
Political Science Department

Professor Arthur R. Rachwald
Chair

The complexities of political science as an academic discipline continue to define the scholarly interests of our faculty. Research in the Political Science Department reflects the broad nature of this field of knowledge while maintaining focus on contemporary research methodology. From empirical data manipulation to inductive analysis to field experimentation to case studies, faculty in the department have set the pace for scholarly research. Furthermore, members of our faculty have seamlessly merged onto the information highway and Internet for use both as a research tool and for access to the most up-to-date pedagogical methods. Political Science faculty have published widely this year in numerous formats and have been actively sought out for professional presentations and policy-making forums. Additionally, student research projects remain an integral part of the department's independent research efforts.

Departmental faculty this year published two books, contributed thirteen articles to journal publications, provided chapters to books and conducted book reviews. Among the varied topic areas are explorations into the usability of a model to predict the probability for genocide in a country or region, to the codification of "moral development" among Naval Academy Midshipmen, to the challenges confronting Nuclear Deterrence in a world of strategic multipolarity. This year department faculty received external research funding from sources as diverse as the Stanley Foundation, the Center for the Study of Professional Military Ethics, the U.S. Air Force Institute for National Security Studies, and the Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies. Also, the department received a grant from the Sant Foundation for the Distinguished Fellow in National Security Studies. This chair is occupied by Admiral William J. Crowe, Jr., USN (Ret).

A reflection of the quality of our faculty is the large number of prestigious speaking engagements to which they were invited as well as the academic conferences and seminars they attended. Members of our faculty traveled widely, both in the United States and abroad. They shared knowledge and exchanged ideas, enriching our faculty's understanding of their fields and of the rapidly changing world that they study.

Three students conducted research course projects and as a result of their efforts they graduated with honors. The honors thesis program affords the student an opportunity to participate in advanced research under the close mentorship of a faculty advisor. The culmination of this experience is an honors thesis presented by the student before a faculty panel, where it is critically judged and evaluated.

An overview of departmental research efforts reveals in-depth activity on the part of all members of the faculty. The knowledge and excitement of research produces invaluable dividends in the classroom, where faculty can use their newfound knowledge to educate and stimulate students.

Sponsored Research

Debating China's International Future

Researcher: Assistant Professor Yong Deng

Sponsor: Stanley Foundation

With Dr. Sherry Gray of the Stanley Foundation, the special forum, "Debating China's International Future," published in the 2001 winter and spring issues of the *Journal of Contemporary China*, was edited. The special forum explores Chinese foreign policy struggles in a Sino-American dialogue format. The papers were originally written for a conference sponsored by the Stanley Foundation and organized by the researcher in August 1999. Sixteen significantly revised papers were selected to be included in this forum, with eight written by American scholars in response to the eight papers authored by their Chinese

colleagues. From cross-Pacific perspectives, the forum highlights major areas of the perceptual gap in Sino-American relations and China's overall foreign policy predicament in the post-Cold War era.

Hegemon on the Offensive: Chinese Perspectives on U.S. Strategy after the Cold War

Researcher: Assistant Professor Yong Deng
Sponsor: Naval Academy Research Council (NARC)

The article finds that Chinese perceptions of and reactions to the U.S. global strategy after the Cold War show growing strategic conflict between the two countries, belying any pretense of "strategic partnership." Assessments by Chinese analysts and officials have shifted from a prediction of immanent U.S. hegemonic decline to a view that U.S.-dominated unipolarity will likely last well into the 21st century. The United States has adopted a coherent offensive-oriented "neo-imperialist" and "neo-interventionist" strategy to consolidate and expand its world supremacy. China finds U.S. hegemony increasingly threatening to its security and predatory to its vital interests. In response, Beijing has engaged in non-confrontational balancing against the United States by forging a strategic partnership with Russia, diffuse balancing by cultivating news ties in Asia and beyond, and long-term balancing by enhancing comprehensive national power. Overall Beijing's balancing has been hesitant, low-key, and inconsistent. Prevailing bandwagoning by other powers, acute domestic insecurity, and perceived high costs of open confrontation with the United States combine to explain Beijing's hesitancy. But growing U.S.-China strategic conflict has reinforced the structural pressure for China to intensify confrontation against the U.S. hegemony. To avoid dangerous escalation of balancing and counterbalancing, the structural pressure must be (and can be) lessened through an enhanced strategic dialogue and necessary adjustments for mutual accommodation. These findings reinforce the warning of the danger of rising hostility between the United States and China; they also test the validity of the balance of power theory in international relations. (The article has been accepted for publication by *Political Science Quarterly*.)

State Failure Project 1994-2000

Researcher: Professor Barbara Harff
Sponsor: White House, administered by the Science Applications International Corporation
and the Central Intelligence Agency (SAIC-CIA)

As the Senior Consultant in a White House initiated study, I ran an extensively funded project on accelerators of ethnic conflict and genocide. The model and methodology were developed in my previous empirical research on early warning of Genocide.

Testing Accelerator Models on Sixteen High Risk Cases (Genocide)

Researcher: Professor Barbara Harff
Sponsor: SAIC-CIA (administered by the University of Maryland)

As the Co-Project Director and Consultant, I ran tests on the genocide accelerator model on 16 high-risk cases. These models provide a method to determine risk assessment and early warning.

