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The Canadian Political Science Association/Association canadienne de Science politique et/and La Société québécoise de Science politique



SPECIAL CPSA ISSUE  
EDITION SPECIALE DE L'ACSP

RETURN ADDRESS:

The Canadian Political Science Association, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5B6

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ELECTION 1982  
PRELIMINARY PROGRAMME/  
PROGRAMME PRELIMINAIRE

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PUBLISHERS/EDITEURS: The Canadian Political Science Association/Association canadienne de Science politique and/et La Société québécoise de Science politique: Co-Editors/Co-directeurs: CPSA/ACPS: V. Seymour Wilson, Canadian Political Science Association, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5B6 Telephone: 1-613-231-7160; SqSp: Michel de la Durantaye, Département de Science politique, Université d'Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5 Téléphone: 1-613-231-3350.

CANADIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION  
ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE DE SCIENCE POLITIQUE

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REVUE CANADIENNE DE SCIENCE POLITIQUE

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FRED FLETCHER (YORK)

# BIOGRAPHIES

## PRESIDENT-ELECT/PRESIDENT-ELU

### BY/PAR ACCLAMATION

**CAROLINE ANDREW:** Teaches Political Science at the University of Ottawa. Born in Toronto in 1942. Primary and secondary schooling in Vancouver. University training: BA in Political Science from the University of British Columbia, 1964; Maîtrise en Sciences sociales, Université Laval, 1966; Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Toronto, 1975.

Professional career: Research Assistant, Canadian Council of Resource Ministers, 1966-67; Research Assistant, Royal Commission on Bilingualism; 1967-68; Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Ottawa, 1971-75, Assistant Professor, 1975-1978; Associate Professor, 1978 to the present.

Professional involvement: Editor of the Bulletin of the Canadian Political Science Association/Société québécoise de science politique, 1972-75; Member, CPSA Board of Directors, 1975-77; Member, Board of Directors of the Société québécoise de science politique, 1978; Member, CPSA Committee on the Profile of the Profession, 1973; Member, CPSA Committee on the Status of Women in the Discipline, 1980-81.

Community involvement: President of the Housing Committee, Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton, 1978 to the present; Vice-President, Social Planning Council of Ottawa-

Carleton, 1979 to the present; Member, Board of Directors of Maison d'Amitié, a transition house for battered women, 1978-81; Member, Board of Directors, Community Legal Services/Clinique juridique communautaire, 1979-80.

Publications - Books: Les élites politiques, les bas-salariés et la politique du logement à Hull, Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1976, with André Blais and Rachel Des Rosiers; L'Urbanisation; une affaire, Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1981, with Serge Bordeleau and Alain Guimont.

Articles: "Le logement public à Hull", Canadian Political Science Review VIII-3 (September 1975), with André Blais and Rachel Des Rosiers; "Le rapport Fullerton: perspective de la science politique", Canadian Public Policy, 1-2 (Spring 1975); "L'information sur le logement public à Hull", Recherches sociographiques, XVI-3 (1975), with André Blais and Rachel Des Rosiers; "The Regulators", with Réjean Pelletier, in The Regulatory Progress in Canada, G.B. Doern (ed), MacMillan, 1978; "Les échelons et la formulation des politiques", Canadian Public Administration, XX-2, (Summer 1977), with André Blais and Rachel Des Rosiers; "Ottawa: Progressives in Power" in After the Developers, James Lorimer and Carolyn MacGregor (eds.), James Lorimer and Company, 1981.

## MEMBERS-AT-LARGE/DIRECTEURS

### 5 TO ELECT/A ELIRE

**KEITH G. BANTING:** Keith Banting is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of British Columbia. Born in Guelph, Ontario in 1947, he completed his B.A. (Hons.) at Queen's University, and then went on to study at Nuffield College, Oxford, completing his D. Phil in 1975. A specialist in comparative public policy, his publications include Poverty, Politics and Policy: Britain in the 1960s (Macmillan, 1979), and The Welfare State and Canadian Federalism (McGill-Queen's, 1982). At the moment, he is on leave from U.B.C., and serving as Associate Director of the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations at Queen's University.

**PHILIPPE FAUCHER:** Professeur adjoint au département de science politique de l'Université de Montréal. Langues: français, anglais, portugais, espagnol. Etudes: 1972: baccalauréat (licence) en économie et science politique de l'Université McGill; 1974: maîtrise de science politique de l'Université McGill; 1974: certificat d'études de 3e cycle de l'Institut d'Etudes du Développement Economique et Social de Paris, option économie internationale; 1975: scolarité de doctorat à l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes de Paris (directeur d'études: M. Alain Touraine); 1977: doctorat de sociologie politique de l'Université de Paris. Directeur, Association canadienne d'études latino-américaine (Montréal); Membre du Conseil SqSp, 1981-1982. Publications récentes: Le Brésil des militaires: l'Etat et la structure du pouvoir dans un régime autoritaire, 1981, Presses de

l'Université de Montréal; O Estado e os militares no Brasil (titre provisoire) (version portugaise du livre français) (à paraître) Editions Graal, Rio de Janeiro, Brésil; "The Paradise that Never was: The Breakdown of the Brazilian Authoritarian Order" dans Authoritarian Capitalism: Brazil's Contemporary Economic and Political Development 1981, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado

**JEAN-GUY FINN:** Professeur agrégé au Département de science politique de l'Université de Moncton, Nouveau-Brunswick, il est diplômé du Collège de Bathurst (B.A., 1967) et de l'Université d'Ottawa (Bac sc. soc., 1969 et M.A. science politique, 1973). Domaines de spécialisation: politique canadienne, administration publique comparée et politique des groupes minoritaires. Il a été stagiaire parlementaire (canadien) en 1971 et a participé à la vie administrative publique canadienne à titre de membre d'organismes gouvernementaux fédéraux et provinciaux. Présentement en congé de l'Université de Moncton, il agit comme Agent de liaison pour le Nouveau-Brunswick et l'Ile-du-Prince-Edouard au sein du Bureau des relations fédérales-provinciales.

**ROGER GIBBINS:** Roger Gibbins, who is 34 years old, holds a B.A. from U.B.C. and a Ph.D. from Stanford University. He is Associate Professor of Political Science at The University of Calgary. He has published widely in the field of Canadian Politics, particularly regarding Western regionalism and native people in Canada. He has written three books: Prairie Politics and Society: Regionalism in Decline (1980), Regionalism: Territorial Politics in Canada and the United States (1982), and, with J.R. Ponting, Out of Irrelevance: A Socio-Political Introduction to Indian Affairs in Canada (1980).

**WILLIAM P. IRVINE:** William P. Irvine, associate professor at Queen's University. Does research on voting, parties and methodology. Active in establishing links with European political scientists. Presently chairman of a CPSA committee to plan the next workshop with the ECPR and member of the CPSA selection committee for the Essex summer school. Has been a member of a CPSA programme committee.

**William Leiss:** B.A. (History), Fairleigh Dickinson University 1960; M.A. (History), Brandeis University 1963; Ph.D. (Philosophy), University of California, San Diego 1969; Assistant and Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Regina, 1968-73; Associate and Full Professor, Faculty of Environmental Studies and Department of Political Science (Faculty of Arts), York University, 1973-75 and 1976-79; Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Toronto, 1975-76; Professor and Chairman, Department of Communication, Simon Fraser University 1980-present; author, The Domination of Nature (1972), The Limits to Satisfaction (1976), and journal articles; editor, Ecology versus Politics in Canada (1979).

**EDWARD MCWHINNEY:** Q.C., Professor at Simon Fraser University, has been an Assistant Professor at Yale University, and has held full Chairs at Toronto, McGill, and Indiana Universities, as well as teaching as a Visiting Professor (in Law and Social Sciences) in major Universities in France, Germany and other countries. He has been a constitutional adviser to the Ontario, Quebec, and federal Governments; Royal Commissioner of enquiry to the Quebec and B.C. Governments; and consultant to the United Nations and a number of foreign Governments. He is the author of 14 books on Constitutional Law and International Law, and editor of nine symposium volumes in the same fields. He is a Membre titulaire of the Institut de Droit International. He served as Special Adviser to the Canadian Delegation to the 36th Annual Session of the United Nations General Assembly (Fall of 1981). His most recent books are "Quebec and the Constitution" (1979); "Conflict and Comprise. International Law and World Order in a Revolutionary Age" (1981); and "Constitution-Making. Principles, Process, Practice" (1981). A joint book with three Quebec authors, (Edmond Orban, Gérard Bergeron, and Gérard Beaudoin), "Mécanismes pour une nouvelle Constitution", has been published at the end of 1981.

**LIISA NORTH:** Associate Professor, Political Science, York University; Acting Director, Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean, (CERLAC). Chairperson, Ontario Cooperative Programme in Latin American and Caribbean Studies (OCPLACS), 1978-80. Ph.D. Political Science, University of Berkeley. Author: Civil-Military Relations in Argentina, Chile and Peru (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966); Co-editor, Democracy and Development in Latin America (Toronto: CERLAC/LARU, 1980); Co-author, The Peruvian Revolution and the Officers in Power (Montreal: Centre for Developing Area Studies, 1981); Author, Bitter Grounds: The Roots of Revolt in El Salvador (Toronto: Between-the-Lines Press, forthcoming January 1982); "The Military in Chilean Politics," Studies in Comparative International Development (Vol. XI, No. 1, 1976); "Political Conjunctures, Military Government and Agrarian Reform in Peru," in L. Alschuler (ed.), Agriculture and the Politics of Capital Formation in Latin America (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980); "The Peruvian Revolution: Ideological Orientations of the Officers in Power" in A. Lowenthal and C. McClintock (eds.), The Peruvian Experiment Revisited (Princeton: Princeton University Press, forthcoming, 1982) as well as other articles, reports and reviews.

**MARTIN ROBIN:** Born in Winnipeg, Manitoba and received a B.A. at the University of Manitoba and M.A. and Ph.D. at the University of Toronto. Married, three children. Taught for three years at Queen's University, as lecturer and assistant professor. Currently, professor in the Political Science Department at Simon Fraser University. Visiting appointments in the Centre for Canadian Studies, Duke University, and Department of Political Science, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel. Published assorted articles in leading Canadian journals as well as authored or edited six books in the areas of labour politics, Canadian social and political history, B.C. politics and provincial politics.

**ANDRE VACHET:** Professeur titulaire, département de science politique, Université d'Ottawa, né: Nomingue (Québec). Etudes: Doctorat, Université de Paris-Nanterre (1968). Enseignement et recherche: Philosophie politique, analyse de idéologies. Principales publications: L'idéologie libérale, l'individu et sa propriété, Editions Anthropos, Paris (traduction espagnole, Editorial Fundamentos, Madrid, 2 vol.); Les idéologies au Québec, Bibliothèque nationale du Québec, (en collaboration avec Denis Monière); "La démocratie bloquée: les ambiguïtés du pluralisme politique", dans Le pluralisme, Pluralism: its meaning today, Fides. Principales activités professionnelles: Directeur du département de science politique, Université d'Ottawa (1973-1976); Président de la Société québécoise de science politique (1972-1973); Vice-président de l'ACSP (1974-1975); Président de la Fédération Canadienne des Sciences sociales (1978-1979); Membre du Bureau des gouverneurs de l'Institut canadien d'études publiques (1978-1981).

**REGINALD WHITAKER:** Associate Professor, Carleton University. Author of The Government Party: Organizing and Financing the Liberal Party of Canada, and of articles on Canadian politics and political thought. Founding member and editorial co-ordinator of the journal Studies in Political Economy. Present research interests include Canadian political ideology in its historical context, Canadian federalism and political parties, and the development of Western liberalism as an ideology. Awarded a SSHRC research leave time grant for 1982-83 to study the origins of the Cold War in Canada and its effects on Canadian political culture and ideology."

## NEXT ISSUE/PROCHAIN NUMERO

L'actualité et autres reportages du "Bulletin" apparaîtront dans la prochaine édition (XI, iv, fin Mai 1982)

Il y aura un compte rendu des discussions au sujet de la cotisation de l'ACSP à la Fédération canadienne des sciences sociales. Les membres seront appelés à voter sur cette question lors de la réunion annuelle celle année.

Community news and other regular "Bulletin" features will return in the next issue (XI, iv, end May, 1982)

Watch also for a full discussion of the Social Science Federation membership question upon which you will be asked to vote at this year's AGM.

### PLANNING YOUR FUTURE?/CONGRES A VENIR:

- AGM/RGA - 1983: University of British Columbia
- 1984: University of Guelph
- 1985: Université de Montréal



# SOME ANNOUNCEMENTS/ QUELQUES RENSEIGNEMENTS

## INDO-CANADIAN POLITICAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION

Les personnes qui ont participé à l'atelier conjoint à Hyderabad au mois d'août dernier ont fondé une Association - "Indo-Canadian Political Studies Association" afin d'encourager les relations entre les politologues des deux pays. Toutes personnes intéressées sont priées de se joindre à nous pour une réunion déjeuner qui aura lieu mardi le 8 juin à midi. L'endroit sera spécifié dans le programme final.

Members of the Association interested in politics in India please take note. The participants in the joint workshop in federalism held at Hyderabad in August 1981 formed an organisation at that time called the Indo-Canadian Political Studies Association, to encourage further contacts between political scientists in the two countries. I have scheduled a lunch-hour meeting of the new Association during the Learned's on Tuesday, June 8 at noon. The location will be announced in the final programme.

Jon Pammett (Carleton)  
Canadian Co-ordinator.

University of British Columbia  
School of Community & Regional Planning, and  
Westwater Research Centre

## FACULTY VACANCY: ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, NATURAL RESOURCES (POLICY, PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT)

**DUTIES:** To teach graduate courses in the core of the program concerned with regional planning and integrated resources management for students in the School of Community and Regional Planning and in the interdisciplinary Resource Management Sciences program. Emphasis is to be placed on political/institutional aspects, policy making and planning processes. Duties include supervision of graduate student research and developing a major research initiative related to resource management in western and northern Canada within the Westwater Research Centre and in association with faculty in the School.

### QUALIFICATIONS:

Ph.D. in Planning or Resources Management with knowledge in Political Science, Public Administration or related discipline. Some professional experience desirable.

### APPOINTMENT:

This is a tenure track position at the Assistant Professor level. Salary range \$30-33,000 per annum (current scale). Starting date July 1, 1982 or July 1, 1983. In accordance with Canadian immigration requirements, priority will be given to Canadian citizens and permanent residents of Canada.

Apply before May 31, 1982 to:

B. Wiesman, Director  
School of Community & Regional Planning  
University of British Columbia  
6333 Memorial Road  
Vancouver, B.C. V6T 1W5  
Canada

## FURTHER ON GUEST PROFESSORSHIP IN CANADIAN STUDIES

re: Guest Professor for Canadian Studies  
Free University of Berlin  
John F. Kennedy-Institute for North American Studies

The Canadian Federal Government and the Free University of Berlin have recently agreed upon establishing a guest professorship in Canadian studies at the Free University of Berlin.

### 1. Framework

The professorship is to be located at the John F. Kennedy-Institute for North American Studies (in cooperation with other interested Departments). The John F. Kennedy-Institute for North American Studies is an interdisciplinary institute devoted to teaching and research related to North America, i.e. Canada and United States. Its faculty include about 20 senior and junior scholars in the fields of literature and culture, political science, history, geography, economics, sociology, and linguistics. Students are, on the one hand, future high school teachers of (North American) English but, also, students in the departments of political science, history, etc. who develop a special emphasis on North America within their respective fields. The Kennedy-Institute has a good library (ca. 109.400 volumes of books, periodicals and 286.000 microforms). Its Canadian component, however, needs further improvement and the Canadian guest scholars might help in this respect. For some time the Canadian Government has been supporting the library with books, source and video materials.

Plans are to invite scholars according to the following schedule:

1982 - history	1983 - political science
1984 - geography	1985 - literature
(subject to extension of the program)	

The final selection among applications will be made, with the assistance of a Canadian advisory group, by a specially created committee of the Free University of Berlin.

### 2. Responsibilities

The appointment will be for one semester per year, either for the summer term (from early April through mid-July) or the winter term (from mid-October through mid-February). The appointee will be expected to teach one survey course (lecture plus discussion period), one undergraduate seminar and one graduate seminar ("Proud Hauptseminar"), equalling approximately eight hours (1 "hr" 45 minutes) per week.

Working language is English or German (there is a separate Romance language department).

### 3. Terms of the grant

The grant consists of a lump sum of Can. \$15.000 per semester. Out of this amount the appointee will have to pay for travel, housing, insurance, etc. The University housing office, however, will either offer a furnished apartment in one of the University guest houses if the visit is arranged well in advance (prices range between DM 280 - 720 - ca. 900 for a one - two -three-room apt.), or its good offices in finding other accommodation. It is up to the appointee to arrange for a travel grant from third sources.

Applications or enquiries regarding further details should be addressed to:

The Chairman (Der Vorsitzende des Institutsrates)  
John F. Kennedy-Institute for North American Studies,  
Lansstraße 5-9, 1000 Berlin 33, West Germany.

# PRELIMINARY PROGRAMME/ PROGRAMME PRELIMINAIRE

CANADIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION/  
ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE DE  
SCIENCE POLITIQUE

54TH ANNUAL MEETING/  
CINQUANTE-QUATRIEME CONGRES ANNUEL  
UNIVERSITE D'OTTAWA UNIVERSITY

JUNE 7,8,9 JUIN

1982

PROGRAMME COMMITTEE COMITE DU PROGRAMME

CHAIR/PRESIDENT: FRED FLETCHER (YORK)  
VICE-PRESIDENT: KENNETH CARTY (UBC)

SECTION HEADS/CHEFS DE SECTION:

CANADIAN POLITICS/ POLITIQUE CANADIENNE	Reg Whitaker (Carleton) Glen Williams (Carleton)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> POLITICAL ECONOMY/ ECONOMIE POLITIQUE	James Sacouman (Acadia)
PROVINCIAL POLITICS & REGIONALISM/ POLITIQUE PROVINCIALE ET REGIONALISME	John Terry (Erindale, U of T)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS/ RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES	Don Munton (Canadian Institute of International Affairs)
PUBLIC POLICY, ADMINISTRATION AND LAW/ POLITIQUE PUBLIQUE, ADMINISTRATION PUBLIQUE ET DROIT PUBLIC	Marsha Chandler (U of T)	LOCAL AND URBAN POLITICS/ POLITIQUE LOCALE ET URBAINE	Don Higgins (St. Mary's)
POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY/ SOCIOLOGIE POLITIQUE	André Blais (Montréal)	SPECIAL THEME/THEME SPECIAL	
POLITICAL THEORY/ IDEOLOGIE POLITIQUE	Shadia Drury (Calgary)	POLITICAL SCIENTISTS IN GOVERNMENT/ LES POLITICOLOGUES AU GOUVERNEMENT	Audrey Doerr (SFU)
COMPARATIVE POLITICS/POLITIQUE COMPAREE		PLENARIES AND SPECIAL SESSIONS/SESSIONS PLENIERES ET SPECIALES	
THIRD WORLD (AND CO- ORDINATOR OF SECTION/ SYSTEMES DU TIERS MONDE (ET CHARGE DE SECTION)	Maureen Coveil (SFU)	ONTARIO POLITICS/ LA POLITIQUE ONTARIENNE	Robert Drummond (York)
WESTERN SYSTEMS/ SYSTEMES DE L'OUEST	Kenneth Carty (UBC)	POLITICS OF REGULATION/ POLITIQUE ET REGLEMENTATION	Richard Schultz (McGill)
SOCIALIST SYSTEMS/ SYSTEMES SOCIALISTES	Paul Marantz (UBC) Lenard Cohen (SFU)	POLITICS OF THE CONSTITUTION/ POLITIQUE ET LA CONSTITUTION	Reg Whitaker (Carleton)
		LOCAL REPRESENTATIVE/ REPRESENTANT LOCAL	Clinton Archibald (Ottawa)

PLEASE NOTE: This is a preliminary programme only and as such is subject to change. The final programme will be available at the CPSA registration desk at the time of the sessions. Enquiries about the programme should be made through:

Le programme final sera disponible au bureau des inscriptions de l'ACSP lors des réunions. Ceci est le programme préliminaire et si des changements sont nécessaires ils apparaîtront dans le programme final. Prière d'adresser toutes demandes de renseignements à:

Mrs. Joan Pond, Administrator, CPSA, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, K1S 5B6, GJ  
téléphoner à 1-613-231-7160

SESSION/PÉRIODE 1:

9:30-11:30 a.m., Monday, June 7  
9h30-11h30, lundi, 1e 7 juin

1A

FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND DEPENDENCY

Joint session with the Comparative Politics Section/Session conjointe avec la section politique comparée

Chair/Président: TBA

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Maureen Molot (Carleton)  
Rianne Mahon (Carleton)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Michael Clow (York), "Canadian Political Economy and the International Underdevelopment and Dependency Debate".

