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*A Report on
Activities, 1988-89*



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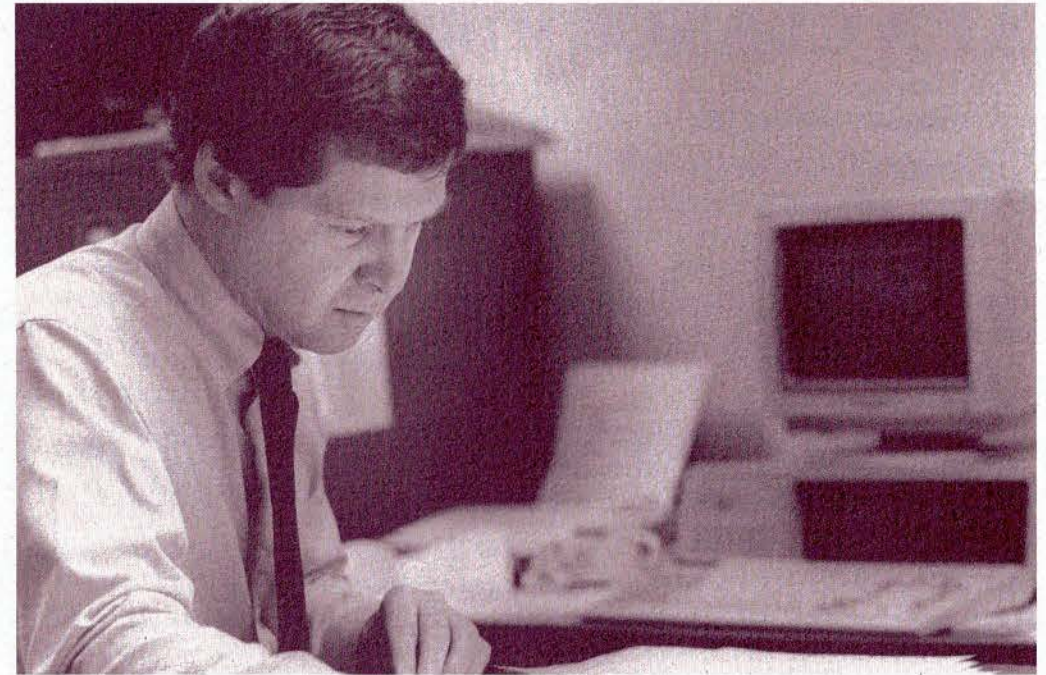
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LOOKING FORWARD, LOOKING BACK

The past two years have seen the Foreign Policy Research Institute achieve nearly all of the goals it had set for itself. And now, on the threshold of the 1990s, the Institute is launching entirely new research programs in East Asian Studies, International Economics, and in Middle East Studies.

Another new venture will seek to assist business. American corporations now more than ever need to sell abroad. To help business executives stay abreast of international opportunities and threats, we have launched the *FPRI Corporate Advisory Service*. Through our staff and an international network of contacts, FPRI's working-level specialists are available to counsel business executives on international economics, foreign politics, terrorism, and other issues relevant to today's global markets.

While the Institute faces the future with new programs, it will also renew its ties to the past by welcoming the return to FPRI of Robert Strausz-Hupé, the scholar and diplomat who founded the Institute in 1955 and published the first issue of *ORBIS* in 1957.

Having recently completed a tour of duty as the U.S. Ambassador to Turkey — following earlier stints as ambassador to Sri Lanka, Belgium, Sweden, and NATO — Ambassador Strausz-Hupé has returned to the Institute as Distinguished Diplomat-in-Residence and President Emeritus. Professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania for many years, where he developed a reputation as one of the most popular lecturers on campus, the ambassador has a wealth of experience on which to

Continued on page 4

AT A GLANCE

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Continued from page 3

draw. Born in Vienna in the twilight of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, he has witnessed two world wars and served the United States all over the globe. It is an honor to have Ambassador Strausz-Hupé with us again.

Others associated with the Institute have also joined the government. Lawrence S. Eagleburger, a member of our Board of Trustees, was named Deputy Secretary of State by President Bush, and Trustee Thomas P. Melady was appointed U.S. Ambassador to the Vatican. Both had to resign from the Board. Meanwhile, we welcome back Richard S. Williamson, the former Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, who was re-elected to the Board.