Crisis Response: The Military Role in Domestic Response to Weapons of Mass Destruction

Researcher: Associate Professor Willie Curtis
Sponsor: Naval Academy Research Council (NARC)

This research project is Phase One of a three phase (3 year) project designed to examine the critical issues associated with the nation's ability to detect, deter and cope with the threat and use of a weapon of mass destruction by individuals, groups, or states. Phase One (Year 2000) examined the nature and probability of the use of a weapon of mass destruction in the United States and assessed the role of the military in responding to this threat. Phase Two (Year 2001) assesses the legal implications

of the domestic use of the nation's military in responding to weapons of mass destruction incidents and assess the suitability of current laws for dealing with this important issue. Phase Three (Year 2002) will focus on the U.S.'s ability to implement the provisions of Presidential Decision Directive (PDD-39) Policy on Counter proliferation.

Confronting Scorpions: The Challenge for Nuclear Deterrence in a World of Strategic Multipolarity

Researcher: Associate Professor Willie Curtis

Sponsor: U. S. Air Force Institute for National Security Studies

This research project is Phase Two of the 1999 Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) research project entitled *The Assured Vulnerability Paradigm: Can It Provide A Useful Basis for Deterrence in a World of Strategic Multipolarity?* The research examined the changing nature of nuclear deterrence and elements of the Adaptive Strategic Options (ASO) approach suggested in the 1999 research projected fund by INSS. The applicability of this recommended approach for providing a model for deterrence policy and strategic force structuring for coping with the new nuclear powers that will be a part of the strategic landscape in the multipolar twenty-first century international environment depends on a number of assumptions and capabilities of the forces tasked with providing strategic deterrence in the coming decades.

Watching the Watchers – A Watched Pol Never Recoils; The Nature and Content of Campaign Ad Watches

Researcher: Professor Stephen E. Frantzich

Sponsor: Naval Academy Research Council (NARC)

Political sport advertising has become one of the standard components modern campaigns use to communicate with voters. Beginning in 1992, the media expanded their role as "referees" in this process by developing regularized "ad watch" sidebars evaluating the content, presentation and veracity of candidate ads. By creating a database of all newspaper ad watches in publications covered by the LEXIS-NEXIS database, this research facilitated the first systematic analysis of the sources and content of ad watches during the 1992, 1996 and 2000 election cycles. Analysis of the over 700 ad watches revealed a changed pattern of ad watch sources over time, widely varying targets of ad watches, and a number of apparent biases in ad evaluations covered by ad watches. The database allowed the testing of a number of theoretic assumptions to determine whether ad watches emphasize the same or different components than do general news stories.

RepresNETation: A Geographical Institution Faces a Non-Geographical World

Researcher: Professor Stephen E. Frantzich

Sponsor: American University, Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies

As an institution designed in the 18th Century, Congress must now face a 21st Century world where technology challenges many of Congress' basic assumptions and well-developed procedures. This invited paper looked at the potential disconnects between the basic character of Congress and the nature of emerging technologies such as the Internet. Using both theoretical arguments and data it analyzed conflicts such as:

- The geographic basis of Congress and the Internet, which makes geography insignificant
- Congress' need to measure public passion and the decline of clear measures of passion in Internet communications
- Congress' recognition of information control as a power resource versus the open architecture philosophy of the Web

It concludes that while Congress will have to adapt to the Internet, it will also force Internet users to adapt their approaches when dealing with Congress.

Two Hundred Years and Counting: Representative Government in the Cyber-Democracy

Researcher: Professor Stephen E. Frantzich

Sponsor: Peter Lang Publishing

A broad brush analysis of societal and technological changes which have affected the nature, quality and feasibility of representative government in the contemporary era. Building a series of lectures presented for the Maryland Humanities Council, this project looked at issues of social mobility which have created “communities of limited commitment,” and technological changes which have led to fragmentation and conflict. These two trends run headlong into the traditions and practices of representative institutions which are structured to operate around geographic constituencies and activist communities able to develop consensus. The book will outline the causes and consequences of the competing trends and outline the challenges they present to representative government. The book will be published as part of a new series on “Popular Politics and Governance in America.”

Tiltulim: Interrogation by Shaking in Israel

Researcher: Associate Professor Stephen D. Wrage

Sponsor: Center for the Study of Professional Military Ethics (USNA)

Because ethics and values can be learned, but can hardly be taught, it is useful to create cases that put the students in the position of decision makers, causing them to commit themselves to a position, then giving them an opportunity to examine that position and the thought process that led to it. (See Gragg, C.I., “Because Wisdom Can’t Be Told,” in *The Case Method at the Harvard Business School*, (ed. M. P. McNair with Anita C. Hersum), New York: McGraw-Hill, 1954. See also Argyris, C., “Some Limitations of the Case Method: Experience in a Management Development Program,” in *Academy of Management Review* 5 (1980), pp.291-298 and Berger, M., “In Defense of the Case Method: A Reply to Argyris,” in *Academy of Management Review* 8 (1983), pp. 329-333.)

With this in mind, The Center for the Development of Military Ethics commissioned the production of one case this year. The case focused on the problem of how a democracy responds to the problem of a constant terrorist threat. It reviewed the 50 year-long dialectic between security agencies bent on extracting information from suspected terrorists and legal authorities committed to upholding the rule of law and the humanitarian imperative.

Low Energy and High Friction: How Domestic Determinants Shape U.S. National Security Policy in the Asia-Pacific

Researcher: Associate Professor Stephen D. Wrage

Sponsor: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu

The paper discusses the difficulty of determining the domestic sources of foreign policy decisions, then argues that the current situation of “low drive” (due largely to a national mood of apathetic internationalism) and “high friction” (arising from awkward and overlapping decision authority and skeptical relations between the branches) prevents energetic American leadership in the Asia Pacific.

