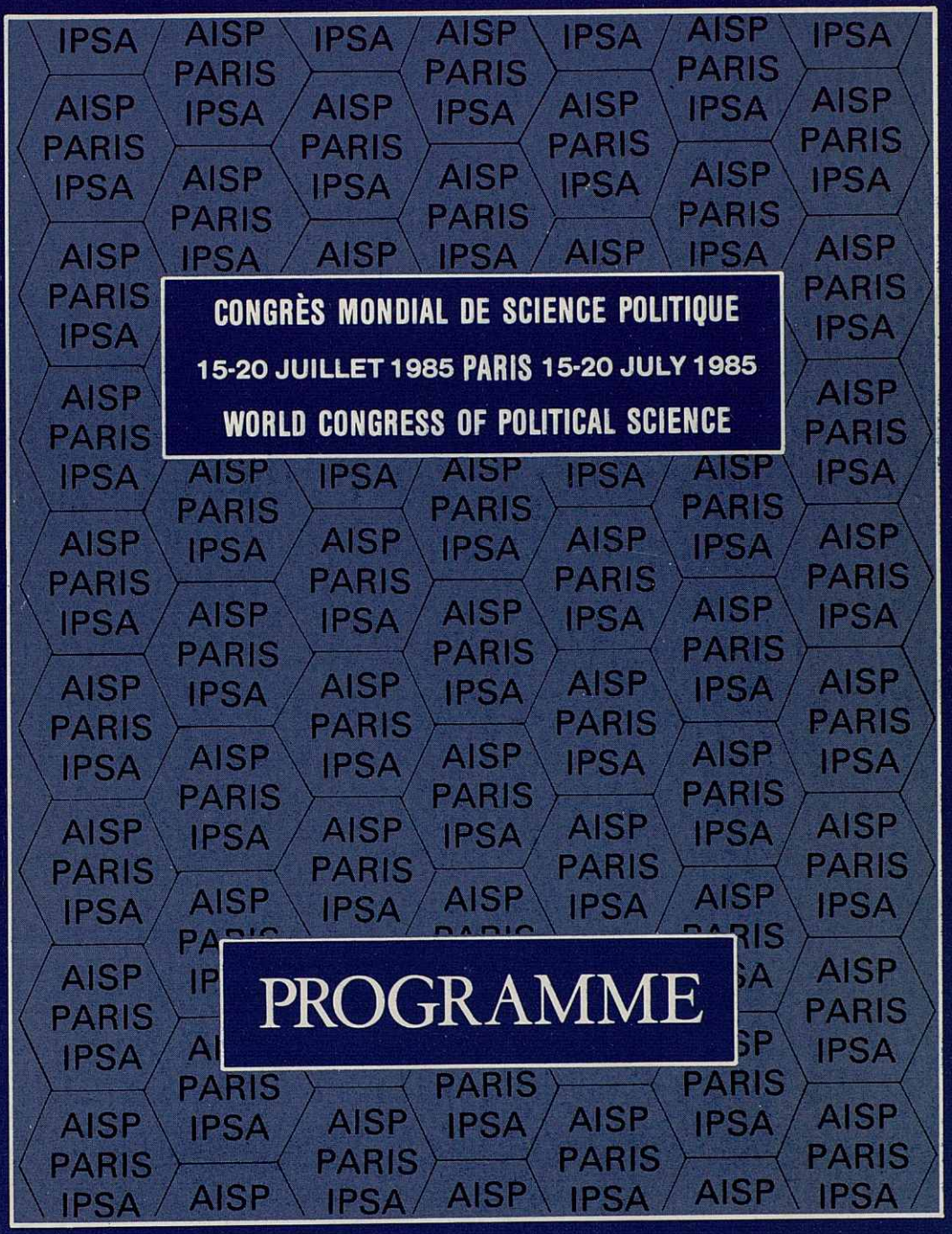


ASSOCIATION FRANÇAISE DE SCIENCE POLITIQUE
FONDATION NATIONALE DES SCIENCES POLITIQUES
