

SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES AND DEMOCRACY:
A TEST OF A MODEL OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

A current concern in the theory of political development is the relationship between political democracy and economic and social variables. Lerner has argued that urbanization, communications and education are highly related to the growth of democratic political institutions. Using a statistical causal modeling technique, McCrone and Cnudde have tested and corroborated this hypothesis with contemporary data gathered over a large number of nations. The purpose of this paper is to test in an exploratory fashion the adequacy of this model with data gathered over a long time period in one nation, which presents a research situation more congruent with the actual temporal processes of political development. Historical data on the named variables were gathered for four countries: Canada, Great Britain, France, and the United States. The United States alone was chosen for testing because data were insufficient in the other nations.

The measurement of political development employed in this research combines institutional, competitive and participatory aspects of democracy. Using a modified scaling procedure developed by Cutright, points were assigned for each year since 1790 the United States federal government met certain institutional criteria (e.g., one point for every year a chief executive was in office by virtue of a direct vote in an open election where he faced political competition). Additional points were assigned based on party competition, and on the extension of voting rights. The index derived provided a quantitative expression of changes in political democracy over time.

Data on urbanization, communications and education were taken from U. S. Census reports from 1790-1960. The indicators used for these variables were T scored in preparation for correlational analysis. Correlations between the various independent variables and political democracy were positive and significant, and tended to substantiate the Lerner hypothesis.

ABSTRACTS / SOMMAIRES

CANADIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

June 3, 4, 5, 6, 1969

York University, Toronto, Ontario

FORTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING

les 3, 4, 5, 6, juin, 1969

QUARANTE ET UNIEME CONGRES ANNUEL

ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE DE SCIENCE POLITIQUE

THE NATURE OF FEDERAL CRISIS IN CANADA AND PAKISTAN

"Federal crisis" may be defined in the terminology of David Easton as "a stressful condition in a federal political system caused by the influx of such regional demands which are directed to derive the essential variables of the system beyond their critical range". The essential variables of the system consist of basic elements of federalism, namely,

- (i) coexistence of a national system, and a number of regional subsystems;
- (ii) demarcation of their areas of competence;
- (iii) a relationship of coordination rather than of subordination between the national system and the regional subsystems; and
- (iv) persistence of "a desire for union, and at the same time desire for separation within the union".

The intensity and volume of regional demands flowing both from environment, and regional political subsystems into the federal political system is likely to disturb these "federal characteristics".

IMPACT OF ENVIRONMENT: Federal crises in contemporary Canada and Pakistan are the products of their fastly changing socio-economic environments. Both are good examples of "federal societies insofar as they are characterized by territorial grouping of "social diversities" in a bilingual and bicultural background. The factors of unity and forces of regionalism are, therefore, built in the physiographic, demographic, economic, and social structures of both commonwealth federal political systems. In both countries, federal crises have arisen from a wide variety of 'conflict situations' which may be categorized into:

- (i) constitutional conflicts;
- (ii) socio-economic cleavages;
- (iii) psychological tensions between "national sentiments" and "local patriotisms; and
- (iv) power struggle.

DUALITY OF POLITICAL CULTURES: Language and culture are two primary factors which shape the political cultures of both East Pakistanis and French-Canadians. The cultural isolation of the French-Canadians vis-a-vis English-Canadian culture, and geographical separation, and sheer physical distance of East Pakistan from West Pakistan naturally give a regionalist mold to the political orientations of East Pakistanis and French-Canadians.

REGIONAL DISCONTENTS: The demands of French-Canadians and East Pakistanis are the by-product of regional discontents which may be classified broadly into four groups:-

- (i) constitutional;
- (ii) linguistic and cultural;
- (iii) economic; and
- (iv) representational.

Consequently, both have focussed on demanding autonomy in cultural, constitutional, and economic spheres, and have pressed for more representation in federal services, defence forces, and political power-structures.

FEDERALISM VERSUS SEPARATISM: Both Canada and Pakistan have only a limited range of options for solving their respective federal crises. Either they stay together in some kind of federal political structure or break up. Ultimately, the fate of federalism in both of these countries hinges on whether French-Canadians and East Pakistanis can clearly spell out as to what they want, and how do the English-Canadians, and West Pakistanis respond to their urgings. Among French-Canadians some like P. E. Trudeau are anxious to secure the political rights of the French-Canadians by restructuring the Canadian federal political system. Many other French Canadians, however, press the theory of 'deux nations' in order to secure a 'Special Status' or position of 'an Associate State' for Quebec. However, the French-Canadians of extremist orientations frankly reject 'federal solution' and advocate the demand for a Separate Independent Quebec. In case of Pakistan, although there have been whisperings of "Secession" here and there in East Pakistan, yet so far no Bengali leader has ever articulated a clear-cut demand for an independent East Bengal. Great majority of Bengalis are still attached to the idea of seeking a federal solution of their regional anxieties. They want 'full provincial autonomy' leaving only limited sphere of action to the central government.

FUTURE OF FEDERALISM: The democratic processes of open and frank bargaining, pragmatism of leaders, and party system have been instrumental in maintaining the Canadian Confederation during the last one hundred years, and it seems that these same forces will continue to sustain it in the future. These are also the lessons which Pakistan can learn from Canadian experience in federalism.

