

ABSTRACTS / SOMMAIRES

CANADIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

June 1, 2, 3, 4, 1970

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA, WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

Forty-Second Annual Meeting

les 1, 2, 3, 4, juin, 1970

Quarante-Deuxième Congrès Annuel

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Abstract

It is usually contended that "civil disobedience," properly defined, requires (1) that disobedients be prepared and willing to pay the penalties for their acts of law breaking and (2) that they refrain from the use of force and violence. In accord with this view, which can be thought of as the "standard" conception of civil disobedience, any conduct that violates either of these stipulations is unjustifiable and negates what might otherwise be a valid instance of civil disobedience. Some versions of the standard concept suggest that in times of "justifiable revolution" disobedients are entitled both to avoid the penalty and to employ violence. But these same theories often distinguish sharply between "civil disobedience" and "revolution" and suggest--if only by oversight--that there is no justifiable conduct between them.

This standard view--as least as concerns punishment, violence, and the relationship between civil disobedience and revolution--is extremely oversimplified, not least because of the vagueness of the terms it employs. Civil disobedience (or at least one form of it; I am not convinced that the term can be confined to a single form of behavior) is only one political act along a continuum that extends from dissent to revolution. Other modes of protest included in this series, in ascending order, are forceful disobedience (for which I have appropriated the name "direct action"), not paying the penalty ("resistance"), offensive violence (and/or rioting), rebellion, and revolution. All of these acts must be distinguished from one another as well as from such forms of behavior as conscientious objection and "compensatory law breaking," with which they are often confused. This entire continuum, which I designate "rational protest," has its philosophic roots--and, therefore, its basic justification--in the democratic conception of political obligation and its moral underpinnings as well as in the right of citizens to influence the policies of their governments. So conceived, these forms of protest are acts of social and political "education," the ends of which are change.

In a democracy, persons who resort to rational protest are engaging in justifiable actions and are declaring themselves to be moral agents, which places a burden upon the political system to treat them in correspondingly appropriate manners. Dissidents are entitled to escalate their protest activities when the inherent purposes of legal dissent and (standard) civil disobedience are frustrated, and especially when the political system fails to respond reasonably and fairly to legitimate demands placed upon it. This dual reliance upon social and political education and change in turn entails a commitment to "rationality" and an ethic of "justification" on the part of civil disobedients (or their spokesmen), which means that someone must be capable of and willing to defend and give reasons for their conduct.

An analysis of the reason frequently given in support of the requirements that civil disobedients accept the prescribed penalties and refrain from violence shows that these two conditions are not inherently or logically a part of civil disobedience but are only historically and contingently associated with it; they can, however, be sufficiently defended on practical and political grounds to establish a *prima facie* presumption in their favor. Nonetheless, to the extent that the reasons supporting these conditions can be satisfied in other ways, it is morally justifiable and politically permissible (although undoubtedly still illegal) for protesters to refuse to pay the penalty and to use force and perhaps even violence in pursuit of their ends and as instruments of social and political education. Finally, consideration of the duty to pay the penalty from the perspective of a theory of punishment raises questions about--if it does not seriously weaken--the entitlement of the state to punish persons who violate its laws in conjunction with acts of rational protest.

BEHAVIORALISM PLURALISM CRITICISM

4A

Critics of the behavioral approach to politics and critics of the pluralist model of politics have, in recent years, found the same targets to attack. Skirmishes have taken place on two fronts: on the one hand it is charged that behavioral-pluralism is descriptively inaccurate and on the other it is charged that behavioral-pluralism is theoretically inadequate. Specifically, it is held that activities which do not fit a behavioral framework and groups which do not fit a pluralist framework are ignored; in addition activities which do appear within a behavioral perspective and groups which do appear within a pluralist model are not seen for what they are. The descriptive inaccuracies are, to a considerable extent, the consequence of the erroneous assumption of the reality of a self-equilibrating political system or political process and the lack of a theoretically sound anthropology and theory of politics. Specifically, behavioral-pluralism lacks a theory of political action and an anthropology to sustain such a theory; in addition, behavioral-pluralism lacks and understanding of the theoretical distinction between public and private and, in consequence, fails to come to grips with the hybrid nature of contemporary society and the inability of our political order to achieve justice while maintaining a stupendously productive economy.

While most critics of behavioral-pluralism have tended to focus on the descriptive inaccuracies of the model, it is the thesis of this paper that crucial error lies at the level of anthropology. That is, behavioral-pluralism does not present us with an understanding of man that is sufficiently approximate to human reality; in consequence, we are left with an inadequate understanding of "political man" as well. Or, to say the same thing another way: to the extent that behavioral-pluralist descriptions presuppose a notion of human being, it is not understood by behavioral-pluralists that such presuppositions do not come to grips with basic anthropological realities. Rather than discuss the symbolism that men create to render their existence intelligible, and rather than discuss the experiences which underlie the generation of symbolisms, behavioral-pluralists (and many of their critics as well) focus on the second-order reality provided by conceptual schemes which are uncritically accepted as constitutive of political activities.

A POLITICAL THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

It is a commonplace of contemporary political analysis that the democratic left is caught in an inescapable tension between the need to promote the ends of socialism and the need to achieve political power in order to pursue those ends.

Two comparatively extreme positions may be distinguished in this debate. The dominant argument claims that the achievement of political power must come before everything else, and that the discussion of principles and the development of policies must be entirely subordinated to this end. The opposite argument rejects this position as likely to lead to the abandonment altogether of socialist aims, and instead insists that the principal need is to "make socialists", or to develop a "socialist consciousness", and that this process requires a vast extension of extra-parliamentary activity and, in some cases, the abandonment of electoral politics altogether.

The argument of the paper is that this tension is an unnecessary one which stems not from the requirements of parliamentary democracy (as is usually argued) but from an inadequate theoretical understanding of the aims of socialism and the nature of social change. The lack of theory is evident on both sides of the traditional debate. On the one hand there is a devotion to immediate policies and programme which frequently appears as an acceptance of the permanence of welfare capitalism; on the other hand there is a tendency merely to assert that socialism is necessary without any attempt to explain what that means or how it is to be achieved. The tension continues because the conflict is between the alleged realism of a policy which will be acceptable to the electorate today and the alleged unrealism of "visionary" and "utopian" schemes which the electorate can never be expected to support.

The paper argues that both of these positions suffer through a failure to examine the way in which political change has always occurred. It is asserted that the development of modern capitalism came about as a consequence of the political activity of individuals and groups motivated not by a blueprint of the new society which was to be achieved but rather by the idea that a particular value in human social relationships ought to be the dominant value in society. These "radicals" then sought over the years to remove obstacles to that value becoming dominant in the society in which they lived.

It is argued that by analysis of the kinds of objections which are made to contemporary capitalist society it is possible to determine the kind of value in human social relationships which would be characteristic of a socialist society, and from that to determine what the needs of a contemporary socialist policy are. It is also found that from the notion that any society has a dominant social value it is possible to speculate with some degree of precision about the likely form of the leading institutions of that society without engaging in the allegedly "utopian" process of drawing a blueprint for the future. Equally, the argument which is advanced in the paper as a theory of democratic socialism is found capable of answering most of the traditional attacks upon the socialist idea (such as the argument that equality is impossible because people are not equally endowed, or that "human nature" cannot be changed, or that collective organization will mean the loss of individual initiative).

The paper argues finally that there is no necessary conflict between the aims of socialism and electoral politics and that, indeed, contemporary objections to electoral politics are based on a misconception of the aims of democratic socialism, a lack of understanding of the nature of political power, and a failure to examine the mechanism of the social change most likely to result in the achievement of a socialist society.

Politics and meaning in Shakespeare's King Lear:
towards a dialectical interpretation.

It has often been argued that King Lear is Shakespeare's finest tragedy. Yet the destiny of the tragic hero and the tragic action itself both turn on Lear's inability to understand one or two basic distinctions in life. As there is no indication in the play that he recognises and transcends his error, he remains a shallow hero. Thus the intense suffering that characterises the destiny of Lear hardly makes sense at all. Lacking both the Aristotelian criteria of recognition and turning about, how can the action of King Lear be considered tragic?

In this light King Lear would appear to be a melodrama on a scale whose vastness is supplied by the rage of Lear and amplified by the total collapse of the human order, or the state. It concludes with the absurd and pathetic deaths of both Cordelia and Lear. It is as if King Lear is a presentation of the utter meaninglessness of suffering.

The meaning of the play cannot be found within the terms of its structure. It can, however, be sought dialectically. By this I mean that the reader has to raise his experience of the action within the world of the play to a new level of significance by seeing it from a perspective in which that world appears as relative to the action, and itself only a particular form of experience. In other words, the tragic resolution in King Lear is available only to the reader, but not to anyone within the world of experience represented in the play itself. It is through a dialectic of engagement in and disengagement from the experience and world of the play, that the meaning of King Lear is revealed.

Shakespeare in his method as a playwright has suggested a challenging interpretation of experience, and, in particular, of experience within the political horizon set by the state. It is as if he were asserting that meaning is only available to one who can step outside of the realm of experience, and then discover its significance by imagining it as a complete action within a realm of time and space seen as a whole. It appears then that he offers both the possibility of the discovery of meaning in politics, and at the same time sets a severe limit to its realisation. For, since immersion in time and space is the very condition of our political existence, who can transcend it and see experience in the world as a whole?

In terms of the number of students and courses, International Relations has become one of the more extensive areas of study in Canadian universities. The Symposium on the Introductory Course in I.R. is designed to enquire into the basic approaches, methods and materials used.

