

June 1, 2020

## FRANCIS A. BEER

### Career Abstract

Professor Emeritus of Political Science, University of Colorado, Boulder, received his A. B. (1960) from Harvard and M. A. (1963) and Ph.D. (1967) from the University of California, Berkeley. In addition, he has been associated in different ways with the Fondation nationale des sciences politiques and the University of Bordeaux in France; the Technische Universiteit Eindhoven in the Netherlands; the University of Cambridge in the United Kingdom; the Ohio State University, the Universities of Iowa, Michigan, and Texas in the United States. His books include: *Meanings of War and Peace*; *Peace Against War: The Ecology of International Violence* and *Integration and Disintegration in NATO: Processes of Alliance Cohesion and Prospects for Atlantic Community* as well as related monographs on *The Political Economy of Alliances* and *How Much War in History*. He has edited *Alliances: Latent War Communities in the Contemporary World*. He has co-edited with Christ'l De Landtsheer *Metaphorical World Politics* and, with Robert Hariman, *Post-Realism: The Rhetorical Turn in International Relations*. He has published articles in the *American Communication Journal*, *American Journal of Psychology*, *American Political Science Review*, *Atlantic Quarterly*, *Clio's Psyche*, *e-International Relations*, *Études Internationales*, *International Interactions*, *Global Discourse*, *International Organization*, *International Studies Notes*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Memetics*; *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, *Peace and Change*, *Peace and Conflict*, *Peace Psychology Review*, *Political Communication*, *Political Psychology*, *Politics and the Life Sciences*, *POROI Journal*, *Review of General Psychology*, *Review of International Studies*, *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, and *Social Epistemology*. He has been President of the International Studies Association/West and co-edited with Ted Gurr a series of Sage books on "Violence, Conflict, Cooperation." Professor Beer has received numerous grants and awards including Fulbright research grants to France and the Netherlands. He has served as Chair of the Boulder Faculty Assembly. He is listed in *Who's Who in the World* and *Who's Who in America*. His present interests center on meaning, metaphor, and myth in international relations with a particular concern for war and peace. Further information is available at the following websites:

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francis\\_Beer](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francis_Beer)

<http://spot.colorado.edu/~beer/>

<https://colorado.academia.edu/FRANCISBEER>

[https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Francis\\_Beer/publications](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Francis_Beer/publications)

<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/>

<https://francisbeer.wordpress.com/category/mythic-america/>

## Career Narrative: Major Findings

### **War and Peace Research**

Beer's work has specialized on the nature, causes, and consequences of war and peace. He has authored articles in the *Oxford International Encyclopedia of International Peace* and in the *World Encyclopedia of Peace*. He has contributed to knowledge about war and peace in several different areas.

**Historical Statistics of War and Peace**—He found that periods of major peace have tended to become longer over time. Wars have generally become shorter, but more serious in terms of their destructive power. These are general tendencies. Trends are less clear for smaller, individual samples, for example the war and peace experience of the United States. [2]

**Peace Against War**--Global actors join through multiple political, economic, social, communication, cultural, technological links that have tendencies toward both peace and war. Actors create clusters of cooperation, some of which are universal, like the United Nations system. Some of these are partial, like the European Community. These universal and partial communities may come into conflict and often contain a military dimension. Actors link themselves through agreed laws of war and peace; they form international alliances; they provide military assistance; they trade in weapons; they develop shared military symbols and events; they share media reports of international violence. The networks thus constitute communities with tendencies toward both fighting between communities and peace within them. [3]

**Alliances as Latent War Communities**— Beer showed more specifically how actors joined in political-military alliances like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization NATO, for example, create partial international communities that have both integrative and disintegrative effects. They help maintain peace internally among members, but are prepared to wage war against external actors. Alliance institutions provide a structure through which state members contribute various kinds of resources and receive both collective and private goods. Such a complex, cross-cutting political economy is essential in constructing and maintaining these alliances. Alliance leaders act as political entrepreneurs, deploying consensual ideology to mobilize supporting coalitions and weaken opposing ones, particularly during periods of crisis. [4] [5]

**Political Economy of War and Peace**—In addition to his institutional work on the political economy of alliances, Beer also explored integrative and disintegrative behavior in trade, energy, and environmental behavior. He showed how partial international groupings disintegrated over time as more powerful, central states drifted away from the former colonial associates and how diverse energy production and needs enhanced conflict and worked against shared cooperative interests in a common global environment. [6]

**Rhetoric of War and Peace: Post-Realism**—The standard discourse of international relations is realism, which focuses on states in conflict as the core or world politics. Beer,

together with Robert Hariman of Northwestern University developed post-realism as an alternative theoretical perspective on international relations. Post-realism emphasizes that there are multiple actors, not just states, in the global network. Though such actors are concerned with power, as realism suggests, they have a much wider range of motivations and activities. One such set of resources is talk, and post-realism focuses particularly on discourse in the conduct and study of international relations. For post-realism, realism in international relations is a form of social scientific and political rhetoric. It opens rather than closes a debate about what is real and what is realistic in international relations. [7] As part of the post-realist project, Beer undertook additional studies on semantics, metaphors, and myths of war and peace.