L. Balthazar
D. J. Bell

PERMANENCE DES IDEOLOGIES DANS L'HISTOIRE POLITIQUE CANADIENNE (début du XIX^{ème} siècle)

1. L'expérience canadienne est profondément conditionnée par les deux systèmes coloniaux qui ont d'abord peuplé l'Amérique du Nord. Selon Louis Hartz (The Founding of New Societies), ces deux systèmes ont donné lieu à un phénomène de fragmentation permettant à des idéologies européennes d'échapper à la dialectique des confrontations et de se développer comme à l'état pur. Dans cette perspective, la colonisation française apparaît comme la transplantation de structures politiques d'ancien régime dans un sol nouveau, loin de toutes les menaces auxquelles doit faire face le féodalisme européen. Quant à la colonisation anglaise, elle est une aventure strictement bourgeoise, la migration d'une idéologie libérale pure dans un milieu vierge où la mentalité féodale n'a jamais existé. Toute l'évolution politique de l'Amérique du Nord peut s'expliquer par la nationalisation des idéologies et leur persistance acharnée en dépit des mutations politiques auxquelles elles sont soumises. Le fragment anglais ne peut être que purement libéral; les "forbes" qu'on y dénonce ne sont que des fantômes. Les "bourgeois" qui ont pu vivre en Nouvelle-France n'apparaissent pas comme tels dès qu'on les compare aux libéraux américains.

2. Deux événements politiques donnent naissance à l'expérience canadienne: la Conquête de la Nouvelle-France par la Grande-Bretagne et la Révolution américaine. Nous soutenons que ces deux événements, si importants soient-ils, n'ont pas modifié substantiellement la nature idéologique des fragments qu'ils ont affectés. La Conquête et la Révolution ont créé des situations nouvelles, elles n'ont pas opéré de transformation culturelle.

Conquis, le fragment français d'ancien régime a poursuivi une existence conforme à l'idéologie dont il avait hérité de la vieille France. La Révolution américaine n'a pas d'avantage bouleversé les structures sociales des colonies anglaises. Elle fut une révolution strictement politique, une guerre entre deux interprétations différentes de la philosophie de John Locke. Des bourgeois révolutionnaires se sont opposés à des bourgeois pacifiques. Ce sont donc des bourgeois qui ont été chassés des Etats-Unis après la Révolution parce qu'ils étaient demeurés fidèles à la Couronne britannique pour des raisons souvent accidentelles, rarement idéologiques.

3. La Conquête et la Révolution ont donc mis en présence des Français d'ancien régime et des Whigs anglo-saxons, deux idéologies qui devaient se développer parallèlement parfois se dresser l'une contre l'autre avec une rigidité extrême.

Si ces deux idéologies sont demeurées elles-mêmes, les armes politiques auxquelles on a eu recours pour les défendre ont souvent voilé leur nature profonde. Ainsi, au début du XIX^{ème} siècle, nous assistons au Canada à une véritable mascarade politico-culturelle. Les Canadiens (français) résistent au capitalisme libéral des marchands anglais au nom du patriotisme et même de la démocratie. Les Anglais, de leur côté, combattent l'ancien régime au nom de la fidélité à la Couronne britannique érigée en mythe absolu, au nom de l'antiaméricanisme ou d'un rejet verbal des valeurs dont ils sont issus.

Mais fondamentalement les luttes politiques canadiennes s'expliquent par le libéralisme acharné des Whigs américains humiliés et la fidélité non moins acharnée des Canadiens-français à des valeurs d'ancien régime.

Louis Balthazar

David J. Bell

E. E. Dais

JUDICIAL PROTECTION OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS IN CANADA and the UNITED STATES

An Essay on the Relevancy of Systems Analysis to Problems of Institutional Choice
Eugene E. Dais, University of Calgary

The view of not a few Canadians, including the present Prime Minister, is that fundamental rights will remain insecure in Canada until a Bill of Rights is entrenched and nationalized. What Canadian liberals evidently have in mind for Canada is the judicial activism of the American practice of judicial supremacy. Ironically, however, the United States has had for some seven decades a strongly liberal tradition of judicial passivism. Its tacit aim has been a return to the British practice of legislative supremacy on the assumption that British practice

On the other hand, general value orientations as well as institutional factors are sufficiently different in Canada and the United States to cast substantial doubts on whether American judicial supremacy can be successfully imitated in Canada. It may be that Canada has to develop its own style of fundamental rights protection. Just exactly what the institutional arrangement ought to be in the sense of which best sustains in Canadian circumstances a viable correspondence between the needs for effective government and the general expectations for fundamental rights, systems analysis has no logically conclusive answer. But it can disclose the issues and factors which no informed judgment on problems of institutional choice can afford to overlook.

has singularly shown that fundamental rights can be protected without the risk of judicial obstructionism to democratic government. Yet despite the attractiveness of the British example, the American tradition of judicial passivism has had only occasional, brief successes. As evidenced by the judicial activism of the Taft Court in the 1920's and early 1930's and of the Warren Court roughly since 1954, judicial passivism has failed to shape the American practice of judicial supremacy to its image. Similarly it has to be said that efforts in Canada to make courts more active in the American style in protecting fundamental rights has yet to make any notable headway.

No doubt the important question is which practice is the proper one. Yet it may be useful in dealing with this question to suspend judgment on it until its assumptions are critically examined. This paper suggests systems analysis as an effective way to do this. The basic theme is the functional interdependence of the institutions and processes of any social system. Among other things this implies that changes in one part of a social system may not work unless corresponding changes take place in other parts. Legislative supremacy has succeeded admirably in Britain in protecting fundamental rights without impairing the power to govern. But this has not happened simply because courts are deferential to Parliament. Judicial passivism works in Britain in the process of protecting fundamental rights because it interrelates coherently with various other factors, notably a viable common law tradition, collegial responsibility of bar and bench, parliamentary self-restraint, enlightened monarchical despotism and unitary government. Where some of these factors are decisively absent as in the United States, the British style of judicial passivism with its mechanical legal reasoning and strict stare decisis becomes dysfunctional in two possible ways. It can facilitate judicial usurpation of the power to govern, a consequence which the American tradition of judicial passivism purports to obviate. Or judicial passivism can encourage, as its logical consequence, the abdication by courts of their responsibility for protecting fundamental rights.