Perhaps the biggest change to take place at the Institute is the recent departure of its president, Marvin Wachman. Mr. Wachman, the former president of Temple and Lincoln universities, was recruited to rescue the Institute from difficult times in the early 1980s — and he did exactly that. A historian with interests, experience, and contacts in Africa, Europe, and East Asia, Mr. Wachman brought to the Institute financial health, fresh talent, and many new programs. After a half-dozen years of steady growth and achievement, Mr. Wachman has opted to retire. He will be missed.

FPRI's new president is Frederick M. Binder. Like his predecessor, Mr. Binder is a historian and a former college president with international experience. A graduate of Ursinus College, Mr. Binder earned M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Pennsylvania, and taught at Temple University. A former Fulbright Scholar in Yugoslavia, Mr. Binder also studied and lectured in Great Britain. Mr. Binder served as president of Hartwick College, Whittier College, and, most recently, Juniata College.

RESEARCH PROGRAMS

The Future of Communist States

Profound changes at work in the communist bloc — elections in the Soviet Union, massive protests in China, the emergence or prospective emergence of multiple political parties in Hungary and Poland — suggest that developments in the communist world have gone farther and faster than imagined possible as recently as two years ago. The Foreign Policy Research Institute considers this the single most important issue of our time. As virtually the entire communist world enters an unstable new era, it is vital to determine what these changes mean for the non-communist world, and for the future.

This research project is an attempt to answer these questions. The program grapples with subjects such as the popular push for *perestroika* from below, the future of the USSR, vulnerabilities of communist regimes, the rise of unofficial peace movements in the Soviet bloc, the special features of "dynastic socialism," and communist regimes and insurgencies in the Third World.

Individual research by scholars is supplemented by the *Study Group on the Future of the USSR*, an inter-disciplinary group of about twenty scholars who meet monthly to assess the direction, pace, and prospects for change in the Soviet Union. FPRI also sponsors the *Annual Conference on Arms Control and U.S.-Soviet Relations*, a regular meeting between senior Soviet analysts and FPRI staff and associates.

Friendly Tyrants

United States foreign policy has been bedeviled for decades by a serious dilemma — how to deal with pro-American dictatorships, regimes supportive of the United States but oppressive toward their own people. The tension between the humanitarian values of the American people and the strategic interests of the United States has sparked an often heated debate that has pitted isolationists against internationalists, idealists against realists.

Exploring this tension is the purpose of *Friendly Tyrants*, a pioneering study that has brought together dozens of scholars to study U.S. relations with allied but authoritarian regimes in countries ranging from Argentina to Zaire. This research will result in a volume of contributions from the many scholars and specialists involved in the project, a book-length scholarly overview, three country studies, and a handbook for policy makers.

East Asian Studies

This program focuses on both the past and present East Asia. The past will be revisited in a reappraisal of the role nationalism has played in recent Chinese history. More contemporary interests will be addressed in a study of the political policies that have provided the foundation for East Asia's economic success.

Histories of twentieth-century China tend to portray Chiang K'ai-shek and Mao

Tse-tung as nationalists. FPRI's research, however, will challenge the view that both the victory of the Kuomintang and the 1949 communist revolution resulted from nationalism in action. Rather, political and military operations were decisive.

What has made possible the economic "miracles" in Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan? This is an especially acute question, given the obvious desire of many to duplicate their success in other parts of the world. Drawing on the insights of an inter-disciplinary group of scholars, the Institute will seek to sketch the type of political environment, and perhaps identify the specific policies, that enabled these once-poor countries to make wise economic choices.

International Economics and Public Policy

Increasingly central to global concerns, economic issues can no longer be studied in isolation. Integrating these issues into the study of political and military developments, the Institute is conducting research on the connection between economic development and military expenditures, with special emphasis on the Philippines.

Another component of FPRI's research in international economics will focus on the failed economies of Third World countries in a study, "Why Latin America and Africa Choose to Remain Poor." A detailed, empirical examination of alternative explanations for the economic woes of Latin America and Africa, this study seeks to discover whether low growth is a product of policy choices made more or less consciously by Third World elites determined to maintain their privileges in the status quo.

Finally, the Institute is advising the World Bank as a consultant on issues related to economic development in Africa.

