) P.R. Shukla, Subash Dhar, David G. Victor, Michael Jackson, 2009. "Assessment of Demand for Natural Gas from the Electricity Sector in India," *Energy Policy* vol. 37, pp. 3520-3534.

- (*) David G. Victor, 2008, "On the Regulation of Geoengineering," *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, vol 24, pp. 322-336.
- (*) BinBin Jiang, Chen Wenying, Yu Yuefeng, Zeng Lemin, and David G. Victor (2008), "The future of natural gas consumption in Beijing, Guangdong and Shanghai: An assessment utilizing MARKAL" *Energy Policy*, vol. 36, pp. 3286-3299.
- (*) Zhang, Chi, P.R. Shukla, David G. Victor, Thomas C. Heller, Debashish Biswas, and Tirthankar Nag, 2006. "Baselines for carbon emissions in the Indian and Chinese power sectors: Implications for international carbon trading," *Energy Policy*, Vol 34, pp. 1900-1917.
- (*) David G. Victor, 2006, "Toward Effective International Cooperation on Climate Change: Numbers, Interests and Institutions," *Global Environmental Politics*, vol. 6, pp. 90-103.
- (*) David G. Victor, 2006, "Seeking Sustainability: Cities, Countryside, Wilderness," in Paul Demeny and Geoffrey McNicoll, eds., *The Political Economy of Global Population Change, 1950-2050* supplement to *Population and Development Review*, vol. 32, pp.202-221.
- (*) Howells, Mark, David G. Victor, Trevor Gaunt, Rebecca Elias, and Thomas Alfstad, 2006, "Beyond Free Electricity: The Costs of Electric Cooking in Poor Households and a Market-Friendly Alternative," *Energy Policy*, vol. 34, 3351-3358.
- (*) David G. Victor and Joshua C. House, 2006, "BP's Emissions Trading System," *Energy Policy*, vol 34, pp. 2100-2112.
- (*) Howells, Mark, Thomas Alfstad, David G. Victor, Gary Goldstein, and Uwe Renne, 2005, "A model of household energy services in a low-income rural African village, *Energy Policy*, Vol 33, pp 1833-1851, also posted at <http://pesd.stanford.edu>, Working Paper #18.
- (*) David G. Victor, Joshua C. House and Sarah Joy, 2005, "A Madisonian Approach to Climate Policy," *Science*, vol. 309, No. 5742, pp. 1820-1821.
- (*) David G. Victor and Lesley A. Coben, 2005, "A Herd Mentality in the Design of International Environmental Agreements?" *Global Environmental Politics* 5: 24-57.
- (*) Kal Raustiala and David G. Victor, 2004, "The Regime Complex for Plant Genetic Resources," *International Organization*, vol 58 (2), pp. 277-309.
- (*) Jari Liski, Alexander V. Korotkov, Christopher F.L. Prins, Timo Karjalainen, David G. Victor and Pekka E. Kauppi, 2003, "Increased Carbon Sink in Temperate and Boreal Forests," *Climatic Change* 61, pp. 89-99.
- (*) David G. Victor and Rebecca U. Weiner, 2003, "Will the Success of Trade Policy Undermine the World Trading System?," *Les Cahiers d'économie et sociologie rurales*, volume 68-69, pp. 150-165.
- (*) David G. Victor, Nebojša Nakicenovic, Nadejda Victor, 2001, "The Kyoto Protocol Emission Allocations: Windfall Surpluses for Russia and Ukraine," *Climatic Change*, vol. 49, pp. 263-277.

(*) Andreas Schafer and David G. Victor, 2000, "The Future Mobility of the World Population: Results from a New Model Designed for Aggregated Long-term Projections," *Transportation Research A*, vol. 34, pp. 171-205.

(*) David G. Victor and Gordon J. MacDonald, 1999, "A Model for Estimating Future Emissions of Sulfur Hexafluoride and Perfluorocarbons," *Climatic Change*, vol. 42, pp. 633-662.

