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The Center of International Studies

ALMOST twenty years have gone by since the Yale Institute of International Studies moved to Princeton and became the Center of International Studies. The first Center offices were in what is now the Pyne Administration Building. Later, Corwin Hall was built on what was then its location on the corner of Prospect Street and Washington Road. The new Center of International Studies, regarded at the time as intrusive by some, took over the basement floor.

The Center offices are still there, moved some several hundred feet back off Washington Road along with the rest of Corwin Hall. Along one side of a brightly lit, busy corridor is the office of the present director, Cyril Black, and a room where the Center secretaries, whose accuracy and speed is a source of great satisfaction to Center staff, do their work. Opposite is a lounge stacked with newspapers and magazines from all over the world. A giant coffee percolator in the corner signals a welcome with its red light. The individual offices for Center associates stretch down the corridor and around the corner.

The story of how the Center came from Yale to Princeton is one of those institutional melodramas which are usually acted out behind the scenes. Sometimes the details, the crucial turning points, may not be revealed for years. When reputations and careers are at stake, who wants to tell tales?

The Institute of International Studies was founded at Yale in 1936. And until the move to Princeton in 1951, the group at Yale actively and vigorously engaged in research. Some outstanding people in the field of International Relations—lawyers, government officials, and academicians—were associated with the Institute.

The original founders were Nicholas Spykman, who began his career as a Dutch journalist in the East Indies, and Frederick Dunn, formerly a legal adviser to the Department of State. Spykman was the first director. In the beginning, the Institute was heavily policy-oriented. Although research was done primarily by academics, there was an early commitment to relevant problems to public policy.

Spykman, who died in 1944, was particularly ahead of his time in his scientific approach to political events. According to one well-qualified observer, Spykman's work of the late Twenties and Thirties might well have been written only ten years ago. He was one of the first to reject the normative, descriptive approach to political events that was customary after World War I. He argued for analysis.

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Cyril Black, present director of the Center

Spykman wanted to apply scientific principles to international relations, and his ideas caused such controversy at the time that he was not invited to some professional meetings.

Frederick Dunn was trained as an international lawyer as well as a political scientist. He was also a Princeton classmate and friend of Allen Dulles '14. In 1940 Dunn became the second director of the Institute, and he continued on as director of the Center after the move to Princeton until 1961. Another early and distinguished member was Arnold Wolfers, who left a high ranking post in Berlin to become Professor of International Relations at Yale. When the Institute moved to Princeton, Wolfers was offered a position at the Institute for Advanced Study, but he chose to stay on at Yale.

Throughout the late Thirties and most of the Forties, the Institute thrived at Yale. In the words of one smiling observer, "the Institute of International Studies soon became the tail that wagged the political science department dog." Percy Corbett joined the faculty in the early Forties, and he served both as an Institute Associate and as chairman of the political science department. The Institute was vigorous and powerful. And the gossip has it that when Whitney Griswold was appointed President of Yale in 1950, he was not going to tolerate such autonomy.

The telephones rang, the order was delivered to the right people, and before long both Columbia and Princeton were interested in providing a new home for the Institute of International Studies. Grayson Kirk was then President of Columbia, and he had once been briefly associated with the Institute. The Rockefeller Foundation lent a sympathetic ear, and it too became interested in finding the Institute a new location. Jacob Viner, the Princeton economist and another former Institute associate, was informed

of the situation. He took the matter straight to the University administration. The gears were starting to turn.

Over Christmas recess, Harold Sprout, then chairman of Princeton's politics department, Jacob Viner h67, Professor of Economics, Frederick Dunn, then director of the Yale Institute and Professor of International Relations at Yale, and Princeton's President Harold Dodds sat down to dinner at the Nassau Inn. The dinner began with Dodds ordering double martinis all around, and it ended with everyone present excited about the prospect of relocating the Institute at Princeton.

