

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

Annual Report 1970

Staff

Professor & 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. (London)
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. (ANU)
Senior Research Fellow	Grey Hodnett, A.B. (Harv.), M.A., Ph.D. (Col.)
Research Fellow	M.J. Kahan, B.A. (Wayne)
Research Fellow	Nina Heathcote, B.A. (W.A.)
Research Assistant	Susan Barnes, B.A. (ANU)
Research Assistant	Carol Morgan, B.A. (Birm.), Ph.D. (ANU)
Research Assistant	Valentin Ogareff
Research Assistant	Ann Smurthwaite, B.A. (Melb.)
Research Assistant	Natalie Staples, B.A. (Syd.), Dip.Ed. (N.E.)
Research Assistant	Suzanne Wrightson, B.A. (ANU)
Research Assistant	Gillian Evans, B.Comm. (Melb.)

Visitors

Dr Violet Conolly, formerly Head of the U.S.S.R. section, United Kingdom Foreign Office Research Department, and an authority on Soviet Asia, visited the Department for three weeks in March and April, and gave two seminar papers.

Dr O.P. Dwivedi, Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Studies, University of Guelph, Ontario, had the status of Honorary Research Fellow in the Department from March to July, while pursuing a comparative study of government employment in several countries under a Canada Council Grant.

Professors B.D. Graham, of the University of Sussex, and D.E. Stokes, of the University of Michigan, completed their periods as Visiting Fellows of the Department in March and February respectively.

Staff Changes

There were no changes in the academic staff during the year, though Dr Aitkin was appointed as first Professor in the new Chair of Politics at Macquarie University, to take up duty in 1972. Mrs Yvonne Lonsdale left the Department in January; Mesdames Jenny Rankin and Elizabeth Bray were Research Assistants for periods of some months during the year.

Main Research Interests and Developments

Australian political behaviour, politics and administration in Papua and New Guinea, Soviet politics and government, and structural aspects of world politics remain the principal research interests of the Department.

In the field of Australian politics, coding of the second wave of interviews in the Australian Survey Project was completed, and the writing of the major report is now in progress. A chapter (of about 20,000 words) on Australian voting behaviour will appear in Richard Rose (ed.), Political Behaviour in Modern Industrial Society, to be published by the Free Press in 1971. Dr Aitkin and Mr Kahan have collaborated in both these projects, with the aid of several research assistants. Mr Kahan also completed the MS of a monograph, Some Aspects of Immigration and Political Change in Australia since 1947, based on data from the major surveys supplemented by aggregate data from censuses, and other sources, and submitted it to the ANU Press in November with a view to publication.

In December Dr Aitkin sent to the ANU Press the MS of a new book Organisation and Survival: A Study of the Country Party in New South Wales, thus completing a decade of work on the Country Party, including the publication in 1969 of The Colonel: A Political Biography of Sir Michael Bruxner.

Dr Rawson's part in the Australian Survey Project included extensive preparation and a pilot study for a survey of voters' attitudes toward political authority and other aspects of the polity. The respondents were chosen from among those already interviewed in the major surveys on the grounds of their apparently greater knowledge of and interest in politics. The collection of data should be completed early in 1971. Dr Rawson in association with Mrs Suzanne Wrightson prepared A Handbook of Australian Trade Unions and Employees' Associations, which was completed and published as a departmental occasional paper early in 1970. It has so

far been well received by trade union officials and others concerned with the subject. Dr Rawson also drafted two chapters of a proposed book on Australian trade unionism which will use inter alia the data relevant to trade unionism from the second wave of the Australian Survey Project. In addition he prepared two further chapters of his study of Labor in Australian politics since 1918. He had set aside his work on the statistical analysis of federal election results for this book while engaging in studies to increase his statistical competence.

Dr Loveday continued his work on the analysis of voting in early Commonwealth parliaments, and completed a paper on the method used, 'Grouping MPs', for publication in Politics. Finding that D. Jaensch and L. G. Veetch had been developing a factor analysis programme for the study of voting in the South Australian parliament, he arranged for them to apply their method to the voting in the first three federal parliaments, with a view to testing its adequacy in circumstances of which more is known. A paper is in preparation embodying the results of this work and of the analysis of three South Australian parliaments. The authors expect it to include a technical section on the method. Dr Loveday carried on his research on political ideas in Australian history, giving a seminar paper, 'Beliefs in Australian Politics', upon one aspect of the subject. He is now working on ideas of a generally socialist character from about 1900. He has also begun to prepare a paper on 'Popular Participation' for a seminar on 'The Politics of Urban Growth', being organised for late 1971 by the Urban Research Unit of the School.

