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A WORLD POLITICAL DATA AND ANALYSIS PROGRAM

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Yale University

Prepared for:

Office of Naval Research  
Advanced Research Projects Agency

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Semi-Annual Technical Report

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A World Political Data and Analysis Program

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July 17, 1970

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                      William J. Foltz  
                    (Signed 16 January 1968)                      Harold D. Lasswell  
Amount of Contract: \$215,000                      J. Zvi Namenwirth  
Contract Expiration Date:                      Bruce M. Russett  
                    August 31, 1970                      H. Bradford Westerfield

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 semi-annual technical report covering work performed for January 1, 1970 to June 30, 1970.

Under this contract scholars at Yale from the Political Science and allied departments are collecting and analyzing data relative to patterns and processes of national and international development, conflict, and alignments. Work is divided into four major components, headed respectively by William J. Foltz (African Nationalism and Internationalism), Harold D. Lasswell and J. Zvi Namenwirth (Analysis of Value Changes), Bruce M. Russett (Theory of International Politics) and H. Bradford Westerfield (Australia and New Zealand Links with the U.S.). Other scholars are involved in these projects for shorter periods of time.

## I. AFRICA

### Technical Problems and Accomplishments

The African component of the project continued as planned. Foltz and Pirro continued work on the comparative computer content analysis of speeches by African civilian and military leaders in both French and English. Under Pirro's direct supervision, preliminary runs have begun on Malian and Guinean materials using the Cleveland-McTavish-Pirro "Three-Program Flexible Content Analysis Package," previously submitted. Foltz and Pirro are working together through the summer to prepare joint articles on domestic-international linkages in Africa as they are affected by military takeovers.

Jalloh has continued his analysis of alliance patterns in French-speaking Africa preliminary to a research trip (externally financed) to the area.

Stevens' work on East African integration is almost finished.

Manuscripts of two other major works prepared in part under project financing are now about ready for the press. These are Hopkin's study of Tanzanian politics and Singleton's study of African alliances and responses to the Congo crisis.

#### DoD Implications

The new content analysis program Pirro has developed should substantially reduce costs of data analysis of verbal materials in the future. Other work should have direct applications to U.S. policy decisions relevant to African countries.

#### Fiscal Status

Amount currently funded	\$54,400
Estimated expenditure to date	34,000
Remaining funds	20,400

Action required of the government: none

Future plans: No change to report at this time

## II. EMPIRICAL THEORIES ABOUT INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

### Technical problems and Accomplishments

Russett continued his work on the synthesis of international relations theory which he intends to publish in book form. This work will review the existing international relations theory with the intention of developing a systematic overview of that body of theory and to synthesizing from the literature a focused and coherent theory of international politics. In addition to this work, Russett also revised his paper which explores a possible typology of international alliances. Employing a large data base containing a variety of types of information on formal military alliances, a factor analysis was performed to obtain an empirically based typology of alliances. Russett also completed a series of papers which dealt with such topics as the state of international relations as a field of inquiry, statistical problems and efforts at European cooperation.

Sullivan continued his work on alliances and alignments during this period. He completed a paper entitled "The Dimensions of United States Alignments in the Third World" which was presented at the International Studies Association Meetings, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, April 2-4. This paper discussed a measure of informal alignments and explored relationships between this measure

and factors hypothesized to be related to it. In general, it was found that past levels of alignments were the best predictors of United States alignments in the period 1966-67. Sullivan also completed a draft of his review of the alliance literature and is presently revising this paper for inclusion in Behavioral International Politics, edited by Professor Michael Haas. This paper explored literature which attempts to analyze various aspects of international alliances in a systematic and quantitative manner. The paper concluded with a discussion of the problems involved in studying alliance maintenance as opposed to alliance formation. Sullivan is completing further work on informal alignments. Taking a random sample of all possible types, he is investigating parties related to such alignments and will compare them to the Great Power findings. This paper will be presented at the American Political Science Association meetings in September, 1970, at Los Angeles.