Every university in Canada has been canvassed for course outlines, comments and bibliography. As of March 1, approximately 75% have responded. This material will be collated, summarized and made available prior to, or at the Symposium in Winnipeg on June 1.

The Chairman and four panelists will deal with some of the following questions in one-half hour; general discussion will ensue.

CONTENT: Use of theory, to what extent should systemic or behavioral methods be introduced; neutral or policy oriented -- can or should the latter be avoided? How much on international organization? How much Canadian content should be introduced? Is it preferable to base the course on historical or current issues? What are the major issues which should be treated in the introductory course? What are the basic study topics & major issues?

TEACHING TECHNIQUES: In addition to lectures, how can the seminar methods be applied to large classes; exchange of experience on use of graduate students as seminar leaders; are there any new audio-visual techniques to be applied? Are examination techniques adequate? Exchange of experiences in the use of simulation or other innovative methods.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES: Reliance on single text or series of readings; Is there adequate Canadian material available or should we worry about it?

STUDENTS: Does the instructor's conception of the course co-incide with student expectations? How deeply are the students committed to the "realist" conception of man, and does this affect their responsiveness to other conceptions or theoretical approaches? Should policy analysis be encouraged or avoided?

The panelists will consider only those questions that are of particular concern to them. The general discussion will deal with the above or other questions deemed more relevant.

If warranted, the remarks of the panelists, the proceedings, and the materials received from approximately forty instructors of the Introductory Course in I.R. in Canada, will be collated and prepared for publication.

Eurolanticism and Germany:
The Challenge of Multi-Dimensionality
in Vision and Diplomacy

Under the leadership of Chancellor Brandt, the Federal Republic of Germany continues to regard the Eurolantic relationship as necessary to her security in the 1970's. This paper argues that policy dealing with Germany confronts the dual problems of complexity and disorientation. These militate against the classical foreign policy goal of control over instrumentality.

1. The proliferation of factors to be analyzed

Geographically, the multi-dimensional character of the Eurolantic security problem imposes a heavy analytical burden on Western policy-makers. The problem of Germany's future encompasses Atlantic, intra-European, East-West and German aspects. These occur singly and in various combinations. The upshot is skepticism toward the possibility of concerted policy based on "archetectonic" approaches (Kissinger) and pessimism about policy comprehensibility. Hoffmann speaks of a "crisis of complexity."

2. Confusion about vision

Recent discussion about alternative European futures illustrates a problem related to the first: the lack of a common future orientation. Atlanticism has come to mean either the politics of Eurolantic security or the politics of supranationalism. The concept of an "Atlantic Community" shifts the focus of political vision to an abstract plane and disorients the policy-maker from the engagement in Europe's future. Disoriented vision also finds its expression in discussion of the shape of the alliance.

Nato as a Diplomatic Instrument

This paper attempts to illuminate and evaluate Nato's machinery for political consultation and decision making. Because it is a secretive organization, there is little that the outsider can observe directly and he must rely heavily on the impressions of the active participants. My findings are based primarily on more than one hundred, loosely structured interviews conducted in the summer of 1969 with members of the Secretariat and each of the 15 national delegations at Nato headquarters, and with officials in ten of the Nato capitals. The insider's perception -- that the Nato Council and related committees are giving issues of global security their most substantive, sustained international study, and that Nato deliberations comprise a significant input in the policy formation of the member governments, and in East-West negotiations -- is confirmed in part by the level and calibre of the national delegations, and by the testimony of home based officials.

The paper: 1) distinguishes between the issues which are treated seriously in Nato and those which merely receive a formal airing, 2) estimates the relative weight of the military and civilian inputs, 3) evaluates the factors that account for the variations in effectiveness of different delegations, 4) surveys the different expectations, and perceptions of benefit, of the fifteen members, and 5) assesses the impact of Nato deliberations upon national decision making and negotiations with outside governments (especially those within the Warsaw Pact) and the effectiveness of its machinery for contingency planning and crisis management. The general conclusion is that Nato has become a more effective instrument of diplomacy than is popularly believed; that it is especially useful to its smaller members; that its effectiveness in crisis management is uncertain; and that the correlation between military input and influence is positive but varies significantly with the issue.

Title: Canadian Civil-Military Relations and Unification of the Armed Forces

By: R. B. Byers, York University

Background:

In March 1964 the Liberal Government tabled a White Paper on Defence which advocated "the integration of the Armed Forces of Canada" as "the first step toward a single unified defence force for Canada" (established in February 1968). One of the reasons cited by the Government was the need to increase civilian control of the military. With the firing of Admiral Landymore in the summer of 1966 the unification issue became highly politicized, and the Defence Minister stated that civil control was central to the issue.

Purpose:

The purpose of the paper is to analyze civil-military relations from two perspectives: i) the perceptions of federal parliamentarians and senior military officers concerning civil-control as an issue-area, and ii) the political role of senior military officers within the context of unification.

Methodology:

Parliamentary perceptions are drawn from interviews with 34 members of the Standing Committee on National Defence, while military perceptions (and their political activities) are drawn from interviews with 56 senior officers (one star generals and above) who retired in 1965-66.

General findings:

1. Parliamentary opinion on the adequacy of civil control in the post-1945 period was divided. According to the Conservatives it had been strong, while the NDP claimed the opposite. No clear pattern emerged for the Liberals.
2. The parliamentarians polarized on the extent of civil control in 1968 (time of interviews). One group expressed the view that civil control was sufficient, while another group stated that it had to be increased. In contrast to this pattern, nearly all the senior military agreed with the former position.
3. Senior military opinion was divided on the correlation between unification and civil control. Among those who stated that unification would affect civil control, attitudes were divided between those who argued that it would be increased, and those who felt that it would vary depending upon the relationship between the Defence Minister and the Chief of Defence Staff.
4. Generally speaking the political role of the senior military was not as extensive as might have been expected, and there was a reluctance on the part of the majority of the military to become politically involved.
5. Despite the fourth finding, the parliamentarians stated that the opinions expressed by the serving and the retired military had a considerable impact on their attitudes toward unification. For the Liberals the serving military officers were very influential, while for the Conservatives retired military officers were very influential.

ABSTRACT

THE IMPACT OF EDUCATION ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF
DEMOCRATIC ATTITUDES IN GERMANY

BY

William M. Chandler, McMaster University

Interest in the impact of education on political attitudes in Germany has its origin in two distinct areas of research. One is the study of German politics generally with emphasis on the question of democratic participation. The other is on the study of political socialization with focus on the school as a transmitter of political attitudes.

Among students of German politics there is widespread agreement that the future of German democracy depends in large part on the successful development of democratic predispositions among the citizenry. Opinions vary, however, on the extent to which such attitudinal foundations have been or are being established. Central to this debate is the role of the German educational system, which has been the subject of increasing criticism in the last few years. Growing awareness of the failures and inadequacies of the present educational system is evident in the demands for reform at the primary and secondary levels as well as in the universities.

From the point of view of political socialization there is consensus on the importance of education for the political system. The general relationship is asserted since Plato and Aristotle and considerably reinforced by numerous studies of political development.

Formal education is the socialization process most conducive to control by political elites. It is the agent through which the content of socialization can be most effectively manipulated and therefore the one with the greatest potential for resocialization, the changing of dominant values in the society. But even though there is agreement that the school generally has a significant impact on political attitudes, there is little to show exactly how great its influence is. There are numerous issues on which the existing data on educational socialization is simply insufficient to answer in any precise way how decisive educational variables are in the socialization process. This is true in Germany in spite of widespread concern on the part of students, educators and social scientists in that country for the significance of education in developing democratic attitudes.

Using data from surveys of secondary school and university students, this research examines the relationship between specific educational variables such as level of education, type of school and democratic experiences in school to attitudes of democratic commitment and involvement in the political system.

3C

Evolution récente du cabinet présidentiel américain

E. Orban
professeur agrégé
Université de Montréal

Il y a une faiblesse fondamentale permanente, inhérente à l'insertion du cabinet dans le cadre du régime présidentiel. Cette faiblesse est révélée, par la non intégration du cabinet au sein des chambres législatives et par le fait qu'étant non élu le cabinet n'est responsable ni devant le Congrès, ni devant le peuple. Il est ainsi coupé à la base au point de vue politique et réduit à des fonctions consultatives sous la responsabilité directe et exclusive du Président.

On aurait pu cependant s'attendre à voir augmenter son rôle de conseiller d'autant plus que le champ d'activité présidentiel prend de plus en plus d'extension.

A cet égard il n'y a pas de progression parallèle. On a assisté à une vaine tentative d'Eisenhower pour revaloriser le Cabinet, en l'institutionnalisant (création d'un secrétariat de cabinet, périodicité des rencontres, etc.). Mais avec Kennedy on retombe nettement dans le système précédent où l'on voit le Président utiliser le cabinet d'une manière informelle et très parçimonieuse du moins en tant qu'organe collectif.

Contrairement à certaines attentes, Nixon n'a pas hérité des mêmes réflexes qu'Eisenhower à cet égard. Par contre, d'autres organismes consultatifs continuent de se développer tandis que de nouveaux "conseils" sont créés au sein de l'Executive Office. Tout cela, plus les conseillers inorganiques (kitchen cabinet, etc.) pèse d'un poids de plus en plus lourd dans la balance de l'influence aux dépens du cabinet présidentiel.

