

AD 747329

Quarterly Management Report

World Political Data and Analysis Program

Bruce M. Russett

H. Bradford Westerfield

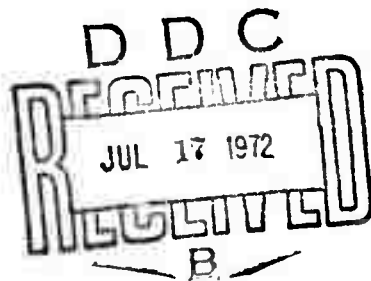
John D. Sullivan

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Prepared in connection with Advanced Research Projects Agency,
ARPA Order No. 1067, Contract No. N0014-67-A-0097-007
monitored by the Office of Naval Research

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June 30, 1972

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Order Number: 1067 Contract Number: N0014-67-A
Project Code Number: NR 177-916 0097-0007
Name of Contractor: Yale University
Date of Contract: 1 September 1967 Bruce M. Russett
(Signed August 1971) H. Bradford Westerfield
Amount of Contract: \$353,500.00 Jeffrey S. Milstein
Contract Expiration Date: John D. Sullivan
August 13, 1972

Title: A World Political Data
and Analysis Program

The Director
Advanced Research Projects Agency
Department of Defense
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

As is required by our contract, I have the honor to submit to you the Management Report for the quarter covering work performed for March 1, 1972 - June 30, 1972.

I. EMPIRICAL THEORIES ABOUT INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Technical Problems and Accomplishments

A. During the past two quarters Mr. Russett continued his work on international relations theory. The book he edited from the 1970 American Political Science Association section on Peace Research (Peace, War, and Numbers) is complete and will be published in July 1972. In addition to a long introduction by Russett, it contains articles by Messrs. Milstein and Sullivan prepared under the contract (see earlier reports) and an article by Russett not prepared under this contract.

Mr. Russett completed an article, "The Rich Fifth and the Poor Half: Some Speculations About International Politics in 2000 A.D.," for the book to be edited by Sullivan, Hudson, and Taylor using data from the new edition of the World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators. This article explores the implications of projections of various economic and social developments. His contract-supported article, "A Macroscopic View of International Politics," was published in a volume edited by Davis, East, and Rosenau, entitled The Analysis of International Politics. This article draws together findings from Russett's work through the entire period of the contract, and argues that the inherent stabilities of world politics are so great as sharply to limit the need, as well as the prospects for success, of great-power military intervention to preserve that stability. Copies of the article are produced as Technical Report No. 19 of the project.

Mr. Russett, with Betty Hansen, presented a paper entitled "Testing Some Economic Interpretations of War: Vietnam and the Stock Market," at the International Studies Association meeting in Dallas in March. He also attended a conference in Gorizia, Italy, on "Problems and Perspectives of Border Regions."

Mr. Russett also completed the manuscript of a book, entitled Power and Community in World Politics that integrates 19 articles, many of them ARPA/ONR-supported, he has written over the past decade.

A Ph.D. candidate associated with the project, Robert Harkavy, continues his partially contract-supported dissertation about the determinants of buyer-seller relationships in the international arms trade before and after World War II.

Proofs of the second edition of World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators have been completed by Yale University Press; the book will be published in October 1972.

Mr. Russett also has been engaged in a number of activities which, though not directly supported by the contract, are closely related to it. He revised for publication later this year two papers he presented at conferences last fall: "Public Opinion on Military Expenditures," and "A Countercombatant Deterrent: Feasibility, Morality, and Arms Control." His new book, No Clear and Present Danger: A Skeptical View of the United States Entry into World War II, was published by Harper and Row in January.

He also presented a paper on the Political and Military Implications of Defense Spending at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Public Administration in New York in March and took part in a seminar with Defense Secretary Laird on the Nixon Doctrine at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, in June. As of July he will become Editor of the Journal of Conflict Resolution.