Canada has formally adopted the British form of government, but in practice important deviations occur. Largely this is because it has yet to be resolved whether parliamentary democracy is workable in a federal structure, especially in one which is strongly decentralized along not only conflicts in local economic interests but also in sociological differences of language and culture. British judicial passivism in the protection of fundamental rights is not as obviously dysfunctional in Canada as in the United States, chiefly because of the formal similarities between British and Canadian government. But an inspection of judicial passivism in action in Canada discloses that dysfunctionality in terms of judicial abdication is a real problem.

THE COMMITTEE SYSTEM OF THE CANADIAN HOUSE OF COMMONS

Although a great deal of work has been placed on the committees of the Canadian House of Commons by recent reforms to Parliament, and although the Select Committee on Procedure saw the committees doing their tasks in a new non-partisan spirit, no concrete changes have been made to make the committees non-partisan. In fact, non-partisan committees are not only counter to the Canadian parliamentary tradition, but are also counter to some of the basic principles of the Westminster model, especially the doctrine of ministerial responsibility, if they make influential choices between alternative program possibilities. This conflict between expectation and reality forms the starting point of the paper.

Three models of different kinds of legislative committees are examined to see what guidelines they might offer for the development of committees of the Canadian House. These models are:-

- (i) the small, non-partisan, select committees of the British House of Commons
- (ii) the mini-Parliament standing committees of the British House of Commons
- (iii) committees of the American congress

The conclusion is that model (ii) - standing committees of the British House of Commons - suggests the most likely line of evolution for Canadian committees.

The problem of the influence of committees on policy formulation is then examined. The impact of some special Canadian problems of manpower resources in the House, the longevity of governments, and federal-provincial relations is considered as part of this examination.

The general conclusion is that unless the system is drastically altered, the role of parliamentary committees in the formulation of policy is not going to be great. This is not necessarily a bad thing, and drastic reforms are not necessary as long as the overall policy formulating processes work in a democratic manner. Some suggestions are offered on how Canadian committees can oversee the general process of policy formulation and consequently be very influential, if only indirectly.

SOVIET URBAN LEADERSHIP

This paper is a preliminary exercise in the comparative study of

Soviet and Western urban political leaders. It serves a dual purpose:

- (a) presentation of new data on the age, career patterns, education, and mobility of a group of 84 Soviet urban political leaders; and
- (b) discussion of major conceptual and methodological problems in the comparative study of Soviet and Western urban political leaders.

Data were collected from interviews with Soviet officials in 1965

and 1969, and from other biographical sources. I hypothesize that Soviet urban political leaders are relatively more homogeneous and mobile, though less autonomous within their respective political systems than their Western counterparts. "Party" and "education" are the most important career criteria for Soviet urban political leaders, whereas "occupation" and "social class" are more relevant in the Western setting.

LA PENSEE ECONOMIQUE ET SOCIALE DE LIONEL GROULX

Il s'agit de préciser la pensée d'un homme préoccupé par l'évolution de la société québécoise. Les questions économiques et sociales intéressèrent vivement Lionel Groulx. En tant qu'historien et nationaliste, il ne pouvait être insensible à l'industrialisation rapide de la société québécoise, industrialisation dont il fut témoin, industrialisation qui bouleversa les structures traditionnelles de cette société et qui provoqua des malaises économiques graves pour le peuple québécois. Au surplus l'emprise des Anglophones sur les richesses économiques du Québec le préoccupa au plus haut point.

Il critiqua le système économique dans lequel il vécut et dont il avait constaté les injustices principalement envers les siens. Il rejeta également la solution de rechange que lui proposèrent les socialistes, cependant, pour des raisons différentes de celles qui motivèrent sa condamnation du capitalisme. Il propagea un régime économique mixte, un régime conforme à ses idéaux nationalistes et moraux. Il envisagea la création d'institutions sociales et politiques qui assumeraient la charge de régir cette économie nouvelle. Il proposa quelques moyens pour soustraire l'économie québécoise de la mainmise étrangère et il jeta les grandes lignes d'une politique sociale conforme à son humanisme chrétien et nationaliste.

L. C. Green

LAW AND MORALITY IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

Any examination of the relationship between law and morality in society must begin with an examination of terms. Not only is the English language deficient in failing to distinguish adequately between the various concepts of law — e.g. law of murder, criminal law and Canadian law — but the currently accepted definitions still depend unduly on Austinian positivism. It therefore becomes necessary to investigate the functions of law in order to elaborate an acceptable definition.

The same type of problem presents itself when examining morality. Too often the assumption is made that any reference to moral standards must be concerned with problems of sex. While it is true that sex plays a major role in societal life, and society tends to lay down rules as to what it considers acceptable, sexual activity does not constitute the whole of society's concern with living. Nor does it, despite the writings of people like Devlin, constitute the whole of the law's concern with the relationships between individuals. For our purpose, morality is to be equated with the ethic or mores of society which, for sake of convenience, may be described as society's idea of what is right and wrong.