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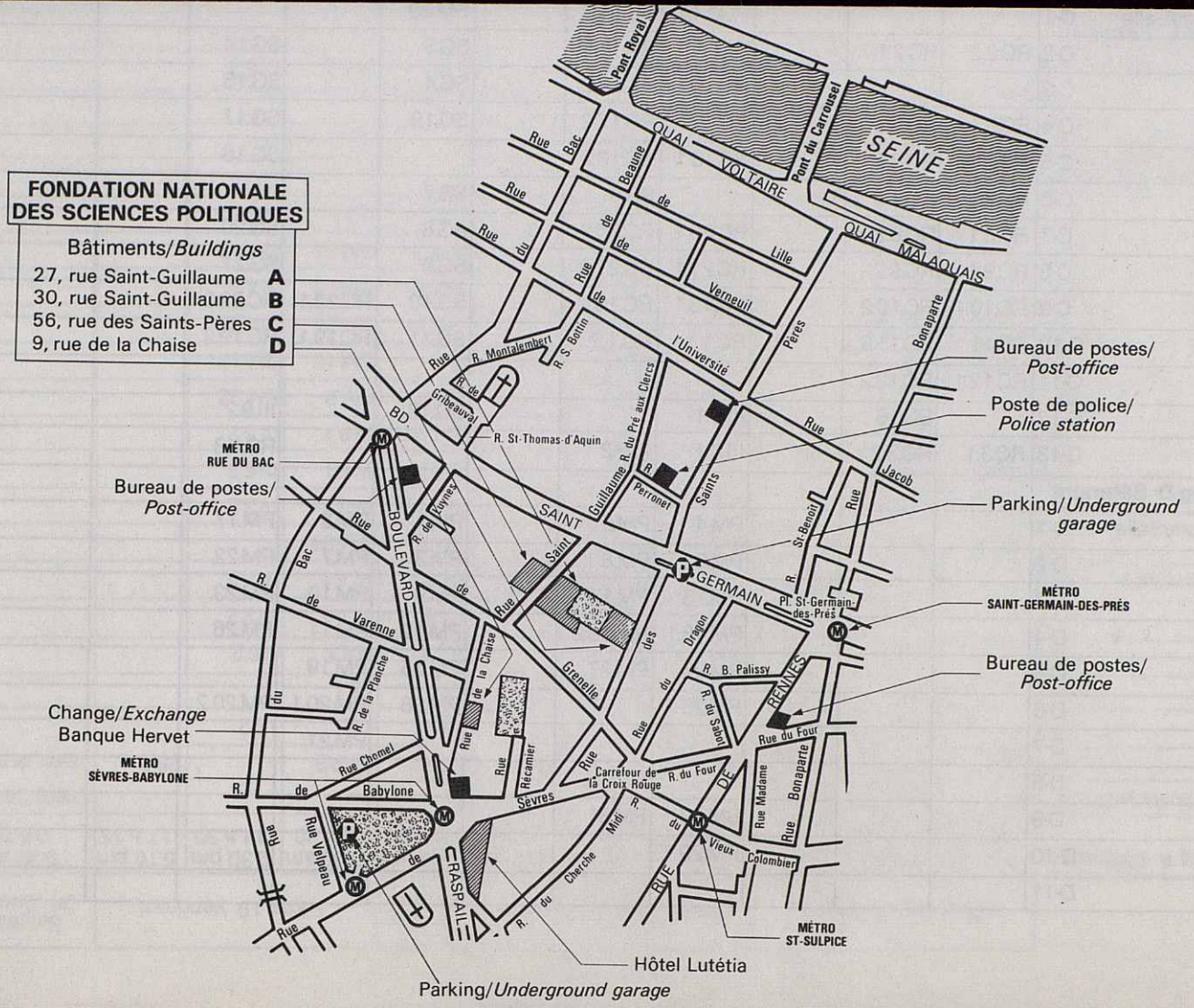
AISP
PARIS
IPSA

