

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

Annual Report 1973

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.)
Fellow	R.F. Miller, B.A. (Mich.), M.A., Ph.D. (Harvard) (from 26 July)
Senior Research Fellow	J.A. Ballard, B.A. (Dartmouth), J.D. (Harvard), Ph.D. (Fletcher Sch. of Law & Diplomacy)
Research Fellow	Nina Heathcote, B.A. (W.A.)
Post-Doctoral Fellow	P.M. Weller, M.A. (Oxon.), Ph.D. (ANU)
Research Assistant	Pamela Crichton, B.A. (Hons.) (ANU)
	Gillian Evans, B.Comm. (Melb.) B.A. (ANU)
	Beverley Lloyd, B.A., M.A. (Qld) (from 22 January)
	Ian T. Matheson, M.A. (Glasgow) (From 25 October)
	Carol Morgan, B.A. (Birm.), Ph.D. (ANU) (till 25 July)
	Elma S. Mueller, B.Ec. (Syd.)
	Valentin Ogareff
	Gillian O'Loughlin, B.A. (Melb.) (from 6 August)
	Natalie Staples, B.A. (Syd.), Dip.Ed. (N.E.), M.A. (ANU)
	Susan Vanderwal, B.A. (Hons.) (Syd.) (from 1 March till 12 December)
Departmental Secretary	Mary B. Carter (till 17 July)
	Kathleen A. Bourke (from 18 July)

### Visitors

Professor A. Dotson, Chairman of the Department of Government, Cornell University, spent the greater part of this year as Honorary Fellow in field work in Papua New Guinea and the Philippines for his study of comparative urbanisation in developing countries. In April he gave a joint seminar with Dr Diana Howlett, of Human Geography, RSPacS, on the theoretical framework and research design of his project.

Assistant Professor G.B. Breckenridge, of the Department of Political Science, McMaster University, was appointed Honorary Fellow from 23 October for approximately five months to undertake research in Australian politics as an extension of his comparative studies in American, British and Canadian politics.

Dr Tatjana Kirstein of the Free University of Berlin paid a brief visit in September for consultations with Drs Rigby and Miller, and gave a seminar on 'Consultation in the Soviet Political Process'.

### Staff Changes

Dr J.A. Ballard, Senior Research Fellow, was appointed in November to the newly-created W.D. and H.O. Wills Chair of Administrative Studies in the University of Papua New Guinea on secondment for three years.

Dr R.F. Miller arrived in July to commence duty as Fellow in the Soviet studies section of the Department.

Dr G.N. Hawker of the University of Birmingham, a graduate of the Department, was appointed in July as Research Fellow and will take up duty early in 1974.

There were a number of changes in the Research Assistant staff. Mrs B. Lloyd was appointed in January to assist Dr Weller in the editing of the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party Minutes to 1949 for publication. Dr Carol Morgan resigned in July to go abroad and was replaced in August by Mrs G. O'Loughlin. Mrs S. Vanderwal served from March to December when she resigned to live in Tasmania.

### Main Research Interests and Developments

Early in the year Professor Burns submitted a proposal for a separate World Politics Unit whose initial project would be a study on the international politics of Western Europe. In rejecting the proposal for the time being, the Faculty Board endorsed the School document on the 1976/78 Triennium (1049/1973) which stated that 'The School does not propose that any new department or unit be added to the present structure in 1976/78,' but which added: 'although it recognises that nearer to the entry of the triennium the then Director and his staff may well wish to ring the changes in the present groupings, provided of course that such changes do not exceed the maximum of 120 academic staff.'