Paul F. Rulison (Brandeis) "The Role of FIRA in Canadian Domestic Politics."

1B

NO SESSION

1C

INTEREST GROUPS IN THE POLICY PROCESS

Chair/Président: J.R.S. Prichard (Law, U of T)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Robert Paehlke (Trent)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Nukhet Kardam (UBC), "Interest Group Power vis-à-vis Government Regulation in The Case of the Mining and Insurance Industries in B.C. (1972-1975)".

Dieter Hoehne (Dalhousie), "The Politics and Development of Legal Aid: The Role of the Nova Scotia Barristers Society as a Pressure Group".

1D

ELECTORAL POLITICS

Chair/Président: Guy Bourassa (Montréal)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Duff Spafford (Saskatchewan)  
TBA

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Marianne Stewart (Duke), "A Test of The West: Political Alienation, Political Support".

1E

PLATO

Chair/Président: Paul Norton (SFU)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Tom Lewis (McMaster)  
Leon Craig (Alberta)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Barry Cooper (Calgary), "A Lump Bred up in Darkness': Tellurian Themes in The Republic".

Zdravko Planinc (York), "The Image of the Philosopher - King in the Institutions of Magnesia: A Reading of Plato's Laws".

1G(i)

SEE/VOIP 1A

Joint session with Canadian Politics Section/Session conjointe avec la section politique canadienne.

1G(ii)

POLICY MAKING IN CHINA: THE LIMITS TO RADICALISM AND REFORM

Chair/Président: V. Falkenheim (U of T)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

TBA

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Jeremy Paltiel (U. of California, San Diego), "Tensions and Compromises in the Chinese reform process: Fits and starts on a march of 10,000 Li".

D. Zweig (Michigan), "Limitations on Agrarian Radicalism in China: Local Interests and Opposition to Changing the Levels of Ownership and Accord".

1J

CAPITAL IN GENERAL

Chair/Président: Patricia Connelly (Saint Mary's)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Paresh Chattopadhyay (UQAM)  
George Warskett (Carleton)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Michael Lebowitz (Economics, SFU), "The Theoretical Status of Monopoly Capital".

1K

MANAGING CONFLICT WITH INTERNATIONAL REGIMES AND ORGANIZATIONS (CO-SPONSORED BY CPREA)

Chair/Président: Paul Buteux (Manitoba)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Alan Alexandroff (McGill)

1:15-3:15 p.m., Monday, June 7  
13h15-15h15, lundi, le 7 juin

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Renata Wielgosz (York), "Status Theory and the Effects of Institutionalization on Conflict and Co-operation in the EEC and Comecon".

Michael Lerner (Carleton), "A Dynamic Analysis of United Nations Control of the Spread of Conflicts".

1L

THE ROLE OF THE PROVINCE IN MUNICIPAL REORGANIZATION

Chair/Président: TBA

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Allan O'Brien (UWO)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Stuart Fyfe (Queen's), "Provincial-Municipal Relations and the Local Government Boundary Problem".

Geoffrey Weller (Lakehead), "Politics and Administration of Amalgamation: The Case of Thunder Bay".

**SPECIAL SESSIONS/  
SEANCES SPECIALES**

CANADIAN COMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATION PANEL  
CO-SPONSORED BY THE CPSA

PLENARY SESSION

LIFE AFTER THE KENT COMMISSION

Participants TBA

.....  
ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

LANGUAGE POLICY IN ONTARIO

Chair/Président: Clinton Archibald (U of Ottawa)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Don Stevenson (Government of Ontario)  
Max Yalden (Official Languages  
Commissioner, Government of Canada)

LUNCH MEETINGS/REUNIONS DEJEUNER?

12 NOON/12h.

or/ou

As announced in the final programme/  
telles qu'annoncées dans le programme final

2A

ENERGY POLICY

Chair/Président: TBA

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

TBA

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

C. Ruthven (Queen's), "Energy Development and Intergovernmental Relations in the Canadian and American West: A Challenge for Federalism".

Ted Schrecker (Consultant, Ottawa), "Strategic Planning Versus Clientele Satisfaction: Nuclear Power in Canadian Energy Policy".

2B

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

ONTARIO POLITICS

Chair/Président: John Terry (U of T)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Robert Drummond (York)  
Sylvia Bashevkin (York)  
John Tory (Principal Secretary to  
Premier of Ontario)  
Jo Surich (Waterloo)

2C

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

CROWN CORPORATIONS IN THE 80'S

Chair/Président: John Langford (U. of Victoria)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

TBA

2D

ISSUE PUBLICS

Chair/Président: Jean Crête (Laval)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

William Irvine (Queen's)  
Lawrence LeDuc (Windsor)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

David J. Elkins (UBC), "The Structure of Issue Publics".

2E(i)

HOBBS

Chair/Président: Paul Marshall (Institut. for Christian Studies)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Ross Rudolph (York)  
William Mathie (Brock)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

D.J.C. Carmichael (Alberta), "The Right of Nature in Leviathan".

Ian Box (Mt. Allison), "Science and Political Science: Baconian Elements in Hobbes' Civil Philosophy".

2E(ii)

FEDERALISM AND DEMOCRACY

Chair/Président: John Seaman (McMaster)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Roger Gibbins (Calgary)  
Patrick Neal (U of T)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Douglas Verney (York), "The 'Reconciliation' of Parliamentary Supremacy and Federalism".

Reginald Whitaker (Carleton), "Federalism and Democratic Theory".

2G(i)

MINORITY LANGUAGE RIGHTS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Chair/Président: David Rayside (U of T)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

K.D. McRae (Carleton)  
André Martin (office de la langue française, Québec)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Jean Laponce (UBC), "Linguistic Minority Rights and Political Geography".

2G(ii)

POLICY MAKING IN THE SOVIET UNION

Chair/Président: Lenard Cohen (SFU)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

TBA

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

H. Biddulph (U. of Victoria), "The CPSU Congress and the Soviet Policy Process: Patterns of Interest Articulation".

2J

UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT AND CLASS

Chair/Président: Mel Watkins (U of T)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Rick Williams (Dalhousie)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Henry Veltmeyer (Sociology, St. Mary's), "Surplus Labour and Class Formation on the Latin American Periphery".

Wallace Clement (Sociology, Carleton), "Region and Class in Canada: The Basis of Resistance".

2K

THE NEW COLD WAR AND THE WEST

Chair/Président: Albert Legault (DND)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Rod Byers (York)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Robin Ranger (St. F-X), "The U.S., NATO-Europe and Canada: Perceptual and Substantive Divisions".

2L

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

URBAN DIRECTIONS FOR SOCIALISTS I: THE THEORY

Chair/Président:

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Jack Layton (Ryerson)

## SPECIAL SESSIONS/ SEANCES SPECIALES

CANADIAN COMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATIONS PANELS  
CO-SPONSORED BY THE CPSA

N.B. Time: 1-3 p.m.

1. THE QUEBEC REFERENDUM

Chair/Président: TBA/A venir

Participants: W.C. Soderlund (U. of Windsor)  
Walt Romanow (U. of Windsor)  
Peter Halford (U. of Windsor)  
Adrien van den Hoven (U. of Windsor)  
André Caron (Montréal)  
Karen Spierkel (CRTC)



*Room 219 / Pauline Hamouray*

2. NEW WORLD INFORMATION ORDER

Chair/Président: Thames McPhail (Calgary)

Participants: Tom Kent (Dalhousie University and Chairman, Royal Commission on Newspapers)

Betty Zimmerman (CBC and Member McBride Commission)

SESSION/PÉRIODE 3

3:30-5:30 p.m., Monday, June 7  
15h30-17h30, lundi, le 7 juin

3A

NATION AND PROVINCE

Chair/Président: Martin Robin (SFU)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

TBA

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Ian Urquhart (UBC), 'Complementarity': "A Forgotten Dimension of Nation-Building/Province-Building Interaction".

Robert MacDermid (UBC), "An Economic Interpretation of Federal-Provincial Relations: The Development of Fiscal Policy in Ontario".

3B

PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS

Chair/Président: Patrick Kyba (Guelph)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

John Wilson (Waterloo)  
Stewart Hyson (Memorial)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Harold Chorney & Phil Hansen (U of T), "Neo-Conservatism, Social Democracy and 'Province-Building': The 1981 Manitoba Provincial Election".

Agar Adamson (Acadia), "The 1981 Nova Scotia Provincial Election: Observations and Comments".

3C

DOMESTIC POLITICS AND FOREIGN POLICIES

Chair/Président: TBA

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Garth Stevenson (Alberta)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Grace Skogstad (St. F-X), "Protectionism Versus Continentalism in Canadian Agricultural Policy".

Lily Gardner Feldman (Tufts), Elliot J. Feldman (Brandeis), "Policies of Unity and Policies Toward the U.S.". 

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3D

PARTY IDENTIFICATION

Chair/Président: Roger Gibbins (Calgary)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Richard Johnston (UBC)  
Jane Jenson (Carleton)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Joseph F. Fletcher (U of T), "Cognitive Aspects of Party Identification". 

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3E

POLITICAL THOUGHT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Chair/Président: Gordon J. Schochet (Rutgers)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Istvan Hont (Cambridge)  
Douglas Long (UWO)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

C. Fyfe (Queen's), "The English Jacobins on the Theory and Practice of Political Change".

T.E. Kuhn (U of T), "Fiction and Science in Hume's Concept of Justice". 

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3G

COMPARATIVE FEDERALISMS

Chair/Président: Ron Watts (Principal, Queen's)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Herman Bakvis (Dalhousie)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Alain Gagnon (Carleton), "Le fédéralisme en pays multicomunautaires: un construit théorique mis à l'épreuve

William D. Graf (Guelph), "Nigeria's Second Republic".

John Warhurst (Australian National University), "The Role of Central Agencies in Australian Federal-State Relations". 

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BUILDING AN INDIGENOUS SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

## ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

Co-sponsored with the Committee on Socialist Studies

A discussion of the "Committee of 100's Manifesto by members of the Committee and other socialists across Canada.

Co-ordinator/Co-ordinateur: Duncan Cameron (Ottawa)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

TBA

3K

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

Chair/Président: Franklyn Griffiths (U of T)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Paul Marantz (UBC)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Karen Ørvik (Guelph), "Threat Evaluation and the Comparative Soviet Periphery".

Sylvia Edgington (Manitoba), "Analysing Soviet Behaviour in the Third World: Initiative Opportunity and Functionality".

3L

## ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

THE REAL WORLD OF LOCAL POLITICS:  
POLITICAL SCIENTISTS AS LOCAL  
POLITICIANS AND CONSULTANTS

Chair/Président: Robert Williams (Waterloo)

Discussant(s)/ Commentateur(s):

George Betts (UNB)

**SPECIAL SESSIONS/  
SEANCES SPECIALES**SESSION IPOLICY MAKING AND SOCIAL SCIENCE  
SURVEY RESEARCH

A panel of experts from government  
and private polling agencies

(Session II, June 9, 3:30-5:30)

GROUP MEETINGS/REUNIONS

5:30 COCKTAILS 17h30

CASH BAR/A VOS FRAIS

Room/Pièce: To be announced/ A venir

## THE PUBLIC POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION COMMUNITY

invites you to participate in a

DINNER

in honour of

J.E. (TED) HODGETTS

COCKTAILS 5:30-6:00 p.m.  
DINNER 6:00-8:00 p.m.

TICKETS AVAILABLE

Enquiries to V. Seymour (Vince) Wilson  
School of Public Administration, Carleton  
University, Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5B6

or

Call Joan Pond at the Canadian Political  
Science Association and she will forward  
the message. Telephone: 1-613-231-7160

**PLENARY SESSION/  
SESSION PLENAIRE**SESSION/PÉRIODE 4

8:30 p.m. 10:30 p.m.  
20h30 22h30

Monday, June 7/lundi 7 juin

THE POLITICS OF CULTURAL REGULATION

Chair/Président: Richard Scultz (Centre  
for Study of Regulated  
Industries, McGill  
University)

Panelists/ Participants:

John Meisel (Chairman, CRTC)  
A.W. Johnson (President, CBC)  
Alain Gourde (Président, Radiodiffusion  
Mutuelle)  
Pat McGeer (Minister of Universities, Science  
and Communications, B.C.)  
E.S. Rogers (President, Rogers Cablesystems)

SESSION/PÉRIODE 5

9:30-11:30, Tuesday, June 8  
9h30-11h30, mardi, le 8 juin

5A

PRE-CONFEDERATION THOUGHT

Chair/Président: TBA

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Rainer Knopff (Calgary)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

D.J. Smith (Dalhousie), "Origins of Judicial Review in Canada".

Janet Ajzenstat (McMaster), "An Argument for the Social Utility of Inequality: The Mixed Regime".

5B

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

STABILITY AND CHANGE: ASPECTS OF POLITICS  
IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1969-1979

Chair/Président: TBA

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Neil Swainson, Norman Ruff,  
Terry Morley, Jeremy Wilson,  
Walter Young (U. of Victoria)

5C

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

CANADIAN ADMINISTRATIVE THEORY AND PRACTICE

Chair/Président: O.P. Dwivedi (Guelph)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

TBA

5D

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

MARXIST ATTITUDES AND APPROACHES TO ORGANISATION THEORY

Chair/Président: V. Subramanain (Carleton)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

TBA

5E(i)

MEDIEVAL THOUGHT

Chair/Président: Father Owens (Pontifical Institute;  
President, Philosophy Assoc.)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Father Fortin (Boston College)  
Cary Nederman (York)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Jayson Myers (Nuffield), "An Historical Interpretation of Political Theory: Some Medieval Paradoxes".

5E(ii)

SYSTEMS THEORY

Chair/Président: David Easton (Arizona)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Fred H. Eidlin (Guelph)  
Leslie Pal (Waterloo)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

James D. Driscoll (Trent), "Systems Theory Revisited"

5E(i)

POLITICAL CHANGE IN BRITAIN

Chair/Président:

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Nick Baxter-Moore (Carleton)  
Patrick Smith (Acadia)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

George Breckenridge (McMaster), "Policy Change and Political Realignment in Great Britain: The Emergence of the Social Democratic Party".

Munro Eagles (U of T), "Uneven Development Theory and Regional Variations in the Electoral Support for the Scottish National Party".

5G(ii)

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

HUMAN RIGHTS

A Panel in Honour of Professor H. Gordon Skillings: Co-sponsored with the Canadian Association of Slavists.

Chair/Président: Bodhan Harasymiw (Calgary)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

W. Tarnopolsky (U of Ottawa) on "Human Rights: International and National Concerns."

F. Griffiths (U of T) on "The Helsinki Agreement and Eastern Europe."

S. Miller (McMaster) on "Poland".

J. Skvorecky (U of T) on "Czechoslovakia"

THE STATE AND CANADIAN CAPITALISMChair/Président: Larry Pratt (Alberta)Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):Murray Knuttila (Regina)  
David Wolfe (York)Paper(s)/Communication(s):Philip Resnick (UBC), "The Maturing of Canadian  
Capitalism: State Policy in the 1980's."

5K

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDETHE MIDDLE EAST IN THE 1980'S: OPTIONS AND LIMITATIONSChair/Président:Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):Baghat Korany (Montréal)  
Paul Noble (McGill)  
Janice Stein (McGill)  
John Sigler (Carleton)

5L

URBAN DIRECTIONS FOR SOCIALISTS II: THE PRACTICEChair/Président: Jack Layton (Ryerson)Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):Donald Higgins (St. Mary's)  
Jacques Godbout (INRS-UQAM)  
TBAPaper(s)/Communication(s):Terry Fowler (York-Glendon), Neighbourhood Organization  
in Canada and their Impact on Urban Politics 1960-1980.**SPECIAL SESSIONS/  
SEANCES SPECIALES**ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDESTATUS OF WOMEN IN POLITICAL SCIENCEChair/Président: Caroline Andrew (Ottawa)Opening Remarks: Janine Brodie (Queen's and Chair,  
CPSA Standing Committee on the  
Status of Women in the Profession)Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):Jill Vickers (Carleton)  
TBA  
TBALUNCH MEETINGS/REUNIONS DEJEUNER12 NOON/12h  
or/ouAs announced in the final programme/  
telle qu'annoncée dans le programme final

Womens' Caucus

European Politics Group

Indo-Canadian Political Studies Association

Autres à venir?/Others to be announced?

N.B. 11:30 - 1:15  
11h30 - 13h15SPECIAL EVENT/EVENEMENT SPECIALTOUR AND ROUND TABLE  
TOUR ET TABLE RONDETHE LOCAL POLITICAL SCENE IN OTTAWA-HULLCo-Chair/Présidents: Caroline Andrew/Clinton Archibald  
(Ottawa)The purpose of the tour and round-table is  
to introduce people to the major issues and  
actors of Ottawa-Hull local political scene.  
The panel consists of people representing  
local governments from both sides of the  
river, the NCC, and citizen groups. They  
will address the current issues in local  
politics and briefly summarize their views  
on the principal forces influencing  
decision-making in these areas. Lunch will  
be available, and there will be a modest  
fee for transportation.

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SESSION/PÉRIODE 6:1:45 p.m., Wednesday, June 9, 1982/  
13h45, mercredi le 9 juin, 1982PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS/DISOURS PRÉSIDENTIAL

DENIS STAIRS (DALHOUSIE)

SESSION/PÉRIODE 73 p.m. Wednesday, June 9, 1982/  
15h., mercredi le 9 juin, 1982ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING/  
ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE ANNUELLE

(( ! ! ! ))

INVITATION

ROOM TO BE ANNOUNCED/PIECE A VENIR

5:30 p.m./17h30

RECEPTION HOSTED BY THE DEPARTMENT

OF

POLITICAL SCIENCE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA/

RECEPTION OFFERTE PAR LE DEPARTEMENT

DE

SCIENCE POLITIQUE UNIVERSITE D'OTTAWA

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**PLENARY SESSION/  
SESSION PLENAIRE**

SESSION/PERIODE 8:

8:30 p.m.  
20h30

10:30 p.m.  
22h30

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

THE NEW CANADIAN CONSTITUTION:  
RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

Chair/Président: Peter J. Russell (U of T)

Panelists/Participants:

Richard Simeon (Queen's)  
Garth Stevenson (Alberta)  
Donald V. Smiley (York)  
Alan C. Cairns (UBC)  
TBA

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Wednesday, June 9/  
mercredi, le 9 juin

8:30 a.m./8h30

BREAKFAST MEETING  
Réunion petit déjeuner

BOARD OF DIRECTORS CPSA/ACSP CONSEIL D'ADMINISTRATION

1982/1983

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SESSION/PERIODE 9

9:30-11:30, Wednesday, June 9  
9h30-11h30, mercredi, le 9 juin

9A

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

FRAGMENT THEORY

Chair/Président: Peter J. Smith (Athabaska)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Kenneth D. McRae (Carleton)  
S.F. Wise (History, Carleton)  
André Bélanger (Montréal)  
Ralph Nelson (Windsor)  
Ronald H. Wagenberg (Windsor)

9B

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

Joint Session with Canadian Studies Association

POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF REGIONALISM

Chair/Président: Jim Paige (Seneca College)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Mildred A. Schwartz (Illinois)  
Panyotis Soldatos (Montréal)

Paper/Communication:

Roger Gibbins (Calgary), "Regional Politics in the Wake of  
the Canada Act."