Cette multiplicité de conseillers organiques et inorganiques fait ressortir la nécessité d'un organe de coordination qui serait présidé par le Président. Mais le cabinet présidentiel s'avère incapable de jouer ce rôle même si à l'époque de Jefferson, on avait cru entrevoir quelque possibilité dans ce domaine. La seule possibilité de valorisation consistait à en faire une équipe de grands technocrates mais là aussi ce fut un échec. Finalement le cabinet n'est plus qu'un simple organe de Conseil parmi beaucoup d'autres et encore, car c'est surtout à titre d'individus, chefs d'un département, que les membres du Cabinet sont consultés. Mais cette dernière attitude n'est-elle pas plus conforme à la lettre de l'article

II de la Constitution?

5C

Toward a Clarification of the Concept of Fascism

- A Case Study of the NPD

by R.J.C. Preece
University of Waterloo

The paper attempts to clarify the traditional left-right continuum of analysis, and in particular attempts to understand the nature of the centre of the spectrum. It is argued that fascism, far from belonging to the radical right, is a phenomenon of the uninstitutionalized centre. It is further shown that some analyses of fascism have failed because they have concentrated on understanding fascism as state rather than as political movement, and other efforts have been fruitless because they have attempted to define rather than categorize. An attempt is then made to demonstrate that fascism is better understood in terms of relative institutionalization than social class. The paper also tries to show that such analyses as those of Popper and Nolte fail because they attempt to understand fascism solely in terms of ideology.

In turning to the case study of the NPD, the paper first compares the social bases of the NPD to those of the Nazi Party and finds them remarkably similar, in terms of class, religion, sex, previous political leanings and rural origins. Secondly, it is considered what elements of the West German culture may make the country susceptible to fascism. This is analysed in terms of verspätete Nation, the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft dichotomy, and a bipolar/multipolar, centripetal/centrifugal model. Thirdly, the immediate causes of the NPD are considered in terms of the economy, especially in terms of relative status, and general anti-system alienation. Finally, the prospects for the NPD are examined in terms of the electoral system, electoral manipulation and socio-economic change.

Abstract: Social Organizational Variables and Court Behaviour
Carl Baar
Canadian-American Studies Center, Michigan State University

To be relevant to students of politics, the newly-developing literature in comparative judicial behaviour must turn from explaining individual behaviour to explaining court behaviour, and must in so doing use social organizational rather than social psychological independent variables. The properties of courts, both as collegial bodies and as institutions in a larger judicial and political system, cannot be fully understood by examining the behaviour of individual judges, and cannot be meaningfully explained by psychological factors of perception and attitude.

To illustrate the proposed approach, data will be presented from a comparative study of judicial activism and restraint in the Supreme Courts of Canada and the United States. The data represent decisional outputs of courts, rather than the votes of individual judges. The activism-restraint variable can then be operationalized as a characteristic of court decisions. Activism is defined in both of its common usages: the overturning of government action, and the overruling of a lower court. As expected, the data show that regardless of which operational definition is used the United States Supreme Court is more active than its Canadian counterpart. However, in both countries the Supreme Court overturns government action more frequently than do lower courts, and both Supreme Courts overturn state or provincial action more frequently than federal action.

The findings relating federalism to judicial activism suggest that the Supreme Courts in both countries function to increase the degree of centralization within the political system. But the proper use of comparative data to analyze the political impact of a national Supreme Court within a federal polity requires clearer definition of what is comparable. Comparing output data of Canadian and American Supreme Courts during a contemporary time period fails to control for the variation in age of the two courts and the two political systems, which may produce changes in the level of judicial activism over time. Thus the hypotheses are retested with output data from the nineteenth-century American Supreme Court, to clarify the extent to which present Canadian-American differences in the level of judicial activism can be related to age as distinct from more commonly-proposed variables of constitutional provisions and institutional arrangements.

The use of social organizational variables to analyze linkages between judicial behaviour and the centralization of power within federal systems is considered in terms of its implications for (1) further comparative research, and (2) the framers of a new Canadian Constitution.

John Meisel
Queen's University

CANADA IN 1965 AND 1968: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF ELECTIONS AS AGENCIES FOR
THE CONVERSIONS OF NEEDS INTO OUTPUTS

Elections have been viewed as performing a variety of functions in the political system: the selection of political decision-makers, political recruitment, the legitimization of regimes and authorities, enabling the public to react to issues and how they are dealt with, giving individuals a sense of participation in the political process, and so on.

There are other functions, of which one in particular is important within the framework of the author's ongoing studies of the Canadian government; a framework which seeks to assess the capacity of the political system to respond to human needs by converting them into wants, demands and ultimately outputs. Elections are seen as important elements in the process through which certain needs become wants and then demands, and through which others remain unarticulated or neglected.

Similarities and differences between the 1965 and 1968 Canadian elections are examined within the above perspective.

National surveys conducted after each of the two elections indicate considerable stability on the part of the electorate with respect to certain attitudes, such as a sense of political efficiency, cynicism, or evaluations of the respective importance of the federal and provincial levels of government. On the other hand, extreme volatility is displayed by the voters in their party identification, their perception of parties and in the importance they attach to the party leader.

An analysis of these and other similarities and differences at two points in time with respect to the behaviour of the electorate as a whole and also of subgroups within it tells us something about the way in which elections influence how needs are perceived and transformed into wants and demands. The perception by the electorate of issues, parties, leaders and candidates is important in this process, as is the general political culture of various groups within the country. The Canadian data examined here are used to speculate about the nature of the systematic biases which affect the way in which liberal democratic systems respond to human needs.

ABSTRACT

THE IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL CANDIDATE IN
DETERMINING VOTING CHOICE

BY

Robert B. Cunningham, McMaster University

Since very little has been written on the role of the local candidate in the Canadian electoral process, it is assumed that scholars in the field consider the local candidate (and subsequently back-bench MP) to be relatively unimportant. Is the MP really so unimportant to the process of government, and particularly, for this study, the electoral process? On the ballot, candidates are identified by name only; no party or party leader is indicated. Therefore, the local candidates must necessarily, in the minds of the voters, be associated with the party, its policies and leader, or the candidate must have his own individual following if the citizen in the voting booth is to make the "correct" choice. Consequently, does not the local candidate perhaps deserve greater consideration in theories of voting behaviour than he has heretofore received?

This paper will analyze the role of the local candidate--as an independent variable by considering his relative influence on determining one's vote, and as a dependent variable in determining the kinds of persons responsive to his appeal. Data are drawn from a sample survey in three Hamilton ridings prior to the 1968 Federal election.

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Ted Genet Harvey
Susan K. Harvey
University of Alberta

This paper focuses upon the following major questions for analysis: What are the major styles of change orientation (both political and social) exhibited by the school children in our sample? How are such change orientations affected by maturation? How are such change orientations predictable from social background and other demographic factors? How are orientations regarding political change interrelated with political attitudes, political psychological orientations, and understanding of the political system?

Data utilized in this study were drawn from questionnaires gathered from approximately four-hundred Separate, Public, and Private school children in the City of Edmonton, Alberta. The study was implemented in April, 1969, and questionnaires were collected in class-room situations. The key variables examined in the paper include: Political change orientations, Social-economic change orientations, Interest in politics, Awareness of government and political party leaders (Federal, Provincial and Local), Sense of Political Efficacy, Sense of Citizen Duty, Political Party preference, Parental political interest and party affiliation, Socio-economic status, Religion, Sex, and grade level. Analytic techniques used in the paper involve the utilization of descriptive statistics and factor analysis.

Finally, the paper examines the broader question: How are change orientations---both political and social---amenable to study in a manner which rejects the position that studies of political socialization must inherently be conservative, system-oriented endeavors.

The Treaty of Paris, signed between Britain and France and ratified by the British Parliament, was the first intergovernmental agreement in Canada's history.

From about 1790 until the 1860's different schemes were devised for uniting the British North American colonies, which, except for their relationships within the British Empire and to a Governor General, were independent one of another. They had no common or central government and legislature.

Each colony, like a separate country, had its own governmental institutions budget, tariffs, economic policies and so on. Each colony had a sense of identity and a provincial spirit which was the consequence of unique local customs, social composition and history.

After winning Responsible Government the colonies each became autonomous of Britain for matters within their jurisdiction and began to have relationships with Britain of a quasi-international character.

Some of the schemes discussed for uniting the colonies had federal while others had confederal characteristics.

There had existed both confederations (under the American Articles of Confederation and in the Southern Confederacy) and federations (the American Constitution since 1789 and in Switzerland after 1848) before and during the Confederation Movement in British North America.

British North Americans repeatedly used federation and confederation interchangeably with the distinction sometimes made between a federation for the Province of Canada alone and confederation meaning the union of all provinces.

When conferences between provincial delegates were held to discuss trade, railways, defence, postal service and so on the relations among the colonies themselves had a quasi-international character while within the British Empire. The Reciprocity Treaty came into force upon ratification of the provincial legislatures. The Confederate Council of Trade met at Quebec in 1865 to discuss inter-colonial trade.

By Quebec Resolution no. 70 "The sanction of the Imperial and Local Parliaments shall be sought for the Union of the Provinces, on principles adopted by the Conference." During the 1865 Confederation Debates the word "treaty" was repeatedly used in attempted explanations of the agreement reached at the Quebec Conference.

Following the London Conference the resolutions adopted there were transformed into statute form and legal sanction for creation of the Dominion was provided by the British Parliament.

When the Fathers of Confederation used the international analogy to understand, discuss, explain, defend and propagate what they were creating, and then set in operation after 1867, they established powerful precedents for conceiving, analysing and describing Canada as having a quasi-international system of constitutional government.

Manitoba's entrance into Confederation in 1870, a Métis achievement, resulted from terms of entry negotiated between delegates of the Provisional Government and the central cabinet. Indian Treaty No. 1 was signed in 1871.

