

Excerpts from Report of Special Committee of
Academic Council on Global Security and Cooperation
March 15, 1982

The Special Committee of the Academic Council recommends that the University establish an entity called Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation to initiate new research and teaching efforts in this field and to coordinate them with existing units and programs in the University. Since the central administrative apparatus of the Institute is to be kept small and much of the program is to be implemented on the separate campuses, the question of where the Institute is to be located is not of urgent concern.

Because of the need to moderate international conflict so as to prevent the outbreak of major war there is a great temptation to include in the study of global conflict and cooperation all of the myriad of causes that have triggered wars in the past and may do so again. The Special Committee believes that while all these causes and conditions demand study, none is as important as the conditions that may trigger the most destructive of wars and the methods for changing the conditions. Unless energy is devoted to study of the immediate causes of war and methods of conflict management appropriate to them, there may not be time to study the more remote causes. Therefore, in the interest of focusing scarce University resources on what we consider the most urgent task, we think that the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation should be devoted exclusively, at least during its initial phase, to the more immediate aspects of the management of international conflict. Specifically, topics pertaining to the management of conflicts among the most heavily armed states, professing the most serious conflicts of interests, must take precedence over the study of the largely economic conflicts between North and South and over local conflicts among countries that do not threaten peace elsewhere.

Focus of the Institute's Program

The focus of the Institute's program is the study of conflict situations sufficiently severe so as to threaten their escalation into large-scale war, especially but not exclusively nuclear war. This focus includes the causes of such conflicts as well as the ideas, institutions, policies and mechanisms relevant for reducing and managing conflicts that might lead to global war.

It is the mission of the Institute to enhance the capability of the University to contribute to international security and cooperation by stressing the kinds of activities which can best be carried out by

a University. First and foremost, it is to make possible the exploration of ideas and the teaching of materials which are not now adequately represented in the University's programs. However, some such activities are already being followed on the several campuses. The Institute, rather than competing with ongoing programs, should seek to coordinate and enrich them by carrying on these activities:

- stimulate new research on themes and combinations of themes not now addressed;
- support ongoing research that falls within the focus and themes;
- contribute to teaching and curricular development;
- coordinate the interests of faculty and students on the several campuses;
- establish ties with interested scholars outside the University;
- publicize the result of research.

Activities

The Institute is to stimulate new research, support ongoing research, encourage innovation in teaching, coordinate the interests of faculty and students, establish links with experts outside the University and publicize the findings of researchers.

Topics of the Institute's Program

The following themes are illustrative of what we have in mind; they do not exhaust the possibilities:

1. The military-political context of relations among the major powers as a source of conflict and war.
 - a. Challenges to deterrent strategies of the past and present arising from technological changes (new types of weapons, vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons).
 - b. Challenges to prevalent ideas on force structure and force mixture, arising from trends undermining the cohesion of alliances and the growth of new centers of power.
 - c. Changing political concomitants of deterrence and other strategies in domestic politics (public opinion, electoral changes, shifts in elite and expert opinion).

- d. The relationship between economic growth/stagnation, employment and inflation and arms control and arms budgets.
- e. Political and technical considerations with respect to the development and use of theater nuclear weapons.
- f. Relationship between conventional warfare and escalation to nuclear warfare, political as well as technical (arms sales to smaller states, deployment of conventional forces in Europe, rapid deployment forces).
- g. Relationship of military doctrine to arms budgets, weapons procurement, force structures and strategic policies.
- h. Implications for future arms control negotiations of all the foregoing.

2. Nuclear Energy and Non-Proliferation

- a. Motives underlying the desire to acquire a nuclear capability (prestige, military security, energy independence).
- b. Possible incentives that can be offered to forego the nuclear option while meeting these objectives.
- c. The design of nuclear reactors and of reprocessing equipment to make it proliferation-resistant.
- d. Economic/commercial arrangements in the nuclear power field designed to prevent or delay proliferation.
- e. Multilateral institutions and non-proliferation (IAEA procedures and politics, design of more effective inspection equipment and techniques, technical assistance as proliferation, effectiveness of the NPT treaty).
- f. Bilateral and regional institutions and non-proliferation (cartels, supplier guidelines, national regulatory legislation, etc.).
- g. Training, recruiting, supervising inspectors. Politics of safeguarding.
- h. Impact of terrorism on the safety of nuclear facilities, on the use of nuclear devices, and on triggering nuclear conflict inadvertently.

3. The global context of major power conflict and cooperative modes of managing conflict.
 - a. Dynamics of perception, signalling and misperception.
 - b. Dynamics of tacit strategic bargaining among antagonists as a learning process for accepting and coping with conflict short of war.
 - c. Unrest in the third world as a potential trigger of major power conflict.
 - d. Regional seats of endemic conflict, arms races, arms deliveries and their escalatory potential (Middle East, Southern Africa, Caribbean, Southeast Asia). Adequacy of bilateral, regional and United Nations procedures for managing such conflicts.
 - e. Ability and willingness of the major powers to cooperate institutionally in conflict management in third world areas.
 - f. Emerging "rules of the game" of super-power competition, or "the lessons of detente".

We now mention several topics and themes commonly included in the curriculum of centers for the study of conflict and conflict resolution which, we believe, are not consistent with the focus we propose:

1. All conflicts which do not involve states as the core actors.
2. Conflict resolution techniques which apply primarily to small groups, voluntary organizations, industrial relations, and inter-personal relations.
3. Ethnic and race conflict within countries, unless it is directly related to the danger of major war. The same is true of class conflict.
4. Localized small conflicts among states, unless they are directly related to escalation into major war.
5. Conflict over any of the following issues, unless they are directly linkable to escalation into major war:
 - pollution and degradation of the environment
 - public health and population
 - violations of human rights
 - food and nutrition
 - energy and natural resources.