Mr R. Hyslop, whose Public Service Fellowship terminated in January, completed his book on Australian naval administration up to 1939 under the title of Ministers and Mariners.

In the field of Soviet government, Dr Rigby was working on four topics: structure and operation of government institutions, political elite, recent politics, and a theory and methodology of studying communist systems. He drafted three chapters of a book on the first topic, and published articles on each of the others. The book, covering the Council of People's Commissars under Lenin, should be completed in 1971. Dr Hodnett collaborated in the preparation of an annotated collection of documents of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Edited by Robert McNeal, University of Massachusetts, the collection is expected to be published about mid-1971 under the title: Decisions of the CPSU. He also collaborated with Professor Peter Potichnyj of McMaster University in

preparing a monograph on The Ukraine and the Czechoslovak Crisis. This was published by the Department as an occasional paper, and was so much in demand that a further run will be printed early in 1971. Before the completion of his Senior Research Fellowship next April, Dr Hodnett hopes to finish most of the basic research for a study of personnel policy in the national republics of the Soviet Union. He is also working on a broad study of nationality policy in the Soviet Union as a whole.

In the field of world politics, Professor Burns contributed a review of attempts at scientific approaches to international theory, 1955-70, to a volume from the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, to celebrate the jubilee of the Woodrow Wilson Chair of International Politics there. He also completed a survey of Australia's policy toward nuclear armaments and their possible implications for this country, and an analysis of ethical problems arising from nuclear deterrence which was published as an Adelphi Paper by the Institute for Strategic Studies, London. He has in progress a long-term study in the theory of internal and external politics, concerning the effects upon politics of non-statistical uncertainties, acknowledged and unacknowledged.

Mrs Heathcote was writing a book on Integration or Balance of Power?, concerned with the politics of the European Economic Community and the relations of its members with other countries outside the Community. She spent six months in fieldwork in Europe on this project. Related to it was a chapter on neo-functional theories of integration, produced for a volume on Functionalism, edited by P. Taylor and J. Groom, to appear in Britain in 1971. Mrs Heathcote is also making a short study of the E.E.C.'s Common Agricultural Policy.

Professor Parker completed his work, as joint editor with Professor Epstein and Dr Reay of the Department of Anthropology, and part author, of the joint research symposium on politics in Papua and New Guinea at the time of the 1968 House of Assembly election. The book is expected to be published in 1971 by the ANU Press under the title, The Politics of Dependence: New Guinea in 1968. Owing to delays in publication Professor Parker deemed it necessary in December to make a complete revision of his article on Public Administration for the Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, to bring it up to date. He was able to make some progress with the revised version of his small monograph on the government of New South Wales. Towards the end of the year Professor Parker wrote a paper on 'Administrative Development

in Papua and New Guinea' for an international seminar in Hong Kong in January 1971 on 'The Impact of Technological Developments on Administrative Systems in Asia in the Next Two Decades'. The Seminar is sponsored by the Southeast Asia Development Advisory Group of the Asia Society in New York, and financed by the U.S. Agency for International Development. He also began work on a paper, 'Why Plan?', for the Urban Research Unit's proposed seminar in December 1971 on 'The Politics of Urban Growth'.

Other Activities

At the end of July Professor Parker returned from study leave at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, where he had been mainly engaged in writing up research on Papua and New Guinea politics. In addition to the other activities mentioned in last year's report, in 1970 he visited the universities of Oxford and Warwick; conducted some sessions in IDS courses for senior staff of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the Ministry of Overseas Development, advised on public administration aspects of the IDS research programme, and represented IDS and the Australian Groups of the Royal Institute of Public Administration at the Fourth Conference of Directors of Institutes of Public Administration of the Commonwealth, near Nairobi, Kenya. Since his return he has accepted positions as Social Science Research Council representative on the National Committee on Social Science Teaching (at secondary school level); Chairman of the joint Steering Committee of the Australian Regional Groups of the Royal Institute of Public Administration; President of the ANU Staff Association; and Director of the 1971 Autumn Seminar of the A.C.T. Group of the R.I.P.A. He also read a paper, 'Economics before Politics: A Colonial Phantasy', at the ANZAAS Congress at Port Moresby in August.