By pursuing the theme of the quasi-international analogy new light can be cast upon these questions. Is Canada a Confederation of peoples (historically between the English and French and subsequently other nationalities), a federal union of provincial governments, or a compact among governments (first between London and the provinces and later among Ottawa and the provincial governments)? Is Canada truly a federation? Is Canada truly a confederation? What have been the relations between the political nation called Canada and the distinctive cultural nations or societies embraced within each provincial border? Is the Canadian system of Constitutional Government and intergovernmental relations an amalgam of the answers to these questions?

If we could first determine, perhaps more accurately than in the past, the nature of the state established in 1867 then we might pursue a deeper understanding of what Canada has become.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELITE CONSENSUS: AN INTERPRETATION OF CANADIAN FEDERALISM

S.J.R. Noel
University of Western Ontario

ABSTRACT

In the literature on Canadian political parties there are various models, either explicit or (more commonly) implicit, which seek to relate parties to the operation of Canadian federalism. This paper examines some of these models, theories or metaphors -- brokerage, systems, functional-structural, etc. -- and the difficulties in applying them

to the analysis of the role of parties in the Canadian context. The concepts of 'elite consensus' and 'consociational democracy' are introduced from the contemporary literature on European comparative politics (particularly as used in the study of bi- or multi-cultural societies). These concepts are incorporated in an elite consensus model which, it is suggested, in spite of certain difficulties, might be usefully employed in the study of Canadian parties and federalism.

9D

Ballot Behaviour in a National Convention

by

Lawrence LeDuc, Jr.
University of Windsor

The national party conventions of 1967 and 1968 provided political scientists in Canada with a rare opportunity for empirical study of an important, yet little researched, area of Canadian political life. As the process of selecting national party leaders has gradually passed from the parliamentary caucus into the hands of a "grass roots" convention, the system of representation has also kept pace with demands for a greater role in the process for the constituencies and affiliated organizations within the two major parties. It had been true in the past that broader representation, particularly from the constituency organizations, did not necessarily imply greater freedom from leadership dominance of the entire process. The more recent experience with national party conventions suggests, however, that the parliamentary leadership is no longer capable or desirous of such dominance. This trend, coupled with the pattern of broader representation, might in summary be called the "democratization" of national conventions. This evolutionary development has made the national party convention a more meaningful part of the political system and, as such, a more rewarding subject for empirical study.

Since conventions in Canada employ the individual secret ballot, little can be learned of their internal politics save by employing the techniques which have proven successful in studies of legislative and electoral behaviour. The data to be presented in this paper were gathered from the responses of a stratified random sample of 500 Liberal delegates to a mail questionnaire sent out immediately following the close of the 1968 convention. The goal of the research was to test certain hypotheses of historical and journalistic origin about the politics of a national party convention, particularly those involving voting strategies, bloc voting, and leadership influence. The paper also attempts to explore delegate attitudes toward party leadership, and to present information on other discernible patterns in the voting, particularly those involving regionalism and representation.

Since the paper presents what is essentially a "case study", the data can provide only the most carefully limited theoretical basis for generalization to the greater "universe" of national party conventions in Canada. In several **important respects**, the 1968 Liberal convention was atypical of those which have gone before. It is nevertheless clear that the long term trend of leadership selection in Canada is away from control by the caucus and in the direction of **full** participation by a body which is, in some sense, a microcosm of Canadian political life. Thus the study presented here should properly be viewed as a part of a cumulative and continuing investigation of Canadian political parties and their function in the political system.

1E

Party Choice in Ontario Elections

From the point at which political scientists first realized that a full explanation of voters' choices involved more than pure rationality, electoral research has endeavoured to bring to bear on the problem as many variables as generality could demand and parsimony permit. In Canada, parsimony seems to have been the more significant concern. Voting behaviour studies have most often sought to specify the one or two variables having the greatest predictive power in the context of a single constituency; broader explanations have sometimes wanted for evidence to support their contentions. Where evidence is available, a multivariate model would seem to offer greater potential for explanation than some of the less complex techniques that have been used in the past.

This paper is an attempt to evaluate the usefulness of certain multivariate models in the study of Canadian voting behaviour by testing them with data collected in Canada's most populous province. A recent sample survey of the Ontario electorate (directed by Professors Hoffman and Schindeler of York University) provides information on the party identification and voting behaviour of some 1600 voters. In the same interview, information was elicited concerning the reference groups, social categories, opinions and beliefs of the respondents. An attempt has been made to combine a number of the variables Canadian research indicates are of substantial predictive value in a model designed to reflect causal sequences similar to those suggested in American research of the past ten or fifteen years (e.g., the Campbell-Converse "funnel of causality" and the causal models developed by Arthur Goldberg).

The worth of causal models may be evaluated in terms of the extent to which they improve on the bivariate cross-classification table as an aid to explaining variation in the dependent variable--whether it be party identification or a particular vote. Preliminary indications are that causal models based on product-moment correlations or regression slopes do not add significantly to our ability to explain electoral choice. It appears that one of the difficulties in applying such models to the Ontario electorate may be the existence of interaction effects and the possibility of curvilinear relationships. The particular research reported here may also suffer from problems in measurement and operationalization of some of the more important variables.

Robert J. Drummond

January 27, 1970.

by

Lawrence LeDuc, Jr.
University of Windsor

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Since the paper presents what is essentially a "case study", the data can provide only the most carefully limited theoretical basis for generalization to the greater "universe" of national party conventions in Canada. In several **important respects**, the 1968 Liberal convention was atypical of those which have gone before. It is nevertheless clear that the long term trend of leadership selection in Canada is away from control by the caucus and in the direction of **full** participation by a body which is, in some sense, a microcosm of Canadian political life. Thus the study presented here should properly be viewed as a part of a cumulative and continuing investigation of Canadian political parties and their function in the political system.

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Robert J. Drummond

January 27, 1970.

Outline for CFSA Conference paper, June, 1970

T. Peterson
University of Manitoba

A. Introduction

- 1. Class and regional pattern
- 2. Changing political alignment.

B. Traditional Features

- 1. Non-partisanship
- 2. Leader styles.
- 3. Ethnic role
- 4. Radicalism

C. 1969 Election

- 1. 3 leadership conventions
- 2. Weir gov't in 1968; Feb. '69 comeback
- 3. Redistribution effects
- 4. Timing of the election
- 5. Organization; advertising
- 6. Local candidates
- 7. Issues
- 8. Leaders
- 9. Media
- 10. Result

D. Vote Analysis

- 1. Class and ethnic identification
- 2. Overall distribution
- 3. Selected ridings
- 4. Signs of polarization
- 5. Brokerage vs class politics

E. Conclusion

- 1. 1969 a "critical"elec?
- 2. Prospect for Schreyer gov't.

* Probable length in typescript pages.

Note: This is not an abstract of the argument - that class polarization is overriding ethnic alignments in Manitoba - because qualifications and the effects of other factors need further appraisal. I hope this is a sufficient guide.

Abstract: J.E. Surich University of Waterloo

The Middlesex South By-election

Middlesex South is an Ontario provincial constituency which is made up of about one-third predominantly working class people living in the east end of the City of London, while the rest is a combination of farmers, small towns, and industrial workers living in the country. After having been held by the Conservatives since 1943, the riding was won by the New Democratic Party in a September 1969 by-election.

We are particularly interested in the changes that adults undergo before they will switch their vote to a political party which differs from their traditional affiliation on an ideological basis.

The process of political socialization involves the learning of politically relevant social patterns according to societal positions. When a change occurs in the status or class (societal position) of an individual, then discontinuities are introduced which will lead to a demand for extensive re-learning. Hence, we have the process of adult re-socialization.

At the same time, it is often not necessary that an individual have undergone a change in his attitude structure before he is able to switch his vote. In such cases, the act of voting itself, in that it is discontinuous to previous actions, may act as a stimulant to eventual change of a fundamental nature.

One group of people in Middlesex South who have been affected in this way are farmers who have stopped farming and have taken industrial jobs in the city. They were exposed to new ideas and values as a result of this change in occupation and life-style. The drastic change in occupation here acts as a discontinuity.

Similarly, the movement of an urban worker into a politically active job situation in which the people around him hold political ideas foreign to his previous learning and talk about them to him, will act as a discontinuity. Again, the individual learns new patterns of thought which are politically relevant.

The data used in the paper was collected in a survey taken of a random sample of 2.5% of the total voting population of the riding. About 70% of this group were in the end interviewed.

Des raisons profondes d'ordre géographique, économique et politique expliquent l'existence d'une tradition séculaire de conflits et de rivalités aussi bien que d'échanges et de coopération entre les deux provinces les plus riches et les plus peuplées du Canada. Le Québec et l'Ontario peuvent exercer une influence considérable sur l'évolution du fédéralisme canadien comme en témoigne notre histoire depuis la Confédération.

La conjoncture économique exceptionnelle des années '30 qui bouleverse l'équilibre instable sur lequel repose le fédéralisme canadien et l'arrivé au pouvoir de nouveaux hommes politiques comme Mitchell Hepburn et Humeau, grâce à la crise économique et à la magie de son éloquence, Mitchell Hepburn devient à 37 ans le plus jeune premier ministre de l'Ontario. Il a promis de sortir sa province du marasme économique et pour ce faire, il pose des gestes spectaculaires et pas toujours orthodoxes, qui lui vaudront l'épithète de radical.

Le jeune premier ministre Hepburn se convainc que la présence à Ottawa d'un gouvernement dirigé par Mackenzie King est indispensable pour ramener la prospérité au pays et l'harmonie dans les relations fédérales-provinciales. En 1935, il s'engage avec fougue dans l'arène fédérale et contribue puissamment à la victoire des libéraux fédéraux. Le rêve d'une collaboration étroite, directe et amicale entre King et Hepburn s'évaporerait rapidement. Le conflit de personnalités et d'intérêts qui opposera les deux chefs du parti libéral dégènera en un combat féroce et paralysera, dans une certaine mesure, l'action du gouvernement central et des gouvernements provinciaux.