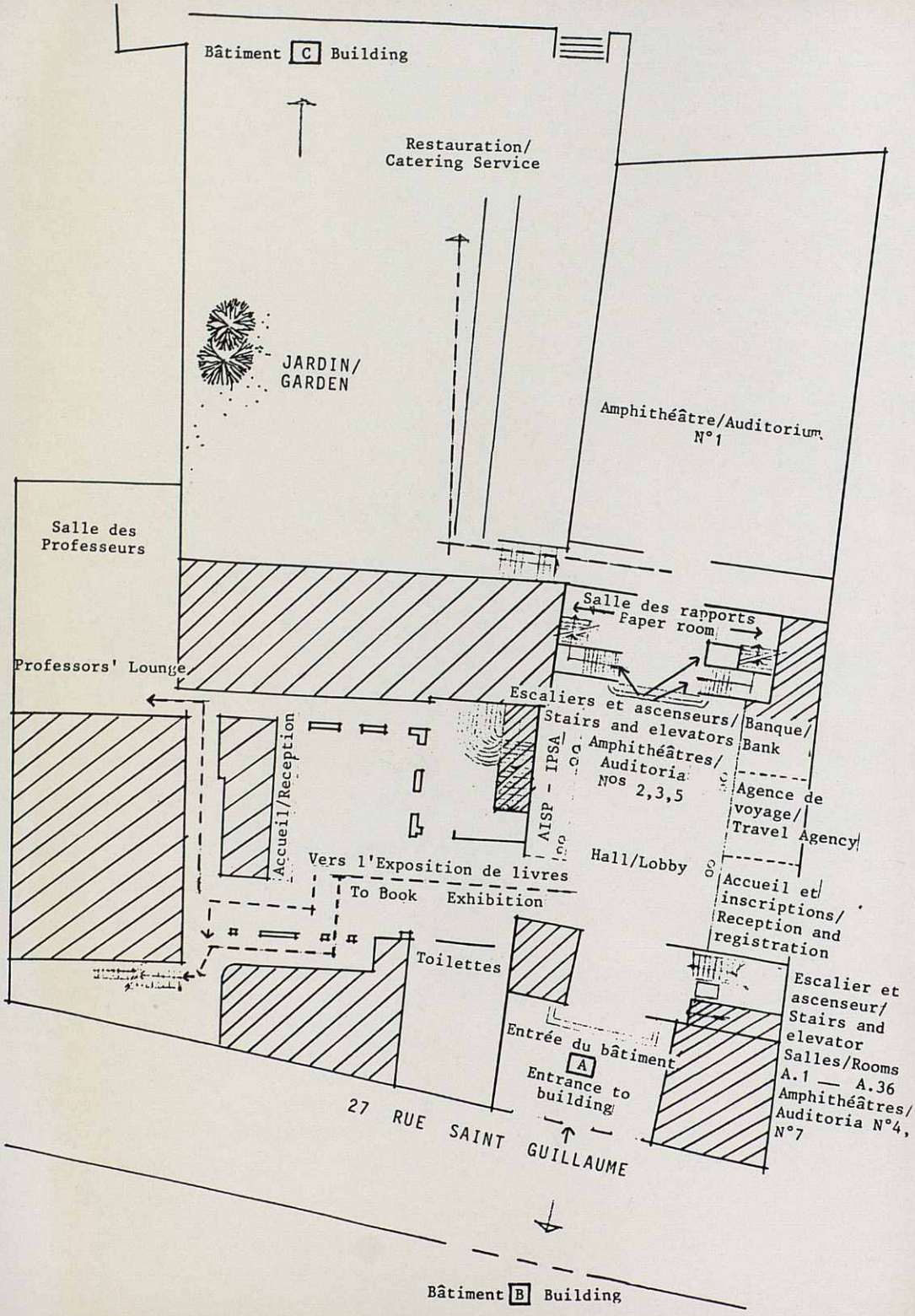
Congrès mondial, Paris, France, 15-20 juillet 1985
World Congress, Paris, France, July 15-20, 1985

Bâtiment A Building :	27, rue Saint-Guillaume
Bâtiment B Building :	30, rue Saint-Guillaume
Bâtiment C Building :	Accès par le jardin, au fond du hall du bâtiment A ; autre entrée : 56, rue des Saint-Pères / *Access through garden, at end of main lobby, Bldg A; other entrance: 56, rue des Saints-Pères*
Bâtiment D Building :	9, rue de la Chaise.