(*) Arnulf Grübler, Nebojša Nakicenovic, David G. Victor, 1999, "Dynamics of Energy Technologies and Global Change," *Energy Policy*, vol. 27, pp. 247-280.

(*) Andreas Schafer and David G. Victor, 1999, "Global Passenger Travel: Implications for Carbon Dioxide Emissions," *Energy-The International Journal*, vol. 24, pp. 657-679.

(*) Arnulf Grübler, Nebojša Nakicenovic, David G. Victor, 1999, "Energy Technology and Global Change: Modeling Techniques Developed at IIASA," *Annual Review of Energy and the Environment*, vol. 24, 545-569.

(*) David G. Victor, 1996, "The Early Operation and Effectiveness of the Montreal Protocol's Non-Compliance Procedure," Executive Report ER-96-2, International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis, Laxenburg, Austria.

(*) Kal Raustiala and David G. Victor, 1996, "Biodiversity Since Rio: The Future of the Convention on Biological Diversity," *Environment*, vol. 38, no. 4, pp. 16-20 & 37-45. (Additional commentary in vol. 39, no. 2, pp. 3-5.).

(*) Jesse H. Ausubel, David G. Victor and Iddo K. Wernick, 1995, "The Environment Since 1970," *Consequences*, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 3-15.

(*) David G. Victor, 1995, "Design Options for Article 13 of the Framework Convention on Climate Change: Lessons from the GATT Dispute Panel System," Executive Report ER-95-1, International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis.

(*) David G. Victor and Julian Salt, 1995, "Keeping the Climate Treaty Relevant," *Nature*, vol. 373, pp. 280-282.

(*) David G. Victor and Julian Salt, 1994, "From Rio to Berlin: Managing Climate Change," *Environment*, vol. 36, no. 10, pp. 6-15 & 25-32. Updated and reprinted in: T.W. Giambelluca and A. Henderson-Sellers, eds., *Climate Change, People and Policy: Developing Southern Hemisphere Perspectives* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996).

(*) David M. Hart and David G. Victor, 1993, "Scientific Elites and the Making of U.S. Policy for Climate Change Research, 1957-1974," *Social Studies of Science*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 643-680.

David G. Victor, 1992, "Policy and Institutional Dimension," in: N. Nakicenovic and A. Grübler, eds., *Long-Term Strategies for Mitigating Global Warming: Towards New Earth*, in special edition of *Energy*, 18(5), 401- 609.

(*) Jesse H. Ausubel and David G. Victor, 1992, "Verification of International Environmental Agreements," *Annual Review of Energy and Environment*, vol. 17, pp. 1-43.

(*) David G. Victor, 1991, "Leaking Methane from Natural Gas Vehicles: Implications for Transportation Policy in the Greenhouse Era," *Climatic Change*, vol. 20, pp. 113-141.

(*) David G. Victor, 1991, "Limits of Market-based Strategies for Slowing Global Warming: The Case of Tradeable Permits," *Policy Sciences*, vol. 24, pp. 199-222.

(*) David G. Victor, 1990, "Calculating Greenhouse Budgets," *Nature*, vol. 347, p. 431.

(*) David G. Victor, 1990, "Liquid Hydrogen Aircraft and the Greenhouse Effect," *International Journal of Hydrogen Energy*, vol. 15, pp. 357-367.

Other (not peer reviewed) Books and Chapters in Books

David G. Victor, 2010. "The Politics and Economics of International Carbon Offsets," Proceedings of the National Research Council expert review meeting in April 2010, Washington DC. *The National Academies Press, May 17, 2010*, pp. 132-142.

George Pataki and Thomas Vilsack (co-chairs) and Michael Levi (project director) and David G. Victor (Senior Adviser), 2008, *Confronting Climate Change: A Strategy for U.S. Foreign Policy*. Council on Foreign Relations Independent Task Force.