Middle East Studies

FPRI seeks to develop ongoing studies of events in the Middle East. Drawing on the expertise of many specialists with first-hand experience in the region, the Institute will address issues such as the future of Israel, Palestinians and the PLO, the continuing conflict in Afghanistan, Turkish-Syrian tensions, the crisis in Lebanon, terrorism, OPEC's hangover from the oil boom, and the economic vulnerabilities of Iran and Syria.

PUBLICATIONS

ORBIS: A Journal of World Affairs

An expanded staff, a greater effort to solicit articles, and a major marketing and promotional effort have made ORBIS both a better journal, and better known.

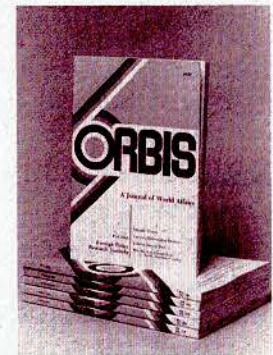
New staff have allowed ORBIS to solicit articles more aggressively and to engage in more rigorous editing. Success on this score can best be measured by the many ORBIS articles that have commanded attention and comment (*The Wilson Quarterly*), have been reprinted (*The Times* of London), or have made national news (*Newsweek*).

Analytical articles on the cutting edge of new developments form the editorial core of ORBIS. Also featured are original documents, and special features such as a defense of the Marcos regime by Ferdinand Marcos and Zbigniew Brzezinski's confidential White House diary, which revealed how the United States worked with a Polish military officer to deter a Soviet invasion of Poland in 1980. Articles like these have made ORBIS a first-class journal of ideas.

*... one of the finest journals
on foreign policy.*

Virginia Silvia Isabel Gamba

*Advisor to the Argentine Government
quoted in The Philadelphia Inquirer*



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Center for Scholars

FPRI Books

This publishing series features full-length scholarly treatments of topical international issues, often the result of years of research. New volumes include:

***The Rushdie Affair: The Novel, the Ayatollah, and the West* By Daniel Pipes (Birch Lane Press, 1990)**

The most unusual literary controversy in history caused the deaths of more than twenty people, disrupted billions of dollars in trade and finance, and stimulated an international debate on the limits of free speech. This survey of *The Satanic Verses* incident explains what happened, why it happened, and the likely consequences. The volume itself became a subject of debate (as reported in *The New York Times* and elsewhere) when one major publisher accepted it — and then inexplicably canceled the contract.

The Crisis of Marxist Ideology in Eastern Europe: The Poverty of Utopia

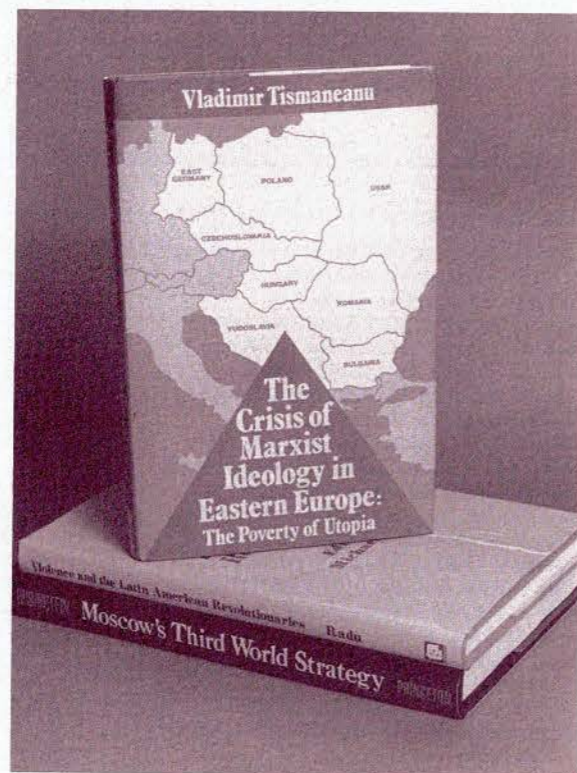
By Vladimir Tismaneanu (Routledge, 1988)

"The problem with Marxism is not Leninism or Stalinism, but Marxism itself." So states Tismaneanu, whose study has been praised as "probably the best analysis of Marxist philosophy since Leszek Kolakowski's monumental trilogy, *Main Currents of Marxism*." Charging that Marxism is believed neither by the ruled nor the rulers, Tismaneanu suggests this erosion of faith has deprived the Soviet and East European regimes of their very legitimacy. *Glasnost*, too, will fail unless it brings about a resolute break with Marxist dogmas.