Monographic work completed during the year and published by the Department included a detailed study of New South Wales election results and redistributions, 1959-1973 by Mr Mackerras, Research Student; the second edition of the Handbook of Australian Trade Unions and Employees' Associations, by Dr Rawson; and a guide to posts occupied by leading figures of the Soviet Republics, 1955-1972, by Dr G. Hodnett of York University (a former member of the Department) and Mr V.D. Ogareff, Research Assistant. Among projects also completed were Dr Loveday's share in a monograph on political groupings in the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly, 1964-1971; a monograph by Dr Miller on agricultural co-operatives in the USSR and Yugoslavia; chapters for symposia, on the history of the N.S.W. Labor Party to 1920 by Dr Loveday, and on Australia in world politics in the 'seventies by Professor Burns; and detailed Supplements (on the Commonwealth and Queensland) to the Handbook of Australian Government and Politics, 1890-1964, prepared by former member Professor C.A. Hughes of the University of Queensland. Ph.D. theses were completed on a theory of the voter's choice; the role of the candidate in Australian elections; and Supreme Soviet Presidia and Standing Commissions in the USSR.

Research continued as described in last year's report, on the origins of the Australian party system, 1890-1910; on the political aspects of Australian trade unionism; on the government and politics of New South Wales; on the political and administrative aspects of Papua New Guinea's transition to self-government; on the structure and operation of Soviet executive bodies; on the problems of comparing Soviet-type systems; on personalities in Soviet politics; on the implications of 'radical uncertainty' for political theory; and on the politics of the European Community. A Ph.D. project continued on the industrial policies of the Bruce-Page Government. Editing of the ALP Federal Caucus Minutes from 1901 proceeded on schedule, and the Party approved extension of the terminal date from 1946 to 1949.

A number of new lines of research were begun or planned. They included: a co-operative study, involving several members of the Department, of changes in policy-formulation and decision-making in Australian central government, c. 1970-1975; a study of the formation of industrial policy by recent Australian governments and a survey of the political attitudes of trade unionists in Melbourne, both by Dr Rawson; an extension of Dr Loveday's study of voting and parties in the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly to 1972-1975; studies by Dr Miller of agricultural policy in the USSR and Yugoslavia, of the political and administrative implications of technological innovation in the USSR, and of new approaches to the analysis of Soviet foreign policy; a project by Professor Burns on the implications of the Soviet-American Moscow Agreements of June 1972 for Western Europe (in the context of the 1973 Conference on European Security and Co-operation and talks on Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction), and for the Sino-Soviet conflict; and Ph.D. projects on the political implications of population trends in the USSR and Eastern Europe, on the 'primary' (work-unit) organisations of the USSR Communist Party, and a comparison of pressure groups in Ghana and Papua New Guinea.

### Other Activities

#### (a) Relations with governmental and other non-academic bodies:

Dr Ballard acted as consultant and delivered a paper on 'Public Service Career Structure and Classification' to a two-week Policy Workshop of local officers in the Senior Executive Group, to report to the Papua New Guinea Cabinet on a National Public Service for that country. On other occasions he advised the central administration, as requested, on various aspects of development administration and organisation.

Professor Burns made submissions on the defence role of the Australian Army to the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, and on the Omega Navigational System to the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence; and also presented an oral submission before the National Population Inquiry. He lectured twice on nuclear-weapons policy at the Joint Services Staff College, and maintained informal contact with Canberra embassies of NATO and EEC member states and with public servants concerned with that area.

Professor Parker also acted as consultant to the PNG Senior Executive Group Policy Workshop on the National Public Service, and delivered papers on 'The Unitary versus Pluralist Approach to Public Service Control' and on the proposed reorganisation of government departments. In November he chaired and helped draft the report of another Senior Executive Group workshop on the future role of the Administrative College of Papua New Guinea. He delivered a paper on 'Archives - the Users' View' to the Canberra Seminar on a National Archives System, and lectured on Papua New Guinea politics at the Joint Services Staff College, Canberra. In connection with the 21st Anniversary of the New Zealand Administrative Staff College (of which he was the founding Director), he directed a three-day Review Course, delivered the Anniversary Lecture in Wellington, on 'Decision Making in Modern Society', and was admitted to Life Membership of the College.