A Special Relationship: Kennedy, Macmillan, and the Anglo American Alliance, 1961-1963

Researcher: Assistant Professor Douglas M. Brattebo

Sponsor: Naval Academy Research Council (NARC)

The John Kennedy-Harold Macmillan working relationship surely ranks as one of the most important diplomatic associations between an American president and a foreign leader in the twentieth century. The two men were of different generations, religious faiths, and sensibilities about so many things, yet they savored each other’s wit, intellect, sense of history, and professional political skills. An unlikely duo, they did not agree on everything. Macmillan, in the President’s eyes, was a bit

too eager to facilitate diplomatic discussions between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Prime Minister was more dovish on West Berlin than the President and less enthusiastic about building up NATO's conventional forces. The President, for his part, was disappointed about Britain's recognition of Communist China. Yet, to date, there has been no full examination of this remarkable partnership. Because their interaction was punctuated by a series of seven summit meetings, it is logical to organize a study of it around these meetings. I thus am working to apply the framework of presidential homework to the two men's preparation for their conclaves. This project will elucidate not only the personal dynamic between the two leaders, but will shed light upon the evolution of the institutional presidency in the early 1960s, presaging much of what the office has become today where the conduct of personal presidential diplomacy is concerned.

How People Think about Environmental Problems and Political Conflicts in Southern Africa

Researcher: Professor Helen E. Purkitt
Sponsors: Naval Academy Research Council (NARC)
and Institute for National Security Studies

The researcher is conducting an intensive study on the attitudes, perceptions, and misperceptions of Americans towards the political, social, and economic conditions which exist in Africa today.

Pitching Democracy: A Study of the Effects of Civic Education in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Researcher: Assistant Professor Howard Ernst
Sponsor: Naval Academy Research Council (NARC)

This project developed a comprehensive theory that helps to explain the conditions under which civic education is likely to succeed and the conditions under which civic education is likely to fail. The theory is tested against South African data collected in 1998 by the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Independent Research

Analysis of the Mainland Chinese Leadership

Researcher: Professor Rodney G. Tomlinson

The Chinese Leadership project came alive in August, 2000, with a revision of the files and the possibility of finding a research sponsor. The data base was revised, partially updated and tested in September, with the view to include Assistant Professor Yong Deng in place of retired Professor Daniel Lee. The Peoples' Liberation Army (PLA) continues to display a remarkable spectrum of activities, and is suspected to be behind the scenes power in the U.S. surveillance plane affair. A research proposal has been prepared to examine Chinese Language publications with a view to regularly updating the data base and providing primary source material in a systematic format for examining trends and patterns in the evolving Chinese leadership.

The Structure of International Events – The WEIS Model of World Political Behavior

Researcher: Professor Rodney G. Tomlinson

This research is ongoing and focuses primarily on maintaining the World Events/Interaction Survey data files. Since August of 2000, over a year and a half of coded events have been proof read and prepared for entry. One more review is needed before including them in the master collection. While overseas at BRNC (1997-2000) the year 1965 was reviewed and added.

When on-hand data is added, WEIS will have a run from January 1965 through December 1995. Funds are now being sought to permit retrospective coding and commencement of current coding, with particular emphasis on Asia. A correlate research project is intending to examine the correlation between analyst-coded events data and machine coded event streams from the Kansas Event Data System

Presidential Homework: Executive Preparation for Personal Diplomacy

Researcher: Assistant Professor Douglas M. Brattebo

This is a revision of my dissertation, of the same title, to prepare it for publication as a book. This work constructs a framework for analyzing the efforts of presidents to prepare for direct diplomatic encounters with leaders of other countries. Three stylistic facets a president's cognitive style, his professional experience and expertise, and his decision structure and style may influence how he goes about doing his homework for summit meetings. The first two facets are personal in nature, while the third is institutional. The activity of presidential homework consists of six substantive tasks that presidents must engage in to conduct personal diplomacy: sizing up the character and general outlook of the other principal, getting to know the other principal's positions on the issues, formulating one's own government's positions on the issues, consulting allies, monitoring and managing public opinion, and consulting Congress. The first three elements are ones the president pursues primarily through private study, whereas the latter three entail presidential consultation with external constituencies. This project applies the framework in detailed case studies of the way two presidents (Eisenhower and Kennedy) prepared for a total of four summit meetings with the Soviet leadership (Geneva, 1955; Washington, D.C., and Camp David, 1959; Paris, 1960; and Vienna, 1961). Based on archival research at the Eisenhower and Kennedy presidential libraries, coupled with the consultation of secondary sources, the case studies indicate that cognitive style and professional experience and expertise are likely to be more important than decision structure and style in shaping a president's personal diplomacy. Simply put, the conduct of personal presidential diplomacy depends much more heavily upon what manner of a man the president is and what kind of life he has lived than upon the sort of organizational schema he has chosen for his White House.

Measuring Faculty Productivity at the U.S. Naval Academy

Researcher: Associate Professor Eloise F. Malone

This research summarizes an institutional research study of findings from a Naval Academy faculty survey. Measures of faculty productivity were analyzed and compared to those from cohort schools. Particular attention was given to gender and disciplinary differences.

Injustice for All: the Tale of Dollree Mapp, the Police, and Arrest and Search and Seizure

Researcher: Associate Professor Priscilla H. Machado

This project encompasses years of interest in the Fourth Amendment. The aim of this book is to explain the changes in the criminal justice system, in policing, and even to the particular litigants through the lens of the famous U.S. Supreme Court case of *Mapp vs Ohio*.

