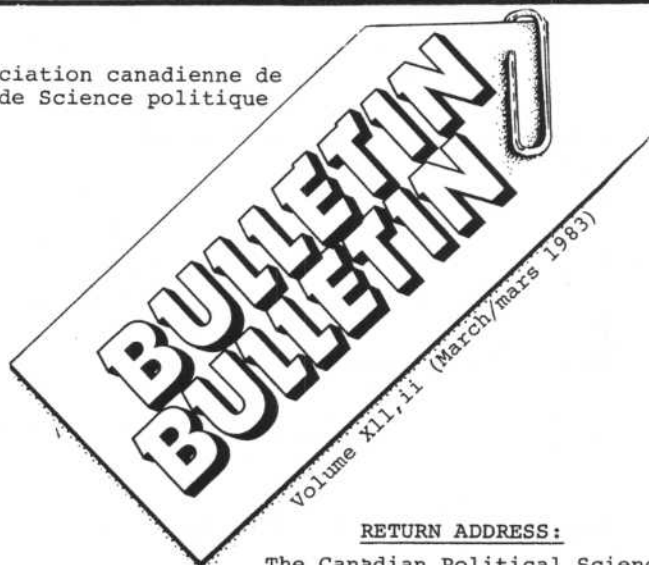


The Canadian Political Science Association/Association canadienne de
Science politique et/and La Société québécoise de Science politique



RETURN ADDRESS:

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

ELECTION 1983

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-Editor for the CPSA/ACSP:
Allan Tupper (Alberta) (current address: Department of Political
Studies, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario K7L 3N6).
Information/renseignements: CPSA/ACSP, 1-613-231-7160

CANADIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION
ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE DE SCIENCE POLITIQUE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS/CONSEIL D'ADMINISTRATION 1982/83

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DIRECTEURS PROGRAMMES DES STAGES

OLIP

Fred Fletcher (York)

PIP

Robert J. Jackson (Carleton)

BIOGRAPHIES

PRESIDENT-ELECT/PRESIDENT-ELU: BY/PAR ACCLAMATION

KAL HOLSTI: Teaches Political Science at the University of British Columbia. Born in Geneva, Switzerland in 1935. Primary and secondary schooling in California. University training: B.A. in International Relations from Stanford University, 1956; M.A. and Ph.D. in Political Science from Stanford University, 1958 and 1961.

Professional Career: Instructor-Professor, Department of Political Science, University of British Columbia, 1961- ; Acting Director, Institute of International Relations, UBC, 1970-1971; Visiting Professor at University of Hawaii, 1967; Honorary Lecturer, McGill University, 1972-1973; Guest Professor, Kyoto University, Japan, 1977; Visiting Professor, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1978; Visiting Fellow, Australian National University, 1983. Professor and Head, Department of Political Science, UBC, 1981.

Professional Involvement: Editor, International Studies Quarterly, 1970-1975; Vice-President, ISA West, 1966; Member, CPSA Board of Governors, 1969-1971; Chairman, CPSA Constitutional committee, 1972-1975; CPSA Nominating Committee,

1973-1974; Co-editor, CJPS, 1978-1981; Member, Board of Editors, International Organization, 1980-1984; Executive Council, World Association of International Relations, Athens, 1982- .

Publications: Books: Suomen Ulkopolitiikka Etsimassa (Helsinki, 1962); International Politics: A Framework for Analysis (Prentice-Hall, fourth ed., 1982); Why Nations Realign (London: Allen & Unwin, 1982). Chapters in Conflict in World Politics, World Politics, Change in the International System
Articles in: Canadian Forum, Background, Western Political Quarterly, Journal of Conflict Resolution, International Studies Quarterly, Canadian Journal of Political Science, International Organization, American Political Science Review, Korean Journal of International Studies, Co-Existence, Canadian Review of American Studies, Review of International Studies (London)

MEMBERS-AT-LARGE/DIRECTEURS

5 TO ELECT/A ELIRE

Frances Abele attended the University of Calgary, the University of Toronto, and York University. She is now Research Associate at the Arctic Institute of North America at the University of Calgary, a permanent research position which permits part-time teaching in the Department of Political Science. Published articles concern the development of federal northern policy and the effect of social impact assessment research on our understanding of political change. Current projects include a study of public administration in the territories, a jointly edited volume on the Dene and aboriginal rights, and a three-year study of northern native employment training programs funded by the Donner Canadian Foundation.

James Bickerton obtained his undergraduate degree in political science from Acadia University in 1976. His honours thesis dealt with the May "revolution" in France and its subsequent political consequences. In the fall of 1979 he entered the Masters programme at Carleton. He completed a five-course degree in Canadian and Comparative politics during the 1979-80 academic year and immediately entered the Ph.D. programme. He has completed the course, methodological and comprehensive examination requirements of the programme as of December, 1982. Currently he is engaged in the research and writing of his thesis

proposal. Essentially his thesis will be a study in regional political economy, dealing with the politics of development in the Maritime provinces. Over the past two years he has acquired teaching experience as a sessional lecturer in Canadian Politics and Introduction of Political Science. He has been published in the area of his research interest (S.P.E. #9, Fall, 1982) as well as being engaged in a project for the CPSA. (The Bickerton-Gagnon Index to the Canadian Journal of Political Science). This past summer he attended the 15th Essex Summer School as a recipient of a CPSA award for that purpose. For the past two years he has been the recipient of an SSHRC Fellowship Award.

Anthony H. Birch, Ph.D. (London), Professor of Political Science at the University of Victoria since 1977. Canadian citizen. Previously taught at the Universities of Manchester, Hull, and Exeter, and at Tufts University in Massachusetts. Chairman of the U.K. Political Studies Association, 1972-75. Vice-President of IPSA, 1976-79. Currently President of the British Politics Group of the American Political Science Association.

Books published: Federalism, Finance and Social Legislation in Canada, Australia, and the United States. Small-Town Politics. Representative and

Responsible Government. The British System of Government. Representation. Political Integration and Disintegration in the British Isles.

Work in Progress:

1. A study of the idea of legitimization crisis and its applicability to Britain.
2. A study of some of the dilemmas of nationalism and national integration.

William Chandler is Associate Professor in Political Science at McMaster University. His major fields of interest include comparative public policy and comparative federalism with concentration on West European and Canadian politics. He is co-author of Public Policy and Provincial Politics (1979) and has published articles in the Canadian Journal of Political Science, Canadian Public Administration, and Comparative Political Studies. He has served as head of the comparative politics section on the CPSA Program Committee and as a member of the CPSA Nominating Committee. His Ph.D. is from the University of North Carolina. He has studied at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Paris. During 1981-82 he was visiting Scholar at the Center for European Studies, Harvard University.

Philippe Doucet. Natif de Chéticamp, Nouvelle-Ecosse. B.A. (science politique) Saint François-Xavier. M.A. (science politique) Dalhousie. Scolarité de doctorat en science politique, Laval. Professeur agrégé en science politique à l'Université de Moncton. Principaux champs d'intérêt au niveau de l'enseignement: la politique canadienne, les systèmes politiques des pays de démocratie libérale, le fédéralisme, les partis politiques. Quelques publications dans des domaines tels que les systèmes électoraux, le nationalisme acadien, l'union des Maritimes, les Acadiens et la politique.

Pierre Fournier is Chairman of the Political Science Department at The University of Québec at Montréal (UQAM) where he has taught since 1973. He has published widely in French and in English in the fields of Canadian and Québec political economy. His best known works include The Quebec Establishment (1976), Les sociétés d'état et les objectifs économiques (1978) and Capitalisme et politique au Québec (1981). Fournier was on the CPSA Programme Committee (1980) and is a member of the Advisory Council of The Institute of Intergovernmental Relations.

Linda Freeman has been an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at Carleton since 1980 and before that taught for two years in the Department of Political Studies at Guelph University. Her publications have centered around the nature of Canada's involvement in Africa:

"CIDA, Wheat and Rural Development in Tanzania." Canadian Journal of African Studies, XVI, 3 (Winter 1982)

"Canada and Africa in the 1970s." International Journal, XXV, 4 (Autumn 1980), pp. 794-820.

"CIDA, Agriculture in East and Central Africa." Agriculture and Politics in Tropical Africa: Transnational, National and Local Perspectives, ed. Jonathan Barker, Berkeley: SAGE, forthcoming.

Her Ph.D. was completed at the University of Toronto in 1978 and was on "The Nature of Canadian Interests in Black Southern Africa. Teaching and Research Interests are in the fields of: African Political Economy - especially East and Southern Africa, Foreign Aid, Third World Politics and Canada and the New International Economic Order.

Kenneth McRoberts was born in Vancouver, B.C. M.A. and Ph.D., University of Chicago. Associate Professor of Political Science, York University (Courses also taught at the Université de Montréal, McGill University and the University of Toronto).

Author (with Dale Posgate) of Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis. Articles in Annals of The American Academy, Ethnic and Racial Studies, Queen's Quarterly, Journal of Canadian Studies and Politique (with André Blais.)

Research interests: theories of the state, ethno-regional movements, state and politics in Ontario and Quebec.

Donald Munton is currently Director of Research at The Canadian Institute of International Affairs. Is on leave from the Department of Political Science and The Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University.

B.A. and M.A.: University of British Columbia. Ph.D.: Ohio State. Joined Dalhousie faculty in 1972. Research and publications mainly in area of Canadian Foreign Policy - particularly in Canadian-American relations, environmental policy and the impact of science in public policy, research methodology.

He has been consulting with Federal government departments; has been a co-organiser of The Inter-University Seminar; co-ordinator of the CPSA Programme's International Relations section (1982) and has appeared as guest commentator on local and national media.

Claudia Wright: Ph.D., Claremont Graduate School. Field: Comparative Government Associate Professor, University of Winnipeg, Chairman of Department, University of Winnipeg, 1980-83 Associate Dean of Arts, 1983-

PLANNING YOUR FUTURE?/CONGRES A VENIR

1984 UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH
AGM/RGA 1985 UNIVERSITY OF MONTREAL
1986 UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

SOME ANNOUNCEMENTS/ QUELQUES RENSEIGNEMENTS

AT THE ASSOCIATION/AUPRES DE L'ACSP

MINUTES OF RECENT BOARD MEETINGS

We take this opportunity to report to you on the ongoing business of the Association as reflected in the Minutes of the three most recent Board meetings. Two of them occurred immediately before and after the Annual General Meeting and the third is the traditional November meeting, postponed to February. The postponement was because of cash-flow problems that become more and more a concern as the Association continues to operate at a slight (\$6,266. for 1981 and \$1,515. for 1982) deficit—a situation upon which the Finance Committee named in the Minutes of June 6, 1982 will advise in time for the June budget.

Minutes of June 6, 1982

Aside from the "business" motions (approval of agenda, Minutes, etc.), the Board passed the following:

1. That a Standing Committee on Association Finances be established and that it be comprised of the Secretary-Treasurer as Chair, and two other Board members.

President-Elect, Caroline Andrew, and Member-at-Large, Jean-Guy Finn, were subsequently named by the Executive Committee.

2. That the Board of Directors of The Canadian Political Science Association supports the motion on daycare passed at the General Assembly of the Social Science Federation of Canada and that it urges future Learned Societies' administrations to see that adequate daycare facilities, including the care of infants, be in place.

In order to reaffirm the Board's strong support of the autonomy of the Programme Chairperson; to assert, among other things, the principle of the regional nature of the programme committee, through at least, the current period of financial restraint; to limit the number of programme subsections for the same reason; and to underline the Chairperson's freedom to select Committee section heads to reflect regional, gender and other concerns, the Board passed the following Motion:

3. That the Board reiterates the positions of programme principle that it espoused in its deliberations of 1980 and recommends them to ongoing Programme Chairpersons.

4. That the Board adopts recommendations 1-4 of the

Brodie Committee Report on the Status of Women in the Discipline:

- i. In order to correct previous imbalances and strengthen recent trends, our committee suggests that the editors of CJPS approach women whenever possible to serve as book reviewers. The roster of female political scientists which records area expertise and research interests should facilitate in this ongoing task.
- ii. Strongly recommended is that future programme committees strive to enhance the participation of women at the annual general meetings, especially as section heads, chairpersons and discussants.
- iii. It is recommended that the Association urge departments of political science to adopt formal policies to address their existing gender-based staffing imbalances and the continuing salary differentials between men and women which have been observed here.
- iv. The committee recognizes that presently there are limited opportunities to reduce the gender biases in full-time faculty by making new appointments. Departments of political science, therefore, are encouraged to consider the existing gender-based staffing imbalances when positions become available and in tenure and promotion deliberations.
4. That the Executive be authorised to establish a committee to deal with the questions opened up by the recommendations 5,6,7 of the Brodie report.

That Committee was named subsequently as the The Committee on Part-Time and Alternative Employment. It is chaired by Rianne Mahon (Carleton) and its three other members are Martha Fletcher (Ont. Govt.), Norman Penner (York-Glendon) and David Rayside (U of T).

5. That the Association thank Messrs. James Bickerton and Alain Gagnon for the very much appreciated 10-year index to The Canadian Journal of Political Science that they had done for the discipline.

Minutes of June 9, 1982

The first piece of business of this meeting was that Prof. Janine Brodie (York) was elected as the representative of the members-at-large to the Executive Committee.

The following Motion was passed:

That the Fox Committee Report be given to the SqSp through the Liaison Committee and that a letter accompany it clarifying that the report is so transmitted for the information of La Société without its being in any way endorsed as a whole or in any of its particulars by this Board or Executive.

Minutes of February 26, 27, 1983

Aside from the routine motions of agenda, Minutes approval, etc., the following motions were passed:

That the Executive be authorised to recover the cost of any new directory of members that may be forthcoming.

2. That original materials from CPSA Committee deliberations be available or not at the discretion of the Secretary-Treasurer but that the Board be informed of applications granted or refused..

These two motions arose from the work of Susan and Mc Corquodale who, as members will recall, acted as a committee-of-one to review Board Motions of recent period to be certain that there was no unfinished business, no inconsistencies of action, or any other implications with which the Board needed to deal.

3. That the Standing Committee on Association Publications be reactivated.

This decision was taken as the Board continued to try to deal with the serious implications of the new-technologies thrusts of the SSHRC as reflected in the work of the Park Committee on Aid to Scholarly Publication and the series of demonstration projects that it has mounted.

4. That the Annual General Meeting of 1983 be held immediately following the Presidential Address and immediately preceding the traditional reception hosted this year by the Department of Political Science at the University of British Columbia: on Monday, June 6, to begin at 5 p.m.
5. That the CPSA members of the Liaison Committee be authorised to proceed to attempt to negotiate a new document of understanding between the Association and the Société québécoise de Science politique that would reduce the number of required areas of coordination between the two associations and that it attempt a resolution of matters of disagreement between them with regard to arrangements, principally financial, that are creating discord with regard to The Journal.
6. That a drafting committee be appointed immediately by the Executive to prepare a brief to the SSHRC which will accommodate the concerns expressed in the discussion.

Prof. Rianne Mahon, in the process of the excellent work she is doing in her continuing capacity as the CPSA representative to the Science Policy Committee of the SSFC and in which post she continues to monitor the issues that clearly affect Association interests, alerted the Board to SSHRC deliberations on a range of issues that would have serious implications for our scholarly community. The Board had a broad-ranging and careful discussions of the implications and ramifications and reacted by the motion above.

Members are invited to read the resulting brief in "The Bulletin" that will appear at the time of the meetings.

1. Prof. Michael Atkinson (McMaster) as Programme Chairperson for 1984.
2. Prof. Guy Gosselin (Laval) to an additional term as the Association's representative to UNESCO.

3. Prof. André Bernard (UQAM) to another term on the Editorial Board of Canadian Public Policy.
4. Robert J. Jackson (Carleton) to another term as Director of the Parliamentary Internships Programme.
5. Caroline Andrew (Ottawa and CPSA President-Elect) as the CPSA's President's representative and Chair of the newly-constituted PIP Policy Committee.
6. D.C. Rowat (Carleton) to the Management Committee of The Ontario Legislature Internships Programme.
7. Barry Cooper (Calgary) to the PIP Selection Committee.
8. Robert Drummond (York) as Chair of the Essex Scholarship Selection Committee.
9. H.G. Thorburn (Queen's) to present to an SSFC symposium on the relevance of the Social Sciences a paper on the political science community. The project is supported by an \$1,000. grant from the SSFC for research assistance.

The University of Calgary

Post-Doctoral Fellowship in Strategic Studies

The University of Calgary invites applications for a one-year (renewable) full-time research position as Post Doctoral Fellow with the Strategic Studies Programme. A Ph.D with appropriate training in Strategic Studies is required. The successful candidate will be expected to conduct a major research project incorporating sources of change to Canada's strategic situation, national defense policy or security relations. Salary: \$24,500. per 12 months. Appointment to commence September 1, 1983.

Applications should include a curriculum vitae, official transcripts, and three letters of recommendation. Closing date, May 31, 1983. In accordance with Canadian immigration requirements, this advertisement is directed to Canadian citizens and permanent residents of Canada.

Please apply to :

Dr. W.H. Critchley,
Director,
Strategic Studies Programme,
Department of Political Science,
University of Calgary,
2500 University Drive N.W.,
Calgary, Alberta,
T2N 1N4

1984

means

GUELPH!

CANADIAN STUDIES VISITING PROFESSOR...IN JAPAN

The University of Tsukuba in cooperation with the Canada-Japan Society wishes to invite a Canadian professor from April 1, 1984 for one year or preferably two years to teach Canadian Studies in various Japanese universities in the Tokyo area.

The purposes of the Canadian Studies programme in Japan are:

- a). to lecture in the Canadian studies field.
- b). to assist Japanese professors in introducing Canadian studies in Tsukuba and other Japanese universities.
- c). with the cooperation of the Canadian embassy in Tokyo to promote Canadian studies in Japan through guest lectures in various Japanese circles.
- d). to facilitate the efforts of Japanese academics with research interests in Canada.
- e). to establish links between Canadians and their Japanese counterparts interested in similar research or teaching subjects.

Candidates should be Canadian citizens occupying a senior position in a Canadian university, preferably at the full professor level, with a generalist background in Canadian Studies. They should be teachers with valid academic credentials who have published in their fields, have a good knowledge of bibliographies and are able to give introductory courses, lectures or seminars on the history, politics, society and economic development of French and English Canada. It is essential that the successful candidate be an interesting and lively speaker since his or her duties will include lecturing in English at least 10 hours a week. He or she will also assist in the selection of basic resource documents, books and periodicals for university libraries.

It should be emphasised that the primary responsibility of the incumbent will be teaching and not research.

The successful candidate may expect to receive a salary commensurate with Canadian standards related to rank and to the amount, if applicable, of sabbatical payments as well as appropriate allowances, international travel expenses and the internal travel expenses for travel directly related to the incumbent's duties. A two-bedroom apartment will be provided in Tokyo for the duration of the assignment.

A completed curriculum vitae form accompanied by a letter of nomination from the candidate's institution indicating availability for the period in question (one or two years) should be sent to arrive at the AUCC no later than September 30, 1983. The AUCC will arrange for the meeting of a selection committee to prepare a short list of candidates who may be required to attend an interview before the final choice of the 1984-85(6) visiting professor is made by Tsukuba University.

Curriculum vitae forms and further information may be obtained from:

International Relations Division
Association of Universities and Colleges
of Canada
151 Slater Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1P 5N1

PROFESSEUR INVITE EN ETUDES CANADIENNES, AU JAPON.

L'Université de Tsukuba, en collaboration avec la Société Canada-Japon, désire inviter un professeur canadien(ne) pour un an, ou, de préférence, deux ans à compter du 1^{er} avril, 1984, aux fins de l'enseignement dans le domaine des études canadiennes, à diverses universités japonaises dans la région de Tokyo.

Les buts du programme d'études canadiennes au Japon s'établissent ainsi:

- a). donner des conférences dans le domaine des études canadiennes.
- b). aider les professeurs du Japon à introduire les études canadiennes à Tsukuba et à d'autres universités japonaises.
- c). promouvoir les études canadiennes au Japon en donnant des conférences dans divers milieux japonais, en collaboration avec l'ambassade du Canada, à Tokyo.
- d). faciliter les démarches des universitaires japonais qui s'intéressent à la recherche au Canada.
- e). établir des liens entre les Canadiens et leurs homologues japonais intéressés à des domaines analogues de recherche ou de l'enseignement.

Les candidats doivent être citoyens canadiens et occuper un poste de niveau supérieur dans une université canadienne, de préférence au niveau de professeur titulaire, et posséder des connaissances générales en études canadiennes. Ils doivent être enseignants de haute compétence, avoir publié des travaux dans leurs domaines, posséder une bonne connaissance des bibliographies et pouvoir donner des cours ou des conférences préliminaires sur l'histoire, la politique, la société et le développement économique du Canada français et du Canada anglais. Il est essentiel que le candidat(e) choisi(e) soit un conférencier intéressant et dynamique puisqu'il aura à donner des cours en anglais au moins dix heures par semaine. Le candidat devra également aider au choix de documents de base, de livres et de revues pour des bibliothèques universitaires.

Il y a lieu d'insister sur le fait que la première responsabilité du candidat choisi sera l'enseignement et non pas la recherche.

Le candidat heureux sera assuré d'un traitement qui correspond aux normes en vigueur au Canada quant au niveau et quant au montant des indemnités de congé sabbatique, le cas échéant: il touchera également des allocations appropriées et sera indemnisé des frais de déplacement international et des frais de déplacement à l'intérieur du pays à des fins se rattachant directement aux fonctions du titulaire. Un appartement de deux chambres sera fourni à Tokyo pour la durée de l'affectation.

Les candidats devront nous faire parvenir un formulaire dûment rempli ainsi qu'une lettre de leur université attestant qu'ils pourront enseigner au Japon pendant une période d'un an ou de deux ans. Les dossier des candidats intéressés doivent parvenir

ir à l'AUCC d'ici le 30 septembre, 1983. L'AUCC mettra sur pied un comité de sélection auquel les meilleurs candidats pourront être convoqués en entrevue. Les dossiers les plus intéressants seront ensuite transmis à l'Université de Tsukuba qui effectuera la sélection finale.

Les formulaires ainsi que de plus amples renseignements peuvent être obtenus en s'adressant à:

La Division des relations
internationales,
Association des Universités et
Collèges du Canada,
151 rue Slater,
Ottawa, Ontario,
K1P 5N1

PROGRAMME 1984

IDEAS? SUGGESTIONS?

WRITE TO:

MICHAEL ATKINSON
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
MCMASTER UNIVERSITY
HAMILTON, ONTARIO
L8S 4M4

REMEMBER THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING/ PENSEZ A LA REUNION ANNUELLE GENERALE

MONDAY, JUNE 6 AT 5 P.M.

LUNDI, LE 6 JUIN A 17H

THE UBC RECEPTION FOLLOWS/RECEPTION OFFERTE PAR LE DEPARTEMENT A UBC.

We make an appeal to all members to urge their colleagues and graduate students to join the Canadian Political Science Association.

The first two advantages are well-known:

1. The Canadian Journal of Political Science comes 4 times a year as part of membership. It is, of course, a world-class journal, the leader in the discipline, and is eager to reflect your interests with all their range and diversity. Please consider it first the next time you are contemplating publication.
2. Participation in the Annual General Meeting, and the possibility of travel funding if you do, are for members only. As you will see, again reflected in the Preliminary Programme that is here presented, this annual event brings you together with your colleagues from every corner of the country and abroad in an atmosphere of

scholarly exchange and reunion that is quite exceptional and absolutely necessary to the exchange of ideas in this vast, spread-out country.

But that is not all! We also offer you:

3. Our newsletter, "The Bulletin" to keep you "plugged in" to what is going on across the country and abroad. It signals for you a whole range of conference possibilities in Canada and around the world. If there are jobs to be had, this is a major point of publication of the fact. This is the most convenient place to find out about travel grants, international workshops, the Essex programme, our publications (theses updatings; a new, subject-organised index to The Journal; our collection of papers from annual conferences; what is going on in departments across the country) and the myriad of other announcements that will interest you. Under newly-appointed Editor, Allan Tupper (Alberta), the newsletter returns "to the field" and will be even more responsive to your information needs.
4. Contacts with the SSHRC, The SSFC, The International Political Science Association, UNESCO, La Société québécoise de Science politique, The Atlantic Provinces Political Science Association, The APSA, Canadian Public Policy, and the whole host of organisations to which our close links are forged by appointments to their Boards and Committees. Association membership brings all of these in-t-o focus for you. We keep you informed of opportunities for participation and of the issues and ideas that are motivating them as well as us.

MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL, THOUGH; AND THE ARGUMENT TO PERSUADE THE MOST DETERMINED NON-JOINER IN ALL OF CANADA:

WE ARE THE FRONT LINE DEFENCE!

In times of restraint and cutback the interests of academics are on the front-line of attack as governments and then granting councils and agencies, pushed, as are we all, by shrinking dollar resources, must flail to find cheaper ways of doing everything and look everywhere for things to cut. The Association is your "watch dog" on all of the issues that swim around out there. We have excellent people keeping watching briefs and we get information at points in time that permit us to fight for your interests. Your Board is a potent lobbyist. We have a reputation for activity and for lobbying based on effective committee work and when the CPSA speaks, the right ears are listening!

Information, after all, is POWER but the real clout also depends on NUMBERS and that is why we all need each other so badly at all times, but particularly at this one!

TWIST AN ARM! PERSUADE THAT COLLEAGUE TO SUPPORT OUR COMMON INTERESTS BY JOINING OUR NATIONAL ASSOCIATION!!!!!!!!!!!!

We have inserted an application form in this mailing. Make duplicates if you need them! Do what you can to help. We'll all benefit.

REUNIONS D'AFFAIRES, ACSP
CPSA BUSINESS MEETINGS

CPSA MEETINGS/ REUNIONS, ACSP

1. Board of Directors/Conseil d'administration
8:30 a.m., Wednesday, June 8/
8h30, mercredi, le 8 juin.
2. Comité de rédaction et Conseil consultatif,
Revue canadienne de Science politique/
Editorial and Editorial Advisory Boards,
Canadian Journal of Political Science
9-12 noon, Tuesday, June 7, 1983
9h-12h, mardi, le 7 juin, 1983
3. Programme Committee 1984 lucheon/
Déjeuner, Comité du programme 1984
12 noon, Wednesday, June 8/
12h, mercredi, le 8 juin.
4. Local and Urban Politics caucus/caucus,
politique locale et urbaine.
12:00, Tuesday, June 7th./
12h, mardi, le 7 juin
5. International Relations caucus/caucus
relations internationales.
12:00, Monday, June 6th/
12h, lundi, le 6 juin.
6. Political Economy caucus/caucus économie
politique.
12:00, Monday, June 6th/
12h, lundi, le 6 juin
7. Caucus des femmes/Women's caucus
12:00, Tuesday, June 7th/
12h, mardi, le 7 juin

SOME EVENTS OF SPECIAL INTEREST/DES
EVENEMENTS D'INTERET SPECIAL *****

Conference on Political Thought

- | | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------------------------------|---|-------|
| CPT 1 | Opinion, Knowledge and Power
in the Age of Revolution | M | 11:00 |
| CPT 2 | "God and the Godly in Early
Modern Political Thought" | M | 10:00 |

Canadian Law and Society Association

This new association is holding a special one-day symposium on Saturday, June 4th, 1983 at the Faculty of Law, University of British Columbia. Professor J. Blum is local arrangements chairman.

Two sessions have been organized at this symposium. Professor Harry Arthurs will chair

the morning session on "The State of Socio-Legal Research in Canada", which will be held from 10:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. The afternoon session will be chaired by Professor John Hagan on the topic of "Civil and Criminal Disputing". This session will be held from 2:00 p.m. to 4:30 p.m.

Information from: Frederick H. Zemans, Department of Law, York University, 4700 Keele Street, Downsview, Ontario M3J 2R5

B.C. PROJECT

**"REFLECTIONS ON A DECADE:
B.C. POLITICS IN THE SEVENTIES"**

A Symposium to be held in conjunction with the 1983 meetings of the Canadian Political Science Association

SUNDAY, JUNE 5

9 am to 5 pm

Buchanan Building

University of British Columbia

Papers will include:

Neil Swainson, "The Decade of the 1970s"

Terry Morley, "B.C.: A Fractured Political Culture"

Donald Blake, David Elkins, and Richard Johnston, "The Two Worlds of the B.C. Voter"

Norman Ruff, "Administrative Styles"

Stephen Milne, "The Crown Corporations Committee: Comparisons and Implications"

Michael Clague, "Decentralization, Integration, and Local Accountability: the Community Resources Board Trilogy"

Jeremy Wilson, "Environmentalism and B.C. Resource Policy"

Paul Tennant, "A Decade of Native Indian Politics"

Walter Young, "Ideology and Personality, 1969-1979"

Alan Cairns, "Socialism, Federalism, and the B.C. Party Systems Since 1933"

We would appreciate hearing from those planning to attend. If you would like to receive a final agenda in April, please write to:

B.C. Project
c/o UVic Campus
University of Victoria
Victoria, B.C.
V8W 2Y2

PRELIMINARY PROGRAMME/ PROGRAMME PRELIMINAIRE

CANADIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION/
ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE DE
SCIENCE POLITIQUE
55TH ANNUAL MEETING/
CINQUANTE-CINQUIEME CONGRES ANNUEL
UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
JUNE 6,7,8, JUIN
1983

PROGRAMME COMMITTEE COMITE DU PROGRAMME

CHAIR/PRESIDENT: KENNETH CARTY (UBC)
VICE-PRESIDENT: Michael Atkinson (McMaster)

SECTION HEADS/CHEFS DE SECTION

A.	THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT/HISTOIRE DE LA PENSEE POLITIQUE	D.J.C. Carmichael (Alberta)	G.	COMPARATIVE POLITICS-WESTERN/ POLITIQUE COM- PAREE-OUEST	Paul Warwick (SFU)
B.	20TH CENTURY POLITICAL THEORY AND ANALYSIS/ ANALYSE ET THEORIE POLITIQUE DU 20 ^e SIECLE	D.J.C. Carmichael (Alberta)	H.	COMPARATIVE POLITICS-NON WESTERN/POLITIQUE COMPAREE - AUTRE	Lenard Cohen (SFU)
C.	CANADIAN POLITICS/ POLITIQUE CANADIENNE	Lynda Erickson (UBC)	I.	PROVINCIAL POLITICS & SOCIO- LOGY/POLITIQUE PROVINCIALE ET SOCIOLOGIE	Michael Atkinson (McMaster)
D.	POLITICAL ECONOMY/ ECONOMIE POLITIQUE	Garth Stevenson (Alberta)	J.	LOCAL AND URBAN POLITICS/ POLITIQUE LOCALE ET URBAINE	Warren Magnusson (Victoria)
E.	INTERNATIONAL RELAT- IONS/RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES	Elizabeth Symthe (Government of Alberta)	K.	SPECIAL SESSIONS/ SESSIONS SPECIALES	David Haglund (UBC)
F.	PUBLIC POLICY/ ADMINISTRATION AND LAW/POLITIQUE PUBLIQUE, ADMIN- ISTRATION PUBLIQUE ET DROIT PUBLIC	T. Morley (Victoria)		LOCAL REPRESENTATIVE/ REPRESENTATIVE LOCAL	John Wood (UBC)

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 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, ou téléphoner à 1-613-231-5675 or (231-7160).

SESSION/PÉRIODE 1

9:15-10:30 a.m., Monday, June 6
9h15-10h30, lundi, le 6 juin

SESSION/PÉRIODE 1 (con't/suite)

9:15-10:30 a.m., Monday, June 6
9h15-10h30, lundi, le 6 juin

A1 ROUSSEAU I

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

F.M. Barnard (UWO) and J.M. Porter
(Saskatchewan), "Rousseau: Will and
Action."

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

B1 HEGEL AND HERMENEUTICS

Paper(s)/Communication(s)

Richard A. Nutbrown (Waterloo),
"Hegel, Hermeneutics, and the History
of Political Theory."

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

C1 WESTERN ALIENATION

Paper(s)/Communication(s)

Daniel Wong (UBC), "Western Alienation
and Intraregional Belief Systems: A
Comparison of Regional Discontent in
British Columbia and Alberta."

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s)

Jeremy Wilson (Victoria)

D1 TECHNOLOGY AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Chris Debresson (Capilano College),
"Technological Dependency or Self-
reliance: Reality or Speculation".