Dr Rigby lectured to diplomatic trainees for the Australian Foreign Affairs Department.

A number of members of both houses of Parliament and senior public servants led discussions on their work in the Department's regular Third Term Seminar on Australian Politics.

#### (b) Co-operation with other academic departments and institutions.

Dr Ballard collaborated with Dr R. Garnaut, of the New Guinea Research Unit, RSPaCS, in presenting a paper to the RSSS Department's Work-in-Progress Seminar on 'Economic Policy Making during the Transfer of Power'. He also delivered a paper on 'The Relevance of Australian Aid; some lessons from Papua New Guinea' to the Symposium on Development and Social Change at the 45th ANZAAS Congress in Perth.

Professor Burns preached the University Sermon to the Convocation of the University of Western Australia at Perth; delivered the 1973 Annual Lecture of the Newman Society, on 'Attitude Surveys'; and lectured on 'The Illusion of Pluralism' in the annual series at St Mark's, Canberra. He wrote letters and articles for the press on optional-preferential and other voting systems, on Australia's defences, on

France's nuclear testing, and on other aspects of international affairs. He attended conferences as sponsor of the newly-formed Australian Council for Educational Standards.

Dr Loveday organised a seminar for participants from State universities in the joint research project on the origins of the Australian party system, and prepared much of the data on parliamentary activities of the parties to be used by the authors in the proposed book on the project. His chapter on the history of the N.S.W. Labor Party was contributed to a book edited by D.J. Murphy on Labor in Politics, and the monograph on groups in the P.N.G. legislature was written jointly with E.P. Wolfers of Macquarie University. He also continued as Review Editor of the Australian Journal of Politics and History, and acted successively as Chairman of the RSSH Visiting Fellows Committee and of the Joint Schools Computer Users' Committee.

Professor Parker gave a seminar on 'Administrative Re-organisation for Development in Papua New Guinea' in the Faculty of Economics Master's Programme in Agricultural Development Economics. He served as a drafting member of the University committee to report on an Australian Institute of Development Studies; as a member of the Research Advisory Committee of the Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations; and on the New Guinea Research Unit Committee. He was re-appointed as External Consultant to the Department of Political Studies of the University of Papua New Guinea.

Dr Rawson delivered a paper on 'The Paradox of Partisan Trade Unionism' at the Perth ANZAAS Congress. He was Chairman of the RSSH Scholarships Committee and of the H.C. Coombs Building House Committee, and a member of the RSSH Archives Committee and the Survey Research Centre Advisory Committee.

Dr Rigby lectured on Soviet politics in the Political Science Department, SGS, and gave a seminar paper and lecture respectively in the Political Science and Russian departments of the University of Melbourne. While on study leave he gave a lecture in the Lenin Library, Moscow, delivered a paper in a workshop on 'Party and Society in Eastern Europe' at the University of California, Berkeley, and took part in a conference on Soviet politics held in West Germany.

Dr Weller was President of the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History and a member of the Editorial Board of Labour History.

Several staff members helped in supervising students in other departments of the University. There was also reciprocal participation in the work-in-progress seminars of this Department and the Political Science Department, SGS.

The seminar by Professor Dotson and Dr Howlett was held in conjunction with the Urban Research Unit, RSSH and the Department of Human Geography, RSPacS. The Department joined with Far Eastern History, RSPacS, in a seminar given by Dr K.V. Malakhovsky, Academic Secretary of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, USSR Academy of Sciences; and with the History of Ideas Unit, RSSH, in a seminar by Professor C.B. Macpherson of the University of Toronto. The Department's own seminar programme included papers by Professor Dwight Waldo of Syracuse University, Dr J. Pincus of the Department of Economics, RSSH and Dr R.L. Wettenhall, Principal Lecturer in the School of Administrative Studies, Canberra College of Advanced Education.

Students

Mr J.F. Besemeres took up his Ph.D. scholarship at the beginning of the year and was enrolled with the topic: 'Political implications of population trends in the USSR and selected countries of eastern Europe'.

