

2.1.8.9

28/1972

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

Annual Report 1971

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) (till November)
Senior Research Fellow	Grey Hodnett, A.B.(Harv.), M.A., Ph.D.(Col.) (till May)
Research Fellow	Nina Heathcote, B.A.(W.A.)
Research Assistant	Susan Barnes, B.A.(ANU) (till November)
Research Assistant	Nicola Davis, B.Sc.(Syd.) (from December)
Research Assistant	Gillian Evans, B.Comm.(Melb.), B.A.(ANU)
Research Assistant	Pamela Heydon, B.A.(Hons) (ANU) (from November)
Research Assistant	Carol Morgan, B.A.(Birm.), Ph.D.(ANU)
Research Assistant	Elma S. Mueller, B.Ec.(Syd.) (from May)
Research Assistant	Valentin Ogareff
Research Assistant	Ann Smurthwaite, B.A. (Melb.)
Research Assistant	Natalie Staples, B.A.(Syd.), Dip.Ed.(N.E.), M.A. (ANU)
Research Assistant	Suzanne Wrightson, B.A. (ANU) (till April)

Visitors

Assistant Professor William Klecka of the Department of Political Science, University of Cincinnati, was an honorary visitor to the Department from 6th to 22nd December, processing data from the Australian Survey Project for use in his comparative study of factors influencing voters' political allegiance in a number of countries.

Professor Ross Martin of the Department of Politics, LaTrobe University, took up a Visiting Fellowship in December to work during the long vacation on a study of the growth of pressure group politics, with special reference to the British Trade Union Congress.

Professor R. Szawlowski of the University of Calgary, Alberta, briefly visited the Department during December to give a seminar on the Comecon.

#### Staff Changes

Dr Aitkin resigned his Senior Research Fellowship in November to take up his appointment as foundation Professor of Politics at Macquarie University. On the termination of his Senior Research Fellowship in May, Dr Grey Hodnett returned to his post as Associate Professor of Political Science at York University, Toronto, Canada. Mr M.J. Kahan resigned his Research Fellowship in January and was later appointed Lecturer in Political Science at Tel Aviv University, Israel. Mrs S. Wrightson resigned her research assistantship in April for personal reasons. Miss S. Barnes resigned her position as research assistant in November on her marriage (Mrs Fraser). New research assistants appointed during the year were: Mrs E.S. Mueller, Miss N. Davis, and Miss P. Heydon.

#### Main Research Interests and Developments

The Department's main research interests are in Australian political behaviour, politics and administration in Papua New Guinea, Soviet politics and government, and world politics in the global context, but with a focus on Western Europe.

Further progress was made in processing data from the Australian Survey Project, and Dr Aitkin drafted about one-third of the main report of the results, a book tentatively entitled *Stability and Change in Australian Politics*. He also assembled survey data for a study of Australian members of Parliament and their roles. Though Aitkin will carry on this work at Macquarie University, it is expected that the occupant of a new Postdoctoral Fellowship in the Department will carry on a related study giving special attention to the work of parliamentarians in their constituencies. Meanwhile Aitkin completed an extensive paper on Australian voting behaviour, based largely on Survey Project data, as a chapter in Richard Rose (ed.), Comparative Electoral Behaviour: An Introduction

(The Free Press). Dr Rawson also used data from the second wave of the Project, along with statistical analyses of published data on industrial disputes, in preparing the book on Australian trade unions which he hopes to complete in 1972. As part of his other project on voter attitudes to the political system, based on a selected sample from the Australian Survey panel, Rawson conducted a pilot survey which has enabled him, after consultation with Professor Stokes of the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan (who has taken a personal interest in this project, as in the Australian Survey Project), to improve the questionnaire in preparation for the main interviewing early in 1972.