Alain Noel (Denver), "La politique
canadienne de développement techno-
logique".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

E1 DOMESTIC TRADE-OFFS AND INTERNATIONAL
NEGOTIATIONS

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Donald Barry (Calgary), "The Canada-
Europe Long Term Fisheries Agreement:
A Study in Fisheries Diplomacy".

Chair/Président(e):

Anne Marie Jacomy-Millette (Laval)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

F1

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Stephen Brooks (Carleton), "Joint Public/
Private Enterprise in Canada: The CDC
and CDIC".

Raymond Payne (UBC), "Energy Policy and
the Development of a Canadian Economic
Strategy: Goal Confusion in the 1970s".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

SESSION/PÉRIODE 1: (con't/suite)

9:15-10:30 a.m., Monday, June 6
9h15-10h30, lundi, le 6 juin

SESSION/PÉRIODE 1: (con't/suite)

9:15-10:30 a.m., Monday, June 6
9h15-10h30, lundi, le 6 juin

G1 CORRUPTION IN ISRAEL

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

S.B. Werner (Manitoba), "The Development of Corruption: A Case Study of Israel".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

TBA/A venir

J1 CITY POLITICS IN MONTREAL

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Guy Bourassa (Montréal), "Le système politique de Montréal: la dimension électorale".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

Andrew Sancton (UWO)

H1 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN POLAND

A panel jointly organized with the Canadian Association of Slavists/ conjointement avec l'Association canadienne de Slavists

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Maria Los (Ottawa), "Law and Order in Contemporary Poland".

Stefania Szlek-Miller (McMaster), "Catholic Personalism and Socialist Democracy in Poland".

Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone (Carleton), "Poland and the Communist Bloc".

Paul Marantz (UBC), "Poland and East-West Relations".

Chair/Président(e):

Gordon Skilling (U of T)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

TBA/A venir

K1(i) TECHNOLOGY AND TEACHING POLITICAL SCIENCE

A special presentation organized by Ross Johnston and colleagues (Vancouver Community College/Une présentation spéciale organisée par Ross Johnston et ses collègues (Vancouver Community College)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

TBA/A venir

K1(ii) 10:00-12:00 a.m., Monday, June 6
10h00-12h, lundi, le 6 juin

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

COMMUNICATION AND THE SENATE

A Special Round Table jointed sponsored by The Canadian Political Science Association and by The Canadian Communication Association/Une table ronde spéciale conjointement avec l'ACC

I1 TELEVISED DEBATES AND ELECTORAL DECISIONS

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Larry LeDuc and Richard Price (Windsor), "Great Debates: The Televised Leadership Debates of 1979".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

Barry Kay (WLU)

Chair/Président(e):

R. Anderson (SFU)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

E.R. Black (Queen's)
E. Clouthier (Montréal)
K. Friedmann (Ombudsman, B.C.)
T. McCormack (York)

SESSION/PÉRIODE 2:

10:45-12:00 a.m., Monday, June 6
10h45-12h, lundi, le 6 juin

SESSION/PÉRIODE 2: (con't/suite)

10:45-12:00 a.m., Monday June 6
10h45-12h, lundi, le 6 juin

A2 THE FEDERALIST PAPERS

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Thomas Pangle (Toronto), "In Quest of the Grounding Principles of the American Constitution".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

B2 INSTITUTIONALIZED INDIVIDUALISM

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

James D. Driscoll (Trent), "The Political Theory of Institutionalized Individualism: Hobbes, Locke, and Talcott Parsons' Theory of Action".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

C2 CANADIAN FEDERALISM

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Peter Leslie (Queen's), "Constitutional (De)centralization and Interregional Conflict in Federal States: the Canadian Case".

Chair/Président(e):

David Winterford (UBC)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

Roger Gibbins (Calgary)

D2 FOREIGN CAPITAL IN CANADA

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Jan Mayer (Lakehead), "Indigenization in a Branch-Plant Economy: The Case of the Canadian Steel Industry".

Gilles Breton (Laval), "Pouvoir politique et économie mondiale: l'exemple canadien 1957-75".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/ A venir

E2 STRATEGIES TO AVOID NUCLEAR WAR

A panel jointly organized with the Canadian Peace Research and Education Association (CPREA)/Conjointement avec l'ACREP

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Gene Keyes (St. Thomas), "Strategic Non-Violent Defense: Five Policies".

James F. Keeley (Calgary), "The Nature of Nuclear Non-Proliferation".

Chair/Président(e):

M.V. Naidu (Brandon, President
CPREA)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

F2

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Tom Lewis and James Rice (McMaster), "Public Housing for Low-Income Families: Solving Political Dilemmas".

Charles Rachlis (Toronto), "Restructuring the Canadian Welfare State".

SESSION/PÉRIODE 2 (con't/suite)

10:45-12:00 a.m., Monday, June 6
10h45-12h, lundi, le 6 juin

SESSION/PÉRIODE 2 (con't/suite)

10:45-12:00 a.m., Monday, June 6
10h45-12h, lundi, le 6 juin

F2 Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

I2 Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

Michael Stein (McMaster)

G2 IDEOLOGY ON THE PERIPHERY

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

N.J. Baxter-Moore (Carleton), "Socialism vs Nationalism: Ideological Conflicts and Crisis in the Scottish National Party".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

G. Breckenridge (McMaster)

J2 GENDER RELATIONS AND URBAN SPACE

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Dominique Masson (Laval), "Rapports hommes femmes et structuration de l'urbain contemporain: étude théorique et examen du cas de Québec, 1940-1980".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

Caroline Andrew (Ottawa)

H2 LATIN AMERICAN AUTHORITARIANISM

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Dan Zirker (Alberta), "The Contradictory Impulses of Authoritarian Nationalism in Post-1964 Brazilian Military Establishment".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

L. North (York)

K2 TEACHING PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

A presentation of the Institute of Public Administration of Canada case study material/Présentation spéciale de l'Institut d'Administration publique du Canada

Chair/Président(e):

Sanford Borins (IPAC, York)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

I2 ELECTORAL OUTCOMES AND GOVERNMENT BEHAVIOUR

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

A. Blais (Montréal), R. Nadeau (Montréal), and K. Roberts (York), "Cycles électoraux et dépenses des gouvernements du Québec et de l'Ontario, 1950-1980".

V. Lyon (Trent), "Minority Government and Majority Rule: Ontario, 1975-1981".

LUNCH MEETINGS/REUNIONS DEJEUNER?

12 NOON/12h.

or/ou

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

SESSION/PÉRIODE 3

1:30-4:00 p.m., Monday, June 6
13h30-16h., lundi, le 6 juin

- N.B. - SOME SECTIONS HAVE SPLIT SESSIONS
- POLITICAL ECONOMY STARTS AT 12:30
- IL Y A PARFOIS DEUX SECTIONS DANS LA MEME SESSION
- ECONOMIE POLITIQUE DEBUTE A 12h30

SESSION/PÉRIODE 3 (con't/suite)

1:30-4:00 p.m., Monday, June 6
13h30-16h., lundi, le 6 juin

- N.B. - SOME SECTIONS HAVE SPLIT SESSIONS
- POLITICAL ECONOMY STARTS AT 12:30
- IL Y A PARFOIS DEUX SECTIONS DANS LA MEME SESSION
- ECONOMIE POLITIQUE DEBUTE A 12h30

(1:30-2:45)
(13h30-14h45)

A3a OCKHAM

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Carry J. Nederman (Glendon), "Medieval English Politics in William of Ockham's Political Thought".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

TBA/A venir

(2:45-4:00)
(14h45-16h)

A3b ARISTOTLE

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Wayne H. Ambler (Dallas), "Artistotle's Discussion of Acquisition".

Michael Palmer (Alberta), "Slavery and Artistotle's Best Regime".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

TBA/A venir

B3 THE ACHIEVEMENT OF MICHAEL OAKESHOTT

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

George Feaver (UBC), "The Achievement of Michael Oakeshott".

Timothy Fuller (Colorado College), "Michael Oakeshott's Historical Attitude Toward Political Philosophy".

Richard B. Friedman (SUNY, Buffalo), "Oakeshott on Authority".

B3 Chair/Président:

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

TBA/A venir

C3 CANADIAN COMMUNISM: A RETROSPECTIVE

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Donald Avery (UWO), "Canadian Communism: The Popular Front Approach, 1936-1946".

Norman Penner (York), "The Communist Party of Canada in Retrospect".

Alan Whitehorn (RMC), "Canadian Communism: A View from the 1980's".

Chair/Président(e):

Alan Whitehorn (RMC)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

W. Rodney (Royal Roads)

(12:30-2:15)
(12h30-14:15)

D3a LABOUR, CAPITAL AND THE STATE IN THE FISHING INDUSTRY

** NOTE-THIS SESSION STARTS AT 12:30**

** NOTE-CETTE SESSION DEBUTE A 12h30**

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

John McMullan (UBC), "State, Capital and Debt in the Fishing Industry".

Ralph Matthews (UWO), "The Social Consequences of Formal and Informal Regulation of the Newfoundland Inshore Fishery".

Wallace Clement (Carleton), "Associations, Cooperatives and Unions in Canada's Coastal Fisheries".

<p style="text-align: center;">SESSION/PÉRIODE 3 (con't/suite)</p> <p>1:30-4:00 p.m., Monday, June 6 13h30-16h, lundi, le 6 juin</p> <p>N.B. - SOME SECTIONS HAVE SPLIT SESSIONS - POLITICAL ECONOMY STARTS AT 12:30</p> <p>- IL Y A PARFOIS DEUX SECTIONS DANS LA MEME SESSION - ECONOMIE POLITIQUE DEBUTE A 12h30</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SESSION/PÉRIODE 3 (con't/suite)</p> <p>1:30-4:00 p.m., Monday, June 6 13h30-16h, lundi, le 6 juin</p> <p>N.B. - SOME SECTIONS HAVE SPLIT SESSIONS - POLITICAL ECONOMY STARTS AT 12:30</p> <p>- IL Y A PARFOIS DEUX SECTIONS DANS LA MEME SESSION - ECONOMIE POLITIQUE DEBUTE A 12h30</p>
<p>D3a <u>Chair/Président(e):</u> Pat Marchak (UBC)</p> <p><u>Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):</u> Martha McDonald (St. Mary's)</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: right;">(2:15-4:00) (14h15-16h)</p> <p>D3b <u>REGIONALISM AND THE FISHING INDUSTRY</u></p> <p><u>Paper(s)/Communication(s):</u></p> <p>Neil Guppy (UBC), "Herring as a Staple Resource in the B.C. Fishing Industry".</p> <p>Robert Hill (Memorial), "The Political Economy of Fishing in the Context of Regional Underdevelopment".</p> <p>Keith Warriner (UBC), "Changes in Fleet Size, Composition and Technology in Isolated West Coast Fishing-Dependent Communities".</p> <p><u>Chair/Président(e):</u> Gordon Ingles (Memorial)</p> <p><u>Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):</u> Henry Veltmeyer (St. Mary's)</p>	<p>E3b <u>REGIONALISM AND CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY</u></p> <p><u>Paper(s)/Communication(s):</u> Linda Freeman (Carleton), "Regional Factors in Canada's Involvement in Africa".</p> <p><u>Chair/Président(e):</u> TBA/A venir</p> <p><u>Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):</u> TBA/A venir</p> <hr/> <p>F3</p> <p><u>Paper(s)/Communication(s):</u></p> <p>Peter Aucoin and Herman Bakvis (Dalhousie), "Ministry of State for Economic and Regional Development and the Role of Coordinators: A Prefectoral System for Canada?"</p> <p>James Bickerton (Carleton) and Alain Gagnon (Queen's), "The Political Economy of Regional Development: The Federal Role in Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces".</p> <p><u>Chair/Président(e):</u> TBA/A venir</p> <p><u>Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):</u> TBA/A venir</p>
<p>E3a <u>NEO-MERCANTILISM AND CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY</u></p> <p><u>Paper(s)/Communication(s):</u> Jeanne Laux (Ottawa), "Neo-Mercantilism and Canadian Foreign Policy".</p> <p><u>Chair/Président(e):</u> TBA/A venir</p> <p><u>Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):</u> TBA/A venir</p>	<p>G3 <u>CHOOSING ITEMS FOR A POLICY AGENDA</u></p> <p><u>Paper(s)/Communication(s):</u></p> <p>Jane Jenson (Carleton), "The Universe of Political Discourse: Labour Market and Reproductive Politics in France".</p> <p>Rianne Mahon (Carleton), "Defining the Issue: Strategic Range and Organizational Capacity".</p> <p><u>Chair/Président(e):</u> TBA/A venir</p> <p><u>Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):</u> TBA/A venir</p>

SESSION/PÉRIODE 3 (con't/suite)

1:30-4:00 p.m., Monday, June 6
13h30-16h, lundi, le 6 juin

- N.B. - SOME SECTIONS HAVE SPLIT SESSIONS/
- POLITICAL ECONOMY STARTS AT 12:30/
- IL Y A PARFOIS DEUX SECTIONS DANS LA MEME SESSION
- ECONOMIE POLITIQUE DEBUTE A 12h30

SESSION/PÉRIODE 3 (con't/suite)

1:30-4:00 p.m., Monday, June 6
13h30-16h, lundi, le 6 juin

- N.B. - SOME SECTIONS HAVE SPLIT SESSIONS/
- POLITICAL ECONOMY STARTS AT 12:30/
- IL Y A PARFOIS DEUX SECTIONS DANS LA MEME SESSION
- ECONOMIE POLITIQUE DEBUTE A 12h30

H3 ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE
LEADERSHIP CHANGE IN THE USSR

Chair/Président(e):

B. Harasymiw (Calgary)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

- H. Biddulph (Victoria)
- L. Cohen (SFU)
- F. Griffiths (Toronto)
- P. Marantz (UBC)
- P. Potichnyi (McMaster)

I3 ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE
PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS

Chair/Président(e):

P. Kyba (Guelph)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

- Agar Adamson (Acadia)
- David Elton (Lethbridge)
- Harley d'Entremont (Moncton)
- John Conway (Regina)

J3 MUNICIPAL AUTONOMY IN CANADA:
HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY

A panel jointly organized with the C.H.A. urban history section/Conjointement avec l'ACH

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

- John Taylor (Carleton), "Urban Autonomy and Oversight".
- Trevor Price and Robert Krause (Windsor), "Economic Restraint and Municipal Expenditures".
- Frances Frisken and Dale Hauser (York), "Municipal Autonomy vs. 'Fair Share'".

J3 Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

Allan O'Brien (UWO)

K3 ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

A Round Table organized by the Study of Parliament Group/Table ronde organisée par l'Etude de groupe parlementaire

REFORM OF PARLIAMENT

Chair/Président(e):

C.E.S. Franks (Queen's)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

4:15-5:00 p.m., Wednesday, June 8, 1983/
16h15-17h., mercredi le 8 juin, 1983

CPSA PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
DISCOURS PRÉSIDENTIEL ACSP

E.R. Black (Queen's)

"The World According to ERB"

5 p.m., Wednesday, June 8, 1983/
17h., mercredi, le 8 juin 1983

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING/
ASSEMBLEE GENERALE ANNUELLE

INVITATION

ROOM TO BE ANNOUNCED/PIECE VENIR

5:30 p.m./17h30

RECEPTION

HOSTED BY

THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

AT

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

RECEPTION OFFERTE PAR LE DEPARTEMENT

DE

SCIENCE POLITIQUE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

SESSION/PERIODE 5

9:15-10:30, Tuesday, June 7
9h15-10h30, mardi, le 7 juin

A5

ADAM SMITH AND JEREMY BENTHAM

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Douglas C. Long (UWO), "Adam Smith
and Jeremy Bentham 'Political
Theory and the Science of Man'"

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

SESSION/PERIODE 5 (con't/suite)

9:15-10:30, Tuesday, June 7
9h15-10h30, mardi, le 7 juin

B5

SOCIAL SCIENCE

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

David Braybrooke (Dalhousie), "Three
Sorts of Social Science or Just One?"

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

C5

INTEREST GROUP POLITICS

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Grace Skogstad (SFX), "The Standing
Committee on Agriculture and Special
Interest Groups".

William Hull (Brock), "Captive or
Victim?" The Broad of Broadcast
Governors and Bernstein's Law, 1958-68".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

William Stanbury (UBC)

D5

CLASS AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Andrew Sharpe (Department of Finance),
"Evolution of Class Structure and In-
come Distribution in Canada: 1961-1981".

Charlotte Yates (Carleton), "Working
Class Consciousness of Trade Unionists
in Canada".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

TBA/A venir

SESSION/PÉRIODE 5 (con't/suite)

9:15-10:30, Tuesday, June 7
9h15-10h30, mardi, le 7 juin

SESSION/PÉRIODE 5 (con't/suite)

9:15-10:30, Tuesday, June 7
9h15-10h30, mardi, le 7 juin

E5 THE POLITICS OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC REFORM

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Michael Lerner (Carleton), "Self-Interest, Political Expediency and International Economic Reform".

Richard Stubbs (SFX), "The International Rubber Agreement: Negotiating UNCTAD's First International Commodity Agreement".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

TBA/A venir

F5

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

R.P. Woolstencroft (Waterloo), "Politics and Education: Issues of Public Policy and Political Philosophy".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

TBA/A venir

G5 EUROPEAN ELITES

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

F.C. Englemann, J.B. Johnston, and C.K. Humphrey (Alberta), "Elite Conceptions of the Austrian Economy".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

TBA/A venir

H5 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CHANGE IN THE THIRD WORLD

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Judith Teichman (Waterloo), "Oil, Economic Crisis and the Mexican State".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

TBA/A venir

I5 ELECTORS AND ELECTED

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Bruce Cain (California Institute of Technology), "The Images of Incumbents".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

TBA/A venir

J5 NOVA SCOTIA: LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

D.J.H. Higgins (St. Mary's), "Approaches to Local Government Reroganzization: Discontinuities in Nova Scotia".

Harley d'Entremont (Moncton), "Acadians and Local Political Power in Nova Scotia".

Chair/Président(e):

Peter Boswell (Memorial)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

Peter Boswell (Memorial)

<p style="text-align: center;">SESSION/PÉRIODE 5 (con't/suite)</p> <p>9:15-10:30, Tuesday, June 7 9h15-10h30, mardi, le 7 juin</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SESSION/PÉRIODE 6: (con't/suite)</p> <p>9:15-10:30, Tuesday, June 7 9h15-10h30, mardi, le 7 juin</p>
<p>K5 <u>POLITICS OF HEALTH</u></p> <p><u>Paper(s)/Communication(s):</u></p> <p>Mary Powell (Windsor), "The Importance of Psychiatric Institutions in Ontario Health Policy, 1882-1982".</p> <p><u>Chair/Président(e):</u></p> <p>TBA/A venir</p> <p><u>Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):</u></p> <p>TBA/A venir</p>	<p>C6 <u>THE TORY STREAK AND CANADIAN PUBLIC POLICY</u></p> <p><u>Paper(s)/Communication(s):</u></p> <p>Tom Truman (McMaster), "Horowitz and Hartzism: A Critique of the Evidence for the Role of the Tory Streak/Touch in Canadian Public Policy and Political Culture".</p> <p><u>Chair/Président(e):</u></p> <p>TBA/A venir</p> <p><u>Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):</u></p> <p>David Bell (York)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">SESSION/PÉRIODE 6:</p> <p>10:45-12:00 a.m., Tuesday, June 7 10h45-12h., mardi le 7 juin</p>	<p>D6 <u>THE STATE AND ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT</u></p> <p><u>Paper(s)/Communication(s):</u></p> <p>Colin Mooers (York), "The Canadian War Economy: 1939-1945".</p> <p>Robert Ascah (Alberta), "Debt Management Politics in Canada: 1930-1982".</p> <p><u>Chair/Président(e):</u></p> <p>TBA/A venir</p> <p><u>Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):</u></p> <p>TBA/A venir</p>
<p>A6 <u>JAMES MILL</u></p> <p><u>Paper(s)/Communication(s):</u></p> <p>R.A. Fenn (U of T), "The Nature and Structure of James Mill's Political Arguments".</p> <p><u>Chair/Président(e):</u></p> <p>TBA/A venir</p> <p><u>Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):</u></p> <p>TBA/A venir</p>	<p>E6 <u>ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE</u></p> <p><u>RESEARCH CHALLENGES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS</u></p> <p><u>Chair/Président(e):</u></p> <p>E. Smythe (Government of Alberta)</p> <p><u>Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):</u></p> <p>TBA/A venir</p>
<p>B6 <u>WHY BE POLITICAL?</u></p> <p><u>Paper(s)/Communication(s):</u></p> <p>Gregory Pyrcz (Acadia), "Why Be Political? The Case for Political Apathy".</p> <p><u>Chair/Président(e):</u></p> <p>TBA/A venir</p> <p><u>Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):</u></p> <p>TBA/A venir</p>	

SESSION/PÉRIODE 6 (con't/suite)

9:15-10:30, Tuesday, June 7
9h15-10h30, mardi, le 7 juin

SESSION/PÉRIODE 6 (con't/suite)

9:15-10:30, Tuesday, June 7
9h15-10h30, mardi, le 7 juin

F6

POLITICS OF HEALTH

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

M.G. Taylor, H. Stevenson and
A.P. Williams (York), "Problems and Policies
in Medical Care Insurance: Report on the
1982 Survey of Canadian Physicians".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

G6

GERMAN DEMOCRACY

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

W. Chandler (McMaster), "Germany's
Governing Crisis and the Bundestag
Election of 1983".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

A. Warnke (UBC)

H6

SOCIAL SCIENCE: MARXIST AND SOVIET
PERSPECTIVES

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Pauline Vaillancourt (Montréal), "Marxist
Views of the Relationship of the Natural
and Social Sciences".

Max Nemni (Laval), "The Theoretical
Foundation of Soviet Social Science:
Marxism or Behavioralism".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

Fred Eidlin (Guelph)
Susan Solomon (Toronto)

I6

POLLING AND POLITICAL RESPONSES

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

K. Monroe (NYU), "Political Responses
to Economic Uncertainty".

E. Cloutier (Montréal), "How Govern-
ments Regulate Their Own Surveys".

Chair/Président(e):

Roger Gibbins (Calgary)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

Stephen Brown (Wilfrid Laurier)

J6

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM IN INTER-
NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Chair/Président(e):

Donald C. Rowat (Carleton)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

LUNCH MEETINGS/REUNIONS DE JEUNER

12 NOON/12h.

or/ou

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

SESSION/PÉRIODE 7

1:30-4:00 p.m., Tuesday, June 7, 1983
13:30-16h., mardi, le 7 juin, 1983

SESSION/PÉRIODE 7 (con't/suite)

1:30-4:00 p.m., Tuesday, June 7, 1983
13:30-16h., mardi, le 7 juin, 1983

NOTE: SOME SECTIONS HAVE SPLIT SESSIONS/
IL Y A PARFOIS DEUX SECTIONS DANS LA
MEME SESSION

A7a HOBBS (1:30-2:45) (13h30-14h45)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Lloyd W. Robertson (Toronto), "Let There be Light: Hobbes's View of History".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

A7b ROUSSEAU II (3:00-4:15) (15h.-16:15)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Asher Horowitz (McGill), "History and Critique in Rousseau's Social Contract".

Zdavko Planinc (Harvard), "Jean-Jacques Rousseau: philosophe and citoyen in John Calvin's Geneva".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

B7a JUSTICE (1:30-2:45) (13h30-13h45)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Joseph F. Fletcher and Patrick Neal (Toronto), "Hercules and Legislator: The Problem of Justice in Contemporary Political Philosophy".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

SESSION/PÉRIODE 7 (con't/suite)

1:30-4:00 p.m., Tuesday, June 7, 1983
13:30-16h., mardi, le 7 juin, 1983

NOTE: SOME SECTIONS HAVE SPLIT SESSIONS/
IL Y A PARFOIS DEUX SECTIONS DANS LA
MEME SESSION

B7b POLITICAL OBLIGATION (3:00-4:15)
(15h.-14h15)

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Christian Bay (Toronto), "Political Obligation Theory After Liberalism and Nationalism".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

C7 FEDERAL PARTIES AND THE FEDERAL PARTY SYSTEM

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

John Terry and Brooke Jeffrey (Library of Parliament), "Transformation of the Federal Party System".

Keith Archer (Duke), "The Failure of the Federal NDP: Organizational Bases of Partisan Support".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

D7 ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

Chair/Président(e):

David Wolfe (Toronto)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

SESSION/PÉRIODE 7 (con't/suite)

1:30-4:00 p.m., Tuesday, June 7, 1983
13h30-16h., mardi, le 7 juin, 1983

NOTE: SOME SECTIONS HAVE SPLIT SESSIONS/
IL Y A PARFOIS DEUX SECTIONS DANS LA
MEME SESSION

SESSION/PÉRIODE 7 (con't/suite)

1:30-4:00 p.m., Tuesday, June 7, 1983
13h30-16h., mardi, le 7 juin, 1983

NOTE: SOME SECTIONS HAVE SPLIT SESSIONS/
IL Y A PARFOIS DEUX SECTIONS DANS LA
MEME SESSION

E7 ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

CHANGING DOCTRINE, CHANGING TECHNOLOGY:
CANADA-U.S. DEFENCE RELATIONS IN NORAD
AND NATO FOR 1980s

Chair/Président(e):

Doug Ross (UBC)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

Kim Nossal (McMaster)
Joel Sokolsky (SAIS-Johns Hopkins)
David Cox (Queen's)

F7

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

J.H. Aitchison (Dalhousie), "Is the
Defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment
of any Consequence?"

S. Burt (Waterloo), "Women and the
Constitution",

Carolle Simard (UQAM), "L'action positive:
bilan et perspectives, le cas de la
fonction publique fédérale".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

TBA/A venir

G7 THE JAPANESE STATE: STABILITY AND
TRANSITION

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

R. Bedeski (Carleton), "Security and the
Japanese State: Pacifism Under Seige".

H. Kato (Carleton), "The Japanese and
Canadian Political Systems: A Comparison".

F.Q. Quo (SFU), "Leadership Instability
in Japanese Politics".

Chair/Président(e):

F. Langdon (UBC)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

TBA/A venir

H7 POLITICS: THE SOVIET UNION

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

B. Harasymiw (Calgary), "Social Structure,
Change, and the Politician's Role: Toward
the Theory of Political Recruitment".

L. Duhamel (Montreal), "Les fonctions de la
spéculation dans le système politique de
l'URSS.

Bill McGrath (Memorial), "New Class: Theories
and Soviet and East European Realities".

Chair/Président(e):

Karol Wronecki (Govt. of Ontario)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

Joan DeBradeleben (McGill)

I7 PROVINCE-BUILDING

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

A.B. Tanguay (Carleton), "National Resources
and Province-Building: The Case of Asbestos
in Quebec".

A. Netherton (Carleton), "The Opportunities
and Limitations of Hydro Development
Strategy: The Case of Manitoba".

A. Blais, P. Faucher, R. Young (Montreal),
"Province-building: A Critique with Evidence
from Ontario and Québec".

Chair/Président(e):

Alan Cairns (UBC)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

TBA/A venir

SESSION/PÉRIODE 7

1:30-4:00 p.m., Tuesday, June 7, 1983
13h30-16h., mardi, le 7 juin, 1983

NOTE: SOME SECTIONS HAVE SPLIT SESSIONS/
IL Y A PARFOIS DEUX SECTIONS DANS LA
MEME SESSION

J7 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF URBAN POLICY

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Harold Chorney (Concordia), "A Critical Theory of Urban Public Policy".

E.P. Fowler and M.D. Goldrick (York), "Building the Homogeneous City: Modern Capitalism's Destruction of Diversity".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

Peter Aucoin (Dalhousie)
Christopher Leo (Winnipeg)

K7 ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

POLITICS AND SPORTS

Chair/Président(e):

L. Brown-John (Windsor)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

G. Olafson (Windsor)
R. Corran (Windsor)
E. Broom (UBC)
B. Kydd (Toronto)
T. Bedeski (CAHFTER, Ottawa)

PLENARY SESSION/SESSION PLENIERE

SESSION/PÉRIODE 8:

8:00 p.m.
20h.

10:00 p.m.
22h.

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

TBA/A venir

Wednesday, June 8, 1983 - 9:00-4:00
mercredi, le 8 juin, 1983 - 9h.-16h.

CPSA-CHA CANADIAN POLITICAL ECONOMY
THIS IS A DAY-LONG WORKSHOP PROGRAMME/
ECONOMIE POLITIQUE CANADIENNE ACSP-ACH

IL S'AGIT D'UN ATELIER DE LA DUREE D'UN JOUR

Participants include:

G. Stewart	A. Cairns
P. Waite	J.A. Laponce
C. Armstrong	J.C. Courtney
J. English	D.E. Smith
W.P. Ward	D.E. Blake
M. Prang	R.K. Carty

for details see pages 26-27 of this programme/
pour plus de renseignements voir pages 26-27

SESSION/PÉRIODE 9

9:15-10:30, Wednesday, June 8, 1983
9h15-10h30, mercredi, le 8 juin, 1983

A9 HEGEL

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

George Heiman (Toronto), "Hegel and the Roman World".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

TBA/A venir

B9 CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Paul Norton (SFU), "On Civil Disobedience: Thoreau and Rawls".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice) (s):

TBA/A venir

SESSION/PÉRIODE 9 (con't/suite)

9:15-10:30, Wednesday, June 8, 1983
9h15-10h30, mercredi, le 8 juin, 1983

SESSION/PÉRIODE 9 (con't/suite)

9:15-10:30, Wednesday, June 8, 1983
9h15-10h30, mercredi, le 8 juin, 1983

C9

CANADIAN REFUGEE POLICYPaper(s)/Communication(s):

G.E. Dirks (Brock), "The Statutory Basis and Administration of Contemporary Canadian Refugee Policy".

M. Conley (Acadia), "The Protection of Refugees and Foreign Policy: Canadian Participation in the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

E. Tepper (Carleton)

D9

THE NORTHPaper(s)/Communication(s):

Frances Abele (Arctic Institute, Calgary), "Native Corporations in Northern Canada".

Peter Clancy (UWO), "Wildlife Policy in the Northwest Territories".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

E9

THE EMERGING WORLD ORDER PAPERSPaper(s)/Communication(s):

David Dewitt (Alberta) and John Kirton (Toronto), "Reshaping the International System: Concepts, Peripheries, and Emerging Principal Powers".

Stephen Holloway (Dalhousie), "Relations Among Core Capitalist States".

Chair/Président(e):

Abigail B. Bakan (York)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

F9

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Ken Cabatoff (Concordia), "Organizational Change as Process".

Donald Naulls (York), "Central Agents in Ottawa and Washington".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

G9

NO SESSION/PAS DE SESSION

H9

MARXISM AND REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGYPaper(s)/Communication(s):

N.H. Chi (Carleton), "The Operational Code in Revolutionary Strategy of Mao Zedong, 1926-1949".

S. Bosnitch (New Brunswick), "Marxism and the Yugoslav Revolution".

Chair/Président:

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

I9

IMPACT OF THE ECONOMY ON ELECTORAL DECISIONSPaper(s)/Communication(s):

R. Johnston (UBC) and D.R. Kiewiet (California Inst. of Technology), "Retrospective voting: A Canadian-American Comparison".

K. Hildebrant (Windsor), Harold Clarke (Windsor), Lawrence LeDuc (Windsor) and John Pammett (Carleton), "Partisan Change and Electoral Decline".

Chair/Président(e):

William Chandler (McMaster)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

SESSION/PÉRIODE 9 (con't/suite)

9:15-10:30, Wednesday, June 8, 1983
9h15-10h30, mercredi, le 8 juin, 1983

SESSION/PÉRIODE 10 (con't/suite)

10:45-12:00 a.m., Wednesday, June 8, 1983
10h45-12h., mercredi, le 8 juin, 1983

J9 VANCOUVER AND THE PROVINCE

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

P.J. Smith (SFU), "Planning at Cross-Purposes: Provincial-Municipal Relations in Greater Vancouver".

Gary Munro (UBC), "Urban Transit in Vancouver".

Chair/Président(e):

J.K. Masson (Alberta)

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

K9 ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Jack Corbett (Southwest Texas State), "Acid Rain in Canadian-United States Relations: The Politics of Inaction".