Once this concept of morality is accepted, a clear relationship between it and law is indicated. From the functional point of view law may be considered the means by which society ensures that its mores are protected by its institutions. In order to clarify this, reference might be made to the developments from primitive society with its blood feud and sanction of expulsion, through the growth of custom and the significance of religion to the modern secular state.

Since man's views are not static and the society in which he lives is one of constant progress or regression, depending on one's own view of moral conduct, it is clear that there cannot be one universal and everlasting view of law or morality. It becomes necessary, therefore, to examine how, as society has developed, changes have taken place in the concepts of law and the relationship of those concepts to prevailing moral considerations.

Perhaps family law is a useful starting point with its development from a possessory institution headed by a paterfamilias, with little or no rights to any other member of the group, to the present situation in which we have almost reached a simple contractual relationship with all members enjoying legal status, which tends to be limited by age rather than status. Another useful field for examination in this context is the criminal law. Perhaps the best starting point relates to the law of homicide. Here one may draw attention to the system which prevailed in some parts of Europe, even until the sixteenth century, under which the animal responsible for the death of a man was subjected to the same legal processes as was man himself. Related to this is the trend away from capital punishment — from a situation in which nearly every theft or greater offence merited death, to one in which it is now being argued before the United States Supreme Court that capital punishment constitutes a cruel and unusual punishment and is therefore unconstitutional. The same type of developing morality — and a law reflecting it — is to be found in connection with the law relating to suicide. Obviously, in considering criminal law, a full examination of the new attitude towards homosexuality, abortion and obscenity becomes essential.

Apart from criminal law, the interplay of morality and law may perhaps be best illustrated by examining the changing attitude with regard to race and colour. This also, by way of the movement concerning human rights, serves as a useful link between municipal and international society. Here, it will be sufficient to refer to the history of the law of war, and to mention the nature of superior orders as a mitigating factor when the order is not 'manifestly' illegal. As to the law of peace, reference must be made to the fact that the world of 1969 is not that of the nineteenth century or even of the 1945 United Nations Charter. This will be exemplified by the changing attitude towards colonialism and domestic jurisdiction.

Finally, does law lead or reflect society's morality, and what is the role of civilized law when called upon to deal with unsophisticated peoples?

PERSONALITY AND POLITICS: Theoretical Perspectives, a Preliminary
Empirical Exploration, and a Research Strategy

Susan K. Harvey
Department of Political Science
The University of Alberta

Of theoretical interest to the discipline of political science in recent years has been the suggestion by many scholars that psychological and personality variables be fully integrated with the study of politics and political life. Divergent psychological variables have been offered to explain how and why men become involved in politics, and why some men become more involved than others. Central to the discussion have been notions of the relationship of an individual's estimates of himself to his abilities to participate in political life and to be aware of social and political stimuli, the relationship of dogmatic and authoritarian tendencies to the emergence of a more "democratic" character, and general mental well-being and its relationship to both "power-seeking" and "power-deferential" types of behaviour. These diverse theoretical perspectives have been suggested by political scientists such as Lane, Lasswell, and Bay--- and complimentary as well as contradictory propositions have been advanced to explain the phenomena considered. Partially because of a methodological and definitional problems and partially because of a lack of theoretical integration between research focusing upon the "power-seeking" type as typified by the study of politicians and public actors, and the "power-deferential" type, as typified by the study of authoritarian and dogmatic personalities, advances in the field have been characterized by a certain amount of ambiguity, and non-cohesiveness. This paper attempts to integrate these notions of political and democratic man by discussing at length some of the following questions: What are the psychological predispositions that encourage or prohibit the emergence and development of a more aware, humanitarian, egalitarian and concerned citizen? How is the emergence of the more "democratic" and "politicized" man related to authoritarian and dogmatic outlooks? How is the development of the aware, concerned and humanitarian citizen affected by low estimates of the self? And how are these psychological predispositions related to political action?

The paper continues by exploring empirically the relationships between dogmatic and authoritarian outlooks (as indicators of the submissive, "power-deferential" "personality") and political militancy and interest, in which the individual confronts authoritarian figures and structures (as possible indicators of the "power-seeking" or political personality). Also explored are general mental well-being, anxiety, and self estimates and their relationships to such political behaviour and attitudinal indices as humanitarianism, political efficacy, awareness and interest, and political militancy. These data are based on pre-tests collected under the auspices of a Canada Council Project entitled "Determinants of Citizenship Orientations".

In conclusion, a research strategy is presented which closely follows the model set forth in the newly emergent field of social psychiatry, and an argument is made for the need to know and understand more about psychological orientations and their distributions in the general population. The theoretical strategy is one aimed at a maximal integration of perspectives regarding political man as the "power-deferential" type and political man as the "power-seeking" type. This it is argued, is of the utmost importance, if we are at all interested in understanding the personality characteristics related to democratic outlooks and behaviour, and subsequently the attainment of a more democratic society.

VOTER PERCEPTIONS OF CAMPAIGN STIMULI

Ted G. Harvey
Department of Political Science
University of Alberta

T. G. Harvey

This paper examines several modes of analysis relevant to the understanding of voter responses to campaign stimuli, as interpreted for one sample of voters, in one constituency, during the 1968 Canadian Federal Election. In particular, the paper focuses on the utility of the semantic differential as a technique for assessing voter perceptions of campaign stimuli, and relating such cognitive orientations to the voters' other responses to the election campaign -- such as voting and partisan choice.

