A WORLD POLITICAL DATA AND ANALYSIS PROGRAM

Bruce M. Russett, et al

Yale University

Prepared for:

Office of Naval Research
Advanced Research Projects Agency

30 September 1972

DISTRIBUTED BY:

NTIS
National Technical Information Service
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield Va. 22151
Quarterly Management Report
World Political Data and Analysis Program

Bruce M. Russett
H. Bradford Westerfield
John D. Sullivan
Jeffrey S. Milstein

Yale University

Prepared in connection with Advanced Research Projects Agency,
monitored by the Office of Naval Research

This document has been approved for public release and sale;
it is distribution is unlimited and reproduction in
whole or in part is permitted for any purpose of
the United States Government.

September 30, 1972
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 July 1, 1972 - September 30, 1972.

I. EMPIRICAL THEORIES ABOUT INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Technical Problems and Accomplishments

A. During the past quarter 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) was 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, with Betty Hanson, completed a paper entitled, "Testing Some Economic Interpretations of American Intervention: Korea, Indochina, and the Stock Market," and submitted it to the American Political Science Review.

Mr. Russett also sent off to several publishers 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 Markavy, continues his partially contract-supported dissertation about the determinants of buyer-seller relationships in the international arms trade before and after World War II. The book of former Ph.D. student, Harvey Starr, was published in August: War Coalitions: The Distributions of Payoffs and Losses. D. C. Heath, publishers, Lexington, Mass. Starr's research for this book was partially supported by this contract.

Mr. Russett and Alfred Stepan finished galley proofs of their edited volume, Military Force and American Society, to be published by Harper & Row in January 1973. Work on two papers for the volume
was supported by the contract: "Changing National Priorities, 1947-71: Budgets, Presidential Perceptions, and External Environment," by Jong Ryool Lee, and "The New Civil-Military Relations: An Annotated Bibliography," by Major Raoul Alcala, U. S. Army, and Douglas Rosenberg. The former represents a highly sophisticated analysis of budgetary data and content analysis of public documents trying to account for shifts in military priorities and relating them to international events. The latter is a bibliography of approximately 2500 items, many of them annotated, and much more comprehensive than anything previously existing.

Mr. Russell also has been engaged in a number of activities which, though not supported by the contract, are closely related to it. His paper, "A Countercombatant Deterrent: Feasibility, Morality, and Arms Control," was published in a volume edited by San Sarkesian for Sage Publications, Beverly Hills: The Military-Industrial Complex: A Reassessment. He took part in a conference held in Washington in September, and the topic, "The Military in American Society." In July he became Editor of the Journal of Conflict Resolution, the pre-eminent North American journal publishing social scientific research on questions of war and peace.

alliance theories and an empirical testing of various hypotheses
derived from those theories will be published in 1973 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, co-authored with a student,
Richard Rinaldi.

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 has contributed to the introduction dealing with general
problems of theory and measurement in the use of aggregate data and
has written a paper, his earlier paper dealing with foreign inter-
vention in domestic conflict. This paper explores a number of
models which purport to explain such intervention. The volume will
be co-edited by Michael C. Hudson and Charles Taylor, and contains
contract-supported papers by each of the authors and by Russett as
well as several other papers.

Sullivan also co-authored a paper with John Dew, 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 pro-
vide one with the ability to describe aspects of various types of
aggregate data such as those contained in the Handbook. This paper,
etitiled "Computer Routines for Arraying Aggregate Data," was pub-
lished in the September 1972 issue of *International Studies Quarterly*.

Mr. Sullivan has now taken up his new position as Associate
Professor of Political Science at the Claremont Graduate School;
extcept for the work in progress his contract-supported efforts also
are now completed.

**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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amount currently funded</td>
<td>$228,820.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated expenditure to date</td>
<td>$240,980.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remaining Funds</td>
<td>$38,000.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. Westernfield'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. Westernfield'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

Westernfield 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 these 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 respondents' 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 periodi-
cally 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: in-
volvein 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 pro-
duced 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
to all the national security discussions 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 journal-
istic 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. Com-
puter 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 defence problems that occurred over time. Evidence clearly
emerges, for example, of the generally greater saliency of military
approaches in elite expressions than in mass-circulation expres-
sions—but also of the greater fluctuation in elite than mass ex-
pressions in this regard. Computer runs continued during the
summer with the research emphasis shifting from comparing the
saliencies to comparing directions of movement of opinion in the
various channels. The analysis of this stage is now in process.

**Policy 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 internation-
al 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 a comparative study of other "unequal alliances."

**Problems encountered:** none.

**Fiscal Status:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount currently funded</th>
<th>364,700.00</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Estimated expenditures to date</td>
<td>64,346.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remaining funds</td>
<td>353,353.42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Action required of the government:** none.

**Future plans:** no change to report at this time.