R. Paehlke (Trent), "Environmentalism as Ideology".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

CPSA-CHA CANADIAN POLITICAL COMMUNITY

All day programme/Programme de la journée

See/Voir p. 26-27

SESSION/PÉRIODE 10

10:45-12:00 a.m., Wednesday, June 8, 1983
10h45-12h., mercredi, le 8 juin, 1983

A10 NIETZSCHE

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Laurence Lampert (Indiana), "Ravaging, Raging and Uprooting: Zarathustra as Political Thinker and Actor".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

B10 THE RIGHT TO BE OFFENSIVE

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Ed Andrew (Toronto), "The Right to be Offensive: Manners and Morals in Liberal Doctrine".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

C10 ETIENNE PARENT

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

H.D. Forbes (Toronto), "ETIENNE PARENT: NATIONALIST AND LIBERAL".

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

D10 QUEBEC IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Roberta Hamilton (Concordia), "The Political Economy of New France".

Gerald Bernier and Daniel Salée (Montreal), "Pouvoir d'état et forme de gouvernement absolutiste au Bas-Canada: 1971-1840".

<p style="text-align: center;">SESSION/PÉRIODE 10 (con't/suite)</p> <p>10:45-12:00 a.m., Wednesday, June 8, 1983 10h45-12h., mercredi, le 8 juin, 1983</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SESSION/PÉRIODE 10 (con't/suite)</p> <p>10:45-12:00 a.m., Wednesday, June 8, 1983 10h45-12h., mercredi, le 8 juin, 1983</p>
<p>D10 <u>Chair/Président(e)</u>:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">TBA/A venir</p> <p><u>Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s)</u>:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">TBA/A venir</p>	<p>G10 <u>Chair/Président(e)</u>:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">TBA/A venir</p> <p><u>Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s)</u>:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">TBA/A venir</p>
<p>E10 <u>PUBLIC OPINION AND FOREIGN POLICY</u></p> <p><u>Paper(s)/Communication(s)</u>:</p> <p>R. Byers (York), D. Munton (CIIA), and Michael Slack (York), "Canadians, Detente and the New Cold War".</p> <p>Tom Keating (Carleton), "Exploring Public Attitudes on Foreign Policy Issues: Events, Opinions and Policy-Makers".</p> <p><u>Chair/Président(e)</u>:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Denis Stairs (Dalhousie)</p> <p><u>Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s)</u>:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Lawrence LeDuc (Windsor)</p>	<p>H10 <u>POLITICS: AFRICA</u></p> <p><u>Paper(s)/Communication(s)</u>:</p> <p>David F. Luke (Dalhousie), "Electoral Politics in Sierra Leone: An Appraisal of the 1982 Elections".</p> <p>William Graf (Guelph), "The State in the Third World: Nigeria".</p> <p><u>Chair/Président(e)</u>:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">E. Effrat (Victoria)</p> <p><u>Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s)</u>:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">J. Cartwright (UWO)</p>
<p>F10</p> <p><u>Paper(s)/Communication(s)</u>:</p> <p>Dale Poel and Dieter Hoehne (Dalhousie), "Professional Opinion Formation and Public Policy: The Case of Nova Scotia Legal Aid".</p> <p><u>Chair/Président(e)</u>:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">TBA/A venir</p> <p><u>Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s)</u>:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">TBA/A venir</p>	<p>I10 <u>POLITICAL ELITES</u></p> <p><u>Paper(s)/Communication(s)</u>:</p> <p>R. March (McMaster), "Operationalization of the concept of Political Elite".</p> <p>R. Dyck (Laurentian), "A Profile of the Candidates in the 1977 and 1981 Ontario Elections".</p> <p><u>Chair/Président(e)</u>:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">TBA/A venir</p> <p><u>Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s)</u>:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Sylvia Bashevkin (York)</p>
<p>G10 <u>GOVERNMENT AND UNIONS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE</u></p> <p><u>Paper(s)/Communication(s)</u>:</p> <p>S.B. Wolinetz (Memorial), "Neo-corporatism and Industrial Policy in the Netherlands".</p> <p>S. McBride (Lakehead), "Public Policy and Labour Movement Development: A Four-Country Comparison".</p>	

SESSION/PÉRIODE 10 (con't/suite)

10:45- 12:00 a.m., Wednesday, June 8, 1983
10h45-12h., mercredi, le 8 juin, 1983

J10 ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

CITY POLITICS IN WESTERN CANADA

(12:00 noon)

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(s):

Stan Drabek (Calgary)
James Lightbody (Alberta)
Paul Tennant (UBC)
Phil Wichern (Manitoba)

This Round Table will be followed by a BUS TOUR of Vancouver and a visit to City Hall organized by the Local Politics Group/ Cette table ronde sera suivie d'un tour de Vancouver et d'une visite à l'Hôtel de ville organisés par le groupe de la Politique Locale

K10

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

David Rayside (Toronto), "Small Town Fragmentation and the politics of community: reflections on Alexandria, Glengarry county, Ontario .

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

PLENARY SESSION/SESSION PLENIERE

SESSION/PÉRIODE 11

2:00 p.m.
14h.

4:00 p.m.
16h.

ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

NATIVE PEOPLES AND THE CANADIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

Chair/Président(e):

TBA/A venir

Discussant(s)/Commentateur(trice)(s):

TBA/A venir

CPSA-CHA JOINT WORKSHOP/ATELIER JOINT
ACSP-AHC

The Canadian Political Community/Communauté canadienne Politique

This is a day-long workshop as follows/C'est un atelier de la durée d'une journée

W1 BUILDING A CANADIAN POLITICAL COMMUNITY

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Gordon Stewart (Michigan State), "Macdonald and the Origins of Canadian Politics".

W.P. Ward and R.K. Carty (UBC), "The Growth of a Canadian Political Citizenship".

M. Prang (UBC), "The Family and Canadian Federalism".

W2 MANAGING THE PERIPHERIES

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

P.B. Waite (Dalhousie), "Becoming Canadians: The Maritime Provinces Thirty Years On, 1867-1896".

Donald E. Blake (UBC), "Managing the Coastal Province: British Columbia and the National Political Community".

CPSA-CHA CANADIAN POLITICAL ECONOMY
WORKSHOP/ATELIER
ECONOMIE POLITIQUE CANADIENNE ACSP-ACH

CON'T/SUITE

W3 THE ROLE OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

John English (Waterloo), "The French Lieutenant in Twentieth Century Federal Politics".

John Courtney (Saskatchewan), "Political Leadership in the Development of the Political Community".

W4 INSTITUTIONALIZING THE COMMUNITY

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

C. Armstrong (York), "Dominion-Provincial Conferences Before 1941".

David Smith (Saskatchewan), "Political Parties and the National Political Community".

J.A. Laponce (UBC), "Myth, Rituals, Symbols--and Nation-Building".

W5 A STATE FOR THE COMMUNITY

Paper(s)/Communication(s):

Alan C. Cairns (UBC), "The Canadian State Against is Contradictions of Public Authority".

END OF PROGRAMME/
FIN DU PROGRAMME

DON'T FORGET TO REGISTER
WITH THE LEARNED SOCIETIES
BY APRIL 15.

THERE IS A \$15 PENALTY FOR
LATE REGISTRATION

F7: WOMEN AND THE CONSTITUTION: AN EXPERIENCE
IN PARTICIPATION Sandra Burt (Waterloo)

Women's groups took an active part in the discussions which preceded the initial agreement among most of the provincial premiers and the Prime Minister on a new Canadian constitution. Nevertheless that agreement did not include any special guarantees for either improving or maintaining the status of women in Canada. In response, an Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Women was organized. That group lobbied successfully for the inclusion of a special provision for the equal status of men and women (if necessary through remedial legislation) in the new Canadian Constitution. In this paper the experience of the women active in the Ad Hoc Committee is examined. In part, this involves a discussion of the activity undertaken by the Committee. Thus, part of the paper is an analysis of this group's input in the decision-making process. In particular, the factors which contributed to the interest group's emergence are considered.

In addition, the impact on the Committee members of this experience of participation in the decision-making process is discussed. Women are not very powerful either economically or politically in Canada. Nevertheless, they are quite active in politics, as voters, campaigners, and party organizers. There have been frequent attempts to explain the gap between the relatively high level of participation in the work of elections campaign, and their relatively low level of participation as political candidates. Carole Patemen has argued that one explanation for low participation generally is a low sense of political efficacy. She notes that "the theory of participatory democracy argues that the experience of participation in some ways leaves the individual better psychologically equipped to undertake further participation in the future." (Participation and Democratic Theory, 45) Here, the impact of a relatively successful experience of participation is examined, for the women who were active in the Ad Hoc Committee. In addition, an overview of the submissions made to the Constitution negotiators by other groups concerned with the rights of women is presented. The paper is based partly on interviews with the women active in the Ad Hoc Committee.

N'OUBLIEZ PAS DE VOUS INSCRIRE
AU CONGRES DES SOCIETES SAVANTES
AVANT LE 15 AVRIL.

APRES CETTE DATE, IL Y A UNE
PENALITE DE \$15

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 10:45-12:00, Monday, June 6, and that it is in THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT.

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 10:45-12h., lundi le 6 juin dans la section HISTORIE DE LA PENSEE POLITIQUE.

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

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>A. THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT/HISTOIRE DE LA PENSEE POLITIQUE</p> <p>B. 20TH CENTURY POLITICAL THEORY AND ANALYSIS/ANALYSE ET THEORIE POLITIQUE DU 20^e SIECLE</p> <p>C. CANADIAN POLITICS/POLITIQUE CANADIENNE</p> <p>D. POLITICAL ECONOMY/ECONOMIE POLITIQUE</p> <p>E. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS/RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES</p> <p>F. PUBLIC POLICY/ADMINISTRATION AND LAW/POLITIQUE PUBLIQUE, ADMINISTRATION PUBLIQUE ET DROIT PUBLIC</p> | <p>G. COMPARATIVE POLITICS-WESTERN/ POLITIQUE COMPAREE-OUEST</p> <p>H. COMPARATIVE POLITICS-NON WESTERN/POLITIQUE COMPAREE - AUTRE</p> <p>I. PROVINCIAL POLITICS & SOCIOLOGY/POLITIQUE PROVINCIALE ET SOCIOLOGIE</p> <p>J. LOCAL AND URBAN POLITICS/POLITIQUE LOCALE ET URBAINE</p> <p>K. SPECIAL SESSIONS/SESSIONS SPECIALES</p> |
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ABSTRACTS/RESUMES

SECTION A: THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT/ HISTORIE DE LA PENSEE POLITIQUE

D.J.C. Carmichael (Alberta)

Session A1

A1: ROUSSEAU: WILL AND ACTION

F.M. Barnard (UWO) and J.M. Porter (Saskatchewan)

When discussing political action it is customary to do it under the rubric of reason. The activity of politics, one could argue for example, would not be nourished or respected within a political system for long if human actions were held to be reducible, and hence explainable, by causes independent of the actor's reasons for acting. Thus, contemporary theories of political action have examined such topics as how reasons can be explanations for action or how reasons can be said to constitute actions.

While reason, instrumentally conceived or not, has been the dominant motif in contemporary philosophic literature for discussing action, the Will, however conceived, has been an equally powerful motif in the political philosophies of modernity. This paper will examine "will" as a concept in Rousseau's thinking about action in political contexts. It would amount to inquiring into the usefulness and possible meaning of the concept of will in individual action and its degree of analogous applicability to political action. We would look at the (a) controversial notion of will as something conceptually distinct from action and (b) the hypothetical sense of will in concerted action. In short, both the connection between Rousseau's conceptions of will and of political action, and the consequences for political activity will be studied.

Session A2

A2: IN QUEST OF THE GROUNDING PRINCIPLES OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

Thomas Pangle (U of T)

This paper is meant to contribute to our understanding of the conception of human nature underlying the political thought of the Federalist Papers. What, in the eyes of the new "Publius", are the most basic or most important needs, intrinsic to man, which provide the first principles of normative theory? I begin with brief critical remarks on major trends in the scholarship devoted to the political thought informing the American Founding. My own analysis hinges on an examination of the Federalists' appeal to classical republicanism and thought: I attempt to state precisely the continuities and discontinuities between the Federalist Papers and the Greco-Roman tradition. In the light of this consideration, I proceed to bring together those few scattered but pregnant passages in which "Publius" treats explicitly of human nature or natural right. These discussions, I argue, point to something very like a distinctively Lockean or Montesquieuan notion of nature; yet this notion evidently does not sustain the rich account of human freedom that the authors of the Papers seek to support and cultivate, and for which they find inspiration and echo in the writings of classical antiquity. I conclude with a brief characterization of what I see as the dilemma or even inadequacy of Publius's grounding reflections on freedom.

Session A3A

A3A: MEDIEVAL ENGLISH POLITICS IN WILLIAMS OF OCKHAM'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

Cary J. Nederman (York)

As one of the most formidable political thinkers of the Later Middle ages; William of Ockham has never lacked conflicting scholarly interpretations. There are, however, two points on which all commentators seem to agree. The first is that the origin of Ockham's interest in political matters can be decisively traced to the years 1324-1328, when he was at the court of Pope John XXII in Avignon awaiting the resolution of heresy charges brought against him, and had extensive contact with the Spiritual Franciscan leader Michael of Cesena and other Michaelists. The second, and consequent, point is that any reading of Ockham's political theory can dispense with consideration of the political situation in his native England in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. It is the intention of the proposed paper to refute these conclusions. I shall show that, regardless of what other allegiances Ockham might have acquired, the circumstances of England were never far from his mind, and that commentators will necessarily lack a complete picture of his work until it has been seen in the English context. I base this claim on an investigation of Ockham's largely unexamined tract *An Princeps*, which defended Edward III's right to impose taxation of the English church without the pope's approval, and is his only extant work directly focussed on English politics. In addition, I intend to illuminate several key concepts in Ockham's other polemical writings (e.g., natural rights and consent) in terms of English political debate during Ockham's period. My goal is to determine how Ockham's exposure to and interest in contemporary English politics informed his views on issues relating to the State and the nature of property, which may help to explain both the congruence and divergence of Ockham's political thought with the various other political causes (i.e., The Spiritual Franciscans and Ludwig of Bavaria) with which he was associated.

A3A: ARISTOTLE'S DISCUSSION OF ACQUISITION

Wayne H. Ambler (Dallas)

The main thrust of Aristotle's discussion of acquisition is easily and hence widely appreciated: it presents an account of nature on the basis of which unlimited acquisition through trade and usury is condemned. It thus seems to serve as a classic example of a case in which the philosopher's understanding of nature provides direct guidance for the conduct of men and cities. It is perhaps no less memorable because the guidance it provides seems to summon us to a noble self-restraint in matters of property.

Preliminary study leads me to wonder, however, whether Aristotle is so simply studying nature in order to provide guidance for moral and political conduct. It is possible, conversely, that his judgment of what is useful for cities influences or guides his investigation into nature, or at least the investigation of nature presented in *Politics* I. A striking but

neglected feature of Aristotle's discussion of acquisition is that it concludes with a chapter in which theory and practice are sharply distinguished. This distinction questions whether and how Aristotle's theoretical remarks on natural acquisition have a bearing on political practice. Although Aristotle declines to discuss utilitarian matters at length, he is not above mentioning that cities are in need of such questionable practices as monopoly. This suggests that Aristotle does not derive the guidelines for correct political practice directly from his reflections on nature. This may help explain why nature, which is so prominent a theme in Book I, retreats to the background (to varying degrees, of course) in subsequent Books.

Session A3B

A3B: SLAVERY AND ARISTOTLE'S BEST REGIME

Michael Palmer (Alberta)

It is usually assumed that Aristotle's contention in his *Politics* that there are "slaves by nature" is merely a rationalization of slavery as it was practised in the Greek polis in Aristotle's time. Aristotle's egregious error is attributed to his "ethnocentrism", according to which he supposedly held that non-Greeks were inferior by nature to Greeks. The result is that Aristotle's best regime in speech is seriously flawed because it incorporates, whereas, for example, Plato's *Republic* does not, a slave class, which we who are no longer under the spell of the Greek polis recognize as merely conventional, hence an unjust institution.

I propose to demonstrate that Aristotle's preference for the polis as the best political community was not an historical prejudice, that he did not believe that Greeks were naturally superior to non-Greeks, and that while he did believe there are slaves by nature, he knew perfectly well that all systems of slavery as they existed in his time were systems of conventional slavery only. Furthermore, he is well aware that the institution of slavery he proposes in his best regime is one of conventional slavery only, but this does not, in his view, undermine the legitimacy of his regime.

The paper will proceed by way of careful identification and interpretation of several passages in the *Politics*, beginning with those on "natural slavery" in Book I, chapters 2-7.

Session A5

A5: ADAM SMITH AND JEREMY BENTHAM: POLITICAL THEORY AND THE 'SCIENCE OF MAN'

Douglas C. Long (UWO)

As late eighteenth-century social theorists both Smith and Bentham were formidable polymaths. Both were motivated largely by a neo-Newtonian enthusiasm, characteristic of their period, for a comprehensive science of man and society founded upon a minimal number of ontological and methodological principles. Each was strongly influenced by Hume's presentation of the observational and experimental bases of his 'science of human nature',

and of the utilitarian foundations of civil society. They shared, moreover, a peculiar fascination with the contemporary French notion of a human "esprit de système": the notion of civil society (or at least important portions of it) as a machine-like system was crucial to their works. Each man made important contributions to the fields of ethics, jurisprudence and economics, and each, despite traces of 'Whiggishness' and despite summary retrospective classification as a 'classical liberal', has remained something of a conundrum to modern political theorists.

The purpose of this paper, beyond substantiation of these historiographical and analytical claims of similarity, is to examine the sources and nature of those differences in the theoretical perspectives and methodologies of Smith and Bentham which might help to explain why the former has come down to us as the great anti-consequentialist, as it were, of modernity - the pre-eminent analyst of 'unintended social outcomes' - while the latter is seen as the grandfather of all consequentialists and the doyenne of the school of 'social engineering'. How could two men who had so much in common produce as their intellectual offspring allegedly antithetical theories of the minimal and maximal state?

Session A6

A6: THE NATURE AND STRUCTURE OF JAMES MILL'S POLITICAL ARGUMENTS

R.A. Fenn (U of T)

One of the more obvious difficulties that has arisen in recent years in the interpretation of utilitarian thought has been the problem of defining James Mill's exact position in the transition of ideas from Bentham to John Stuart Mill. The ambiguities of Mill's franchise proposals in 'On Government' are notorious and despite the fact that it was recognized as early as 1962 that he argued in a tactical manner, the implications of this for the whole structure of his thought have not been perceived. As the result of the transcription of his manuscript notebooks the rhetorical, tactical nature of his published work can be fully revealed and his real conclusions can be distinguished from the verbal smokescreens he sometimes threw up. In fact, he even obscured some of his better insights through neglect or by cloaking them so thoroughly that they ceased to be raised in his later work. In some respects the radical nature of his system would surprise many--an acceptance of the working class into the franchise, purging the House of Lords, truncating or eliminating its powers of delay over legislation were all measures in which he believed. Ultimately his importance may lie in being one of the first to build a structure of theory of democratic elitism on a base of possessive individualism.

The method used is historical exegesis.

Session A7A

A7A: LET THERE BE LIGHT: HOBBS'S VIEW OF HISTORY

Lloyd W. Robertson (U of T)

While Hobbes's works do not contain a

philosophy of history, history figures importantly in his political science. Above all, his famous division of all human experience into a "state of nature" and a "civil state" suggests that a certain organization of history is central to his understanding of society. An elaboration of some of Hobbes's specific references to past, present, and future shows that the state of nature can be understood in a wider sense than is usual. It can be seen to include the condition of all men before Hobbes's political science is put into practice.

I will describe the development in Hobbes's treatment of history as he moves from Elements of Law (1640) to De Cive or Philosophical Rudiments (1641), and then to Leviathan (1651). This development shows that Hobbes envisages an obedience to sovereigns more perfect than has existed so far, and that he wants to do more than show that existing sovereignties deserve obedience. The contrast between the golden age of perfect obedience in De Cive and the age before philosophy in Leviathan, for example, shows how much Hobbes hopes can be achieved by true political science and, contrary to the impression given in De Cive, how novel perfect obedience would be. Hobbes's treatment of the Christian centuries, the era of the "kingdom of darkness", will be discussed as evidently the clearest example to Hobbes of an order of opinion and political rule that must be replaced.

As the covenants of subjects resemble "the 'let us make man' pronounced by God in the creation", so the acceptance of Hobbes's new political science means putting the state of nature finally behind us, and thus would be another reminder of the Creation: "let there be light".

Session A7B

A7B: HISTORY AND CRITIQUE IN ROUSSEAU'S SOCIAL CONTRACT

Asher Horowitz (McGill)

J.-J. Rousseau's Social Contract has appeared to most interpreters as a prescription and an ideal. It may, however, usefully be read as a continuation of the general critique, begun in the Discourse on the Origins of Inequality, of the theory and practice of bourgeois society that Rousseau grounded in his radically innovative conception of the historicity of human nature. The Social Contract, continuing this conception of human social historicity, is a dialectical realization and partial transcendence of the fundamental principles of liberalism. The sovereignty of the general will, the purported solution to the problem of power and right in modern society demanded by the bourgeois insistence upon the supremacy of the rational will, and derived immanently by Rousseau from earlier liberal theories of the state, represents the best polity conceivable within a society essentially structured through the market. Yet it is also, for Rousseau, inherently unattainable and doomed to degeneration into despotism. The Social Contract thus represents the alienation of communal life in the state and not the solution to human alienation and unhappiness. The status of the Social Contract as an ideal prescription is thus at best rendered ambivalent, representing as it does the birth of the political project of collective human mastery of a previously reified history under conditions in which that project

must, in failing, reproduce reification.

A7B: JOHN CALVIN AND JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU: LE REFORMATEUR FRANCAIS ET LE PHILOSOPHE GENEVOIS

Zdravko Planinc (Harvard)

Calvin's associations with Genevan politics are well known, but Rousseau's are seldom discussed. The proposed paper will examine the similarities in their views on Genevan politics, and in particular will discuss the importance of Calvin's example for Rousseau's political philosophy. The paper will be presented in six sections: (1) Genevan constitutional history prior to Calvin; (2) the political implications of Calvin's theology; (3) the entrenchment and eventual degeneration of Calvinism in Geneva; (4) Rousseau's early theological and political writings; (5) the relevance of Rousseau's major works to contemporary Genevan political debates; (6) an analysis of the later introspective works in light of Rousseau's rejection of Genevan citizenship. The second and fifth sections shall comprise the bulk of the paper, comparing Calvin's Institutes, Ecclesiastical Ordinances, Code of Political Edicts, and Catechism to Rousseau's two Discourses, Emile, Social Contract, and minor political writings.

Session A9

A9: HEGEL AND THE ROMAN WORLD

George Heiman (U of T)

The paper concerns itself with Hegel's rather ambiguous attitude towards Roman civilization. The peculiarity of his approach however is not due to his love for Hellenism and his dislike of what Rome stood for historically. Rather Rome, to the German lands in Hegel's time, was not a matter of antiquarian interest but of immediate political and legal importance, this due to the fact that a./ since the 16th Century "Reception", Roman law had supplanted customary German law in the various principalities. On a strictly legal plane, this introduced a measure of methodical and logical procedure into the realm of civil law. On the side of political and constitutional law however, Roman law supported the rule of absolutism. Hegel, writing in the age of Restoration and Romanticism which attempted to a./ return to the "good old German laws" and b./ introduce a modern and general civil code, viewed the developments with a very critical eye. First, he was sufficiently prudent not to reject the entirety of Roman law because it had, in effect, become the law of the land. Second, while violently rejecting features of Roman family law, Hegel deeply admired the practise or codification which he wished to transpose into German jurisprudence.

In the true continental tradition, law and politics were then, as now, inseparable. Hence, when Hegel confronted Roman law he also probed into its cultural, religious, philosophic and artistic background. Politically, he was appalled by a malaise in Roman life that had its counterpart in the German principalities of his time. This malaise was the separation of private from public law. To rectify, or to mediate between

the two opposing forces became one of the leading themes of Hegel's Philosophy of Right.

Session A10

A10: "RAVENING, RAGING AND UPROOTING": NIETZSCHE'S ZARATHUSTRA AS POLITICAL THINKER AND ACTOR

Laurence Lampert (Indiana)

I will argue that Zarathustra sees himself as the founder of a new age, a "commander and legislator" in Nietzsche's words. The argument will be based on an interpretation of Thus Spoke Zarathustra which sees Zarathustra transformed from herald to "Superman" in the action of the book. The method of my paper will be textual interpretation which deciphers a teaching on political matters in Part I of the book and traces the enactment of that teaching in the subsequent Parts.

In Part I Zarathustra is a "herald" anticipating a coming Superman. The herald teaches that peoples are founded by great legislators who have called into being the "thousand peoples", each founded on an exclusive "noble lie"; the modern is a founding that lacks nobility in that it appeals only to appetites and aims only at comfort; the Superman, the "thousand and first" founder, overthrows the modern to found the new global people "mankind". Part I anticipates a long progress of faithful followers building to the eventual achievement of the Superman.

In subsequent Parts the teaching on politics and Superman does not change but Zarathustra is forced to abandon his typically modern hope in the future because of events in Part II. Part III requires the conclusion that Zarathustra himself becomes the Superman who fulfills Part I.

I will argue that the teaching of eternal return is a political teaching in the foundational sense: it provides the horizon within which the new people "mankind" is expected to live out a life "true to the earth".

SECTION B: 20TH CENTURY POLITICAL THEORY AND ANALYSIS/ANALYSE ET THEORIE POLITIQUE DU 20^E SIECLE

D.J.C. Carmichael (Alberta)

Session B1

B1: HEGEL, HERMENEUTICS, AND THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL THEORY

Richard A. Nutbrown (Waterloo)

Recent criticisms of traditional approaches to the study of the history of political theory have relied heavily on some of the themes and modes of inquiry developed under the banner of "hermeneutics". In general these criticisms, especially those advanced by John Gunnell, have focused on the ideas or concepts of tradition and historicity, and have raised serious hermeneutical and substantive claims against both the traditional and "New History" approaches. These have generally been grouped under the themes of "recovery of meaning" and "reconstruction of meaning", respectively. Proponents of the first approach have argued that within the tradition of classic

texts from Plato to Hegel or Marx there is a discernible pattern of thought which illuminates the context of textual interpretation. Advocates of the more pronounced historical mode of inquiry have advanced the view that a less panoramic, more periodized and linguistically-oriented reconstruction of ideological context is a prerequisite to a fuller understanding of the classic tradition. For Gunnell, both approaches rely on an idea of tradition which is untenable and they do not come to grips effectively with the concept of historicity advanced in the hermeneutical philosophies of Gadamer, Ricoeur, et al. While these arguments are on two levels, that is, on matters of purely epistemological or hermeneutical concern as well as on substantive interpretative claims or norms, this paper will concentrate solely on the issue of hermeneutics and the history of political theory as a field of study. It suggests that some clarity is brought to this debate through a reconsideration of Hegel's attempt to link phenomenology and logic, i.e., history and knowledge, or ordinary language and "scientific" discourse. It argues that the formidable differences between and among these approaches may be more profitably examined as, 1) alternative styles, or modes of genetic and formal discourse as finite standpoints, and, 2) that Hegel's announcement of the dissolution of philosophic discourse in the transition from phenomenology to logic goes beyond these standpoints while still including them in sublated forms.

Session B2

B2: THE POLITICAL THEORY OF INSTITUTIONALIZED INDIVIDUALISM: HOBBS, LOCKE, AND TALCOTT PARSONS' THEORY OF ACTION

James D. Driscoll (Trent)

The initial critical response to C.B. Macpherson's book The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism was that it was well argued but not convincing as an account of seventeenth century theorists because of the interpolation of arguments and posing of questions which were relevant only in a later period. Later on, critics working within the perspective of the new history of political ideas were concerned to demonstrate in detail how frequently Macpherson abused contemporary meanings in the attempt to fit complex texts into a Procrustean framework dictated by modern theoretical interests.

What has rarely been examined, however, is the possibility that Macpherson's exercises in the "retrieval" of the meaning of contemporary liberalism follow different rules than those entailed in either the historical meanings of theories or their internal coherence. There is a remarkable parallel to Macpherson's analytical technique, and the critical response, in the anachronistic reconstruction of seventeenth century thought in Talcott Parsons' The Structure of Social Action. Parsons, however, found the main line of liberal thought to be in the Lockean tradition of "institutionalized individualism" rather than the libertarian individualism of Hobbes.

This paper will review Macpherson's approach and outline Parsons' reconstruction in order to demonstrate that there is a hermeneutic, or interpretive, interest in the history of

political ideas which escapes the Scylla and Charybdis of rationalist reconstruction and contextual reduction and allows for the extraction of morally significant alternatives from cultural systems. Exercises of this kind are a vital component of the cultural grounding of moral criticism of contemporary society, and they also provide what Weber called the Wertbeziehung (value-relevance) of empirical political theory.

Session B3A

B3A: THE ACHIEVEMENT OF MICHAEL OAKESHOTT

SUMMARY/RESUME NO PAPER/PAS DE COMMUNICATION

With the forthcoming publication of his On Historiography (1983) Professor Michael Oakeshott will complete a cycle of books which began a full half-century ago, when the appearance of his Experience and Its Modes in the inauspicious year of 1933 early established his claims as one of the notable voices of contemporary political thought. In the intervening years, his beautifully-crafted writings on diverse themes in political and moral philosophy (especially his influential Blackwell edition of Hobbes's Leviathan, his Rationalism in Politics, and more recently, his On Human Conduct) have elaborated a sometimes difficult, oftentimes controversial, and always compelling perspective on the historical antecedents and contemporary manifestations of what he perceives to be a distinctively modern style of politics and political argumentation. The panel pays tribute to Michael Oakeshott in this his ninth productive decade, using the themes of his latest book to explore the larger patterns of his work to date, and to relate these to such general topics as the methodology of the history of political thought, the character of the modern state, and the critique of ideological reasoning.

B3A: THE METAPHORS OF MICHAEL OAKESHOTT

George Feaver (UBC)

A striking feature of Michael Oakeshott's writings has been his persistent concern to elaborate an understanding of political experience in which the location of an identifiably civic language, possessing a characteristic diction and syntax, is accorded a central position. In the pursuit of this longstanding intellectual enterprise, his general point of view may be said to be inseparable from his considerable achievements as a stylist. A consideration of Oakeshott's use of metaphor in argument and illustration provides an interesting key to the appreciation of his views on such wellknown themes as the nature of political activity, the question of appropriateness in political education, and the vocabulary of a modern European state.

B3A: MICHAEL OAKESHOTT'S HISTORICAL ATTITUDE TOWARD POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Timothy Fuller (Colorado College)

Among the foremost preoccupations in Michael Oakeshott's thought, from his earliest writings to

the present, is the desire to understand what the presuppositions of the historical attitude are (*Experience and Its Modes*, 1933), what the "activity of being and historian" is (*Rationalism in Politics*, 1962) and how it differs from understanding in terms of a "tradition", and what it means to "theorize history" (*On Human Conduct*, 1975). Now Professor Oakeshott is publishing a series of new essays on history which are the considered versions of a series of lectures he has given for a number of years in the History of Political Thought Seminar at The London School of Economics.

This paper summarizes as succinctly as possible the development of Oakeshott's thought on history with particular emphasis on the most recent thinking. It then goes on to consider the implications of his ideas on history for such questions as the writing of the history of political thought, the implications for the activity of political philosophers or "theorizing", the question whether the historical attitude as understood by Oakeshott is "subversive" of the meaning of political life or irrelevant to political life. Finally, the relationship between Oakeshott's views on history and those of other contemporary thinkers who have addressed the "historical question" will be treated briefly.

B3A: OAKESHOTT ON AUTHORITY

Richard B. Friedman (SUNY, Buffalo)

"(The) conspicuous failure of most modern European states (and all the imitation states elsewhere in the world) to acquire governments with firmly recognised authority has provoked the belief that authority is of no account". So writes Michael Oakeshott, in the course of elaborating the argument of his *On Human Conduct*. Oakeshott's interest in the concept of authority dates from his earliest writings, and arguably constitutes his most signal contribution to the resuscitation of political philosophy in recent years. "Hobbes is not an absolutist precisely because he is an authoritarian", he tells us, in his Blackwell edition of *Leviathan*. This paper examines Oakeshott's undertaking to unravel such seeming paradoxes in the attempt to construct a theory of authority appropriate to the world in which we live

Session B5

B5: THREE SORTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE OR JUST ONE?

