

THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY
RESEARCH SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Annual Report 1968

Staff

Professor and Head of Department	R. S. Parker, M.B.E., M.Ec. (Syd.)
Professor	A.L. Burns, M.A. (Melb.)
Professorial Fellow	T.H.R. Rigby, M.A. (Melb.), Ph.D. (Lond.)
Senior Fellow	D.W. Rawson, M.A., Ph.D. (Melb.)
Senior Fellow	P. Loveday, B.A., Ph.D. (Syd.)
Senior Research Fellow	D.A. Aitkin, M.A. (N.E.), Ph.D. (A.N.U.)
Research Fellow	M.J. Kahan, B.A. (Wayne)
Research Fellow	Nina Heathcote, B.A. (Melb.)
Research Fellow	Paul Dibb, B.A. (Nottingham)
Research Assistant	Susan Barnes, B.A. (A.N.U.)
Research Assistant	Renata Brauer, B.A. (Adel.)
Research Assistant	Patricia Hall, B.A. (Syd.)
Research Assistant	Valentin Ogareff
Research Assistant	Ann Murphy, B.A. (A.N.U.) Dip.Ed. (Syd.)
Research Assistant	Suzanne Wrightson, B.A. (A.N.U.)
Departmental Assistant	Yvonne Lonsdale

Visitors

Dr J. W. Cleary, Lecturer in Political Science in the University of Queensland, completed some weeks as a Visiting Fellow in January, continuing his former research in the Department on Kazakhstan government and administration.

Associate Professor D.J. Heasman, of the Department of Economics & Political Science, University of Saskatchewan, worked on comparative politics in Commonwealth countries as an Honorary Fellow from February to July.

Mr A.H. Ashenden, formerly of the Department of Political Science, Victoria University of Wellington (N.Z.), held a Visiting Fellowship from February to August, working with Professor Burns on uses of game theory in the project on Conditions of International Stability financed from a Ford Foundation grant to the University.

Professor L. Schapiro, of the London School of Economics and Political Science, held a Visiting Fellowship through August and September, writing, lecturing, leading seminars, and consulting with Dr Rigby and other members of the University, in his special fields of Russian political history, world communism and totalitarianism.

Mr R. Hyslop, an Assistant Secretary in the Department of the Navy, took up a one-year Public Service Board Fellowship in August, to study the relations between service and civilian chiefs and responsible Ministers in Australian naval administration before World War II.

Dr R. Wettenhall, Reader in Public Administration, University of Tasmania, arrived in September to spend six months as a Visiting Fellow, completing his part in a book on the Tasmanian bushfire disaster of February 1967 and continuing his research on comparative administrative structures in Australia.

Staff Changes

Mrs Natalie Staples, Research Assistant, left in November 1967 for a year in England at her own expense. She will have been on leave without pay until her return at the beginning of January 1969, except for the period January-April 1968 when she resumed duty with Dr Rigby who was working in London on study leave.

Two new Research Assistants, Miss Ann Murphy and Mrs Suzanne Wrightson, both graduates of this University, were appointed in January and February respectively.

Main Research Interests and Developments

The Department continues to work in three main fields - Australian political behaviour; structural aspects of world politics; the power elite in the USSR - and some ancillary ones.

The research in Australian politics has been marked by a further shift to quantitative methods. These were already central to the Australian Survey Project, in which coding, editing and cleaning the data from the 'first wave' survey occupied the first half of this year. Analysis of the data began in September, with a view to completion of a first report of findings in book form by Dr Aitkin and Mr Kahan in 1969. Meanwhile Kahan has been analysing the relation between sex of voters (especially differences between the political perceptions of husbands and wives) and their identification with class and party; he has also been examining the apparent lack of ideological coherence in Australian voters' attitudes to political issues. As a background and complement

to the Survey findings, Aitkin has begun a long-term analysis of Australian electoral statistics, presenting some early results to the tenth APSA Conference in August.