Data examined in the paper were collected in extended interviews with 358 voters in the Edmonton Centre Federal Constituency during the weeks immediately preceeding and following the 1968 Federal Election. This interview involved the collection of standard demographic and background data, such as that relating to income and education, and political behaviour data such as that relating to partisan choice, and beliefs about parties and issues. In addition, respondents completed a semantic differential inventory composed of twenty-four campaign-related concepts and seven adjective-pair scales, the concepts being divided among parties, party leaders, local candidates, and issues.

The paper proceeds on two judgments or assumptions: first, that the understanding of voters' cognitive maps of campaign stimuli is an essential element in the explanation of outcomes in individual voter decision-making, and an essential element for the generation of general theories of electoral behaviour; and second, that the types of techniques presently used for assessing such cognitive orientations (open-ended, and other, generally unstructured interview procedures) provide data which are inadequate for the extension of understanding in this area. As a response to this problem, the semantic differential is put forward and tested as a sophisticated tool for describing the structure and direction of voter perceptions, and the implications these might have for voter decision-making. In the paper, differences in the cognitive orientations and outlooks of voters are examined from several perspectives to determine the impact on voter decision-making: from the perspective involved in examining differences in voter perceptions of issues, candidates, parties and party leaders; and from the perspective involved in examining the cognitive mappings of different types of individuals -- such as partisans and independents, voters and non-voters, the alienated and the non-alienated, and the economically advantaged and disadvantaged.

In conclusion, some directions are suggested for the implementation of semantic differential techniques in the study of future elections, and for the integration into broader theories of voting behavior such propositions as have been suggested regarding the cognitive orientations of individuals to campaign stimuli.

H. Jacek

THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

This paper's primary goal is to raise some possible ways a theory of party organizations may be developed in order to understand these organizations in Canada and the United States. No theory is actually developed at this point but relevant variables are specified and their likely relationships are proposed. Data, both previously published and unpublished, are brought in only to suggest some of the internal relationships within a possible theory.

The major hinderance to developing theories of party organizations appears to be the lack of scholarly consensus on the basic dependent variable. Numerous alternatives are rejected including distributions of power, communication patterns and perceived party goals. Role is proposed as the crucial factor and it is defined at two levels, actual behavior and normative definitions of the activists.

If role is our basic dependent variable, what variables need to be examined in order to explain role variations? Socio-economic-demographic characteristics, political socialization, recruitment and incentives seem especially important. First, we need to understand how party activists differ from the population they are drawn with regard to both socio-economic-demographic characteristics and political socialization. In fact, a subtheory will need to be constructed which will predict the type of individuals who will become party activists. Second, a subtheory on the recruitment process will be needed. The elements of this subtheory will include trigger events for both initial participation and recruitment into party offices, the extent to which individuals volunteer for participation and any special life circumstances that facilitate recruitment at a particular time. Finally, incentives for participation must be measured at various stages of participation. All of these variables must then be related to the role of party activist.

H. K. Khanh

THE APPLICATION OF THE UNITED FRONT POLICY IN THE VIETNAMESE ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL EMANCIPATION.

ABSTRACT

The slogan of "unity", perhaps more than any other slogan, has always been emphasized in Communist literature. This emphasis stems directly from the concern of Communist leaders with the problems of alliance and collaboration with other political parties. It is also an indirect result of the fundamental problem of Communist strategic calculations -- the problem of determining who is, at any historical stage, the concrete and immediate principal enemy, and consequently, with whom, and with which socio-political groups, an alliance is to be formed.

Ever since the Third Congress of the Communist International (1921), the United Front policy has become the most important organizational instrument in the Communist strategy to attain power. It has become the central tactical revolutionary guideline -- an expedient measure whereby

the Communist party enters into a temporary alliance with other parties, including potential enemies in order to isolate the concrete and immediate enemy. In its organizational format and contents, the United Front has had three variations: the "united front from below", the "united front from above", and the "national united front". The first aims at weaning away members of other parties, with slogans of workers' unity, while denouncing their leaders. The second ostensibly includes cooperation with both the working masses and their leaders, while aiming at winning a position of influence within the coalition in order to (eventually) undermine the position of authority of other leaders and tear away their followers. In the third, most sophisticated and complicated version, the party becomes a nucleus surrounding itself with several rings or layers of "mass organizations" which it has itself created. These organizations represent the various functional groups within a society. The objective of these mass organizations is to ensure party secrecy, provide the nuclear organization with increasing orders of security and stability, and from which the non-ideological world may be perceived.

The first version of the United Front was most clearly seen in the early 1920's in the competition between the Third Internationals on the one hand, and the Second, and Second-and-a-half Internationals on the other. The height of the second version was seen during the "popular front" period of the late 1930's. The third version can be seen in various stages of communist as well as non-communist revolutionary organizations, e.g., the united front in China, the front organizations of Nazi Germany, and the various united fronts of Vietnam.

The united front policy as applied in Vietnam has had two phases. The first phase, 1925-1941, was a clear attempt to follow blindly the directives of the Comintern. During this period the Indo-Chinese Party implemented both "united front from below" and "united front from above" with varying degrees of failure. From 1941 on with the Viet Minh Front the ICP leadership has applied the "national united front" policy which has been partly responsible for the success of the Vietnamese Communists in leading the anti-imperialist struggle for national emancipation.

Alan KORNBERG

Politics in the Self-Concepts of Canadian Party Officials: Its Development and Consequences.