9C

PUBLIC POLICY AND THE JUDICIARY

Chair/Président: Carl Baar (Brock)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Barry Strayer (Assistant Deputy  
Minister of Justice)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Rainer Knopff and F.L. Morton (Calgary), "Prospects for  
Judicial Enforcement of the New Canadian Charter of  
Rights".

Ian Greene (Lethbridge), "Judicial Independence and  
Professional Autonomy".

9D

POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT OF MEN & WOMEN

Chair/Président: Janine Brodie (Queen's)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Jon Pammet (Carleton)  
Carol J. Uhlner (California)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Sandra Burt (Waterloo), "Democracies in Conflict:  
Comparison of Men's and Women's Relationships with  
Government".

9E

NIETZSCHE

Chair/Président: Michael Palmer (Alberta)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Pamela Jensen (Kenyon College)  
Father Fortin (Boston College)



Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Leon Craig (Alberta), "Nietzsche's Apology: Some Thoughts about Reading Ecce Homo".

9G(i)

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDECOMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN IN POLITICS

Chair/Président: TBA

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Jane Jenson (Carleton)  
Jill Vickers (Carleton)

12  
9G(ii)INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Chair/Président: T. Rakowska-Harmstone (Carleton)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

M. Kelly (Ministry of State for  
Science and Technology)  
A. Kellett (Department of National  
Defence)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

T. Mitchell (Carleton), "Terrorism in North America:  
The Threat and the Response".

P. Henze (Smithsonian Institute), "International  
Terrorism, The Soviet Linkage".

9J

CRISIS? WHAT CRISIS?: I: ACCUMULATION

Chair/Président: Wilfrid Denis (Saskatchewan)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Martha MacDonald (Mt. St. Vincent)  
Pam Smith (Regina)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Andrew Sharpe (Champlain Regional College), "The  
Evolution of the Rate of Surplus Value, the Rate of  
Profit, and the Organic Composition of Capital in  
Canada".

9K

CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS

Chair/Président: Kim Richard Nossal (McMaster)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Brian Job (Minnesota)  
Harold von Riekhoff (Carleton)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

John Kirton (U of T), David Dewitt (Alberta), "Towards  
a Complex Neo-realist perspective on Canadian Foreign  
Policy".

THE PHILOSOPHICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF  
LOCAL GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

Chair/Président: Harley d'Entremont (Moncton)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

TBA

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Katherine Graham (Queen's), "Local Government in the  
North West Territories".

Trevor Price (Windsor), "Philosophy of Local  
Government Reorganization in Ontario".

SPECIAL SESSIONS/  
SEANCES SPECIALES

*Now: Session 5: 9:30-11:30 a.m.  
Tuesday, June 8*

THE POLITICS OF REGULATORY REFORMPANELISTS:

Harry Arthurs (Osgoode Hall Law School, York Univ.)  
John Langford (School of Public Administration,  
University of Victoria)  
Greg Kane (Strikeman, Elliot and Associates)  
James S. Peterson (M.P.)  
Richard Schultz (Centre for Study of Regulated  
Industries)  
W.T. Stanbury (Faculty of Commerce, UBC)  
Another Political Scientist TBA

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ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDEFREEDOM OF INFORMATION: PROPOSALS FOR LEGISLATION

Chair/Président: Donald C. Rowat (Carleton)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Donald Savage (Canadian Association  
of University Teachers)  
TBA  
TBA

LUNCH MEETINGS/REUNIONS DEJEUNER

12 NOON/12h.

or/ou

As announced in the final programme/  
telle qu'annoncée dans le programme final

1. International Relations Group
2. Political Economy Group
3. CPSA/ACSP Programme Committee 1983  
Comité de programme.
4. Autres à venir/Others to be announced

.....  
SPECIAL EVENT/EVENEMENT SPECIAL

SIMULATING LOCAL POLITICS

A lunchtime caucus and workshop session, conducted by  
Christopher Leo (Winnipeg)

Using a newly-developed simulation (Entitled 'Winnipeg's Core Area Initiative') as an example, this session will discuss how simulation can be used in a university classroom: the purposes that simulations can and cannot serve, how to conduct them, problems to look for and avoid, and the place of simulations in the learning process. The session should interest both those who have used simulation exercises, and those who have not.

SESSION/PÉRIODE 10

1:15-3:15 p.m., Wednesday, June 9  
13h15-15h15, mercredi, le 9 juin

10A

POLITICAL OBLIGATION AND CRIME

Chair/Président:

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Yvan Gagnon (RMC), "Political Obligation, Legality, and the Rise in the Crime Rate in Canada".

10B

ANALYSE DE POLITIQUE AU QUÉBEC

Chair/Président: Ken McRoberts (York)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Benoit Gauthier (Ottawa)  
Iain Gow (Montréal)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Vincent Lemieux (Laval), "L'histoire des lois publiques".  
Edouard Cloutier (Montréal), "Le gouvernement et les sondages"

10C

FEDERALISM AND THE WELFARE STATE

Chair/Président: Christopher Leaman (Brandeis)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Keith Banting (UBC) & (Queen's)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Andrew Johnson (Bishop's), "Federal-Provincial Interaction on Social Spending and Unemployment Insurance in the 70's".

Charles Rachlis (U of T), "A Farewell to Welfare: Fiscal Federalism and Social Security Reform in the 1970's".

10D

CONFEDERATION & POLITICAL INTEGRATION

Chair/Président: Alan C. Cairns (UBC)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

TBA  
Panayotis Soldatos (Montréal)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

R.C. Nelson, R.H. Wagenberg, E.D. Briggs, W.C. Soderlund (Windsor), "Centralization vs. Decentralization: Canadian Confederation as a Case Study of Political Integration".

10E(i)

QUENTIN SKINNER

Chair/Président: William Christian (Guelph)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Frances Abele (Calgary)  
J.W. Gunn (Queen's)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Jeremy Rayner (UBC), "Reconciling History and Theory: The Case of Political Metaphors".

James Tully (McGill), "Quentin Skinner: Method, Work, Criticism".

10E(ii)

HANNAH ARENDT

Chair/Président: Leah Bradshaw (York)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Ken Reshaur (Manitoba)  
Shiraz Dossa (U of T)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Elsebet Jegstrup (U of T), "Spontaneous Action: The Rescue of Danish Jews and Hannah Arendt's Thought".

10G(i)

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

POLITICAL CHANGE IN FRANCE AND GREECE

Chair/Président: TBA

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Philip Resnick (UBC)  
George Ross (Brandeis)

9  
10G(ii)

EAST EUROPEAN INTEGRATION PATTERNS

Co-sponsored with the Canadian  
Association of Slavists

Chair/Président: T. Rakowska-Harmstone (Carleton)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

J. Laux (U of Ottawa)  
R. Selucky (Carleton)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

A Arbonyi (Queen's), "Dependency Relations Among  
Socialist States".

C. Jones (Harvard), "Military Integration".

10J

CRISIS? WHAT CRISIS?:II: ACCUMULATION AND POLICY

Chair/Président: Patricia Marchak (UBC)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Donald Swartz (Carleton)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

J. Overton (Acadia), and A. Rowe (UPEI), "Capital  
Accumulation, Crisis Theory and the Regional Question".

Richard Deaton (Saskatchewan, Dept. of Labour), "  
Economic Development, Social Security and Pension  
Reform in Canada".

10K

CANADA AND GLOBAL RESOURCES

Chair/Président: Annemarie Jacomy-Millette (Laval)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

TBA

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

David G. Haglund (UBC), "The New Geopolitics of  
Minerals".

Jock Finlayson (UBC), "Scarce Natural Resources and  
Canadian Import Policy: The Case of Non-fuel Minerals".

10L

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

LOCAL POLITICAL HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Chair/Président: Filippo Sabetti (McGill)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s): TBA

SESSION/PÉRIODE 11

3:30-5:30 p.m., Wednesday, June 9  
15h30-17h30, mercredi, le 9 juin

11A

IDEOLOGY OF FEDERALISM

Chair/Président: TBA

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Vincent di Norcia (Laurentian), "Federalisms".

F.M. Stark (WLU), "Federalism and National Unity in  
the Political Ideology of Canada".

11B

NO SESSION

11C

THE STRUCTURE AND DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY

Chair/Président: TBA

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

David Siegel (Brock)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Leslie Pal (Waterloo), "The Canadian Unemployment  
Insurance Programme: Dynamics and Structure".

Leslie Bella (Alberta), "The Administrator's  
Contribution to the Right Wing Welfare State: The Case  
of Alberta".

11D

INDIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT

Chair/Président: Peter Aucoin (Dalhousie)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Johanne Duval (Montréal)  
Arthur Moore (UBC)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

J. Anthony Long, Leroy Little Bear, Menno Bolt (Lethbridge), "Barriers to Policy Development: Proposed Federal Policy Toward Indian Government and Perceptions of Self-Government Among Future Indian Leaders".

11E

ETHICS AND PUBLIC POLICY

Chair/Président: Peter Woolstencroft (Waterloo)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Peter Penz (York)  
Allan Nelson (Waterloo)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

William P. Brandon (Rochester), "Non-Rationality and Supra-Individual Ethics: Problems of Ethical Evaluation of Public Policy".

11G

ELECTORAL REFORM

Chair/Président:

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

D. Spafford (Saskatchewan), "P.R. By the Servants' Entrance: the Development of the Single Transferable Vote".

11J

CRISIS? WHAT CRISIS? :III: TECHNICAL-PROFESSIONAL AND STATE LABOUR

Chair/Président: Sharon Yandle (Hospital Employees Union, B.C.)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Rosemary Warskett (Public Service Alliance of Canada)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Anthony Thomson (Acadia), "Contradictions of Public Employee Unionism".

Jan Mayer (Sociology, Lakehead), "The Proletarian Professionals: Contradictory Trends in Post-War Middle Class Labour".

11K

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

INTEREST GROUPS AND PUBLIC POLICIES, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN

Chair/Président:

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Paul Pross (Dalhousie)  
Alfred O. Hero (World Peace Foundation)  
Don Page (External Affairs)  
Denis Stairs (Dalhousie)

11L

COMPARATIVE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Chair/Président: Louise Quesnel-Ouellet (Laval)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

TBA

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Warren Magnusson (U. of Victoria), "The State and Local Government: Anglo-American Conceptions".

## SPECIAL SESSIONS/ SEANCES SPECIALES

SESSION II (cont'd. from Monday, 3:30-5:30)

### POLICY MAKING IN A MULTIDISCIPLINARY ENVIRONMENT: THE ROLE OF POLITICAL SCIENTISTS

A panel discussion by individuals from a number of different disciplinary backgrounds.

## PROGRAMME 1983

### IDEES? SUGGESTIONS?

Write to/Ecrire à:

Chairperson/Président

R.K. Carty  
Department of Political Science  
University of British Columbia  
Vancouver, B.C.  
V6T 1W5

# ABSTRACTS/RESUMES

The abstracts are grouped according to the Programme Section in which they appear. 2A, for instance, means that the paper will be presented in the second time period, 1:15-3:15, Monday, June 7, and that it is in the Canadian Politics section of the Programme.

Les résumés sont catalogués selon la section du programme dans laquelle la communication sera présentée. Par exemple - 2A signifie que la communication sera présentée dans la deuxième session soit de 13h15 à 15h15, lundi le 7 juin dans la section politique canadienne.

SECTIONS WITH PAPERS ARE DESIGNATED AS FOLLOWS/  
LES SECTIONS OU DES COMMUNICATIONS SERONT  
PRESENTEES SONT INDIQUEES COMME SUIT:

- A: Canadian Politics/Politique canadienne
- B: Provincial Politics and Regionalism/ Politique provinciale et régionalisme
- C: Public Policy, Administration and Law/Politique publique, administration publique et droit public
- D: Political Sociology/Sociologie politique
- E: Political Theory/Ideologie politique
- G: Comparative Politics/Politique comparée
- J: Political Economy/L'économie politique
- K: International Relations/Relations internationales
- L: Local and Urban Politics/Politique locale et urbaine

## PAPERGIVERS/AUTEURS DES COMMUNICATIONS

Unless otherwise indicated our best records show that the author is in a Department of Political Science at his/her university.

Nos dossiers indiquent que l'auteur fait partie du département de science politique à l'université mentionnée, à moins d'avis contraire.

Adamson, Agar (Acadia University)	3B
Ajzenstat, Janet (McMaster University)	5A
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Bella, Associate Dean Leslie (Faculty of Education and Recreation, University of Alberta).	11C
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Bolt, Menno (University of Lethbridge)	11D
Box, Ian (Mt. Allison University)	2E(i)
Brandon, William (University of Rochester)	11E
Breckenridge, George (McMaster University)	5G(i)
Briggs, E.D. (University of Windsor)	10D
Burt, Sandra (University of Waterloo)	9D
Carmichael, D.J.C. (University of Alberta)	2E(i)
Chorney, Harold (University of Toronto)	3B
Clement, Wallace (Department of Sociology, Carleton University)	2J
Cloutier, Edouard (Université de Montréal)	10B
Clow, Michael (York University)	1A & 11G
Cooper, Barry (University of Calgary)	1E
Craig, Leon (University of Alberta)	9E
Deaton, Richard (Department of Labour, Government of Saskatchewan)	10J
Dewitt, David (University of Alberta)	9K
Di Norcia (Laurentian University)	11A
Driscoll, James D. (Trent University)	5E(2)
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Feldman, Elliott J. (Brandeis University and University Consortium for Research on North America, Harvard)	3C
Feldman, Lily Gardner (Tufts University and University Consortium for Research on North America, Harvard)	3C
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Fyfe, C. (Queen's University)	3E
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Graf, William D. (University of Guelph)	3G
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Overton, Jim (Department of Sociology, Acadia University)	10J
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Schrecker, Ted (Consultant, Ottawa)	2A	Urquhart, Ian (University of British Columbia)	3A
Sharpe, Andrew (Department of Economics, Champlain Regional College)	9J	Veltmeyer, Henry (Department of Sociology, St. Mary's University)	2J
Skogstad, Grace (St. Francis-Xavier University)	3C	Verney, Douglas (York University)	2E(2)
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		Wielgosz, Renata (York University)	1K&
		Zweig, D. (University of Michigan)	11K
			1G

SECTION: CANADIAN POLITICS/POLITIQUE CANADIENNE

Reginald Whitaker (Carleton)

Session 1A

1A: CANADIAN POLITICAL ECONOMY AND THE INTERNATIONAL UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND DEPENDENCY DEBATE

Michael Clow (York)

The past twenty years have seen an international debate of major proportions on the prospects or lack of prospects for economic development in the "Third World." Over the same period there has been an equally explosive growth in the critical literature grappling with the frustrations and limitations of development in Canada, a country which some authors see as underdeveloped and most as ambiguously exhibiting characteristics of both underdeveloped and developed societies. The relation between these literatures and the concrete situations of Canada and the underdeveloped countries of the Third World is the subject of this paper.

What is concluded is that a strikingly similar spectrum of perspectives have developed in both literatures, parallels that have arisen quite naturally out of common concerns, problems and theoretical points of departure in the traditions of Smith and Marx, although the two literatures have evolved largely in isolation from one another. This author contends that a comparative study of them is valuable and enlightening for students of both Third World and Canadian development.

The international debate sheds much needed insight on the methodological "tools" of analysis Canadian authors have produced but which have been examined with relatively little critical vigour. Wider awareness of the international debate cannot but make more accessible the nature of theoretical disputes amongst various liberal, Left-nationalist and Marxist approaches that are present but rendered indistinct and obscure in the Canadian debate by the dominance of two quite unself-reflective schools of scholarship, namely neo-classical economics and Left-nationalism.

On the other hand, the Canadian literature and the Canadian experience with development can be of considerable assistance in evaluating the merits of rival predictions about the likely course of Third World development or lack of it. Canada can be seen as both an example of how uneven capitalist development can occur in a situation of

dependency and how dependent development tends to assume a partial and unstable character as judged by progress toward a European type of economy based on manufacturing for national and world markets. Especially for optimistic theories and predictions about Third World prospects, Canada provides a limiting test case at the positive end of uneven development.

1A: THE ROLE OF FIRA IN CANADIAN DOMESTIC POLITICS

Paul F. Rulison (Brandeis)

The Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA) generally has been understood by Canadians and Americans within the parameters of Canadian-U.S. relations. Canadian scholars and policy-makers have questioned the sensitivity of U.S. policy-makers over Canada's ability to pursue a process of national self-definition within the context of a high degree of dependence. Americans have been particularly concerned about what they perceive as Canada's renewed policy of nationalism and the impact for transborder investment.

FIRA has been presented and interpreted as an instrument of Canadian foreign policy and a symbol of national unity, protecting national and provincial interests from the adverse effects of foreign direct investment. Conceived as part of the New Economic Policy or "third option" for Canadian-U.S. relations, it represented an effort by the federal government to establish more effective control over the economic environment and obtain greater benefits from foreign investment. Viewed in this fashion, most public policy questions have centered around whether or not FIRA has substantially reduced Canada's vulnerability to the impact of U.S. foreign investment or diversified Canada's economic relations. However, the very provisions of the Foreign Investment Review Act make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to assess the impact of FIRA. What is clear is that the foreign investment process has been institutionalized at the federal level. The Cabinet and federal bureaucracy are now responsible for making investment policy decisions which otherwise would be performed by the provinces. Of increasing policy significance is how this new institutional arrangement has impacted federal-provincial relations.

Little attention has been paid to the role of FIRA in Canadian domestic politics, especially with reference to federal-provincial relations. How do the provinces perceive FIRA's impact? Is FIRA perceived as helping or hindering provincial decision-making? Is FIRA a source of national unity or disunity? This paper will subject these questions to a preliminary test by comparing provincial experiences.

#### SESSION 2A

### 2A: ENERGY DEVELOPMENT AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN THE CANADIAN AND AMERICAN WEST: A CHALLENGE FOR FEDERALISM

C. Ruthven (Queen's)

In Canada and the United States energy policy has been at the forefront of political and administrative concerns since 1973-74. Although the policy problems generated in both countries have been similar in many respects, the government response and intergovernmental conflict and co-operation which has emerged during the past decade has been markedly different. It is argued here that the Canadian provinces are much more active in the energy field than their state counterparts. Specifically, in comparison with the western U.S. states, the provinces in Western Canada exercise more fully the policy instruments at their disposal and they play a greater role in formulating national energy policy. Although the state role is less extensive, the states are by no means inactive in this area and it would be a mistake to ignore their role in the energy field.

The method of analysis consists of a comparison of the provincial and state governments' role in the management of oil and gas resources in the Canadian and American West. The activities of the provinces and states during the past decade are assessed in terms of the use of four major policy instruments: taxation and subsidies, regulatory authority, financing research and development, and public ownership. We weigh the contribution of material, constitutional, and political factors toward explaining the similarities and differences observed. We conclude by reflecting upon the challenges which will likely confront the Canadian and American governments in the 1980s and their consequences for policy responses and for the future of intergovernmental relations in both countries.

### 2A: STRATEGIC PLANNING VERSUS CLIENTELE SATISFACTION: NUCLEAR POWER IN CANADIAN ENERGY POLICY

Ted Schrecker (Research Consultant)

Nuclear power development in Canada appears to be the successful outcome of long-term strategic energy planning. However, at least as important have been a science policy strongly oriented toward industrial development (the nuclear industry, in this case) and the orientation of energy policy toward satisfying a client group consisting almost exclusively of the relevant supply industries. This second point is not, of course, unique to nuclear policy.

In Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd., the Canadian government created not only a powerful internal client group but also the nucleus for what became a well-organized external clientele including provincial utilities and numerous private-sector actors. Industry development has been characterized by high levels of public subsidy, and by a solid consensus on basic objectives of energy policy among policy makers and the industry.