David Braybrooke (Dalhousie)

A familiar current position in the philosophy of social sciences, definitively formulated in an article of 1977 by Brian Fay and Donald Moon, is that there are three distinct sorts of Social Science: (1) naturalistic inquiry (2) interpretative (or hermeneutic) inquiry (3) critical theory. Until recently, as my publications show, I myself inclined to hold this view, which does substantial justice to the variety of social science. I did wish to stress, more than these other writers, the extent to which inquiries of the naturalistic and interpretative sorts complemented one another, intertwined in mutual support,

and even presupposed the use of each other's key ideas. Now, however, it seems to me that critical social theory is simply reflexive social science - social science, with both naturalistic and interpretative aspects, about social science. Moreover, the distinction between naturalistic and interpretative inquiries seems to reduce to little more than a difference in initial question and in the techniques which inquirers use to collect systematic evidence. If we draw up an ordered list (which I shall supply) of characteristics of scientific inquiry, such that an inquiry is more scientific the more of these characteristics it displays and the more it realizes each of the characteristics, interpretative inquiries in social science will be found to be capable of being scientific to as high a degree as naturalistic inquiries. On both approaches, different inquiries will be found to vary greatly, without detracting from their present interest and usefulness, in profiles, that is to say, in the pattern of their scores on the ordered list of characteristics. Both approaches are empirical. Moreover their results in the end stand or fall with the same observational evidence. The decisive point to make in this connection is that the rules of a society - the rules, however originating, which are actually followed in that society and give meaning to actions there - cannot be held to be such rules unless they can also be regarded as causal regularities of conformity or of conformity mixed with enforcement. They look different from regularities only because they are approached from a different direction and assimilated to a different model, here a (misleading) model in which the rules are timelessly just at the point of being deliberately adopted or legislated.

The examples of social science discussed in the paper will come from political science. They, like the alternative philosophical accounts of social science at issue, will undergo logical analysis and conceptual clarification.

Session B6

B6: WHY BE POLITICAL? THE CASE FOR POLITICAL APATHY

Gregory Pyrcz (Acadia)

The author of this essay argues that the existing faith placed in the rightness of political participation is largely unwarranted given the weakness of the arguments presumed to support it. Four arguments are assessed: that political participation improves the character of the individual who participates; that it heightens the quality of the civilization or society in which it flourishes; that it is the interest of the citizen who fears a breakdown of social peace or a loss of cherished institutions; or, that it serves the legitimacy of the modern state.

The author argues that some political participation worsens some individuals and that there is no sure way to predict these outcomes. He argues further that the benefits commonly presumed to accrue to the individual from political participation can be drawn as easily from more promising social activity.

He argues that societies and civilizations are not necessarily improved by widespread participation - that the evil and ignorant need be silent, or made silent, for this outcome to be likely - and points

to fundamental disagreements about whom should be so identified. The author recognizes the strength of the Hobbesian logic of our social fabric, but notes that this logic requires, in normal times, little more than our obedience.

Finally, the author argues that serving the legitimacy of the state calls strongly but viciously upon our participation, a context in which the apathetic beer-in-hand Laverne and Shirley viewer is both rebel and saint.

Session B7A

B7A: HERCULES AND THE LEGISLATOR: THE PROBLEM OF JUSTICE IN CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Joseph F. Fletcher and Patrick Neal (U of T)

Many contemporary thinkers assume that in order to do political philosophy one must choose between the teleological naturalism characteristic of pre-modern philosophy or the radical individualism characteristic of the dominant strain of modern liberal philosophy. The problem with teleological naturalism (especially from the point of view of radical individualism) is that its metaphysical status is, to say the least, questionable. The problem with radical individualism (especially from the point of view of teleological naturalism) is that it is not at all clear that one can account for moral concepts which are politically relevant (i.e., "obligation", "authority", etc.) within the prudential framework adopted in the radical individualist approach.

In our view, the most promising current in contemporary political thought is the refusal to adopt either teleological naturalism or radical individualism as the basis for a theory of justice, a strategy which calls into question the assumptions about the nature of moral philosophy which underlie this dichotomy. We have in mind here the work of John Rawls (especially his post-Theory of Justice writings) and Ronald Dworkin, among others. While we applaud this effort, we think that it can be furthered and improved upon through consideration of this alternative approach - Jean Jacques Rousseau.

What we intend to do is outline Rousseau's account of moral objectivity and justice as contained in The Social Contract, and indicate how consideration of both its strength and weaknesses might facilitate the effort to move contemporary political philosophy beyond the impasse outlined above.

Session B7B

B7B: POLITICAL OBLIGATION THEORY AFTER LIBERALISM AND NATIONALISM

Christian Bay (U of T)

From Plato through Hegel and Bosanquet, idealist writers have assumed that citizens owe loyalty to their state. From Hobbes (at the extreme) and Locke through contemporary liberal theorists like Rawls and Flathman, empiricist philosophers have made the same basic assumption. Until recent years the literature on political

obligation, as well as on disobedience, has kept restricting its vision and its contending claims to questions about the extent, the substance, and the justifications of our political obligation to our respective states.

We have come to a watershed, however; there is now a growing literature that persuasively challenges all the traditional justifications, and argues that there are more important, more obligating concerns beyond loyalty to the nation state. Burton Zwiebach, Ronald Dworkin, and Carole Pateman are among the principal contributors to this critical literature.

My ambition is to show that, with antecedents in Rousseau and Marx, essential elements for a post-liberal, postnationalist theory of political obligation can now be assembled. Such a theory will make Man, collectively and individually, meaning all men and women, born or yet to be born, the focus of legitimate political obligation. More concretely and practically, I shall seek to justify an overriding commitment to (universal) human rights, hierarchically construed according to **priorities** among general categories of basic human needs (survival, health protection, social solidarity, and individual freedoms of choice, in that order).

Session B9

B9: ON CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE: THOREAU AND RAWLS

Paul Norton (Simon Fraser)

A teaching of civil disobedience is strange, because it holds that a human being can be "civil", that is, a proper member of a community, while disobeying a law of the community. This strangeness disappears with the assumption that there are principles of right or justice that are higher and more compelling than those of one's political community. The thoughts of Thoreau and Rawls on civil disobedience are interesting because they both defend the right to disobey the law, though they give very different reasons for believing that it is right to do so. It is the purpose of this paper to compare their arguments and to show that Thoreau fails to meet the needs of political prudence and that Rawls fails to meet the needs of human spiritedness.

Taking the modern view that man is not by nature a political animal, Thoreau declares an extreme indifference to politics itself. For Thoreau, no particular regime or body of laws can have a paramount claim on its citizens' loyalty. The principles that he uses to justify disobeying the law amount to a kind of 'natural right': it is a question, however, whether natural right can truly be said to counsel immoderation or fanaticism in practical matters.

Rawls' defense of civil disobedience is, as he says, a view that is narrower than Thoreau's. While he does not recommend violence, he is so negligent of the rare and fragile structures of any actual society that is "nearly just" that his subjective understanding of what is just and unjust undermines the stability and constitution of such a society. At the same time -- and in some tension with this tendency to dissolve any real bonds of obligation -- Rawls' defense of civil disobedience

is so abstractly and narrowly drawn that it deprives that act of civil disobedience of any real spiritedness. Thus while Thoreau's teaching leads, happily enough for him, to anarchy, Rawls' teaching leads, but unwittingly, to anarchy also and leaves no room for genuine courage. Thoreau and Rawls can therefore give no serious guidance to either the good citizen or the good man.

Session B10

B10: THE RIGHT TO BE OFFENSIVE: MANNERS AND MORALS IN LIBERAL DOCTRINE

Ed Andrew (U of T)

This paper explores the doctrine that an individual is free or has a right, to do anything which does not harm others or restrict their freedom to choose their own opinions or their own way of life. This doctrine seems to be the fundamental principle of liberalism but, when enunciated by J. S. Mill or H. L. Hart, it is not presented as an absolute or unconditioned principle but as conditional upon the attainment of socially accepted standards of conduct (public decency, impulse control, etc.) That is, individualistic morality presupposes a form of social manners which is deemed conducive to self-expression or self-development. But because many liberals overlook the social in favour of the personal component of individuality, Mill's and Hart's conditional principle is often presented as an absolute and universalizable principle of conduct. Manners become excluded from liberal morality. Either one lacks the legal right to harm others or else one has a moral as well as a legal entitlement to conduct oneself in an offensive or unmannerly fashion. In summary, this paper explores the tensions, the relations of attraction and repulsion, of convergence and divergence, between social manners and individual morals at the heart of liberal doctrine.

SECTION C: CANADIAN POLITICS/POLITIQUE CANADIENNE

Lynda Erickson (UBC)

Session C1

C1: WESTERN ALIENATION AND INTRA-REGIONAL BELIEF SYSTEMS: A COMPARISON OF REGIONAL DISCONTENT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA AND ALBERTA

Daniel Wong (UBC)

Despite its current popularity, western alienation remains an elusive phenomenon. This is attributable in part to the diversity of political life within the region. The attitudes, values, and biases which constitute a collective belief system in one community are not necessarily shared in another. Yet observers of Canadian politics have been inclined to disregard such distinctions when assessing western discontent. Instead, they have tended to look upon 'alienation' as the keynote of a distinct, pan-regional political culture.

The present paper is a comparative study of regional discontent in British Columbia and Alberta. An analysis of data compiled from two

sample surveys suggests that while in both provinces western alienation reflects a marked anti-Liberal sentiment, there are fundamental differences between the provinces where ideological and class correlates are considered. In B.C., alienation is principally a working class and 'liberal' phenomenon, while in Alberta it is more closely associated with ideological conservatism regardless of social class. Such divergence is attributed to deep-rooted dissimilarities in the provincial political cultures, and the pan-regional axiom is thus rejected.

The paper concludes with the assertion that 'western alienation' does not constitute a homogeneous belief system, but is rather a collection of diverse belief systems which vary perceptibly along provincial lines. Finally, it is argued that our understanding of western regionalism stands to benefit if greater attention is paid to dissimilarities between the provincial communities.

Session C2

C2: CONSTITUTIONAL (DE)CENTRALIZATION AND INTER-REGIONAL CONFLICT IN FEDERAL STATES: THE CANADIAN CASE

Peter Leslie (Queen's)

This paper is a reflective and critical piece, rather than a report of empirical research. The point of departure is provided by some of the comments of the Pepin-Robarts task force on the economic benefits and political costs of integration (especially, one presumes, through federation), and the theory of interregional conflict that is implicit in their comments on integration. My argument, in addition to picking up on Pepin-Robarts, consists of a critique and an extension of the distinction recently made by Jack Mintz and Richard Simeon between "conflict of taste" (differing preferences, often reflecting differing values) and "conflict of claim" (disputes over the distribution of wealth). Their thesis is that many and perhaps most conflicts of taste are resolvable through decentralization, whereas conflicts of claim are not. They also suggest that while most theorizing about federalism implicitly dwells on conflicts of taste, in Canada there has recently been a fairly sharp rise in conflicts of claim. These give rise to intergovernmental bargaining, which may or may not be successful in keeping interregional conflict within tolerable bounds.

My argument accepts the usefulness of the distinction between conflicts of taste and of claim, and also its relevance to the question whether constitutional change might reduce/raise to level of interregional conflict in a federation. In other respects, however, I part company with Mintz and Simeon; and the paper concludes with a rather negative assessment of proposals (Pepin-Robarts and many others) for decentralization as a means of reducing the severity of interregional conflict, even assuming (with Pepin-Robarts and many others) that many policy disputes do arise out of differences in taste.

Session C3

C3: CANADIAN COMMUNISM: THE POPULAR FRONT APPROACH
1936-1946 Donald Avery (History, UWO)

This paper will concentrate on the attempts of the Communist Party of Canada to establish and, where possible, to control various civil liberty, youth, peace and scientific organizations during the 1930's and 1940's. Particular attention will be devoted to the Canadian Labour Defence League, the Canadian League for Peace and Democracy, the Canadian Youth Congress, the National Council for Canadian-Soviet Friendship and the Canadian Association of Scientific Workers. Although these organizations spanned a wide section of Canadian society, they had special appeal for many middle class Anglo-Canadians in the context of the 'Great' Depression and the Second World War.

Emphasis will be placed on the methods which the Communist Party deployed in its attempts to build support for these organizations especially among those Canadians who sought to combat fascism and to improve the conditions of the working class. This was, of course, an era when the term fellow-traveller had not yet assumed the Cold War implication. Yet another consideration will be to examine the impact which Soviet policy had on the operation of these organizations. Particular attention will be placed on the effect of the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939 and the disclosures of the Royal Commission on Espionage (1946).

C3: THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA IN RETROSPECT
Norman Penner (York)

The foundation of the CP of Canada in 1921 took place in an atmosphere of revolutionary optimism occasioned by the Bolshevik victory in Russia, the appearance in English of the most important works of Lenin and Trotsky, and the creation of The Communist International, which bore the promise that through this body the CPC would be part of a world movement led by Lenin and his "party of a new type".

This optimism continued even after Lenin's death when Stalin emerged as the new leader, who while almost unknown outside of Russia, quickly established himself as a world leader. Stalin developed a theory of the party and of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" which he called "Marxism-Leninism". This theory became the litmus test of what was and was not a genuine party in the Lenin mould. Everyone who did not accept that definition was purged from the Parties who belonged to the CI as Trotskyites or as "American exceptionalists".

The most effective period for the CPC was in the Great Depression, when it was able to initiate and lead mass movements against the effects of the depression, developed united fronts with prominent liberals and social-democrats, built mass industrial unions and merged them with the CIO, and succeeded in electing several municipal and provincial candidates. This momentum carried on in the war as a result of the victories which the Soviet Army was winning over Hitler's forces. But almost immediately after the war, the CPC began to decline and it was never able to arrest that decline.

My submission will examine the external and internal reasons for this decline and speculate as to whether there will ever again be a Communist Party in Canada which will be anything more than a small and ineffective sect. I will also look briefly, but critically, at the literature on the CPC which has been published since 1968.

C3: CANADIAN COMMUNISM: A VIEW FROM THE 1980'S
Alan Whitehorn (Royal Military College)

An analysis of the various communist parties will be made in terms of their size, organizational structure, bases of support, ideological orientations and tactics.

Given the stronger base in Quebec for most communist parties, special attention will be given to the interaction between communist doctrine and French-Canadian nationalism.

Session C5

C5: THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND
SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS

Grace Skogstad (St. F.-X)

The paper examines the interaction of specialized agricultural groups with the federal Standing Committee on Agriculture and the groups' consequent impact upon federal agricultural legislation. In so doing, it attempts to shed light upon the policy-making role of a relatively unexplored institution - the parliamentary standing committee. Drawing upon the literature on interest groups, the paper argues that insufficient attention has been paid to the standing committee as a target of interest group activity. To the extent that interests without representation on the government side of the House are successful in effecting blockages or amendments to legislation at the committee stage, the standing committee may well serve an important function as a unifying and nationalizing institution.

Two recent pieces of federal legislation, the Canagrex and Meat Import bills, provide the case studies upon which the paper is based. The success of the Agriculture Committee in effecting change in the proposed legislation and the respective roles of specialized and more general, omnibus farm groups with committee members are documented. The paper attempts to determine the extent to which conclusions regarding both the policy impact of the Standing Committee on Agriculture and the patron-client relationship prevailing between several committee members and special interest groups are generalizable to other committees and groups.

C5: CAPTIVE OR VICTIM?: THE BOARD OF BROADCAST
GOVERNORS AND BERNSTEIN'S LAW, 1958-68

W.H.N. Hull (Brock)

A number of authors, notable amongst them Marver Bernstein, have suggested that independent regulatory agencies are prone to develop "an

orientation toward the views and interests of their clientele and become ripe for capture". This paper examines certain aspects of the activities of the Board of Broadcast Governors, 1958-1968 in light of what has been termed "Bernstein's Law".

The charge is often made that the Board of Broadcast Governors came to represent only the interests of the broadcaster (e.g. the Fowler Commission). This paper maintains that such a charge, in its over-simplification does an injustice to the Board. It is hoped to demonstrate that, rather than being the captive of the industry, the agency was the victim of inadequate enabling legislation (creating uncertainties especially concerning the goals and powers of the Board), insufficient funding (limiting the scope of its activities), indifferent ministerial support (weakening the image of the Board) and limited public support (at times, running contrary to the direction of the Broadcasting Act and the Board's regulations).

Session C6

C6: HOROWITZ AND HARTZISM: A CRITIQUE OF THE EVIDENCE FOR THE ROLE OF THE TORY STREAK/TOUCH IN CANADIAN PUBLIC POLICY AND POLITICAL CULTURE

Tom Truman (McMaster)

The Hartzian theory explains the political culture, politics and public policy of English Canada as the result of the Lockean liberal ideology brought by the founding settlers from the United States. Horowitz asserts that the Canadian founders had a tory streak or touch in their liberalism and the principal carrier of this tory streak is the Progressive Conservative Party.

This paper begins by looking at creation of government enterprises, the welfare state and policies relating to imperialism and Canadian independence. It concludes that the historical evidence for the tory streak model is weak and ambiguous, and that other models have more success in accounting for the data. The paper then goes on to look at the results of the author's own efforts to discover whether Canadian university students register higher scores in tests of toryism than American students and concludes they do not.

Finally, the author examines some English historical evidence to see whether it supports Hartz's assumptions that the Tories or Conservatives exhibited a sense of community and care for the welfare of the working class and his contention that English socialism owed its origin and development to this tory or feudal notion of community. There is some evidence which questions Hartz's assumptions and there are other models which account for the data more satisfactorily.

Session C7

C7: TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE FEDERAL PARTY SYSTEM

John Terry and Brooke Jeffrey (Library of Parliament)

The purpose of our proposed article is to describe and explain, in a rather suggestive and preliminary fashion, transformations of the Canadian federal party system from 1867 to the present. Our analysis is linked theoretically to the literature on transformations of the American party system dating from the early studies by Key, Pomper and others, through the later works of such authors as Burnham and Sundquist, to the current literature on dealignment which is reviewed by Norpoth and Rusk in the September 1982 issue of APSR.

Our work to date, based on aggregate data and utilizing a variety of measurements of change, strongly suggests four clear periods of party system transition: 1896-1900, 1917-1926, 1930-35, and 1957-62, and possibly a fifth: the current era in Canadian elections.

Building on the work of Blake (1896) and Johnson (1911) on early party system transformation, and drawing on a wide variety of literature on elections and the party system from Confederation to the present, we expect to show, (or at least strongly suggest), that major transformations in the Canadian party system have occurred when three factors are present: dramatic economic change, significant changes in party leadership and especially compelling election issues. In addition two other factors -- expansion of state activity and demographic transformations -- appear to have played a role in at least three of the periods examined.

We will conclude our analysis with an examination of recent electoral trends and a discussion of likely future developments in the party system.

C7: THE FAILURE OF THE FEDERAL NDP: ORGANIZATIONAL BASES OF PARTISAN SUPPORT

Keith Archer (Duke)

In contrast to much of the research on Canadian voting behaviour which focuses almost exclusively on the attitudinal determinants of partisan choice, this analysis will go beyond these proximal factors to examine more distal factors rooted in organizational structure and strategy. Following Sartori's argument that "large collectivities become class structured only if they are class persuaded; and the most likely and apt 'persuader' is the party (or the union) playing on class appeal"¹, I will argue that the organizational structure and strategy of the Canadian labour movement has contributed significantly to the electoral performance of the federal NDP. In particular, I will argue that union members are significantly more likely than non-union members to support the NDP. Additionally, and of greater significance, I will argue that union members whose union is affiliated with the NDP are more likely to support the party than are those members of non-NDP affiliated unions. My assumption is that the electoral failure of the NDP in Canadian national politics derives not from the inability of organized labour to influence its membership, but from historical conditions which have led to a decentralized labour movement, a condition that largely accounts for the differential strength and strategy of local labour organizations.

Using data derived from a series of national studies conducted between 1965 and 1980, I will

examine the effects of attitudinal and sociodemographic variables on the extent of class awareness and the direction of electoral choice. The psychological variables include the direction and intensity of partisan identification, issue attitudes, candidate evaluations and perceptions of party "electability". The sociodemographic variables include variables such as union membership, ethnicity, religion, age and gender.

Session C9

C9: THE STATUTORY BASIS AND ADMINISTRATION OF CONTEMPORARY CANADIAN REFUGEE POLICY
G.E. Dirks (Brock)

Between 1973 and 1977, a thorough and wideranging review of Canadian immigration policy took place, not only within the responsible Federal Government department, but also involving other departments, provincial governments, private ethnic associations and interested individuals. The review process culminated with the passage by Parliament of a new Immigration Act in 1977 and its promulgation in April, 1978. This paper examines one part of this policy review and policy formulation process -- that relating to refugee admission and refugee status determination. No reference to refugees has appeared in any previous immigration legislation even though Canada had since World War II embarked upon schemes to assist the international community to resettle thousands of the world's persecuted peoples.

This paper analyzes the competing factors and forces that shaped the refugee provisions of the Act, explores the assumptions and expectations paramount in the minds of those persons involved in the formulation of this legislation, and briefly discusses one or two of the problem areas that have arisen since the Act has become law. The proposition is put forward that the legislative provisions dealing with refugee admission to Canada have been less troublesome than those dealing with the process of refugee status determination for persons already in Canada.

C9: THE PROTECTION OF REFUGEES AND FOREIGN POLICY: CANADIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

Marshall Conley (Acadia)

Since the convening of the international Refugee Conference on the "boat people" in July 1979, Canada has had to take a more determined position with regard to its policy towards the plight of refugees. This has resulted in an attempt at more precisely determining policy objectives as to refugee immigration, assistance, and protection. The objective of this paper is to examine those changes in Canadian policy towards refugees and to assess the impact for both external and domestic policy.

Increasingly the Canadian Government has taken the position that it is essential to determine the origin of mass refugee situations in order to prevent them, rather than merely reacting to such movements. Frequently there is

a connection between mass refugee movements and human rights violations. As a consequence, Canada has taken the lead in focussing the mass movement question in two fora: the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, and the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.

Research for this paper is based on extensive interviews in Ottawa and Geneva. For the past four years the author has met on a regular basis with officials of the Department of External Affairs in Ottawa and spent the summers of 1979, 1980 and 1982 working with, and interviewing, officials of the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, and the Commission on Human Rights.

The paper itself is divided into two major sections. The first section examines Canadian external policy towards refugees. This is based upon perceptions, and policies developed in the Department of External Affairs and the Department of Employment and Immigration. Part two assesses Canadian participation, with regard to its refugee policy, in the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees and the Commission on Human Rights. This part also offers an assessment of the organizational capability of these two organizations to deal with large scale refugee movements and the protection of refugees. The conclusion identifies some Canadian reactions toward these two organizations in view of Canada's increased participation in refugee questions and offers some suggested alternatives to our current policy.

Session C10

C10: ETIENNE PARENT: NATIONALIST AND LIBERAL
H.D. Forbes (U of T)

Etienne Parent (1802-1874) deserves to be better known. To the extent that he is known at all to English Canadians, it is as a nationalist, but he is also one of the most interesting figures in the Canadian liberal tradition. His most ambitious and theoretical writings--his five lectures before the Institut Canadien in Montreal between 1846 and 1848--are primarily concerned with education. The system of education he envisaged for his compatriots and which he recommended to them as a means of preserving their nationality, would have had as much to do with classical political economy as with nationalism. The tension between nationalism and liberalism in Parent's thought is clear when Parent discusses the role of priests in society and the problem of church-state relations. Here above all Parent shows the subtlety and breadth of his mind, for while he seems to give the priests a very large role in society, he is careful to make sure that they be well versed in political economy, with its novel morality, before they play that role. I conclude, therefore, that Parent has to be seen first of all as a liberal before his nationalism can be properly understood, and I suggest that his thought, because of the way it combines liberalism and nationalism, can help us to understand better some contemporary controversies.

SECTION D: POLITICAL ECONOMY/ECONOMIE POLITIQUE

Garth Stevenson (Alberta)

Session D1

D1: CANADIAN TECHNOLOGICAL DEPENDENCE &
SELF-RELIANCE: MYTHS & REALITIES

Chris DeBresson (Capilano College - Labour
Studies)

The purpose of this paper is to confront prevailing preconceptions about Canadian technological dependency with the facts emerging from a retrospective survey of innovation in Canadian industry from 1945 to 1978.

After a record of current assumptions about technological dependency in Canada, a rapid and critical survey of literature on "dependency theory", in particular the recent literature of technological dependency, is made relevant to the Canadian case. From this review, the author deducts the expected symptoms of technological dependency in terms of industrial innovation.

Previous analysts have been constrained to use industrial Research & Development or patents as indicators of technological capability of an industry. It is briefly analyzed why the former cannot constitute good proxy measures of technological capability and why direct measurements of innovative activity are preferred. Summarizing the findings of a retrospective industrial survey, the various possible symptoms of dependencies are examined.

The paper argues that analysis would gain from being specific as to the type of dependency. The empirical analysis points to: (i) industry specific dependencies (ii) re-inforced by the strategic position for technological development of certain industries (e.g. machinery); (iii) the limited number and density of technological nodes not dependent on foreign firms; (iv) the technologically regressive climate of the Maritimes and dominated status of Quebec. It does not, however, substantiate claims of across the board technological dependency due, for example, to entrepreneurial shortcomings.

The new facts uncovered about innovative activities in Canadian industry suggests new questions (or emphasis) in the analysis of the dependent industrialization of Canada.

D1: LA POLITIQUE CANADIENNE DE DEVELOPPEMENT TECHNOLOGIQUE: PRIORITES ET PERTINANCE ECONOMIQUE

Alain Noël (Denver)

Cet article décrit et tente d'évaluer la politique canadienne de développement technologique, c'est-à-dire l'ensemble des mesures favorisant l'innovation et sa diffusion dans l'appareil économique. Retenant comme indicateur les dépenses fédérales pour la R-D en sciences naturelles, il fait ressortir quatre grandes priorités, qui en 1979 reçoivent 64,1% de l'aide malgré une contribution de 9,9% à la valeur ajoutée totale dans la production de biens. Il s'agit, dans l'ordre, de l'équipement de communication, de

l'agriculture, de l'énergie nucléaire, et de l'aéronautique. La pertinence de l'intervention gouvernementale est alors évaluée en termes d'effets directs (part de la valeur ajoutée, emploi, et exportations) et indirects (gains de productivité transmis à d'autres secteurs, effets sur la demande, et transformation du secteur tertiaire) de ces secteurs sur l'économie. Il ressort de cette analyse que l'aide canadienne donne peu de résultats, demeurant axés sur quelques activités ponctuelles, activités sans effets significatifs sur le reste de l'économie. Certains facteurs explicatifs sont relevés en conclusion, notamment la difficulté de l'étatisme dans une économie qui se mondialise.

Session D2

D2: INDIGENIZATION IN A BRANCH-PLANT ECONOMY:
THE CASE OF THE CANADIAN STEEL INDUSTRY

Jan Mayer (Dept. of Sociology, Lakehead)

The steel industry is unique among Canadian productive enterprises: it is almost the only exception to the rule of foreign control of the industrial sector. The political economy of steel is traced from its early beginnings to its heyday in the 1970's from the standpoint of the function performed by this industry within the continental corporate economy. In particular, the case of the largest Canadian steel producer is intensively examined in order to highlight the role played by the indigenous capitalist class based in finance. The analysis is extended to explain how other, originally American-controlled, firms came to be "indigenized" at critical junctures in their history. The central argument of the paper is that steel became part of a traditional Canadian capitalist response to opportunities within the context of Canadian dependency and that, far from being the great Canadian success story, this strategy has helped to reinforce indigenous dependence on foreign control.

D2: POUVOIR POLITIQUE ET ECONOMIE MONDIALE:
L'EXEMPLE CANADIEN 1957-75

Gilles Breton (Laval)

Les transformations structurelles de l'économie mondiale depuis la seconde guerre mondiale et plus particulièrement depuis le début de la présente crise conduisent à s'interroger sur le caractère inéluctable d'une remise en cause de la forme "Etat National" sous laquelle s'exerce le pouvoir d'Etat. Dans cette perspective, l'objet de notre communication sera de mettre à jour la façon dont se sont matérialisés les rapports Etat canadien/économie mondiale au cours de la période 1957-1975. Loin de réduire notre étude aux seules modifications qu'imposent à l'Etat les transformations de l'économie mondiale, nous mettrons à jour le rôle actif joué par l'Etat canadien dans l'insertion spécifique de la formation sociale canadienne dans l'économie mondiale.

C'est à partir de la proposition générale suivante que nous structurerons notre analyse: compte tenu de la prédominance des facteurs internes (état des rapports de classes, stade du développement du capitalisme, etc.) sur les facteurs externes (l'état des contradictions de l'économie mondiale et de la division internationale du travail)

dans le couple Economie mondiale/Formation sociale nationale, nous postulons que les rapports pouvoir politique au Canada et internationalisation du capital se matérialisent dans une prise en charge par l'Etat canadien des intérêts du capital étranger, i.e. par l'intériorisation politique de ce dernier. De plus, nous estimons que cette prise en charge politique induit une tendance contradictoire à la conservation/dissolution de l'Etat National qui implique la production de politiques articulées entre elles et qui ont un double caractère, soit de renforcer la poussée impérialiste à l'intérieur de la formation sociale - dissolution - soit de résister à cette pénétration-conservation.

Compte tenu de la dominance des fonctions économiques de l'Etat au stade du capitalisme monopoliste, nous avons opté pour l'analyse de la politique économique canadienne et plus particulièrement de la politique face aux investissements étrangers pour analyser la façon dont l'Etat canadien structure une domination politique qui est marquée par une coexistence d'intérêts de classe entre la bourgeoisie américaine et les fractions financière et commerciale de la bourgeoisie canadienne.

Pour mettre à jour comment se matérialisent les rapports pouvoir politique et économie mondiale, à partir de l'analyse de la politique économique canadienne des années 1957-75, nous procéderons en trois (3) temps. Après avoir défini notre problématique théorique de l'intériorisation politique nous mettrons à jour les déterminants structurels des rapports Etat canadien/Economie mondiale en analysant d'une part l'insertion spécifique de la formation sociale canadienne dans l'économie mondiale et les formes de l'internationalisation du capital au Canada et d'autre part la configuration des rapports de classes au Canada. Enfin à partir des documents gouvernemental, législatif, syndical, patronal, d'une revue de la presse des années 57-75 et de différentes sources secondaires nous montrerons que la politique économique canadienne est à la fois agent et reflet de l'intégration continentale dépendante qui n'est que la matérialisation de l'insertion spécifique de l'économie canadienne au sein de l'économie mondiale.

Session D3A

D3A: STATE, CAPITAL AND DEBT IN THE FISHING INDUSTRY: THE CASE OF THE B.C. FISHING FLEET 1975-82.

John McMullan, U.B.C.

State intervention in the B.C. fishing industry has a long, uneven and diverse history. From the inception of Confederation, the common property resource was brought under variable forms of state control for private capital exploitation. In turn, regulation and accumulation policies and legislation, bolstered and shaped a property ownership relationship constructed in part by exclusionary access directives and by capital subsidies, particularly although not solely to the processing sector. State regulation was essentially designed to harness supply and control the means of catching fish: banning traps, defining and restricting gear, establishing

seasons, specifying age, size and quality of fish, and attempting to create international catch agreements. (finally achieved in 1937). Legislation was also geared toward limiting entry to the commons, establishing the locales of fishing zones, and restricting not only the means of production but the size, nature and ethnic composition of the fishing labour force; selection licensing of Japanese fishermen being a case in point.

State involvements were also fashioned to dispose of the captured resource. The development of canning first on the Fraser and then along the coast, not only structured new markets, but signalled the visible dominance of capitalist relations (in contrast to subsistence production for use or exchange) in the catching, processing and distribution of fish products. To be sure, the exact character of commodity production was complex: some fisherman were wage earners: lessees of company boats, and thus the direct agents of the processors in the capture of the resource; others were 'independents', owning their own means of production but nevertheless dependent upon processing capital who in turn controlled marketing arrangements. Both provincial and federal levels of the Canadian state intervened early to galvanize the operations of private capital through marketing subsidies, cannery licensing schemes, controls over technology, defining processor based fishing territories, product inspection and later under the war measures act, (w.w.2) direct price fixing and specific market allocation.