In a society in which politics have become less passionate and more tolerant -- in which parties are accommodative in their styles and brokerage-like in their functions -- in which government is becoming more and more complex so that the needs for specialists and bureaucrats increase while the opportunities for personal payoffs decrease -- the continued work of party functionaries is something of an anachronism. The political system requires party-like voluntary organizations, but decreases the motivations for the individual participation that sustains the party from election to election. This analysis is intended to shed some light on this phenomenon by focussing on the role of politics in the personal identities of 625 (almost a total enumeration) of the top party officials of Winnipeg and Vancouver. It capitalizes on the fact that whereas politics became almost the total identity of the "precinct-worker, ward-heeler" types in the old-style political machines, its significance in the self-concept of even the high-ranking party official of today is highly variable. Even very high-ranking party officials may rise to the top of the party after very short working careers therein and without total investments of their "selves."

We shall attempt to explain the extent to which the political dimension suffuses the identity of the worker by focussing on the circumstances of families of origin, mediated by the socializing environments they provide. Of particular concern will be the developmental experiences of emerging political awareness, shifting partisan identifications, and fluctuating levels of political interest.

The impact of these factors will be assessed in the context of the individual's current socio-economic status and ongoing career as a party worker. Finally, we shall consider whether the salience of politics in the self-concept may account for differentials in aspirations for high public and/or party office in tolerance for partisan non-orthodoxy, in sense of efficacy in the party role and so forth. To the extent possible, hypotheses (e.g., the closer to the respondent personally and the more affective the experience of first political awareness, the greater the extent to which the self-concept will be depicted in political dimensions and the higher the level of future political aspiration) will be adduced and tested.

Several writers have claimed for American political parties a significant role in raising the social and economic status of successive waves of immigrants into the United States. Such writers have assumed, as was legitimate until the recent growth of the Black Power movement, that ethnic minorities in the U.S. aspire chiefly to their own assimilation into the existing society. Consequently the existing literature on the role of political parties in promoting the interests of ethnic minorities has been limited to considering the parties' contribution to removing ethnic barriers to social mobility.

Such a limitation is unsatisfactory in the Canadian context. The goal of the largest minority in Canada, or rather the goal of those members of it who retain any interest in Canada as a political community, is to avoid assimilation in one sense while achieving it in another. Here we may usefully employ the distinction made by John Porter and others between "behavioural assimilation" or the minority's absorption of the cultural patterns of the majority, and "structural assimilation" or the distribution of the group in the institutional structure and the civic life of the host society. The question arises whether political parties can accelerate a minority's structural assimilation while simultaneously protecting it against behavioural assimilation.

There are four categories of ways in which a government, and hence a political party, may serve the interests of an ethnic minority:

- I by avoiding discrimination against the group in the exercise of administrative powers.
- II by providing services of special interest to areas or groups (eg. persons with low incomes) in which there are heavy concentrations of the ethnic minority, but without providing services to the minority as such.
- III by providing services (eg. education) on a linguistic or confessional basis, i.e. services of exclusive interest to the minority.
- IV by enacting legal or constitutional guarantees of language or religious rights, i.e. by establishing a legal claim to services provided on a linguistic or confessional basis.

These four categories are arranged in order of decreasing effectiveness in promoting structural assimilation, and of increasing effectiveness in protecting against behavioural assimilation.

The following hypotheses are suggested:

1. An ethnic minority, so long as it adheres to a policy of parliamentary action, must avoid provoking political controversy on matters relating to the promotion of its interests.
2. If an ethnic minority concentrates its political resources into a single party, e.g. by bloc voting, it may expect some success in relation to category I (above).
3. This "one-party tactic" incurs some dangers in relation to category II, and is too dangerous to be workable in relation to categories III and IV, because it runs the risk of encouraging rival parties to mobilize the majority against the minority.
4. Thus a single political party may be helpful in promoting structural assimilation, but is most unlikely to be of value in protecting a minority against behavioural assimilation.
5. In order to use political means to set up barriers against behavioural assimilation, a minority must possess enough political resources to constitute an important element in the coalition of interests within each major party.

W. W. Kulski

THE SOVIET REACTION TO THE NEW EASTERN POLICY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

The principal objective of the Soviet foreign policy in Europe is to maintain the status quo in Central Europe (the existence of two German states, the status of West Berlin as a political unit separate from the F.R.G., and the present frontiers). The permanent goal of foreign policy of the F.R.G. is exactly opposite (the unification of Germany, the integration of West Berlin within the F.R.G., and, if possible, the revision of present frontiers). The two policies clash head-on.

The great-coalition government of the F.R.G. inaugurated the so-called New Eastern Policy which aimed at the gradual establishment of diplomatic relations with, insofar as possible, all Eastern-European countries, but except for the G. D. Republic. That policy was to bring about a steady improvement in the relations with the Eastern-European countries and was to convince them that they could trust the F.R.G. Thus, an atmosphere of detente would be created in the hopes that the Eastern-European governments would become more sympathetic to the idea of German unification.

The Soviet reaction was hostile. The Soviet commentators claimed that the New Eastern Policy not only pursued the same objective of revising the present status quo in Central Europe, but also intended to undermine the cohesion of the socialist commonwealth and to isolate the G.D.R. In other words, the Russians feared that that policy would have a disrupting effect on their Eastern-European sphere of influence.

The Soviet intervention and the permanent stationing of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia blocked, for the time being, any further progress of the New Eastern Policy. Neither Czechoslovakia nor any other Eastern-European country may now follow the Rumanian example and establish diplomatic relations with the F.R.G. By the same token, the U.S.S.R. re-asserted itself as the principal factor regarding the German question.