Historical aspects of Australian politics were pursued by Dr Loveday. He completed a statistical analysis of voting in the Federal Convention of the 1890s, to identify the nature of group divisions in this unique political assembly. He also collected more material and began to set it in planned order, for a book on political ideas in Australia since 1900. Loveday's work linked with some of Parker's interests when he undertook a quantitative analysis of the groupings revealed by voting in the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly (in collaboration with E.P. Wolfers), and when both Loveday and Parker wrote papers for the Urban Research Unit's 1971 Seminar on the Politics of Urban Growth. As edited by Parker and P. Troy of the Unit, the Seminar papers were accepted by the Australian National University Press in December for publication in book form during 1972.

Dr Rigby devoted a good deal of the year to investigating the considerable body of material that has become available in connection with the Soviet Party Congress and the preceding congresses in the various Soviet Republics; one by-product of this research was the draft of an article on the Politburo. This interrupted work on his book on the Soviet government under Lenin, though he completed two further chapters, and also wrote a review article on totalitarianism and change in communist systems.

Professor Burns continued work on Australia and the nuclear balance, and on civilian nuclear projects in Australia. He also turned his attention to the place of radical uncertainty in political theory, and has nearly finished a short monograph on a calculus for the conditions for structural change in the system of parliamentary parties, using a formalisation of the concept of radical uncertainty. Mrs Heathcote

continued work on her book about the politics of the European Economic Community. Her paper on 'French Policy and Europe of the Ten' will appear in The Australian Outlook, April 1972. Her chapter, 'Integrative Spillover from Regional Organisations', a critical discussion of the application of the functional theory and the input-output analysis to European integration, will appear in the book, Functionalism - Theory and Practice in International Relations, edited by A.J.R. Groom and Paul Taylor, to be published in 1972 by Hodder and Stoughton.

Professor Parker's academic activity consisted mainly of further editing and seeing through the press of the joint work completed in 1970 - The Politics of Dependence: Papua New Guinea 1968; writing a paper on 'Papua New Guinea as an Emergent State' (accepted for publication in New Guinea and the Journal of Development Studies); and writing and editorial work for the Urban Research Unit's seminar and book on The Politics of Urban Growth.

#### Other Activities

At the fifth annual series of Seminars in Australian Politics organised by Dr Aitkin, the guests were the Rt. Hon. Arthur Calwell M.P., Mr A.A. Staley M.P., Senator Peter Rae, Mr R.M. Bannerman the Commissioner of Trade Practices, and Sir Richard Eggleston. In September Aitkin delivered a paper on the political implications of lowering the voting age to 18, at the Fourth Convention of the Public Relations Institute of Australia. In October and November he travelled overseas to discuss interpretations of the Australian Survey data with colleagues at the Survey Research Centre, University of Michigan, and to make contacts with a number of universities in preparation for his transfer to Macquarie University; during this journey he gave a number of lectures and seminars in the United States, Canada and Britain. Dr Loveday delivered a paper on 'Representation: People or Interests?' at the Australasian Political Studies Association Conference, Monash University, in August; and on citizen participation at the Seminar on Politics of Urban Growth in December. Dr Rawson acted as tutor at the National School of Industrial and Labour Studies, conducted by the Australian Council of Trade Unions and the Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Associations at Burton Hall from 28 January to 5 February.

Professor Burns conducted seminars at the University of Melbourne and La Trobe University on aspects of radical uncertainty, and at Monash University on Australian defence. He took part in a double session at the APSA Conference, devoted to his book Of Powers and their Politics. He also delivered the concluding paper, on internal political implications for Australia and the United Kingdom, at the Conference on 'Europe of the Six or of the Ten?' in August. This Conference was organised, jointly with Dr O'Neill of the International Relations Department, RSPacS, by Mrs Heathcote, who also contributed a paper, on the French and German roles. Mrs Heathcote gave seminar papers in this Department on 'French Policy and Europe of the Ten' and in the Department of International Relations on the policies of General de Gaulle.

Dr Rigby presented a paper on recent trends in Soviet politics at the APSA Conference and, as in past years, gave most of the lectures on Soviet Government in the Political Science II course, SGS. He helped to arrange meetings and seminars for the Committee on Soviet and East European Studies. In August he was elected a Fellow of the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia.