David G. Victor, 2008, "Sources of Alternative Energy and Energy Market Innovations," pp. 129-141, in: Joseph Nye and Brent Scowcroft, eds., *The Global Politics of Energy: Report of the 2007 Aspen Strategy Group* (Washington: Aspen Institute).

John Deutch and James R. Schlesinger (co-chairs) and David G. Victor (Project Director), 2006, *National Security Consequences of U.S. Oil Dependency*, Council on Foreign Relations Independent Task Force #58.

David G. Victor, 2004, *Climate Change: Debating America's Policy Options* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations).

David G. Victor, 2000, "Controlling Emissions of Greenhouse Gases," in: Donald Kennedy and Roger Sant, ed., *A Global Environmental Agenda for the U.S.* (Washington, DC: Aspen Institute).

David G. Victor, 1996, "The Montreal Protocol's Non-Compliance Procedure: Lessons for Making Other International Environmental Regimes More Effective," in: Winfried Lang, ed., *The Ozone Treaties and Their Influence on the Building of Environmental Regimes*, Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Vienna

David G. Victor, 1996, "The Uses and Design of Targets in International Environmental Agreements," in: David G. Victor, Abram Chayes, Eugene B. Skolnikoff and John Katzenberger, eds., *Improving the Effectiveness of the Climate Regime* (Aspen: Aspen Global Change Institute); presented at the Aspen Global Change Institute, August 1995.

John Lanchbery and David G. Victor, 1995, "The Role of Science in the Global Climate Negotiations," in: H.O. Bergesen and G. Parmann, eds., *Green Globe Yearbook, 1995* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Tom Tietenberg and David G. Victor, 1994, "Possible Administrative Structures and Procedures for Implementing a Tradeable Entitlement Approach to Controlling Global Warming," in: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, *Possible Rules, Regulations and Administrative Arrangements for a Global Market in CO₂ Entitlements*, part I (New York: United Nations).

David G. Victor, 1992, "Practical Aspects of Implementing Carbon Taxes: Issues for OECD Countries," in: *Climate Change: Designing a Practical Tax System* (Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development).

Other (not peer reviewed) Articles, Op-Eds and Essays

David G. Victor, Charles Kennel, V. Ramanathan, 2012. "A Fresh Start on Global Warming Policy," *Foreign Affairs* (in press for late spring publication).

David G. Victor, 2012. "National Effects of Global Policy," *Nature Climate Change*, vol 2, pp. 24-25 (news & views).

David G. Victor and Kassia Yanosek, 2011, "The Crisis in Clean Energy: Stark Realities of the Renewables Craze," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 90 (4), pp. 112-120.

David G. Victor, 2011, "Why the UN Can Never Stop Climate Change," *The Guardian April 4, 2011*.
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2011/apr/04/un-climate-change>

David G. Victor, 2011 "Diplomacy's Meltdown: When it Comes to Climate Change, Developing Nations Aren't the Laggards," *Scientific American*, vol. 304 (1), p. 14.

David G. Victor, 2010 "The Political Context for California's Climate Change Policy" *Giannini Foundation of Agriculture Economics*, vol. 14 (1), Sep/Oct 2010 issue.

V. Ramanathan and David G. Victor. 2010. "To Fight Climate Change, Clear the Air," *The New York Times*, p. WK-9.

David G. Victor and Linda Yueh, 2010, "The New Energy Order: Managing Insecurities in the Twenty-First Century," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 89 (1), pp. 61-73.

David G. Victor, 2010, "The Green in the Machine," *The National Interest* #106, pp. 75-85 (reviews of 7 new books on global warming).

David G. Victor, 2009, "Once and Always a Laggard," *Newsweek*, 14 Dec 2009.
<http://www.newsweek.com/id/225534>

Gary Dirks and David G. Victor, 2009, "China is Going Green" *Newsweek* special Environmental issue (December 5), pp. 62-63 .