**Semantics of War and Peace**--He found that major concepts like war and peace are not semantically stable and fixed. Instead they constantly shift their meanings in different contexts. Further, central scientific terms like reason, validity, truth, and reality vary in a similar way. Political debate over war and peace swims in this sea of semantic fluidity, which makes critical thinking about war and peace particularly difficult. Political leaders skillfully maintain ambiguity or shift meanings in semantic stratagems to persuade audiences. They thus generate support for findings and policies about war and peace that followers might otherwise resist. [8]

**Metaphors of War and Peace**--Metaphors are also an important part of the rhetorical universe of war and peace. Working together with Christ'l De Landtsheer of the University of Antwerp, Beer explored their place in world politics. For example, the international system has been framed as a network, international communities as houses, states as people, and nations as families. War has been seen as a disease, peace as health, and war/peace research as an extension of medical epidemiology. Alternatively, war is often conceived as a competitive game, for example poker or football. Metaphorical framing has important policy implications. [9]

**Myths of War and Peace**--Metaphors also entail myths. These are widely believed narratives; stories to go with the images. When the stories become dominant in societies, they are called myths. These myths may be true or false to a varying extent, but, more importantly, they are widely believed to be true stories of the way that the world is. They not only describe, explain, and predict war and peace. They also include scripts about appropriate actions. One of the more important such stories is international realism.

**Media Networks of War and Peace**—Another series of studies, with G.R. Boynton at the University of Iowa, explored the role of globalizing media networks with regard to war and peace. Globalizing media networks, like BBC World News, CNN World News, and Aljazeera, are emerging actors in the domain of war/peace. They are building a new platform for diffusing news. As they tell stories, they themselves become part of those stories, which are an element in a wider globalizing system and culture of war and peace [10].

**Psychology of War and Peace**--Beer's early work on the psychology of war and peace focused on the evolution of global consciousness and bonding, as well as patterns of

loyalty and alienation to different levels of political community. Later, he worked together with Alice F. Healy and Lyle E. Bourne, Jr. at the University of Colorado, investigating individual responses to simulated media reports of military and terrorist attacks. In a series of psychological laboratory experiments, they found that responses to international attacks are dynamic and complex. They change over time and are influenced by several factors. Responses are partly related to the identity and behavior of the attacker--for example, whether the attacker is a conventional military force or a terrorist actor, the number and scale of attacks, target characteristics (military, economic, cultural), and prior behavior of the attacker. Such prior behavior might include whether the attacker is a democratic state or has signed a peace treaty. Responses are also influenced by individual background attributes like gender, personality, and prior knowledge. One of the most disturbing findings is that there appears to be no psychological nuclear firebreak when responding to conventional attacks. Respondents seem to see high level conventional and nuclear weapons in the same linear continuum of force, with no threshold between them. [11]

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## Curriculum Vitae

June 1, 2018

**FRANCIS ANTHONY BEER****1. Personal**

Boulder, Colorado

**2. Degrees**Ph.D. (1967), M. A. (1963)  
University of California, Berkeley

Major: Political Science

Fields: International Relations, Political Behavior, Political Theory, Public  
Administration

Languages: French, German

A. B., Cum Laude, (1960)  
Harvard College, CambridgeMajor: Government  
Fields: Political Theory and Comparative Government

### 3. Academic Appointments

Professor Emeritus, Department of Political Science  
University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, 1975-2005

Professor, Department of Political Science  
University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, 1975-2005

Associate Professor, Department of Government, University of Texas, Austin,  
1970-1975

Assistant Professor, Department of Government, University of Texas, Austin,  
1967-1970

### 4. Visiting Appointments

Visiting Professor, Institut d'Études Politiques, University of Bordeaux, Bordeaux  
France, 2003

Visiting Fellow, Centre for International Studies, History Faculty, University of  
Cambridge, England, 1982.

### 5. Honors, Awards and Grants

University of Colorado, Boulder Faculty Assembly, Award for Excellence in  
Service, 2003.

University of Colorado, International Affairs Program, Outstanding Professor,  
March 1997.

C-SPAN Conference Grant, " January 1992.

C-SPAN Faculty Development Grant, "The Persian Gulf Debates," April 1991.

University of Colorado, Council on Research and Creative Work, Small Grant.  
"Congressional Hearings and Foreign Policy Making," Spring 1991.

National Endowment for the Humanities Fellow, University of Iowa, Project on  
the Rhetoric of Inquiry, \$15,000. "The Rhetoric of Reason in International  
Relations," Fall 1990.

University of Colorado, College of Arts and Sciences, Dean's Writing Prize for  
Best Article, "War Cues and Foreign Policy Acts" (with A. F. Healy, G. P.  
Sinclair, and L. E. Bourne, Jr.), *American Political Science Review*, 81,3  
(September 1987): pp. 701-716.

Institute for World Order, program development grants, 1974-1977 (with Oran Young, Elise Boulding) (\$225,000).