Of course, state interventions here, as in the Nova Scotia and Newfoundland fisheries, have passed through major stages, some where conservationist concerns were central and others where substantial capital accumulation incentives predicated a more openly 'laissez-faire' approach to resource exploitation and fisheries management. The purpose of this paper is not to provide an exhaustive history of class-state relations in the industry. While there is a need for a political economy of state involvement that is both historical and comprehensive, my objectives, for the moment, are more limited. They are as follows: First, by concentrating on the years from 1975-82, I examine the role of the state in financing fishermen and analyze this state function in terms of other more regulatory state policies, particularly licensing. Second, I evaluate the changing nature of private sector financing showing how credit-debt relations have been restructured to increase the dependency of labour on capital and the state. Third, I assess the re-alignments between processing firms, financial institutions, and government agencies in the context of the deep capitalist crisis, (i.e. poor markets, price declines, cost of production increases, interest rates policies), showing the dramatic erosion of the economic position of labour in the industry. Here, I provide an analysis of the indebtedness of the B.C. fishing fleet. Finally, I conclude with some remarks on the likely outcome of this indebtedness situation, paying particular attention of the strategies of the financial sector.

D3A: THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF FORMAL AND INFORMAL REGULATION OF THE NEWFOUNDLAND INSHORE FISHERY

Ralph Matthews (Dept. of Sociology, McMaster)

The federal government has recently instituted

a system of part-time and full-time licences for inshore fishermen in Newfoundland. This paper will review the reports and policy documents advocating this policy in order to establish its intended purpose. The paper will then provide evidence drawn from interviews with inshore fishermen in 1982 which reveal (1) the extent to which the limited entry policy is fulfilling its intended purposes, (2) the extent to which the policy as implemented has other social consequences, (3) the extent to which other federal and provincial regulations affect the outcome of limited entry provisions, and (4) the implications of conflicts among different types of inshore fishermen on the success of current inshore fishery policy. Besides the focus on regulation, this paper will emphasize the significance of major conflicts of interest among different types of inshore fishermen and among those using different types of gear. It will argue that such conflicts render useless any attempt to treat inshore fishermen as a single category of independent commodity producers with common interests.

D3A: "ASSOCIATIONS, COOPERATIVES AND UNIONS IN CANADA'S COASTAL FISHERIES"

Wallace Clement (Sociology & Anthropology-Carleton)

The purpose of this paper will be to map out the major features and characteristics of the associations, cooperatives and unions which have been created in Canada's coastal fisheries. Many associations have been organized under umbrella federations--the Eastern Fisherman's Federation and the recently formed Western Fisherman's Federation; while the member associations are diverse in their membership and activities, they tend to define themselves in opposition to unions as 'independent' entrepreneurs. The three major cooperatives are the Prince Rupert Fishermen's Co-operative, the United Maritime Fishermen's Co-operative and Les Pêcheurs-Unis du Québec: in addition there are numerous non-aligned cooperatives, primarily in the Maritimes. The major unions are the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union, the Newfoundland Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers Union and the Maritime Fishermen's Union, as well as a number of smaller unions. Another organization, unique in the fishing industry, is the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia which acts as an association through the Western Fisherman's Federation, was instrumental in creating the Central Native Fishermen's Cooperative and bargains alongside the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union for the price of fish.

Having identified this variety of organizations, an attempt will be made to explain the conditions under which they arose. This will involve an analysis of the class-base in the fisheries and the dynamics of class struggle, including an understanding of the labour process and state practices.

Session D3B

D3B: HERRING AS A STAPLE RESOURCE IN THE B.C. FISHING INDUSTRY

Neil Guppy ()

In this paper I explore the impact of the roe-herring fishery on the general development of the B.C. fishing industry. The roe-herring fishery, which initially began in B.C. in 1969, grew with startling rapidity through the early seventies, only to meet almost as spectacular a decline in the early eighties. However, over the decade the roe-herring fishery has produced phenomenal riches for some, and colossal debt loads for others. Relying on the theoretical leads to be found among various versions of Innis' staples thesis, I outline the key components of the roe-herring fishery as it has influenced 1) the lives of fishermen, their families and communities, 2) the initial competition among processors and the later-day concentration and centralization and 3) the state's response to mounting pressure for crisis management. In conclusion -- another herring for the staples thesis.

D3B: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF FISHING IN THE CONTEXT OF REGIONAL UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Robert H. Hill ()

The purpose of this paper is to describe the political economy of three Newfoundland fishing communities in order to shed a critical light on the theory of regional underdevelopment as developed by maritimes-based marxists, such as Brym and Sacouman (1979) Sacouman (1980) Veltmeyer (1979) and Barrett (1980). The central proposition of this theory is that the uneven capitalist underdevelopment of Atlantic Canada has occurred through the partial-proletarianization of a pre-capitalist, domestic mode of commodity production. What is crucial in the case of Atlantic Canada is that capitalism in the rural industries, including the fishery, has become articulated with the pre-capitalist domestic mode of production in a way which has blocked the complete transition to industrial capitalism. The persistence of small scale commodity production in fishing, farming and forestry is then explained in terms of the cheap raw materials and cheap labour which households involved in commodity production supply to capitalist enterprises.

While this theoretical approach is a significant advance over earlier theorizing on the political economy of the Atlantic Fisheries, such as the economic dualism espoused by Brox (1972) and Wadel (1969) an analysis of the economic structure of three fishing communities in Newfoundland suggests that the empirical situation is far more varied and complex than the maritime marxist theory allows for. The data on which this conclusion is based are derived from ethnographic studies of three Newfoundland fishing communities conducted during 1980 and 1981. The three communities are Lord's Hole, Cag's Cove and Davidstown (all pseudonyms).

In Lord's Hole, a fishing community on the coast of Labrador, the dominant form of production involves an articulation between dependent commodity production by household units and state enterprise in the form of the Canadian Saltfish Corporation. The primary influence on the organization of the local fishery is state policy i.e. the Unemployment Insurance Act. UI regulations encourage the persistence of kinship as the basic principle

underlying the organization of the fishery, the production of cod in salt-bulk form to supply the state saltfish corporation as opposed to fresh-fish sales to the fish company, and subsistence production as a source of household incomes. Each of these inhibit the penetration of capitalist relations into the fishery of the local region by providing an alternative means of realizing value from both labour and commodities.

The political economy of Cag's Cove, an inshore fishing community with a small privately owned fish plant, depends on a combination of dependent commodity production and capitalist enterprise much as described by the maritime marxist theory. The major difference is that fishermen and fishing households supply labour and raw material to the fish company only while it is advantageous to the fishing household under the UI regulations of the state. These regulations provide a disincentive to fishermen and plant workers to supply fish or labour to capital towards the end of the fishing season when declining catches and hours of wage-labour will result in lower UI benefits for the entire winter. The shortened duration of the fishing season which results both encourages subsistence production and reduces the economic viability of the capitalist enterprise.

Davidstown was a major offshore fishing center formerly dominated by a vertically integrated fish company operating a fleet of draggers and a year-round plant. The political economy of the community has changed dramatically in 1982 since the collapse of the capitalist sector and the town now depends on the social welfare policies of the state and a residual fishing economy based upon an articulation of dependent commodity production and the capitalist enterprise acting only as an agent of the state. What is interesting about this case is that the history of the local fishery involved the initial development of a capitalist fishing enterprise which itself facilitated and made possible the growth of dependent commodity production. During the 1982 crisis in the Atlantic fishing industry it is the capitalist sector which has collapsed resulting in the state intervening in order to provide an outlet for the product of the commodity producers.

The analysis of the political economy of these Newfoundland fishing communities shows that 1. A variety of combinations of forms of production is to be found which are not predicted or explained by the present maritime marxist theory. 2. The trajectory of development (or underdevelopment) of each of the communities does not follow the sequence anticipated by the theory. 3. The theory underestimates the importance of state policy. Current state policies have been developed in an ad hoc fashion, the persistence of economic pluralism. The UI program encourages subsistence production and subsidises dependent commodity producers. Fisheries loans, subsidies and infrastructure have helped to maintain both dependent commodity production and capitalist enterprise. State intervention has also taken the form of direct involvement in production through state enterprise and through assistance to co-operatives.

In conclusion, the Maritime marxist theory must be revised. The political economy of fishing in Newfoundland is best conceptualised as

involving the articulation and interpenetration of four forms of production: 1. Subsistence production. 2. Dependent commodity production. 3. Capitalist production. 4. State and collective enterprise. Each of these operate within the context of regulatory and social welfare policies established by the state. It is clear that state policies have not always been favourable to fishing capital at the expense of other forms of production. The current crisis in the Atlantic Fisheries and the recommendations of the Kirby Commission will provide an excellent test case of the role that the state plays as an arbiter of the different economic interests generated by the plural forms of production which constitute the industry.

D3B CHANGES IN FLEET SIZE, COMPOSITION AND TECHNOLOGY IN ISOLATED WEST COAST FISHING-DEPENDENT COMMUNITIES

G. Keith Warriner (UBC)

There is considerable confusion over changes that have occurred in the west coast commercial fishing industry over the past fifteen years, both in terms of fleet size and composition. Following implementation of the Davis Plan in 1969 it was widely believed that within a decade the size of the fleet would be reduced. In fact, between 1969 and 1981 the number of licences issued increased by about 12 percent (partially, but not wholly, due to the rapid development of the roe herring industry during this interval), whereas the size of the salmon fleet declined by about 24 percent. Related to this is uncertainty about how changes which have taken place have impacted economically on a regional basis. Here it is often stated that during the last decade the fleet has undergone gradual urbanization in that fewer and fewer fishermen are making landings or contributing earnings to the economies of isolated coastal communities. Again, it may be the case that this widely held view is untenable, since were we to look at the homeport designations of vessels (comparing the period 1967 to 1976, as an example) we would find that those naming a southern mainland port, Victoria or Prince Rupert declined by about 14 percent during this period. Further, even much less is understood with respect to how changes in fleet composition and technology of the vessels associated with these small communities may be interacting with fleet size to affect local economies.

It is the stated aim of fisheries' policy to develop the economic opportunities of isolated coastal communities. Further, irrespective of even the Pearce Commission recommendations, there is considerable impetus towards the development of policies which will reduce the fleet size, probably proportionally on a regional basis. Here it is apparent that these two aims may conflict, and it is important to examine systematically what changes have occurred to the fishing fleets of coastal communities, how these have affected local economies, and to attempt to anticipate the impacts of future policies directed at reducing the size of these fleets.

In order to answer these questions this paper will compare west coast catch and licensing statistics collected by the Department of Fisheries over the period 1967 to 1981. In particular, changes in size, composition, and the harvesting capabilities (due to technology) of the fleets

attached to isolated communities will be examined. These factors will be related to the landed revenues of vessels over time. Both average vessel earnings and the aggregate contribution of all vessels to the community will be computed in order to assess the changes which have taken place. Following this, some scenarios to evaluate the economic impacts of various proposed policies for fleet reduction will be discussed.

Session D5

D5: THE EVOLUTION OF CLASS STRUCTURE AND INCOME DISTRIBUTION IN CANADA, 1961-81

Andrew Sharpe (Department of Finance)

The paper provides a detailed analysis of the evolution of class structure and income distribution in Canada over the 1961-81 period. As classes have traditionally been defined in terms of professional status or income, not in relation to the ownership or exclusion from ownership of the means of production, and as analysis of income distribution has been cast in terms of either quintiles or shares of total labour and non-labour income, it is felt an alternative approach which identifies social classes and groups and provides data on their relative income shares will shed light on the complexities on Canadian class structure. Using input-output and census data, the paper identified in terms of absolute numbers and income a distinct capitalist class, productive workers (subdivided into unionized and non-unionized), non-productive workers (subdivided into supervisory, circulation, and non-business sector), petty commodity producers, professional classes, and economically inactive households (welfare recipients, old age pensioners). The paper also refers to the extensive theoretical literature on class analysis (Poulantzas, Wright, Cardechi, etc.) in discussion of such issues of the definition of productive and non-productive workers and the capitalist class.

D5: "WORKING CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS OF TRADE UNIONISTS IN CANADA"

Charlotte Yates (Carleton)

The lack of working class consciousness amongst trade unionists in Canada has been a source of much academic debate and lamentation. While research on this question has dealt with the relative failure of parties such as the NDP to mobilize the support of this sector of the working class, very little work has been done on working class consciousness in Canada. As the nature and form of working class consciousness at any specific historical moment is the crucial linkage between objective conditions of the working class and their corresponding political action, this is surprising.

This paper addresses the question of the relationship between the trade union structure under capitalism and the development (or lack thereof) of working class consciousness. It is argued that while trade unions emerged out of a conscious working class, the continued reproduction of these structures has resulted in

organizational changes to the trade union structure and changed relationships between labour and the state. These transformations have in turn placed trade unions in a contradictory position where they function both as representatives of labour and as agents of social control. The result of this has been a modification, if not elimination of working class consciousness amongst Canadian trade unionists. This paper develops this theoretical framework and then applies it to a case study, undertaken by the author, of one industrial union in a small Ontario city.

Session D6

D6: THE STATE-AS-CAPITAL: THE CANADIAN WAR ECONOMY, 1939-1945

Colin P. Mooers (York)

Intervention by the state has historically played an important role in fostering the development of an indigenous capitalism in Canada. A number of recent commentators, among them Jorge Niosi, have specifically singled out the phenomenon of state-capitalism, i.e. the existence of crown corporations and nationalized industries, as playing a central role in this process. My paper examines the Canadian War Economy, 1939-1945, as a specific instance of state-capitalism. My analysis centers on the question: what was it about the specific nature of the state-regulated war economy which determined that it remained capitalist despite the fact that the accumulation process was no longer determined by market competition and where wages, prices, and profits were administered by state policy directives?

Through an examination of the general form of commodity production in the war economy (geared to the production of particular use-values, namely armaments, which do not feed back into the circuit of capital as either means of production or consumption and are therefore waste production) and the forces which ultimately determined the dynamic of the accumulation process (competitive accumulation between rival military state-capitals). I argue that while the war economy differed in form and scope from state-capitals operating in a civilian economy, this difference is one only one of degree and not of kind.

Through a comparative analysis with other war economies, notably that of Germany during World War I and the American war economy of World War II, I attempt to show that where long-standing traditions of state involvement in the economy have existed, as in the Canadian case, state directed war production was initiated with far greater ease and efficiency than in countries where state-economic activity has historically been much more circumscribed. The Canadian war economy, understood as a form of state-capitalism, must be seen as an important, if largely underestimated precedent for much larger scale state-capitalist involvement in the economy following the war.

D6: DEBT MANAGEMENT POLICIES IN CANADA: 1930-1982

R.L. Ascah (Alberta)

Almost 200 years ago, Alexander Hamilton, one-

time Secretary of the U.S. Treasury, declared the public debt to be a national blessing. To-day, economists still praise the benefits and spin-offs arising from a large and multiplying public debt. The purpose of my paper is to discuss a number of different theories of the public debt and to bring into question the "benign" views currently ascendent. Second, the paper examines federal debt management policies from 1930-1982 studying the technical, political and behavioural consequences of the new Keynesian-inspired philosophy of the public debt. The data presented suggest that heavy deficit financing through borrowing do not exhibit the beneficial effects claimed by the adherents to the benign view of public debt/deficit finance.

Session D7

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Session D9

D9: NATIVE CORPORATIONS IN NORTHERN CANADA:
JOINT VENTURES AND THE PROSPECTS FOR
SELF-DETERMINATION

Frances Abele (Research Associate, Arctic
Institute of North America)

Land claims negotiations between northern native organizations and the federal government will soon enter their second decade. For various reasons, there are few achievements to report. A major obstacle has been the unwillingness of the federal government to consider constitutional changes or new political arrangements at the claims negotiating table, while native organizations have taken the position that these political issues are inseparable from the land claims question.

While negotiators have struggled with this impasse, the development of the North has proceeded, opening up the prospect that the material basis of northern native society may become so eroded that the need for a settlement of land claims will be obviated. One response of native organizations to this danger has been the formation of native corporations, such as the Inuit's Nunasi Corporation, the Metis Development Corporation and the Inuvik-based Denuit Corporation. During the last few years, these corporations have been considering ways to maximize benefits to native northerners from current development projects. Some native corporations have entered into joint venture agreements with trans-national non-renewable resource extracting companies.

In this paper, the experiences of some of these ventures are surveyed. In addition, the implications of joint venture participation for the land claims process and for the political and economic future of the North are considered.

D9: WILDLIFE POLICY IN THE N.W.T.: THE SHAPING
OF ECONOMIC POSITION

Peter Clancy (U of Western Ontario)

This paper explores the impact of federal wildlife management policy on the native economy of the Northwest Territories. The period of interest extends from 1945 to the 1960's. This period is selected since it corresponds to the development of a modern administrative agency for the north. Wildlife policy can thus be studied as one of several significant programs of economic intervention initiated by the new authority. Wildlife management is a particularly important, if somewhat neglected, program area. The Territorial population, largely of native origin during this period, depended on the harvesting of game for both subsistence and commercial products. Thus any attempt to regulate the natives' access to land and animals, their harvesting techniques, volumes to be taken, available seasons, or terms of commercial exchange, would directly affect the viability of the native economy.

The paper will examine the key initiatives in wildlife policy, inquiring into both their origins and field applications. Policies during this period will be compared to earlier practice. Since wildlife regulation could potentially affect producers in their capacities as subsistence producers and as commodity producers, the analysis will attempt to assess policy impact upon each sphere.

Session D10

D10: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF NEW FRANCE: A
CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF HISTORIANS' ASSUMPTIONS

Roberta Hamilton (

This paper argues that the 150 year gap between the transition to capitalism in England and in France has been overlooked in the interpretations of colonial development in America. As a result the development of New France and New England appear as similar colonizing ventures but actually emerged from different sets of social relations. This oversight has not simply been accidental but has been grounded in particular assumptions, indeed in a set of ideological positions which have acted as obstacles to a thorough consideration of the differences and their consequences.

The result has been the production of an historiography of New France with a heavy prescriptive emphasis. Catholic nationalists have deplored France's neglect of the colony; the Montreal school has ignored the differences between France and England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to show the existence of a bourgeoisie in New France similar to New England's; liberal historians have castigated the mentalité of the elites of New France and France; some Marxists have deprived the peasantry of their day in court by lamenting the slow transition to capitalism occasioned by its retention of land; others have found a mode of production neither feudal nor capitalist in New France.

In this paper I will explore the assumptions that have coloured the production of the historiography from each of these perspectives. In conclusion I will offer a schematic outline of an

historiography of New France that takes account of the feudal social relations of its metropolis. In particular such an analysis would explore the class relations linking colony and metropolis, and the internal class relations of New France. It would substitute portraits of the peasantry as idealized or reactionary with an analysis grounded in another assumption: that the peasants were rational actors who struggled within the parameters of the seemingly available options of the society for those outcomes that suited them best. Such a redefinition would be an intrinsic part of an historically grounded analysis of France's colonization experience in America.

D10: "POUVOIR D'ETAT ET FORME DE GOUVERNEMENT ABSOLUTISTE AU BAS-CANADA: 1791-1840"

Gerald Bernier et Daniel Salée (Montréal)

Il est généralement admis que la constitution de 1791 procura au Bas-Canada l'armature institutionnelle caractéristique du parlementarisme britannique. L'Etat et la forme du gouvernement qui en résultent, reconnaît-on aussi, s'alimentent des préceptes libéraux et démocratiques qui accompagnent habituellement le parlementarisme. Bon nombre d'historiens et d'analystes considèrent d'emblée que la constitution, malgré ses imperfections (elle n'incluait pas la responsabilité ministérielle), mettait fin à une longue tradition d'exercice colonialiste autoritaire et dirigiste du pouvoir d'Etat. Or, un examen plus attentif permet de réaliser qu'il n'y a pas nécessairement libéralisation ou démocratisation du pouvoir d'Etat du fait de l'imposition du régime parlementaire au Bas-Canada.

Plusieurs aspects du pouvoir politico-juridique militent en faveur d'une telle observation. Ainsi, l'attribution d'un veto illimité au Conseil législatif confère un pouvoir sociopolitique supérieur à la classe sociale qu'il représente - les membres du Conseil sont nommés à vie et recrutés dans l'aristocratie et la bourgeoisie marchande - alors même que la Chambre d'Assemblée, dont les membres sont pourtant élus au suffrage populaire, n'est dotée que d'un pouvoir relatif limité à la législation et au vote des subsides. Ce déséquilibre institutionnalisé favorise les conflits interorganiques dont le Conseil sort souvent victorieux en même temps qu'il légitime l'exercice d'un pouvoir sans entrave et parfaitement anti-démocratique au profit exclusif de la bourgeoisie marchande et des grands propriétaires fonciers. Ce pouvoir opère avec d'autant plus d'autorité que le Conseil exécutif qui le gère n'est aucunement responsable devant lui que ce soit (hormis le Roi) et que la bureaucratie dont il s'entoure est omnipotente, corrompue et ne souffre aucune opposition. Enfin, l'appareil juridique joue aussi dans le même sens. La population censitaire n'a peu ou prou de recours contre les exactions et les actes de spoliation foncière exercés par les seigneurs. Ceux-ci, en revanche, bénéficient de toute la latitude juridique nécessaire à leur reproduction en tant que classe. De même, l'employeur jouit contre l'ouvrier de sanctions légales qui permettent un contrôle presque total de la force de travail des individus.

Il s'agit de démontrer qu'en dépit des apparences, l'exercice du pouvoir d'Etat ne

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SECTION E: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS/RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES

Elizabeth Symthe (Government of Alberta)

Session E1

E1: THE CANADA-EUROPEAN-COMMUNITY LONG TERM FISHERIES AGREEMENT: A STUDY IN FISHERIES DIPLOMACY

Donald Barry (Calgary)

In December 1981 Canada and the European Community arrived at a Long Term Agreement on Fisheries. The accord, which capped some four years of intensive negotiations between the two sides, gives Canada improved terms of access for certain fish products to the E.C. market in exchange for Community fishing rights in Canadian waters.

The consolidation of fisheries relations between Canada and the E.C. has potentially important consequences for both sides. It offers Canada the prospect of new export markets for its fish products and enables the Community to move a step closer toward a long sought common fisheries policy. These consequences, however, are also the product of delicate internal trade-offs by both parties between the Canadian government's search for expanded export markets and Atlantic provincial governments' desire to maximize domestic fishing in Canadian waters on the one hand; and between E.C. consumer and distant water fishing states on the other. The viability of the agreement depends on the ability of both parties' ability to sustain these internal compromises.

The purpose of this paper is to examine how these competing internal preferences affected the Canadian and E.C. approaches toward the negotiations and their effects on the agreement and its prospects.

Session E2

E2: STRATEGIC NONVIOLENT DEFENSE: FIVE POLICIES

Gene Keyes (St. Thomas University)

If a nation has the temerity to prepare a civilian-based resistance against potential invaders, what are its strategic policy options in lieu of guns and bombs? In a previous paper I have identified morale as the center of gravity in the combat between a Polity and a Foe-Polity; national integrity among the preeminent political goals of a nonviolent defense effort; and dislocation/demoralization/departure as the sequential wartime purposes of the "home team" vis-a-vis its "visitors". In this paper, I review five potential policies from the larger Strategy of a nonviolent common defense. They are here designated 1) Noncooperation; 2) Preservation; 3) Incapacitation; 4) Fraternalization; and 5) Liberation.

Total noncooperation by an occupied populace is an improbable ideal, but there are many modes of semi-resistance plus direct and indirect nonviolent action to preserve morale and dislocate an invader. Preservation is a compliant/defiant policy focused on retaining social patterns in the face of alien

suppression. Incapacitation is the non-injurious substitute for sabotage. Fraternalization welcomes the "visitor" as a fellow-victim and potential defector. Liberation is the dangerous forward strategy, to foment mutiny by the invading forces and rebellion in their homeland. These five policies are ideal types, and do not preclude other nonviolent possibilities.

E2: THE NATURE OF NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

James F. Keeley (University of Calgary)

Whether we approach it as a scholar or as a policy-maker or policy advocate, an understanding of nuclear non-proliferation as a political issue requires us to appreciate the multiple and complex ways in which nuclear non-proliferation may be perceived. Individual perceptions of its nature, and the existence of competing perceptions, have implications which may be neither trite nor obvious. The paper examines the contestable nature of non-proliferation in terms of four basic aspects. First, nuclear non-proliferation is a negative good. In concrete terms, it is based on a fear of certain capabilities, and on the denial or self-denial of those capabilities. Thus, an understanding of non-proliferation cannot be isolated from an understanding of nuclear proliferation. Second, non-proliferation is ambiguous as a goal of policy, and therefore as a policy. This follows in part from the ambiguities of proliferation and in part from differences over the range of possible and desirable goals of a non-proliferation policy. Third, non-proliferation is a meta-power good. That is, it is intimately connected to basic issues of world order. Fourth, therefore, it is a complex good, and it must be understood in its complexity. Some implications of a failure to appreciate the complex and contestable nature of nuclear non-proliferation will be explored in the conceptualization of nuclear non-proliferation as a collective good.

Session E3A

E3A: "FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY AND CROWN CORPORATIONS: THE LIMITS OF NEO-MERCANTILISM IN CANADA"

Jeanne Kirk Laux (U of Ottawa)

To what extent can state-owned enterprises serve as instruments of policy enabling the federal government to reassert some measure of control in international economic relations? After a review of the literature on neo-mercantilism, three economic policy issue areas are selected (export promotion; direct foreign investment; and market sharing) and the activities of three Crown corporations in these areas are analysed (The Export Development Corporation; Canadian National; and Eldorado Nuclear Ltd.).

Analysis of these cases suggests that the relative autonomy of state-owned enterprises fragments decision-making so that their activities may generate bureaucratic conflicts of interest and thereby undermine rather than enhance the coherence of economic foreign policy-

making. Given that state power in Canada is already fragmented, due to the limiting conditions of competitive federalism and dependence on foreign capital, lack of direction over state enterprises compounds the difficulties for Ottawa to pursue a mercantilist strategy in international economic relations.

The paper concludes by identifying those factors which govern the extent to which state-owned enterprises reinforce or undermine government's authority in foreign economic policymaking.

Session E3B

E3B: REGIONAL FACTORS IN CANADA'S INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA

Linda Freeman (Carleton)

In understanding Canada's relations with Africa, it is important to take into account regional factors which are linked both to Canada's historical origins and to the nature of its economic development. These help to explain both the locus of power within Canada and the nature of its approach to Africa. Regional factors which have influenced Canada's involvement in Africa can be divided into two main categories: those emerging from the existence in Canada of two founding nations and those arising out of the uneven economic development of the country. The first part of the paper will relate the domestic interaction between French and English Canada to the evolution of Canada's relations with Commonwealth Africa and with francophone Africa. The second part will examine the uneven nature of Canada's economy, its position of dependence on the United States, and the strategy which the government has adopted in the face of these problems. Part of this strategy has been reflected in the way in which Canada's official programme of development assistance has been tied to the purchase of Canadian goods and services. In addition, Canada's drive to promote its exports of manufactured goods to North Africa and its refusal to countenance economic sanctions against the white-ruled states of Southern Africa are also related to the desire to diversify the Canadian economy and its trading partners. The paper will attempt to explore the relationship between these policies, the regional concentration of Canada's manufacturing industry and the effect of these factors on Canada's relations with Africa.

Session E5

E5: SELF-INTEREST, EXPEDIENCY, AND TRIPARTITE SUPPORT FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC REFORM IN ADVANCED WESTERN INDUSTRIAL NATIONS

Michael Lerner (Carleton)

This paper explores the extent and structure of support for international economic reform among government, business, and labour in Belgium, Canada, France, Norway, and the United States. The areas of international economic reform examined are public and private international finance, access to markets, commodity price stabilization, and the transfer of technology. Support for reform is a function of national self-interest and expediency of reform, with expediency mediating the relation-

ship between self-interest and reform. Several exploratory hypotheses can be pursued. First, both self-interest and expediency are positively related to reform. Second, expediency reduces the unmediated relationship between self-interest and reform. Third, there are distinct occupational and national patterns of support for reform. Such issues as whether the Americans are different than the other countries or whether labour is reluctant to reform access to markets can be discussed. Fourth, different areas of reform are linked to each other. Is there, for instance, an issue-linkage between access to markets and the transfer of technology? These hypotheses permit us to map the orientations of three key groups in advanced Western industrial nations. Through this mapping, we can determine how amenable each occupational group and country are to reform. If a particular occupational group is low upon self-interest or expediency, or, if they have several of reform issues linked, then we may expect that the support for reform will be low. Thus, we can determine what the general and specific areas of support for international economic reform are in the group of advanced Western industrial nations being examined.

The data analyzed in this paper are from the "International Survey of Experts and Decision-Makers concerning the New International Economic Order," conducted in 1979 by the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (New York) in association with the Centre for Economic and Social Studies of the Third World (Mexico City) and the World Federation of United Nations Associations (Geneva). The data analytic technique is the path analysis of latent variables formed through factor analysis, the LISREL methodology of Karl Jöreskog.

E5: INTERNATIONAL NATURAL RUBBER AGREEMENT: NEGOTIATING AND OPERATING UNCTAD'S FIRST I.C.A.

Richard Stubbs (St. Francis Xavier)

The International Natural Rubber Agreement (INRA) was concluded on October 6, 1979, and came into force provisionally at the end of October 1980, and definitively in April 1982. Its major provision was for a stockpile and stockpile fund to be operated by a manager in such a way as to reduce the massive fluctuations in price so characteristic of agricultural commodities. The INRA was the first international commodity agreement between producers and consumers negotiated under the auspices of UNCTAD and thus the first to become eligible to be part of the Common Fund's first window. The success of the negotiations over natural rubber are in marked contrast to the negotiations that have taken place over other commodities. Moreover, with the price of rubber falling below the "may buy" price set by the agreement the major provisions of the agreement have been set in operation.

This paper addresses two questions. First, what were the factors which led to the successful negotiation of the INRA? The analysis is placed within the context of negotiations theory and also refers to studies which have attempted to predict which commodities would most likely give rise to successful producer associations. Second,

how well has the INRA operated? This question is viewed from the perspective of the consumer as well as the producers. In the conclusion a discussion is undertaken of the extent to which the INRA may provide cues for the successful negotiation, ratification and operation of other UNCTAD sponsored ICAs. Data for the paper are based on interviews with government and industry representatives conducted in 1979 and 1982 in South-east Asia, Europe and North America. Government documents and media sources have also been consulted.

Session E6

E6: ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE

RESEARCH CHALLENGES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
NO PAPERS/PAS DE COMMUNICATION

This roundtable discussion will focus on the major and unique challenges which the study of international relations presents to researchers. The panel will address questions and problems ranging from a macro focus involving issues such as world systems analysis to a more micro focus on problems such as the study of decision-making. An effort will be made to address both the specific, practical problems of data acquisition as well the broad theoretical and conceptual issues.

Session E7

E7: ROUND TABLE/TABLE RONDE NO PAPERS/
PAS DE COMMUNICATION

"CHANGING DOCTRINE, CHANGING TECHNOLOGY:
CANADA-U.S. DEFENCE RELATIONS IN NORAD AND
NATO FOR THE 1980'S"

The past three years have seen an important shift in American strategic planning, specifically the adoption of a commitment to protracted nuclear warfighting capabilities. The evolution of strategic technologies with extensive hard-target kill capabilities has made this shift from mutual assured deterrence doctrine feasible. But is it a prudent move consonant with Canadian interests or should it be resisted? Those panel discussants who will address themselves to North American defence planning will consider this doctrinal shift as well as the particular problems posed by the proposed cruise-missile testing agreement, developments in Ballistic Missile Defence technology, and emerging capabilities for Anti-Satellite Warfare. Those discussants who will address the changing outlook for Canadian involvement in NATO will consider the implications of the current debate over deployment of Long-Range Theatre Nuclear Weapons (the Pershing II- cruise missile controversy), the feasibility of a 'no-first' use' posture by NATO concerning all nuclear weaponry, and the potential for reconciliation between NATO and Soviet arms control proposals. All panellists will be invited to comment on whether it is still to Canada's advantage to continue to follow an alliance strategy both as a means of optimally enhancing national security and as an instrument for maximizing political influence with our American neighbours.

Session E9

E9: RESHAPING THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM: CONCEPTS, PERIPHERIES AND EMERGING PRINCIPAL POWERS

David Dewitt (Alberta)
John Kirton (Toronto)

Since 1968, the decline of America's international preeminence and diffusion of international power have increasingly eroded the structure of an international system based on American leadership or the pentarchical configuration of the Nixon-Kissinger years. Fuelled by the Carter administration's concept of a directoire and the Reagan administration's isolationist orientation these changes have produced a far more open international system within which international order can be shaped by a greater number of states. At the same time they have called forth a small set of states, formerly relegated to the second tier of the international hierarchy, to participate in this task.