- David G. Victor, 2009. "Plan B for Copenhagen," *Nature*, vol. 461, pp. 342-344.
- David G. Victor and Richard Morse, 2009, "Living with Coal: Climate Policy's Most Inconvenient Truth," *The Boston Review*, September, pp. 7-14.
- David G. Victor, 2009. "He Protests Too Much," *Newsweek International*, 17 Aug.
<http://www.newsweek.com/id/209952>
- Varun Rai and David G. Victor, 2009. "Climate Change and the Energy Challenge: A Pragmatic Approach for India," *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 44 (31), pp. 78-85.
- David G. Victor, 2009. "Potemkin Trading," *Technology Review* July/Aug, p. 12.
- David G. Victor, 2009, "Global Warming: Why the 2°C goal is a political delusion," *Nature*, vol. 459, p. 909 (letter).
- David G. Victor, M. Granger Morgan, Jay Apt, John Steinbruner and Kate Ricke, 2009 in press, "The Geoengineering Option: A Last Resort Against Global Warming?" *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 88 (2), pp. 64-76.
- David G. Victor and Varun Rai, 2009, "Dirty Coal is Winning," *Newsweek International*, 12 January, also posted <http://www.newsweek.com/id/177684>.
- David G. Victor, 2008, "The New Greens Like it Big," *Newsweek International*, 8 December, also posted <http://www.newsweek.com/id/171312>.
- David G. Victor, 2008, "A Call to Arms for an American-led Green Revolution: review of Thomas L. Friedman's 'Hot, Flat and Crowded'", *New York Times*, 10 September, page E7.
- David G. Victor, 2008, "OPEC is Irrelevant: The Once All Powerful Oil Cartel Now Mostly Just Rides the Waves of Supply and Demand," *Newsweek International* Web Exclusive
<http://www.newsweek.com/id/150353> (1 August).
- David G. Victor and Sarah Eskreis-Winkler, 2008, "In the Tank: Making the Most of Strategic Oil Reserves," *Foreign Affairs*, vol 87, No 4 (July/August): pp. 70-83.
- David G. Victor, 2008, "Putting Rich Farmers First," *Newsweek International*, 7 July, p.72-73,
<http://www.newsweek.com/id/143655>
- David G. Victor, 2008, "Blowhard in Chief: When it Comes to Global Warming it doesn't much matter who is sitting in the White House," *Newsweek International*, <http://www.newsweek.com/id/135073/> (1 May).
- David G. Victor, 2008, "National Treasure: Mexico's Problems with its State-run oil company show why supply is so tight," *Newsweek International*, Web exclusive, <http://www.newsweek.com/id/132601>
- David G. Victor, 2008, "Asia's Achilles Heel," *Newsweek International*, Web exclusive,
<http://www.newsweek.com/id/117004/> (28 February)

David G. Victor, 2008, "The Oil Paradox", *Newsweek International*, Web exclusive, <http://www.newsweek.com/id/106658> (31 January).

David G. Victor, 2007, "Hot Air: Bali and the Climate Fight," *Newsweek International*, Web exclusive, <http://www.newsweek.com/id/73158> (2 December)

David G. Victor and Danny Cullenward, 2007, "Making Carbon Markets Work," *Scientific American*, December, pp. 70-77 (online longer and more detailed version online: <http://www.sciam.com/article.cfm?id=making-carbon-markets-wor>).

David G. Victor, 2007, "What Resource Wars?" *The National Interest*, No. 92 (November/December), pp. 48-55. (Additional debate triggered by the article in the January/February 2008 issue, with critiques by Thomas Homer-Dixon, Michael T. Klare, Sherri W. Goodman, and Paul J. Kern).

David G. Victor, 2007, "Hot Air is Not Enough," *Newsweek International* (25 June).