National Endowment for the Humanities summer research grant, 1972.

Earhart Foundation Research Grant, 1972.

Fulbright Research Professor, John F. Kennedy Institute, Eindhoven University of Technology, The Netherlands, 1971.

Inter-University Consortium for Political Research, Postdoctoral Scholar, University of Michigan, summer 1978.

Mershon Program for Education in National Security, Doctoral Fellowship, Ohio State University, 1966-1967.

Fulbright Fellowship, Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, Paris, 1965-1966.

Heller Grant, University of California, Berkeley, 1960-1961.

Undergraduate Scholarship, Harvard College, 1957-1958.

## 5. Publications

### a. Books and Monographs

*Metaphorical World Politics* (Francis A. Beer and Christ'l de Landtsheer, Eds.) (East Lansing MI: Michigan State University Press, 2004).

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## **b. Internet**

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Academia  
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### c. Videos

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 Serving with the Peace Corps in Mali.*  
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### d. Articles, Chapters, Review Essays, and Notes

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#### e. Public Media

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"An American Heart of Darkness," (with Joseph B. Juhász). *Boulder Weekly* (May 7-13, 2009) <http://www.boulderweekly.com/20090507/perspectives.html>

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## **f. Teaching Materials**

"Conflict and Peace Studies as a Field," *Peace and World Security Studies: A Curriculum Guide* (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner).

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## **g. Book Reviews**

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Danielle Celermajer "The Sins of the Nation and the Ritual of Apologies," *Political Psychology* 12/2010; 31(6):951-952.

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Siobhan McEvoy-Levy, "American Exceptionalism and U. S. Foreign Policy: Public Diplomacy at the End of the Cold War," *American Political Science Review* 96, 3 (September 2002): 693-694.

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Martha Nussbaum, "Poetic Justice: The Literary Imagination and Public Life," *American Political Science Review* 90, 3 (September 1996): 636-637.

Keith J. Holyoak and Paul Thagard, "Mental Leaps: Analogy in Creative Thought," *American Political Science Review* 89, 3 (September 1995): 745-746.

William P. Kreml, "Psychology, Relativism, and Politics," *Political Psychology* 16, 3 (September 1995): 635-637.

Roger D. Masters, "Beyond Relativism: Science and Human Values," *Political Psychology* 16, 3 (September 1995): 635-637.

Falk, Richard, "Explorations at the End of Time: The Prospects for World Order," *American Political Science Review* 87, 2 (June 1993): 540.

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- Young, Nigel, "An Infantile Disorder," *Journal of Politics*, 41, 1979: 273-274.
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- Pfaltzgraff, Robert, "The Atlantic Community," *American Political Science Review*, 64, 3 (September) 1970: 974-975.

## **6. Professional Meetings**

### **a. Chair**

Panel on "After the CNN Effect: Global Communication, National Foreign Policies, and Diplomacy" International Studies Association, San Francisco CA, March 2008.

Panel on Political Communication, International Society for Political Psychology, Lund, Sweden, July 15-18, 2004.

Panel on "Conflict, Governance, and the Internet," International Studies Association, Montreal, Canada, April 2004.

Panel on "Perspectives in Foreign Policy Analysis," International Studies Association, Portland OR, 2003.

Panels on "Political Rhetoric, Violence, and Meaning," Rhetoric Society of America, Las Vegas, 2002.

Panel on "Debate on Rationality and Constructivism," International Studies Association, Minneapolis, 1998.

Panel on "Scientific Uncertainty," International Political Science Association, Seoul, Korea, 1997.

Panel on "Security Issues: Defining the Boundaries of 'Europe'," International Studies Association, Toronto, 1997.

Panel on "Beyond Reason: New Visions of World Order," American Political Science Association, San Francisco, 1996.

Panel on "Experiments in International Relations Research," International Studies Association, Washington DC, 1994.

Panel on "War of Words/Words of War," International Studies Association, Acapulco, Mexico, 1993.

Panel on "Rhetoric and Foreign Policy," American Political Science Association, Chicago, 1992.

Panel on "Refiguring Realism," Western Political Science Association, San Francisco, 1992.

Panel on "Refiguring Realist Themes," International Studies Association, Atlanta, 1992.

Panel on "Contemporary Peace Movements," International Studies Association, Vancouver B. C., 1991.

Panel on "Strategic Discourse," American Political Science Association, Atlanta, 1989.

Panel on "Decision Support Systems," International Studies Association, St. Louis, 1988.

Panel on "Current Research in Artificial Intelligence," American Political Science Association, Chicago, 1987.

Panel on "Cognitive Psychology in International Relations," International Studies Association, Washington, D.C. 1987.

Panel on "International Peace, Conflict, and Change," International Studies Association/West, Vancouver, 1986.

Panel on "Peace/War Decisions: Causes and Consequences," International Studies Association/West, Los Angeles, 1985.

Panel on "Arms Control: The Problem of Nuclear Weapons," International Studies Association, Washington, D.C. 1985.