ASSOCIATION FRANÇAISE DE SCIENCE POLITIQUE
FONDATION NATIONALE DES SCIENCES POLITIQUES
27, RUE SANT-GUILLAUME - PARIS 7e

	Tuesday 16 Mardi			Wednesday 17 Mercredi			Thursday 18 Jeudi	Friday 19 Vendredi			Saturday 20 Samedi
Bldg A Bâtiment	9.30 am 9 h 30	2.30 pm 14 h 30	5.15 pm 17 h 15	9.30 am 9 h 30	2.30 pm 14 h 30	5.15 pm 17 h 15	9.30 am 9 h 30	9.30 am 9 h 30	2.30 pm 14 h 30	5.15 pm 17 h 15	9.30 am 9 h 15
Audit./Amphith. Nº 1	I.0	III.0									Closing Session
Nº 2	II.0	IV.0		SFP.1		PS.1	SFP.2	SFP.3		PS.2	Séance de clôture
Nº 3		I.1.1		I.1.2	I.2.1		I.2.2	I.3.1	I.3.2		
Nº 4		I.4.1		I.4.2	I.5.1		I.5.2	I.6.1			
Nº 5		II.4.1		II.4.2	II.5.1		II.5.2	II.6.1	II.6.2		
Nº 7		I.7.1		I.7.2	I.8.1		I.8.2	III.2.1	III.2.2		
Room/Salle A-1			PM.16	III.3.1	III.3.2		I.6.2	III.4.1	III.4.2		
A-2	SM.43	SM.44		SM.12	SM.14		SM.3	SM.24			
A-3	SM.27	SM.28		IV.1.1	IV.1.2		SM.38	IV.3.1	IV.3.2		
A-4	PM.30	SM.36		IV.4.1	IV.4.2		SM.7	IV.6.1	IV.6.2		
A-5		SM.4		IV.7.1	IV.7.2		SM.30	IV.8.1	IV.8.2		
A-6	SM.1	SM.2		III.8.1	III.8.2		SM.6	SM.8	SM.32		
A-7	SM.10	SM.11		IV.2.1	IV.2.2			SM.16	SM.17		
A-8	SM.18	SM.19		SM.21	SM.22		SM.23	SM.25	SM.26		
A-9				SM.37	SM.15		SM.31	SM.33	SM.9		
A-10				SM.45	IV.5.1		IV.5.2	SM.41	SM.42		
A-36		II.1.1		II.1.2	II.2.1		II.2.2	II.3.1	II.3.2		
Bldg B Bâtiment											
Room/Salle B-3				III.7.1	III.7.2						
B-5				III.1.1	III.1.2						
Audit./Amphith. B-6		II.7.1		II.7.2	II.8.1		II.8.2	III.5.1	III.5.2		
Bldg C Bâtiment											
Room/Salle C-1				RC.14.1	RC.14.2		SM.29				
C-2	RC.2.2	RC.2.1		RC.15.1	RC.15.2		SG.3		SG.14		
C-3				RC.16.1	RC.16.2		SG.4		SG.15		
C-4	RC.5.1	RC.5.2		RC.17.1	RC.17.2		SG.19		SG.17		
C-5	RC.6.1	RC.6.2		RC.18.1	RC.18.2				SG.18		
C-6	RC.7.1	RC.7.2			SG.6		SG.7				
C-7	RC.8.1	RC.8.2		RC.20.1	RC.20.2		SG.8		SG.20		
C-8	RC.9.1	RC.9.2		RC.21.1	RC.21.2		SG.9		SG.21		
C-9	RC.10.1	RC.10.2		RC.13.1	RC.13.2		SG.10	RC.22.1	RC.22.2		
C-10	RC.11.1	RC.11.2		RC.1.1	RC.1.2		SG.11	RC.19.1	RC.19.2		
C-11	RC.12.1	RC.12.2									
C-12		SG.16		III.9.1			SG.13		III.9.2		
C-13	RC.3.1	RC.3.2		III.6.1	III.6.2				RC.1.3		
Bldg D Bâtiment											
Room/Salle D-1				PM.4	PM.5		PM.1	PM.2	PM.17		
D-2				PM.6	PM.8		PM.3	PM.7	PM.22		
D-3				PM.13	PM.14		PM.9	PM.10	PM.23		
D-4				PM.18.1	PM.18.2		PM.12	PM.11	PM.26		
D-5				PM.24	PM.27		PM.15	PM.19			
D-6				PM.25			PM.28	PM.20.1	PM.20.2		
D-7								PM.21			
D-8											
D-9				SM.13	PM.31						
D-10				PM.29							
D-11											