Dr Loveday also has been employing statistical techniques in the analysis of voting in the Federal Parliament, 1901-09, and in the conventions which drew up the Federal Constitution in the 1890's. His object is to determine how far such methods can elucidate Australian parliamentary records, and to add to the history of parliamentary groupings in the three-party period. Under the first heading, cluster analysis appears more promising than scale analysis; while results so far are consistent with historical findings and add to them in detail.

Dr Rawson attended a course in Quantitative Political Analysis at the University of Michigan during his study leave, and is applying these methods to a closer study of the relation between party allegiance and industrial tactics in Australian trade union politics.

In the work on world political structures, Professor Burns has been concerned with the limits of quantitative analysis. This concern is illustrated in his chapter contributed to Morton Kaplan's recent symposium, New Approaches to International Relations, and in his paper 'Mathematical Models for International Relations' read to the UNESCO Seminar at Sydney on Mathematics in the Social Sciences, in which he argues that the orthodox Theory of Games, at first sight promising, has proved incapable of affording a general theory of power politics. Professor Burns was also engaged during the year in revision of his new book Of Powers and their Politics, especially in its discussion of the relation between the internal political system and society organised as a Power; and in its psychological explanation of the allegiance evoked by temporal Powers.

Mrs Heathcote's work in this field included further analysis of the European Community, and its potentialities as a pluralist political system; and a study of Ireland in the United Nations, as part of her long-term research on conflicts between national policy and commitment to international organisation among UN members which have taken part in peace-keeping operations.

Research on the Soviet Russian system has followed two separate paths. The final stages of Dr Rigby's work on the composition of the Soviet Communist Party threw light on local membership trends, especially during World War II, and on the ethnic composition of the Party; while he also made considerable progress in tracing the development of decision-making and co-ordinating machinery in relation to the USSR

Council of Ministers.

Mr Dibb, on the other hand, has continued his research on the economic development of Soviet Siberia, noting the many features in common with that of Australia. His findings on trade potential of the Soviet Far East so far indicate increased exchanges with Japan; some developments with South-East Asia and Canada; but no significant short-term prospects for Australia or New Zealand.

Professor Parker collected the materials and wrote three chapters for an updated version of his 1960 study of Government in New South Wales, to be published as a separate volume in a new series on government in Australian states and territories. He was also conducting research for the volume on Papua and New Guinea in the same series. He spent six weeks in New Guinea on field work and organisation for a team study of the 1968 House of Assembly elections, in which about thirty anthropologists and political scientists from nine universities in Australia, Britain and the United States are engaged. The objects of this project are to understand how introduced political institutions are perceived and operated by indigenous voters, and to identify the respective contributions which anthropology and political science, as distinct disciplines and in collaboration, can make to the elucidation of politics in a rapidly changing 'traditional' society.

Other Activities

While on study leave Dr Rigby gave lectures and/or seminars at the Law Faculty of Moscow University, the Institute of the Peoples of Asia of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and at the Universities of Glasgow, Oxford, York (in Toronto), and California (Berkeley); also at the London School of Economics and Political Science and the Royal Institute of International Affairs. He attended the annual conferences of the British Political Studies Association and the National Association for Soviet and East European Studies, and the triennial congress of the International Political Science Association in Brussels, where as voting representative of the Australian Political Studies Association he served on the IPSA executive. Dr Rawson, during his study leave, also attended the IPSA congress, and gave lectures at the universities of Sussex and Essex, at Temple University (Philadelphia), and at the annual meeting of the Danish Political Science Association. During a two months' field trip to the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R. (Moscow and Siberia) and Tokyo, Mr Dibb gave an informal lecture on the structure of the Australian economy to the Siberian Branch of the U.S.S.R.

Academy of Sciences at Khabarovsk.