Professor Parker delivered papers on 'Administrative Development in Papua New Guinea' at the January SEADAG Seminar in Hong Kong on the Technological Impact on Administration in Asia; on 'Papua New Guinea as an Emergent State' at a Seminar on The Future of Emergent Pacific Territories at Victoria University, Wellington N.Z., in May; on 'The Political Duties of Public Servants' at a Development Administration Seminar at the Canberra College of Advanced Education in July; at a seminar (which he chaired) for District Commissioners in Papua New Guinea, also in July, on District Commissioners and Local Authorities; and on 'Planning and Politics' at the Urban Research Unit Seminar in December on The Politics of Urban Growth. He advised the Public Service Board of Papua New Guinea on a training programme for senior policy advisers, and gave written evidence to the Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education in Papua New Guinea. He continued in the various positions mentioned in the 1970 Report.

A number of members of the Department gave lectures in the Foreign Service Training Courses organised by the Department of Foreign Affairs, and at the Joint Services Wing of the Australian Military Staff College; some also wrote special articles for the newspapers on their subject specialities.

In addition to departmental seminars previously mentioned, a joint series of work-in-progress seminars (with the Political Science Department, SGS), organised by Dr Loveday, ran throughout the year.

Mrs Natalie Staples, B.A., Dip.Ed., and Mrs Gillian Evans, B.Com., Research Assistants, were respectively awarded M.A. and B.A. degrees of the University.

#### Students

Mr R. Cooksey, a staff candidate for the Ph.D., was unable to add greatly to existing drafts of his thesis on the foreign policy of the Australian Labor Party, but has gained approval to use his study leave from the Department of Political Science, SGS, in 1972 to complete the thesis, which must be submitted by the end of the 1972-73 long vacation.

Mr B.L.Embury was given an extension of time of three months to submit his Ph.D. thesis on the theory of voters' choice, until 13 February 1972. He lost a good deal of time during the year searching for a new orientation for his thesis.

Mrs J. Hutchison, a staff candidate at the College of Advanced Education, did little work on her Ph.D. thesis in 1971 owing to family and professional responsibilities; but she plans to finish it and intends to complete most of the writing in 1972.

Mr J. McCarthy submitted his thesis for examination on 19 November: the section dealing with the years 1919 to 1939 should form an important contribution to our knowledge of imperial relations involving Australia as an air power.

Mr M. Mackerras's Ph.D. thesis work has progressed satisfactorily and he is nearly in a position to draft the section of his thesis based on analysis of his Canberra survey of 1970. His subject is 'The Role of the Candidate in Elections.'

Mr S. Minagawa has collected all his data on the members of Supreme Soviet bodies but analysis is hampered by delays in the School Programming Section. He has written first drafts of small parts of his thesis, which deals with the personnel, structure and operation of subsidiary bodies of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union.

Mr J.B. Paul, M.A. (Melb.), the only new student in 1971, though considerably hampered by illness since the middle of the year, has obtained much material from printed sources, especially newspapers and parliamentary debates, and searched for relevant archival material, for his Ph.D. thesis on the Bruce-Page Government. In the circumstances his work has progressed satisfactorily.

Mr G.L.Rao was granted an extension of course and scholarship of three months in view of unavoidable delays while on field-work in India in 1970 for his Ph.D. thesis on the effects of internal migration on political behaviour in a new industrial town. His thesis is now being finally printed and bound for submission to the examiners.

Mr P. Tiver has made good use of his year's extension and his Ph.D. thesis on political thought in the Liberal Party is reaching a satisfactory conclusion.

Mr P. Weller's Ph.D. thesis on the emergence of political parties in New South Wales and Tasmania is complete and being processed for submission to the examiners.

Former students A.H. Hughes and Hin-Seak Leng were awarded the Ph.D. degree in April, and Peter Cook in September.

Publications

AITKIN, D.A.

'Australian Politics and Politicians: Some Reflections on Recent Writing.' Meanjin Quarterly, vol. XXX, no. 1, 1971, pp.118-124.

'The Politics of Rural Policy.' In National Rural Policy (ed. Daryl Douglas). Sydney, 1971, pp. 76-86.