B. Professor Milstein has been continuing his research on the Vietnam War and developed a new unobtrusive measure of the confidence the South Vietnamese people have in their government. This measure is based on the value of the South Vietnamese piastre in terms of the U. S. dollars it can buy on the Saigon black market relative to the value of all piastres in circulation in terms of the goods and services they can buy. It was found that this index hit a peak in August, 1967, and has been declining since. This decline is highly correlated with the withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam. This relationship highlights a dilemma of the U. S. troop reduction policy.

In February, Professor Milstein participated as a commentator at a State Department conference on the effects of rapid population growth in the less developed countries. In his comments he noted that the industrial development of many LDC's may be aborted in the future as they are priced out of the world market for crucial but rapidly depleting raw materials.

In April Professor Milstein and Professor Sullivan gave a demonstration at the Naval War College to the New England International Studies Association on the use of remote computer terminals to analyze quantitative international relations data. The data used were Milstein's time series data on Soviet and U. S. involvement in the Middle East.

Also in April, Professor Milstein gave a paper on the political trade-offs of waging war at the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University.

Finally, Professor Milstein has received an International Affairs Fellowship from the Council on Foreign Relations to spend the year 1972-73 as a staff member of the State Department's Planning and Coordination Staff.

C. Sullivan continued with his work on formal alliances and informal alignments. The book he co-authored with O. Holsti and T. Hopmann, International Alliances: Unity and Disintegration, went through the final revisions based on readers reports. This volume, which is a survey of alliance theories and an empirical testing of various hypotheses derived from those theories will be published in 1972 by John Wiley and Sons. In addition, Sullivan continued to explore various models of informal alignments utilizing the extensive data set he developed for the original work in this area. The findings of these analyses will be reported in a forthcoming paper.

Russett and Sullivan's paper entitled "International Organization and Collective Goods" appeared in the Fall, 1971 issue of International Organization. In this paper, they discuss the general problem of creating a "collective good" in the international system when it appears that certain types of externalities--positive or negative--exist. The paper also treats a set of strategies available to actors who desire to create a collective good and assesses the utility of these strategies. In addition, Russett and Sullivan discuss some of the implications of collective goods theory for the various theories of international integration. It is produced as Technical Report No. 18 of the project.

Work proceeds for a companion volume to the second edition of the World Handbook of Social and Political Indicators (Yale University Press, 1972) which is under consideration by Yale Press. This will contain a series of articles which illustrate ways in which the data in the World Handbook can be used. The project will support Sullivan's editing work as well as his contributions to the volume. He will write part of the introduction dealing with general problems of theory and measurement in the use of aggregate data and will contribute two papers. The first will be a revision of his paper dealing with foreign intervention in domestic conflict. This paper will explore a number of models which purport to explain such intervention. The second paper will be an examination of "life styles" on a cross-national basis employing selected data sets from the Handbook. At present Sullivan is reading and editing three articles that have been submitted.

Sullivan also co-authored a paper with John Dow, Charles Taylor, and Bruce Russett describing the computer programs developed on the project for the manipulation and analyses of World Handbook data. These programs produce a variety of tables and graphics which provide one with the ability to describe aspects of various types of aggregate data such as those contained in the Handbook. This paper will be published in the September 1972 issue of International Studies Quarterly.

DoD Implications

The research aims of these investigators are to devise and test quantitative techniques which can be employed to assess the problem forms of conflict and cooperation between nations

Fiscal Status

Amount currently funded	\$238,800.00
Estimated expenditure to date	<u>215,040.00</u>
	\$ 73,760.00

Action required of the government: none.

Future plans: No change to report at this time.

II. AUSTRALIAN LINKS WITH BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

Technical Problem

Mr. Westerfield's project seeks to analyze the domestic and international influences that have shaped key governmental decisions in Australia since 1937 in such a way as to alter its links with Britain and to strengthen its links with the United States. Westerfield's concern is with the major recurrent international integrative and disintegrative forces that are exemplified in this particular instance of shifting alignments, including the changes that occur in the national security decision process itself under such circumstances.