FONDATION NATIONALE DES SCIENCES POLITIQUES
Bâtiments/Buildings
27, rue Saint-Guillaume A
30, rue Saint-Guillaume B
56, rue des Saints-Pères C
9, rue de la Chaise D
Pont Royal
SEINE
Pont du Carrousel
QUAI VOLTAIRE
QUAI MALAQUAIS
Rue Bac
Rue de Beaune
Rue de Lille
Rue de Verneuil
Rue du Bac
R. Montalembert
R. S. Bonin
R. de Gribeauval
R. St-Thomas-d'Aquin
BD SAINT GERMAIN
BOULEVARD SAINT GERMAIN
MÉTRO RUE DU BAC
Bureau de postes/ Post-office
R. de Bac
R. de Varenne
R. de la Planche
R. de la Chaise
R. de Rennes
Rue Guillaume
R. du Pré aux Clercs
l'Université
R. des Saints Pères
R. Perronet
Rue Jacob
Rue Bonaparte
Poste de police/ Police station
Parking/Underground garage
R. St-Benoît
PLACE GERMAIN
Pl. St-Germain-des-Prés
MÉTRO SAINT-GERMAIN-DES-PRÉS
Bureau de postes/ Post-office
R. B. Palissy
R. du Dragon
R. du Sabot
RENNES
Rue du Four
Carrefour de la Croix Rouge
R. du Four
Rue Madame
Rue Bonaparte
Change/Exchange
Banque Hervet
MÉTRO SÈVRES-BABYLONE
Rue Chomel
R. de Babylone
Rue Récamier
Rue de Sèvres
Rue Velpeau
Rue du Cherche Midi
CRASPAIL
RUE du Vieux Colombier
MÉTRO ST-SULPICE
Hôtel Lutétia
Parking/Underground garage


Bâtiment C Building
Restauration/
Catering Service
JARDIN/
GARDEN
Amphithéâtre/Auditorium
N°1
Salle des
Professeurs
Professors' Lounge
Salle des rapports
Paper room
Escaliers et ascenseurs/
Stairs and elevators
Amphithéâtres/
Auditoria
Nos 2,3,5
Banque/
Bank
Agence de
voyage/
Travel Agency
Accueil/Reception
AISP - IPSA
Vers l'Exposition de livres
To Book Exhibition
Hall/Lobby
Accueil et
inscriptions/
Reception and
registration
Toilettes
Escalier et
ascenseur/
Stairs and
elevator
Salles/Rooms
A.1 — A.36
Amphithéâtres/
Auditoria N°4,
N°7
Entrée du bâtiment
A
Entrance to
building
27 RUE SAINT GUILLAUME
Bâtiment B Building

AISP
PARIS
IPSA

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DE SCIENCE POLITIQUE

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

AIR FRANCE

Sous le haut patronage du Président de la République française

CONGRÈS MONDIAL - *WORLD CONGRESS*

15-20 JUILLET 1985 15-20 JULY

Under the auspices of the President of the French Republic

PROGRAMME

ASSOCIATION FRANÇAISE DE SCIENCE POLITIQUE
FONDATION NATIONALE DES SCIENCES POLITIQUES
27, rue Saint-Guillaume - PARIS 7e

Transporteur officiel
Official carrier

AIR FRANCE

Agence de voyages officielle
Official Travel Agency

Le Tourisme d'Affaires
179, av. du Roule, 92200 Neuilly
Telex : 630 262 F
Téléphone : (1) 722.3800

Couverture / Cover design: Luis Costa Bonino

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INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

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(U.R.S.S./U.S.S.R.)