Panel on "Peace, War, and Cognition," International Studies Association, Atlanta, 1984.

Panel on "Peace/War Research," International Studies Association/ West, Seattle, 1983.

Panel on "The International Peace Movement," International Studies Association, Mexico City, 1983.

Panel on "Peace and War," International Studies Association, Philadelphia, 1981.

Plenary Follow-up Session, "Realism Revisited," International Studies Association, Los Angeles, 1980.

Panel on "Global Crisis and Choice," Western Political Science Association, San Francisco, 1976.

Panel on "Peace, Violence, and the World System," Western Political Science Association, Seattle, 1975.

## **b. Papers and Presentations**

"Globalizing Diplomacy in Public and Iranian Nuclear Weapons" (with G. R. Boynton). International Studies Association, San Francisco CA, March 2008.

"Globalizing Terrorism and the Internet" (with G. R. Boynton). Jan Tinbergen European Peace Science Conference. Amsterdam, June 2007.

<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/peace-science2007/war-words-amsterdam01.html>

“Picture Framing: Images of War, Protest, and Flags on the Aljazeera in Arabic Website.” (with G. R. Boynton). International Studies Association, Chicago, March 2007. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.19184.46085

<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/flags-isa-2007/flags.html>

“What Would Arnold Do Now: Masculine and Feminine Men and Women React to Experimental Terrorist Attacks” (with Alison Aylward, Alice F. Healy, and Lyle E. Bourne, Jr.). International Society for Political Psychology, Barcelona, Spain, July 12-18, 2006; International Studies Association, San Francisco CA, March 2008.

“Globalizing Resistance: Global Media and the Political Psychology of Oppression and Resistance” (with G. R. Boynton). International Society for Political Psychology, Barcelona, Spain, July 12-18, 2006.

<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/cartoonprotests/cartoonprotest.html>

“Globalizing Walls” (with G. R. Boynton). International Society for Political Psychology, Barcelona, Spain, July 12-18, 2006.

<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/walls/globalizingwalls.html>

“North-South Globalization and Action Initiatives: Multiple News Media in The Emerging Global Communication Space” (with G. R. Boynton), International Studies Association, San Diego, March 2006.

<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/NS20061026/NS20061026.html>

“Global Media Diplomacy and Iranian Nuclear Weapons” (with G. R. Boynton), Peace Science Society (International), Iowa City IA October 2005.

<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/globalizingdiplomacy/globalizingdiplomacy.html>

“After the Second Iraq War: Bad News, Good News” (with G. R. Boynton), APSA Political Communication Pre-Conference, Washington DC, August 2005.

<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/preconference2005/index.html>

“Globalizing Anguish: What War Becomes in an Age of Global News” (with G. R. Boynton), Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2005.

<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/anguish/index.html>

“Globalizing Democracy: Good News, Bad News” (with G. R. Boynton), International Studies Association, Honolulu, Hawaii, March 2005.  
<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/democracy/speakingdemocracy.html>

“Terrorist Attacks, Media Effects, and Democratic Responses” (with Alison Aylward, Alice F. Healy, and Lyle E. Bourne, Jr.), International Studies Association, Honolulu, Hawaii, March 2005.

“Leading with Blood in the Streets: Global Broadcasters, Protesters, and Democratic Leaders” (with G. R. Boynton), October 2004

“Rhetoric, Democracy, and Offensive Speech,” International Colloquium on Rhetoric and Democracy: About an African Athens,” Capetown, South Africa, June 8-15, 2004; Foundations Workshop on Political Myth, Rhetoric, and Symbolism, American Political Science Association, September 2004.

“Global Communication, Democracy, and the Language of Protest,” (with G. R. Boynton), American Political Science Association, September 2004.

“Public Reactions to Newspaper Reports of Armed International Conflicts,” (with Lyle E. Bourne, Alice F. Healy) (presented by Lyle E. Bourne), International Committee of the Red Cross, Conference on War and Peace: Social Psychology Approaches to Armed Conflicts and Humanitarian Issues, September 9-11, 2004, Geneva, Switzerland.

“Globalizing Hegemony and Resistance: Words and Images of Terror and Protest” (with G. R. Boynton), International Society for Political Psychology, Lund, Sweden, July 15-18, 2004.  
<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/ghr/index.html>

“Globalizing Sympathy” (with G. R. Boynton), International Studies Association, Montreal, Canada, April 2004.

<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/isa2004/index.html>  
<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/sympathy/index.html>

“Globalizing Leadership” (with G. R. Boynton), Rhetoric Society of America, Austin TX, May 2004.

The Rhetoric of Global Leadership: Cooperating, Crusading, and Preparing for War” (with G. R. Boynton)  
<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/globalleader/index.html>

“Globalizing Resistance” (with G. R. Boynton),



<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/report/globalizeresistance00.html>

“The Globalization of Sympathy and Action” (with G. R. Boynton), **American Forensic Association/National Communication Association**, Summer Conference on Argumentation, Alta UT, 2003.