Professor Burns completed study leave in the United Kingdom early in September. While there he read papers on forecasting to the Institute for Strategic Studies; lectured at University College, London, on recent international theory, and at the Universities of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Leeds and the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, on strategic issues and his own work on non-statistical uncertainty; read a paper on his current work to the International Students' Society at the London School of Economics; lectured at Westminster College, Cambridge, on the emerging international situation; attended an exercise at Geneva in simulation of UN peacekeeping operations under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; and gave a

course of six lectures on recent international theory at the University of Cambridge.

Dr Rigby gave his usual course of lectures on Soviet Government in the School of General Studies; gave two lectures and a seminar on Soviet studies at the University of Melbourne; two lectures in the Foreign Service Trainees course at the Department of Foreign Affairs; and a paper at the annual conference of the Australasian Political Studies Association. At that conference he was elected President of the Association; he was also a member of the Advisory Committee for the Centre of Strategic Studies, RSPacS, and a member of the Church of England Commission on International Affairs. As Chairman of the ANU Committee on Soviet and East European Studies, Dr Rigby arranged several seminars and, with Mrs Natalie Staples, prepared a survey of Soviet and related studies in the university.

Dr Hodnett gave a lecture on Soviet politics at the Canberra College of Advanced Education, two seminars in the Department, and a seminar on Soviet nationality policy to a group of public service specialists.

Drs Loveday and Aitkin, with help from Professor Crisp and Dr Stockwin (Political Science SGS), and Dr Millar and Mr Girling (International Relations RSPacS), organised the Political Studies Association annual conference in Canberra in August. Dr Loveday became book review editor of the Australian Journal of Politics and History.

Dr Aitkin organised the fourth Third Term Seminar series in Australian Politics, at which the guests were in turn the Hon. C. R. Kelly, MP, Mr Maximilian Walsh, H.E. Per Anger, Mr D.O. Hay, CBE, DSO, and Mr Gordon Bryant, MP. Dr Aitkin gave lectures at the universities of Queensland, Sydney, Melbourne, and Macquarie, and to groups organised by the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Department of Works. He continued as a member of the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Mathematics in the Social Sciences, and helped to organise the 1971 Seminar on this subject.

While on her European fieldwork, Mrs Heathcote gave a seminar at the Department of International Relations, London School of Economics, on 'Two Germanies'. After her return to Canberra she gave a seminar in this University on 'Chancellor Brandt's Ostpolitik', and a lecture

to the Foreign Service Trainees' Course on political developments in the E.E.C.

Students

Mr E.P. Aimer completed the final text of his thesis early in 1970. The thesis, on Liberal Party organisation in Victoria, has since been examined and the degree conferred.

Mr P.S. Cook resigned his scholarship in February to accept a Senior Tutorship at La Trobe University, and was granted an extension of six months to submit his Ph.D thesis on the Scullin Government. Soon afterwards he was appointed to a Lectureship at La Trobe, which involved him in heavier commitments and required a further extension of six months to 28 February 1971. He has now substantially revised the almost complete draft he took with him from Canberra, and should be able to submit on time.

Mr R.J. Cooksey, a staff candidate for the Ph.D degree, has finished a draft of a substantial part of his thesis on Australian Labor Party attitudes on defence and foreign policies, but has been able to make only limited progress on it this year.

Mr B. Embury is now in the third year of his course for the Ph.D degree, working on quantitative studies of political behaviour. His chapter outline is complete, together with drafts of some chapters; he should be able to produce a good thesis if he maintains his effort in the final stages.

Mr A.H. Hughes completed his Ph.D thesis on Psychological Dispositions and Political Attitudes, was examined and has been awarded the degree.

Mrs J. M. Hutchinson was a staff candidate for the Ph.D, her thesis subject being 'The Australian Senate 1949-1969: an Institutional and Behavioural Study'. At the beginning of the year she became a lecturer in the Canberra College of Advanced Education, and was permitted to continue her degree course under the continued supervision of Dr Aitkin and Professor Crisp. She has not been able to make appreciable progress in 1970.