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(Etats-Unis/United States)

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(Argentine/Argentina)

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(Turquie/Turkey)

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(Italie/Italy)

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Responsable de l'organisation locale/Local Organizer

SERGE HURTIG (France)

PRESIDENTS

1949-1952	Quincy Wright † (University of Chicago)
1952-1955	William A. Robson † (London School of Economics and Political Science)
1955-1958	James K. Pollock † (University of Michigan)
1958-1961	Jacques Chapsal (Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, Paris)
1961-1964	D. Norman Chester (Nuffield College, Oxford University)
1964-1967	Jacques Freymond (Institut Universitaire des Hautes Etudes Internationales, Genève)
1967-1970	Carl J. Friedrich † (Harvard University)
1970-1973	Stein Rokkan † (University of Bergen)
1973-1976	Jean Laponce (University of British Columbia)
1976-1979	Karl Deutsch (Harvard University)
1979-1982	Candido Mendes (Sociedade Brasileira de Instrução)
1982-1985	Klaus von Beyme (University of Heidelberg)

SECRÉTAIRES GÉNÉRAUX / SECRETARIES GENERAL

1949-1950	François Goguel (Fondation nationale des sciences politiques)
1950-1955	Jean Meynaud † (Fondation nationale des sciences politiques)
1955-1960	John Goormaghtigh (Dotation Carnegie)
1961-1967	Serge Hurtig (Fondation nationale des sciences politiques)
1967-1976	André Philippart (Institut de Sociologie, Université Libre de Bruxelles)
1976-	John E. Trent (University of Ottawa)

FONDS STEIN ROKKAN

Le Comité exécutif de l'A.I.S.P. a créé un fonds en souvenir de Stein Rokkan, Président de l'Association de 1970 à 1973. Les intérêts des dons sont accordés à des étudiants de 2e et de 3e cycle pour les aider à payer les frais du voyage aux congrès mondiaux.

Trois bourses avaient été accordées pour le Congrès de Rio de Janeiro, à Musa Ballah Conteh (Côte d'Ivoire), Alain Gagnon (Canada) et Scott MacDonald (Etats-Unis). Pour le Congrès de Paris, sept bourses ont été attribuées. Le nom des bénéficiaires sera annoncé à Paris.

Une campagne de souscriptions est en cours. Si vous ne l'avez pas encore fait, nous vous prions d'apporter votre contribution. Vous pouvez le faire à Paris, au bureau d'information de l'A.I.S.P.

STEIN ROKKAN FUND

The IPSA Executive Committee has established a fellowship fund named after Stein Rokkan, IPSA President from 1970 to 1973. The interest from the donations is awarded to graduate students to help cover travel costs to attend the World Congresses.

For the Rio de Janeiro Congress, three grants were awarded, to Musa Ballah Conteh (Ivory Coast), Alain Gagnon (Canada), and Scott MacDonald (USA). For the Paris Congress, seven grants have been offered. Their names will be announced in Paris.

A drive to obtain more donations is being conducted. If you have not already done so, please make a contribution. The opportunity is offered in Paris, at the IPSA information desk.

SIÈGE SOCIAL / LEGAL HEADQUARTERS

27, rue Saint-Guillaume - 75341 PARIS CEDEX 07 - FRANCE

SECRÉTARIAT

C/O University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario KIN 6 N 5 - CANADA
TELEPHONE : (613) 231-5818
TELEX : 053-3338
ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE / CABLE ADDRESS: IPSACAN OTTAWA, CANADA

SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL / SECRETARY GENERAL :

John E. Trent

ADMINISTRATRICE / ADMINISTRATOR

Liette Boucher

PUBLICATIONS

— *DOCUMENTATION POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE* / INTERNATIONAL *POLITICAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS*
Directeur / Editor: Serge Hurtig (France)

— *PROGRES EN SCIENCE POLITIQUE : SERIE INTERNATIONALE* / ADVANCES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE: AN INTERNATIONAL SERIES
Directeur/Editor: Richard Merritt (Etats-Unis/USA)

— *REVUE INTERNATIONALE DE SCIENCE POLITIQUE / INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW*
Directeur / Editor: John Meisel (Canada)

SECRÉTARIAT DU TREIZIÈME CONGRÈS MONDIAL / SECRETARIAT OF THE THIRTEENTH WORLD CONGRESS

Oslo : — John G. Taylor
— Computer work by Joint EDP - Services for the Social Sciences

Paris : — Jacqueline Bosse
— Michèle David
— Nicole Griffiths
— Nicole Jouis
— Celia Seminario
— Thérèse Tournier

INTERPRÈTES / INTERPRETERS

— Huong Do, AIIC
— Vitia Hessel, AIIC
— Philip Minns, AIIC

Equipe constituée par / Team set up by: INCCA, 56 rue de Lisbonne, 75008 Paris; Tél. 256.44.44.

ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DE SCIENCE POLITIQUE

INFORMATIONS GÉNÉRALES

L'Association Internationale de science politique (A.I.S.P.) a été fondée en 1949 sous les auspices de l'Unesco. C'est une organisation internationale à but non lucratif, ayant pour objectifs de promouvoir le développement de la science politique à travers le monde par les moyens suivants : constitution d'associations nationales ; organisation de congrès mondiaux et de tables rondes ; constitution de services de documentation et de référence ; diffusion de l'information en science politique ; promotion de la recherche à l'échelle internationale. Par ses activités, l'A.I.S.P. s'efforce de faire progresser la recherche et de faciliter les contacts entre politistes des diverses régions et des différents systèmes politiques.

L'Association assure à l'heure actuelle les activités suivantes :

- publication de la *Documentation politique internationale / Abstracts ;*
- publication de la *Revue internationale de science politique ;*
- publication de *Progrès en science politique : Série internationale ;*
- publication d'un bulletin de nouvelles, *Participation ;*
- organisation d'un *Congrès mondial* tous les trois ans ;
- parrainage de 21 *Comités de recherche* et de 18 *Groupes d'études ;*
- organisation de plusieurs *séminaires* de recherche et *tables rondes* chaque année ;
- collaboration avec d'autres associations internationales dans le cadre de travaux interdisciplinaires ;
- promotion, diffusion et perfectionnement de la science politique à l'échelle mondiale.

L'adhésion à l'Association internationale de science politique se répartit en trois catégories : membres collectifs (Associations nationales ou régionales de science politique), membres associés (Universités, départements, instituts de recherche, etc.), et membres individuels.

Le Conseil de l'Association, composé principalement de délégués des membres collectifs (qui y ont un, deux ou trois sièges) se réunit à l'occasion des Congrès mondiaux, notamment pour élire le Président et les autres membres du Comité exécutif.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The International Political Science Association (IPSA) was founded in 1949 under the auspices of UNESCO. It is an international non-profit organization whose objectives are to promote the advancement of political science throughout the world, by such means as the establishment of national associations; to organize world congresses and round tables; to provide documentary and reference services; to facilitate the spread of political science information; and to promote internationally planned research. IPSA strives to advance research and facilitate contact among political scientists belonging to various regions of the world and different political systems.

The Association currently undertakes a great variety of activities; it

- *publishes* International Political Science Abstracts;
- *publishes* the International Political Science Review;
- *publishes* Advances in Political Sciences: An International Series;
- *publishes a newsletter,* Participation;
- *organizes a World Congress every three years;*
- *sponsors 21* Research Committees *and 18* Study Groups;
- *holds several* research seminars *and* round tables *annually;*
- *collaborates in interdisciplinary work with other international association;*
- *promotes the growth and improvement of the discipline of political science throughout the world.*

Membership in the International Political Science Association falls into three categories: Collective Members (national or regional political science associations), Associate Members (Universities, departments, research institutes, etc.) and Individual Members.

The Association's Council, composed primarily of delegates of collective members (who hold one, two or three seats), meets at the time of each world congress. It elects the President and other members of the Executive Committee.