Most members of staff gave papers in the Departmental Work-in-Progress Seminars, in the Department's second seminar series on Australian Government in Practice (featuring leading parliamentarians, party organisers and administrative experts), and in a seminar on Prospects for the Polity. In addition, Professor Burns lectured on nuclear strategy and Australian defence at the University of Queensland; Dr Loveday read a paper, 'Must Historians Measure?', to Section E of the ANZAAS Conference in Christchurch in January; Dr Aitkin gave lectures on Australian politics and survey methodology at the Wagga Wagga Teachers' College, the University of Melbourne Political Science Department and elsewhere; Mr Kahan gave a course at Sydney University through the first two terms on modern political research design and analysis and conducted the Department's second term course on Statistics for Social Scientists; Mrs Heathcote lectured on 'The EEC - a liberal democracy?' to History and Political Science honours students at the University of NSW; Mr Hyslop gave two seminars on Decision-making at a Public Service Board Regional Management Conference in Adelaide; and Professor Parker gave lectures on local government to a senior officers' course at the Australian School of Pacific Administration, and to a seminar for local government election candidates arranged by the University of Sydney Department of Adult Education. Several staff members lectured on their special subjects to other seminars arranged in the Commonwealth Public Service, notably those for Foreign Service Trainees in the External Affairs Department, and for the Public Service Board's Administrative Trainees. Several also delivered papers at the annual conference in August of the Australian Political Studies Association.

Dr Rigby took the initiative in forming a Committee on Soviet and East European Studies within the University, and made a preliminary survey of ANU publications and Canberra library holdings in this field. Mr Kahan, on the nomination of the Social Science Research Council, was appointed a member of the Census Users' Advisory Committee set up by the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, and also served on the ANU Computer Users' Committee from February to June. Professor Parker continued as a member, and occasionally Acting Chairman, of the Interim Council of the Administrative College of Papua and New Guinea.

Students

Mr E.P. Aimer completed the gathering of material and has written about two-thirds of his thesis on the Liberal Party in Victoria, which will be particularly interesting on the problem of rank-and-file influence on party policy in parliament.

Mr A.H. Ashenden, B.A., B.Comm. (N.Z.), ended his Visiting Fellowship and was enrolled in September as a Research Scholar, with the topic 'The Uses of Gaming in Political Science', as his thesis subject for the Ph.D. degree.

Mr P.S. Cook has amassed much material from MS and private sources in the course of fieldwork in five states, for his study of the Scullin Government and the pressures which operated on it. He has drafted one chapter of his thesis and prepared a paper on 'Trade Unions and the Depression' for a seminar on the depression period to be conducted by the History Department, RSSH, in January 1969.

Mr R.J. Cooksey is working on Australian Labor Party attitudes on foreign and defence policies, as a staff candidate for the Ph.D. degree.

Mr Brian Embury, B.A. Hons. (Q'ld), was awarded a Research Scholarship for the Ph.D. degree. He arrived in November, and is reading with a view to selecting a research topic, probably on dynamic elements of political behaviour, especially the changing structure of class-party links

Mr G.S. Harman submitted his thesis, 'Graziers in Politics: the pressure group behaviour of the Graziers' Association of New South Wales', and completed his oral examination for the Ph.D. degree, after which he returned to the staff of the Teachers' College, Armidale, N.S.W. His examination result is expected to be favourable.

Mr A.H. Hughes is in the final stages of writing his Ph.D. dissertation, on 'Psychological Dispositions and Political Attitudes'. He read a paper incorporating some of his findings to the UNESCO Conference on Mathematics in the Social Sciences, Sydney, during May.

Mr Hin-Seak Leng resigned his scholarship early in the year to take up appointment as Lecturer in Politics at Flinders University, South Australia. He has been granted a further extension of time till May 1969 to submit his thesis on 'Politics and Leadership in Penang'.

Mr J. McCarthy, M.A. (NSW), took up a Ph.D. scholarship in February, his research topic being 'Australian Air Power between the Wars'. In September he departed on four to six months' field work in the United States (to work on aircraft company records) and the United Kingdom (mainly to work in the Public Records Office); these visits have proved rewarding in unearthing important material not available or not accessible in Australia.

Mrs C. J. Morgan, who was required to re-submit her Ph.D. thesis after major revision, did so by the due date and underwent her oral examination. The result is not yet to hand.