Milstein completed and presented a paper entitled "Soviet and American Influences on the Arab-Israeli Arms Race: A Quantitative Analysis" to the Conference on the Middle East Conflict of the Peace Research Society (International). In this paper the effects of U.S. and Soviet economic aid, military aid, and trade with Israel, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq on the military expenditures of these countries from 1948-1964 were analyzed and measured. Other factors influencing the military expenditures of these countries, including domestic pressures and the arms expenditures of each country's enemy were analyzed.

The conclusions indicated by this research are that the Arab-Israeli arms race is primarily a representation of the basic on-going pattern of hostile conflict in which each side simultaneously influences the other side to change its military expenditures. When controlling for such basic factors, it is found that the U.S. and U.S.S.R. have had but limited influence on the military spending of the parties to this regional conflict. These influences of the Superpowers include: U.S. economic aid to Israel, U.S. military aid to Jordan, Soviet military aid to Egypt, and U.S. and Soviet trade with Egypt. The Arab-Israeli conflict is generated and maintained by conditions and antagonisms largely beyond the control of the Superpowers. If the leaders of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. are unaware of how limited their influence over the Arab-Israeli conflict actually is, they risk an involvement much graver than they would have intended. Milstein will continue his work on Vietnam and the Middle East conflict.

Milstein and Sullivan both taught a one-week test course on quantitative data analysis in political science and international relations at the National War College, May 11-15, 1970. The course, which received very high evaluations from the students involved, included: a) use of a remote computer terminal; b) use of a wide variety of statistical tools to analyze data; c) coding data and creating and using large data archives; and

d) use of a large commercial time-sharing computer.

DoD Implications

This research aims at devising and testing quantitative techniques which can be employed to assess the problem forms of conflict and cooperation between nations, thereby assisting the Department of Defense in its long-range logistical and strategic planning.

Fiscal status

Amount currently funded	\$110,900
Estimated expenditure to date	110,750
Remaining funds	150

Action required of the government: none

Future Plans: No change to report at this time

III. 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 foreign policy decision making 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 field-work will not be under DoD auspices.

Accomplishments - Technical Results

Data have been gathered from a detailed examination of all the Australian parliamentary debates bearing on foreign affairs

in several pivotal years of the 1950's and 1960's. The idea has been to identify the foreign affairs activists in the legislature, as individuals and as members of visible interest groups, cause groups, religious and ethnic groups, and party factions and to determine how closely each particular group works together.

In order to clarify the interrelationship between intellectual and journalistic elite statements and those of the legislators, year by year, a content analysis of Australian journals of opinion for these respective years has been accomplished.

All these data having been assembled, the work has progressed to the stage of analysis: for example, what changes in alignments and group strategies can be discerned from one year to another and who "counts" in the Australian parliament on foreign policy, with what links to the media?

#### DoD Implications

The research indicates an encom-passing 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	\$39,700.00
Estimated expenditures to date	28,518.11
Remaining funds	11,181.89

Action Required of the Government none

Future Plans No change to report at this time.

### IV. COMPUTER CONTENT ANALYSIS OF VALUE CHANGES

#### Research Program

Mr. Lasswell and Mr. Namenwirth have finished the research efforts to identify long and short term patterns of value change in ideologies associated with political development. Presently, they are analyzing changing attitudes and sentiments concerning ideological preferences in political development.

Accomplishments

An article describing their analysis of causal relationships between value fluctuations and economic and political indicators has been finished. A complex computer program for the analysis of attitudinal changes in content was made operational and applied to earlier content materials. This program has been developed further as a method of analysis for content materials.

Problems Encountered none

Fiscal Status

Amount currently funded	\$66,500
Estimated expenditure to date	66,500
Remaining funds	0

Action Required of the Government none

Future Plans No significant changes. It is anticipated that work on this component will be completed by August 31, 1970.

On behalf of the participating scholars,

Sincerely yours,

John D. Sullivan  
Acting Director

JDS:jms