PREAMBLE TO A BEGINNING: A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON A SURVEY
of the STATE OF OFFICIAL PUBLISHING in the CANADIAN PROVINCES

In 1968, concerned by the paucity of formal studies of Canada's provincial political systems, the CPSA sponsored an inquiry into the information re-sources made available to scholars through the publishing activities of the provincial governments. It was hoped that such a survey would assist academics tap currently existing collections of provincial government publications, propose ways in which the flow of information could be improved and begin the task of expanding the study of provincial political systems to the position of significance it should rightfully hold in Canadian political science.

The survey embraced the compilation of a bibliography of bibliographies of provincial government publications and assessed collections of these documents. It also investigated current official perceptions of the role of government in the dissemination of official information, their implications for the political process, and the administrative procedures which inhibit distribution of data. In addition, an attempt was made to identify those Canadian academics who are working in this field.

The final report on the survey is close to completion and contains recommendations for the improvement of administrative procedures in the production, distribution, and acquisition of publications together with the compilation and assessment of the accumulated data. This preliminary report presents some of the highlights of the longer document.

SOCIAL AND THE ONE PARTY SYSTEM IN GHANA
Selwyn Ryan

This paper attempts to analyse the internal organization and ideological evolution of the Convention Peoples Party and its role in the political and economic development of Ghana. It is especially concerned with the attempt to use the party as an instrument for socialist reconstruction. The C.P.P. has already been thoroughly analysed (most perceptively by B. Fitch and M. Oppenheimer, Ghana: End of an Illusion and Jitendra Mohan, "Nkrumah and Nkrumaism", Socialist Register 1967). The various studies we have so far, however, underestimate some essential variables in the Ghanaian situation, which, if better understood, would have altered the conclusions arrived at.

Radical analyses of the C.P.P. lay great stress on its failure to engage the masses and on its excessive reliance on foreign capital and the "bureaucratic bourgeoisie". In Mohan's words "the radical defect in Nkrumah's outlook ... was his conception of the party as the embodiment and custodian of "national unity". Our argument is that the pluralist constraints within which Nkrumah had to operate were real and that he virtually had no alternative but to give primacy to the national question. It does not make much sense to say (as Fitch and Oppenheimer do) that socialism in Ghana failed because it came too late and turned out to be too little. The real opportunities came in 1960 and not 1950. Up to 1960 the tribalist opposition was extremely powerful, even if underground, and any attempt to pursue class based strategies would have united the trader class and bureaucratic party bosses with the lawyer and cocoa broker elements which were associated with the United Party. This in fact began to happen towards the end of the C.P.P. regime. Dealing with this combined opposition would have required an apparatus of coercion and persuasion which even the C.P.P. could not muster. The fear of assassination was also very real and goes a long way towards explaining why Nkrumah virtually abandoned the party and the people in 1962 and placed responsibility for his security in the care of first the army and police and later (when these proved unreliable) in a Soviet trained praetorian guard and his own Nzima tribesmen. The argument that radical class strategies would have provided compensating support from the masses is only theoretically convincing. Austerity programmes are never popular. Disgruntled elements would have had to be detained or allowed to go into exile in neighbouring African countries from where they would have harassed the C.P.P. even more than they actually did. Also, persuading the masses to go along with the policy required two things -- a feeling of national unity and belonging on which one could draw and a core of dedicated and skilled cadres equal to the task of reconstruction. Neither was available. Finally, most Western observers have ignored the role which traditional family relationships and fears of occult practices played in inhibiting the resolve of those on whom the mobilisation strategy would have had to rest.

The aim of this paper is not to rehabilitate Nkrumah, and the C.P.P. but to deepen the analysis of the social constraints within which they had to operate.

LEVEL OF ANALYSIS PROBLEMS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

University of Pennsylvania

Summary:

The fallacy of composition is an ancient problem in political science. Level of analysis problems arise in various ways in every context of political inquiry. Such problems should lend themselves to general formulation. This paper offers some proposals in this regard and includes reference to both theoretical and applied political science. The issue is two-fold. It is firstly one of deciding whether or not to explicitly control for the openness of political system levels when dealing at any given level. It is secondly a matter of comparing systems structured differently by level. The principal assumption is that the political scientist must learn more about dealing simultaneously with multiple system levels in his work. There is no claim of indeterminacy in this respect. There is, however, a caution about a particular form of complexity which poses an internal problem for political science, more so probably than for any other social or physical science.

1. The Problem in General:

- (a) The logic of composition and reduction.
- (b) Some propositions of general systems theory.
- (c) Political science interpretation.

2. The Conceptual Problem:

- (a) Levels of political system - micro definition
- macro definition.
- (b) Defining political macro-systems:-
"How should relationships within and among political systems constitutive of higher level systems be defined so as to characterize the higher level system?"
- (c) Levels of subjective reference:-
"Should we regard differences in the subjective ability to order system levels (as measured in survey research) in a consistent fashion as an indication of a measurement problem or as variation in a system property?"

3. The Analytic Problem:

- (a) Controlling for inter-level influences at a given level.
- (b) Problems in comparing between-level properties across systems.

4. Composition Problems in Theoretical Political Science:

- (a) Integration theory.
- (b) Intervening levels (regional systems).

I. Schiffer et. al.

The Phantasy World of Voters

This paper contains the results of a study of the psychological determinants of voting of a selected sample of the Canadian electorate immediately prior to the federal election in 1965.