Although the new prominence of the defeated adversaries and devastated states of World War Two - Japan, Germany, France and Italy - is well known, Canada - a state long regarded as a middle power - can also be considered as one of these emerging "principal powers" of the globe. While Canada's position can be sustained by the familiar criteria of relative capability, two other properties, related to the structure of the emerging international system, have greater weight. The first is Canada's fully equal, legitimate membership in the new concert processes through which international order is collectively defined in an open system. The second is Canada's "distinctive peripheries" - unique networks of influence and sensitivity with non-concert states - which both contribute to and are reinforced by Canada's role in principal power concerts.

After developing the concepts of "principal powers", "concerts, and "distinctive periphery" this paper focuses on the relationship between Canada's concert memberships and peripheries in the four following spheres:

- a) The Western Economic Summit Seven and Canada's links with lesser powers in the Arctic and North Atlantic region.
- b) The Caribbean Consultative Group and Northern Group in the North-South dialogue as related to Commonwealth Caribbean states.
- c) The Namibia Contact Group and the African Commonwealth States.
- d) The Francophonie Summit issue and the francophone world.

In all cases the exploration will not be empirically exhaustive but rather thematic and suggestive of general trends.

E9: ABSTRACT FOR RELATIONS AMONG CORE CAPITALIST STATES

Stephen Holloway (Dalhousie)

In this paper I have reviewed several recent developments in the Marxist "theory of the state" controversies with the hope of clarifying what those theories have to say about the international behaviour of core nations. In particular, I return to the Kautsky/Lenin Debate over Ultra-imperialism and attempt to show its relevance to the recent Wallerstein "World Systems Debate". I demonstrate the theoretical difference between Kautsky and "neo-Kautskyite" writers by introducing a two dimensional analytic construct of relations among core states. My discussion of "relative autonomy" points out a major ambiguity which now exists in the "instrumentalist/structuralist" controversy. This article should be useful to Marxist researchers on the theory of the state, comparativists interested in the autonomy of the modern state (Nordlinger, 1981), and international relations scholars interested in the World Systems debate

Session E10

E10: CANADIANS, DETENTE, AND THE NEW COLD WAR

R.E. Byers & M. Slack (Research Programme in Strategic Studies, York),
D. Munton (Director of Research at the Canadian Institute of International Affairs)

Canadian public opinion on international affairs appears in retrospect to have been fairly homogeneous during the 1950's and 1960's and strongly supportive of the main aspects of Canada's alliance and east-west policies. The apparent demise of détente in recent years, substantial shifts in American foreign and defence policy, and new strains among the western states may have affected public attitudes. In particular, there may have been some impact on attitudes towards and perceptions of the danger of war, the USSR and US, and east-west relations. If there was a postwar consensus on major international problems in Canada, has this consensus altered or broken down? If it has, what might be the main causes? This paper will attempt to answer these questions. In doing so it draws upon survey data collected by the CIPO over the postwar period and, in particular, upon a number of opinion surveys conducted by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs in 1982. One major factor underlying the apparent shifts in Canadian attitudes from those of earlier decades, as revealed in these recent surveys, would seem to be a new and strikingly less positive majority perception of the United States itself.

E10: EXPLORING THE CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY CONSENSUS

Tom Keating (Carleton)

It is acknowledged by many observers that Canadian foreign policy in the immediate post-1945 period was supported by a widespread public consensus. This consensus allegedly provided policy makers with a permissive domestic environment which allowed them to undertake foreign policy actions without fear of domestic retribution. It is also frequently noted that this consensus broke apart between the late 1950s and late 1960s, although there is disagreement regarding precisely when this change took place. The paper will examine the foreign policy consensus during this period through an analysis of public opinion data

collected at that time. In addition to identifying the nature and scope of the consensus, the analysis will also indicate if and when public attitudes on foreign policy issues changed during this period. Finally, the paper considers possible explanations for shifting public attitudes by assessing the influence of international events and the interpretation of these events on public opinion. While providing empirical evidence on the consensus issue, the paper also addresses the sources of public attitudes and the role of these attitudes in the formulation of foreign policy.

SECTION F: PUBLIC POLICY, ADMINISTRATION AND LAW/POLITIQUE PUBLIQUE, ADMINISTRATION PUBLIQUE ET DROIT PUBLIC

T. Morley (Victoria)

Session F1

F1: JOINT PUBLIC/PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN CANADA: FROM CDC TO CDIC

Stephen Brooks (Carleton)

Inspired by the economic nationalism of the 1960's, the Canada Development Corporation (CDC) has become progressively more remote from the purposes it was intended to serve. With the recent creation of the Canada Development Investment Corporation (CDIC) the federal government has abandoned any hope that the CDC can be rehabilitated into even a blunt instrument of policy. Whether the fledgling CDIC will follow the pattern set by the Italian Institute for Industrial Reconstruction (IRI) and other western European prototypes in operating as a state holding company depends upon developments unfolding at the present time.

Notwithstanding considerable growth in its holdings, the CDC has made an indifferent contribution when measured against early expectations and the Corporation's statutory mandate. The reasons are several:

- i) the establishment of the CDC represented an isolated policy response, unaccompanied by either the substance or institutional apparatus of a coherent industrial strategy;
- ii) the implications of an IRI-type approach to economic development have not been appreciated fully, so that CDC is simply one component, albeit the largest, in a disaggregated pattern of joint public/private enterprise ventures;
- iii) the absence of either a tradition of indicative planning (such as facilitated the establishment of the French Institut pour le Développement Industriel) or "special circumstances", such as those which attended the consolidation of the IRI, has resulted in uncertainty as to CDC's role and inadequacy in the wherewithal assigned to the Corporation for the pursuit of its mandate;
- iv) the CDC was created as part of an incapacitatingly fragmented response to the fact of American control of active growth promoting sectors of the economy; and
- v) the mechanisms of government control, deliberately weak so as to allow for managerial

freedom, have proven so inconsequential that a necessary modicum of identity with the broad economic goals of the government (poorly articulated in any case) has not developed.

The theoretical part of this paper draws upon the literature on public/private ventures in North America and, particularly, western Europe in developing an appreciation of the administrative state in Canada.

F1: CANADIAN ENERGY POLICY AND ECONOMIC STRATEGY: A CONFUSION OF ENDS AND MEANS

Raymond Payne (UBC)

This paper seeks to examine the way in which energy policy at the federal level has been related to the perennial question of national economic development in the 1970s. Initially, two distinct relationships between these two policy areas are outlined. One conceives energy in terms of its role as a critical limiting input into a larger, more diverse economy. Because oil and gas resources have played such a central role in a wide range of industries, most societies have expected governments to assume the ultimate responsibility for their provision. The second relationship concerns the role of energy as a staple product whose exploitation has provided a significant economic vehicle for the promotion of growth and development.

The central argument developed in the paper is that policy formation at the federal level has been unsuccessful in addressing the key questions associated with each of energy's economic roles. Rather, in reacting to a rapidly changing international environment, the federal government has tended to successively modify policy instruments developed to serve one of these roles to solve problems generated by the other. Briefly, the problems which arose after the 1973-4 oil embargo centred essentially around the question of energy as a critical economic input, but were addressed largely by redirecting efforts aimed at promoting energy exports as a developmental vehicle. When these responses, which centred around the promotion and subsidization of large-scale energy 'mega-projects', proved problematical in the late 1970s and early 1980s, they were re-adapted once more to the pursuit of staple-led economic development. As a result, an economic development strategy (clearly articulated in the 1981 budget) emerged which focussed on the promotion of energy mega-projects as resource export industries. The paper concludes by offering some tentative explanations for this rather confused pattern of policy and by emphasizing its problematical nature. Not only have federal policy initiatives lacked the flexibility that would allow them to adapt effectively to an uncertain environment, but neither of the two problems which the policy subsumes have really been addressed on their own merits.

Session F2

F2: PUBLIC HOUSING FOR LOW-INCOME FAMILIES: SOLVING POLITICAL DILEMMAS

Thomas Lewis and James Rice (McMaster)

Traditionally public housing for low-income

families has taken the form of multiple unit complexes in marginal residential areas. In these complexes tenants generally have felt trapped in housing they can never own and which deteriorates from neglect and abuse. Residential neighbours resent the negative effect of public housing on their property values and are frustrated by the deterioration of public housing paid for by their tax dollars. Therefore it is not surprising that federal, provincial, and municipal politicians have had little reason to press for "public housing ghettos" in their communities. The result has been a shift in government programmes from low-income family housing to housing for the elderly, the handicapped, and middle-income families.

This paper describes a new housing project in East Hamilton designed to overcome most of the negative characteristics of traditional public housing. The project acquires units by buying and renovating deteriorated homes dispersed throughout much of the older part of the city at an average cost of less than seventy per cent of the price of new units. The units are then rented to low-income families on a geared-to-income basis with an opportunity for the families to purchase the home at a later date. The paper concludes with an assessment of the appropriateness of this form of housing for other communities in Canada.

F2: RESTRUCTURING THE CANADIAN WELFARE STATE

Charles Rachlis (U of T)

No less a set of beliefs and understandings than a set of legislative measures, the welfare state rests on consensus. The core of this consensus has been Keynesianism, understood as both a political commitment on the part of the state and a package of economic measures by which growth, income, and employment can be maintained at high and stable levels. In recent years, however, Keynesian economic prescriptions and as a result the Keynesian political consensus have been seen to rest on more tenuous grounds than had been suspected. The long economic boom of the 1950s and 60s has been replaced, first by growth with rising levels of inflation, then by growth with inflation and rising levels of unemployment, and finally by zero and negative growth with high and seemingly stable levels of inflation and unemployment. Not surprisingly, attacks on the welfare state have grown apace.

What often is poorly understood in connection with such criticism is that contra its most doctrinaire interpreters, the state is neither the all-knowing architect of current circumstances nor the embattled defender of interventionist and redistributive social policies against their attackers. Rather, its interests, and overall societal interests are neither strictly subordinate to nor separable from the interests of profitable capital accumulation. As has been repeatedly shown, these interests are relatively autonomous from one another -- no more, and also no less. The situation is especially complex in Canada, where the constitutional division of authority between federal and provincial governments intervenes, and itself has been complicated by the historical evolution of federal and provincial responsibilities.

My paper has three major concerns. First, it is concerned to explicate recent governmental initiatives -- legislative and otherwise -- to restructure the Canadian welfare state. In this connection, it will focus on a number of policy areas, including health care, education, manpower training, and unemployment insurance. The substantive concern in each of these areas will be the demonstration that major areas of Canadian social policy currently are undergoing redesign as sub-branches of economic policy, and that this has important implications both for the direction of public policy, and for federal-provincial relations. Second, it is concerned to trace the federal-provincial dynamics within such initiatives, and to analyze the recent history of the Canadian welfare state from a perspective which focuses on the federal-provincial structure of the state in Canada. Finally, it is concerned, although less explicitly, to note the more general inter-relationship between social policy making dynamics and the dynamics of federal-provincial diplomacy in Canada in recent years.

Session F3

F3: MINISTRY OF STATE FOR ECONOMIC AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE ROLE OF REGIONAL COORDINATORS

Peter Aucoin & Herman Bakvis (School of Public Administration, Dalhousie)

The new Ministry of State for Economic and Regional Development (MSERD) appears to be the single most important agency resulting from the reorganization of the portfolios concerned with economic development (i.e. the dismemberment of DREE and IT&C, the creation of DRIE and the reorganization of External Affairs). The paper will focus on the role of the MSERD Federal Economic Development Coordinator (FEDC) and the problems of inter-organizational policy-making between provincial and federal governments, and between the different federal departments and agencies concerned with economic development. The FEDC, of whom there is one stationed in each province and who reports directly to the deputy minister of MSERD, is the primary actor responsible for liaising with provincial government officials, in transmitting information to Ottawa on regional economic conditions and the effects of federal programs, and in certain circumstances conducting negotiations on behalf of the federal government. We will be asking: To what extent does the FEDC possess functional authority vis-a-vis other federal departments in the region? To what extent does he or she possess discretion to negotiate with provincial authorities and non-governmental groups? In what ways is the FEDC accountable to federal administrative and executive authorities? In pursuing these questions we hope to ascertain the nature of the relationships which will obtain between the federal government, provincial governments and the private sector as a consequence of the establishment of this new federal "presence" in the provinces.

F3: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT: THE FEDERAL ROLE IN QUEBEC AND THE ATLANTIC PROVINCES

James Bickerton (Carleton), Alain G. Gagnon (Queen's)

This paper will be a contribution to the political economy of regional development. Through an examination of federal policies in Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces it will demonstrate and explain the shifting federal focus and approach to regional development. It will also encapsulate a comparative perspective through an analysis of differing provincial policies, strategies, and response to federal initiatives in this area.

For twenty-five years (1957-82) there has been a sustained, though very uneven, governmental effort to reduce regional disparities and promote regional development. This paper will trace the rise and decline of regional development policy, emphasizing the evolution of federal programs from a focus on the least developed regions, toward urban "growth poles", and finally to the restructuring and revitalization of the already existing industrial base. This analysis will begin with an explanation of why the federal government initially became involved in "the war on regional disparities", and proceeds to an analysis of the evolution of this involvement as shaped by several important dimensions: the philosophical and policy framework of planners and politicians, the structural limitations on state policy, the dynamics of federal-provincial conflict and cooperation, and finally federal economic strategy, especially in the current international conjuncture.

It is this last dimension which is especially salient for understanding the recent demise of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE) and the creation of the Ministry of State for Economic and Regional Development (MSERD) and the Department of Regional Industrial Expansion (DRIE). It will be shown that the latter agencies are less concerned with the fact of regional disparities and more with the planning and coordination of mega-projects and their attendant 'regional' implications, a change of policy and approach with important consequences for the 'least developed' regions.

Session F5

F5: POLITICS AND EDUCATION: ISSUES OF PUBLIC POLICY AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

R.P. Woolstencroft (Waterloo)

For many years the public school system (characterized by public funding, compulsory attendance, and a more or less standardized curriculum) has been an unquestioned (and generally unexamined) institution of Canadian society. In recent years, however, initially in the United States, latterly in Canada, more and more attacks have been made upon this system. These critiques, while reflecting a number of diverse philosophical orientations (and, indeed, involving contradictory interpretations about the nature and operation of the system), have pointed in a common direction, namely the fragmentation, if not dismemberment of the public school system. It is noteworthy in this regard that three Canadian provinces - Alberta, British Columbia, and Quebec - have adopted public policies which, to varying degrees, indicate acceptance of demands for alternatives to the present system of public

schools.

This paper has two objectives. The first is to examine the arguments about the nature and operation of the public school system in a liberal-democratic political system. Although much of the literature dealing with this topic primarily deals with what can be termed educational goals, there are also a number of central assumptions made regarding the role of the school as a political institution. This will be the focus of the first part of the paper.

The second part centres on the issues contained in the arguments made by those who oppose the monopolistic character of the public school system and argue for alternative ways of organizing education. These issues, which call upon the values of equality, freedom of choice, and parental control, are of clear primacy for the question of how a system of education should be organized, but also have relevance for the study of public policy in general.

Session F6

F6: PROBLEMS AND POLICIES IN MEDICAL CARE INSURANCE: REPORT ON THE 1982 SURVEY OF CANADIAN PHYSICIANS

Malcolm G. Taylor, H. Michael Stevenson and A. Paul Williams (York)

This paper reports the major findings of a 1982 attitude survey of approximately two thousand practising physicians in five Canadian provinces - Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario, Alberta & British Columbia - characterized by significant differences in the structure and operation of health insurance programs and in relations between provincial governments and the medical profession. Of central interest are physicians' orientations on policy issues which concern the present functioning and future reform of Canadian medical care programs and which are seen to underlie the current political activism of the medical profession.

The paper is comprised of four main sections: in the first, we examine differences among groups of physicians within the five provinces on questions which directly relate to their individual experience and practice. Included are evaluations of demands placed upon them by patients and by provincial health insurance agencies; of changes in health care policy and technology affecting medical care; and of levels of job-related stress and satisfaction.

The second section of the paper reports doctors' views on a number of key policy questions which involve the present operation of medical care programs and which have served to focus the recent political confrontations between governments and the medical profession. These include issues of professional remuneration, extra-billing, regulation of the supply and distribution of physicians, and the appropriate role of government in the health care field.

The final section of the paper examines physicians' responses to a variety of proposed or existing policies to reduce problems in the area listed above and to improve health care programs. For example, variations in support for binding arbitration to settle disputes over physicians'

incomes are analyzed within provincial physician populations. These specific policy orientations and more general dimensions of support or opposition to reform of health care programs are then related to measures of the physicians' personal experience indicated in Section one.

Session F7

F7: IS THE DEFEAT OF THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT OF ANY CONSEQUENCE?

J.H. Aitchison (Dalhousie)

The adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment probably would not have increased the degree of Constitutional protection against discrimination available to American women. Since 1971 the courts have applied the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to sex-based classifications. Some laws treating the sexes differently have been declared unconstitutional; others have been sustained. There is no reason to suppose that, had the Amendment been adopted, all such laws would have become unconstitutional.

Equal protection of the laws permits differential treatment provided it is based on a 'reasonable' classification. The Supreme Court has developed tests, stricter than the traditional test of reasonableness, for laws affecting fundamental rights and for those in which the classification is based on race, being alien, national origin, or illegitimacy. Such laws are 'inherently suspect', and to them the Court gives 'strict scrutiny'.

The most fundamental difference between human beings is that of sex. The proposed ERA did not state explicitly that all sex-based classifications were to be inherently suspect. If it has been adopted the Court would probably have continued to apply the more rigid tests to sex-based classifications that affected fundamental rights, the less rigid to those that affected non-fundamental rights.

A certain consequence of the defeat of the Amendment is that two questions that were raised during the ratification battle will not now come before the Supreme Court -- the constitutionality of rescission and of the extension of the ratification period. The paper concludes with a consideration of these issues.

F7: WOMEN AND THE CONSTITUTION

Sandra Burt (Waterloo) ABSTRACT SEE / RESUME VOIR P. 27

F7: L'IMPACT DES POLITIQUES ADMINISTRATIVES EN MATIERE D'EGALITE DES CHANCES: LE CAS DU CANADA

Carolle Simard (UQAM)

Au Canada, ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler "l'action positive" s'articule au contexte des préoccupations qui ont inspiré, dans le domaine, la politique des pouvoirs publics et les agissements du secteur privé. Après avoir analysé les approches retenues au Canada, la critique des postulats qui fondent l'évaluation des programmes mis de l'avant, permettra de dégager les effets socio-politiques de ces mesures.

L'analyse des processus de bureaucratisation

et de juridicisation des problèmes rencontrés par les femmes canadiennes en emploi est utile à cet égard. C'est à travers l'évaluation de différents programmes qu'il sera possible d'illustrer jusqu'à quel point l'action positive, mesure générale censée s'appliquer à l'ensemble des groupes sous-représentées, est inopérante au chapitre des injustices à éliminer.

Enfin, une critique du processus de légitimation sociale, et notamment par le biais du droit s'impose, dans la mesure où cet égalitarisme occulte et dénature les problèmes réels rencontrés par la main-d'oeuvre féminine.

Session F9

F9: ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM AS COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOUR

Kenneth H. Cabatoff (Concordia)

As Caiden suggests, administrative reform is usually a process of change "against resistance". In the normal course of events, organizations are primarily interested in consolidating and improving the existing structures, rather than in the introduction of new ones. The introduction of change involves a new and non-routine form of activity, one which may be quite different from the existing routines and procedures.

The impediments to change constitute an important constraint on the reallocation of resources within organizations. As Cyert and March (1963) observe:1

"...Organizations have memories in the form of precedents, and individuals...accept the precedents as binding... They remove from conscious consideration many agreements, decisions and commitments that might well be subject to renegotiation in an organization without a memory.."

In order for organizations to engage in change -- to the extent that they control this process themselves -- some event must occur which enables the organization to "forget" the precedents which previously bound its behaviour. This event will usually take the form of a "crisis" or dramatic event which, according to Smelser, prepares the ground for the growth of a reform movement.

In Québec, the pressures for civil service reform in the mid-1970's can be looked upon in these terms: line departments were very active in demanding a reformulation of line department-central agency relationships, so as to give more power to line departments. These demands were not acted upon, however, until 1975, when a Comité d'étude sur la gestion des cadres was established to examine the problem. In the meantime, an atmosphere of "crisis" had developed in the civil service which made it possible to justify any kind of reform -- not just the particular kind of reform that the line managers sought to introduce.

1. R.M. Cyert and J.G. March, The Behavioral Theory of the Firm
2. N. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behavior

F9: CENTRAL AGENTS IN OTTAWA AND WASHINGTON: ATTITUDES AND ACTIVITIES

Donald J. Naulls (York)

This paper offers a comparative analysis of central agency working environments in Canada and the United States. The analysis is aimed at exploring some simple questions on the attitudes and activities of central agents towards the executive decision-making process. What perceptions do central agents hold of accountability? What are their levels of interactions inside and outside central agencies? Who and how much do they consult when they want information? Do they perceive a policy process characterized by a tight inner circle or is it a fairly open, plural process? What positions and who do they describe as inner circle? What is the relative importance of knowledge and expertise for inner circle positions? The thrust of the analysis is to develop an understanding of the administrative-political culture found within the working environments of central agents in Ottawa and Washington.

The information for this paper comes from the Central Agency Project initiated by Colin Campbell and George Szablowski to examine the structures and behaviour of central agents. This project began with Canada in 1976, proceeded through Switzerland and Great Britain in 1978 and to the United States in 1979. The coding and creation of a comparative data set was completed by mid-1981. The United States is presently undergoing a second wave of interviews to assess changes in the Reagan administration and some of this information is included in this analysis.

Session F10

F10: PROFESSIONAL OPINION FORMATION AND PUBLIC POLICY: THE CASE OF NOVA SCOTIA LEGAL AID

Dale H. Poel and Dieter Hoehne (Dalhousie)

In the Spring of 1982 a questionnaire was mailed to over one-half of the members of the Nova Scotia Barristers' Society asking them their views concerning the policy developments related to the creation and direction of Nova Scotia Legal Aid. This paper will present findings drawn from the Nova Scotia lawyers' responses. A total of 396 lawyers responded for a 79 per cent return rate.

The policy issues involved in the creation of Nova Scotia Legal Aid include the method of delivery, *judicare* versus staff lawyer, and the role of the Bar in the administration of the plan. Lawyers were asked their position at two decision points in NSLA's history, 1971 and 1977, during which these issues were addressed.

The paper will examine the extent, the determinants and the direction of opinion formation within the Nova Scotia legal profession. We will be primarily interested in the determinants of opinion formation. We will consider the relative role of individual characteristics such as age, region of the province, and income level; practice/profession characteristics such as type of employment, area of law, and size of firm; and value perspectives such as sense of social justice.

Politicians are frequently required to respond to professional expressions of policy and program preferences. The findings of this paper

will add further information on the patterns of opinion formation within professional groups. In this instance, the findings show that the profession was divided in its opinion, both as to direction and intensity. The implications of these findings for policy makers will be discussed.

The questionnaire and initial use of the data set was undertaken in connection with an evaluation of the services of Nova Scotia Legal Aid and with the support of the Nova Scotia Legal Aid Commission and the Federal Department of Justice.

SECTION G: COMPARATIVE POLITICS--WESTERN/ POLITIQUE COMPAREE--OUEST

Paul Warwick (SFU)

Session G1

G1: THE DEVELOPMENT OF CORRUPTION
A CASE STUDY OF ISRAEL

S.B. Werner (Manitoba)

The paper presents a new direction in the study of political corruption. Instead of emphasizing the various possible contributions of corruption to political and economic development, as the revisionist did, it emphasizes the affects of various social factors on the development of corruption. These factors apparently can inhibit or stimulate corruption, external or parallel to the level of political development. Utilization of these factors contributes to our understanding of how corruption can thrive in countries demonstrating high levels of political development.

Three stages of the life-cycle of corruption have been identified in Israel, which serves as a case in point: the embryonic stage is associated with foreign domination of Palestine; the period after Israel became independent and until 1967, marks the developing stage of corruption. In this period, intermingling inhibiting and stimulating factors of corruption combined to produce white corruption which is rationalized, condoned and allowed to prevail; and, the period since 1967 which evidences the maturation of corruption. In this period, socio-political factors which served in the past to inhibit corruption, apparently are declining, while factors usually identified as catalysits of corruption -- were accentuated. The results were numerous scandals of black corruption, which are intolerable and upset the public and the political system of Israel.

The paper presents a post-functional, post-revisionist approach to political corruption. It asks not so much what corruption does to political development, as much as, what happens to political corruption along the process of socio-political modernization. Using a systems approach, the paper identifies and analyses various developmental and extra-developmental social factors that apparently can inhibit or stimulate political corruption regardless of the level of political development. Israel is used as a case in point.

Session G2

G2: "SOCIALISM VERSUS NATIONALISM: IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT AND CRISIS IN THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY"

N.J. Baxter-Moore (Carleton)

At the Annual Conference of the Scottish National Party in June 1982, the assembled delegates followed the recommendation of the party chairman in voting to proscribe formally-organized groups within the party. The immediate victim of the ban was the "79 Group", a left-oriented 'ginger-group' within the SNP, which had been trying to urge the party in a more leftward direction in order to appeal to the Scottish working class which (in the 79 Group analysis) was no longer represented by an increasingly uncaring and impotent British Labour Party.

The paper will focus on the following elements:

- a) the development of the 79 Group from its origins in the unsuccessful devolution referendum campaign (and the disastrous general election) of 1979 to the proscription of its organization and the expulsion of several members from the SNP in 1982;
- b) a comparison of the goals and strategy of the 79 Group with those of the leadership/'mainstream' of the SNP, within the context of electoral and party competition in Scotland and the U.K.;
- c) an examination of the role and nature of ideology within the SNP - with respect to both collective (party) policies and the ideological orientations of individual members - and an attempt to determine the role of ideology (as opposed to personality, strategy, or other factors of intra-party group dynamics) in the development of opposition to the 79 Group within the SNP;
- d) if time and space (i.e. the length of the paper) permit, an attempt at explicit comparison between recent events in the SNP and examples of intra-party conflicts in other political movements (obviously, the Waffle period of the NDP suggests itself - Canadian content too!);
- e) an attempt to locate the case of the SNP in a theoretical context exploring ideological and strategic elements of the relationships between political parties and social/political movements.

Methodology/Original Research:

Parts of the paper will draw upon analysis of previously unpublished survey data (a study of SNP activists) collected by the author in Scotland in the Spring of 1982, plus interviews conducted with SNP and 79 Group leaders at that time and follow-up interviews planned for the Spring of 1983.

Session G3

G3: "THE UNIVERSE OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE: LABOUR MARKET AND REPRODUCTIVE POLICIES IN FRANCE"

Jane Jenson (Carleton)

This paper argues that central to an explanation of state policies is an understanding of the universe of political discourse within which policies develop. This universe acts as a gate-keeper, filtering and defining political activity of all kinds, designating it either as legitimate or illegitimate. In the process, it regulates the influence of collective actors by granting space for the creation of collective identity. Thus, existing ideologies, and especially the range of policy options considered to be available based on the consequences drawn out of these ideologies, severely limit the ways that any group can have its concerns placed on the state's agenda.

In the broadest sense, this universe of discourse is a consequence of the basic economic and social arrangements in any social formation (mode of production, degree of religiosity and/or secularization, character of the labour market, etc.) translated into political ideas and institutions. It is reproduced and/or incrementally changed by struggle between political formations actively promoting their particular ideological visions. In other words, economics, sociology, and ideology will all constrain the issues which can be placed on the political agenda, the form which they will take and the self-perception and public actions of the groups manifesting them. But even more importantly, this discourse will act as a gate-keeper to include some actors possessed of a certain kind of collective identity while excluding others (whom outside observers might have expected to see and activists within the society might try to promote). Excluded actors may not be able to construct a collective identity at all, given the hegemonic universe of discourse.

Thus, all political action for reform directed towards the state takes place within a political opportunity structure at least partially shaped by the universe of political discourse. The paper will examine several cases drawn from French politics, to assess the way that the universe of political discourse affected the development of state policies. Comparing two policy areas - reproductive and labour market policies - it will determine the extent to which the universe of political discourse influenced mobilization for changing women's position within France by allowing or hindering the placement of women's concerns on the agenda.

G3: 'DEFINING THE ISSUE: STRATEGIC RANGE AND ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY'

Rianne Mahon (School of Public Administration, Carleton)

Over the last decade, Marxist political economy has been preoccupied with two major questions: The economic identification of classes and class fractions and the role and nature of the state. Political economists, however, have paid far too little attention to the question of how issues, capable of prompting new state initiatives, are constituted. My paper will address this question, drawing on what I have learned from an analysis of the political economy of textiles in postwar Canada.

I shall argue that, in order to place a new issue on the policy agenda, those concerned will have to establish some form of correction between

their particular plight and the 'key issues' with which the state is preoccupied in that conjuncture. 'Key issues' will be defined as those which the state has the capacity to recognize as posing a potential threat to the structure of compromises on which is founded a particular pattern of hegemonic class domination. In other words, my definition is derived from Poulanzas' conception of the state as the organizer of the 'unstable equilibrium of compromises' on which a particular pattern of hegemonic class domination is founded.

In establishing such a connection, those affected can choose to evoke a threat to state power - a course most likely to when the objective is merely to secure a shift in state policy. Alternatively, they may choose to develop the principle of opposition to the state in order to secure a basic change in state power. Ideology will clearly affect the definition of objectives. Yet organizational capacity - or, relative organizational capacity, when more than one force has a clear stake in the problem - is also important. It is through organizations that ideologies are translated into concrete strategies and such strategies then pursued. This is especially so for organizations of the working class, such as unions, but it is also important for a group of capitalists which have come into conflict with the line of policy favoured by the hegemonic fraction of capital.

Session G5

G5: "ELITE CONCEPTIONS OF THE AUSTRIAN ECONOMY"

F.C. Engelmann, J.B. Johnston, and C.K. Humphrey (Alberta)

What conceptual images do people form of the economic system operating within their polity? Do these images reflect attitudinal judgements they have formed about the structures and performance of that system and its political relevance? If so, to what extent and in what ways do such attitudes influence the political reasoning and behaviour of those who hold them?

In an effort to address the issues and problems just noted, we chose to conduct an elite survey in Austria. We did so for three reasons: (1) There is general agreement that elites are sufficiently attentive to the workings of the economic system to have acquired enough knowledge about such matters to give meaningful answers to questions about them, (2) Austria's economic elites are so firmly anchored socio-politically that their responses would yield answers to questions about the independence of such attitudes as we propose to identify, and (3) funding was available from the Jubilee Fund of the Austrian National Bank to support innovative, exploratory research on such matters. Our survey was conducted in the Spring of 1981.

For our paper, we propose to report results of analysis of the responses on three topics: (1) preferred economic policies and strategies, (2) assessment of the equitability of various taxes and other means of generating government income, and (3) priority ratings of several principal economic goals, especially attaining full employment vs. attaining a favourable balance of payments. First, we examine whether

such responses inter-relate significantly across categories to yield a single, near-ideological dimension of evaluation or remain as clearly distinguishable clusters or dimensions. This effort involves determining to what extent the several items in each topic area form useable scales or sub-scales spanning a conceptual domain. Having done this, we test whether there are significant differences between sectoral sub-communities and between party affiliation groupings which are helpful in understanding individual differences in the ways respondents evaluate these aspects of the political economy of Austria.

Session G6

G6: THE GOVERNING CRISIS AND ELECTORAL REALIGNMENTS IN WEST GERMANY: THE 1983 BUNDESTAG ELECTION

William Chandler (McMaster)

This paper investigates the collapse of the Social-Liberal coalition, the formation of the new Christian-Liberal government and the subsequent transformations and realignments among parties and voters in the campaign and election results of March 1983.

Beginning with the preceding federal election, attention will focus on the economic and political factors contributing to the erosion of support for the Schmidt government. The problem of Unregierbarkeit (ungovernability), with particular concern for the role of the FDP and the Greens, is a central theme in the transition to the new government. Finally, the election itself will be examined with a view of broader questions of electoral realignment and governmental responsiveness.