“Globalizing Political Action: Building bin Laden and Getting Ready for 9/11” (with G. R. Boynton), **American Political Science Association**, 2003.  
<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/apsa2003/index.html>  
<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/binladen/index.html>

“Globalizing Geography” (with G. R. Boynton), **Western Political Science Association**, Denver CO, 2003.

“The Geography of Global Communication” (with G. R. Boynton).  
<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/space/geography00.html>

"Globalizing Resistance" (with G. R. Boynton), **International Studies Association**, Portland OR, 2003.  
<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/cartoonprotests/cartoonprotest.html>

"Political Rhetoric and World Politics," **International Studies Association**, Portland OR, 2003.

“War, Peace, and Rhetoric,” **Rocky Mountain Communication Association**, Boulder CO, 2003.

“From Behind the Lines” (with G. R. Boynton), **American Political Science Association**, Boston MA, 2002.

“Globalizing Terror” (with G. R. Boynton), **American Political Science Association**. Boston MA, 2002.

"Metaphors, Environments, Terrorisms," **International Society of Political Psychology**, Berlin, Germany, 2002.

“Rhetorics, Metaphors, and Terrorists,” in “The Rhetoric of 9/11 and its Aftermath” (Symposium), **Rhetoric Society of America**, Las Vegas NV, 2002.

“What War Becomes” (with G. R. Boynton), **Rhetoric Society of America**, Las Vegas NV, 2002.  
<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/what-war-becomes/WARBECOMES01.HTML>

Global Media Meta-Story (with G. R. Boynton).2002.

<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/global-media/globalmediaintro01.html>

“Visual Communication of War and Peace” (with G. R. Boynton), International Studies Association, New Orleans LA, 2002.

“Theoretical Trajectories in International Relations: Networks and Circles,” International Studies Association, New Orleans LA, 2002.

“Learning War,” (with G. R. Boynton), International Society of Political Psychology, Cuernavaca, Mexico, 2001.

"Thinking and Talking about Dying" (with G. R. Boynton), International Society of Political Psychology, Cuernavaca, Mexico, 2001.

“How History Becomes US” (with G.R. Boynton)

"Dictators and the International Free Press" (with G. R. Boynton), International Studies Association, Los Angeles CA, 2000.

“Terrorists and Democrats” (with Alice Healy, Joshua Hoffman, Lyle Bourne), International Society of Political Psychology, Seattle, 1999.

“Seattle Poster Child for Protest” (G. R. Boynton).

<http://inpress.lib.uiowa.edu/globalizingcommunication/globaleconomy-seattle/globaleconomy01.html>

"In Search of Excitement" (with G. R. Boynton), Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago IL, 1999; Washington DC, 1999.

"Paths through a Conversation," (with G. R. Boynton), International Society of Political Psychology, Amsterdam, 1999.

"Metaphorical Meaning, and Political Power" (with Christ'l de Landtsheer), International Society of Political Psychology, Amsterdam, 1999.

"Metaphorical World Politics" (with Christ'l de Landtsheer), International Society for the Study of Argumentation, Amsterdam, 1998.

"International Communication and Global Community: The World View of CNN WorldView" (with G. R. Boynton), International Studies Association, Minneapolis, 1998; American Political Science Association, Boston MA, 1998.

"Traveling Together Down the Information Superhighway: Conversations about Politics, Language, and Distance Learning" (with G. R. Boynton), American Political Science Association, Washington DC, 1997.

"Decision Science in Complex Societies: Psychological Laboratory Experiments on International Conflict and Cooperation" (with A. F. Healy, G. P. Sinclair, L. Bourne), International Political Science Association, Seoul, Korea, 1997; International Society for Political Psychology, Krakow, Poland, 1997; American Association for the Advancement of Science, Baltimore MD 1996; International Studies Association, San Diego CA, 1996.

"Post-Realism, Just War, and the Gulf War Debate" (with Robert Hariman), International Society for Political Psychology, Krakow, Poland, July 1997.

"Post-Realism, Just War, and the New World Order" (with Robert Hariman), British International Studies Association, Leeds UK, December 1997; International Political Science Association, Seoul, Korea, 1997; American Political Science Association, San Francisco CA, 1996; International Studies Association West, Boulder, Colorado, 1995; Speech Communication Association/American Forensic Association, Alta, Utah 1995.

"Words of War: Terms, Concepts, and Levels of Discourse," International Society for the Study of European Ideas, Haifa, Israel 1998; European Consortium for Political Research, Second Pan-European Conference in International Relations, Paris, France 1995; International Sociological Association, Bielefeld, Germany, July 1994; International Political Science Association, Berlin, Germany, August 1994 (delivered by George Graham), Seoul, Korea, 1997.

"Women's Words: Gender and Rhetoric in the Congressional Gulf War Debate" (with Laura Brunell), A World in Transition: Feminist Perspectives on International Relations, An Interdisciplinary Conference," Lund, Sweden, June 14-16, 1996 (made available by Erika Svedberg); International Studies Association, San Diego CA, 1996; International Studies Association West, Boulder, Colorado, 1995.