These trends are documented through primary sources and through reference to existing research. They are of concern because of increasing evidence that nuclear power is overemphasized, if not totally inappropriate, as an element of national energy strategy. In the prevailing policy environment, it is extremely difficult to make the necessary strategic shifts, however compelling the evidence. The case of federal energy conservation policy is briefly examined as an example of the difficulties confronting energy policy options without strong existing clienteles. These difficulties are probably generalizable to any attempt to develop analytically-sound energy policy.

#### Session 3A

### 3A: 'COMPLEMENTARITY': A FORGOTTEN DIMENSION OF NATION-BUILDING/PROVINCE-BUILDING INTERACTION

Ian Urquhart (UBC)

This proposed paper will examine the relationship between nation-building, province-building, and federal/provincial governments. It will present a critical evaluation of the conventional understanding of nation-building/province-building interaction, an understanding based on the assumption that incompatible designs for community development bestow a zero-sum flavour to the interaction of these activities. It will argue that the propensity for proponents of this interpretation to equate nation-building and province-building with the centralization/decentralization process is a major oversimplification of Canada's political reality.

The central theme of the paper will be that a better understanding of Canadian federalism may be acquired through formulating a conceptual framework which incorporated the complementary interaction of nation-building and province-building. It will therefore strive to demonstrate that 'complementarity' is an important characteristic of their interaction. It intends to demonstrate that these two activities share major substantive goals - significant substantive objectives of one blueprint for development are shared with the other community-building strategy. Where this 'purposive similarity' exists, federal policies will be important to the ultimate success of province-building and provincial policies will be instrumental to the achievement of nation-building goals. By illustrating this complementary relationship the paper hopes to reveal the inappropriateness of using the centralization and decentralization categories as synonyms for nation-building and province-building.

3A: AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF  
FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL RELATIONS: THE  
DEVELOPMENT OF FISCAL POLICY IN ONTARIO

R. MacDermid (UBC)

The post-war era in Canadian federal-provincial relations has been described with the use of several different models. Chief among these have been a class inspired model and a structurally induced model for explaining the sources of conflict between the two levels of the federal state. This paper suggests, based on Anthony Downs' An Economic Theory of Democracy, that one of the sources of this conflict can be found in the competition between levels of government for management of the economy and primarily over the ability of the provinces to exercise a fiscal policy\* as a means to fulfilling the utility incomes of electors.

The paper using the example of the province of Ontario, describes the regionally unbalanced effects of federal fiscal policy and the efforts of Ontario in particular to offset these. It traces the participation of the province in post 1945 federal-provincial financial arrangements paying particular attention to the evolution in the composition of the provinces' revenue sources. In addition it analyzes the change in Ontario's public expenditure policies and deficit financing capacity as important steps to exercising effective and independent fiscal policy.

The paper concludes by arguing that the nature of Ontario's revenue sources and continued dependence on Federal government finance for major programmes have forced the province to develop more fully the fiscal policy tool.

\*I do not use the term fiscal policy as synonymous with the history of federal-provincial financial arrangements as many works on Canadian politics do, but in reference to an economic theory which relates the revenue raising and expenditure functions of capitalist governments.

Session 5A

5A: ORIGINS OF JUDICIAL REVIEW IN CANADA

D.J. Smith (Dalhousie)

It is well known that when the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and the Province of Canada united in 1867, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was retained as the highest court of appeal for the new federation. At the outset, it was called upon to rule on disputes arising out of the distribution of legislative powers between Parliament and the local legislatures. Thus it performed the classic judicial task that has come to be known as judicial review. Through an examination of the treatment of judicial review in the Confederation debate, 1864-67, I attempt to discover whether the Fathers of Confederation intended this development and why they initially chose to retain the services of the Judicial Committee. I also consider the wider implications of their handling of judicial review as these concern both Macdonald's understanding of the "federal principle" and the status of the provinces within the federation, issues of obvious relevance for the recent constitutional debate. Finally, reference is made to the origins of judicial review in the American case in so far as it illuminates the subject at hand.

5A: AN ARGUMENT FOR THE SOCIAL UTILITY OF  
INEQUALITY: THE MIXED REGIME

Janet Ajzenstat (McMaster)

Eighteenth century British whig and tory accounts of mixed government and the balanced constitution are examined in this paper, together with the similar doctrine favoured by British liberals of the Great Reform Bill period, among them Lord Durham. Durham's Report of 1839 is of particular interest, it is argued, since it purports to demonstrate the superiority of mixed government to the kind of majoritarian democracy endorsed by many of the British North American colonists of the time.

Durham's argument for curtailing the powers of the democratic branch of government in Lower Canada — the legislative assembly of the province, he wrote, had "endeavoured to extend its authority in modes totally incompatible with the principles of constitutional liberty — is compared with the "country" whig argument against the aggrandizement of the monarchic branch in England. The one argument complements the other, it is suggested, each making the case for mixed government in terms of an analysis of concrete problems. Together they invite the idea that the egalitarian aims of modern societies are best furthered by a political system that recognizes and uses man's natural inequalities, and suggest that the ends of modern liberalism are best met by the salutary balance of monarchic, aristocratic and democratic institutions known as mixed government.

Session 9A

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

NO PAPER/PAS DE COMMUNICATION

Session 10A

10A: POLITICAL OBLIGATION, LEGALITY, AND  
THE RISE IN THE CRIME RATE IN CANADA

Yvan Gagnon (RMC)

This paper is a theory in five points to explain, and perhaps also to restrain, the increase in the crime rate in Canada.

The first point deals with the nature of political relations. This analysis leads to the paradoxical situation in which every citizen finds himself, and that is that he must participate politically, and yet, because one can express his freedom in that participation, it becomes a fact that to be a citizen in a modern polity, one is forced to be free.

In this compulsory exercise of one's freedom, it is quite probable that an abuse of positive freedom by one citizen will cause harm to other citizens. To maintain order, to settle potential conflicts and to protect citizens from being harmed by others, some means must be established, usually a government which establishes a legal system. Thus, the more conflict we have the more laws we think that we need.

F.M. Stark (WLU)

The paper begins with discussions on the nature of ideology in general, and on the historical formation of ideological patterns in Canada in particular. These two critical positions having been outlined, the paper goes on to the concepts of national unity and federalism.

The centrality of national unity in the mass-oriented rhetoric of political elites will be established. Its relationship to ideology in Canada is outlined, including a discussion of national unity as mystification.

Federalism as a concept is also related to the dominant ideological position(s) and to its historical practice, both in Canada and in the United States. The role of American ideological approaches to federalism in relation to British ones will be discussed. The use of different images, metaphors and analogies of federalism by different political actors shows how ideology is expressed through political language, i.e. rhetoric.

A third point deals with political obligation and it tries to explain why citizens obey these laws. A survey will try to determine which of the classical reasons for obeying laws are used by Canadian citizens.

A fourth point will analyse what happens when more and more citizens react only to negative sanctions as their main reason for obeying the laws. When this stage is reached in a polity, fewer and more laws (stiffer penalties, capital punishment, etc.), more policemen, more courts, lawyers and judges, and more money is needed to cope with an ever-increasing number of immature citizens who commit more and more crimes.

This is when, in a fifth point, a return to the intentionality of political relations is fostered as being necessary to curb the vicious circle that has been promoted by a false application of the legal means as the only valid means to deal with political relations.

The conclusion is that governments, lawyers and political scientists have contributed to enhance this vicious circle and therefore it is now their obligation to redress this situation.

Session 11A

11A: FEDERALISMS

Vincent di Norcia (Laurentian)

For decades federalism has been viewed by Québécois as an ideology of English domination. A common view among péquistes is that Canadian federalism and Quebec nationalism are two opposed incommensurable paradigms. Certainly ideological conflicts do crosscut Canadian federalism; but I deny that the situation is this simple. Rather there are a variety of federalisms among which one can easily find common ground: central statism, provincial autonomism, English/French nationalism, pact theories, regional, cultural, and economic forms of centralism and decentralism. In addition there are conservative, liberal and socialist federalisms. All are mentioned in commonly available sources.

In order to find some common ground within these debates and suggest fruitful theoretical and practical strategies I propose to analyse some federal ideologies with the help of two principles. The first is the Democracy (D) principle: namely to maximize effectively means of popular sovereignty in federal terms. The second is to minimize Statism (S), or the tendency to define federalism solely in terms of state sovereignty, its processes and powers, and as autonomous of popular control. Since S has governed the federal system's development with few exceptions it should in my view be seen as contributory to its persistent intergovernmental conflict.

Finally, maximizing D and minimizing S can contribute to healing the wounds in the present federation, assuming that conventional government will not disappear. More effective mechanisms of popular control and participation are required to render the political system more responsive to the regional, economic, and cultural complexity of this federal society, and therefore more legitimate and stable.



SECTION:

PROVINCIAL POLITICS AND REGIONALISM /  
POLITIQUE PROVINCIALE ET REGIONALISME

John Terri (U of T)

1B: NO SESSION/PAS DE SESSION

Session 2B

2B: ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE  
NO PAPER /PAS DE COMMUNICATION

Session 3B

3B: NEO-CONSERVATISM, SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND  
'PROVINCE-BUILDING': THE 1981 MANITOBA PROVINCIAL  
ELECTION

Harold Chorney & Phillip Hansen (U of T)

The 1981 Manitoba election provided the first Canadian electoral test, after a full term in office, of an avowedly neo-conservative government: the Progressive Conservative ministry of Sterling Rufus Lyon. The Lyon government's crushing defeat at the hands of a refurbished New Democratic Party under the leadership of Howard Pawley would suggest that neo-conservatism may well be a short-lived and self-destructive phenomenon in Canadian politics. However a more careful assessment of the election outcome and the political context in which it occurred suggests a more complex state of affairs. The electoral result appears to have turned on the interplay of two sets of factors, one particular to Manitoba and one more general to liberal democratic polities. The first set of factors involves Manitoba's ongoing struggle as a marginal element within the Canadian economy to obtain stable economic development. The second set of factors, which has all the more impact in Manitoba because of the first set, involves the future size and importance of the welfare state, and the status of the chronic, but currently very intense, opposition to it in the context of a general economic decline. This paper explores these themes in an effort to determine the impact of the change in government on the future prospects of neo-conservatism and social democracy in Manitoba. It suggests that while neo-conservatism, at least as it has emerged in the political arena, may be limited by currently accepted liberal democratic values, its ultimate fate, along with that of social democracy, remains in doubt.

3B: THE 1981 NOVA SCOTIA PROVINCIAL ELECTION:  
OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

Agar Adamson (Acadia)

This paper is an examination, albeit without the assistance of a post-election voter survey, of the October 6th, 1981, Nova Scotia provincial election. The results (Conservatives: 37, Liberals: 13, NDP: 1,

Independent: 1) are of course important, but perhaps of greater significance are the changes which have taken place in the party system since the 1978 election. In 1978, Nova Scotia appeared to be on the verge of developing an Ontario-style three-party system (Wilson and Hoffman: "Ontario: A Three-Party System In Transition", in Robin ed., Canadian Provincial Politics, 1972). Events since 1978 have illustrated the fact that Nova Scotia politics and the political parties have indeed entered a period of transition, particularly the NDP, but also the Liberals.

This paper comments on the current state of the three parties and attempts to analyze the current political climate in Nova Scotia. One must speculate whether or not it is still correct to describe the Nova Scotia political system as Murray Beck has, as one of "Tradition and Conservatism".

Session 5B

5B: ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE  
NO PAPER /PAS DE COMMUNICATION

Session: 9B

9B: ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE  
NO PAPER /PAS DE COMMUNICATION

9B: REGIONAL POLITICS IN THE WAKE OF THE  
CANADA ACT

Roger Gibbins (Calgary)

This paper examines three issues: (1) the impact of the 1980-82 constitutional process on regional politics in Canada; (2) the likely impact of the Canada Act on regional politics; and (3) the prospects for further constitutional and institutional reform in the wake of the Canada Act. The Analysis is essentially pessimistic, and the outlook discouraging.

Session 10B

10B: LES LOIS DU GOUVERNEMENT LEVESQUE: 1976-1980  
Vincent Lemieux (Laval)

L'action législative d'un parti ministériel ne recouvre pas l'ensemble de ses politiques gouvernementales et encore moins l'ensemble des phénomènes dont les électeurs tiennent compte dans l'évaluation d'un parti. En plus de faire adopter des lois, le gouvernement Lévesque a participé à des conférences fédérales-provinciales, il a présenté un livre blanc sur la souveraineté-association, il a fait campagne au moment du référendum de 1980 et des élections générales de 1981, il a négocié avec des syndicats du secteur public et para-public, il a appliqué des lois et des règlements adoptés sous les gouvernements précédents, etc.

Si elles ne sont pas exhaustives de tout ce qui fait l'objet de l'évaluation des électeurs, les lois comme d'autres gestes politiques d'un parti ministériel traduisent la forme de son action et plus précisément des relations qui la concrétisent. Et si, comme nous le pensons, les électeurs jugent la forme davantage que la substance, les lois, comme d'autres gestes significatifs, révéleraient suffisamment le style d'un parti ministériel pour qu'on tente de les relier aux évaluations des électeurs. Dans cette perspective, l'étude porte sur certaines caractéristiques des 336 lois adoptées au cours de la 31<sup>ème</sup> législature. La distinction est faite entre p.22



les lois qui règlent des attributions de ressources, celles qui règlent des attributions de contrôle et celles qui règlent des attributions de statut. Une autre distinction concerne les relations touchées par la loi: elles peuvent être situées dans l'appareil gouvernemental, elles peuvent relier le gouvernement et le public, ou encore elles peuvent relier des acteurs du public.

L'étude des lois du gouvernement Lévesque selon ces caractéristiques montre qu'il a été de plus en plus interventionniste de 1976 à 1980, et que certains destinataires plus que d'autres ont profité des règles d'attribution posées par les lois.

Edouard Cloutier (Montréal)

NO ABSTRACT/PAS DE RESUME

Session 11B

11B: NO SESSION/PAS DE SESSION

SECTION:

PUBLIC POLICY, ADMINISTRATION AND LAW/  
POLITIQUE PUBLIQUE, ADMINISTRATION PUBLIQUE  
ET DROIT PUBLIC

Marsha Chandler (U of T)

Session 1C

1C: INTEREST GROUP POWER VIS-A-VIS GOVERNMENT  
REGULATION: THE CASES OF THE MINING AND INSURANCE  
INDUSTRIES DURING THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY  
GOVERNMENT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1972-1975.

Nukhet Kardam (UBC)

The purpose of the paper is to compare and contrast the political effectiveness of two interest groups, namely the mining industry and the insurance industry in B.C. during the period of 1972-1975, vis-à-vis the NDP government's regulation policies. Political effectiveness can be defined as the capacity is associated with the political resources possessed by any given group. If this assumption is correct, then the mining and insurance industries, both possessing relatively equal resources as interest groups, should have had equal success in affecting government policy. However, this has not been the case. In the case of the mining industry, the NDP's taxation policy, which embodied a significant redistribution of the province's income through increased taxation of resource corporations, was found to be politically untenable almost as soon as it was formulated. In the case of the insurance industry, on the other hand, the NDP went ahead with the formation of the Insurance Corporation of B.C. as the sole underwriter of automobile insurance policies, despite the vigorous opposition of insurance companies.

As the above description shows, the mining and insurance industries in B.C. reached quite different results in their confrontation with government regulation. The main task of the paper is to determine why this has been the case. The analysis undertaken approaches this question from two perspectives. On one hand, it compares the two industries as interest groups against the

background of the theoretical literature on interest groups. On the other hand, it analyzes the NDP government's policies regarding both cases within the larger question of the problems involving governmental policy formulation and implementation.

1C: THE POLITICS AND DEVELOPMENT OF  
LEGAL AID - THE ROLE OF THE NOVA  
SCOTIA BARRISTERS SOCIETY AS  
A PRESSURE GROUP

Dieter Hoehne (Dalhousie)

In 1977 the Nova Scotia Legislative Assembly passed the Legal Aid Act establishing one of the most socialized legal aid schemes in Canada. The paper attempts to assess the role of the Nova Scotia Barristers Society in the policy-making process that stretched over 10 years and finally resulted in the Legal Aid Act. Special focus will be put on the inner-organizational communication processes and their relation to the performance of the Barristers Society.

The paper uses data generated in a mailed questionnaire based survey of the private lawyers in Nova Scotia and in unstructured interviews with the key executives involved in the policy-making process. Thus it will be possible to compare elite with membership perception, a feature that allows a comprehensive analysis of pressure group activities.

The paper consists of three parts. Part 1 begins with a short historical background of the development of legal aid in Nova Scotia. It also introduces the actors involved in the policy-making process. Part 2 presents and discusses the data. Part 3 puts the factual account of the policy-making process in a theoretical perspective. The data will be analyzed in light of the current "theory" of interest/pressure groups in Canada.

Session 2C

2C: ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

NO PAPER /PAS DE COMMUNICATION

Session 3C

3C: PROTECTIONISM VERSUS CONTINENTALISM  
IN CANADIAN AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Grace Skogstad (St. F.-X.)

The Canadian agricultural economy is part of a North American and international agricultural economy. Not only must some Canadian farmers compete for international markets, but at home, too, some may face the prospect of imports from the United States and other countries underpricing them on the Canadian domestic market. To protect them against their more numerous, and sometimes more efficient, foreign counterparts, the federal government has used two mechanisms to preserve the Canadian market for Canadian farmers. Import controls and national marketing schemes have been erected for dairy and poultry products.

This paper focuses upon the politics of import controls on agricultural commodities. What determines the decision to place — or not to place — restrictions on foreign foodstuffs? How significant are international factors? What domestic factors are important and in what circumstances? When, for example, will consumer pressure for relatively cheap food and lower-priced imports hold sway over farmers' protectionist goals? Are producer groups influential — and if so, by what vehicles — in the formulation of agricultural Trade and Commerce? Indeed, how significant is Agriculture Canada's role? These questions are addressed in an examination of three different instances where domestic and/or international controversy and conflict have surrounded federal policies regarding imports on agricultural commodities.

### 3C: POLICIES OF UNITY AND POLICIES TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

Lily Gardner Feldman (Tufts) & Elliot J. Feldman (Brandeis)

Canadian-United States relations and the Canadian constitutional crisis generally have been understood by Canadian scholars to be separate. There are several reasons for this perspective. First, the specialists in Canadian-U.S. relations tend to be expert in international relations, whereas the constitutional analysts tend to be drawn from specialties in law, public policy, and federalism. They work in different domains, from a different literature, and with different criteria. Second, few associations are made between Canadian foreign policy generally and federal-provincial relations, even as the latter often is considered a feature of the former. Third, those Canadians actively concerned with foreign policy, often from central Canada, strenuously deny political motivations for Canada's foreign policy choices. There are, of course, additional reasons for the dissociation to be considered in this paper.

Some Americans have begun to interpret federal government policies toward the United States in view of federal-provincial relations. As often as the suggestion of a connection is made, Canadians, often vigorously, deny it. However, there has been to date no systematic effort to discover linkages. There are three main hypotheses: 1) If Americans interpret Canadian policies toward the United States in the context of federal-provincial relations, it is because of myopia or an ignorance of Canadian affairs; 2) If policies toward the United States are affected by Canadian domestic conflicts, especially in federal-provincial relations, it is because Canadian officials see domestic political advantage in linkage, and 3) If policies toward the United States are affected by Canadian domestic politics, especially in federal-provincial relations, Canadian officials do not consciously or deliberately associate them and they have little or no effect on domestic politics.

In this paper we will subject these three hypotheses to a preliminary test by scanning the undulations in Canadian-U.S. relations with reference to federal-provincial relations and by examining Canadian federal motivations for specific policies toward the United States.