Decision Aides for Political Forecasts

Researcher: Professor Helen E. Purkitt

This research was presented at the 6th International Command and Control Research and Technology Symposium, in June 2001, held at the U.S. Naval Academy. This paper outlines a classification system that can help an analyst decide which type of methodology to use depending on the type of social problem being analyzed. The paper also provides examples of one approach designed to help experts make accurate forecasts.

Understanding Recurring Political Problems: Interdisciplinary Perspectives

Researcher: Professor Helen E. Purkitt

This researcher was an invited participant in an inter-disciplinary project that examined how existing theories and research findings from different fields of social science can be used to improve our understanding of the determinants of recurring public policy decisions.

South Africa's Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Politics of Rolling Back Nuclear, Chemical and Biological Weapons

Researcher: Professor Helen E. Purkitt

A prospectus and two sample book chapters summarizing this research have been completed. Manuscripts already written on South Africa's nuclear program, their space launch program, and changes in South Africa's defense establishment since 1994 have been prepared and will be submitted for publication review. The main points of the research were presented at the 2001 APSA Convention.

Project Follow the Leader: Assessing the Determinants of Formal and Informal Leadership in Maryland Politics

Researcher: Assistant Professor Howard Ernst

This project asks in a legislative body, like Maryland's, where knowledge, wealth, social position, and institutional authority among elected officials are unequally distributed, who actually governs?

Research Course Projects

Timing is Everything: Measuring State Influence in Presidential Nominations

Researcher: Midshipman 1/C Ryan Casey, USN

Adviser: Professor Stephen E. Frantzich

States are rational actors that will pursue their own interests first and foremost, ahead of those of candidates, parties, or the democratic process altogether. In post-reform presidential nomination campaigns, interstate date competition and frontloading have served to compress the duration of the nominating process. Shorter campaigns have rewarded leading candidates who raise the most money prior to the election year, and thus have driven candidates and the media to focus a disproportional amount of attention on states with early primaries or caucuses. This monograph assesses the degree to which the timing of states' delegate selection events determines the amount of nomination attention they receive. Timing of primaries and caucuses is found to be a significant predictor of nomination attention; the size of states' convention delegations is not. Additionally, the timing factor is revealed to be more complex than previously has been assumed by observers.

Freedom of Speech in the Burger Court: The Counter-Revolution that Was

Researcher: Midshipman 1/C Matthew Ivey, USN

Adviser: Professor Barbara Harff

Legal scholars have appraised the Burger Court as ineffective in its quest to undo the liberal decisions made by the Warren Court, contrary to expectations made at the offset of Warren Burger's tenure as Chief Justice. In the area of freedom of symbolic speech, these assertions are found to be incorrect. In this area, case law analysis shows that the Burger Court did eventually reverse the ideological direction of the Warren Court from pro-individual to pro-government. Case law and primary sources show that this process was slow to occur, but nevertheless did take place, due to differences in leadership between Justice Burger and Justice Warren, the impact of Justice Brennan as the liberal heart and sole of both Courts, and the initial inexperience of the first four Burger Court appointees. Over time, case law shows that once the four Burger Court appointees were more experienced in their positions on the Court, the influences of Justice Brennan could be neutralized and the Burger Court was able to make pro-government headway in terms of symbolic speech.

The Integration of East and West Germany

Researcher: Midshipman 1/C Rachael Gosnell, USN

Adviser: Professor Barbara Harff

The integration of East and West Germany in 1990 created a new political entity through the merger of separate political, social, and economic systems. This unification encompassed a multitude of processes of fundamental system change, resulting in both domestic and international ramifications. This paper evaluated various integration theories as well as democratization theories. It will further demonstrate the importance of democratization and specifically civil society.

This paper analyzed and evaluated the reunification of Germany in accordance with both integration theory and democratization theory. It is suggested that if a federalist model is used, integration will be rapid, though with a number of social, political, and economic problems. It is further suggested that democratic habituation is necessary to have a complete and efficient integration, defined by a productive society, politically content citizenry, and little civil unrest. Civil society is a vital component of habituation, likely determining the success of habituation. Within the ten years since integration of East and West Germany, Germany has not developed into a unified nation as a result of the East German lack of solid civil society foundations and democratization. They have however, avoided major politicide.

Publications

Journal (Refereed) Manuscripts

CURTIS, Willie, Associate Professor, "The Assured Vulnerability Paradigm: Can It Provide a Useful Basis for Deterrence in a World of Strategic Multi-Polarity?" in *Defense Analysis*, Vol. 16, No. 3, pp 239-256, Winter, 2000.

During the decades of the Cold War the United States relied on a model of strategic deterrence that was based on a number of assumptions and conditions that shaped national policy and strategic force structuring in a world of strategic bipolarity. The fundamental assumptions were that a sensible rational opponent existed and threats of nuclear retaliation are a reliable basis for shaping that opponent's behavior. More importantly was the fact that within a world of strategic bipolarity, these assumptions also led to the logical conclusion that a generically 'rational opponent' model would simplify and make a defense planning less complex. While the historical record suggest that this assumption worked in a world of strategic bipolarity, this analysis of deterrence focuses on the question confronting post-Cold War analysts of whether the assumption of a 'generically rational opponent' model will remain valid in a world of strategic multipolarity.

DENG, Yong, Assistant Professor, (co-editor), "Debating China's International Future" (I, II), *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 10, (February 2001) and (June 2001).

The special forum explores Chinese foreign policy struggles in a Sino-American dialogue format. The papers included were originally written for a conference sponsored by the Stanley Foundation and organized by Dr. Deng in San Francisco, August 1999. Sixteen significantly revised papers were selected to be included in this forum, with eight written by American scholars in response to the eight papers authored by their Chinese colleagues. These papers together explore the Chinese attempts at building international theory with Chinese characteristics, views on the international political economy, notion of international responsibility, patterns of Chinese foreign policy and its strategic goals, self-interpretation of the rise of China, and perception of the U.S. global strategy and policy toward China. From a cross-Pacific perspective, the forum highlights major areas of the perceptual gap in Sino-American relations and China's overall foreign policy predicament in the post-Cold War era.