"Speaking about Dying" (with G.R. Boynton), Speech Communication Association/American Forensic Association, Alta, Utah 1995; American Political Science Association, 1994.

"Between Maastricht and Sarajevo: European Identities, Narratives, Myths" (with Jeffrey S. Kopstein), Second Pan-European Conference in International Relations, Paris, France 1995; European Community Studies Association, Washington D.C. 1993; International Society for Political Psychology, Santiago de Compostela, Spain, July, 1994; International Society for the Study of European Ideas, Haifa, Israel, 1998, Graz, Austria, August, 1994 (delivered by Brigitte Boyce); American Political Science Association, 1994.

"Peace Agreement, Intransigent Conflict, Escalation Trajectory: A Psychological Laboratory Experiment" (with A. F. Healy, G. P. Sinclair, L. Bourne), American Psychological Association, Los Angeles CA, August 1994; International Society for Political Psychology, Santiago de Compostela, Spain, July 1994; International Studies Association, Washington D.C. March 1994.

"The Rhetoric of Politics and Politics of Rhetoric: The Debate Over the Debate in the Gulf War" (with Mark I. Lichbach and Barry J. Balleck), American Political Science Association, 1994.

"Beer and Quiche in the Fast Lane: Signaler's Dilemma, Democratic Debate and the Gulf War" (with Mark I. Lichbach and Barry J. Balleck), American Political Science Association, 1993.

"Body, Mind, and Soul in the Gulf War Debate" (with Barry J. Balleck), International Studies Association, Acapulco, Mexico, 1993; International Society of Political Psychology, Cambridge MA, July 1993.

"Realist/Idealist Texts: Psychometry and Semantics" (with Barry J. Balleck), Western Political Science Association, San Francisco, 1992.

"Realistic Foreign Policy Communication: A U.S. Senatorial Conversation on Cambodia" (with G. R. Boynton), International Peace Research Association, Kyoto, Japan, 1992.

"Realistic Rhetoric but not Realism: A Senatorial Conversation on Cambodia" (with G. R. Boynton), International Studies Association, Atlanta, 1992; International Society of Political Psychology, Cambridge MA, July 1993.

"Reasons," American Political Science Association, Atlanta, 1991.

"What Would Happen If...? Exploring the Minefields of U. S. Cambodian Policy" (with G. R. Boynton), International Studies Association, Vancouver B.C., 1991.

"Ranking International Cooperation and Conflict" (with J. Ringer, A. F. Healy, G. P. Sinclair, and L. E. Bourne, Jr.), American Political Science Association, San Francisco, California, 1990.

"Political Validity," American Political Science Association, 1989, Atlanta, Georgia.

"Experiments on Conflict and Cooperation," Shambaugh Conference on Communication, Conversation, Political Judgment, and Action; University of Iowa, Ames, Iowa, 1988 (invited).

"War Cues and Foreign Policy Acts in South Korea" (with Aran Park, Kun Park, A. F. Healy, G. P. Sinclair, and L. E. Bourne, Jr.), American Political Science Association, Washington, D. C., 1988.

"War Cues and Conflictual Foreign Policy Acts: A Laboratory Experiment" (with A. F. Healy, G. P. Sinclair, and L. E. Bourne, Jr.), American Political Science Association, Chicago, 1987; International Society for Political Psychology, Amsterdam, Netherlands, 1986.

"A Global Events Hypertext?" DDIR Events Data Conference, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1987 (invited).

"The Anti-Nuclear Weapons Movement: Policy, Action, and Research," International Peace Research Association, Sussex, England, 1986.

"The European Peace Movement and NATO," Dwight D. Eisenhower Library Conference on Leadership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Abilene, Kansas, 1982 (invited).

"The Epidemiology of Peace and War," American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 1977.

"How Much War in History?" Western Political Science Association, Denver, 1974.

"The Political Economy of Alliances," American Political Science Association, Chicago, 1971.

"Energy, Environment, and International Integration," John F. Kennedy Institute, Sixth International Colloquium on Energy Needs and Environmental Problems, Tilburg, The Netherlands, 1971 (invited).

"Integration and Disintegration in NATO," International Studies Association, San Francisco, 1969.

### **c. Discussant**

Panel on Locating the Media in Constructivist Theory, International Studies Association, Honolulu, Hawaii, March 2005.

Panel on Political Communication, International Society for Political Psychology, Lund, Sweden, July 15-18, 2004.

Panel on Experimental International Studies," International Studies Association, Montreal, Canada, April 2004.

“Allies and Enemies,” Conference on the Prospect of Presidential Rhetoric, Texas A&M University, College Station TX, March 4-7, 2004.

Panel on “Theories of International Relations,” Western Political Science Association, Denver, 2003.

Roundtable on “The Current Status of Experimental Research in the Field of International Relations,” International Studies Association, Portland OR, 2003

Panel on “The News of the World and How it is Constructed,” International Studies Association, Portland OR, 2003.

Panel on “Communication and the Construction of Political Meaning,” American Political Science Association, San Francisco, 2001.