Debates on the Future of Communism

Edited by Vladimir Tismaneanu and Judith Shapiro (MacMillan, 1990)

As official reform and popular unrest sweep through the communist bloc, the question of communism's future is more timely than ever. Will the current crisis lead to its regeneration — or to collapse? Written by critics who have lived under communist rule and who have first-hand experience with the vicissitudes of this system, these essays show that the struggle for freedom rests with unofficial groups and intellectuals in civil society.



This is a superb piece of work. In fact, I know of no other effort that even approaches this one in clarity of presentation, quality of analysis, or marshalling of facts.

Lawrence S. Eagleburger

Deputy Secretary of State

Preface, Friendly Tyrants: An American Dilemma

Friendly Tyrants: An American Dilemma

Edited by Daniel Pipes and Adam M. Garfinkle (St. Martin's, 1990)

The first of several volumes resulting from the work of FPRI's research project on *Friendly Tyrants* is a series of historical and contemporary case studies on U.S. relations with pro-American but authoritarian regimes from Batista in the 1950s to Marcos and "Baby Doc" Duvalier in the 1980s. The contemporary problem is examined in studies of Washington's relations with countries such as Chile, South Korea, South Africa, Jordan, and Pakistan. With a preface by Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger, *Friendly Tyrants* assembles a wealth of information and interpretation hitherto lacking on this critical subject.

From Power to Impotence: A History of the Guatemalan Left

By Michael S. Radu (Institute of Inter-American Studies, 1990)

The first history of Marxist-Leninist movements in Guatemala, *From Power to Impotence* traces the history of both the older, traditional Guatemalan communist party (Guatemalan Party of Labor) and more recent rival splinter groups inspired by Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution. Neither, however, has been able to surmount a more popular ideology — nationalism — that is identified with the military.

Grassroots Activism: Unofficial Peace Groups in the Soviet Bloc

By Vladimir Tismaneanu (Routledge, 1990)

Independent peace movements in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and the German Democratic Republic are usually patterned on Western models and are only uneasily tolerated by the communist regimes. Although East European peace groups do not aspire to become opposition parties, this study concludes, they are important pressure groups for Gorbachev-style *perestroika* in Soviet-bloc countries.

Greater Syria: The History of an Ambition

By Daniel Pipes (Oxford University Press, 1990)

In addition to the well-known phenomenon of Arab and Palestinian nationalism, there is a third ideology in the Levant — Pan-Syrianism, or the drive to create one state in today's countries of Syria, Lebanon, Israel, and Jordan. *Greater Syria* shows the importance of Pan-Syrian nationalism throughout the twentieth century, with special emphasis on its centrality in the policies of Hafiz al-Asad.

Islam and Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa

By Michael S. Radu, with Adam M. Garfinkle and Shaheen Ayubi (University Press of America, 1990)

Islam has had considerable political impact on African states south of the Sahara, such as Ethiopia, Nigeria, Senegal, Sudan, and Tanzania. After outlining the history and geography of Islam's rise in Africa, the authors focus on the relationship of Islam and competing ideologies, such as Marxism and nationalism, and the influence of Islam on the foreign policies of African states, especially in relations with the Arab world.

The Long Shadow: Culture and Politics in the Middle East

By Daniel Pipes (Transaction Books, 1989)

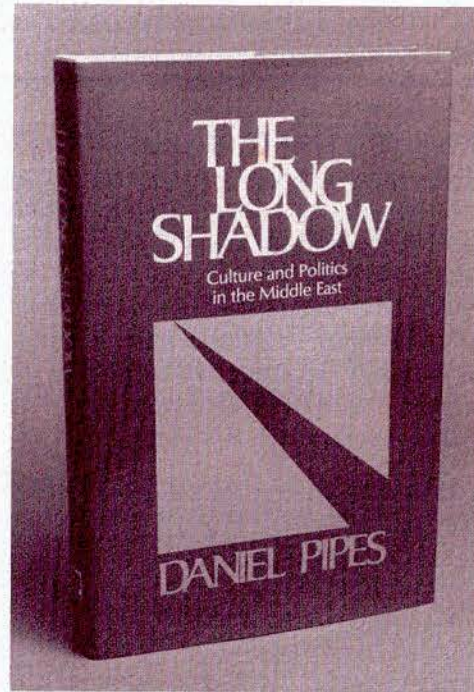
Hailed as a "treasure of Mideast wisdom," this volume explores five broad subjects: Islam, the Persian Gulf, the Arab-Israeli conflict, terrorism, and U.S. policy in the Middle East. Addressing subjects ranging from Soviet Muslims to suicidal terrorists, from Kuwaiti oil wealth to Louis Farrakhan, these twenty-two essays link both the enduring truths and recent developments of the Middle East.