The Rockefeller Foundation gave an initial, five-year grant, and Princeton matched it. The Center started out at Princeton with a budget of \$80,000 per year, the equivalent of around twice that in today's money. The Center was established as part of the Woodrow Wilson School, and the staff which came from Yale—Percy Corbett, Gabriel Almond, Klaus Knorr, Bernard Cohen, William Kaufmann, Elsbeth Lewin as research assistant, and Frederick Dunn as Director—were given Woodrow Wilson School appointments. In addition, William T. R. Fox and Annette Fox, who had moved from Yale to Columbia in 1950, were to continue as part-time visiting associates. Another important Institute member also made the move down from New Haven. *World Politics*, founded in 1948 and now one of the most respected publications in the field of international relations and comparative politics, came along with the others.

Last year, some 50 scholars worked under Center auspices. Membership now includes more than 20 faculty associates, who are members of the Princeton faculty from various departments; research associates who come from from other institutions in America and from abroad; and assistants-in-research, who are Princeton graduate students writing their dissertations. Financial support is given to members for research for a year, a summer, or part of a year. The current operating budget calls for expenditures of about \$350,000.

Klaus Knorr served as director of the Center from 1961 until July, 1968 when Cyril Black of the Department of History became director. The director works in consultation with a four-man, faculty advisory committee. In addition, the staff includes an administrative assistant, the managing editor of *World Politics*, research assistants, and secretaries.

The Center's purpose has been to promote research. It sponsors the research of its members, it invites outside scholars to come as visitors, and it schedules seminars and discussions. The kinds of research which have been done over the years have changed as changes have taken place within the separate disciplines of social science and as events have affected the world.

Trends in the social sciences are expressed in the list



Former Director Klaus Knorr

of Center publications. Some of the book-length studies, a large majority of which have been published by Princeton University Press, written at the Center are:

- Lucian W. Pye, *Guerrilla Communism in Malaya* (1956)
 - Myron Weiner, *Party Politics in India: The Development of a Multi-Party System* (1957)
 - Percy E. Corbett, *Law in Diplomacy* (1959)
 - Klaus Knorr (ed.), *Nato and American Security* (1959)
 - Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (eds.), *The Politics of Developing Areas* (1960)
 - Herman Kahn, *On Thermonuclear War* (1960)
 - Peter Paret and John W. Shy, *Guerrillas in the 1960's* (1962)
 - Frederick S. Dunn, *Peace-Making and the Settlement with Japan* (1963)
 - Bernard C. Cohen, *The Press and Foreign Policy* (1963)
 - Harry Eckstein (ed.), *Internal War: Problems and Approaches* (1964)
 - Cyril E. Black, *The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study of Comparative History* (1966)
 - Henry Bienen, *Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development* (1967)
 - Richard A. Falk, *Legal Order in a Violent World* (1968)
 - John T. McAlister Jr., *Viet Nam: The Origins of Revolution* (1969)
 - Oran R. Young, *The Politics of Force: Bargaining During International Crises* (1969)
 - Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (1970)
- The latest Center publication is *The Politics of Tradition: Continuity and Change in Northern Nigeria, 1946-1966*, by C. S. Whitaker, Jr., Chairman of Princeton's Afro-American Studies Program.

In addition to books, the Center has published policy memoranda and research monographs. These are usually mailed out to government officials, professionals, some academics, and interested outsiders. The policy memoranda are papers on a current topic with a specific recommendation. The research monographs are also papers available

in reprint form and are distributed to people with a professional interest in the subject.

The changing subjects of Center research have often reflected historical change. During the Cold War decade, there was a considerable amount of work done on the spread of Communist ideology abroad. The Center of International Studies was also one of the first places where work was done in the now vast field of underdevelopment and modernization. And at a time when civilians were not supposed to have much to say about military decision-making, several people here began studying the politics of warfare and military strategy.

One long-standing project has been the translation of the work of the German military tactician, Karl von Clausewitz, 1780-1831, whose work *On War* influenced later German and Russian military strategists. An interest in war, tactics, and the military led to the subject of internal war. Klaus Knorr observed in the Fifties that very little work had been done in this field. He outlined an eight-year project for research which was supported by the Carnegie Corporation. More recently studies of guerrilla warfare and of revolution have been done.