Panel on "Debate on Rationality and Constructivism," International Studies Association, Minneapolis, 1998.

Panel on "Security Issues: Defining the Boundaries of 'Europe'," International Studies Association, Toronto, 1997.

Panel on "Refiguring Realist Theorists," International Studies Association, Atlanta, 1992.

Panel on Alternative Perspectives on the Study of Foreign Policy, International Studies Association, Vancouver B. C., 1991.

Panel on U. S. Military Intervention, American Political Science Association, San Francisco, 1990.

Panel on The Binding Triad, International Studies Association, St. Louis, 1988.

Panel on "Altruism and Atrocity," American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 1986.

Panel on "Arms Control and the Atlantic Community," American Political Science Association, New Orleans, 1985.

Panel on "The International System: Structure and Change," American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C. 1984.

Panel on "U. N. Year of Peace," International Studies Association, Atlanta, 1984.

Panels on "Alliances," "Peace Studies," International Studies Association, Lexington, 1974.

Panels on "New Directions in the Study of International Organizations," American Political Science Association, New York, 1969.

Conference on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, University of Missouri, St. Louis, 1969.

Conference on the Atlantic Community, Committee on Atlantic Studies, Quebec, Canada, 1968.

Conference of Atlantic Young Political Leaders, Racine, 1968.

## **7. Public Lectures**

"War and Peace in the 21st Century," Public lecture in series on War sponsored by the Center for Humanities and the Arts, British Studies Room of Norlin Library, University of Colorado, Boulder, January 22, 2004.

"The Meaning of War and Peace," Project on the Rhetoric of Inquiry Colloquium, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1998.

"Decision Science in Complex Societies: Psychological Laboratory Experiments on International Conflict and Cooperation" (with A. F. Healy, G. P. Sinclair, L. Bourne), University of Amsterdam, Netherlands, 1997.

"Talking War and Peace: Realism and Rhetoric in American Foreign Policy Discourse," Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, 1996.

"Post-Realism, Just War, and the New World Order," Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa 1995.

"Between Maastricht and Sarajevo: European Identities, Narratives, Myths," Dickinson College, Carlisle Pennsylvania, 1994.

"The Psychology of Peace and War: The Persian Gulf Debates," Maharishi International University, Fairfield, Iowa, 1991.

"Validities," "Reasons," "Paths through a Conversation" (with G. R. Boynton), Project on the Rhetoric of Inquiry, University of Iowa, 1990.

"Is Peace Possible?" Green River Community College, Auburn, Washington, 1987.

"Nuclear Weapons and World Order," Wichita State University, 1985.

"Nuclear Weapons and the Anti-Nuclear Weapons Movement," University of New Orleans, 1984.

"International Relations and Peace Research," Mills College, Oakland, California, 1983.

"Toward a Simulation Model of Peace and War," Science Center, Berlin, 1983.

"The Study of International Relations in the United States," University of Cambridge and Bradford University, England, 1983.

"The Nature and Causes of Peace and War," University of Bradford, University of Cambridge, University of East Anglia, and University of Lancaster, England, 1983.

## 8. Editorial Activity

- a. Editor (with Ted R. Gurr)  
*Conflict, Violence, Peace: An International Series of Books.*  
Sage Publications, 1990-1993.
- b. Assistant Editor  
*Journal of Politics*, 1968-1971.
- c. Editorial Board  
*Perspectives* (Prague), 2010-  
*Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, 1997-2009
- d. Panel of Reviewers  
*Mershon International Studies Review*, 1993.
- e. Referee for:  
*American Journal of Political Science*  
*American Political Science Review*  
*Canada Council*  
*Canadian Journal of Political Science*  
*Central European Review of International Affairs*  
*European Journal of International Relations*  
*European Journal of Political Research*  
*International Studies Quarterly*  
*Journal of Conflict Resolution*  
*Journal of International Relations and Development*  
*Journal of Memetics*  
*Journal of Peace Research*  
*Journal of Politics*  
*Journal of Theoretical Politics*



*Peace and Change*  
*Political Communication*  
*Political Psychology*  
*Political Research Quarterly*  
*Politics and the Life Sciences*  
*Presidential Studies Quarterly*  
*Rhetoric and Public Affairs*  
*Social Science Quarterly*  
*Western Political Quarterly*

National Science Foundation  
 National University Press Book Award  
 Research Council of Canada  
 Sage Publications  
 St. Martin's Press  
 University of Chicago Press  
 University of Denver, Graduate School of International  
 Studies, Monograph Series in World Affairs  
 University of Texas Press  
 W. H. Freeman

## **9. Administration**

- a. University of Colorado
  - Director of Graduate Studies, Political Science Department, 1993-1995.
  - Director, Conflict and Peace Studies Program, 1975-1977.
- b. University of Texas
  - Director, International Studies Program, 1973-1975
  - Chairman, Committee on International Studies, 1973-1975.
  - Director, World Order Program, 1974-1975.
  - Undergraduate Advisor, Department of Government, 1972-1974.
  - Chairman, Undergraduate Curriculum and Program Committee,  
 Department of Government, 1972-1974.
- c. International Studies Association
  - Director, Electronic Network and Archive, Foreign Policy Section.
- d. Experiment in International Living
  - Director, Academic Year Program, Tunis, 1969-1970.