Les rapports Québec-Ontario se détérioreront de 1934 à 1936, en particulier, lorsque Hepburn résiliera les contrats de l'Hydro-Ontario avec quatre compagnies québécoises d'électricité. Hepburn, en qui on voyait un réformiste et un ami des Franco-Ontariens, jouissait d'une étonnante popularité au Québec, malgré ses démêlés avec le premier ministre Taschereau.

Duplessis qui n'avait aucune attache avec le parti libéral fédéral et qui, à plusieurs points de vue, ressemblait à Hepburn, deviendra très rapidement un ami et un loyal collaborateur du premier ministre ontarien. De 1936 à 1939, Mitch et Maurice, comme on les appelait, coopéreront si étroitement dans le développement de leur politique interne et de leur stratégie face à Ottawa qu'on parlera, à juste titre, d'une alliance Duplessis-Hepburn. L'autonomie provinciale deviendra peu à peu le cheval de bataille des deux chefs provinciaux. Leur opposition farouche est concertée à la Commission Rowell-Sirois suscitera l'ire du gouvernement fédéral, de plusieurs dirigeants provinciaux et d'une certaine élite anglo-canadienne qui les accuseront de conspirer contre l'unité nationale et de mettre la Confédération en péril.

A la fin de 1938, l'antagonisme entre "l'AXE" Duplessis-Hepburn et le gouvernement central atteint son paroxysme. Les libéraux mettent au point une stratégie pour briser, à tout prix, cette alliance. Leurs calculs seront déjoués par la transformation dramatique de la conjoncture internationale qui leur permettra d'atteindre leur but d'une manière imprévue. En effet, la guerre et l'attitude impérialiste de Hepburn provoqueront une rupture de l'alliance entre les deux premiers ministres, qui pendant trois ans avaient tenu en échec les "manoeuvres centralisatrices" d'Ottawa.

5E

Abstract

Federal - Provincial Integration in Ontario Party Organizations: The Influence of Recruitment Patterns

Henry Jacek (McMaster), John McDonough (Queens), Ronald Shimizu (McMaster) and Patrick Smith (McMaster)

Prepared for delivery at the 1970 Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Winnipeg, June 1-4, 1970.

This paper deals with the amount of federal - provincial integration, as indicated by interest and activity in elections at these two levels, in Ontario party organizations. The amount of integration present is at least partially explained by variables associated with the recruitment process. These factors include occupation, ethnicity, incentives and trigger events for participation and degree of cooptation.

The data is based on interviews with members of the executive committees of constituency associations in Hamilton, Ontario. The interviews were fairly extensive usually lasting at least an hour and often much longer. Party officials gave excellent cooperation and thus, about 90 per cent of the population of executive members were interviewed.

It is clear that the NDP has the most integrated party organization. Specialization of activity by level of government is low and candidate recruitment activities are not usually different at each level of government. The Progressive Conservatives, on the other hand, are the most differentiated party and candidate recruitment for federal office is usually difficult. The Liberals have varying amounts of integration and provincially they sometimes have problems in recruiting candidates.

Incentives for participation appears most useful in understanding these integration patterns. The ideological orientation of NDP activists seems primarily responsible for its high integration. Although material and ideological motivations are sometimes present among Tory partisans, the dominant friendship motivations seem most responsible for the differentiation in their party organization. Finally, the relative strength of material, social and ideological elements are strongly associated with the degree of integration among the Liberals.

In examining the process of recruitment, it appears that volunteerism among activists leads to diffuse activity patterns while cooptation seems to be a force for specialization. Thus, the highly integrated NDP is primarily a volunteeristic organization, a pattern supported by the content of the party's ideology. The two major parties, in contrast, are marked by cooptation in the recruitment process. These relationships appear to be strengthened and confirmed when the specific trigger events for participation are analyzed. The NDP activists are partially triggered by the desire to further some ideological tenet while Tories and Liberals are most usually brought into politics through the request of or attraction to a party official or candidate.

5E

"Recruitment and Attitudes of Saskatchewan M.L.A.s" (abstract)

David E. Smith (University of Saskatchewan)

The subject of this paper is the Liberal and N.D.P. members of the sixteenth Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan elected in October, 1967. Based on a series of interviews with 54 of the province's 59 M.L.A.s and applying some of the methods of Wahlke, Eulau, Buchanan, and Ferguson in The Legislative System, the study analyzes the Saskatchewan M.L.A.s in terms of their socio-economic backgrounds, previous political experience, political motivations, ideological orientations and constituency and party relationships.

In addition the paper will attempt to evaluate the significance of the above findings for Saskatchewan politics by relating them to the 1969 session of the Legislature. In that particular session several subjects occasioned heated partisan debate, one of the foremost being the Government's Estates Tax Rebate Bill. The paper will analyze backbench (Liberal and N.D.P.) responses to this measure.

To date the study of Saskatchewan politics has concentrated almost completely upon the N.D.P. party or its predecessor, the C.C.F. It is one of the purposes of this paper to examine the operation of the two party system in the province. It is believed that from the perspective of the individual member of the Legislature important aspects of the political system will be revealed.

INTEREST GROUPS & DEPARTMENTS IN ALBERTA

The paper is a study of the personal activities, or lobbying, of interest groups to affect major decisions on a policy of selected departments of the government of Alberta within the context of the wider political and governmental system affecting the departments. The study was conducted by the author and graduate students in a seminar on interest groups through interviews with the ministers and deputy ministers of the departments of Public Health, Education, Agriculture, Labour, Municipal Affairs and Highways and with the officers of groups. There is the usual heavy reliance of such an inquiry on leaders for how things are.

The study follows particularly from the theories of power or influence and its dependencies of Dahl, Sorokin, Parsons and Shils, Snyder, Eckstein, and Beer and Ulam, and from the descriptions of the activities of groups in Canada and Britain of Taylor, Helen Dawson, Beer, S. E. Finer, Potter, Stewart, and Eckstein. "Interest groups" are defined as formally organized largely non-governmental and non-party persons with a goal of governmental policy, except for local governmental organizations which are also regarded as groups; and no distinction is made between "interest" and "pressure" groups. "Power" and "influence" are defined, without distinction, in Dahl's terms and are seen as dependent upon such complex variables as the number of persons active together, the amount of their activity, the amount of their means or resources, their mode of influence, their forms or channels of activity, their opponents' power, the state of existing governmental policy, the decision-making process or the division of power in government, and the supply of objects of interest. "Mode of influence" is defined in terms of the physical and mental ways by which one person can affect the thought and action of another. "Decision-making process" is defined as the encountering of a problem and its resolution through the consideration of fact and value, employing cognitive, ethical, and esthetic standards.

All of the departments except Labour and Municipal Affairs were said to be frequently and importantly independently active through their own planning. Ordinary members of the legislature were said to influence the departments infrequently and unimportantly, but also, in a few cases, importantly. They both initiated problems for the departments and were consulted in their resolution. All of the departments were influenced, with Highways and Municipal Affairs being influenced more frequently than the others, and Labour less frequently. Of course the members also modified, rejected or approved the departments' and government's decisions in majority caucus or in session. Few interest groups tried to influence the members and they did so only infrequently. More of the groups around Highways and Municipal Affairs did so than the groups around other departments, and more groups which were dissatisfied with departmental decisions did so than groups which were satisfied. The cabinet as a whole was said to influence the departments infrequently but importantly, in initiating problems or in being consulted in their resolution. Labour, Municipal Affairs, and Highways were influenced less than the others. Like the members of the legislature, the cabinet modified, rejected, or approved the departments' decisions, trying to control them if it did not direct them. All of the groups went first to the cabinet, with briefs, before they went to the departments; and a few dissatisfied groups returned to the cabinet to appeal, but with little or no success.

Political parties were said not to have influenced the departments directly but nothing was said, and great ignorance was expressed, about their indirect influence through the legislature or cabinet. "Public opinion" as "expressed in the media" was said to influence the departments only infrequently and unimportantly. Two departments, Highways and Agriculture, frequently consulted "local opinion" in meetings about proposed policy, but with little result. Editorial writers and others of the media were also said to influence the departments infrequently and unimportantly, with Labour and Municipal Affairs being the least influenced. Only a few groups dissatisfied with departmental decisions, went to the media. "Persons of acknowledged influence in public affairs such as leaders in business and the

professions" who went to departments on their own initiative and authority--"social elites" trying to exert influence--again influenced them infrequently and unimportantly. Such persons were consulted in the resolution of problems, many of them technical, more than they were heard raising problems.

The departments of other provinces, and in particular of western provinces and Ontario, were seen as most frequent and important influences upon all departments, both through raising of problems and being consulted in their solution. The departments of the National government were seen as infrequent but increasing and important influences upon all departments, except Municipal Affairs. Labour and Agriculture may have been influenced longer and more importantly than others. International organizations have influenced Labour and Agriculture, occasionally and importantly.