DENG, Yong, Assistant Professor, "Hegemon on the Offensive: Chinese Perspectives on US Global Strategy after the Cold War," *Political Science Quarterly*, forthcoming, accepted for publication.

The article finds that Chinese perceptions of and reactions to the US global strategy after the Cold War show growing strategic conflict between the two countries, belying any pretense of "strategic partnership." Assessments by Chinese analysts and officials have shifted from a prediction of immanent US hegemonic decline to a view that US-dominated unipolarity will likely last well into the 21st century. The United States has adopted a coherent offensive-oriented "neo-imperialist" and "neo-interventionist" strategy to consolidate and expand its world supremacy. China finds US hegemony increasingly threatening to its security and predatory to its vital interests. In response, Beijing has engaged in non-confrontational balancing against the United States by forging a strategic partnership with Russia, diffuse balancing by cultivating news ties in Asia and beyond, and long-term balancing by enhancing comprehensive national power. Overall Beijing's balancing has been hesitant, low-key, and inconsistent. Prevailing bandwagoning by other powers, acute domestic insecurity, and perceived high costs of open confrontation with the United States combine to explain Beijing's hesitancy. But growing US-China strategic conflict has reinforced the structural pressure for China to intensify confrontation against the US hegemony. To avoid dangerous escalation of balancing and counterbalancing, the structural pressure must be (and can be) lessened through an enhanced strategic dialogue and necessary adjustments for mutual accommodation. These findings reinforce the warning of the danger of rising hostility between the United States and China; they also test the validity of the balance of power theory in international relations.

DENG, Yong, Assistant Professor., "Introduction — Growing Pains: China Debates Its International Future," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 10, (February 2001), pp. 5-16.

Liberal democracies in North America, Europe, and Japan have coalesced into a global power center with shared in-group values and a common foreign policy outlook. Despite its growing materialist capacities, China finds itself hardly closer to the great power center, perceiving instead it to be condemned to the periphery and victimized by the assertion of the emerging global center. Confronted with the predicament, Chinese intellectuals and policy elites have debated over how China should relate to the world and the United States. Their answer remains uncertain due in part to Chinese nationalism and the perceptual gap separating China and the United States. However, so long as it believes that the great power club is open to its membership, China will likely continue to try to live up to its self-identification as a responsible power.

DENG, Yong, Assistant Professor, "Escaping the Periphery: China's National Identity in World Politics," *China's International Relations in the 21st Century: Dynamics of Paradigm Shifts*, (Richard Hu, Gerald Chan, and Daojiong Zha, eds.), Lanham, MD, University Press of America, 2000, pp. 41-70.

Much of how China matters in world politics depends on the outcome of its struggle to resolve the internal and external tensions in national identity conception. This study focuses on this "software" side of the China problem, often neglected in theoretical and policy debates. It shows that contemporary China's international identity con-

tains multiple facets, not all of which are in agreement. Taken as a whole, while there exists a secondary and inchoate liberal identity, the dominant identity China embraces remains far removed from that prevailing in the emergent great power core, largely corresponding to a zone of liberal, democratic peace in world politics. From the core perspective, China holds an international identity that is sometimes illegitimate, often anachronistic, and overall peripheral. Consequently, despite its aspiration to being viewed as a respectable, restrained, and responsible great power, China's "flawed" character has condemned it to the periphery in world politics. This study locates China's peripheral status in world politics and its way out. As such it illuminates the ends and means of the engagement policy toward China, proclaimed by all the great powers. To ensure China to embrace the liberal vision won't be easy, as peripheral identity tends to perpetuate itself. The US and its major allies in Japan and Europe should work together to defuse the Chinese suspicion that the liberal state identity they espouse represents nothing but shifting criteria to contain China in disguise. China must be shown there is indeed such a pathway from the periphery. It is also important for the great powers to adopt a more coherent and better-coordinated political strategy, for the US and its allies to forge a regional liberal zone in Asia, and for China to find a solution to its Taiwan conundrum. With an engagement policy based on patience, assurance, inducement, and pressure, it is hopeful that the long cycle of war and peace, historically associated with the rise and fall of great powers, can be broken.

Books

BRATTEBO, Douglas M., Assistant Professor and MALONE, Eloise F., Professor, Readings in Government and Ethics, Cincinnati, OH: Thompson Learning, 2000.

Used by all fourth class midshipmen in their American Government course (FP130), this book consists of over a dozen edited readings about difficult ethical issues confronting American political leaders in various decision-making settings. The emphasis is on the foundations of the nation's political system and their evolution during crucial periods. A series of discussion questions follows each reading and seeks to elicit critical appraisal by students.

ERNST, Howard, Assistant Professor (with co-editors Larry J. Sabato and Bruce Larson), Dangerous Democracy? The Battle over Ballot Initiatives in America (Rowman and Littlefield, 2001).

This book explores the issues of ballot initiatives, evaluates the health of initiative politics and recommends sensible reforms. The analysis draws on the nation's leading initiative scholars, as well as the ideas of prominent initiative practitioners. Academics write the book's primary chapters, with journalists, academics, and campaign professionals contributing insightful responses.

FRANTZICH, Stephen E., Professor, (advisory editor). Six volumes of American Government at Work, Danbury, CT: Grolier Educational, 2001.