## **10. External Service and Activities**

- a. Colorado
  - Colorado Coordinating Commission for Higher Education,  
 Colorado Faculty Advisory Committee, 1999-2000

Colorado University Faculty Leaders Association, 1999-2000, 1994-1995  
 Governor of Colorado, Front Range Project,  
 Visions Task Force, 1980.

- b. International Political Science Association  
 Research Committee 29, Psychopolitics
- c. International Society of Political Psychology  
 Governing Council, 1999-2002.  
 Nominating Committee, 1999
- d. International Studies Association  
 Advisory Committee, International Communications Section  
 Executive Committee, 1986-1988.  
 Governing Council, 1983-1988.  
 Committee on Information Systems, 1994-1996  
 Constitutional Revision Committee 1987-1988.  
 Karl W. Deutsch Award Committee, 1987-1990, (Chair), 1987-1988.  
  
 Nominating Committee (Chair), 1983.  
 Program Chair, Peace Studies Section, 1986.  
 Task Force on Future Goals, 1974.
- d. International Studies Association/West  
 President, 1984-1986.  
 Program Chair, 1984-1986.
- e. Western Political Science Association  
 Program Chair for International Relations, 1987.
- f. Tenure and Promotion Referee  
 Arizona State University  
 Louisiana State University  
 New York University  
 Ohio State University  
 Purdue University  
 UCLA  
 University of Denver  
 University of Illinois  
 University of Nevada  
 University of Oregon  
 University of Southern California  
 University of Washington  
 Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State  
 University

## g. Associations

American Political Science Association  
 International Political Science Association  
 International Society for Political Psychology  
 International Studies Association  
 National Communication Association  
 Rhetorical Studies Association

## h. Listings

American Men and Women of Science  
 Contemporary Authors  
 Dictionary of International Biography  
 Directory of American Scholars  
 International Directory of Distinguished  
 Leadership  
 International Who's Who of Professionals  
 Men of Achievement  
 Who's Who (Sterling)  
 Who's Who among Human Services Professionals  
 Who's Who in America (Marquis)  
 Who's Who in American Education (Marquis)  
 Who's Who in the West (Marquis)  
 Who's Who in the World (Marquis)

**11. University Service**

## a. University of Colorado

## i. University-wide

## Regents

Annual Budget Retreat, 1994, 1999  
 Compensation Committee, 1993-1994

## Faculty Council

Chair, Committee on Public Service and Information 1994-1995  
 Budget Committee, 1993-1994  
 Executive Committee, 1999-2001, 1993-1995.

## ii. Boulder Campus

## Chancellor's Committees

Budget Director Recruitment Committee, 1993-1994  
 Campus Executive Committee, 1999-2001  
 Excellence Task Force, Subcommittee on Costs, 1993-1994

Salary Equity Committee for Women and Minorities, 1986, 1990.  
Salary Process Committee, 1994.

#### Vice Chancellor's Committees

Council of Deans, 1999-2001

#### Boulder Faculty Assembly

Chair, Boulder Faculty Assembly, 1999-2001.

Chair, Budget Committee, 1993-1994.

Administrative Restructuring Committee, 1993-1994

Budget Committee, 1991-1998

Executive Committee, 1999-2000, 1993-1994

Faculty Representative 1983-1985, 1995-1998

#### iii. College of Arts and Sciences

Center for Interdisciplinary Studies

Executive Board, 1979-1986.

Conflict and Peace Studies Committee, 1975-1990.

Institute for Behavioral Science

Research Associate, 1975-1986.

International Affairs Committee, 1983-1992.

Program Review Process, Internal Review Committee

Eastern European and Slavic Studies, 1991.

Psychology, 1996

#### iv. Political Science Department

Center for International Relations

Board of Directors, 1982-present.

Curriculum Review Committee, 1991-1992.

Director of Graduate Studies, 1993-1995

Environmental Hazards Committee, 1988-1990.

Executive Committee, 1976-1978, 1981-1983, 1992-1994.

Graduate Admissions and Awards, 1985-1987, 1993-1995,

Chair, 1984-1985.

Graduate Curriculum Committee, 1991-1995. Chair, 1993-1995.

Recruitment Committee.

Chair for International Relations, 1983-1984, 1992-1993.

Undergraduate Curriculum Committee, 1975-1976.

## 12. Teaching.

### Courses Taught

Alliances

Alternative World Futures

American Foreign Policy

Causes of International Violence  
Conflict and Peace Studies  
French Politics and Culture  
Future of Colorado  
International Organization  
International Political Communication  
International Politics since World War II  
International Violence and Political Choice  
International Violence and Political Psychology  
Introduction to International Relations  
Myth and International Violence  
Myth and Society in North Africa  
North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
Peace Research  
Politics and Language  
Politics and Literature  
Violence in International Politics