The departments sought out groups in their processes of making decisions, except for Labour and Municipal Affairs, which relied on groups' coming to them. All heard from groups through the cabinet, but they differed very much in formal departmental means for hearing groups. Some used advisory committees but differed very much in their stress on them; some used boards of group representatives; some used hearings; and some used conferences. All departments used a full range of informal means including, most importantly, intimate, continuous, ad hoc personal contacts. Labour and Municipal Affairs appear however to have had less intimate and continuous contacts than the others. Nearly all of the groups used their own members to work with the departments, though a few used solicitors. Contacts began early in the decision-making process and continued to the end, however far it might go in the governmental process. For example, departments consulted with groups about amendments that were proposed in the legislature. Groups put forward every element that might go into a decision, from mere information to a detailed proposal, and they used every mode of influence, except the threat and use of physical force. Nearly all groups attempted to influence departments through their friendliness, but some of the groups around Labour and Municipal Affairs had not established a friendliness with them. All of the groups were satisfied with their contacts with the departments except for the groups around Municipal Affairs and for two groups around Health. Groups were most satisfied with final departmental decisions, including groups which were dissatisfied with their contacts. Some of the few groups who had some dissatisfaction with final decisions were still satisfied with their contacts: they believed their means were good if the end was not always so.

The view that emerges then is one of departments working frequently and importantly with their groups, to their mutual satisfaction, and with the departments of other provinces and the National government, very freely of legislative and executive influence, and quite freely of the influence of many other elements of the political system.

The paper will end with the preliminaries of a moral judgment of these supposed facts from the author's commitment to effective, constitutional, democratic, progressive, and liberal government in the achievement of the greatest, equal public happiness.

N. S. UNION OF MUNICIPALITIES AS A PRESSURE GROUP

This paper is an attempt to examine and assess the effectiveness of the Nova Scotia Union of Municipalities as a pressure group on the Provincial Government. This organization was established in 1906 at the behest of the Canadian Municipal Union to promote and further the goals of municipal life. The next sixty years of this organization's growth and development has been selected for this study.

The study will be basically concerned with the examination of the development of the Union in the light of several criteria. One of these criteria will be the goals that the Union chose to adopt for itself. There were several goals, such as an information clearance house, and so on, but the one that came to have the greatest impact was the adoption of the Union as a body to protect the members from arbitrary interference in municipal life by the Provincial Government. The Union realized that if it were to be of major benefit to its members it would have to establish a favourable relationship with the government. One theme of the paper will be to evaluate the relationship between the goals of the Union and the consequences of these goals one for another.

Another aspect of the paper will be to examine the methods that the Union used to try and implement its goals. This is one of the most interesting features of the Union's development in that it is the view of the writer that the methods used to promote one of the goals of the Union had the effect of limiting the ability of the body to try and implement its other goals. The Union became a link between its members and the government and to maintain its membership and its access to the government it tried to be of service to both and hence became rather limited in adopting any measure which would destroy this linkage and hence its effectiveness, in its own eyes. The paper will try and make a distinction between actions of the Union which are favorable to change and those which are opposed to change in an effort to show the conflicts between some of the goals and methods of the Union.

Finally, the paper will attempt to assess the effectiveness of the Union as a pressure group. This will try and evaluate the Union's performance in light of the nature of the government, its membership and the political situation in which it finds itself, and the structure and environment in which local government operates. As well, an attempt will be made to relate the features of the Nova Scotia situation to similar experiences elsewhere and to compare various aspects of other studies in this area.

CPSA ANNUAL MEETING, Winnipeg, 1970
POLITICS IN THE TYNESIDE AND KITCHENER-WATERLOO CONURBATIONS

Professor Henry Parris, University of Waterloo. To be presented at 9:00 a.m., Tuesday, 2 June 1970.

1. The theoretical basis of these studies derives largely from American sources; e.g. the works of Hunter, Dahl, Agger and Presthus.
2. They differ from much previous urban research in the areas chosen for study. Relatively small and isolated communities have often been selected. But the characteristic habitat of modern Western man is the large conurbation consisting of a number of local authorities lying cheek by jowl with one another. Tyneside in England, and Kitchener-Waterloo in Ontario, are typical of such conglomerations.
3. Such conurbations are socio-economic entities which transcend the existing political and administrative structure. Should the small local units nevertheless be preserved: e.g. on the grounds that they foster grass-roots participation in the process of government? Or should they be amalgamated in the interests of greater efficiency? These problems have been investigated by parallel surveys of a sample of the population at large, and a sample of local leaders.
4. A number of case-studies have also been carried out to see whether the administrative structure has thwarted attempts to solve urgent conurbation-wide problems: e.g. airport development and the improvement of public transport.

HWP/sf
4/2/70

ABSTRACT

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF
URBAN POLICY-MAKING IN CANADA

The paper begins with an evaluation of the present state of research and theory on urban policy-making in Canada. It discusses a number of alternative possibilities for the analysis of policy-making. These include the Thomas Dye "political economy" approach, the Williams-Adrian comparative approach, the Kaplan "structural-functional" approach, and a number of "community power" approaches.

The problems associated with the creation of a comprehensive policy-making model are discussed. Such a model is proposed as a means of organizing various kinds of research efforts and approaches. A number of empirical results of its application to the study of policy-making for Canadian cities are presented. Further directions for research indicated by the model and its shortcomings are offered.

Finally, the question of how the study of urban policy-making relates to the change of the processes themselves is raised. The concept of "policy analysis" is introduced and evaluated. Implications for the development of education in urban management, for urban democratization, and for the development of "urban indicators" and other tools are assessed.

5 F

ABSTRACT

The Structure of Local Governments and Municipal
Policies: A Cross-National Comparison

Guenther F. Schaefer
State University of New York at Binghamton

Studies in the U.S. (Cresine, Dye, Hofferbert, Sharkansky) have demonstrated that variation in state and municipal expenditures can be explained by variations in socio-economic conditions and that political factors, such as structure of government and party competition, seem to have little or no impact on the level of spending. This paper tries to show that differences in the structure of local governments and differences in the degree to which they are dependent on national and sub-national governments will significantly affect municipal spending. Moreover, by including municipal taxing and other forms of revenue extraction (grants, subsidies, borrowing) as relevant aspects of municipal fiscal policy a more accurate description of the relationship between local governmental structure and policy should be possible.

In addition to the standard measure of socio-economic conditions (population, education, employment, housing, etc.) the following variables will be employed in the analysis:

- A. Governmental structure: type of local government, distribution of authority between various local governmental institutions, and their executive and legislative stability.
- B. Local autonomy will be measured in terms of independence in fiscal matters, administration and policy making.
- C. Fiscal policy will be measured in terms of level, type and distribution of expenditures and revenue extraction.

The analysis is based on data from a sample of cities of various size (varying from 20,000-500,000) in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland and covers the time period 1958-1968.

THE ENTRY OF THE NATIONAL PARTIES INTO MUNICIPAL POLITICS:

THE TORONTO ELECTION OF 1969

The effect of the national parties' entry into municipal politics has long been the subject for academic speculation. Harold Kaplan has hypothesized that the impact of the parties on municipal elections would be a rise in the quality of candidates, a greater concern for policies rather than personalities in the campaign and a more meaningful electoral decision for the voter. The partial participation of the Liberal and NDP in Toronto's municipal election this fall provides the first chance to observe the actual consequences of organized party politics in a city political system. The workshop will have three papers, one written by a participant-observer, the second based on ballot behaviour and the third drawn from survey research.

1. Stephen Clarkson (Toronto) will assess the impact of the Liberal party's campaign on the election. The lack of previous municipal electoral experience, the resulting improvisation of organizational and financial arrangement and other internal problems of the party had a strong effect on the campaign. In addition the distinct nature of the municipal political system made conditions for party campaigning particularly difficult. The paper will assess in conclusion whether the campaign may have done more in the short run to transform the Liberal party than to reform city politics.

2. Michael Goldrick (York) and Terry Fowler (Glendon) will analyze the consistency of partisan and non-partisan voting patterns from a sample of ballots cast in 33 polls in the city of Toronto. These results will be cross-tabulated with standard socio-economic status characteristics of the particular polling divisions.

3. Jerry Hough (Toronto) will examine voting preference for candidates in relationship to national party identification, individual socio-economic characteristics and issue orientations on the basis of interviews conducted with a large sample in three central city wards.

"Social Science Research in the USSR"

By

B. Michael Frolic
York University, Toronto

This paper examines one aspect of the development of social science research in the USSR---the utilization of survey research techniques in the study of Soviet urban problems. These techniques are still primitive but are in the process of being refined and introduced on a larger scale.

Recently published Soviet materials and interviews with Soviet social scientists in 1969 provide concrete examples of these trends in Soviet survey research. From them we can derive a great deal of information about Soviet life, particularly about Soviet man's relationship to the urban environment. Survey research can provide us with valuable data on occupational and social structure, value orientations, social mobility and individual behaviour patterns.

The development of survey research techniques in the study of Soviet urban problems poses at least two policy consequences which must be resolved by the Communist Party in the near future. First, what kind of a social science will be permitted to exist in the USSR, given the empiricist tendencies inherent in the concept of a social science, and given the necessity of maintaining normative, marxist values? What kinds of questions will Soviet social scientists be permitted to ask? How much can they borrow from western social scientists? Second, to what extent can existing policies be discredited and changed because of the results of social science research? Will policy makers rely more upon the findings of survey researchers prior to the making of new policies?

Les particularités des formes fédératives de l'URSS

(Résumé provisoire de communication à
présenter au Congrès de 1970 de ACSP à Winnipeg)

I. Position du problème, hypothèses

1. Une typologie des fédéralismes valable pour tous n'existe guère. Bien des formes de fédéralisme sont concevables.
2. Peut-on même parler de fédéralisme à propos de l'expérience de l'URSS? Y a-t-il un modèle et une théorie sui generis soviétique du fédéralisme? Y a-t-il une technique fédérative particulière de l'URSS? Le fédéralisme est-il compatible avec l'idéal du socialisme, ou est-il plutôt sa négation? Un fédéralisme est-il réalisable dans le contexte de la réalité politico-économique de l'URSS? Les formes fédératives qui comportent des éléments économiques spécifiques à la fois fédératifs-confédératifs et interdépendants, autonomes-indépendants et unitaires, décentralistes et centralistes, sont-elles toujours de nature fédérative?