A multi-volume guide to the basic institutions and processes of American government designed for advanced placement high school students. Drawing on the most recent research and the efforts of young scholars, this set of books is designed to provide basic, but sophisticated information on how the American system works.

Technical Reports, Book Reviews and Book Chapters

CURTIS, Willie, Associate Professor, "The Assured Vulnerability Paradigm: Can It Provide a Useful Basis for Deterrence in a World of Strategic Multipolarity?" *Searching for National Security in an NBC World*, edited by James M. Smith, USAF Institute for National Security Studies, (USAF Academy, CO: July 2000). pp. 11-53.

During the decades of the Cold War the United States relied on a model of strategic deterrence that was based on a number of assumptions and conditions that shaped national policy and strategic force structuring in a world of strategic bipolarity. This paradigm or model has been described by Keith Payne as the Assured Vulnerability Paradigm. The fundamental assumptions were that a sensible rational opponent existed and threats of nuclear retaliation are a reliable basis for shaping that opponent's behavior. More importantly was the fact that within a world of strategic bipolarity, these assumptions also led to the logical conclusion that a 'generically rational opponent' model would simplify and make defense planning less complex. In a world of strategic multipolarity, the task shifts to devising a deterrence theory for deterring several regional nuclear powers and whereas the analogy of two scorpions in a bottle constrained by the knowledge that if either struck first, the other would respond and the demise of both was assured depicted the situation in a world of strategic bipolarity, in a world of strategic multipolarity, the image may best be represented by two large scorpions in a bottle surrounded by several smaller, yet just as deadly scorpions. The deterrence problem in a world of strategic multipolarity is regionally focused and the validity of the 'generically rational opponent's model is questionable in that this model is based on the perception that rationality is a careful cost-benefit analysis assessment. But lets us reconsider the analogy of the multiple scorpions in the bottle dilemma; the problem of value assessment becomes more complex, for with multiple actors the assumption of a 'generically rational opponent' model will not suffice to calculate the multiple interpretations of risk and benefits of all the actors involved. Under conditions of strategic multipolarity with numerous regional nuclear powers to contend with the diverse factors such a leader's risk-taking propensities, impact of culture on decision making and the statesman's perceptions of strategic realities are factors for deterrence calculations. Thus understanding the character and motivations of potential adversaries are essential for assessing the threats each pose to U.S. interests. During the period of strategic bipolarity these factors were of little importance simply because culture was not a critical factor nor were there major efforts to allocate the necessary human and technological resources to analyze their impact, for the interests at stake of the two dominating super-powers were similar and the 'generically rational opponent' model did not require an extensive assessment of other nuclear actors. The 'generically rational opponent' model does not confront this problem of risk-taking as a critical factor for the model is a product of strategic bipolar thinking, whereas in a world of strategic multipolarity, the stakes are too high to neglect all essential factors that contribute to providing a deterrence policy that can cope with the multiple nuclear actors that may challenge the U.S. in the twenty-first century. Assessing the threats in this new environment from the perspective of a 'generically rational opponent' model will not be sufficient to provide for the security of the U.S., nor protect its global interests.

ERNST, Howard, Assistant Professor, "The Historical Role of Narrow-Material Interests in Initiative Politics," in *Dangerous Democracy? The Battle over Ballot Initiatives in America* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2001), pp. 1-25.

I open *Dangerous Democracy?* with an essay outlining trends in American initiative politics. This chapter begins with an important observation about the persistent advancement of direct democracy in the United States. Employing a useful typological scheme to categorize statewide initiatives between 1904 and 1995, then I provide an overview of ballot initiative trends in the 20th century.

ERNST, Howard, Assistant Professor, "The Historical Role of Narrow-Material Interests in Initiative Politics," in *Dangerous Democracy? The Battle over Ballot Initiatives in America* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2001), pp. 179-190.

In this chapter, we argue that the key to bridging the gap between responsive and responsible government in the initiative process is to supplying the public with the necessary information that can achieve this end.

FRANTZICH, Stephen E., Professor, "AC-SPAN: A Window on the Political Process," (David Schultz, editor) *It's Show Time*, A New York: Peter Lang publishers, 2000, pp. 198-208.

This chapter of the book provides an analysis of the history, operations and impact of the Cable Satellite Public Affairs network (C-SPAN) in the context of the contemporary American media context. Based on dozens of interviews and original hard data, the chapter outlines the unique consequences of C-SPAN for American politics and government.

FRANTZICH, Stephen E., Professor, "Cynicism Sells: Legislatures and the Polity Pay," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, July 2000, pp. 12-13.

Beginning with Pogo's insightful premise that we have often "met the enemy and he is us," this teaching-oriented thought piece attempts to confront one of the sources of cynicism among American young people, formal classroom education. It discusses the sources and consequences of cynicism as exacerbated by typical teaching styles and content and lays out ways a realistic, but less cynical outcome can be accomplished.

HARFF, Barbara, Professor, "Genocide and Politicide in Global Perspective: The Historical Record and Future Risks," (with contributions by T.R.Gurr) in Stan Windass (ed.), *Just War and Genocide: A Symposium*, Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development, prepared for the Foundation for International Security, February 2001.

The chapter is concerned with the collective victimization of ethnic, religious, national and political groups. It aims to contribute to a better understanding of the conditions leading to genocide and politicides. In addition, it summarizes the result of recent empirical studies, designed and directed by the first author [Harff], and identifies countries and groups at high risk or geno/politicide.

PURKITT, H.E., Professor and Burgess, Steve, "Rollback of South Africa's Biological Warfare Problem," Paper No.37, *Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)*, U.S. Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, February 2001.