Session 5C

5C: ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

NO PAPER /PAS DE COMMUNICATION

Session 9C

9C: PROSPECTS FOR JUDICIAL ENFORCEMENT OF THE NEW CANADIAN CHARTER OF RIGHTS

Rainer Knopff & F.J. Morton (Calgary)

This paper assesses the prospects of successfully establishing judicial enforcement of the new Canadian Charter of Rights. The crux of the matter is the non-obstante provision allowing legislative override. Ideally, use of this override would normally be politically unpalatable, and the habit of compliance with court rulings would be established. Indeed, it is only against such a background that the advantage of the override expected by some would be realized; namely, that its use in exceptional cases would allow constructive dialogue between court and legislature on civil liberties policy. If frequent and easy recourse to the override becomes the norm, on the other hand, a significant role for the courts in such a dialogue would become impossible. Experience with override provisions in existing Canadian bills of rights indicates that the former scenario accords with Canadian political culture; but political culture is not entirely self-sustaining and certain features of the new Charter suggest that the second option is a distinct possibility. In the first place, to the extent that the ambiguous relationship of the existing Bill of Rights to the tradition of parliamentary supremacy partially accounts for the pronounced restraint of the Supreme Court, entrenchment removes one of the blocks to greater judicial activism. This, together with the more activist predisposition in the legal community generally augurs for a more activist court in the future. Secondly, the Charter applies to both federal and provincial jurisdiction, and civil liberties jurisprudence is therefore bound to become entangled with federalism issues. Both factors are likely to make use of the non-obstante clause more tempting. In these circumstances the establishment of a meaningful judicial review under the Charter is not inevitable, but will depend upon a high degree of judicial statesmanship. This is so because effective judicial review is in the final analysis a convention, dependent upon continuing acceptance by both political elites and the general public. The successful establishment of this convention will depend heavily on the early exercise of the court's authority under the Charter. In this respect Canadian jurists could benefit from the example of delicate judicial statesmanship set by John Marshall, who faced much the same problem, in Marbury v. Madison.

## 9C: JUDICIAL INDEPENDENCE AND PROFESSIONAL AUTONOMY

Ian Greene (Lethbridge)

Over a decade ago, the "caseload crisis" in the courts of large urban centres in Canada led to demands for reform of court administration. Since then, the major issue in the field of court reform has been the question of whether judges or professional administrators should be given paramount responsibility for control of court administration. Proponents of both sides in the dispute are prone to defend their position by referring to the principle of judicial independence. On the one hand is the argument that if judges were given ultimate responsibility for court administration, there would be fewer chances that judicial independence would be violated. The opposing argument is that if professional administrators controlled court administration, judges would be given independence from administrative duties.

One dimension of this issue which has not yet been explored is the relationship between judicial independence and professional independence. Don K. Price, in *The Scientific Estate*, has shown how demands for professional independence tend to increase with increasing levels of expertise. In the context of the issue of control of court administration, Price's analysis raises questions about the possible relationship between judicial independence and professional independence. This paper will analyse the relationship between these two kinds of independence, drawing on the results of a recent survey of 134 Ontario judges, lawyers, crown attorneys and court administrators.

It will be argued that issue of who should control court administration has been confused because no distinction has been drawn between society's need for judicial independence, on the one hand, and the needs of judges for professional independence, on the other.

### Session 10C

#### 10C: FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL INTERACTION ON SOCIAL SPENDING AND UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE IN THE 70'S

Andrew Johnson (Bishop's)

Federal-provincial interaction in the policy-making process may be characterized by consultation, co-operation, or by co-ordination. During the late 1960's and throughout the 1970's consultation became the dominant mode of interaction in the social policy field. Consultation "whereby one level of government is informed of the intended activities of the other", has been unidirectional, that is, downward from the federal government. Consultation has consisted of two stages, a stage in which a policy is initiated and a stage in which it is modified. In the first stage, the federal government has informed the provinces of its intended activities. Information sessions have followed so that the provinces could be persuaded that a policy initiative has been in their interest as well as the interest of the federal government. The provinces have then usually consented to participate and have, consequently, adjusted their social policy goals and spending commitments. In the second stage, a variety of circumstances have forced the federal government to recede from its

initial policy undertakings. As a result the provinces have been forced to engage in additional rounds of modifying social policy objectives and spending commitments. During both stages, policy changes have been initiated by the federal government and provincial input has been marginal.

An analysis of the development of unemployment insurance in the 1970's against a broader background of social policy spending, supports this thesis. Although unemployment insurance is within federal legislative jurisdiction, the 1971 Act affected the provinces. The policy overlapped with provincial social policy objectives and it indirectly required provincial financial participation. The widened scope, complexity, and planning orientation of social policy, in general, and of unemployment insurance policy, in particular, has prompted the federal government to limit provincial input throughout the policy-making processes.

#### 10C: A FAREWELL TO WELFARE: FISCAL FEDERALISM AND SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM IN THE 1970'S

Charles Rachlis (U of T)

In this paper, I examine the interpenetration of fiscal federalism and social security reform in the 1970s in Canada. The paper focusses on the federal-provincial Social Security Review of 1973-78, concentrating on two aspects. These are: (a) the tentative articulation and subsequent abandonment in the areas of employment creation and income maintenance of a conception of social welfare that incorporated criteria of community need (Bryden's "environmental want") rather than the traditional and more limited market ethos criteria; and (b) the extent to which the retreat from such a conception complemented and is accounted for by changing priorities in the federal government's relations with provincial governments.

My core argument is this: the trend towards welfare conceptions based on community need as opposed to the market ethos came closest to realization in federal employment creation and income maintenance policy in 1973, with the federal government's inauguration of the Social Security Review and the publication of its "Orange Paper" on social security. (In particular, the Orange Paper's proposals for a guaranteed income and for a community employment programme evidence this trend.) But already in 1973 — and indeed, in the immediate aftermath of the 1971 Victoria Conference and in the planning of the Social Security Review — one can observe profound linkages between initiatives for social security reform and the restructuring of federal-provincial fiscal relations.

The development and significance of these linkages after the effective end of the Social Security Review in 1976 are attested to in the 1977 Established Program Financing package and in the current E.P.F. negotiations. Both of these signal a significant retreat from the high-water mark of 1973 and, notably, a retreat that is congruent with and that partially accounts for federal initiatives in social security reform in this period. The evidence for this is two-fold: on the one hand, neither a guaranteed income nor a community employment program survived the Social Security Review's demise; on the other hand, the 1977 E.P.F. package marked a fundamental break with the earlier pattern of shared-cost financing of major social policy expenses.



11C: THE CANADIAN UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE PROGRAMME: DYNAMICS AND STRUCTURE.

Leslie Pal (Waterloo)

Unemployment insurance is one of Canada's most important income security programs and yet one of the least well known. This paper tries to provide a broad overview of the most important developments in the program from 1935 to 1980, using a framework which places changes in key structural features of the system within a set of related political dynamics. The structural components of the plan examined in the paper are (i) risk coverage (ii) entrance requirements (iii) benefit levels, their length, and their relation to income (iv) policing mechanisms and modes of punishment for offenders (v) integration and relation to other government programs. These components are discussed with reference to a number of dynamic political factors. The first is federalism. This factor was important both at the introduction of the plan in 1940 and with further developments, since provinces for the most part wished the federal government to take full responsibility for unemployed unemployables and were continuously concerned with the labour market effects of the unemployment insurance program. The second is class. This involves both the obvious differences between business groups and labour unions on how the program should work and function and the incorporation of middle class income earners into what was originally a program targeted at the industrial working class. The third is bureaucracy. The program was and is largely administered by a commission, with the power to devise and alter regulations which define the minutiae of unemployment insurance. The fourth is electoral competition. The paper concludes that bureaucratic dynamics are less important than might be expected, federalism slightly more than expected, while the salience of class effects seems highly mediated.

Method:

This paper is a distillation of a broader research project on Canadian Unemployment Insurance. Material for more recent developments comes from interviews, while the bulk of the paper is based on a review of primary sources.

11C: THE ADMINISTRATORS CONTRIBUTION TO THE RIGHT-WING WELFARE STATE: THE CASE OF ALBERTA

Leslie Bella (Alberta)

The Welfare State was created in Alberta in the mid-sixties when the provincial government introduced welfare reforms including expansion and centralization of statutory programs and the introduction of a new cost-shared program of municipal preventive services. The party in power (Social Credit) opposed the welfare state so political ideology does not explain this expansion of provincial welfare programs. Competition to Social Credit was not yet evident so government reactions to political competition and interest group activity did not produce the provincial welfare state. Social Credit strength was in rural rather than urban areas, so pressure from urban municipalities was not a major influence in social welfare expansion. Also, the provincial government was prosperous, so offers made by the federal government under the Canada Assistance Plan were not incentives of any significance in provincial

policy making. Social Credit had a long tenure in power and their senior officials and was based in their experience serving the clients of provincial programs. To obtain consent for expansion of the welfare state, public officials had to convince their minister and his cabinet that the new policies were not introducing but preventing the welfare state. The result was the reversal of the direction of the relationships in the policy process, with policy makers manipulating both pressure groups and intergovernmental relations in order to achieve their own objectives.

SECTION: POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY/SOCIOLOGIE

POLITIQUE

André Blais

Session 1D

1D: A TEST OF THE WEST: POLITICAL ALIENATION POLITICAL SUPPORT

Marianne C. Stewart (Duke)

The complaints of inhabitants of the three prairie provinces and, to a lesser extent, British Columbia that the federal government in Ottawa has been neither representative of nor responsive to their interests and demands long have been engrained in Western Canadian history. Exemplifying this fact has been the periodic arrival of protest movements and "third" parties on the political scene. Currently, these complaints are being manipulated by provincial leaders in pressing their claims that they are closest to their respective publics and for restructuring the division of federal-provincial political labour, particularly as it involves the wielding of western power and wealth. Moreover, western complaints are unlikely to abate in the near future, adding even more strain to the fabric of Canadian politics and society than the grievances expressed by Quebec.

Western complaints often have been discussed as symbolic of western "separatist sentiments" or "alienation". Regardless of which term is employed, their reflection of a certain degree of disaffection and dissatisfaction cannot be denied. Yet, although Quebec's grievances have received an increasing amount of attention in recent years, the extent and sources of western dissatisfaction have been the focus of few systematic, empirical studies. Such studies could profit greatly from the use of Easton's specific and diffuse concepts of political support. Accordingly, a theoretical and empirical treatment of western dissatisfaction using these concepts comprises my paper. More specifically, the paper assesses relationships among several socioeconomic and demographic variables such as age, ethnicity and social class, the elusive phenomenon Canadian identity, regional consciousness, the subjective basis of political economy viz evaluations of the costs and benefits of federalism for the western provinces, feelings about the provincial regimes and

political communities, and support for the national political authorities, the regime, and political community. Indeed, an analysis of the relationships among support for the various provincial and national political objects should yield important information about the downward or upward flow of political support among these objects and levels of government.

This investigation of western political support employs data from the 1974, 1979, and 1980 Canadian National Election Studies. These studies not only contain questions on political support, but their panel design permits an unique opportunity to explore changes in support among westerners during a short but turbulent period in Canadian politics. Bivariate and multivariate analytical techniques are used.

#### Session 2D

##### 2D: THE STRUCTURE OF ISSUE PUBLICS

David J. Elkins (UBC)

The central question of this paper will be whether sophistication about political issues exists as an individual attribute or whether it is a social phenomenon at the level of "issue publics". As with my paper at the Halifax meetings, the data consist of a survey of 1051 B.C. residents who were asked about the three most important issues to them. I showed in that paper that there are several distinct meanings of each issue label, and respondents who agree on the meaning nearly always agree on the preferred solution. For example, "national unity" means French-English relations to some, immigration to others, and regionalism to other respondents. Each of these three groups offer different solutions to the problem as they view it. Thus, it is possible that any given individual will mention quite diverse issue labels, but will define them all in ways which share specific meanings and specific aspects of proposed solutions. In that sense an individual could be said to be consistent, or at least his views will express an underlying set of feelings or cognitive dimensions which are internally organized in a coherent way.

Equally plausible is the possibility that individuals are integrated into two or more issue publics, each of which has coherence in terms of specific dimensions of the problem and solutions proposed. Each individual might, therefore, appear to be inconsistent, or at least his issue positions would appear to be fragmented and bear little logical relationship with each other. In the latter event, we would say that issue publics are organized consistently or in a sophisticated manner, whereas individuals' issue positions are socially organized into issue publics but not integrated with each other at the personal level.

This paper will attempt to assess these two possibilities. Of course, these are logical types, and not everyone will fit one or the other neatly. Some people will have strong internal coherence; some will not but will be part of one or more issue publics; and some will have idiosyncratic views not well integrated in either way. Thus, the exercise I propose will have the goal of testing these two structures of sophistication and the goal of estimating their relative usefulness in understanding the organization of public opinion about political issues.

#### Session 3D

##### 3D: COGNITIVE ASPECTS OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION

Joseph F. Fletcher (U of T)

The paper investigates whether individuals employ the same attributional patterns that they display in discussing themselves when discussing the party with which they identify. The work of numerous psychologists (notably that of Walter Stephen) has documented a pervasive tendency among persons to account for their own successes and failures differently than the way they account for the successes and failures of others. In particular, Stephen has found that people tend to make more dispositional attributions regarding the causes of their own successes than they do for the successes of others. Conversely, it was found that people tend to make more situational attributions regarding the causes of their own failures than they do for the failures of others.

In the paper that I am proposing, I hope to get a better idea of the cognitive processes involved in party identification than we now have. More specifically, working with Stephen's notion I hypothesize that strong party identifiers will be more likely than weak identifiers to make dispositional attributions for their own party's successes and more likely to make situational attributions regarding the failures of their party. Conversely, I expect strong identifiers to be more likely to make dispositional attributions for the failures of parties other than their own and situational attributions for other party successes.

Data will be collected with an instrument adapted from cognitive process-tracing instruments now widely employed by psychologists. Data will be analysed via multiple regression analysis.

Should my hypotheses be confirmed (and pilot data suggest that they will), we will know that at least part of what it means to be a party identifier is that we employ the same cognitive biases in a thinking about our party that we employ in thinking about ourselves.

I realize that this paper is fairly psychological in nature, but in light of the recent debate over the nature of party identification between Elkins and Jenson, I think that it is topical.

#### Session 5D

##### 5D: ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

NO PAPER / PAS DE COMMUNICATION

#### Session 9D

##### 9D: DEMOCRACIES IN CONFLICT: A COMPARISON OF MEN'S AND WOMEN'S RELATIONSHIPS WITH GOVERNMENT

Sandra Burt (Waterloo)

Democracy can take on many forms, and the differences in meaning are due to varying assessments of the political power that the masses should exercise. For example, in his most recent work on liberal democracy, C.B. Macpherson proposes that there are in fact four different models of democracy, the protective, developmental, equilibrium, and participatory

models. These models differ primarily in the amount of political power, and accompanying civic responsibility, assigned to citizens. In this paper I examine men's and women's perceptions of their power and responsibilities, in order to assess their democratic roles. In addition, I compare their perceptions of their present role with their views on how they should perform in a hypothetical ideal democracy. This kind of comparison may be useful for measuring political support.

It is hypothesized that men's and women's perceptions of their rights and obligations are different. The working patterns and the political power of men and women are different. Women are more heavily concentrated in the low-paying, low-status jobs. In addition, women are almost completely excluded from political and economic power. These differences may affect the way men and women perceive their role in the democratic process.

The hypothesis is tested with the use of extended interviews with men and women, in which they are asked to explain in some detail the nature of their present relationship with government, as well as their perception of the ideal democracy. All respondents live in Kitchener-Waterloo, in Ontario. The interviews with 32 women took place in the summer of 1977, and the interviews with 32 men took place in the fall and early winter of 1981. Each interview is about one hour and a half long. The extended interview is used here as a means of discovering some features of the political world of men and women which can be tested more systematically in the future.

#### Session 10D

##### 10D: CENTRALIZATION VS. DECENTRALIZATION: CANADIAN CONFEDERATION AS A CASE STUDY OF POLITICAL INTEGRATION

R.C. Nelson, R.H. Wagenberg E.D. Briggs, W.C. Soderlund (Windsor)

Federalism has been characterized by analysts as a means of promoting political integration in that it provides a structure wherein some powers are delegated to the new central government while other powers are retained by the existing governments of the integrating units. This was the situation with respect to three British North American Provinces, Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, which joined together in Canadian Confederation in 1867. Interestingly, two other British North American Provinces, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, both involved in the broad integration process, declined to enter the new federal system at that time.

Karl Deutsch is one of the leading theorists of political integration, and in his formulation he posits two forms of "security community", the pluralistic and the "amalgamated".<sup>1</sup> Canadian Confederation, is an example of a particular kind of amalgamated security community - one with a federal structure. Our purpose in this paper is to study the integration process leading to the creation of this federal political system. We intend to do this through an examination of economic, societal, and attitudinal variables which Deutsch has identified as crucial to the formation of an amalgamated security community.<sup>2</sup> Our data base for this analysis consists of selected economic and social indicators measured at various times between 1840 and 1865 in the five provinces.

Our attitudinal data comes from a comparative content analysis of Debates on the Confederation question which occurred in the various Provincial Legislatures following the Quebec Conference of 1864. With respect to the attitudinal dimension, we shall focus particular attention on the economic expectations voiced by the Legislators and on questions dealing with aspects of the proposed federal structure, such as the division of powers between the federal and provincial governments, as well as on possible alternative Structures. On the basis of this analysis we would hope to assess the "predictive" capability of a variety of Deutsch's indicators with respect to the process of Canadian integration.

1. Karl Deutsch, Sidney A. Burrell, Robert A. Kann, Maurice Lee Jr., Martin Lichterman, Raymond E. Lindgren, Francis L. Loewenheim, Richard W. Van Wagenen, Political Community and the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957) pp.3-9.

2. Ibid., pp 46-58.

#### Session 11D

##### 11D: BARRIERS TO POLICY DEVELOPMENT: PROPOSED FEDERAL POLICY TOWARD INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND PERCEPTIONS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT AMONG FUTURE INDIAN LEADERS

J. Anthony Long, Leroy Little Bear, Menno Boldt (Lethbridge)

During the past several years, self-government has emerged as a pivotal concern in the quest by Canada's Indian peoples for a redefined role within Confederation. For Indians self-government is inextricably linked to the achievement of self-determination and the preservation of the Indian cultural heritage. Not surprisingly, Indian aspirations to self-government have been tied to demands for the entrenchment of aboriginal rights and guarantees of special status in Canada's revised constitutional scheme. At the same time there is also a recognition on the part of the federal government that the existing legal and political arrangements for Indians in Canada, in particular the Indian Act, are too restrictive and in need of reform. Since the mid 1970's the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development has been advocating variants of a legislative-based charter system of Indian self-government based on Section 91-(24) of the BNA Act as an alternative to the Indian Act.

Despite the apparent consensus between Indian peoples and federal government over the desirability of increased self-government for Indians, some very crucial differences exist between the two sides over the form, the jurisdiction, and basis of authority that any future Indian governments will have. These differences must be underscored, for they constitute significant barriers to the passage of the proposed federal legislation and will inhibit attempts to operationalize the scheme, if enacted. In this paper we will identify and discuss some of these differences in light of information gained from a study of political attitudes of Indians enrolled in university programs across Canada. Our study took place in Spring, 1981 and was concerned with perceptions of self-government, political alienation, and political socialization among members of this group. We focussed on Indian university students because, in our opinion, when these persons acquire positions of responsibility in tribal governments and Indian associations,



they will constitute the core of Indian leadership in Canada. Importantly, their attitudes will establish significant parameters for any federal government policy-making effort in this area.

SECTION:

POLITICAL THEORY/IDEOLOGIE POLITIQUE

Shadia Drury (Calgary)

Session 1E

1F: "A LUMP BRED UP IN DARKNESS" TELLURIAN THEMES IN THE REPUBLIC

Barry Cooper (Calgary)

A recurrent theme in biographies and anecdotes concerning Plato is the close relationship between him and Apollo. To take only the most obvious example, Diogenes Laertius, 3.2, cited Spensippus, Clearchus, and Anaxilides to the effect that Plato's birth, from his virgin mother, Perictione, was the consequence of Apollo's fecundation. Likewise Origin (*Contra Celsum*, 6.8) added a Christian voice to the story in the course of arguing the credibility of parthenogenesis. In Plato's dialogue the *Phaedo* (84e-85b) Socrates remarked that, like the swans, he too considered himself dedicated to Apollo. He is, then, clearly a philosopher of light, spirit, insight, music, number, and harmony.