Mr R.J. Cooksey, staff candidate in the Department of Political Science, SGS, gave up his candidature early in the year.

Mr B.L. Embury was granted further extensions of time up to 12 February 1974 to complete his thesis on 'The Elector's Choice: a theory and its empirical application'. In September he took up a position as Senior Research Officer in the Australian Electoral Office, Canberra.

Mr S. Fortescue, B.A. (Hons.IIA), ANU, was awarded a Ph.D. scholarship and began his course in June with the research topic: 'The "primary" (i.e. work-unit) organisations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union'. He is concentrating on those in administrative bodies, educational, medical and research institutions and the like. He is jointly supervised by Dr Rigby and Dr Miller.

Mr R. Gerritsen, B.A. (W.A.), M.A. (Ghana), took up his Ph.D. scholarship at the end of July for a comparative study of pressure groups in Ghana and Papua New Guinea. He proceeded in August to Papua New Guinea for a year's fieldwork under the supervision of Dr Ballard.

Mrs J. Hutchison, a staff candidate at the Canberra College of Advanced Education enrolled in the Department of Political Science SGS, with Dr Loveday as joint supervisor, was given an extension of time until 30 April 1974 to submit her thesis on the work of Australian Senators. Her domestic circumstances held up progress on the thesis for most of the year.

Mr M. Mackerras was granted three months' extension of course and scholarship from the beginning of June, and a further three months' time to submit his Ph.D. thesis on 'The role of the candidate in Australian elections'. The thesis has now been submitted. During the year Mr Mackerras's handbook on parliamentary elections in New South Wales was published by the Department.

Mr S. Minagawa was allowed a total of nine months' extension of time from the end of his Ph.D. course in March to submit his thesis on 'Supreme Soviet Presidia and Standing Commissions in the USSR'. The thesis is now complete for submission. Minagawa conducted tutorials in the Department of Political Science, SGS, and also worked part-time on Japanese materials for the University Library.

Mr J.B. Paul's course and scholarship were shortened and he was granted an extension of time till 18 August 1974 to submit his thesis on the industrial policies of the Bruce-Page government, on his taking up appointment in February to a Lectureship in the School of Politics, University of New South Wales.

Mr P. Tiver submitted his revised Ph.D. thesis on 'Political Ideas in the Liberal Party of Australia', was examined and awarded the degree.

Publications

HODNETT, Grey\* & OGAREFF, Val

Leaders of the Soviet Republics 1955-1972: A Guide to Posts and Occupants, Department of Political Science, RSSH, A.N.U. Canberra, 1973, xix + 454.

MACKERRAS, M.

New South Wales Elections, Department of Political Science, RSSH, A.N.U. Canberra, 1973, iii + 209.

'The Swing: Variability and Uniformity' in Labor to Power, ed. Henry Mayer, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, pp. 234-241.

PARKER, R.S. \*\*

'Public Administration', in Encyclopedia of Papua and New Guinea, Melbourne, 1972, Vol. 2, pp. 982-93

Papua New Guinea as an Emergent State, Wellington, New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, 1972, pp.34.

RAWSON, D.W.

A Handbook of Australian Trade Unions and Employees' Associations, Second edition, Department of Political Science Occasional Paper No. 8, iv + 100. Published March 1973. Further printing November.

RIGBY, T.H.R.

'Bureaucratic Politics: An Introduction', Public Administration, Sydney, Vol. XXXII, No. 1, March 1973, pp.1-20.

WELLER, P.M.

'Meetings of the early non-Labor Parliamentary Parties', Political Science, Wellington, 1973, Vol. 25, No. 2.

(Note: The small publications list this year reflects a trend encouraged in the Department in recent years to concentrate on more substantial monographic or book-length publications. Every member of the Department is at present engaged on one or more works of this kind.)

\* Former member of the Department

\*\* Publications not included in the 1972 Annual Report