Moscow's Third World Strategy
By Alvin Z. Rubinstein (Princeton University Press, 1989)

Despite Mikhail Gorbachev's diplomatic peace offensive, superpower rivalry will probably continue in the Third World. Though careful to avoid repeating Moscow's earlier mistake of losing détente with the West through its imperialism in the South, Gorbachev may nonetheless be reluctant to relinquish strategic advantage in the Third World. Rubinstein shows how Moscow covets influence rather than territory, dependent clients rather than economic development, and military privileges rather than power for communist parties.

The New Insurgencies: Anti-Communist Guerrillas in the Third World
By Michael S. Radu (Transaction Books, 1989)

The relatively recent appearance of ideologically motivated anti-communist insurgent groups in the Third World is an important new phenomenon that has received little serious attention from scholars. Using case studies and contributions from specialists, this volume explores the origins and motivations of six insurgencies in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola, and Nicaragua.



Revolutionary Organizations in Latin America

By Michael S. Radu and Vladimir Tismaneanu (Pergamon-Brassey's, 1990)

This encyclopedic survey of revolutionary organizations in Latin America is designed for both scholars and interested laymen alike. It is replete with details about the lives and beliefs of the elites of all known revolutionary organizations active since the Cuban Revolution, and their international connections. The survey also offers insights into their strengths and weaknesses.

Southern Discomfort? Soviet Policy in Black Africa

By Michael S. Radu and Arthur Jay Klinghoffer (Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1989)

Examining the rise of Soviet power and influence in black Africa, the authors chart Soviet advances during the late 1970s as well as the more gradual decline in the Soviet Union's presence and prestige since that time. Faced with an extensive financial and military burden there, Moscow has moved to reduce its military commitments and economic aid, while attempting to retain political influence through Marxist-Leninist parties.

Violence and the Latin American Revolutionaries

Edited by Michael S. Radu (Transaction Books, 1988)

In a fresh departure from most literature on revolution in Latin America, which tends to focus either on social injustice in the region or on U.S. interests, this collection deals with flesh-and-bone revolutionary cadres. It raises the question of how well revolutionary leaders actually represent the people they claim to speak for, and casts doubt on the progressive character of revolutionary movements.

The White Labyrinth: Cocaine and Political Power

By Rensselaer W. Lee, III (Transaction Books, 1989)

Looking at cocaine trafficking in the Western Hemisphere, Lee illuminates the conflict between the rich, industrialized consumer countries and the poor, agricultural producing countries. Avoiding the easy condemnation of South America's cocaine producers and the predictable call for a larger law-enforcement role for the U.S. government, he finds the root of the problem in the six million Americans who now consume cocaine.

Books by FPRI Associates

- *Afghanistan and the Soviet Union: Collision and Transformation*
Edited by Milan Hauner and Robert L. Canfield (Westview Press, 1989)
- *The Emergence of a Binational Israel*
Edited by Ilan Peleg and Ofira Seliktar (Westview Press, 1989)
- *Frost or Fear? Reflections on the Conditions of the Romanian Intellectual*
By Dorin Tudoran (Europa Media, 1988)
- *Soviet Military Doctrine: Continuity, Formulation, and Dissemination*
By Harriet Fast Scott and William F. Scott (Westview Press, 1988)
- *Soviet Politics and Economics* (in Russian)
By Aron Katsenelinboigen (Chalidze Publications, 1988)
- *The Transition to Democracy in Spain and Portugal*
By Howard J. Wiarda (American Enterprise Institute, 1989)

The Philadelphia Papers

Launched in 1989, this paperback book series combines timeliness with a broad view to assess new issues and trends making an impact on America and the world. Under the direction of editors Adam M. Garfinkle and Daniel Pipes, *Philadelphia Papers* volumes deal with a single topic at a length between that of an article and a book. New titles include:

A Tale of Two Policies: U.S. Relations with the Argentine Junta, 1976-1983
By Mark Falcoff

The Soviet War in Afghanistan and the Patterns of Russian Imperialism
By Milan Hauner

The Subtlest Battle: Islam in Soviet Tajikistan
By Muriel Atkin

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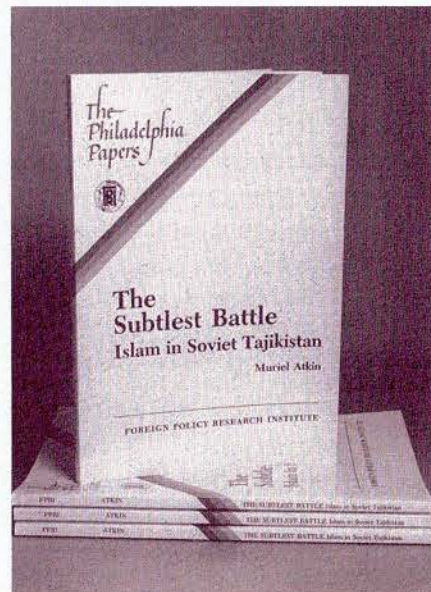
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AGORA: An Alternative Journal of Romanian Culture

Launched late in 1987 to foster freedom of expression among Romanians inside and outside their native country, AGORA is published by the Institute and distributed inside Romania. The Honorary Chairman of the Editorial Board is Eugène Ionesco, the internationally acclaimed French writer of Romanian origin. According to press reports in 1988, many associates of the quarterly journal received recognition by the regime of Nicolae Ceausescu; they were banned from Romania.

FPRI Syndicate

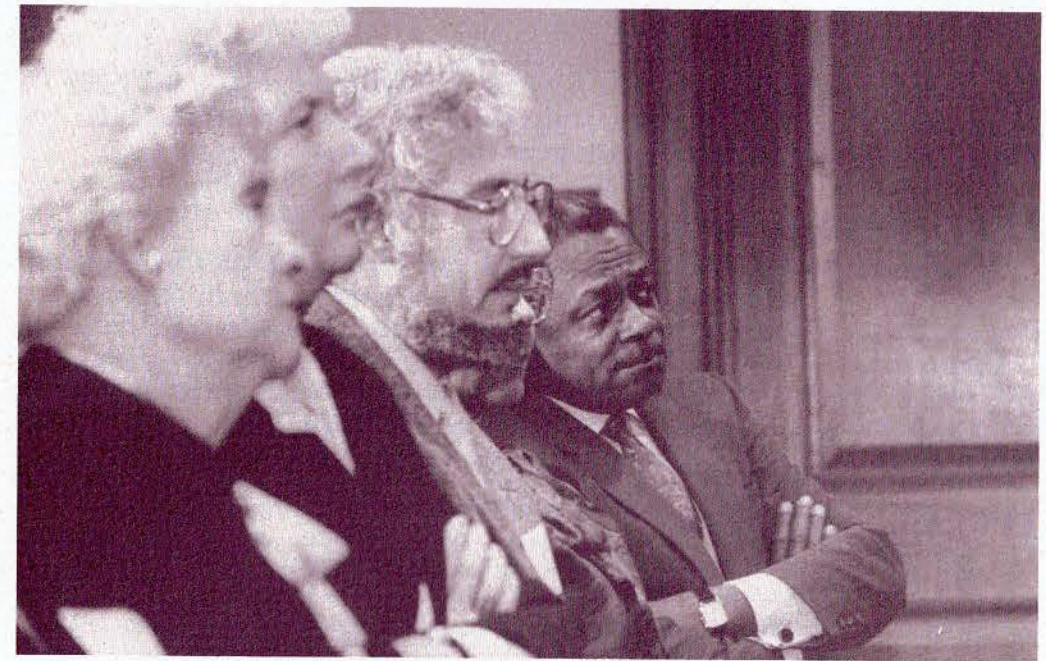
A vehicle for distributing op-ed page commentaries and ORBIS excerpts to newspapers across America, the *FPRI Syndicate* frequently places articles on the editorial pages of such newspapers as the *Boston Globe*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, *Dallas Times-Herald*, *Detroit News*, *Indianapolis Star*, *Kansas City Star*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Newsday*, *New York Times*, *Oregonian*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Providence Journal*, *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Washington Times*.



EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Global Classroom: Teacher Training in International Affairs

Concerned about the state of American education, particularly by the widespread ignorance of other peoples, cultures, and lands, FPRI has recently launched a pilot project to work with teachers in the Philadelphia area in an effort to enrich their knowledge of world affairs, and to develop instructional materials appropriate to secondary schools. The theme of the first series of colloquia for teachers will be "Change in the Communist World." It will include discussion of the democracy movement in China, Mikhail Gorbachev and *perestroika*, Soviet Muslims, unrest and reform in Eastern Europe, and the Cold War.



Inter-University Seminar on Foreign Affairs

The *Inter-University Seminar* regularly brings public figures and scholars to Philadelphia to engage in a rigorous give-and-take on the great issues of the day. Recent speakers have included Paul Fussell, the author of books about both world wars; U.S. Congressman William H. Gray III, majority whip of the U.S. House of Representatives; Lewis H. Lapham, editor of *Harper's Magazine*; Ronald S. Lauder, former U.S. Ambassador to Austria; and Conor Cruise O'Brien, the Irish diplomat, educator, and essayist.

Where Business and Politics Meet

To bring business and professional people together with scholars and policy makers, FPRI sponsors this luncheon series to brief executives on international economic issues. The program has hosted Lawrence R. Klein, the Nobel Laureate in Economics; Henry Wendt, Chairman of both the SmithKline Beecham Corporation and

the U.S.-Japan Business Council; and Gerald T. West, Vice President of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

FPRI Sponsors' Forums

Sponsors' Forums are invitation-only briefings on pressing international issues by scholars, journalists, and others, usually based on first-hand experience. Recent speakers have included Fausto Amador, co-founder of the Sandinista movement in Nicaragua; Miklos Haraszti, a leading Hungarian dissident; and Trudy Rubin of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* Editorial Board.

Thornton D. Hooper Fellowship in International Affairs

The Hooper Fellowship provides leading young scholars with a year's residence at the Institute in order to conduct original research on international issues affecting U.S. interests. The two most recent Hooper Fellows were Howard J. Wiarda and Nicolai N. Petro. A Latin American specialist, Mr. Wiarda conducted research into Latin America and Iberia and contributed to the *Friendly Tyrants* project. Mr. Petro, a Soviet expert, researched the clamor for *perestroika* from below and the creation of scores of free associations in the Soviet Union.

FPRI Internship Program

Dozens of undergraduate and graduate students and a few high-school students have gained research, administrative, and editorial skills through the *FPRI Internship Program*. One intern organized a day-long conference on Central America at the University of Pennsylvania; another won a Presidential Management Internship appointment in Washington, D.C. Recent interns have attended American, Amherst, Brandeis, Bryn Mawr, Dickinson, Penn State, Princeton, Temple, Yale, and the universities of Massachusetts, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Wisconsin.

FPRI Speakers' Bureau

Members of our staff appear at public forums everywhere from Edison High School in North Philadelphia to the annual convention of the World Business Council in Helsinki, Finland. They testify before Congress and speak to a host of civic, religious, trade, and academic organizations. A noteworthy recent speaking assignment was an address on terrorism to "The Victims of Pan Am 103," relatives of the 259 people on board the jetliner that exploded over Lockerbie, Scotland, on December 21, 1988.

FPRI Library

The *FPRI Library* reflects a recent change away from an unremarkable collection of books and periodicals to a focus on specialized journals from all regions of the world. The library now makes available to the public and scholars alike more than 400 periodicals ranging from *Public Opinion* to *Pravda*, including such hard-to-find publications as the *Daily Reports* of the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Radio Free Europe* Bulletins, and *Foreign Report*, a confidential intelligence newsletter.

RESEARCH STAFF

PATRICK L. CLAWSON, Ph.D., *New School for Social Research (1978)*

Mr. Clawson is a specialist on international economics who is studying the politics of Third World poverty. Formerly of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, he has extensive first-hand experience in the Middle East and Africa. Mr. Clawson also is a specialist on terrorism. He has taught at Seton Hall University and the City University of New York.