He is also, however, a poet of tellurian creation, of darkness, depths, undifferentiated and spontaneous generation. In the *Republic* this theme is indicated by the opening work, *Kateben*, suggesting to any Greek the Katabasis of Odysseus; moreover the going down of Socrates is eis *Peiraia*, to Peiraieus, not to the Peiraieus, which is the normal usage - for example, of Cephalus, *Rep.*, 328c6, who lives there and ought to know. The eis *Peiraia* is, in fact, very close to the *Peraia*, the beyond-land, that is, the land beyond the mythic river that used to separate Attica from the Peiraic peninsula (cf. P-W, XIX:1:78). So one could read the opening of *The Republic*: "I went down yesterday to the land beyond the river ..." And why did Socrates and Glaukon, "the son of the best," make this descent? To offer devotions to the god Bendis, a female deity from Thrace identified with Hecate, guardian of the underworld. One need only allude to the further imagery of the cave and to the story of Er, the "man of all tribes" to make the point that tellurian themes exist. Indeed, I would argue that they provide a sub-text to the surface brightness of the Apollonian logos.

1E: THE IMAGE OF THE PHILOGOPHER - KING IN THE INSTITUTIONS OF MAGNESIA: A READING OF PLATO'S LAWS

Z. Planinc (York)

The Platonic anthropological principle states that the soul of man is a microcosmos, whereas the polity is both a microcosmos and a macroanthropos. This is a principle of analysis, but it is also one of criticism. Since the measure of men's souls and their laws is God, the philosopher, whose soul has turned around towards God, may consider

whether men's laws are just. Following the persuasion of God in his soul the philosopher is obliged to persuade other men, prudentially, concerning justice and injustice. Plato's dramatic symbol of the philosopher-king, first developed in the *Republic*, represents the possible harmony between the microcosms of the philosopher's soul and the order of the polity. The first three books of the *Laws* discuss the proper order of the soul, symbolized in the myth of the divine puppeteer; the subsequent nine books deal with the proper ordering of the polity, following God's persuasion, towards which the Hellenic poleis should be drawn. At the conclusion of the *Laws*, when the discussion of Magnesia's institutions and customs is complete, the symbol of the philosopher-king reappears. The orders of the soul and polity are in harmony since Magnesia is Socrates' soul and *daimon* (spirit), writ large. Socrates' *daimon* drew its public authority from the Delphic Oracle, the sanctuary of Zeus and Ge, Dionysos, and Apollon, as well as from the Athenian experience of tragedy. Consequently, the institutional order of Magnesia is Apollonian, Dionysian, noetic, an Orphic-Pythagorean microcosmic crystal of numbers, and "the truest tragedy of all."

Session 2E(i)

2E(i): THE RIGHT OF NATURE IN LEVIATHAN

J.C. Carmichael (Alberta)

This paper explores the moral foundations of Hobbes' political thought, by focussing upon the right of nature as it is defined in chapter XIV of *Leviathan*. In doing so, I hope to show that Hobbes' account is more precise and impressive than recent commentators have appreciated.

It has become almost conventional to regard Hobbes' conception of right as confused. It now is widely held that his definition of right as liberty, and thence as the absence of external impediments, is imprecise and that this imprecision, in turn, renders the right to everything absurd. On this basis, commentators have argued that Hobbes' definition of right should be corrected to mean "the absence of obligations". So construed, the right of nature is a "right" in merely the weakest sense: it is only a permission, or what a man may do insofar as he is not otherwise obliged.

In my view, this is mistaken. In particular, the confusions which have been ascribed to Hobbes simply do not arise if the text is read with precise subtlety. In the first place, although the right of nature is typically understood as a right of action, this is grounded in a prior and more basic right of judgement. Similarly, although the right to everything is typically understood as merely a statement of the unlimited character of the right of nature in the state of nature, it should instead be distinguished from the right of nature as a separate and complete category of right. On this basis, "right" may be understood as far stronger than mere permission: it is a standard of positive justification, designating what each individual may do with and by right. Thereby, I shall argue, Hobbes' political doctrine is inscribed with a precise and powerful theory of right.

Ian Box (Mount Allison)

In this paper I explore the similarities between Bacon and Hobbes with respect to their understanding of science as causal knowledge facilitating control and their preoccupation with certainty, language and history. The point of the exercise is not to establish a linear chain of "influences" on Hobbes nor is it to derive the substance of his politics from his understanding of science. Rather, I hope to show that Hobbes' political theory complements Bacon's proposals for natural philosophy and can be seen as serving a projected "Great Instauration" that had faltered precisely on the Lord Chancellor's inability to develop an exact science of politics. In place of Bacon's reliance on questionable historical data Hobbes turns to language as the stuff of politics all the while recognizing with Bacon that these "idols of the marketplace are the most troublesome of all. Generalizing from this one instance, it would appear that Hobbes could only realize the objectives of Bacon's programme by abandoning its "positive precepts."

Session 2E(ii)

2E(ii) THE 'RECONCILIATION' OF PARLIAMENTARY  
SUPREMACY AND FEDERALISM

Douglas Verney (York)

If the Canadian Parliament was not supreme, just what institution was? One possibility is that the question was wrongly put: that no single institution exercised supremacy.

But if power was divided between the Canadian Parliament and the provincial legislatures, then there was an obvious alternative to the principle of parliamentary supremacy: the Constitution.

2E(ij) 'FEDERALISM AND DEMOCRATIC THEORY'

Reginald Whitaker (Carleton)

Although there is considerable literature on federalism and considerable literature on democratic theory, there is very little regard to democratic theory in most federalist writing, and not much interest in federalism on the part of most democratic theorists. This is particularly surprising given that a considerable number of the world's liberal democracies are themselves federations.

I propose an appraisal of the relationship between democracy and federalism. The paper will begin with some basic definitions, and go on to reconsider the old problem of sovereignty in federations, but this time with a clear focus on the concept of popular sovereignty. Some classic works on American federalism, especially The Federalist, Tocqueville, and Calhoun's Disquisition on Government disclose a theme of democratic sovereignty being self-limited by its division between two elective levels of government in federations. This theme is extended to twentieth century theorists who have been rather more opaque, or deceptive, in their treatment of

the problem.

The paper will then consider what federalism teaches democracy, especially its clear indication of the essentially arbitrary nature of any definition of 'the people' or the qualification of citizenship. It will conclude with a reconsideration of the theoretical relationship between federalism and democracy, viz. that federalism is necessarily dependent upon liberal freedoms, and may be supportive of them, but that it may also be an inherently conservative break on the expression of popular sovereignty over concentration of economic and social power in liberal capitalist states.

Session 3E

3E: THE ENGLISH JACOBINS ON THE THEORY AND  
PRACTICE OF POLITICAL CHANGE

Catherine Fyfe (Queens)

This paper is set up in two parts, the first a critical review of the existing scholarly literature on this episode in the history of political thought, and secondly an investigation of the writings of the radicals themselves from the vantage-point of their reflections on political change.

There are several reasons for undertaking a re-examination of the so-called English Jacobins, those radical thinkers who flourished briefly in the 1790's. The scholarly analysis of this episode in the history of political thought is strikingly deficient. The secondary literature tends to yield a stereo-typical radical who resembles John Cartwright; in other words, a rationalistic optimist who believes that instituting the ballot, universal suffrage, and annual parliaments will necessarily and definitively correct all abuses of power. It seems fair to say that people have tended to give a character to this radical movement on the basis of subsequent, and arguably more successful, reform movements. Most notably, it tends to be treated as continuous with the episode surrounding the passage of the first Reform Bill; also, those thinkers who do not conform to the stereotype of the liberal thinker tend to be treated to rather Procrustean tactics of analysis. Given all this, two characteristics emerge: the radicals are treated as having been interested exclusively in legislative reform, and they are given a character on the basis of their 'kinship' with French radicals seen as consisting chiefly in a vehement optimism and an extreme rationalism. An examination of the radicals themselves will reveal the inappropriateness of this depiction.

The existing secondary literature on the radicals paradoxically conceals both the distinctiveness of, as well as the elements of broader theoretical interest in, their thought. Because, in contradistinction to both those who preceded and those who followed them and whose energies were largely confined to arguing the case for the reform of parliament, they were in many instances men committed to fundamental change in existing social, political and moral institutions and conventions. To consider their thought in terms of their modes of 'diagnosis' and their ideas of political change and political action is especially appropriate and promising. When their thought is investigated in this light, what emerges is the existence of an apparently unrecognized and yet nonetheless substantial body of opinion on why genuine and efficacious

political change might be impossible. This is especially interesting given the failure of these radicals to prevail in anything they demanded. This body of opinion about the obstacles to political change in extraordinarily diverse.

### 3E: FICTION AND SCIENCE IN HUME'S CONCEPT OF JUSTICE

Thomas E. Kuhn (U of T)

Hume's later Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary, and History of England show that Hume was conscious that neither his model of human nature, nor his concept of justice were universal concepts. Hume there recognized that the avarice and restricted generosity which lead to justice, although present in all societies, were predominant only in commercial market societies.

Hume uses scientific method, yet he needs to deceive readers in order to assure belief in the moral and political concept of justice. He uses an historical artifice to convince readers that justice is not something historically-conditioned, something relative, but rather a moral virtue which arises from the nature of things. The artifice establishes Hume's theory as justificatory, even though it is based on strict scientific method.

#### Method:

The method used in the paper is best exemplified by Macpherson's Political Theory of Possessive Individualism, and Adkin's Merit and Responsibility: A Study in Greek Values. I examined Hume's political philosophy to see if there were possibly any inconsistencies; I read later works, such as the Essays, and the History, to see if Hume's later writings could shed light on the political philosophy; I read his earlier books in the Treatise, to see if any statement there would further clarify the political philosophy in Book III.

Hume's Essays and History clearly show his consciousness of the historical-relativity of models of human nature, and of the concept of justice. The earlier books of the Treatise show Hume was aware of the uses of historical artifice for assuring belief in fiction. They also show Hume's consistent understanding of reason, and passions, concepts in Book III.

#### Session 5E(i)

### 5E(i): AN HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION OF POLITICAL THEORY: SOME MEDIEVAL PARADOXES

Jason Myers (Nuffield College)

There are perhaps no two academic disciplines more alike than the study of history and politics. Yet, the controversy surrounding the analysis of past political philosophies is evidence that the historical underpinnings of political thought are not well understood themselves.

The tendency exists to explain past philosophies by assigning modern connotations to what has been written, locating them within current theoretical debates often with illogical results. Some students of political thought regard

the works of former theorists as accurate descriptions of the political systems in which they lived, or simply as prescriptions for a better society conditioned by personal circumstances. Others would argue that modern-day analysts must understand the meaning of theoretical terms in their proper historical context, but conclude by treating the substance of what has been written as part of some grand academic debate divorced from the actual political conditions of the time.

What is required of political analysis is more than an attempt to incorporate historical background into the study of political thought. The relationship between social and political conditions and the ideas that spring from them must also be addressed.

Political theory is fundamentally concerned with authority. And, authority is itself sustained by a system of beliefs, reinforced by symbols of one type or another, which serve to justify political rule. The study of political thought must begin, then, with an appreciation of the dominant ideas — of the prevailing social and political ideologies, to use Gramsci's terminology — that have given justification to the aspirations of certain political factions in their effort to command positions of authority.

Having set forth this methodological prescription, the argument turns to the works of two medieval English tracticians for purposes of illustration. Henry de Bracton and John of Salisbury both rely upon Justinian legal maxims in their treatises on English law. The will of the monarch is represented by the law. However, laws are made only with the consent of the people, and the monarch is also subject to the law. John of Salisbury goes so far as to accept regicide as an appropriate response if a king were regularly to disobey the laws of his own realm. How are these statements to be reconciled? Taken at their face value, they seem highly contradictory.

Explanations have been suggested which would treat these arguments as indications of an emerging populist, or "democratic", movement. Similarly, they may be viewed as attempts to explain actual political circumstances, using terms which derive their meaning from the context of medieval academic debate. Analysis along these lines, though, has not resolved the theoretical paradox posed by medieval tracticians. While academic argument and historical description are important components of political thought, such philosophies must be interpreted with regard to the ideas and values that served to sustain the medieval social order. Justinian maxims were adopted by legalists because they gave expression to contemporary political circumstances within the rubric of dominant beliefs concerning the nature of authority. The relationship between ideas and political behaviour stands at the heart of the much broader relationship between politics and history — between the history of the present and the politics of the past.

#### Session 5E(ii)

### 5E(ii): SYSTEMS THEORY REVISITED

James D. Driscoll (Trent)

Little attention has been paid to the falling from favour of global or macro-systems theories in political science. There seems to be tacit acceptance of David Easton's claim that they were



overtaken by the events of the 1960s and 1970s, but this is taken only as an index of incompleteness (the failure to achieve "a comprehensive general theory") rather than as a challenge to general theory itself. Applied science, in times of crisis, can be expected to rely on "partial" theories.

Functional theories which aimed at "basic science" and denied the validity of historical ("historicist") conditioning of their models were the product of a particular phase in the development of modern industrial society. If one follows Daniel Bell in locating the beginning of the tertiary or post-industrial phase in the mid-1950s, then it can be argued that both the United States and the societies of Northern Europe that were rebuilding their economies were "interested" in the possibilities for coordination and guided change that could be the product of a successful attempt to model and quantify the core components of whole societies. The theoretical concern of recent years, however, has been not with the steady elaboration of the conceptual frameworks of systems theories. We have discovered "the crisis of legitimacy".

Both the politics and the political theory of the 1970s converge on the anxious search for orienting or legitimating elements in a real or imagined heritage from the past. This paper will argue that these efforts cannot seriously challenge the validity claims of functionalist theories which will continue to abstract process models, synchronically, from our current understanding of contemporary events. What must be understood, if we are to do more than map "the disjunction of realms", is that the cultural components of modern societies are not fully manipulable and that their paradigmatic power to shape consciousness and events cannot be retrieved by either synchronic functional theories or a keener sense of history.

#### Session 9E

##### 9E: NIETZSCHE'S 'APOLOGY': SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT READING ECCE HOMO

Leon H. Craig (Alberta)

One of the most fascinating of Nietzsche's many fascinating books is his strange "autobiography," Ecce Homo. Therein, Nietzsche talks about himself, about thinking, about writing, and about those other books. For anyone interested in Nietzsche, Ecce Homo would seem a potentially invaluable source of insight. But, alas, Ecce Homo is one of the most enigmatic writings of this frequently enigmatic author. It is the contention of this paper that some special light is thrown on the book by reading it with conscious regard for Plato's Apology of Socrates, indeed, by seeing Ecce Homo as — in some sense — the Nietzschean equivalent.

#### Session 10E(i)

##### RECONCILING HISTORY AND THEORY; THE CASE OF POLITICAL METAPHORS

Jeremy Rayner (UBC)

Recent criticisms of Quentin Skinner's

methodological injunctions to historians of political thought have concentrated on the problems associated with his speech-act account of meaning and understanding. The demonstration that serious difficulties do arise in this account does not, however, entail the abandonment of Skinner's equally controversial claim that the history of political thought might best be studied as the history of ideologies.

It is argued that one great virtue of this latter claim has been to draw our attention to two aspects of the use of political metaphors. One aspect helps us recover the way in which an author understands his relation to other writers, the other involves the relation between an author and his potential audience, especially the beliefs and values he appeals to.

Seen in this light, we are able to resist the temptation to reify political metaphors (to refer, for example, to the metaphor of the political machine); we are able to consider at least this aspect of political thought as a genuine object for historical investigation, the reconstruction of what a theorist thought that he was doing; and we are, incidentally, able to reply to those of Skinner's critics who see his methodology as conservative in its implications, unable to explain novelty in political theory.

##### 10E(i): QUENTIN SKINNER: METHOD, WORK, CRITICISM

James Tully (McGill)

The title is self-explanatory. It is an article I am writing for Political Studies and consists of four parts: a survey of his methodological, historical and contemporary writings; a section on the philosophers and historians who have been most influential in the development of his thought; comparison and contrast with other historians of political theory; and an assessment of the major criticisms of his work.

#### Session 10E(ii):

##### 10E(ii): SPONTANEOUS ACTION: THE RESCUE OF DANISH JEWS AND HANNAH ARENDT'S THOUGHT

Elsebet Jegstrup (U of T)

In this paper my intention is to link the events of October 1943 in Denmark, when almost ten thousand Jews were rescued, with Hannah Arendt's political thought. I shall in a short paragraph recount the history of the integration of Jews into Danish society, then in somewhat more detail relate the events that led up to this critical time, and finally in a few words narrate the rescue action itself.

I shall assume Hannah Arendt's concept of political action is understood as conscious action in the political realm where you appear before others and reveal yourself without certainty as to what you reveal; a consideration which faced every Dane who took action. Thus they attained both humanness and individuality by transcending the determined anonymity of the apolitical sphere of futility and entering the realm of explicit recognition, of freedom, and of permanence, constructed by men through action and speech.

Finally, I shall attempt to show that the Jews were saved not in spite of themselves, as Hannah Arendt might suggest; rather, they escaped the concentration camps precisely because they were Danes.

Session 11E:

11E: NON-RATIONALITY AND SUPRO-INDIVIDUAL ETHICS: PROBLEMS OF ETHICAL EVALUATION OF PUBLIC POLICY

William P. Brandon (Rochester)

The paper addresses a central dilemma for the ethical evaluation of public policy: the problem of non-rationality.

It begins by exploring the implications for ethics of Graham Allison's three epistemological paradigms (rational actor, organizational process, and governmental politics). Only the rational actor model is fully compatible with the rationalistic aims of policy analysis, which uses "soft technologies" for decision-making developed largely by economists and engineers to implement a utilitarian program. Allison's other two conceptual models conceive of "what happens" in ways that are at odds with the myth of rational policy-making that has been perpetuated by political scientists, journalists, economists, and administrators.

Non-rationality is a problem for ethics because in the Anglo-American traditions the rationality of an agent is a necessary condition for appropriately praising or blaming behavior. The focus of Anglo-American ethics on individuals, rather than collectivities like governments, is explored. In this connection work by Dennis Thompson on the "problem of many hands" is examined.

The paper explores cases from the field of U.S. policy (e.g., tax subsidies for tobacco farmers, neonatal euthanasia, and the financing of long-term health care) in an attempt to develop ethics applicable to institutions that may not "act" "rationally."

SECTION:

SOCIALIST SYSTEMS/SYSTEME SOCIALISTE

Paul Marantz (B.C.) & Lenard Cohen (Simon Fraser)

Session 1G(i)

SEE PAPER /VOIR COMMUNICATION : 1A

Session 1G(ii): 1G(ii): Jeremy Paltiel (U of California, San Diego), D. Zweig (Michigan)

(NO ABSTRACT /PAS DE RESUME )

Session 2G(i)

2G(i): LINGUISTIC MINORITY RIGHTS AND POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

Jean Laponce (UBC)

The literature on ethnic minorities distinguishes four major types according to whether the cleavage between dominant group and minority is a) racial, b) religious, c) historico-regional or d) linguistic; but, too often, analysts and political practitioners alike, fail to distinguish the very specific behaviours and needs of each of these subcategories, a failure which is particularly damaging when one seeks to devise a system of constitutional and legal guarantees of minority rights.

The object of the paper will be to show that linguistic minorities require, for their protection, solutions that are specifically theirs, solutions that are, unfortunately, at odds with the ideology of individual liberalism, the very ideology that is most sensitive to the need of protecting the individual against the powers that be. More specifically, I will show that the need for original treatment of linguistic minority groups comes from the link between specific neuro-physical and geographical factors. The fact that the mind rejects synonymy results in there being a natural tendency toward monolingualism at the level of the individual. Translated into spatial factors that tendency causes societies to aggregate themselves in space in such a way as to form geographically distinct and homogeneous areas. In turn, this very type of aggregation raises problems of territorial borders and border-control - thus, unlike that of racial, religious or even historico-regional ethnicities - the protection of linguistic minorities is unlikely to be insured by means of classical individual rights; it requires group rights, and typically, these group rights will take the form of rights over borders and territories. The distinctiveness of linguistic, compared to other ethnicities, is in the importance of space in the resolution of their problems, an importance that has biological as well as cultural roots.