David G. Victor and Danny Cullenward, 2007, "The Only Practical Approach is to Pursue Technologies that Burn Coal More Cleanly," *Boston Review*, vol 32, No 1 (January/February), pp. 15-16.

Danny Cullenward and David G. Victor, 2006. "The Dam Debate and Its Discontents". *Climatic Change*, Vol. 75(1-2), pp.81-86.

David G. Victor, 2006, "Gas and Oil do not Mix in the Chaotic World of Energy Policy," *Financial Times*, May 9th, oped page.

David G. Victor, 2006, "Learning from Brazil: How to Manage our Oil Addiction," *Houston Chronicle*, April 15th, oped page.

David G. Victor, 2006, "Nuclear Power for India is good for us all," *International Herald Tribune*, March 17th, p.6 (oped).

Danny Cullenward and David G. Victor, 2006, "The Dam Debate and its Discontents," *Climatic Change*, vol 75, pp. 81-86 (lead editorial).

David G. Victor, 2006, "Recovering Sustainable Development," *Foreign Affairs* **85** (no.1, January/February), pp. 91-103.

Christopher Chyba, Harold Feiveson, and David G. Victor, 2005, "Report of the Working Group on Relative Threat Assessment," Princeton Project on National Security, Princeton NJ, September 2005 (<http://www.wws.princeton.edu/ppns/conferences/reports/fall/RTA.pdf>).

David G. Victor, 2005, "A Vision for World Forests: Results from the Council on Foreign Relations Study," *Journal of Sustainable Forestry*, **21**, pp. 113-135.

David G. Victor, 2005, "The Effects of Power Sector Reform on Energy Services for the Poor," United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Division for Sustainable Development.

David G. Victor and Joshua C. House, 2004, "A New Currency: Climate Change and Carbon Credits," *Harvard International Review*, Summer, pp. 56-59.

David G. Victor and Joshua C. House, 2004, "Politics Dog the Oil Reserve," *Los Angeles Times*, August 22. Also presented as commentary on PRI's Marketplace, August 25.

David G. Victor and Nadejda Victor, 2003, "Axis of Oil?" *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 82, No. 2 (March/April), pp. 47-61.

David G. Victor and C. Ford Runge, 2003, "A Trade Battle that will Cost America Dear," *Financial Times*, May 15, 2003.

David G. Victor and Nadejda Victor, 2003, "Nuclear energy, not oil, should fuel US-Russian ties," *South China Morning Post*, 19 February.

David G. Victor and C. Ford Runge, 2003, "Genetically Modified and Healthy," *International Herald Tribune*, 19 February, p.6.

David G. Victor, 2003, book review of Hugh S. Gorman, 2001, *Redefining Efficiency: Pollution Concerns, Regulatory Mechanisms, and Technological Change in the U.S. Petroleum Industry*, *American Historical Review* (December), 1486.

David G. Victor and C. Ford Runge, 2002, *Sustaining a Revolution: A Policy Strategy for Crop Engineering*, A Council on Foreign Relations Study (New York: Council on Foreign Relations).

David G. Victor and C. Ford Runge, 2002, "Farming the Genetic Frontier," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June, pp. 107-121.

David G. Victor, 2002, "Weak on Warming," *Washington Post*, Tuesday, 19 February 2002, p.A15.

David G. Victor, 2001, "A Deal Rescuing Nothing," *Los Angeles Times*, 19 August, pp. M1 & M6 (op-ed, cover of Sunday editor section).

David G. Victor, 2001, "Climate of Doubt," *The Sciences*, vol 41 (No. 2, Spring," pp. 18-23 (cover story).

David G. Victor, 2001, "Piety at Kyoto Didn't Cool the Planet," *The New York Times*, 23 March 2001, p. A19 (op-ed).

David G. Victor and Jesse H. Ausubel, 2000, "Restoring the Forests," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 79, No. 6. (November/December), pp. 127-144.