Session G7

G7: SECURITY AND THE JAPANESE STATE - PACIFISM UNDER SIEGE

Robert E. Bedeski (Carleton)

Since the end of the end of American involvement in Southeast Asia, Japan has been under increasing pressure to increase defense spending. In the US Congress, voices are heard that Japan is enjoying a free ride in defense at the expense of the US. In particular, US strategists want Japan to assume a greater naval role in defending the sea lanes around and to the home islands. Within Japan, there have been cautious responses by the government and minor concessions to US pressure. Any major rearmament moves however, are inhibited by several factors: (1) Article Nine of the Constitution; (2) the traumatic experiences of world war two; (3) a sizable peace movement which is supported by several opposition parties; (4) a flourishing civilian economy which might be affected negatively by expansion of the defense industry; and (5) a broad national consensus to keep the military out of national politics.

This paper will examine the defense question and its implications for the future of the Japanese state. Chalmers Johnson has outlined Japan as a "developmental state", while various

Japanese writers describe it as a "pacifist state" or "maternal/welfare state". Thus, the question of rearmament is related to economic, cultural and other factors, but hinges primarily on the Japanese self-definition of their state and its priority.

G7: PATTERNS OF ONE PARTY IN CANADA AND JAPAN

Hiroaki Kato (Carleton)

In spite of current political changes in western democracies such as France, West Germany, and Spain, no political change is likely to happen in Canada and Japan. The ruling parties of both countries, the Liberal Party in Canada and the Liberal Democratic Party in Japan, seem to enjoy a long-term period of office.

The question is this: If the Liberals and the Liberal Democrats could maintain such a long period of office we may find some similarities and differences in the two countries' patterns of one-party dominance. Points of discussion shall be cleavage, structure party ideology, party organization, relationship between party and bureaucracy, and characteristics of opposition parties. Of course, it is important to notice that at Provincial/Prefectural level, some opposition parties of central politics take over the power of local politics. By bearing this in mind, my paper shall examine the mechanics of one-party dominance in Canada and Japan.

G7: LEADERSHIP INSTABILITY IN JAPANESE POLITICS 1972-82

F. Quei Quo, (Simon Fraser)

In Japanese politics, leadership instability of the last three decades has resulted in the succession of five short-lived regimes under the Liberal Democratic Party. Interpretations provided for the instability in the available literature tend to emphasize the fact of factional strife within the LDP, the clash of personalities and the organizational defects of the party as well as the electoral system. This paper is an attempt to analyze the problem of leadership instability from the viewpoints of (1) domestic and international setting, (2) conflict of political cultures, and (3) confusions of a transitional society.

Since this report is only part of a larger project on the party politics of Japan (SSHRC-410-81-0618) presentation at this session will concentrate on the latest events - the sudden resignation of PM Suzuki and the subsequent election of Nakasone as his successor. Specific questions are raised and answers will be attempted: (1) why the sudden collapse of Suzuki's leadership? (2) roles played by faction leaders in creating the instability as well as in the formation of a new regime - especially Fukuda and Tanaka, (3) the primary election-data and interpretations, (4) why Nakasone?, and (5) implications for the future.

Session G10

G10: NEO-CORPORATISM AND INDUSTRIAL POLICY IN THE NETHERLANDS:

Steven B. Wolinetz (Memorial)

The Netherlands is frequently cited as a paradigm example of postwar corporatism. Following World War II, the Dutch elaborated a highly institutionalized structure of relationships among business, government and trade unions. Unions and employers associations cooperated on central wage policies which held wage costs down and facilitated economic expansion. However, the Dutch system of labour relations has changed considerably in the intervening years. Although institutions such as the tripartite Social and Economic Council and the bipartite Foundation of Labour persist, unions and employers associations are rarely in agreement, and direct government intervention in wage negotiations is frequent. Changes in the pattern of union-management relations has been attributed to decentralization within the trade union movement, militancy at the base, depillarization, economic affluence, and changes in the political system. In recent years, there have been discussions about both the operation of the Social and Economic Council and the need for a systematic industrial policy to preserve employment and modernize Dutch industry. This paper will examine changes in the Dutch trade union movement and the ways in which they bear upon the current debate. The central thesis of the paper will be that changes in the structure of Dutch trade preclude the resumption of a cooperative pattern of labour relations or direct trade union participation in an industrial policy. The paper will be based both on analysis of secondary sources and interviews with officials of trade unions, employers associations, and others, conducted recently in the Netherlands.

G10: PUBLIC POLICY AND LABOUR MOVEMENT DEVELOPMENT: A FOUR COUNTRY COMPARISON

Stephen McBride (Lakehead)

Whether viewed from an interest group or class perspective, the strength and characteristics of national labour movements have often been accorded explanatory status in the literature on advanced capitalist, liberal-democratic political systems. Attempts have been made to operationalize and measure labour movement strength and characteristics and a number of features of western politics and society have been viewed as being dependent, at least to some extent, on these attributes of labour movements. These include the feasibility of wage control policies; governability; the winning of political democracy; institutionalization of collective bargaining systems; and the scope of industrial and economic democracy.

Developing an understanding of the factors which have, and do mould and shape national labour movements would thus seem to be an important contribution to our knowledge of one of the determinants of modern politics. Amongst factors which have been advanced in the quest for such an understanding are the existence or absence of individual economic opportunities; structural peculiarities in class structure; variations in employer attitudes and the speed and extent of industrialization and urbanization. This paper focusses on one such explanatory variable--the role which the state and

public policy have played in the process of labour movement formation and orientation. A four-country comparison is conducted of Sweden, Britain, Canada, and the United States. While having the necessary features in common--advanced capitalist economies and liberal-democratic political systems--these countries exhibit considerable variety in their labour movements' strength, political orientation, and degree of integration into state decision-making structures. A basic typology of state interventions is constructed and a number of hypotheses concerning the timing, characteristics and impact of state policy are explored. An attempt is made to identify the forces that shaped the state's role and to account for variations in its success.

SECTION H: COMPARATIVE POLITICS/NON-WESTERN POLITIQUE COMPAREE

Lenard Cohen (SFU)

Session H1

H1: "LAW AND ORDER IN CONTEMPORARY POLAND"

Maria Los (U of Ottawa)

This paper will focus on some selective, politically significant, features of the criminal justice system in Poland. The following issues will be discussed and illustrated with available data:

The place and role of the legislature, judiciary, and police; the relationship between criminal law and the constitution and the lack of judicial control over the constitutionality of legal enactments; the political elites' immunity before the law; and limited rights of suspects and of inmates in prisons and juvenile reformatories.

The paper will include an analysis of Solidarity's efforts to correct the repressive nature of the Polish criminal system and will briefly discuss the "state of war" period.

H1: CATHOLIC PERSONALISM AND SOCIALIST
DEMOCRACY IN POLAND

Stefania Szlek Miller (McMaster)

This paper will argue that Solidarity's demands for autonomous social and economic organizations, workers' self-government and political rights can be traced to Catholic "Personalist" thought. An examination of the pluralist, "corporatist" and democratic model envisaged by Catholic Personalists may thus provide a framework for understanding the theoretical assumptions underlying Solidarity's programme. If it can be demonstrated that the Solidarity movement reflected a Catholic based alternative to the prevailing Marxist-Leninist model of rule, it raises questions pertaining to the Communist regime's attempts to blame the "secular left" intellectuals for the radical nature of Solidarity's programme, and to the regime's efforts to seek the Church's and Catholics' support in finding a mutually acceptable base for

national reconciliation.

H1: POLAND AND THE COMMUNIST BLOC

Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone (Carleton)

NO ABSTRACT/PAS DE RESUME

H1: POLAND AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS

Paul Marantz (UBC)

This paper examines the influence that the rise and fall of Solidarity has had on East-West relations. It deals with the impact of Polish events on: Soviet-American relations, relations between western Europe and the Soviet Union, and relations within the Western alliance. In addition to dealing with developments of recent years, an attempt is made to explore the possible impact of Poland on East-West relations in the next couple of years, a period when there will almost certainly be leadership change in the Soviet Union.

Session H2

H2: THE CONTRADICTIONARY IMPULSES OF AUTHORITARIAN
NATIONALISM IN THE POST-1964 BRAZILIAN
MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT

Dan Zirker (Alberta)

Brazil has been governed since 1964 by a succession of authoritarian military presidents. Despite divergencies in programmes and policies, a great deal of continuity has been maintained on certain political questions, the most crucial of which is the retention of an "international" and dependent model of economic development. The protection of a system that has been of direct profit to multinational corporations--often at the expense of national capital--has involved high costs for the Brazilian military establishment, however. Repeated outbursts of anti-government publicity have emanated from members of the senior officer corps itself. The inevitable disagreements over the choice of presidential successors have been important stimuli for these outbursts, indicating the presence of individual political opportunism in at least some of the pronouncements. Nevertheless, the ideological form that such responses have adopted indicates that they have been directed to (and shaped by) the pervasive presence of authoritarian nationalism among the junior officer corps. This paper explores several incidents of disobedience among the senior officers in an attempt to determine primary political and economic implications. The readiness of dissatisfied senior officers to move from positions of personal disagreement with the presidential selection (frequently posed on authoritarian grounds) to ideologically more sophisticated nationalistic bases for their opposition, in striking contrast (although apparently not unrelated) to their earlier authoritarianism, is the subject of this analysis. It seeks to shed some light on the contradictions latent in contemporary authoritarian nationalism in the Brazilian military officer corps, the arbiter of national politics during the past two decades.

Session H5

H5: MARXIST VIEWS OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE NATURAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Pauline Vaillancourt (UQAM)

Views on the natural and social sciences and their relationship to each other differ widely within Marxism. In this paper I will undertake a political historical investigation of how the various tendencies within Marxism understand natural and social science. Certain philosophical Marxists and voluntarist Marxists (Stalinists) in the USSR propose that natural and social science are distinct and different. Others such as the orthodox Marxists disagree claiming that they are both part of an overall unified science. Intermediate, qualified views are advanced by the realist and structuralist (Althusserian) Marxists. Some propose that the social sciences should imitate the natural sciences. Others hold that the tools of the natural sciences are completely inappropriate for the social sciences.

These differences are not random. They go along with particular philosophical orientations and have distinct political and policy implications. These will be sketched out. I conclude that on questions such as the relationship of natural and social science, non-Marxists of the same philosophical orientation are intellectually closer to one another than to those who share their political option.

H5: THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF SOVIET SOCIAL SCIENCE: MARXISM OR BEHAVIORALISM?

Max Nemni (Laval)

This paper attempts, in a very preliminary manner, to present some of the building blocks of official Soviet Social Science. More specifically we shall attempt to unravel the official interpretations of the notions of "knowledge", "social reality", "political organization", and "social transformation". We shall attempt to show that while the vocabulary used is of Marxist inspiration, the concepts that this vocabulary carries owe more to behaviouralism than to Marxism.

We shall aim at this objective in two steps. In the first part of the paper we shall briefly outline, what seems to us, the essential ontological, epistemological, political and historical conceptions that underlie Marxism and behaviouralism. While the delimitation of these theoretical systems is not an easy matter, we have chosen to limit our scope to the founders of these schools. For Marxism it is obviously Marx, and for Behaviouralism: Watson and his present-day, very vocal spokesman: B.F. Skinner. In the second part of the paper we shall focus on a few studies made by Soviet Social Scientists in recent years, in an attempt to bring to light their methodological and theoretical frame of reference. We shall then attempt to assess the relative weights of Marxist and behaviouralist principles underlying the articles studied.

While it could seem abusive to draw generalisations from a limited number of

articles studied, and we should emphasize once again the preliminary nature of this paper, it should be noted however that it is possible to refer to an "official" Soviet perspective of Social Science since one of the objectives of the USSR Academy of Social Science is precisely to promote the development of such a perspective. In any case, our aim is not to condemn the impurity of Soviet thoughts but merely to bring to the fore its theoretical premises since far too often an equation is hastily established between Marxism and Soviet ideology.

Session H6

H6: OIL, ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE MEXICAN STATE

Judith Teichman (Waterloo)

This paper is concerned with the impact upon the Mexican state of economic crisis and rapid petroleum development during the administration of Lopez Portillo. The paper traces the roots of the current crisis and the policy choices which engendered it to the coincidence of the internal and external economic crises of the mid 1970's. The paper goes on to examine the commonly accepted notions regarding the relative strength and autonomy of the Mexican state and argues that these notions should be refined in light of more recent events. It is argued that the process of rapid petroleum development has disaggregated the state apparatus and produced an alteration in the distribution of power within it. In particular, Pemex's importance within the economy and within the bureaucracy has increased appreciably. Moreover, the state has become increasingly permeable to particular business interests at certain points, while the process of rapid petroleum development itself has given rise to increasing social unrest. These developments, in inhibiting the state's ability to respond to economic crisis, have important implications for the continuation of stable capitalist growth in Mexico.

Session H7

H7: SOCIAL STRUCTURE, CHANGE, AND THE POLITICIAN'S ROLE: TOWARDS A THEORY OF POLITICAL RECRUITMENT

Bohdan Harasymiw (Calgary)

In an article reviewing some examples of memoir literature of former high Soviet officials, T.H. Rigby has put forward the proposition that the role of the obkom secretary in the USSR has not changed fundamentally since the 1930s. This raises the immediate question whether the roles of these party officials, and the roles of politicians generally in industrial societies, are unsusceptible to change despite their operating in the midst of an ongoing social transformation or not. In any case, if we knew precisely what the roles of politicians are--in the Soviet or any other context--and whether and how they are affected by social change, then we should be able to predict the likely social (occupational) profiles of the next generation of politicians.

As a preliminary step, therefore, in the development of a theory of political recruitment focussed on the concept of "role" (rather than on

the makeup of the existing elite), this paper attempts to draw together, from sociological and political theory, a set of statements linking role, structure, and change. Although my principal and ultimate concern is to forecast the occupational and social categories from which the coming generation of Soviet political executives is liable to come, the approach proposed here should also be useful in exploring the roles of politicians in non-Soviet systems. It may be, for example, that the alleged "ungovernability" of modern industrial societies may have something to do with a refinement of the role of the politician to the point where it has virtually nothing to do with governing. Such a development, of course, may not be out of the realm of possibility for party-politicians in the USSR, either.

H7: LES FONCTIONS DE LA SPECULATION DANS LE SYSTEME POLITIQUE DE L'URSS

Luc Duhamel (Montreal)

Nous analysons certaines fonctions de la spéculation dans le système politique de l'URSS. En premier lieu, nous étudions ce phénomène comme une des formes d'opposition (au régime) d'autant répandue que celle-ci est dans l'impossibilité de s'exprimer sur le plan politique. Cette activité spéculatrice -- bien qu'elle soit interdite par la loi -- est dans une large mesure tolérée dans les faits. Cette tolérance relative vient de ce que les autorités n'ignorent pas que la grande majorité de ceux qui spéculent, loin d'oeuvrer au renversement du régime, cherchent plus modestement à obtenir dans l'illégalité des biens ou services que le régime ne peut pas ou ne veut pas leur accorder. Cependant cette activité est tolérée avant tout parce qu'elle remplit certaines fonctions utiles au régime. Notre objectif consiste à analyser ces groupes (en terme d'occupation, d'ethnie, d'âge et de sexe) qui en spéculant oeuvrent au

H7: "NEW CLASS" THEORIES AND SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN REALITIES

Bill McGrath (Memorial)

Marxist and neo-Marxist writers in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union have produced a number of major new works over the past few years which seek to describe and analyse the dynamics of Soviet-type societies. Prominent amongst these writers are such individuals as W. Bienkowski, R. Bahro and I. Szelenyi. I propose to provide an examination of their writings in a paper which will have two principal parts. In the first section, I plan to provide the reader with an exposition of the central themes which appear in the major works which have adopted a critical Marxist perspective towards contemporary state socialism in East Europe and the Soviet Union. In this survey, I will attempt to make clear the theses which have been advanced to the most important Marxist writers and will consider how their arguments relate to one another. In the second section of the paper the works discussed in part one will be subjected to what I intend to be a critical and constructive analysis. An attempt will be made to evaluate the utility to

Western scholars of writings which have been produced essentially by dissident Marxists living in East Europe and the Soviet Union. Initially attention will be given to the virtues and defects of contemporary Marxist theorizing about Soviet-type societies and then focus will be placed upon the strengths and weaknesses of the empirical analysis provided by writers of a Marxist orientation. Throughout the second section of the paper a sustained attempt will be made to highlight the achievements and the deficiencies of what must be considered one of the most significant research programmes in our sub-field today.

The methods of analysis to be used in this effort are simple careful reading, logical analysis and critical comparison of the various works reviewed.

Session H9

H9: THE EVOLUTION OF A REVOLUTIONARY: AN ANALYSIS OF MAO ZEDONG'S WRITINGS

N.H. Chi and R.E. Bedeski (Carleton)

The data base consists of Mao's collected works published in five volumes of the Foreign Language Press of Peking. The English version is used for content analysis. The two authors of this paper believe that there is not much difference between the English and the Chinese versions as far as concerning the analysis of Mao's "operational code".

Every volume is analyzed with each paragraph as a unit of analysis from which more than one belief may be extracted. A random sample of the paragraphs is analyzed (stratified random sample method is used: 25% of the paragraphs of each document are randomly selected).

Three periods of Mao's life are examined: (1) Radical revolutionary on the periphery of party power (1927-1941); (2) Leader of the Party (1942-1948) in revolution; (3) Party and State Leader (1949-1957). Each period is examined with regard to Mao's relative attention to topics including the following: economic issues, party issues, international actors, social classes, the Kuomintang, socialism, capitalism, imperialism, Marx, Lenin and Stalin. Preliminary analysis indicates relatively low references to the USSR and "founding fathers of communism", and major concern with economic issues. In terms of reference quantity, the KMT was far more a focus of Mao's works than Japan during the middle period. The shift from working for power-seizure to state-building is also evident in the material.

H9: THE YUGOSLAV REVOLUTION, 1941-1945
A CRITICAL REAPPRAISAL OF THE COMMUNIST
REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY AND TACTICS

Sava Bosnitch (University of New Brunswick)

In 1941, between March and December, a concatenation of events (such as the Belgrade coup d'etat, the Axis' aggression, Yugoslav military defeat, the collapse of Yugoslav authority, the Axis partition and annexation of Yugoslav territory the establishment of 'successor' regimes and

the repercussions of the German invasion of the USSR) created both movements of collaboration and resistance which generated a many-sided civil war under enemy military occupation.

The issues at stake in Yugoslavia soon became inseparably linked with interests of the Allied and Axis blocs as well as with the rivalries that existed within both of them. Thus the 1941-1945 interregnum witnessed a national and international bellum omnium contra omnes without precedent in both South Slav and European history.

The protracted chaotic circumstances offered a unique opportunity for a fanatically determined power-seeking Communist minority. By appropriating aims that carried Allied approval, the Communist party of Yugoslavia exploited the propitious situation through ruthless revolutionary action. Its bid for power was waged in the disguise of patriotic Partisan resistance to the Axis and satellite invaders and their real or alleged native collaborators. During 1943-1945, the Communist-led Partisans ambidexterously enlisted direct and decisive military and diplomatic aid from the Allied East and West. The Allied intervention tipped the internal balance of power to the advantage of the Partisans. As a result, for the first time since the Bolshevik revolution, a 'Marxist-Leninist' revolutionary triumph repeated itself in Yugoslavia.

The paper traces the Yugoslav revolutionary scenario and briefly compares the Yugoslav revolutionary strategy and tactics with those of the Bolshevik prototype and the concurrent Chinese armed class struggle.

Session H10:

H10: ELECTORAL POLITICS IN SIERRA LEONE: AN APPRAISAL OF THE 1982 ELECTIONS

David Fashole Luke (Dalhousie)

Even before they were announced, it was clear that the Sierra Leonean elections of May 1982 (the first under the four-year old one-party constitution) were not to be expected to throw up any surprising changes in the leadership of the ruling All People's Congress (APC). To that extent the elections were a ritual and symbolic exercise in a search for 'renewal' and political legitimacy. Single-party government in Sierra Leone is, in itself, an acknowledgement of the absence of a consensus on a political framework of electoral choice and, as such, a reflection of the institutional fragility of the post-colonial nation-state. As an instrument to maintain an essentially kleptocratic elite in its position of power and patronage, its legitimacy is open to question. To the extent, nonetheless, that the party machine allowed some flexibility in the selection of candidates in some constituencies, the elections, as we shall see, provided these electorates with an opportunity to assess the record of their MPs and to re-elect or reject them on the basis of their collective evaluation.

H10: THE STATE IN THE THIRD WORLD: THE NIGERIAN CASE

William Graf (Guelph)

The intensification of the debate on the role and functions of the State in the Third World is reflected in the mass of literature which has appeared on the subject in the past half decade or so. This paper proposes to examine some of the more suggestive recent theories, with special reference to European and African authors, in their concrete application to the situation of Nigeria's Second Republic. Building upon earlier essays on the political structures of, and elite formation in, Nigeria, this paper will advocate a Marxist-political economy "paradigm" as most appropriate to an understanding of the contemporary Nigerian state.

SECTION I: PROVINCIAL/POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY/ POLITIQUE PROVINCIALE ET SOCIOLOGIE POLITIQUE

Michael Atkinson (McMaster)

Session I1

I1: GREAT DEBATES: THE TELEVISED LEADERSHIP DEBATES OF 1979

Lawrence LeDuc & Richard G. Price (Windsor)

The televised debates between major party leaders which took place during the 1979 federal election campaign represented a significant political event of the period, as well as an opportunity to study the impact of the mass media on the political attitudes and behaviour of the mass public. Using data from the 1979 National Election Study, this paper examines the impact of the debates and their possible effects on behaviour in the 1979 election. Specifically, the paper will fit the act of watching the debates to a standard political participation scale, will examine the socioeconomic correlates of such a scale, and explore the impressions of political leaders which were formed by the public as a result of the debates. Finally, the paper considers the question of "winning or losing" the debates, and the potential effects of such a judgment on the outcome of the 1979 federal election.

Session I2

I2: CYCLES ELECTORAUX ET DEPENSES DES GOUVERNEMENTS DU QUEBEC ET DE L'ONTARIO, 1950-1980

André Blais & Richard Nadeau (Montréal), Kenneth McRoberts (York)

L'étude vise à déterminer l'existence de cycles électoraux dans l'évolution des dépenses des gouvernements du Québec et de l'Ontario, pendant la période 1950-1980. Les données sur les dépenses proviennent de Statistique Canada (Les Finances publiques provinciales). Dans un premier temps, les dépenses per capita (dollars constants) seront mises en relation avec un certain nombre de variables (revenu, urbanisation, structure démographique, taux de chômage) pour les différentes catégories de dépenses. Une équation de référence

sera ainsi établie pour chaque catégorie de dépenses. On déterminera ensuite si l'addition d'une nouvelle variable, correspondant à la présence d'un cycle électoral, peut accroître le pouvoir d'explication de l'équation. Une grande attention sera accordée à la conceptualisation et à la mesure du cycle électoral. Plusieurs indicateurs différents seront utilisés et la pertinence de chacun sera discutée.

L'hypothèse principale est à l'effet que les cycles électoraux sont importants et que certaines recherches sous-estiment considérablement les effets associés à ces cycles. Il est fort possible, en particulier, que ces effets soient d'un ordre différent selon les secteurs d'intervention. L'interprétation des résultats fera également référence aux travaux de Tufte, Frey, Paldam, Schneider et Ames.

I2: DEMOCRACY AND MINORITY GOVERNMENT: THE ONTARIO CASE 1975-81

Vaughan Lyon (Trent)

A period of minority government affords an opportunity to test the rationale supporting the British adversarial model of parliamentary government. Further, since backbenchers are better able to force the pace of legislative reform in a minority, it also provides a chance to probe how far such reform is likely to go if left to insiders.

In personal interviews and through a mailed questionnaire, persons heavily involved with the minority government--cabinet ministers, senior bureaucrats, MPPs and interest group representatives--were asked to assess its performance. Overall the reaction was strongly positive. To a considerable extent, however, the success of the minority was due to the willingness of all parties to continue to function according to the norms of majority government. The opposition did not challenge in any fundamental way the right of the Conservatives to govern. Better government resulted because the opposition was able to hold the government to account more effectively and to have a modest impact on legislation while outside groups had more access to the policy-making process.

Few of those who responded favourably to the minority experience supported institutional change (perhaps in the electoral system) intended to capture permanently the values recognized as existing in a minority situation. This strong support for the existing model was illustrated in the way the minority legislature reformed itself in the 1975-81 period. Rationalizations supporting majority government were not supported generally by the Ontario experience but that proved as unpersuasive as public discontent with the political system in persuading MPPs to question the fundamentals of the adversarial model of legislative politics.

Session I5

I5: THE COMPARATIVE IMAGES OF LEGISLATORS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

Bruce E. Cain, John A. Ferejohn and Morris

Fiorina

Incumbents in single member, simple plurality systems strive to develop name recognition and positive images of themselves. We propose to analyze the images that constituents in Great Britain and the United States have of their MPs and Congressmen and to measure the impact which incumbent activities have on those images. We also examine the normative expectations that constituents in both countries have of their representatives and how these expectations shape their evaluations.

The data for this study comes from matching elite and voter surveys in Great Britain and the United States. Our results can be summarized as follows: 1) a large percentage of constituents in both countries believe that casework and protecting district interests are the most important functions of the representative; 2) those from working class, less well educated backgrounds are more inclined to prefer a service role for their representative than a policy role; 3) the evaluations that constituents have of their representatives reflects the importance of constituency service in their priorities as well; and 4) that representatives who undertake high levels of constituency service have better constituent images than other representatives.

Session I6

I6: POLITICAL RESPONSES TO ECONOMIC EXPECTATIONS AND ECONOMIC UNCERTAINTY

Kristen Monroe (New York University)

The influence of economic conditions on voting and presidential popularity has been an important concern of political scientists and economists for the last 50 years. (1) Beginning with Kramer's (1971) work, there has been much rigorous statistical analysis of the political consequences of objectively measured aggregate economic conditions. (2) Recent research has extended systematic analysis to the measurement of the political impact of more subjective, individual perceptions of economic reality, with particular attention paid to the distinctions made between individual and over-all economic well being. (3) Much of this recent work has analyzed survey responses to explicit questions measuring attitudes using data collected by polling centers such as the Gallup, the Harris or the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center. While some questions on expectations of future economic conditions do exist in these surveys, such questions have only recently been utilized to test for the political importance of economic expectations, perhaps because of the lack of a long time series collected at regular intervals. The few works in this area have concluded that the gap between the individual's expectations of future economic conditions and actual economic reality has a tremendous impact on political support. (See De Tocqueville, 1840; Hibbs, 1981 and Alt, 1979.)

The paper proposed here considers the importance of economic expectations for mass public support for American presidents from 1950 to 1975. It moves analysis beyond a simple consideration of the political impact of economic expectations, however, to also include an analysis of the political importance of uncertainty over future economic

events. By considering both the degree to which presidential popularity responds to the difference between actual and expected economic experience and the degree to which presidential popularity responds simply to uncertainty concerning economic conditions, two alternative theories of short-term political-economic interaction can be tested. The first theory is the traditional theory of a revolution of rising expectations; this theory argues that political change is affected not so much by actual economic conditions as by the gap between actual and expected economic conditions. The second theory stresses the political consequences of uncertainty concerning future economic conditions; rather than arguing that the popularity of political incumbents rises and falls when the economy performs better or worse than expected, it suggests that popularity rises when there is certainty about the economic future and falls when there is uncertainty. While both of these theories emphasize economic expectations in explaining political events, the two theories accentuate political psychologies which suggest quite different policy choices. The paper expands earlier joint work by the author using an elite survey (Levi and Monroe, 1979 and 1983 forthcoming) and will also provide an important methodological contribution on the differential between elite and mass surveys.

1. Barnhart's (1925) work on rainfall and voting for the Populist Party is the first systematic analysis of voting and Clark's (1948) analysis of Gallup Poll data is the first analysis of popularity data.
2. See Monroe, 1979, for a review of the literature on voting and Sigelman, 1979, for a review on the work on presidential popularity.
3. See, for example, Fiorina, 1978; Kiewiet and Kinder, 1978; Kinder and Kiewiet, 1977; Klorman, 1978; Shapiro and Conforto, 1979; Weatherford, 1977; and Wides, 1976.

16: HOW GOVERNMENTS REGULATE THEIR OWN SURVEYS

Edouard Cloutier (Montreal)

This analytical description of governments' policies toward their own surveys in France, Canada, Québec, Ontario, West Germany and the European Economic Community deals with two general topics: (a) internal institutions and procedures relating to response burden, inter-ministerial coordination, information diffusion, methodological standards, budgetary and political controls; (b) the status of surveys in parliamentary democracies: the secrecy of planning, field work and results and the political uses of surveys by the Executive branch.

The conclusion will examine the political and administrative consequences of the present trend towards social marketing practices.

The data comes from content analysis of official government publications, supplemented by interviews with various officials and survey practitioners.

Session I7

I7: NATURAL RESOURCES AND PROVINCE-BUILDING: THE CASE OF ASBESTOS IN QUEBEC

A. Brian Tanguay

This paper examines Quebec's asbestos policy since the mid-1970's, particularly the Parti Québécois government's creation, in 1978, of the Société nationale de l'amiante (SNA). Through this Crown corporation the PQ government has involved itself in all phases of the province's asbestos industry, acquiring Bell Asbestos Mines in 1980 from its British parent and purchasing, after protracted and acrimonious negotiations, a controlling interest in Asbestos Corporation. Some observers (Pierre Fournier, for one) have drawn a parallel between the Quebec government's entry into the asbestos industry as a partner of the multi-nationals and the Saskatchewan government's nationalization of part of that province's potash industry. In this view the SNA and the Potash Corporation of Saskatchewan exemplify the new generation of public enterprise in Canada. In both cases the provincial state has shown itself willing to compete with private industry in an ostensibly profitable sector of the economy, and has brandished the threat of expropriation in an attempt to attenuate the power of foreign multinationals and regain control over a vital sector of the provincial economy. Both Crown corporations are key elements in the on-going efforts of each province to create strong and diversified regional economies; they stand as evidence, therefore, of the continued prominence assigned to province-building in the Canadian political economy. More than mere economic considerations prompted the PQ to intervene in the asbestos industry, however. Political considerations--the desire to "civilize" one of the more conspicuous symbols of foreign corporate arrogance in the province, and to attract labour's electoral support by improving working conditions in the industry--also played an important role in eliciting this display of public entrepreneurship. This paper assesses both the economic consequences of the government's intervention and the political fallout from the move.

I7: THE OPPORTUNITIES AND LIMITATIONS OF HYDRO DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY: THE CASE OF MANITOBA 1960-1980

Alex Netherton (Carleton)

Massive public investment in hydro development has been a central element of Manitoba economic strategy for two decades. Unlike other resource based economic strategies it is based upon the explicit objective of creating linkages by inducing energy intensive capital investment rather than towards directly capturing economic rents. First, the paper establishes that there has been an historically consistent pattern of Manitoba hydro policies, and delineates the relationship between its principle components. Successive Manitoba governments have come to power with a critique of existing policy and attempted, for the most part unsuccessfully, to alter its direction. Secondly, then, the paper posits explanations for the political failure to realize desired alternatives. Thirdly, the paper examines the results of Manitoba hydro policy in terms of its ability to realize its major explicit and implicit objectives.

The method employed in the paper is an historical comparison of the policy initiatives of successive Manitoba governments over a twenty year period. This allows for the analysis of policy initiatives in the context of specific conjunctural political and economic parameters. The latter include the particular constellation of interests within the Manitoban political economy which structure the strategy and ideology of hydro development, the changing role of the provincial state in the domestic economy, the changing dynamics of the continental energy market, and substantial changes in the health of the provincial economy. External factors such as the climate of intergovernmental relations and the roles of the federal government in regulating interprovincial and international energy trade, in directly subsidizing and promoting hydro development, and in protecting the interests of native peoples are also examined.

It is hoped that this historical study can serve as a basis for comparison to other provincial hydro policies and serve to distinguish between hydro and other resource based economic development strategies.

I7: THE CONCEPT OF PROVINCE-BUILDING: A CRITIQUE

R.A. Young (UWO)
Philippe Faucher & André Blais (Montréal)

The notion of 'province-building' enjoys wide currency in Canadian political science. Yet it is employed in several different senses which range from provincial politicians' resistance of federal policy incursions to a structural increase in state capacity which serves provincial bourgeoisies. After laying out these uses, this paper relies upon various data, primarily regarding Quebec and Ontario, to challenge some common propositions about provincial state behaviour. Some of these are that 'province-building' is a recent phenomenon; that the Quiet Revolution was its fullest expression and an imitated exemplar; that it must conflict with federal power; that it implies surer control over the internal environment; and that policies focus increasingly upon provincial industrial structures.