Mr G. Lakshmana Rao, M.A. (Jabalpur), was awarded a research scholarship for the Ph.D. course and arrived in September. He has submitted a proposal for a study of changing political attitudes and behaviour in new industrial towns in India. This is being considered in the light of the practicability and costs of fieldwork.

Mr R.F.I. Smith, research scholar, has been given a short extension of time to complete his thesis on wheatgrowers' organisations in Australia and their political influence; he has completed drafts of five or six chapters.

Mr Roger Thompson, research scholar, has completed most of his research and fieldwork for his study of centralisation and uniformity in the administration of secondary education in N.S.W., 1912-1952, and prepared drafts of his first three chapters.

Mr Peter Tiver, B.A. Hons. (Adel.), M.A. (Yale), arrived in January to take up a research scholarship and was ultimately enrolled with the topic 'Political Philosophy of the Liberal Party of Australia'. He has drafted about 100 pages of a preliminary version of his Ph.D. dissertation.

Mr Michael Gurstein, B.A. (Saskatchewan) spent several months in the Department during the year, financed by the Rotary International of New York, making comparative studies of trade unionism in Australia for a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Cambridge, using trade unions as a case-study of problems of biculturalism in Canada.

Publications

AITKIN, D.A.

(With Michael Kahan) Drawing a Sample of the Australian Electorate. Occasional Paper No.3, Department of Political Science, RISSS, Australian National University, 46 pp.

'The Country Party'. Current Affairs Bulletin, vol.42, no.8, September, pp.114-126.

'Political Review'. The Australian Quarterly, vol.40, no.1, March, pp.82-91; no.2, June, pp.89-98; no.3, Sept., pp.90-98; no.4, Dec.

BURNS, A.L.

'Quantitative Approaches to International Politics'. In New Approaches to International Relations, ed. Morton A. Kaplan, St Martin's Press, New York, pp.170-201.

Of Powers and Their Politics: A Critique of Theoretical Approaches, Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, xiii + 298 pp.

DIBB, P.

Soviet Siberia and Australia, Prospects for Pacific Trade,
Wagga Wagga Teachers' College, Area of Humanities, Paper
No. 2, 16 pp.

HEATHCOTE, Nina

'Western Integration and German Reunification'. Journal of Common
Market Studies, vol. VII, no.2, December.

'United Nations and Nation-Building', reprinted in David A. Kay (ed)
The United Nations Political System (New York, 1967).

KAHAN, M. H.

See AITKIN above

LOVEDAY, P. & MARTIN, A.W.

'The Politics of New South Wales, 1856-1889, a reply'. Historical
Studies, vol.13, no.50, April, 223-232 pp.

PARKER, R.S.

'Group Interests and the Non-Labor Parties Since 1930'. Readings
in Australian Government, Colin A. Hughes, ed., University of
Queensland Press, pp.380-391.

'Federalism - Australian Brand'. Australian Politics: A Reader,
Henry Mayer, ed., F.W. Cheshire, Melbourne, (3rd edition).

RAWSON, D.W.

'Another Look at "Initiative and Resistance"', Politics, vol. III
no. 1, May, pp.41-54.

'Political Violence in Australia', Dissent, no. 22, Autumn, pp.18-27,
and no. 23, Spring, pp.35-39.

'Trade Unions and Politics' in P.W.D. Mathews and G.W. Ford (eds),
Trade Unions in Australia, Sun Books, Melbourne, pp.165-189.

RIGBY, T.H.R.

(Ed.) The Stalin Dictatorship: Khrushchev's Secret Speech and
Other Documents, Sydney University Press, 128 pp.

Communist Party Membership in the U.S.S.R. 1917-1967, Princeton, N.J.,
Princeton University Press, xvii + 573 pp.

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HUGHES, COLIN A.* & GRAHAM, B.D.*

A Handbook of Australian Government and Politics 1890-1964.

Australian National University Press, Canberra, xv + 635 pp.

* Former Member. Based on work done while a member of the Department.