'The Real History of the Coalition: A Final Word from the Seven Progressives.' (Documents). Politics, vol. VI, no. 1, 1971, pp.66-69.

AITKIN, Don and MORGAN, Kim

'Postal and Absent Voting: A Democratic Dilemma.' Australian Quarterly, vol. XLIII, no. 3, 1971.

AITKIN, D.A.

'A Sample of Surveys - 1970.' Politics, vol. VI, no.2, 1971, pp.211-13.

BURNS, A.L.

Introduction in Super Powers and World Order, (ed. Carsten Holbraad). Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1971, pp. xi-xxi.

Review article on writers of the Australian New Left in The Australian Journal of Politics and History, vol. XVII, no.1, 1971, pp.140-3.

HEATHCOTE, Nina

Agricultural Politics in the European Community, Department of Political Science, Institute of Advanced Studies, Australian National University, Occasional Paper No.7, 1971, pp. 49.

'Ireland and the United Nations: Operation in the Congo.' International Relations, vol. III, no. 11, 1971, pp.880-902.

LOVEDAY, P.

'Pressure Groups.' Chapter 19 in Australia - A Survey (ed. V.G. Venturini), vol. XXVII of the Studies of the Institute for Asian Affairs, Hamburg, 1970. (Not distributed until 1971.)

McCARTHY, J.M.

'Australia and Imperial Defence: Co-operation and Conflict 1918-1939.' Australian Journal of Politics and History, vol. XVII, no.1, 1971, pp. 19-32.

'Singapore and Australian Defence 1921-1942.' Australian Outlook, vol. XXV, no.2, 1971, pp. 165-180.

'"All for Australia," Some right-wing responses to the Depression in New South Wales, 1929-1932.' Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, vol. LVII, Pt 2, 1971, pp. 160-171.

'Unions and the United Australia Party: New South Wales, 1932-39.' Labour History, no.20, 1971, pp. 17-24.



MACKERRAS, M.

'Preference Voting and the "Donkey Vote!"' Politics, vol. V, no.1, 1970, pp. 69-76.

DLP Preference Distribution 1958-1969. Occasional Monograph No.3, Department of Government and Public Administration, University of Sydney, 1970, pp. 69.

'The New South Wales Election, February, 1971.' Australian Quarterly, vol. XLIII, no. 2, 1971, pp.31-38.

PARKER, R.S.

Administrative Development in Papua and New Guinea. South East Asia Development Advisory Group of the Asia Society, New York, 1971, pp. 28. (Paper delivered at International Seminar on Development Administration, Hong Kong, January 1971.)

The Politics of Dependence. Co-editor with A.L. Epstein and Marie Reay. Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1971, pp. 398 + v. Also chapter 1, 'The Context of Political Change' (with E.P. Wolfers,) pp. 12-47. Chapter 8 'From Dependence to Autonomy?', pp. 315-360.

PAUL, J.

'Political Review.' Australian Quarterly, XLIII, no. 4, pp. 104-114, 1971.

RAWSON, D.W.

'A Note on Union Affiliations with the ALP.' Politics, vol. VI, no.1, 1971, pp. 94-95.

'Trade Union Politics 2 - Self Assertion.' Current Affairs Bulletin, vol. XLVIII, no.1, pp. 25-32.

'Trade Unions.' Chapter 18 in Australia - A Survey (ed. V.G. Venturini), vol. XXVII of the Studies of the Institute for Asian Affairs, Hamburg, 1970. (Not distributed until 1971.)

RIGBY, T.H.R.

'The Soviets in '71.' Current Affairs Bulletin, vol. XLVIII, no.4, pp. 118-128.

'The Soviet Political Elite 1917-1922.' British Journal of Political Science, vol. I, no.4, 1971, pp.415-436.

WELLER, P.

'The Organisation of the Early Non-Labor Parties in Tasmania.' Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers & Proceedings, vol. XVIII, no. 4, 1971, pp. 137-148.

'Disciplined Party Voting: A Labor Innovation?' Labour History, no. 21, 1971, pp. 17-23.