THE development of research projects also has naturally reflected the individual interests of particular Center members. When Richard Falk, an international lawyer, left Ohio State and came to Princeton in 1961, interest was renewed in problems connected with international law. Together, Professors Black and Falk are now organizing a five-volume study of the Future of the International Legal Order. Professor Black's work in the field of modernization leads him to note that "International Law has been very static and concerned with the *status quo*. It has not given adequate attention to political, economic, and social change. The attempt here is to review the international legal system and try to anticipate the changes that will be necessary."

Falk adds, "This is the first time that international lawyers have tried to think systematically together about the future. And although there is no commitment to implementation of the findings, the results will at least be increased understanding and a clearer statement of the problems." The first four volumes are now being published, and a fifth and final volume will criticize and establish a consensus on what has gone before.

Professor Falk is also concerned with ecological problems and the preservation of resources. His new book, *The Endangered Planet*, will be out by the end of this year. Even though there is now much political rhetoric on the subject, Falk says, "I am not sure that capitalism is compatible with ecological equilibrium. Solving these problems means hurting some of the more powerful interests in this country, and that is suicidal for any politician who wants to stay in power."

Harold and Margaret Sprout are also collaborating on problems of ecology. On a three-year grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, they are directing research on the current ecological crisis. Two publications are planned: first, an inventory of the concepts and hypotheses which have come out of the various individual disciplines; then, a book is planned on the political aspects of environmental problems both in America and abroad. This program will also sponsor seminars and invite some outside specialists to speak at Princeton. This field is not a new one for Harold and Margaret Sprout, who as early as 1931 were writing

on the subject. They are also the authors of *The Ecological Perspective on Human Affairs* (1965).

Other current projects include a review of the success of the relatively new postwar international institutions to be conducted by Leon Gordenker on his return from Uganda in the fall. Manfred Halpern continues his work on the theory of modernization. A research program in International Relations Theory will be conducted next year by Oran Young.

The Workshop in Comparative Politics, directed by Harry Eckstein with the assistance of Ted Gurr, continues to bring together a group of graduate students to work on related problems. The workshop's particular concern has been with authority patterns, aspects of political socialization, and the recruitment of political elites. Students usually spend one year abroad and then analyze and test their findings against theoretical frameworks set up in the workshop.

Faculty associates study a variety of problems. Stephen Klineberg in sociology is looking at the problems resulting from the imposition of modern education on traditional child-rearing practices. Robert Tucker in the politics department continues his long consideration of Stalin's effect on the development of Soviet Communism. Dennis Thompson, also in politics, compares voting behavior and public opinion in Britain and the U.S. toward analyzing theories on the behavior of citizens in a democracy.

Charles Wheatley in sociology is studying elites in major Western societies, with an emphasis on military coups and their outcomes. Also continuing the tradition of civilian research into military matters is Henry Bienen in politics, who works on the military in developing countries, theories of violence, and African politics. Marion Levy, also in sociology, continues to develop his theories of modernization. Charles Hermann in politics has been using simulation as a tool in a comparative study of foreign policy, with attention to the relation between domestic and foreign policies.

In 1968-69, visiting research associates came and worked on development in India, nuclear arms control, women's role in Soviet Central Asia, and many other subjects. And graduate students were concerned, among other things, with studies on Yemen, Canada, the Philippines, mathematics, and democratic authority.

Although the highly respected journal, *World Politics*, is edited at the Center, its contributors are from all over the world. In fact, articles and reviews by Princeton people are usually limited to one per issue. Each year, *World Politics* receives over 200 manuscripts and it publishes 30 of these. The journal goes to over 4,000 subscribers, almost 40% of whom are overseas.

Last year political scientists and historians, who have traditionally been more closely associated with international studies, were joined by economists, statisticians, anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists. Americans and guests from abroad worked together. The Center also sent Princeton faculty members to teach abroad. Collaboration and contact, especially among the different disciplines, has resulted as planned in stronger individual work. The principal expenditure of the Center of International Studies has been and will continue to be for the salaries of scholars. The products are the long list of Center publications, the meetings and seminars, and the intangible effect of scholars with different ideas coming together to work on related problems. □