ADAM M. GARFINKLE, Ph.D., *University of Pennsylvania (1978)*

Mr. Garfinkle is a specialist on U.S. foreign policy, arms control, and the Middle East. The author, editor, or co-author of several books, including *The Politics of the Nuclear Freeze*, Mr. Garfinkle is working on a study of the Vietnam anti-war movement. A former aide to General Alexander M. Haig, Jr., and Senator Henry M. Jackson, he teaches at the University of Pennsylvania.

ALAN H. LUXENBERG, M.A., *Temple University (1988)*

Mr. Luxenberg has written on arms control issues and on U.S. relations with the Soviet Union and with Cuba. He is currently writing a monograph on U.S. relations with Cuba in the Eisenhower era.

DANIEL PIPES, Ph.D., *Harvard University (1978)*

Mr. Pipes is a specialist on the Middle East who is working on a study of modernity, with special emphasis on the experiences of Japan and Turkey. He has spent six years studying abroad, including three years in Egypt. The author of six books, Mr. Pipes has taught at Harvard University, the University of Chicago, and the U.S. Naval War College, and has served in three positions at the U.S. State Department.

MICHAEL S. RADU, Ph.D., *Columbia University (1982)*

Mr. Radu is a specialist on revolutionary movements in Africa and Latin America. The author or co-author of several books on Africa and Latin America, he has taught at the University of the Witwatersrand, the University of Pennsylvania, and Temple University.

JUDITH SHAPIRO, M.A., *University of California (1982)*

M.A., University of Illinois (1977)

Ms. Shapiro is a China specialist and co-author of three books on China's political and intellectual life. One of the first Americans invited to work in China after the normalization of U.S.-China relations, she served on the staff of the Hunan Teachers' College from 1979 to 1981. Her experience in China is the subject of a CBS television movie currently under development.

ROBERT STRAUSS-HUPÉ, Ph.D., *University of Pennsylvania (1944)*

Ambassador Strauss-Hupé is a specialist on Western alliance and NATO affairs and the author or co-author of several books, including *Geopolitics: The Struggle for Space and Power*; *Protracted Conflict*; and *The Balance of Tomorrow*. He has lectured widely both in America and Europe. He is currently writing a memoir that will complete the story begun with his 1965 autobiography, *In My Time*.

VLADIMIR TISMANEANU, Ph.D., *University of Bucharest (1980)*

Mr. Tismaneanu is a specialist on Soviet and East European politics, Marxist

thought, and revolutionary movements. The author of several published or forthcoming books and a lecturer at the University of Pennsylvania, he serves as an editor of the *East European Reporter*. Mr. Tismaneanu is working on a study of Romanian communism.

ARTHUR N. WALDRON, Ph.D., *Harvard University (1981)*

The Thornton D. Hooper Fellow in International Affairs for 1989-90, Mr. Waldron is on leave from Princeton University, where he is Assistant Professor of History and East Asian Studies. Author of *The Great Wall of China: From History to Myth*, Mr. Waldron is at work on two studies: a history of education in the People's Republic of China prior to 1949; and a reinterpretation of twentieth-century Chinese history.

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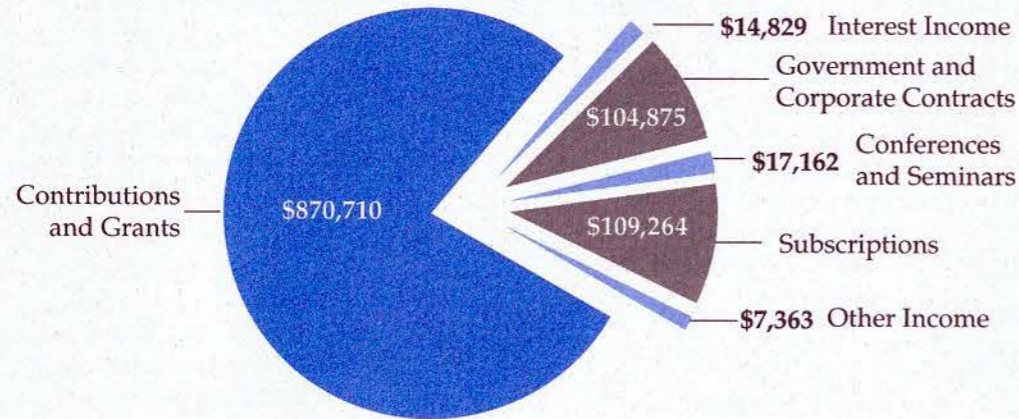
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