David G. Victor, 2000. "The Sanitary and Phytosanitary Agreement of the World Trade Organization: An assessment after five years," *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics*, vol. 32, No. 4 (summer), pp. 865-937.

Thomas Bernauer, Kenneth A. Oye, and David G. Victor, 2000, "Regulatory Diversity: Can the World Trading System Cope?" *Swiss Political Science Review*, vol. 6, pp. 96-108,

David G. Victor, 2000, "WTO's Efforts to Manage Differences in National Sanitary and Phytosanitary Policies," Working Paper 2.72, Center for German and European Studies, University of California, Berkeley.

David G. Victor, 2000, "What Roles Can International Law and Institutions Play in Restoring World Forests?" contribution to: "The Great Restoration: A Vision for the World's Forests in 2050," 20-21 January, Washington, DC, online at: <http://greatrestoration.rockefeller.edu>.

Rebecca U. Weiner & David G. Victor, 2000, "Industrial Roundwood Demand Projections to 2050: A brief review of the literature," contribution to: "The Great Restoration: A Vision for the World's Forests in 2050," 20-21 January, Washington, DC, online at: <http://greatrestoration.rockefeller.edu>.

David G. Victor, 2000, "The Trading World Can Do Without a 'Millennium Round,'" *International Herald Tribune*, op-ed page, 26 January.

David G. Victor, 2000, "Over a Barrel," *The Economist*, 22 January (letter)

David G. Victor, 2000, "Enforcing International Law: Implications for an Effective Global Warming Regime," *Duke Environmental Law and Policy Forum*, vol. 10, pp. 147-184.

David G. Victor, 2000, "Kyoto is Dead: An Upbeat Requiem," *Grist* (online debate with Dan Lashof, Natural Resources Defense Council, commissioned by *Grist*) at: <http://www.gristmagazine.com/grist/heatbeat/debates011700-b.stm> (17 Jan 2000).

David G. Victor, 1999, "The Market for International Environmental Protection Services and the Perils of Coordination," for: *Interlinkages: International Conference on Synergies and Coordination between Multilateral Environmental Agreements*, United Nations University, Tokyo, 14-16 July.

David G. Victor, 1999, "Working Together for the Earth," *Nature*, vol. 401, p. 17 (new journal review of *Environmental Science and Policy*).

David G. Victor and Eugene B. Skolnikoff, 1999, "Translating Intent Into Action: Implementing Environmental Commitments," *Environment*, vol. 41, No. 2 (March), pp. 16-20 & 39-44.

David G. Victor, 1998, "Kyoto Shell Game," *The Washington Post*, 20 November, p. A29 (op-ed).

David G. Victor, 1998, "Strategies for Cutting Carbon," *Nature*, **395**, 837-838 (news & views commentary).

David G. Victor, 1998, "Green Markets," review of M.R. Chertow and D.C. Esty, eds., *Thinking Ecologically: the next generation of environmental policy*, published in: *Ecology*, vol. 79, pp. 2210-2211 (book review).

David G. Victor and Gordon J. MacDonald, 1997, "How to Make Kyoto a Success," *Nature*, **389**, 777 (correspondence).

Andreas Schafer and David G. Victor, 1997, "Global Mobility: Past and Future," *Scientific American*, vol. 277, No. 4 (October), 58-61.

David G. Victor and Gordon J. MacDonald, 1997, "Regulating Global Warming: Success in Kyoto," *Linkages*, 2, 2-4 (<http://www.iisd.ca/linkages/journal>).

Vladimir Kotov, Elena Nikitina, Alexei Roginko, Olav S. Stokke, David G. Victor, and Ronnie Hjorth, 1997, "Implementation of International Environmental Commitments in Countries in Transition," *MOCT-MOST Economic Policy in Transition Economies*, vol. 7, no. 2, 103-128.

David G. Victor and Eugene B. Skolnikoff, 1997, "Implementing Environmental Commitments: How Governments, Industry and NGOs Put International Agreements Into Practice," *Options* (International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis, Spring).