Mr Hin-Seak Leng completed the major revision of his Ph.D thesis on Politics and Leadership in Penang, which was required by his examiners.

The revised version has been submitted but examiners' reports have not yet been received.

Mr J. M. McCarthy, whose Ph.D subject is 'Australian Air Power between the Wars', was appointed at the beginning of the year to a lectureship in the Faculty of Military Studies of the University of New South Wales, at Duntroon. He was given an extension of time up to six months to submit his thesis, and a further and final extension of nine months from 20 February 1971. More than half of the thesis is in penultimate draft, and it is expected to be completed satisfactorily.

Mr M. Mackerras was appointed as a Research Scholar, the subject of his Ph.D thesis being 'The place of the candidate in the electoral process'. He has given a seminar paper outlining his project, and completed the course in Statistics I in the SGS as training for his analysis.

Mr S. Minagawa received approval to change his Ph.D thesis topic to a study of the Supreme Soviet Praesidia and Standing Commissions. He has extensively searched Soviet sources for information on the structure and operation of these institutions, and also begun to collect data on their personnel.

Mr G.L. Rao is in the third year of his Ph.D course, studying political attitudes and behaviour in an Indian industrial town. He has begun the analysis of the data collected on fieldwork last year, framed a general outline of the thesis, and begun to write his chapter drafts.

Mr P.G. Tiver has been working steadily to a reconstructed plan of his Ph.D thesis on political thought in the Liberal Party. The delay occasioned by the reconstruction has made it necessary for him to obtain an extension of time of twelve months. The work is now proceeding satisfactorily.

Mr P.M. Weller's Ph.D work on the development of parties in New South Wales and Tasmania at the turn of the century is well advanced. He has now completed the general analysis of voting in the State parliaments at the time, and has gathered most of the material he will need on politics in the electorates and on the organisation of the parties. He has recently worked out the detailed plan of the thesis and begun writing according to it.

Publications

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'A Sample of Surveys', Politics, vol. V, no.1 (May 1970), pp.83-85.

'The Political Likelihood of New Towns in Australia'. In Towards Cities of the Twenty-First Century, (Proceedings Canberra Forum, 1970), pp.54-60.

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'The Federal Redistribution of 1968: A Case Study in Australian Political Conflict', J. Comm. Pol.Stud., vol. VIII, no.1, 1970, pp.18-39.

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'Who are the Australians?', Round Table, No. 238, April 1970, pp. 146-52.

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'Brandt's Ostpolitik and Western Institutions', The World Today, vol.26, no.8 (August 1970), pp.334-343.

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'The Embryo-Politics of New Guinea', Government and Opposition, vol. V, no.1 (Winter 1969-70), pp.86-106.

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'Economics Before Politics - A Colonial Phantasy'. Search, vol.1, no.5 (November 1970).

RAO, G.L.

'The Background to the Recent Crisis in the Indian Congress Party' The Australian Quarterly, vol. 42, no.1, March 1970, pp.41-51.

RAWSON, D.W.

'The Life-Span of Labour Parties', Political Studies, vol.XVII, no.3, (September 1969), pp. 313-333.

'"Initiative and Resistance": A Brief Rejoinder', Politics, vol.IV, no.2 (November 1969), pp.215-16.

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A Handbook of Australian Trade Unions and Employees' Associations. Department of Political Science, Institute of Advanced Studies, Australian National University Press, Occasional Paper No. 5, 1970, iv + 114 pp.

RIGBY, T.H.R.

'Bureaucracy and Democracy in the USSR', The Australian Quarterly, vol. 42, no.1 (March 1970), pp.5-14.

'The CPSU Elite: Turnover and Rejuvenation from Lenin to Khrushchev', The Australian Journal of Politics and History, vol.XVI, no.1 (April 1970), pp.11-23.

'New Trends in the Study of Soviet Politics', Politics (Sydney), vol.V, no.1, (May 1970), pp.1-17.

'The Soviet Leadership: Towards a Self-Stabilizing Oligarchy?', Soviet Studies, vol. XXII, no. 2 (October 1970), pp.167-191.

RIGBY, T.H.R. & STAPLES, NATALIE

Soviet and Related Studies at the Australian National University: An Outline of Resources and Activities and Publications List for the Period 1961-1969. Canberra, Australian National University, 1970, 23 pp.

‡ Not a member of this University.