We argue that provinces have taken few consistent paths along most of the dimensions which comprise the concept. A variety of connotations exists, and they hang together neither logically nor empirically. The deployment of such a concept may be more useful in ideological and political debate than in rigorous analysis: at present it lends support to a thrust of policy which might, not so long ago, have been called 'Dominion-building', and it also serves those who would limit state activity *per se*. Analysts might be more attentive to the various facets of the notion and might employ it - if at all - with more sensitivity and restraint.

Session I9

I9: RETROSPECTIVE VOTING: A CANADIAN-AMERICAN COMPARISON

Richard Johnston (UBC)

In principle, Canadian voters should be at least as able as American ones to reward or punish incumbents for their management of the economy. It remains an empirical question how Canadians actually behave, but fragments of evidence suggest that retrospective economic judgements figure weakly or even perversely in Canada. This paper will compare Canadian and American voters, to establish some facts in the Canadian case and, through the comparison, to explore the necessary conditions for retrospective judgements.

First, the two electorates will be considered for the extent to which certain background conditions are met. Do voters attribute responsibility for their own material state to governments, especially to national governments, rather than to themselves? Do voters make similar attributions of responsibility for macroeconomic conditions, whatever may be the individual voter's material state? Are judgements on incumbents confounded by general party or candidate dispositions toward the inflation -- unemployment tradeoff? To what extent can incumbents evade responsibility for policy outcomes?

Then will come a Canadian-American comparison of retrospective judgements in the vote itself. Factors will include levels and changes of personal well-being and judgements about macroeconomic management. Modifications to take into account attributions of responsibility will be considered, as will modifications for provincial, state, or local variation in economic context: for example, personal experiences with unemployment may have to interact with fluctuation in the local or provincial unemployment level before them affect behaviour toward incumbents.

Data for the comparative analysis will come from the Canadian 1974-79-80 panel and the American 1972-74-76 panel. Elections considered will be the three Canadian national races and the American presidential and congressional races.

I9: PARTISAN CHANGE AND ELECTORAL DECLINE

K. Hildebrandt, Harold Clarke, Lawrence LeDuc, (Windsor); John Pammett (Carleton)

The decade of the 1970's witnessed strong challenges to the post World War II economic prosperity of Canada and other Western democracies and brought economic issues to the top of the political agenda. This paper addresses the effects of these forces on voting alignments and party systems in Canada, Great Britain, the United States, and the Federal Republic of Germany. In each of these countries, there is available a rich store of electoral survey data including panel studies covering at least three years and two elections. These data afford both a cross-national and longitudinal perspective on changes in partisanship and voting behaviour, and on the economic and social forces underlying these.

Some of the political and electoral consequences of these forces have been evident in the recent politics of each of the four countries that we propose to examine, although not in exactly the same form in every country and not always as a direct consequence of economic decline. However, growing feelings of political cynicism and alienation, decreasing strength and frequency of partisanship, dealignment and/or realignment of

established party systems, the rise of new political parties, and the defeat of incumbent governments have been factors in the recent politics of many western democratic polities. This paper examines the response of mass publics to the economic stresses of the 1970's from a comparative perspective, and argues that Canada exhibits at least some of the characteristics of the other three countries.

Session I10

I10: OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE CONCEPT OF THE POLITICAL ELITE/STATE ELITE IN J. PORTER, W. CLEMENTS, R. PRESTHUS, AND D. OLSEN: A REAPPRAISAL

R. March (McMaster)

John Porter's, The Vertical Mosaic has received considerable national and international acclaim for its pioneering contribution to the study of elites in Canada. The theoretical framework and policy recommendations have occasionally been lightly criticized by W. Clements and others on the left, but there has been no systematic examination of the operationalization of Porter's central concern, the political and bureaucratic elites (chs. XIII and XIV), and, in particular, the Appendix (III, pp. 604-613).

It is argued here that Porter's discussion of bureaucratic and political elites is seriously deficient, especially with respect to his empirical definition of the political elite--federal cabinet ministers, provincial premiers. In addition, there are fundamental errors in including the judiciary in the definition of the political elite.

There are equally serious flaws both in the empirical definition of the bureaucratic elite (pp. 608-613), and in the theoretical framework for explaining recruitment to the bureaucratic elite.

It is contended here, that much greater theoretical insight can be derived from social network analysis rather than the various recruitment models emphasized by Porter (pp. 418-432).

After refining the empirical definitions employed by Porter, his elite model becomes considerably attenuated, and some major conclusions about the composition and function of the political and bureaucratic elites are modified.

I10: A PROFILE OF THE CANDIDATES IN THE 1977 AND 1981 ONTARIO ELECTIONS

R. Dyck (Laurentian)

This paper examines the social background of the candidates of the Progressive Conservative, Liberal and New Democratic parties in the 1977 and 1981 Ontario provincial elections. In functional terms, it adds to our understanding of political recruitment in Ontario.

Candidates are categorized by ethnicity, religion, occupation, education, income, father's occupation, age and sex, as well as in terms of

municipal experience, party experience and membership in other organizations. A second part of the paper explores the nomination process - who or what persuaded these candidates to seek election - as well as their reliance on various campaign techniques.

The paper draws comparisons between the two elections, among the three parties, between successful and unsuccessful candidates, between cabinet ministers and backbenchers, and between candidates and the population as a whole. In making these comparisons, the paper draws on many of the assumptions, hypotheses and conclusions of earlier studies in the area of Ontario politics. Some of the results are predictable enough, but others are quite surprising.

As far as methodology is concerned, the author conducted a survey of all 375 major party candidates in the 1977 election, and again, of all 375 in the 1981 election. In the former, the response rate was over 90%, and in the latter, only slightly lower. The data is currently being processed so that it can be analyzed by available statistical techniques such as cross-tabulation of the important variables mentioned above. By Christmastime or so a more detailed statement of the central argument and results will be prepared.

SECTION J: LOCAL AND URBAN POLITICS/POLITIQUE LOCALE ET URBAINE

Warren Magnusson (Victoria)

Session J1

J1: LE SYSTEME POLITIQUE DE MONTREAL: LA DIMENSION ELECTORALE

Guy Bourassa (Montréal)

L'analyse du phénomène électoral dans la vie politique de Montréal se rattache à une pré-occupation théorique double: évaluer la signification exacte de ce mécanisme dans la dynamique urbaine, dégager de l'étude des élections des données et hypothèses fécondes sur l'analyse de la culture politique.

Un bref rappel historique s'impose. D'abord, et très rapidement pour situer l'activité électoral dans l'évolution du système montréalais depuis ses débuts (1833). Puis, pour mettre en relief quelques caractéristiques dont le poids s'est accru surtout depuis 1960: la "politisation progressive" des élections montréalaises sera analysée à travers l'étude pour cette période des résultats électoraux, de la transformation des partis municipaux, du style même des campagnes électorales.

L'étude des élections de novembre 1982 constitue le lieu principal d'une réflexion sur la portée nouvelle de cet aspect de la vie politique à Montréal de même que sur les tendances profondes des changements que celle-ci connaît présentement à tous les niveaux. Pour ce faire, quatre axes seront privilégiés. La présentation du déroulement de cette campagne permettra de mener une analyse attentive des résultats électoraux eux-mêmes en tenant compte plus particulièrement de la dimension ethnique. Le contenu des thèmes alors débattus sera ensuite considéré en insistant

sur l'importance nouvelle prise par ceux qui sont à dimension économique. La structuration même de la vie politique à Montréal fera l'objet de la troisième section de notre analyse: implantation des structures partisans et intervention des groupes. Une attention particulière sera donnée à la place des femmes, à tous les niveaux, dans la vie municipale. Enfin, une perspective comparative visera à établir les liens précis des comportements électoraux des Montréalais aux niveaux municipal, québécois et canadien.

En conclusion seront esquissées quelques hypothèses sur le changement dans le fonctionnement du système politique de Montréal.

Session J2

J2: RAPPORTS HOMMES/FEMMES ET STRUCTURATION DE L'URBAIN CONTEMPORAIN: ETUDE THEORIQUE ET EXAMEN DU CAS DE QUEBEC, 1940-1980

Dominique Masson (Laval)

La sociologie urbaine n'a jusqu'ici fait guère de place à un questionnement de la forme urbaine visant à mettre en lumière la place des femmes dans l'espace urbain, ou à introduire les rapports de sexe (rapports de domination hommes/femmes) comme variable explicative dans l'évolution historique des structures urbaines. La présence des femmes dans la ville et la question spécifique du rapport des femmes aux structures urbaines ont donc été largement ignorées

Souscrivant à une problématique de type matérialiste qui voit l'urbain comme structuré par les rapports sociaux, nous entendons démontrer que les rapports hommes/femmes, à l'instar des autres rapports sociaux fondamentaux de domination, non seulement assignent aux groupes sociaux ainsi déterminés des places particulières et différentielles dans la structure sociale mais se traduisent également au niveau de l'organisation spatiale de la vie sociale et font partie intégrante de la dynamique de l'évolution historique de la forme urbaine.

Cette insertion des rapports hommes/femmes dans la dynamique de structuration urbaine passe par une nécessaire critique des conceptualisations théoriques antérieures - utilisation des concepts de famille, de production/reproduction, de consommation - et leur réarticulation en fonction de pôles qui sont les formes d'existence du travail domestique et de la famille dans leur relation aux rapports capitalistes et au pouvoir étatique.

Ce travail de réinterprétation et de théorisation sera complété de l'exposé des résultats d'une étude actuellement en cours sur le territoire de la ville de Québec, sur la période 1940-1980.

Session J3

J3: URBAN AUTONOMY AND OVERSIGHT

John H. Taylor (History Department, Carleton)

An examination of urban autonomy illumin-

ates a number of areas of interest to the student of the city. These, in chief, are public finance, collective intervention, inter-government relations, and state-capital relations. Local autonomy can be at least a litmus in these areas and was arguably an actor. Although questions of causation are difficult to deal with in this area, evolution can be examined more easily. It should be noted that American (and European) standards should not be applied to the Canadian situation. American local governments in the twentieth century assumed autonomy as an historic condition, and academic revisionists recently have been constrained to look for its absence. Canadian local governments rarely made the case, and academic revisionists have been constrained to look for its presence. It may thus have uses, as a theme, in comparative politics.

Its source, in Canada, can be placed in the 1840s, when, in the midst of a major constitutional and economic upheaval, autonomous urban governments were established, not only for general "policing" of an increasingly dangerous urban environment, but as a strategic act of political liberalism and decentralization, and as an economic device to build railways and other works.

Its loss can largely be attributed to the ending about W.W. I of a long-term inflation of core urban property values, which precipitated a financial crisis that became acute in the 1930s when urban policing of the unemployed threatened bankruptcy. At about the same time corporate capital arrangements weakened the alliance of business and the local state. And finally, unimaginative responses of local governments, due to their structures, history and the crisis of the 1930's, made them willing supplicants of the senior governments.

J3: ECONOMIC RESTRAINT AND MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURES: THE IMPACTS OF RESTRAINT ON MUNICIPAL SERVICES

T. Price and R. Krause (Windsor)

In the post-war period up to the mid-seventies the level of municipal services has been constantly increasing. This was accompanied by a progressive growth of the G.N.P. devoted to municipal expenditures.

Since local tax bases were unequal and unable to bear the burden of these increased expenditures, there was a very significant growth of transfer payments for the purposes of equalization and support of new and costly services. By the mid-seventies local governments were bearing, on the average, only about half of the costs of local services from their own revenues; the rest being covered by transfer payments from other government levels.

The inflation and economic decline of the late 70's and 80's has placed increasing pressures on most provincial governments, so that they have had to cut their levels of support to local governments.

The paper explores the impact of such cut-backs on local government, and assesses the intrinsic changes taking place in this level of government.

The general conclusions which the paper is trying to establish relates to what the scale of

expenditure restraint has been, its differential effects amongst municipalities and the association of key variables in municipal administration with the impact of cutbacks.

Methodology: The research will take place on two broad plains.

1. Macro - The figures on budgetary expenditures at the municipal level for all provinces will be aggregated and analyzed since the early 70's. Changes in the level of transfer payments will be traced province by province.
2. Micro - A questionnaire is being sent to all the major municipalities in Canada (10,000) as part of a study of municipal administration. The questionnaire asks a number of key questions about expenditures and cutbacks and their effects. The responses will be correlated with other data about the municipalities - size, location, economic base, administrative organization, etc.

J3: MUNICIPAL AUTONOMY VS. "FAIR SHARE"
A LOOK AT PROVINCIAL-MUNICIPAL HOUSING
CONTROVERSIES IN THE TORONTO REGION

Frances Frisken and Dale Hauser (York)

The right claimed by municipal governments to control the use of land within their boundaries is an issue that lies at the heart of many jurisdictional disputes between local and central authorities. The issue can become especially intense when it involves decisions affecting the location and distribution of housing for persons who, for various reasons, are considered "undesirable" additions to the local community. The governments of Ontario and the City of Toronto have been debating this issue with suburban governments in the Toronto Region for at least three decades. Intergovernmental housing disputes first involved the distribution of assisted rental housing within Metropolitan Toronto. More recently, they have centred on the location and distribution of group homes for persons with a variety of physical, mental or social handicaps. This paper reviews the course of these debates, taking into account the way they have affected the distribution of authority between the Provincial and municipal governments and the theoretical and normative issues they raise for the study of local government and inter-governmental relations.

The research described in this paper is part of an ongoing study of governmental responses to distributional issues that arise during the growth and outward expansion of a large urban region. The study draws on a large body of theoretical and empirical knowledge about the consequences of politics and public policy for the development of metropolitan areas in the United States as a basis for analyzing and comparing the way government institutions and government policies have evolved and changed during a thirty-year period in the development of the Toronto Region.

Session J5

J5: APPROACHES TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION:
DISCONTINUITIES IN NOVA SCOTIA

Donald Higgins (St. Mary's)

Having abandoned a wholesale reorganization of local government as advocated by the Graham Royal Commission in 1974, the Nova Scotia government resorted to a piece-meal approach. That approach has, over time, effected substantial change in such areas as municipal elections, some aspects of provincial-municipal financial relations, administration of police, and procedures for appealing planning decisions of municipalities. Using the same approach, other areas for which reorganization remains in the works are the planning act and homes for special care. The piece-meal approach has been characterized by caution, extensive consultation prior to formulation of provincial policy, lengthy periods of time, and an absence of clear direction.

Virtually none of the post-1974 changes to the structure of local government in the Province affected the foundations of that structure. Further, none of the changes that had been made significantly affected local government expenditures. However, in August of 1980, the Minister of Education announced the creation of a Commission on Public Education Finance, and that Commission presented its report eight months later. By the end of 1981, the whole structure and financing of public education throughout the Province was reorganized, and the process by which it was achieved was not only a startling one, but represented a sharp break with the post-1974 practice.

I propose to focus on the significance of the overhaul made to the local structures and financing of public education in Nova Scotia, both from the perspective of the substance of the changes and the process by which they were made. Further, I propose to discuss the significance of the change in approach taken in relation to the post-1974 period of reorganization and to prospects for the future of local government in Nova Scotia.

J5: ACADIANS AND LOCAL POLITICAL POWER IN NOVA
SCOTIA

Harley d'Entremont (Moncton)

In contrast to the situation in New Brunswick the only possibility of Acadians exercising meaningful political power as an ethnic group in Nova Scotia is at the local level (municipal councils and school board). Their numbers do not enable them to play a key role in provincial politics.

If the only hope of exercising meaningful political power is in municipalities where they constitute a significant proportion of the population, the Acadians of Nova Scotia would be expected to react negatively to any attempts at reorganizing local government that would reduce their "weight" (proportional) within the municipal unit. Moreover, they would be expected to react negatively to the transfer of important functions from the municipal to the provincial level of government. The importance of ethnic factors in municipal reorganization has already been demonstrated in Winnipeg (Lighbody), Montreal (Sancton) and Moncton (d'Entremont).

This paper will be an attempt to deal with the issue of Acadians and political power at the local level. First, the issue will be dealt with on a general ("theoretical") basis. The second part will deal with the reactions and positions of the Acadian community in Nova Scotia vis-à-vis the recommendations of both the Graham Royal Commission (1974), which proposed largescale change in provincial-municipal relations, and the Walker Commission (1980) which proposed the amalgamation of school boards. Moreover, the political struggle that resulted from the implementation of the Walker Report will be looked at, especially the implications of the creation of the Clare-Argyle school board, which has French as its language of operation.

Session J6

J6: ROUND TABLE ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM IN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

D.C. Rowat (Carleton) NO PAPERS/
PAS DE COMMUNICATION

This will be a round-table discussion of the causes and consequences of the many recent reorganizations of local government around the world. It will be chaired by Professor Donald Rowat and will be based on a short paper of his, "The Implications of Local Government Reorganization for Central-Local Relations," which summarizes some of the conclusions in the book he edited recently, the International Handbook on Local Government Reorganization: Contemporary Developments (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press; and London: Aldrich, 1980). His paper will be distributed beforehand to the participants, some of whom were authors of essays in the book, as a basis for their discussion.

The paper deals in particular with the reorganizations in metropolitan areas and with the creation of second-tier regional governments, and discusses the implications of reorganization for the strength of local government. Professor Rowat argues that the main causes of reorganization have been the world-wide growth of urbanism and industrialism, and that these have been centralizing forces leading to larger units of local government and more central control. He concludes that the main aim of most reorganizations has been greater efficiency and that this has been achieved at the expense of the democratic values of local decision-making and of citizen access and participation.

Session J7

J7: A CRITICAL THEORY OF URBAN PUBLIC POLICY

Harold Chorney (Concordia)

Urban public policy in Canada and the United States has traditionally been associated with state intervention in the urban political economy in order to deal with the negative externalities and spill-overs which arise out of the production of urban public space. In a rather paradoxical fashion, it appears that the very ingredients required for effective public policy intervention at the urban level are increasingly associated with the very qualities of urban life that seem to have been largely eclipsed in

contemporary metropolitan culture. These qualities revolve around a sense of community and shared purpose which are often associated with the development of collective political consciousness.

I have argued elsewhere that the original impetus for the destruction of these qualities lay, at least in part, in the effort to thwart the development of radical political consciousness among the urbanized working class. The potential for the development of such political movements was certainly latent in the process of urban agglomeration, itself. Yet, the manner in which urban life has been organized in contemporary capitalism appears to have contributed to the decline of community and the increasing atomization of personal life.

The alienation of modern urban life, however, appears to have had a major constraining influence upon contemporary urban public policy. The impact has been significant enough that much of contemporary urban public policy attempts to artificially re-engage public-spirited behaviour normally associated with a sense of community. At the same time, however, such attempts to re-engage community are constrained by the possibility that radical oppositional political tendencies might re-appear at the level of urban politics, should such a sense of community be re-born. It is within these boundaries which range from the total absence of community and all that this implies from social anomie at the urban level at the one extreme, and a newly reconstituted citizenry with a fully developed radical urban movement at the other, that contemporary urban public policy and planning attempts to manoeuvre. Its optimal goal is technocratic public policy resting on a base of a depoliticized but reconstituted body stripped of any oppositional tendencies.

This paper explores these themes in the context of a critical theory of metropolitan life. While the approach is theoretical, the paper draws upon examples of urban public policy interventions in the area of the provision of social services, housing, urban transportation, crime and urban planning.

J7: BUILDING THE HOMOGENEOUS CITY: MODERN CAPITALISM'S DESTRUCTION OF DIVERSITY

E.P. Fowler and M.D. Goldrick (York)

This is an examination of economic, social, and cultural values underlying the physical character of the postwar North American city. Division of labour, growth in the scale of enterprises, separation of work from home, and environmental noxiousness of industry resulted in large-scale development and segregated land use. The market system encouraged concern for property value of the house and therefore concern for a homogeneous urban environment--other houses of a similar or "better" quality are wanted in the neighbourhood. Decentralization and deconcentration of residence were produced by the bourgeoisie's attempts to escape the growing concentration of productive activity. Industrial decentralization also occurred, however, because of technology and scale of new manufacturing processes, labour unrest in the central city, and transportation which made it all possible. The market system treats buildings as commodities, so when they become functionally obsolete, their emotional or psychological importance is ignored and they are torn down. Hence our emphasis on new buildings, and the scarcity of mixtures of old and new buildings. This also relates to the scale

of development projects now ---they are so large that mixtures of anything (land use, age of buildings) becomes impossible. The visions of influential urban planners such as Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier contained social and political values congruent with many of the above mentioned economic processes.

Session J9

J9: PLANNING AT CROSS PURPOSES: PROVINCIAL-MUNICIPAL RELATIONS IN GREATER VANCOUVER

Patrick J. Smith (Simon Fraser)

Several recent examples of planning within Greater Vancouver highlight problematic aspects of provincial-municipal relations in Canada. Specifically, decisions within Greater Vancouver regarding B.C. Place, Automated Light Rapid Transit and the 'closing' and future use of the Lower Mainland Correctional Centre-Oakalla Prison site all occurred with the senior provincial government announcing decisions with minimal consultation with the affected communities, and often at cross purposes with planning/decisional processes underway in Vancouver, Burnaby and other Greater Vancouver municipalities. These decisions are perceived to have significant implications for financing, planning and decision-making in lower mainland urban governments in British Columbia.

This study proposes to examine a number of these recent decisions and what has been described as the "demunicipalization" potential represented by the decision-making process in such planning decisions in British Columbia/Great Vancouver. John Griffith (in Central Departments and Local Authorities) has suggested that "the working relationship between central government departments and local authorities in England and Wales can be regarded in terms which are formal, informal, statutory, non-statutory, legal, extra-legal, financial, official, personal, political, functional, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral". The competition inherent in provincial-municipal relations allows for reflection on equality, efficiency and accountability aspects of municipal government in British Columbia - and on the implications of planning at cross purposes.

J9: URBAN TRANSIT IN VANCOUVER

Gary Munro (UBC)

This paper examines the assumption of the role of transit municipality by the Greater Vancouver Regional District under the Urban Transit Authority Act (later renamed the British Columbia Transit Authority Act) and the conflicts between the provincial, municipal and regional levels of government over financing transit and the appropriate structure for the administration of transit. The sources of this conflict are diverse. There is a generally high level of distrust between the provincial government and the Greater Vancouver Regional District generated by other issues such as finance and this distrust shapes perceptions of the transit issue. The diffuse structure of the Greater Vancouver

Regional District makes intra-metropolitan area coordination difficult and tends to obscure accountability. The adoption of an expensive Light Rail Transit system for the Vancouver area by the provincial government has resulted in an intensification of the conflict.

SECTION K: SPECIAL SESSIONS/SESSIONS SPECIALES

David G. Haglund (UBC)

Session K1

K1(i): TECHNOLOGY AND TEACHING POLITICAL SCIENCE

ROUND-TABLE/TABLE RONDE

NO ABSTRACT/PAS DE RESUME

K1(ii): COMMUNICATION AND THE STATE

ROUND-TABLE/TABLE RONDE

NO ABSTRACT/PAS DE RESUME

Session K2

K2: TEACHING PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

ROUND-TABLE/TABLE RONDE

NO ABSTRACT/PAS DE RESUME

Session K3

K3: REFORM OF PARLIAMENT

ROUND-TABLE/TABLE RONDE

NO ABSTRACT/PAS DE RESUME

Session K5

K5: THE IMPORTANCE OF PSYCHIATRIC INSTITUTIONS IN ONTARIO HEALTH POLICY, 1882-1982

Mary Powell (Windsor)

This paper examines changes in the policy significance of psychiatric institutions in Ontario during the past century. My purpose is to propose an hypothesis to explain some striking features of the evolution of psychiatric institutions as an element of health care policy:

- 1) When costs of psychiatric institutions are included with health expenditures (both before and after it was common to regard them as 'health care' institutions), they constitute the single-most important expenditure item from the late nineteenth century until the mid-1960s. In effect, judged in financial terms, Ontario health policy appears to give great emphasis to mental illness.

2) The apparent emphasis on mental illness existed mainly in financial terms. In terms of the number of patients involved, the relative efficacy of medical treatment, and the stated goals of policymakers, treatment of mental illness was not a very important emphasis in health policy. As a result there is a significant lack of congruence between the amount of money allocated to psychiatric institutions and their importance on the health care agenda.

This paper will explore this lack of congruence and propose an hypothesis to explain it. The methodology combines a time-series analysis of provincial health expenditure and archival research into the goals of provincial policymakers and the development and operation of psychiatric institutions.

Session K7

K7: POLITICS AND SPORTS

ROUND-TABLE/TABLE RONDE

NO ABSTRACT/PAS DE RESUME

Session K9

K9: ACID RAIN IN CANADIAN-UNITED STATES RELATIONS: THE POLITICS OF INACTION

Jack Corbett (Southwest Texas State University)

Over the past four years the meteorological phenomenon known as acid rain has become, for Canada, one of the most pressing and vexing issues in its relations with the United States. Despite an expanding body of scientific evidence supporting claims that acid rain, much of which has its origins in the United States, is doing serious and perhaps irreversible damage to Canadian ecosystems, the American response continues to be limited in scope and generally unsympathetic to Canadian concerns. Observers commonly offer two explanations for the American position.

1) Scientific uncertainties surrounding the origins, long distance transport, and ecological consequences of acid precipitation make specific mitigation strategies exercises in guesswork. Precipitous policy-making might prove subsequently to be misdirected, unnecessarily expensive, and perhaps counter-productive.

2) The ideological orientation of the Reagan administration, with its explicit rejection of public sector regulation of private sector activities, provides neither the philosophical nor programmatic rationale for control of relevant pollutants. Administration objections to Canadian restrictions on foreign investment foster a temptation to treat acid rain as a bargaining chip in the broader spectrum of Canadian-American relations.

While this paper would review, briefly, these explanations, it will concentrate its attention on a third explanation - the existence of a multitude of institutional and organizational interests which regard themselves as well-served by the status quo, and which therefore

resist significant policy change. Such interests, which range from business associations and labor unions to local government officials and members of Congress, view acid rain from a political rather than a scientific or ideological perspective. Despite differences in other issue areas, disparate groups share a common conviction that efforts to deal with sources of acid-forming emissions inevitably will redound to their disadvantage, and that the most effective defense against change is to pursue strategies of policy deadlock and substitution. The fragmented nature of the American political system renders it particularly susceptible to the "politics of inaction". Explanations (1) and (2) suggest Canadian policymakers might anticipate a markedly different, and more favorable, policy environment in the event research narrows the scope of scientific uncertainty, or shifting political fortunes replace the Reagan administration with one more sensitive to the Canadian position. In contrast, the third explanation confronts Canadians with a diffuse, multifaceted situation requiring a departure from traditional forms of diplomatic negotiation and bargaining (e.g., direct lobbying of Congress as now carried on by Canadian Embassy staff).

The paper will draw upon published documents, interviews, correspondence, secondary material, and other sources assembled in support of a continuing research project. The author, formerly a visiting scientist at the National Center for Atmospheric Research in Boulder Colorado, wrote the social science critique of the 1980 draft Federal Acid Rain Assessment Plan.

K9: ENVIRONMENTALISM AS IDEOLOGY

Robert Paehlke (Trent)

This paper will develop the thesis that environmentalism can best be understood as a distinctive ideology particular to the developed Western political economies of the second half of the Twentieth Century. The paper will distinguish environmentalism from its historic antecedents, including conservationism, which date back at least to the 1880s. The paper will also seek to distinguish environmentalism from socialism and in doing so will include some examination of the works of leading socialist/environmentalists such as Barry Commoner, André Gorz and Murray Bookchin and of the critical assessments of environmentalism made by several socialist commentators.

The thesis of the paper is the view that neither (socialism or environmentalism) can subsume or appropriate the other. Their constituencies, it will be shown, are fundamentally different, as are their core themes and concerns. The paper will conclude with an attempt to outline the conditions wherein the two would tend to converge or diverge.

Session K10

K10(i): SMALL TOWN FRAGMENTATION AND THE POLITICS OF COMMUNITY

David M. Rayside (U of T)

Alexandria residents tell you that everyone in town gets along and that everyone helps one another in times of need. It is a special place, and

most certainly a better place than the high-speed jungle of inhumanity that is the city.

There was a time when such towns were more isolated, and therefore witness to more intimacy, more ubiquitous family tie, more self-help and cooperation. Class inequalities and social exclusiveness did effectively divide even quite small towns, and in Alexandria the French and English were never as integrated as lore would have it. But the increasing penetration of national forces, and in particular national economic forces, has led to more obvious fragmentation.

Town politics seem least changed. The images of the town expressed by politicians; the views of outsiders and senior levels of government found in the town hall; and the topics considered important in council seem out of phase with what is really happening in the town. Politics seem more and more separated from the preoccupations of the town's residents, and councillors more and more ignorant of the forces shaping those lives. The community has little in the way of organized interests, and the local media do little to politically educate the citizenry. Controversy and dissent are actively discouraged, and as a result the very lifeblood of democracy is drained away.

(The work being reported on here is part of a larger, ongoing project entitled "The Political Economy of Glengarry County".)

K10(ii): LOCAL GOVERNMENT WITHOUT ANY RULES: THE INAUGURAL MEETING OF THE NORTH ARCHIPELAGO COUNCIL

John Wilson (Waterloo)

On January 5, 1980 the inaugural council meeting of the newly-created township of Georgian Bay North Archipelago was held in Pointe au Baril. This municipality, along with the township of Georgian Bay South Archipelago, had been created in June of 1979 by an act of the Ontario legislature which brought local government for the first time to four hitherto unorganized townships where the population was almost entirely composed of cottagers.

In November of 1979 there had been elections for the new councils, with a very heated contest between two slates of candidates - one group sponsored by the Georgian Bay Association promising to seek immediate amalgamation of the two townships if elected, and the other group of independent candidates promising to leave the two municipalities as they were. In the south township all five elected members of the council were GBA candidates, but in the north township two of the five (one being the reeve) were independents.

At the inaugural meeting of the north township the three GBA-sponsored candidates moved, almost immediately, to adopt a by-law asking for amalgamation (identical in wording to a by-law which had been passed earlier in the day at the inaugural meeting of the south township). This business, as well as a number of other much less contentious matters, was introduced despite the fact that the new council had made no attempt to adopt a set of rules governing its procedure.

As soon as the amalgamation by-law was moved, the reeve, alternating with the other member of the council who opposed the measure, began to move a series of amendments to the proposal, each of which would have had the effect of postponing the question for a substantial period of time. Each of these proposed amendments - to a total of nine in all - was defeated by a vote of 3-2 after some discussion, and in due course the reeve, as chairman of the meeting, was asked to put the question on the original motion. This he refused to do, at least four times. Eventually, it was moved that he should leave the chair - under the dubious authority of section 194 of The Municipal Act - which he did only after being persuaded that he must by officials of the provincial government present at the meeting. His place was then taken by one of the three GBA members of the council, the amalgamation by-law put to a vote and passed (by a margin of 3-2), and some two months later the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs ordered the amalgamation of the two townships, creating the Township of The Archipelago as of April 1, 1980.

The dilemma in all of this is whether or not the behaviour of the north council was legal, there being no accepted rules to provide an answer. I have explored the question at length, through interviews with senior officials of the provincial ministry and experts in parliamentary procedure, and the reasoning which allowed the provincial government to proceed affords an intriguing insight into the basis on which municipal councils conduct their business in Ontario. The issues at stake are far from being as simple as they seemed at first sight and, indeed, one of the reasons why the province took so long to act on the amalgamation requests was its own uncertainty as to the legality of the procedure which had been followed in the north council. The paper will include extracts from confidential memoranda written by officers of the provincial government on this question, as well as appropriate commentary from those interviewed.

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s'insère aucunement dans les paramètres libéraux-bourgeois fixés théoriquement par la constitution de 1791.

Au contraire l'utilisation qui est faite des appareils de l'Etat contribue à la reproduction de rapports sociaux non-capitalistes et au maintien d'un ordre social mercantile-féodal.

Cette communication cherche à réunir les matériaux nécessaires en vue de la démonstration de l'existence d'une pratique du pouvoir et d'une forme de gouvernement de type absolutiste. La démarche repose sur l'analyse de sources premières visant à éclairer le comportement et le fonctionnement concrets des diverses composantes de l'instance juridico-politique. Elle s'inscrit dans le prolongement d'analyses antérieures (Bernier et Salée, *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique française*, 36, 2, 1982) qui ont établi, pour le même période, le caractère non-capitaliste de la classe dominante bascanadienne et des rapports de production qu'elle favorisait.

N.B. Le texte de la communication sera en français, mais le présentation sera faite en anglais.