II. Méthode

1. La difficulté d'évaluer les aspects typologiques et fonctionnels du fédéralisme soviétique consiste en ce que celui-ci est fondé sur deux principes apparemment contradictoires antinomiques: 1) sur une forte centralisation de fait de l'infrastructure économique et politique 2) sur les normes juridiques disposant une décentralisation structurelle-institutionnelle et fonctionnelle fondée sur le principe de nationalité. Le deuxième principe est subordonné au premier et lui est supérieur.
Il est méthodiquement inconcevable de pouvoir "neutraliser" le concept du fédéralisme soviétique sui generis de son contexte doctrinal et politico-technique particulier lui aussi.
2. Au lieu d'étudier le fédéralisme soviétique en termes de possibilité ou de compatibilité avec l'idée de socialisme, il semble méthodiquement plus valable de l'évaluer en termes de la nécessité politico-historique.

III. Conclusions probables

1. Les formes fédératives de l'URSS sont à peine comparables à celles d'un fédéralisme "authentique" expérimenté par certains systèmes politiques "occidentaux".
2. La théorie et la technique politique du fédéralisme soviétique sont causalement liées à l'idée d'un Etat socialiste multinational.
3. Le volume et le caractère des pouvoirs (et des compétences) et des moyens du fédéral, la conception de base de l'Etat fédéral, le type de fédéralisme concrètement réalisé, et plus spécialement le degré de centralisation (et des concentrations) des fonctions économiques, sociales, politiques, culturelles et autres, ainsi que les rapports réels entre le fédéral et les républiques fédérées, montrent effectivement que le fédéralisme soviétique a pris des formes très particulières qui font que celui-ci doit être qualifié de néo-fédéralisme sui generis.

THE TRAINING OF LEADERSHIP CADRES IN

THE SOVIET UNION

Abstract

The problem with which this paper is concerned has to do with the functions of recruitment and socialization in the Soviet political system. As the USSR becomes more industrialized, it is common for Western scholars to theorize about the changes that this transformation is effecting in that country's social and political life. Among these theories are the ones having to do with the development of political pluralism in the Soviet Union. A major obstacle to the development of political pluralism in the USSR, however, is the Communist Party's monopoly on leadership recruitment. This includes a monopoly on the training of political leaders. In order to characterize properly the nature of political change in the Soviet Union--be that change to pluralism or to something else--it becomes necessary to examine among other things the system of training leaders and decision-makers. To ascertain whether and how the leadership training system has been changing--involuntarily or by intent--in response to the country's social-industrial transformation in the post-Stalin era is the aim of this paper. Ultimately, an attempt will be made to answer the question of how these changes affect the political system.

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Jacques Lévesque
Université du Québec

Developments in Three Dissident Countries of Eastern Europe:

Yugoslavia, Roumania, Czechoslovakia

Propositions pour une approche problématique commune pour le panel sur les développements politiques intérieurs et extérieurs de trois pays dissidents de l'Europe de l'Est: la Yougoslavie, la Roumanie, la Tchécoslovaquie.

Les problèmes suivants pourraient être successivement abordés dans la discussion de chaque cas :

- 1- Le rôle du Parti dans la société
- 2- La démocratisation des structures du Parti et de l'Etat
- 3- Les réformes dans la gestion économique
- 4- La question des nationalités
- 5- Les relations extérieures
 - a) avec l'U.R.S.S. et les pays socialistes
 - b) avec les autres pays.

Jacques Lévesque.

THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CORRELATES OF
MILITARY INTERVENTION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN POLITICS

- Roberta Koplin Mapp, University of Alberta

The state of macro-analysis of the phenomenon of the military coup d'état in African states is at least uncertain, if not actually confused. The prevailing hypotheses range from "contagion" theories to views that there is nothing significant differentiating states that have experienced a coup d'état from those that have not. A more promising line of analysis stems from the thesis that sees authority-deflation leading to power inflation. Briefly, this analysis suggests that the inability of the political system to meet the extensive and growing social and economic problems that confront the typical tropical African state leads to growing public discontent and disillusion with the political authorities. Unable to solve problems or meet demands, the political leadership resorts increasingly to coercion to maintain its position and/or to cope with the inherent instability of the polity. This is the phenomenon comparable to monetary inflation in the economic system -- it requires more and more application (or expenditure) of force to maintain (or purchase) a given level of political goods.

We intend to measure the first half of the equation in a number of ways. Aggregate data measures of several indicators of societal welfare will be used to assess the ability of the political system to meet economic and social expectations. Measures of instability that reflect either public discontent with existing conditions and governmental policies, or societal cleavages that indicate disintegrative tendencies, will be used to operationalize the withdrawal of legitimacy from political authorities. The second half of the hypothetical equation, the resort to coercion, will be assessed by data indicating the use of force by the government against the public, evidence of intra-elite conflict (arrests, dismissals, exiles, etc.), and of attempts to silence political opposition that exists outside the government, whether formally represented by political parties or as articulated by non-party organizations, individuals or interests. It is, of course, change over time in the various measures that will be most salient in testing the general thesis.

The analysis will be carried out by archival research, with computer analysis of the resulting data. The sample includes seventeen independent African states for the period January 1, 1960 (or from date of independence, if this occurred later) to December 31, 1969.

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION IN PERSPECTIVE

A B S T R A C T

Viewed against the background of Cuban history, the only thing unique about Fidel Castro's insurrection was that it succeeded. Once in power, the survival of the new regime and the shape it was to take were made possible by a set of special circumstances.

Internally, Castro took over an intact and functioning economy. It took nearly a decade of steadily declining production, mainly the result of gross mismanagement, for the Cuban Revolution to adopt the austerity and total regimentation which drastic social revolutions generally impose soon after taking power.

Externally, the triumph of Castro's revolution coincided with a leftward swing of the political pendulum in Latin America which for a time provided Castro with important leverage in his confrontation with the United States. Likewise, Cuba could count on a sympathetic hearing among the newly independent states of Asia and Africa, all of them touchy about the sovereignty of small countries.

Finally, the most extraordinary chronological coincidence affecting the Cuban Revolution was the fact that Castro seized power at almost the precise moment when the Soviet Union acquired both the capacity and willingness to underwrite the survival of a revolution 6,000 miles from its borders. Of decisive importance is the fact that prior to 1959, the year of Castro's victory, Russia would most certainly have been unable to export sufficient petroleum to Cuba to meet its energy requirements.

2 H

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION & THE USE OF EXTERNAL
FINANCIAL RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPMENT

F. W. PARK
Research Associate
McGill University

Centre for Developing-Area Studies

The paper will deal with several related questions seen in the context of a changing political situation:

1. The original Cuban proposal for investment of capital from U.S. agencies to finance Latin American industrialization and the turn to credits from the socialist camp as a means to achieve accelerated industrialization by 1965.
2. The decline in sugar production, the Soviet sugar contracts of 1961 and 1964 and the emphasis on investment in agriculture to provide an export surplus for future industrialization.
3. Current Cuban plans for development based on domestic savings and a socialist market for sugar.
4. Cuban and Soviet concept on relations between developing countries and the socialist camp and disagreements over socialist credits to Latin American governments associated with U.S. policy toward Cuba.

3H

A B S T R A C T

INCONSISTENCY OF GOVERNMENTAL COERCION
PATTERNS AND SYSTEMIC POLITICAL INSTABILITY:
A CROSS-NATIONAL STUDY

by

Robert E. Kauffman
University of Alberta

The question of systemic political instability has become extremely salient in the past decade. The independence of the former colonial territories, adding scores of new actors in the international arena, has coincided with a general increase in internal political violence and turmoil. Most scholars like Gurr, the Feierabends, Nesvold, Bwy, Tanter and others attribute this increase in the level of violence to the impact of modernization and development. Rapid change in the rate of economic growth, destruction or transformation of social and political institutions, the introduction of mass political participation at local and national levels, coercive governmental action, and greater awareness of higher levels of development in other nations, have all been analyzed as factors contributing to the level of instability experienced by a particular nation or group of nations.

It is the purpose of this paper to explore the effect of an additional variable--inconsistency of fluctuation in governmental coercion--which has been suggested by scholars of systemic political instability but has, as yet, not been systematically tested. This paper will attempt to provide some insight into such questions as: "At what level of development are nations most effected by these inconsistencies of governmental behavior?", "What effect does inconsistency of governmental coercion have in nations that have already experienced a high level of governmental coercion?", and "How does this compare with those nations that experience median or low levels of governmental coercion?"

It is hypothesized that fluctuation or inconsistency of governmental coercion will be directly related to the level of systemic political instability. It is also hypothesized that the combination of level and degree of fluctuation of governmental coercion will provide a much more empirically reliable predictor of systemic instability than level of coercion alone.

This study will utilize data derived from actual behavior items (events) of governmental coercion and systemic political instability. The sample will include 74 independent countries. The time period under study will be from 1945 to 1965. Data have been taken from the Feierabend, Feierabend and Nesvold Cross-National Systemic Political Instability Project, San Diego State College.

CUBA AND THE COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

by

Carl D. Parris, McGill University

This paper purports to compare and contrast the historical, economic and political development of Cuba and the Commonwealth Caribbean from 1500 to the present day. Within this broad framework the question we have attempted to answer is, of what significance is the Cuban revolution for the Commonwealth Caribbean? The paper neatly falls into 2 parts.