This research involves a case study of the origin and evolution of South Africa's bio-chem project, Project Coast. This monograph includes major policy lessons learned from this case and important unanswered questions. This study, with a slightly different concluding section was also published by the Center for Counter-Proliferation, Maxwell Air Force Base.

PURKITT, H.E., Professor, "A Problem Centered Approach for Understanding Foreign Policy: Some examples from U.S. Foreign Policy toward Southern Africa," *HANDBOOK OF GLOBAL INTERNATIONAL POLICY*, (S. Nagel, editor), New York: Marcel Dekker, Inc., pp. 79-101.

Despite important differences in the policy priorities and initiatives taken by post-Cold War U.S. presidential administrations, U.S. policy makers used a remarkably similar simple Cold War "script" to justify US foreign policy. This book chapter describes the belief elements of this Cold War script and how it relates to what is known about how people think about and talk about complex political problems using familiar scripts and other rhetorical devices.

WRAGE, Stephen D., Associate Professor, "Titlulim: Interrogation by Shaking in Israel," Center for the Center for the Study of Professional Military Ethics, forthcoming.

This case study for teaching ethics focuses on the ways a democracy responds to a constant terrorist threat. No democracy has been so stalked by terrorism as Israel. The case reviews the 50-year-long dialectic between security agencies bent on extracting information from suspected terrorists and legal authorities committed to upholding the rule of law and humanitarian standards.

WRAGE, Stephen D., Associate Professor, "Low Energy and High Friction: How Domestic Determinants Shape U.S. National Security Policy in the Asia-Pacific," Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, forthcoming.

This occasional paper issued as a monograph by the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu reviews the domestic inputs to the formation of American national security policy. It was prepared for a conference at which experts from fifteen Pacific-rim countries summarized the domestic determinants of the security policies of their countries. The paper found that low public commitment to international engagements, along with competing priorities in the new Bush administration, made for a low energy environment for security policy making. At the same time, the crossing bureaucratic imperatives of the new administration, as well as the introduction of many new policy making entities, led to a situation of greatly increased friction and resistance to initiatives. Due to this atmosphere of low drive and high friction, the paper predicted that little policy change would be accomplished.

Conference Proceedings

PURKITT, H.E., Professor, "Predicting Environmental Security in Africa: A Prototype Monitoring System of Environmental And Security Problems in Southern Africa," in *Papers & Proceedings of The 10th Federal Forecaster Conference: 1999*, Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Labor Statistics, pp. 287-301 and *Proceedings of the 19th International Symposium on Forecasting*.

CDs and Videos

ERNST, Howard, Assistant Professor, BRATTEBO, Douglas., Assistant Professor, and BELANGER, Jon, Lieutenant Commander, USN, CD-ROM: American Government Interactive (Kendall-Hunt Publishing).

This CD-ROM is a question-and-answer tutorial for undergraduates and covers fifteen separate substantive areas of American Government. It includes graphics and will be marketed nationally through Kendall-Hunt Publishing. A number of FP130 instructors will be utilizing it in their class sections at USNA in the fall 2001 semester.

MACHADO, Priscilla H., Associate Professor, "The Declaration of Independence" and "The Three Branches of Government," by Full Circle Entertainment, Inc. Two part video on the Declaration of Independence and Articles One, Two and Three of the United States Constitution. Published August 2000.

These educational videos introduce the viewer to the Declaration of Independence and the three branches of government and their granting source of power via the United States Constitution. The videos are approximately one hour each in length and feature interviews with three faculty from various universities, Pauline Maier of M.I.T. and Robert George of Princeton University and researcher.

Presentations

BRATTEBO, Douglas M., Assistant Professor, "Setting Expectations: Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Superpower Summitry," 2000 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 27-30, 2000.

COCHRAN, Charles L., Professor, and MALONE, Eloise F., Professor, "Attitudes toward Poverty and Social Inequality: Comparative Analysis and Public Policy Implications of the Eurobarometer Study on Poverty and Social Exclusion," ISA Convention, Chicago, IL, February 2001.

CURTIS, Willie, Associate Professor, "Deterrence in a World of Strategic Multi-Polarity," National Center for Justice and the Rule of Law, The University of Mississippi, Oxford, Mississippi, 1 March 2001.

CURTIS, Willie, Associate Professor, "Confronting Scorpions: The Challenge for Nuclear Deterrence in a World of Strategic Multi-Polarity," 42nd Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Chicago, IL, February 20-24, 2001.

CURTIS, Willie, Associate Professor, "International Politics in the New Millennium," National Youth Leadership Forum on Defense, Intelligence and Diplomacy, Tysons Corners, VA, February 15, 2001 and October 26, 2000.

CURTIS, Willie, Associate Professor, American Bar Association, Law Student Division, Second, Third, Fourth & Eleventh Circuit Fall Roundtable, Washington College of Law, The American University on "Deterrence in a Multipolar World," October 7, 2000.

CURTIS, Willie, Associate Professor, "Civil-military Relations," National Democratic Institute (NDI), May 1, 2000.

DENG, Yong, Associate Professor, "The Role of Perceptions in Chinese Foreign Policy," Conference on Factors in the Study of Chinese Foreign Relations, A Symposium in Honor of Professor Allen S. Whiting, Tucson, Arizona, May 4-5, 2001.

DENG, Yong, Associate Professor, "The China Incident: Press, Policy, and Brinkmanship," Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, April 26, 2001.