General Methodology

Westerfield is studying the evolution of mass opinion through available Australian survey materials, and of elite opinion identifiable through content analysis of representative Australian periodicals and parliamentary debates; he also intends to study the impact of electoral politics (including geographic and demographic factors). The effects of the power structure of the political parties inside and outside parliament also command his attention. The various elements of the study will converge to a focus that aims to shed additional light on the executive decision making process, for some key episodes at least, by means of interviews in Australia; but for diplomatic reasons the fieldwork will not be under DoD auspices.

Accomplishments - Technical Results

Data have been gathered from a content analysis of all the Australian parliamentary debates bearing on national security in several pivotal years of the 1950's and 1960's. The idea has been to identify the foreign affairs and defense activists in the legislature, as individuals and as members of visible interest groups, cause groups, religious and ethnic groups, and party factions. These data have been analyzed to develop a model of some of these alignments, showing for each party what are the basic, recurrent cross-cutting policy orientations that unite or divide its prominent members, as particular issues arise to engage those predispositions.

In order to clarify the interrelationship between intellectual and journalistic elite statements and those of the legislators, year by year, a content analysis has also been made of Australian journals of opinion and of Australia's most significant newspaper, The Melbourne Age.

The comparisons have been extended to include mass opinion tapped through survey research. The foreign affairs and defense questions on thirty-five Australian Gallup polls were run on the computer. The respondees' opinions on the five or six relevant questions on each individual poll were tabulated against the following variables: party supported at previous election, economic class, religion, age, sex, urban-rural residence, and state. Then controlling for party supported at previous election the opinions were tabulated against the remaining variables. Finally, controlling for both party and state residence, the responses were tabulated again against the remaining variables. The resultant printout for each question had approximately 100 tables, each of which was printed along with a chi-square significance test.

Although there were only a few questions which Gallup periodically repeated verbatim, many of the questions asked at different times were similar enough to produce trend lines. Graphs mapping Australian opinions on the following subjects were produced: involvement in Vietnam, the Indonesian-Malaysian confrontation, the governing of Western New Guinea, the success of the United Nations, the acceptability of the United Nations as a world government, the creation and existence of foreign bases in Australia, military training, atomic testing, immigration, the relationship between Australia and New Zealand, the admission of China to the United Nations, trade with Communist China, recognition of China, and the nationality of the Governor-General. Along with division of opinion nationwide, graphs for each of the above topics were produced for all the variables previously mentioned except for state residence.

The next step has been to develop a combined code of issues and attitudes (directions and intensities) that would be applicable to all the national security discussion in the media and parliament and also to the opinion polls. With this code all three kinds of expression have been put on punch cards, in order to explore by computer the extent to which legislators' statements coincide with the mass currents of opinion and with the intellectual and journalistic elite statements, and to what extent they lead or lag behind such objective conditions as changes in patterns of foreign trade and investments and allies' force deployments in the region. Computer runs began in May, focussing first on the relative saliency of certain kinds of approaches (military, general non-military, economic, and national-identity-seeking) to thirteen large foreign and defense problems that recurred over time. Evidence clearly emerges, for example, of the generally greater saliency of military approaches in elite expressions than in mass-circulation expressions--but also of the greater fluctuation in elite than mass expressions in this regard. Computer runs will continue during the summer and fall.

DoD Implications

The research indicates an encompassing pattern in the country's foreign policy making -- a pattern that emphasizes a ubiquitous feeling in Australia of powerlessness and dependency in international affairs; this attitude seems to be shared both by those who are generally complacent about it and also by the others who indulge half-heartedly in various gestures against it.

Implications for Further Research

The above suggests that this study as a whole may be a basis for comparative study of other "unequal alliances."

Problems encountered: none.

Fiscal status:

Amount currently funded	\$64,700.00
Estimated expenditures to date	54,568.83
Remaining funds	<u>\$10,131.17</u>

Action required of the government: none

Future plans: no change to report at this time.