David G. Victor, 1997, "The Use and Effectiveness of Nonbinding Instruments in the Management of Complex International Environmental Problems," *Proceedings of the American Society of International Law*, 91st Annual Meeting, pp. 241-250.

David G. Victor, 1995, "Global Warming: Avoid Illusory Goals," *The International Herald Tribune*, 29 March, p. 8 (Op/Ed page commentary).

David G. Victor, 1995, "On Writing Good Histories of Climate Change and Testing Social Science Theories," *Climatic Change*, vol. 29, no. 4, pp. 363-369 (editorial).

Abram Chayes and Eugene B. Skolnikoff with David G. Victor, "A Prompt Start: Implementing the Framework Convention on Climate Change," report from the Bellagio Conference on Institutional Aspects of International Cooperation on Climate Change, Bellagio, Italy, 28-30 January 1992. Distributed at the final session of the Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee for a Framework Convention on Climate Change, United Nations, May 1992.

Michael Grubb, David G. Victor, and Chris Hope, 1991, "Pragmatics in the Greenhouse," *Nature*, vol. 354, pp. 348-350 (commentary).

David G. Victor, 1991, "The Greenhouse Index," *Environment*, vol. 33, no. 2, pp. 4-5 (commentary)

David G. Victor, 1991, "How to Slow Global Warming," *Nature*, vol. 349, pp. 451-456 (commentary).

David G. Victor, 1990, "Conflict and Concern," *Nature*, vol. 348, pp. 361-362 (book review).

David G. Victor, 1987, "Scientists and Laymen," *Science*, vol. 236, p. 897 (letter).

OTHER INFORMATION

Editorial Boards: *Climatic Change* (Deputy Editor responsible for most submissions in the social sciences); Oxford University Press *Encyclopedia of Global Change*; Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, *Sustainable Development Research*.

Advisory Boards and Writing Teams: Advisory Council of the Electric Power Research Institute (Chairman since April 2011; vice-chairman 2008-2011); IPCC Special Meeting on Geoengineering (member of the planning committee, 2011); IPCC Fifth Assessment Report (Convening Lead Author for Chapter 1 of Working Group 3); NSF-funded Climate and Energy Decision-Making (CEDM) advisory board, Carnegie Mellon University (member); National Petroleum Council Study on the North American

Resource Development in Natural Gas (member of the emissions writing team; co-chair of the subgroup on policy related to greenhouse gas emissions; 2010-2011); MIT Study on the Future of Natural Gas (member of the advisory board 2009-2011); Bipartisan Policy Commission study on geoengineering policy (member since 2009); Task for Energy Security at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, chaired by George Shultz (member since 2008); World Economic Forum Global Agenda Council on Energy Security (member since 2008; chairman since 2010); Advisory Board for EarthEra (member since 2009); Alternative energy Future Project of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (member since 2010); Surya team on emissions from cookstoves in India, co-chaired by V. Ramanathan, Scripps Institute of Oceanography (member of the policy team since 2011).

Reviewer: *American Political Science Review*, *American Historical Review*; Cambridge University Press; *Climatic Change*; *Critical Review*; Department of Energy (U.S.); *Global Environmental Change*; *Global Environmental Politics*; *International Journal of Forecasting*; Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change; *International Organization*; *Journal of Politics*; Macarthur Foundation; MIT Press; National Science Foundation; *Millenium*; *Mitigation and Adaptation Strategies for Global Change*; *Nature*; Nordic Environmental Research Programme; Oxford University Press; *Pacific and Asian Journal of Energy*; *Policy Sciences*; Princeton University Press; Sloan Foundation; *Science*; *Utilities Policy* and other presses, journals and foundations.

Member of Professional Societies: American Association for the Advancement of Science; American Political Science Association; American Geophysical Union; American Society of International Law; International Studies Association; International Institute for Strategic Studies.