DENG, Yong, Associate Professor, "The United States and the Discipline of International Relations: Hegemonic Country, Hegemonic Discipline?" Key Theme Panel of the International Studies Association Annual Conference, Chicago, Illinois, February 20-24, 2001. (invited participant)

DENG, Yong, Associate Professor, "Chinese Perspectives on U.S. Global Strategy after the Cold War," Conference on U.S. Global Role and Sino-American Relations: A Dialogue Between Chinese and American Analysts, Seattle, Washington, DC, 21-23 July 2000.

FRANTZICH, Stephen E., Professor, "Roundtable on Technology and the News Politics," American Political Science Association Meeting, September 1, 2000.

FRANTZICH, Stephen E., Professor, "Education and Civic Leadership," televised panel discussion, The College of New Jersey, November 30, 2000.

FRANTZICH, Stephen E., Professor, "Congress, the Media and the 2000 Election," Salisbury State University, December 2000.

FRANTZICH, Stephen E., Professor, "Enhancing the Internship Experience," Brigham Young University, January 2001.

FRANTZICH, Stephen E., Professor, "Citizen Democracy," B (two presentations) American University, Washington Area Skeptics Association, February, 2001.

FRANTZICH, Stephen E., Professor, "RepresNETation: A Geographic Institution faces a Non-Geographic World," Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies, Conference on "Congress, the Internet and Deliberative Democracy," May 4, 2001 (invited paper)

FRANTZICH, Stephen E., Professor, "Watching the Watchers C A Watched Pol Never Recoils; The Nature and Content of Campaign Ad Watches," Midwest Political Science Association, April 19, 2001.

FRANTZICH, Stephen E., Professor, "The Web Text: Panacea or Passing Fad: A Check List of Considerations," Midwest Political Science Association, April 22, 2001.

HARFF, Barbara, Professor, "The Future of Internal Conflict," National Intelligence Council Project, University of Maryland, Aug. 11, 2000.

HARFF, Barbara, Professor, Participation in Research Team Meeting for the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, London, Oct. 9-10, 2000.

HARFF, Barbara, Professor, Presentation on "Genocide and Politicide in Global Perspective," Roundtable on Just War and Genocide, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Government of Canada, Ottawa, Dec. 8-9, 2000.

HARFF, Barbara, Professor, "Is it Possible to Prevent Genocide and Mass Murder," Van Leer Jerusalem Institute (Israel) in cooperation with the Schloss Elmau Center (Germany) at Schloss Elmau near Munich, Germany, April 20-22, 2001.

MACHADO, Priscilla H., Associate Professor, "Making Sense of Fourth Amendment Jurisprudence," Southwestern Political Science Association Conference, Fort Worth, Texas, March 2001.

MALONE, Eloise F., Professor, "U.S. Elite and Mass Opinion Toward Canada: Implications for Quebec," The American Council for Quebec Studies Biennial Conference, Montreal Canada, October 26-29, 2000.

MALONE, Eloise F., Professor, and COCHRAN, Charles L., Professor, "Attitudes Toward Poverty and Social Inequality: Comparative Analysis and Public Policy Implications of the Eurobarometer Study on Poverty and Social Exclusion," ISA Convention in Chicago, IL, February 2001.

MATTOX, Gale A., Professor, "The United States Tests Detente," International Security Studies Section, ISA, Annual Conference, Chicago, IL, February 25, 2001.

MATTOX, Gale A., Professor, "Policymakers, Scholars and Activists," Gender In International Relations: From Seeing Women and Recognizing Gender to Transforming Policy Research, Center for International Studies, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, February 2, 2001 and ISA annual Conference, Chicago, IL, February 26, 2001.

MATTOX, Gale A., Professor, "Ballistic Missile Defenses and ESDP: The Fear of "Decoupling" on Both Sides of the Atlantic," Conference on Globalization and Security sponsored by ISSS (ISA) and ISAC (APSA), Denver, CO, November 9-11, 2000.

MATTOX, Gale A., Professor, "ESDP: the Impact on the U.S. European Relationship," White Burkett Miller Center, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA, January 27, 2001.

MATTOX, Gale A., Professor, "The Europeans Go Their Own Way in Defense," Luncheon Speaker to Navy League, Charlottesville, VA, March 9, 2001.

MATTOX, Gale A., Professor, "UN Peacekeeping and Public Support," Union of Concerned Scientists, Washington, DC National Capital Area Conference, October 28, 2000.

MATTOX, Gale A., Professor, "Bridging the Gap between Policymakers and Scholars in the Field of International Security," Annual Conference of American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 2, 2000.

PURKITT, H.E., Professor, "A Problem Representation and Variation in the Forecasts of "Political Experts," Judgmental Forecasting II Panel of the 20th International Symposium on Forecasting, Lisbon Portugal, June 22, 2000.

PURKITT, H.E., Professor, "A Rollback of South Africa's Biological Warfare Program," Institute of National Security Studies, U.S. Air Force Academy, November 12-14, 2000.

PURKITT, H.E., Professor, "Paths to Disarmament: The Rollback of South Africa's Chemical and Biological Warfare and Nuclear Weapons Program," International Studies Association Annual Conference, February 2001.

PURKITT, H.E., Professor, "Environmental Security in Southern Africa, The Harrison Program on the Future Global Agenda," University of Maryland, College, November 8, 2000. (invited presentation)

PURKITT, H.E., Professor, "Our Next President: Election 2000 and Its Aftermath," School of Professional Studies in Business and Education, John Hopkins University, Baltimore, December 4, 2000.

WRAGE, Stephen D., Associate Professor, "Tiltulim: Interrogation by Shaking In Israel," Teaching Cases in Foreign Policy Analysis Panel at the Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Chicago, IL, 22 February 2001.