An effort was made to interview as representative a sample as possible of approximately 500 voters in the Metropolitan Toronto region. Each respondent was asked to complete a ten-page questionnaire which furnished three sets of information. The first and major portion of the questionnaire was designed to reveal the psychological images which the respondent held of himself, his father, his mother, Messrs Pearson, Diefenbaker, and Douglas, the Liberal, Progressive Conservative, and New Democratic parties, leadership, politics, the "boss" of the respondent's childhood household, and the respondent's wife and children. For each of these elements the respondent was asked to give a rating scaled between 1 and 7 for each of ten sets of adjectival dichotomies. A second group of questions asked additional information, such as how the respondent voted in the federal election of 1963 and how he intended to vote in 1965. An open-ended question solicited the respondent's description of the image of the man he would like to vote for as his leader. Each respondent was asked also to name the boss of his childhood household and its financial controller and to state the party, if any, of the boss. A third set of questions elicited the respondent's socio-economic characteristics re age, sex, residence, education, occupation, income, marital status, ethnic origin, and religious affiliation.

The chief purpose of the study was to ascertain whether or not an individual's unconscious family imagery and identifications influence his voting choice for leadership. To test the hypothesis that they do influence his choice, the psychological portraits of self, parents, family boss, and chosen leader were compared. By the use of a computer a coefficient of similarity was established for each respondent for each of the possible ten imagery interrelationships. To make comparisons easier visually, graphs were constructed to illustrate each respondent's answers to the questions involving polar adjectives. The results indicate that: (a) the hypothesis of the study was corroborated in general, (b) specifically, the imagery and identification of the family boss plays the most significant psychological role in influencing the choice of the leader, (c) and finally, the capacity to form images seems to vary with certain respondents' choice of a leader.

Irvine Schiffer,
Joseph Steiner
Lionel Rubintoff,
Paul Fox.

5. Composition Problems in Applied Political Science:

- (a) Institutional federalism.
- (b) Regional programming.

M. D. Wallace

Power and Importance : The Effect of National Status Inconsistency on International War, 1815 - 1964. (Abstract)

by Michael D. Wallace.

The existence of a hierarchy or "pecking order" of power and privilege amongst the nation-states of the world is a commonplace in the study of international relations. It has also been recognized that this pecking order is not unidimensional - no single attribute, be it size, industrial capability, military power, or diplomatic prestige, is sufficient to account for all national rankings. Based on research linking social status and individual behaviours for national behaviour. Specifically, it has been suggested that this multidimensionality may have consequences for national behaviour. Specifically, it has been hypothesized that if a nation's status or ranking on one dimension is not consistent with its position on other dimensions, that nation will tend to manifest more aggressive behaviour than one with consistent statuses.

The author's purpose is to test this hypothesis using data compiled by the Correlates of War Project at the University of Michigan for the period 1815 - 1964. The two dimensions of hierarchy chosen here are attributed importance (measured by a modified version of the diplomatic status index developed by J. David Singer and Melvin Small) and power potential (measured by a cluster of indicators: total population, urban population, armed forces size, and steel production). Status inconsistency is measured by taking the difference between a nation's rank-position on the attributed importance continuum and the various power potential scales.

Because status inconsistency is a determinate function of two other variables, it is not possible to measure its effect independently over a population of nations. But by interpreting it as a property of the international system, it is possible to test the hypothesis by correlating the level of status inconsistency with the magnitude of interstate war in the international system at various periods of time.

Preliminary results suggest a confirmation of the hypothesis. Three factors seemed to have a strong influence on the results. First, the degree of association was greatly increased by "lagging" the variables so that war was measured ten years after status inconsistency. Second, a higher association was found when military personnel was used as an indicator of power potential. Third, high correlations were only found in populations of nations engaging in a high degree of interaction.

While the tentative character of these findings precludes a definitive causal interpretation, it would appear that status inconsistency in the international system noticeably raises its "war prone-ness" at least where the actors and status dimensions concerned have a high degree of salience to national decision-makers. However, the effect appears to be a very long-term one, suggesting possible further research to explore the intervening variables.

Some Aspects of the Ontario Party System: The Weakness of the Liberal Party and the Theory of Balance

John Wilson and David Hoffman
University of Waterloo York University

The most striking aspect of the Ontario party system is less to be found in the uninterrupted rule of the Conservative Party at Queen's Park since 1943 than in the apparent inability of the provincial Liberal Party to offer a serious alternative.

This weakness is especially puzzling when it is realized that in the same period since the end of the war the federal Liberal Party has generally elected substantially more members of parliament from Ontario than the Conservatives and has as well usually won a greater share of the popular vote in the province.

A number of different explanations have been offered for this phenomenon - but the most common is the notion that the Ontario electorate somehow engages in a uniquely rational activity in casting its vote. It is claimed that Ontario voters recognize the dangers inherent in both the federal and provincial governments being dominated by the same party, and that they therefore deliberately vote in federal and provincial elections in such a way as to ensure that there will always be a balance maintained between the two levels of government.

What explains the weakness of the provincial Liberal Party, in this theory, is quite literally the success of the national Party - and the alleged determination of the Ontario electorate to maintain a balance between Ottawa and Queen's Park which will somehow act as a countervailing force against the growth of government activity generally.

The present paper argues that not only are there sound theoretical reasons for doubting the validity of the balance theory, but that the available electoral data strongly suggest an alternative explanation. Using aggregate results for several recent federal and provincial elections - analysed at the provincial, regional, constituency, and urban census tract levels - it is shown that the Liberal Party's weakness is due more to the failure of federal Liberal supporters to vote in provincial elections than to anything else.

The reasons for this particular pattern of electoral behaviour in Ontario are explored in some detail, and on the basis of this analysis an attempt is made to forecast the likely development of the Ontario party system.