Session 2G(ii): 2G(ii): H. Biddulph (U. of Victoria)

(NO ABSTRACT /PAS DE RESUME )

Session 3G:

3G: LE FEDERALISME EN PAYS MULTICOMMUNAUTAIRES: UN CONSTRUCT THEORIQUE MIS A L'EPREUVE

Alain Gagnon (Carleton)

Au cours des dernières années, et surtout depuis le début des années 1960, nous avons été témoins des nombreuses difficultés rencontrées par des systèmes fédéraux dans plusieurs états multicommunautaires.

Le but de cette recherche est donc de présenter une typologie des facteurs prérequis à l'instauration et au maintien des systèmes fédéraux en pays multicommunautaires. L'auteur élabore un construit théorique incluant les facteurs suivants: a) les avantages économiques, b) les motifs politiques, c) la diversité sociale, d) la capacité de compromis et e) la volonté fédérale.

Cette grille d'analyse est dès lors testée auprès de deux études de cas: soit ceux du Nigéria et de la Suisse. L'étude comparée de ces deux pays a pour objet de faire ressortir les facteurs indispensables à la réussite des systèmes fédéraux en pays multicommunautaires.

3G: NIGERIA'S SECOND REPUBLIC  
A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF NIGERIA'S SECOND  
REPUBLIC: TOWARDS AN EXPLANATION OF AFRICAN  
LIBERAL DEMOCRACY II

William D. Graf (Guelph)

The theme of the paper is the conditions and prospects for liberal democracy in sub-Saharan Africa, and the approach is generally a political economy one (as see in 1982 CAAS Conference on "Nigerian Elite Consolidation and African Elite Theories: Towards an Explanation of African Liberal Democracy" or my working paper published by the Walter Rodney African Studies Seminar, Boston University, 1981: "Political Economy, Political Class and Political System in Recivilianised Nigeria")

This proposed paper will analyse the actual constitutional structures and institutions which (a) help to account for the failure of Nigeria's First Republic (1960-66) and (b) help to explain the (tentative) success of the Second Republic (1979-present). Changes in executive-legislative structures and relations, the evolving system of federalism, the 'legislation of unity' (mechanisms of integration), and electoral processes, in particular, will be examined intensively in their dynamic relations with political economy and society. From this may emerge an — admittedly only partial — Lipsetian theory about the role of political structure in sustaining liberal democracy in less-developed countries. And some insights may be provided into the 'plumbing' aspects of canalising and diffusing ethno-national forces in African politics.

The paper takes as given: 1) that the Nigerian political economy is integrated, in subordinate role, into the world capitalist economy, and 2) that the Nigerian elite groupings since 1979 have established a political system of liberal democracy in order to facilitate their dominant and essentially non-productive position of pre-eminence.

Starting from these premises, the paper then presents an intensive analysis of the political structures of the Second Republic. It develops concepts of inter-class versus intra-class conflict and demonstrates, using examples from the constitutional order itself, the executive, legislature, judiciary and the system of federalism, the effectiveness of these institutions in mitigating and canalising both types of class conflict, containing residual sentiments of ethnicity and ethno-nationalism, and creating an environment of 'social peace.'

Comparisons are made throughout with the First Republic and the Military Government as well as with analogous developments in other African states.

3G: THE ROLE OF CENTRAL AGENCIES IN AUSTRALIAN  
FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONS

John Warhurst (Australia National U.)

This paper reports on a study of the functions performed by Premiers' Departments at the state

level and the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet at the commonwealth level in the conduct of intergovernmental relations in the Australian federal system. The paper is largely based on extensive interviews of senior public servants, firstly in the central agencies in question in the commonwealth government and each of the six state governments, and secondly in a range of functional departments in the commonwealth government and in the governments of the two major states, New South Wales and Victoria. This research has been supplemented by limited access to written departmental materials, examination of the public record and the sparse academic literature on this topic in Australia.

Strong 'first ministers' departments are a recent phenomenon in Australia, dating back no more than thirty years at the commonwealth level and less than a decade in some states. So they are a recent and often unwelcome intruder in the field of federal-state relations. An even more recent development (over the past seven or eight years) has been the creation of specialised administrative units of federal affairs or intergovernmental relations within the central agencies the paper traces these developments.

The paper identifies a number of functions performed by the central agencies in federal-state relations. These include information distribution, regulation and coordination. Each function has a political control and an organisational efficiency aspect. At this stage in their development the impact of the central agencies on the intergovernmental aspect of departmental activity varies markedly between states and between departments. Yet on the whole their influence appears to be growing. The impact on the federal system is clear. Judgements about the desirability and/or necessity of such developments also vary markedly among participants and observers in Australia.

Session 5G(i):

5G(i): POLICY CHANGE AND POLITICAL  
REALIGNMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN: THE  
EMERGENCE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

George Breckenridge (McMaster)

The formation in 1981 of the SDP, the electoral alliance between the SDP and the Liberal Party, and the initial success of the alliance in the polls and at by-elections hold out the prospect of the first realignment of British politics since the early 1920s, when Labour replaced the Liberals as the major party on the left. I am interested particularly in the role that policy failure and policy polarization have played in setting up the possibility of realignment.

The American literature (Burnham, Sudquist et al.) suggests a close connection between political realignment, policy polarization, and policy innovation, but in the British case these relationships have not been so clear. Indeed the policy transformations of 1908-1911 and 1940-50 came about in a climate of consensus between the parties, while the party realignment of the 1920s came about in a climate of policy paralysis. In the present situation it is the breakdown of the post-war policy consensus since the late sixties which had led to the prospect of policy innovation, the greatly increased polarization between the major parties, and to serious splits



within each of them, particularly Labour. The new party which now threatens the existing party system stands not for policy innovation but for policy continuity.

Against this theoretical and historical background, the central focus will be on the pathology of the Labour Party and on the policy dissention in three areas, the economy, the EEC, and defence, which has led to the Social Democratic breakaway. The prospects for the new alliance have to be weighed in the light of the role that these policies have played in its emergence.

5G(i): UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT THEORY AND REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN THE ELECTORAL SUPPORT FOR THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY

Munro Eagles (U of T)

The paper will identify a levels of analysis problem in the general form of "uneven development" theories of the rise of minority nationalism. These theories tend to focus uncritically on the level at which political mobilization is observed in their search for the causes of the phenomenon. In this case Scotland is often discussed as a politically homogeneous unit and explanations for the electoral rise of the SNP are sought at the Anglo-Scottish level. The predominance of this approach has led to a neglect of the impact of the internal factors associated with Scottish regional diversity on the distribution of SNP electoral support.

One method of assessing the political impact of these regional differences, and also of evaluating the utility of uneven development theories of minority nationalism, is to look specifically for relationships between features of uneven development within Scotland and the level of SNP support. Such an exercise will not test the validity of uneven development theory for this task could only be undertaken at the Anglo-Scottish level. Rather it will give some measure of the power of this approach to explain regional variations in the levels of SNP support and will suggest some refinements which would render this body of theory more sensitive to important features of the Scottish polity.

The empirical focus of the paper will be on ascertaining the impact of socio-economic variables measured at the constituency level on the level of SNP voting in recent (post-1970) general elections. This analysis will provide a systematic study of the impact of Scottish regional diversity on the support for the nationalist party and thus broaden the discussion of Scottish political behaviour beyond the often sterile description of pan-Scottish trends.

Session 5G(ii):

5G(ii): ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

NO PAPER /PAS DE COMMUNICATION

Session 9G(i)

9G(i): ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

NO PAPER /PAS DE COMMUNICATION

Session 9G(ii):

9G(ii): T. Mitchell (Carleton), P. Henze (Smithsonian Institute)

(NO ABSTRACT /PAS DE RESUME)

10G(i): ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

NO PAPER /PAS DE COMMUNICATION

Session 10G(ii):

10G(ii): A. Arbonyi (Queen's), C. Jones (Harvard)

(NO ABSTRACT /PAS DE RESUME)

Session 11G:

11G: PR BY THE SERVANTS' ENTRANCE: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SINGLE TRANSFERABLE VOTE

Duff Spafford (Saskatchewan)

This paper traces the development of the principles which underlie the single transferable vote (STV), the method of election devised by the English barrister Thomas Hare and others more than a century ago. Though regarded, and properly so, as a system of proportional representation, the STV is set apart from other systems of that kind by its having among its principles none which explicitly recognizes the claims of political parties to representation. Hare's theme was not "parties in their proportions" so much as it was "parties in their place". He believed that it was the individual, voter and candidate, whose interests were the proper concern of those who would reform the electoral system.

Hare's object was the design a method of election which would, by means of certain transfer operations, automatically deliver a voter's single vote to a candidate who might stand in need of it, the method taking account at once of the voter's own preferences and the preferences declared by other voters. If a voter's first-ranked candidate was bound to succeed without his support or bound to fail in spite of it, his vote would pass on to his second-ranked candidate, and so on.

This attempt to build a strategy-selection procedure into the counting rules of a multi-member election was a highly ambitious one, and its successes, failures and false starts go to make up a significant chapter in the development of the theory of electoral systems. Hare's work joined and in turn stimulated a large literature on electoral reform, much of it remarkably modern in spirit and preoccupation. Especially noteworthy is the reaction of the British electoral reformers to the ideas which came to them from the Continent, where the principle of basing representation on party entitlements had become widely accepted and embodied in PR formulae such as that of D'Hondt. Interestingly, though in matters of procedure the STV and the method of D'Hondt are poles apart, it turns out that, as PR systems, they are closely related.

SECTION: POLITICAL ECONOMY/ECONOMIE POLITIQUE  
James Sacouman (Acadia)

Session 1J:

1J: THE THEORETICAL STATUS OF MONOPOLY  
CAPITAL

Michael Lebowitz (Simon Fraser)

Recently it has been argued that the very concept of monopoly capital is incompatible with Marx's analysis, that it suggests a qualitative alteration in the nature of capitalism and that, finally, such a theory inherently leads to reformism. In this paper we attempt to explore the compatibility of monopoly capital with Marx's view of the essence of capital. We find that monopoly capital is one contingent form of capital as such. On the other hand, Marx did not consider the form of capital on the surface as merely a matter of contingency. Indeed, his argument is one of necessity — that the monopoly form will increasingly prevail. That is what his discussion of centralization of capital indicates. However, what status can be assigned to the process of centralization? The argument here is that it is only a phenomenal manifestation of an immanent law inherent in the concept of capital, which has not been adequately recognized. Accordingly, we explore the intrinsic tendency of capital to become one and its various manifestations (and their implications); and finally we pose the question as to whether One Capital as such (i.e., where total capital is not separated into competing capitals) can still be designated as capital.

Session 2J:

2J: SURPLUS LABOUR AND CLASS FORMATION ON  
THE LATIN AMERICAN PERIPHERY

Henry Veltmeyer (Sociology, St. Mary's)

This paper brings into analytical focus elements of what could be termed a modes of production approach to class formation on the periphery of a world-wide process of capital accumulation. Within the framework of this approach, this paper suggests that peripheral societies share economic conditions not found to any significant extent at the centre of the system; that, in terms of these conditions, it is possible to identify a class structure typical of peripheral formations; and that this structure is shaped by what Marx termed "the general law of capital accumulation". With reference to conditions specified by this law, the paper argues that the class structure of peripheral formations revolves around the production of a relative surplus population and that certain characteristic features of this structure, such as the persistence of pre-capitalist modes of production, widespread conditions of semiproletarianization, increased involvement of women in pre-capitalist relations, and the proliferation of petty production in its various forms, serve to expand capital under conditions of superexploitation. The substantive focus of this argument is Latin America.

Session 2

2J: REGION AND CLASS IN CANADA: THE BASIS OF  
RESISTANCE

Wallace Clement (Sociology, Carleton)

Canada's class structure has been strongly influenced by its resource-based economy and its relationship to foreign economies. What often passes for regionalism is, in fact, an expression of class struggles which result from the uneven development of the Canadian economy.

Canada has at its centre a developed industrial working class based primarily in branch plant manufacturing (such as the automobile industry). Outside this centre is a large resource proletariat, also working in foreign-dominated industries (either through ownership or markets) in such activities as mining and forest products. This sector of the working class, along with transportation workers (particularly railway workers), has long been a militant core of worker's resistance. Further centres of resistance have been the farmers and fishermen. These simple commodity producers have been important in shaping Canada's class dynamics and giving expression to regionalism. As these simple commodity producers have experienced proletarianization they have joined the resource proletariat in their struggles against domination.

Based as they are in such externally dominated activities as mining, forest products, farming and fishing, these resource workers (whether proletariat or simple commodity producers) have been subject to international markets and major fluctuations in the demand for the products of their labour. Aside from these cyclical changes in demand has been a constant tendency to make these activities more capital-intensive, thus decreasing labour requirements and displacing those traditionally engaged in resource extraction. Herein lies a major source of regional unemployment and regional unrest.

Recently workers in the once prosperous industrial centre have also been subject to major cutbacks—a process known as de-industrialization. Similarly state workers have experienced the effects of fiscal crisis and commercial workers the impact of automation. The common plight of Canadian workers throughout the country can serve as a basis for building national working class resistance.

Session 3J:

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

NO PAPER /PAS DE COMMUNICATION

Session 5J:

5J: THE MATURING OF CANADIAN CAPITALISM:  
STATE POLICY IN THE 1980S

Philip Resnick (UBC)

The thesis of this paper will be that Canadian capitalism has come of age in the last decade. A historical tendency to import large amounts of capital has been reversed, with Canada having become a net capital exporter instead. Canadian multinationals and banks have become more conspicuous actors in the international economy,

while Canada has made it into the OECD group of seven.

State policy, by which I mean the policies of the federal government, reflect this new phase. The National Energy Policy seeks to graft a significant state-controlled petroleum sector onto the existing industry, while simultaneously diminishing the role of foreign multinationals and increasing that of Canadian-controlled companies. Trudeau's constitutional ploy was, in part, an attempt to reverse growing provincial power, by reinforcing federal economic power and laying the basis for a more competitive Canadian posture internationally. Canadian initiatives on the north-south dialogue represent an intelligent move by a capitalist country out to win itself a favourable position in that represent the dynamic growth areas of the world — the newly industrializing countries.

Unlike current American and British policy, that of Canada espouses an interventionist state. But this implies no commitment to socialism, rather, to a stronger Canadian capitalism than would be possible in Canada through market forces alone. The revival of Canadian nationalism by a Liberal Party that rejected much of the same ten years ago speaks, therefore, to the strategic interests of Canadian capitalism seeking to carve itself a larger place in the world.

Session 9J:

9J: THE EVOLUTION OF THE RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE, THE RATE OF PROFIT, AND THE ORGANIC COMPOSITION OF CAPITAL IN CANADA

Andrew Sharpe (Champlain Regional College)

A recent development in Canadian political economy has been the empirical estimation of Marxian categories (Cuneo (1978), Sharpe (1981)). The goal of this paper is to increase our knowledge in this important area by providing estimates of variable capital, surplus value, and constant capital in Canada for the 55 year period from 1926 to 1980. From this data the rate of surplus value, the rate of profit, and the organic composition of capital will be calculated. The role of such factors as the class struggle, state taxation and expenditure, general economic conditions, and inflation in the determination of the relative shares of variable capital and surplus value will be analyzed.

There is considerable debate among empirical Marxist economists on the appropriate way of handling certain issues such as the division of workers into productive and unproductive groups, the classification of State expenditure between variable, constant and surplus capital, the importance of the transformation problem, and the position of independent commodity producers in Marxian class analysis. In the paper I briefly discuss these problems and outline my procedures for dealing with them.

Official statistics on the Canadian economy do not of course correspond with Marxian categories. Consequently major adjustments are necessary to make the data compatible with Marxian definitions and these changes will be discussed. As input-output data are currently available for the 1961-76 period, it is possible to calculate for these years the amount of socially necessary labor in commodities and thus the amount of labor in variable capital and surplus value using the methodology first developed by Morishima (1973). For the pre-1961 years and for recent years for

which input-output data is not yet available, constant dollar estimates will be made from national income and expenditure accounts data.

Session 10J:

10J: CAPITAL ACCUMULATION, CRISIS THEORY AND THE REGIONAL QUESTION

J. Overton (Acadia), A. Rowe (PEI)

What may be called the regional question has become of crucial significance in recent years. The problems focused on under this heading are generally the related ones of the emergence of regionalism (separatism, neo-nationalism, etc.) as a political force in many countries, the differential impact of the economic crisis, the continued existence of regional disparities after decades of government efforts to do something about these problems and recent and impending changes in central government policy towards disadvantaged areas within their political jurisdictions. In recent years a considerable body of work has been produced which attempts to shed light on the above problems and inform political strategy. Yet it is our contention that the majority of this work fails to provide an adequate basis for understanding the regional question(s) largely because it does not effectively locate the issues dealt within terms of an appreciation of the process of accumulation and crisis under capitalism. The task of doing this is an immense one and this paper seeks to suggest ways of coming to grips with some dimensions of the regional question largely through a discussion of (1) uneven spatial development, (2) regional movements and (3) regional policy.

10J: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, SOCIAL SECURITY AND PENSION REFORM IN CANADA

Richard Deaton (Saskatchewan Labour)

The pension issue, in advanced capitalist societies such as Canada, both in the short and long-term, may generate increased social tension — intergenerational, sectoral, political and within the industrial relations system. The conflicting interests of the various actors may result in a situation which will bring the elderly, workers, and unions into conflict with the corporate sector and state. This is explained by four structural considerations: First, the inadequate level of retirement income of the elderly. Second, the increasing proportion of the elderly in the population. Third, the limitations of the private pension system sector. Four, under conditions of monopoly capitalism, the private sector and state attempting to use the private and state pension systems as a new source of investment and social capital, respectively, to meet their finance capital requirements.

The dynamic of the conflicting structural interests underlying the pension issue may generate a heightened awareness of the nature of power and politics, resulting in increased politicization and new progressive economic development strategies based on the pension system's capital accumulation and investment functions.

It is suggested that a transitional strategy for social change based on alternative-directed investment strategies, through an expanded public/state pension system, could serve the multiple purpose of improving retirement income for the elderly, act as a countervailing force to institutional investors in the capital market and supply a new source of developmental capital for economic development, industrial expansion and repatriation of the Canadian economy.

Session 11J:

11J: THE CONTRADICTIONS OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEE UNIONISM: A NOVA SCOTIAN CASE

Anthony Thomson (Acadia)

Since the early 1970s government workers have been ushered precipitously to the forefront of militant unionism in Canada. Despite the impressive strike statistics which have led to widely differing conclusions about the problems or the promise of public sector unionism, the response to changes in working conditions and the labour market remains ambivalent for many state workers. The source of this ambiguity is sought first in the contradictions of the state and the specificity of government employment. The revival of trade union consciousness among government workers is linked to the manifestations of the contemporary crisis in the state sector. A class struggle approach to unionism must go beyond the structural limits and conditions of action and include the specific context, as well as leadership and traditions. In this respect a brief overview of the development of civil service unionism in Nova Scotia is presented. In general the response of civil servants to the crisis is an outcome of their specific practices and history in the context of general contradictions and crisis.

11J: THE PROLETARIAN PROFESSIONALS: CONTRADICTIONARY TRENDS IN POST-WAR NEW MIDDLE CLASS LABOUR

Jan Mayer (Sociology, Lakehead)

Using data gathered from four large Canadian corporations, this paper explores two trends within monopoly capitalism: on the one hand, the rise of technical-professional labour as an important economic, political and ideological component in the growth and maturation of the monopoly firm; and on the other hand, the increasing threats of proletarianization in the form of de-skilling and de-valuing of labour which are increasingly likely to occur. These trends are seen as related though contradictory processes which have their source within the driving mechanisms of advanced capitalism. Evidence of the relatively privileged position of this new middle class in juxtaposed against existing and potential sources of proletarianization. The data are assessed in terms of what these imply for orientations and consciousness and for the internal divisions within this group of "contradictorily located" corporate workers.