Part I - Historical Background

- A. An historical comparison of Cuba and the Commonwealth Caribbean from 1500 to the abolition of slavery.
- B. The political situation in Cuba and the Commonwealth Caribbean after slavery.
- C. The economic situation in Cuba and the Commonwealth Caribbean, after slavery.
- D. Assessment of the political and economic situation in Cuba prior to 1959.

Part II

Analysis of the different paths taken by Cuba and the Commonwealth Caribbean and the perspectives which the Cuban decisions open for future Caribbean leaders.

Conclusion.

AN ECONOMIC MODEL OF DEVELOPMENTAL IDEOLOGY

IN AFRICA: STRUCTURE AND IMPLICATIONS

Deprived of the elucidating tool of theory, economic reality is all detail and bewilderment. We cannot bring it into focus unless we have some way of reducing its endless variety of events into some kind of orderly relationship. Theory, and only theory, gives us this powerful insight.

If economic reality is "all detail and bewilderment" then what can one say of political reality? Accepting the assumption that the political, like the economic, is an analytical abstraction and simplification designed to delimit a portion of multi-variate human behaviour, is it not obvious that Heilbroner's statement given above is even more applicable to the confusing, seemingly limitless welter of events termed politics?

A central tendency in the study of political behaviour is the clear acceptance of the need for such theory, and the recognition that certain recent works have taken major steps towards providing the discipline with deductive theory of the type identified as economic. Though other forms of modern social theory, e.e. functionalism, systems theory, communications and information theory, supplement and complement economic theory, it would seem that none of these possible substitutes is as powerful or as penetrative, or as indisputedly explanatory, as causal reasoning from axiomatic premises, the essence of economic-style theory. With ideology, the major concern of this study, the problem is to make the issue amenable to analysis of this type. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to tap the power of the economic approach and apply this form of reasoning to the problem of ideology in a political system committed to rapid socio-economic development. The tool chosen for this task is a deductive model.

(Taken from the introduction to the paper)

The Political Economy of Agricultural Development Policy in Kenya and Tanzania

Participants: Professors Meyer Brownstone, Gerry Helleiner, David Nowlan,
Dusan Pokorny, Richard Stren,
all of the Department of Political Economy, University of Toronto.

The purpose of the panel is to raise and discuss some important issues of rural development in underdeveloped countries which lie on the boundary between political science and economics. Short presentations by political scientists and economists with first-hand experience in East Africa will cover the ideological context and historical and economic constraints upon the policy options of the governments of Kenya and Tanzania, the major types of development schemes favoured by the two governments, the problems of political and administrative organization in the implementation of the schemes, and the problems of evaluating the success and failure of the two policies. Some of the issues which will be discussed are the efficacy of moral versus material incentives, the merits and difficulties of communal village development and individual smallholder development, the role of the party in the promotion and administration of rural development, and the problems of decentralization of development policy decision and administration.

In many ways the cases of Tanzania and Kenya offer an instructive contrast. Tanzania has favoured communal village development, nationalization of the land, and the integration of party and administration at the local level. Kenya on the other hand has stressed private smallholder development, individual ownership of land, and the strengthening of an administrative apparatus which is separate from the party. The comparison of these two cases will attempt to weave together both political and economic considerations. The issues thus transcend the particular cases and involve basic strategies of rural development and fundamental problems of the constraints imposed by our disciplines on understanding these issues.

Persons interested in attending this panel should write to Richard Stren, Department of Political Economy, University of Toronto for a set of background papers and a short bibliography of relevant readings. There will be opportunity at the end of the panel presentations for discussion from the audience.

Political Development and Modernization: the Case of Japan Re-evaluated

By F. Q. Quo, University of Lethbridge

ABSTRACT: Modernization of Japan has not only claimed the attention of many scholars but also resulted in volumes of writings during the last decade. Quite obviously the case of Japan is considered as the most unusual story of success in the modernization of a non-Western country. From the Japanese experience, therefore, scholars hope to derive some generalizations which may have significant implication to the modernizing society to-day. The main purpose of this paper is: (1) to pinpoint some of the methodological problems through an evaluation of the hitherto accomplished research works on the subject, and (2) to suggest some aspects of modernization which ought to command more attention of political scientists.

Methodologically, the case of Japan suggests that: (1) the political system of Japan has more influence upon the course of modernization, than the results of modernization upon the nature of the political system; and (2) modernization of Japan has to be studied more as a result of external impacts than from the viewpoint of her own internal socio-economic changes. Criteria proposed by "developmental" political scientists such as "structural and functional differentiation" and "cultural secularization" do not provide much help except to reintroduce the importance of historical approach only this time in different terminologies. Others who try to adopt features of "modern state" in Western countries as criteria for evaluation of Japan's political development also fail to have a penetrating understanding of the case. If "allocation of values" is the main concern of political scientists, then, the research on political development should also include an analysis of changes in the allocation of values itself. A quantitative examination of allocation of values performed by modern Japanese political system, for example, would indicate: (1) increasing mobilization of manpower and wealth and their allocation to the use and possession of a small segment of the population, and (2) increasing emphasis upon the non-secular values and their imposition upon the large numbers of the population. Thus, before 1945 Japanese political system itself remained within the context of the tradition, yet commanded the achievements of modernity in technology, industry, science etc.. In other words, it was a case in which political development did not reflect the socio-economic changes.

Why so? The answer depends on one's interpretation of several important events in the history of modern Japan. Briefly, the author's interpretation is: (1) the Meiji Restoration which signifies the beginning of modern Japan actually created a great authority-crisis for the Central Government, both domestically and internationally; (2) to meet the domestic challenge, the new ruling-class whose social origin was low class samurai was compelled to utilize the traditional political authority of the Emperor and subsequently an authoritarian rule in the name of the Emperor; and (3) to meet the international challenge to Japan's authority as an independent state the new ruling class resorted to militarism. Consequently, modernization was a means, independent of the native social conditions to be accelerated solely for the purpose of overcoming these crises. Japanese experience endorses the argument that "the degree of political development achieved by any polity ought to be measured as much by the consequences which flow from development as by the intrinsic character of the developing system."

Federal Health Research Policy: An Analysis of the Policy-Advisory Role of the Medical Research Council

The development of the health sciences in Canada, in quantitative terms at least, has not taken place at the same rate as in several other Western nations, especially the United States. One significant factor has been the low priority assigned to it by the federal government. While several influences have accounted for this phenomena, a critical one has been the minimal interaction between the medical science community and federal government policymakers, both at political and bureaucratic levels.

On the one hand, both science and health have gained increasing relevancy in the past decade, not a few innovations testifying to this occurrence. Health science, while it has witnessed both a new age of federal government support and the linkage of the medical science community and federal policymakers, mainly through the Medical Research Council, has pursued, nevertheless, a strategy reminiscent of earlier science-government relationships.

In an era of PPB, the Science and Economic councils, and systems analysis ideology, the role of the MRC demands description and explanation both in terms of the allocation of resources to the health sciences and the structure of policymaking for this field. Unlike the Science and Economic councils, the MRC has not attempted to increase its priority position in the total allocative structure by adopting a competitive strategy, nor has it sought to expand its clientele base in order to increase its power position in the total policymaking process respecting either science or health.

The primary object of this essay will be to show how the dominant values of the 'medical' science community coupled with the structure of this community have militated against the development of a more politically aggressive advisory Council.

ABSTRACT

Mr. Trudeau, the Science Council and P.P.B.:
Recent Changes in the Philosophy of
Policy-Making in Canada

Panel/Table ronde

RESEARCH SUPPORT FOR CANADIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Three structural and philosophical inputs into the policy-making process in Canada appear to be converging as the 1970's begin. All three arrived on the scene somewhat independently of one another in the 1966 to 1970 period. All three appear to have parallel rationalistic aspirations - that is, to provide the Federal Government with a greater capability for intelligent decision-making.

The Science Council was created to advise the Government on long-run "science policies". It has, in fact, been involved in advising on Canada's social priorities. It has proposed a number of major programs derived from its reading of our national goals.

The Canadian bureaucracy has been launched into a system of Program Planning and Budgeting (P.P.B.). Its ultimate objective is to give the central decision-makers a more rational basis on which to conduct the budget process. It, too, relies on the determination of national goals and program objectives.

Finally, and most importantly, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau has brought to the Prime Minister's Office a personal ideology, and a personal policy advisory staff which are also imbued with the rationalist and systems ideology.

The paper examines the aspirations of the three structures and assesses them in the light of the reality of short-run political forces and in the light of the prospect that they might collectively degenerate into what, for want of a better phrase, is identified as the "getting ready to get ready" syndrome.

A discussion of Science Council Reports (Macdonald and Gaudry Reports), the Senate Committee on Science Policy (Lamontagne Report), the 1969 OECD Report on Canadian "Science" policy and practise as well as others which would be of particular interest to those concerned with Support for Canadian Political Science.

The Americanization of Canadian
Political Science

Panel

Raymond Rodgers
(Winnipeg)
Garth Stevenson
(Carleton)
Lloyd Stanford
Harold Waller
(McGill)

ABSTRACT - THE AMERICANIZATION OF CANADIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE

The panel will debate the arguments "pro" and "con" the Americanization of Canadian Political Science. "Americanization of Canadian political science" will be defined both as the borrowing, imitation or incorporation of American concepts and approaches into Canadian political studies and the influx of U.S. born and U.S. trained teachers of political science into Canada. The panelists include several people who have previously addressed themselves to this problem in public forums or in writing. They are likely to represent a wide range of views, both in favour of and critical of the Americanization of Canadian political science.