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS/  
RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES

Don Munton (Canadian Institute of International Affairs)

Session 1K:

1K: STATUS THEORY AND THE EFFECTS OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION ON CONFLICT AND COOPERATION IN THE EEC AND COMECON

Renata E. Wielgosz (York)

This study examines the role of status in the EEC and COMECON from 1948 to 1978. Where conflict stemming from status discrepancy is institutionalized, the conflict which does occur is muted. When regional integration is undertaken under these circumstances, verbal conflict and low levels of non-verbal conflict are typical. This study outlines the link between international status and foreign policy behaviors including a broad range of conflictual behavior and a variety of cooperative actions. Edward Azar's Conflict and Peace Data Bank (COPDAB), which is organized on a fifteen point scale of international behaviors is used. Status is measured according to several clusters of indicators: size, and economic, military and diplomatic status. This paper specifically explores: 1. the relationship between nation-state's status and the overall dimension of interaction (frequency, type and intensity); 2. the link between a nation-state's status and the types of foreign policy behavior; and 3. the likely interaction with similar and dissimilar status-type states within the community (dyadic behavior) contrasted with interaction with states in the other community.

1K: A DYNAMIC ANALYSIS OF UNITED NATIONS' CONTROL OF THE SPREAD OF CONFLICTS

Michael Lerner (Carleton)

The control of conflicts, especially of their spread, which may be related to the danger they pose to the international system, has been one of the major purposes of the UN and of scholars studying that organization. Most scholarly studies ignore the question of controlling spread over time, not asking if the actions of the UN served to reduce the spread of a conflict in its next reoccurrence.

The proposed paper attempts to deal with this deficiency by analyzing how the UN's sponsorship pattern, level of agreement, and actions affect future spread. Among the hypotheses that may be tested are whether certain types of sponsorship, agreement, and actions affect future spread? whether the impact of the UN upon a conflict is primarily due to sponsorship and agreement—internal procedures—or to the actions—the final external action? Using the simple model that has been proposed, it may be possible to detect which type of sponsorship, agreement, and actions leads to reduction from a particular type of spread.



The data that will be used are a revised and augmented version of Butterworth's interstate security conflict data. The data analytic technique is continuous-time, discrete-state stochastic (Markov) modeling. Recent advances in this area permit the inclusion of effect of independent variables. Thus, it is possible to have the equivalent of a time-series regression for ordinal and nominal data. In this way it is possible to derive the double insights of dynamic analysis and of easily interpreted and understood ordinal and nominal data.

Session 2K:

2K: THE US, NATO-EUROPE AND CANADA:  
PERCEPTUAL AND SUBSTANTIVE DIVISIONS

Robin Ranger (St. F.-X)

NATO is currently divided more sharply than at almost any time since its founding on the nature and extent of the Soviet threat it faces, and on the appropriate measures to counter this threat. In the US view, articulated by the Reagan administration, and shared by the UK government, the military threat posed by the Soviet Union is now near total, giving it major political leverage against the West and East Europe, as well as against Third World countries, notably the Persian Gulf oil producers. Hence the need for the US and its NATO allies, including Canada, to restore their military defences and their political will to contain Soviet political pressures.

In the NATO-Europe view, especially amongst liberal and radical sections of the public, the US-UK perception of the Soviet Union is false, being based on the outmoded concepts of the Cold War era. Within Canada, the academic and public debates tend to favour these once liberal views, while the small Canadian strategic community tends to feel that the US and UK view is more realistic.

The paper analyzes both the substantive and perceptive differences within the Alliance on these issues, while suggesting how they are likely to be resolved. An interim assessment of the implication for Canada's defence and foreign policy will also be offered, touching on three emerging issues, the US plans to upgrade North American Air Defence (NORAD) system; the implications for Canada of the revisionary US interest in Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) system, and the military potential of outer-space.

Session 3K:

3K: THREAT EVALUATION AND THE COMPARATIVE  
SOVIET

Karen Erickson (Orvik Guelph)

Do the small states of the Soviet periphery tend to adopt similar views of the magnitude and nature of the Soviet threat? What are the grounds for differences in perspectives on the threat? The underlying assumption here is that the freedom of manoeuvre that the small peripheral state exercises is more directly affected by the perceptions and predispositions of the leadership toward Soviet policies than by the calculation of military power potential. The theoretical range of small-nation autonomous behaviour that could coexist with super-border power demands is mainly delimited by how the leadership of a nation can lead to results indicative of major political trends of the times and possibly point to future directions.

Four small states of the Soviet periphery have

been selected as examples for this study: Finland, Sweden, Iraq, and Iran. All four display relative autonomy and regional diversity. Finland and Iran have extended borders with the Soviet Union, while Sweden and Iraq are noncontiguous.

Based on statements by the leadership, and media and documentary data, the paper addresses the needs, risks, and advantages that the small state experiences in its bilateral relationships with the Soviet Union. The paper attempts to lay the foundation for a comparative study of threat evaluation and the conditions of contact between the Soviet Union and its small peripheral neighbours.

3K: ANALYSING SOVIET BEHAVIOUR IN THE THIRD  
WORLD: INITIATIVE OPPORTUNITY AND  
FUNCTIONALITY

Sylvia Edgington (Manitoba)

This paper would seek to improve on frequently utilized analytical schemes for the explanation of Soviet foreign policy by applying insights from theoretical comparative foreign policy studies. It is suggested that questions of intent, plan, and deliberation can offer only partially valid explanations for Soviet behaviour. These need to be supplemented by inquiry into environmental constraints and opportunities, and into the purposes or interests which may require or be served by certain types of foreign behaviour. Specific cases from Soviet relations with third world countries (Angola and Zambia) will be used to provide contrasting applications which will illustrate alternative analytical schemes. The emphasis will be on the contrasts in the picture of Soviet behaviour which results from shifts in the type of questions which analysts set for themselves. The overall message is that Soviet foreign policy studies lag seriously behind international relations theory.

Session 5K:

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

NO PAPER /PAS DE COMMUNICATTON

Session 9K

9K: TOWARDS A COMPLEX NEO-REALIST  
PERSPECTIVE ON CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY

John Kirton (U of T) and David Dewitt (Alberta)

During the past two decades the analysis of Canadian foreign policy has been dominated by the grand dichotomy between the perspectives of liberal-internationalism and peripheral-dependence, each of which offers a discrete, comprehensive and empirically testable account of Canada's historical experience, relative power position in the globe, externally-directed behaviour and underlying foreign policy process. In contrast, interpretations based on a realist tradition have remained confined to historical writings on sporadic arguments of Canada's status as a "foremost nation". Drawing upon these works and recent extensions of realist theory in the general international relations literature (notably by Hedley Bull, Stephen Krasner and A.F.K. Organski and Gacek Kubler) this paper develops the basic concepts, systematically arranges the content, and comprehensively specifies the predictions of a

distinctive complex neo-realist perspective on Canadian foreign policy. Focusing on Canada's externally-directed behaviour, it specifies the dimensions of Canada's approach to the questions of international activity, association and order and identifies the unique predictions of a complex neo-realist perspective on these dimensions. By examining quantitative evidence on Canadian behaviour since 1945 from both the existing literature and new research (including UN voting data, events data, role analysis, and Canadian diplomatic participation) it then assesses the empirical accuracy of these predictions, arguing that complex neo-realism provides an increasing powerful account of Canadian foreign policy during the past decade and a half.

Session 10K:

#### 10K: THE NEW GEOPOLITICS OF MINERALS

David G. Haglund (UBC)

Not since the interwar years—and in particular, the decade of the 1930s—have minerals figured so largely in the writings of political scientists and other students of international relations. "Geopolitics" is once again being employed as an analytical concept by scholars interested in assessing the implications that geographic facts have or will have for the international politics of the 1980s. Among the important "facts" of geography, none is as relevant as the question of the availability of mineral resources. The relevance of minerals inheres not only in the fact that the industrialized states are evidently dependent upon imports for much of their mineral consumption, for they have always been dependent (if to a lesser degree) on imported minerals; rather the relevance of minerals in the 1980s stems chiefly from the fear in the West that vitally needed industrial inputs (the so-called strategic and critical minerals) may be unavailable to them as a result either of deliberate withholding action on the part of producing countries or of unintentional curtailing of supply due to revolution or war.

The purpose of this paper will be to compare the "new" geopolitics of minerals with the "old." I intend to review the literature from the interwar years on the question of the relationship between resource needs and international politics (e.g. Brooks Emeny's The Strategy of Raw Materials, Norman Angell's Raw Materials, Population Pressure and War, and the Leith, Furness, and Lewis study, World Minerals and World Peace) and contrast it with what is currently being written on the subject of the political significance of mineral distribution. One of the theoretical issues that I will explore will be the contribution of global mineral distribution to the concept of "interdependence," for as C.K. Leith noted in his classic study on World Minerals and World Politics (1931), "an obvious consequence of concentration of mineral production is that nations are mutually interdependent in regard to mineral supplies . . . . This situation . . . raises new political questions of an unprecedented nature, which bear on the future orderly development and peace of the world."

This paper will serve as a basis for the introductory chapter of a book on which we at the Institute of International Relations are currently working, Canada and International Resource Politics.

#### NON-FUEL MINERAL RESOURCES AND CANADIAN IMPORT POLICY: THE CASE OF NON-FUEL MINERALS

Jock Finlayson (UBC)

Since the early 1970s scholars and policymakers in many Western countries have devoted considerable attention to the problem of raw material scarcity and its political and economic implications. The sharp escalation in oil prices in 1973-74 and the embargo imposed by the Arab members of the oil cartel illustrated the vulnerability of the advanced industrial democracies to political blackmail and economic disruption at the hands of non-Western nations possessing a critical natural resource. Many analysts sought to prove that oil was an exceptional case and that OPEC's actions could not serve as a workable model for developing countries rich in other important resources. But concern over the prospects of new cartels in bauxite, copper and other minerals grew nonetheless. Much of the impetus for analysis of potential conflicts over scarce natural resources came from U.S. interest groups and government officials worried about America's susceptibility to blackmail and about the possible fragmentation of the Western alliance as a result of a raw materials "scramble." Interest in such matters was also on the rise in Western Europe and Japan. In Canada, however, there has been comparatively little interest in the country's vulnerability to disruptions in the supply of non-fuel minerals, at least until recently. Although most Canadians justifiably think of their country as one extremely rich in mineral resources, in fact Canada does rely on imports to fulfill all or a large share of its needs for many important minerals. Policymakers in Ottawa have evinced increasing concern over the possibility of serious disruptions in the country's mineral supplies. Some minerals imported by Canada originate in areas of the world noted for their actual or potential instability; others are possible candidates for some type of cartel action on the part of producers, particularly developing country producers desirous of emulating OPEC. The paper will explore the dimensions of Canada's mineral import dependence, and inquire how "vulnerable" the country is as a result of this dependence. The evolution of Canadian policy toward critical or strategic non-fuel mineral imports will also be discussed.

11K: ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

NO PAPER /PAS DE COMMUNICATION

SECTION: LOCAL AND URBAN POLITICS  
/POLITIQUE LOCALE ET URBAINE

Donald Higgins (St. Mary's)

Session 1L:

THE PROVINCIAL-MUNICIPAL RELATIONS AND THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOUNDARY PROBLEM  
Stewart Fyfe (Queen's)

Problems associated with the degree of correspondence between political jurisdictions and social and economic communities is a recurring theme in local government.

Changes in population size and distribution, income and expectations, technology, and patterns of social and economic interaction, affect what



governments do and how they do it. In the post-war period this had been particularly evident for provincial government. For local government the changes have also been great but because of small scale, the incidence of change differs from place to place. This is particularly so when the urban community spills over municipal boundaries, so that congruence between the social and economic community and the political unit's jurisdiction is weakened. While the problems are to be found throughout the system of local government, they are greatest for urban areas because of the larger scale and higher degree of interdependence.

A parallel development has been the growth of provincial government activities, shifting the distribution of responsibilities. Not only have provincial activities grown generally, but they are also changed in relation to particular areas. Inadequacies of the local government system have been compensated for to a degree by expansion of provincial responsibility for the viability of the local government system, and by the province acting as a link in co-ordinating local activities. The province has been increasingly concerned with ensuring minimum levels of fairness and service, through influencing levels of service by municipalities, by the grant structure, and by direct provision of local services such as sewage treatment and police. This has minimized differences in local service and taxes, but has perpetuated fragmentation of local political institutions, and has increased demands on provincial political, administrative, and financial resources.

The paper attempts to provide a general review of the patterns of adaptation of provincial and local government activities to urban change, in four medium-sized cities: Barrie, Brantford, Kitchener-Waterloo and Sarnia.

#### 1L: THE POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION OF AMALGAMATION: THE CASE OF THUNDER BAY

Geoffrey Weller (Lakehead)

The paper begins with a review of the argument for and against the creation in 1971 of the City of Thunder Bay and then proceeds to an examination of the manner in which amalgamation was achieved. This is followed by an analysis of the political effects of amalgamation both in terms of the electoral structure and the political controversies that have arisen during the past decade. The third section of the paper analyses the effects of amalgamation on the civic administration, especially in terms of structure and staffing, and on the development of the revenue base. The fourth section analyses the policy outputs of the new governmental unit in terms of both 'hard' and 'soft' services, mainly in the context of whether or not they have been as predicted by either the proponents or opponents of amalgamation. The final section assesses, in overall terms, whether the hopes and aims of those who favoured amalgamation have been achieved, suggests possible reasons for successes and failures, and attempts to indicate what the future might hold. The material for this paper has been collected through a mixture of documentary evidence and interviews.

#### Session 2L:

ROUND-TABLE/TABLE RONDE

NO PAPER /PAS DE COMMUNICATION

#### 2L: URBAN DIRECTIONS FOR SOCIALISTS I: THE THEORY

Jack Layton (Ryerson)

In the effort to merge theory with practice, a starting point is always difficult to establish. This session, the first of two on the topic of urban directions for socialists, will begin with the following point of departure: Is there a socialist theory of the city? Is there a body of theory which provides, or could provide, a basis for a comprehensive political strategy for socialists in Canadian cities? The round-table panelists will compare and contrast different perspectives of socialist theory as it relates to cities, in order to establish common threads and points of disagreement as a prelude to a later session which will focus on the application of theory to the practice of urban politics.

#### Session 3L:

ROUND-TABLE/TABLE RONDE

NO PAPER /PAS DE COMMUNICATION

#### 3L: THE REAL WORLD OF LOCAL POLITICS: POLITICAL SCIENTISTS AS LOCAL POLITICIANS AND CONSULTANTS

Robert Williams (Waterloo)

A number of members of the CPSA have had the good fortune to be able to combine the academic study of politics with the 'real world' of government. This seems to have happened most frequently at the local level where various people have served on councils, acted as consultants to local authorities, or have assisted in the policy process in the municipal affairs area at the provincial level. It is helpful to those who are only observers to see how some of our colleagues have blended theory and practice in their 'other profession'. The point of the panel is to have practitioners who are also political scientists provide insights into various facets of Canadian municipal government — anything from procedural tactics to achieve desired results, to dealing with provincial authorities, to electoral experiences. In short, the panelists are asked to show how the 'real world' of municipal politics compares to the versions presented in academia.

#### Session 5L:

ROUND-TABLE/TABLE RONDE

NO PAPER /PAS DE COMMUNICATION

#### 5L: URBAN DIRECTIONS FOR SOCIALISTS II: THE PRACTICE

Jack Layton (Ryerson)

Following the earlier session (see Urban Directions for Socialists I: The Theory), this one will consider how socialist theory can provide a framework for political action in Canadian cities. Activists and observers of activists will discuss strategies and politics of the past and directions for the future in the effort to link theory and practice, using Fowler's paper as a starting point.

#### Session 5L:

#### 5L: NEIGHBOURHOOD ORGANIZATIONS IN CANADA AND THEIR IMPACT ON URBAN POLITICS: 1960-1980

Terry Fowler (York, Glendon)

seems to ebb and flow with different rates of urban development and government activity. While Toronto's civic politics was bustling with neighbourhood political activity in the early 1970's, Edmonton and Calgary seem to be in a similar state in the early 1980's. These impressions were the basis of a cross-Canada survey of neighbourhood activists conducted by the author, who sought more systematic evidence on how groups were established, how they are/were organized, and to what extent they have realized their goals. Preliminary analysis of the data indicated that urban growth issues (expressways, high-rises) tended to foster the emergence of middle class groups for which strong individual leadership was not an important factor in organizational effectiveness. Working class groups (of which there were few) tended to mention leaders as sources of effectiveness and to be concerned more with service activities (housing, legal aid, emergency advice, etc.).

#### Session 9L:

##### 9L: LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES:

Katherine A. Graham (Queen's)

In recent years, two diverging but simultaneous trends in political and policy development in the Northwest Territories have been noted: devolution of powers to the territorial level of government has been accompanied by increased policy involvement from Ottawa. This analysis might be extended to cover the evolution of local government in the Northwest Territories.

This paper will examine the history of local government in the N.W.T. in order to assess local reactions to structural and other changes in the local government system, such as the imposition of new planning and regulatory regimes by the federal government. The paper will contend that citizens and officials of local governments in small northern communities are still basically concerned with survival. Survival can be defined in many ways: preservation of life itself in an extremely hostile environment, maintenance of a particular lifestyle, cultural survival, etc. Accordingly, the dimensions of community concern for survival will be explored as will the resulting implications for territorial and federal government policy-making.

The externally-generated policy demands on northern local governments are significant. To some, they may be overwhelming. The paper will conclude with an exploration of alternative approaches to the development of northern local government and to the involvement of those governments in national issues, especially those related to resource development.

##### 9L PHILOSOPHY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT RE-ORGANIZATION IN ONTARIO

Trevor Price (Windsor)

The philosophy of local government is taken to mean the underlying ideas which generally prevail regarding the aims and purposes of local government.

The 1960's was a period when a general assessment was being made in Canada and other countries as to how suitable and effective were the existing institutions of government. A deliberate attempt was made to re-examine basic objectives of public action and to re-organize our

institutions to make them more efficient, responsive and accountable.

The reform of local government in Ontario lacked the comprehensive thoroughness of the British reform. The Ontario approach was more eclectic and pragmatic than the British but a close examination of the various reports and studies reveals certain assumptions about local government and about the benefits expected to accrue from restructuring. The paper will examine these assumptions.

#### Session 10L:

##### ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

##### NO PAPER /PAS CE COMMUNICATION

#### 10L: LOCAL POLITICAL HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Filippo Sabetti (McGill)

Canadian urban historians have often lamented, correctly, the failure of political scientists to pay attention to the influence of the past on modern city politics. A somewhat similar failure has existed in the study of personalities that have shaped Canadian urban governance. The recent publication of biographies of several Canadian urban leaders begins to fill gaps in our knowledge of what elements of the past have shaped the modern Canadian city. This panel is to consider the contributions that local biographies and histories have made to the advancement of knowledge about urban governance.

#### Session 11L:

##### 11L: THE STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT: ANGLO-AMERICAN CONCEPTIONS

Warren Magnusson (Victoria)

Modern local authorities have been variously conceived by their defenders: as public corporations, consumers' cooperatives, agencies of central government, or even as mini-states. These conceptions have included and been included within broader theories about the functions of the state and the sources of its legitimacy, the nature and extent of citizenship, the character of the local community, and the relationship between the community and the wider society. Contemporary students of local government often take these broader theories for granted, especially as they relate to the nature of the state. One of the results of this is a narrowed understanding of the potential of local government for achieving political ideals. For us in Canada to transcend these limits, it is essential to explore the conceptions of local government which have come to predominate in Britain and the United States, for our own conceptions have been largely derived from them. This paper provides only a preliminary conceptual map of Anglo-American thinking, but it serves to reveal some of the underlying assumptions which have limited our own understanding.