MEMBRES COLLECTIFS / COLLECTIVE MEMBERS

En 1985, l'A.I.S.P. compte 39 membres collectifs (associations nationales ou régionales) / In 1985, IPSA has 39 collective members (national or regional associations) :

Afrique / Africa
Argentine / Argentina
Asie-Pacifique / Asian Pacific
Australie / Australia
Autriche / Austria
Belgique / Belgium
Brésil / Brazil
Bulgarie / Bulgaria
Canada
Chili / Chile
Chine / China
Corée (République de) / Korea (Republic of)
Danemark / Denmark
Espagne / Spain
Etats-Unis / USA
Finlande / Finland
France
Grèce / Greece
Hongrie / Hungary
Inde / India
Israël / Israel
Italie / Italy
Japon / Japan
Mexique / Mexico
Norvège / Norway
Pays-Bas / Netherlands
Philippines
Pologne / Poland
République démocratique d'Allemagne / German Democratic Republic
République fédérale d'Allemagne / Federal Republic of Germany
Roumanie / Romania
Royaume-Uni / United Kingdom
Suède / Sweden
Suisse / Switzerland
Tchécoslovaquie / Czechoslovakia
Turquie / Turkey
URSS / USSR
Vénézuéla / Venezuela
Yougoslavie / Yugoslavia

MEMBRES ASSOCIÉS / ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

1983 : 113 (dont 18 nouveaux membres / of which 18 new members)
1984 : 111 (dont 8 nouveaux membres / of which 8 new members)
1985 : 90 (dont 4 nouveaux membres / of which 4 new members)

MEMBRES INDIVIDUELS / INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS

1983 : 853 (39 nouveaux membres ; 456 dans la catégorie 3 ans)
(39 new members and 456 3-year members)
1984 : 765 (94 nouveaux membres ; 456 dans la catégorie 3 ans)
(94 new members and 456 3-year members)
1985 : 1.227 (339 nouveaux membres ; 456 dans la catégorie 3 ans)
(339 new members and 456 3-year members)

ASSOCIATION FRANÇAISE DE SCIENCE POLITIQUE

Un des quatre membres fondateurs de l'AISP, l'Association Française de Science Politique a été créée en 1949 pour favoriser la recherche, l'enseignement et les échanges internationaux dans le domaine de la science politique. Elle compte actuellement plus de 900 membres. L'Association est administrée par un Conseil composé de représentants des diverses branches de la science politique et des disciplines voisines (sociologie, droit public, histoire, etc.) Conjointement avec la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, elle publie la *Revue Française de Science Politique* (6 numéros par an).

L'AFSP est fière d'accueillir, pour la deuxième fois, un Congrès mondial de l'AISP. Son Conseil remercie pour leur aide généreuse le Gouvernement français et la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques.

CONSEIL / EXECUTIVE BOARD

Président : Georges Vedel

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Albert Mabileau

Secrétaire général : Jean-Luc Parodi

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Jacques Cadart	Alain Lancelot
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FRENCH POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

One of IPSA's four founding members, the French Political Science Association was established in 1949 to promote research, instruction and international exchanges in the field of political science. It has a current membership of over 900. The Association's Executive Board is composed of members representing various branches of the discipline as well as related disciplines (sociology, public law, history, etc.). Jointly with the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, it publishes the bimonthly *Revue Française de Science Politique.*

The ASFP is proud to host for the second time a World Congress of Political Science. Its Executive Board wishes to express its gratitude for the generous assistance of the French Government and the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques.

FONDATION NATIONALE DES SCIENCES POLITIQUES
INSTITUT D'ETUDES POLITIQUES DE PARIS

La Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques et l'Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris ont tous deux été créés en 1945, pour succéder à l'Ecole libre des Sciences Politiques, fondée en 1872 par Emile Boutmy.

● L'objet assigné à la Fondation par l'ordonnance du 9 octobre 1945 est de « favoriser le progrès et la diffusion, en France et à l'étranger, des sciences politiques, économiques et sociales ».

Dès sa création, la Fondation a été chargée de la gestion administrative et Financière de l'Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris ; cette tâche a été confirmée en 1969 et à nouveau en 1985.

Les principales activités propres de la Fondation sont les suivantes :

1. Développement des services de documentation. La Bibliothèque de la Fondation est devenue une des plus importantes d'Europe dans le domaine des sciences sociales (directeur : Jean Meyriat).
2. Organisation de centres de recherche. La Fondation a créé en collaboration avec le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique d'importants services de recherche en science politique : Centre d'Etude de la Vie Politique Française Contemporaine (CEVIPOF ; directeur : Alain Lancelot) ; Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI ; directeur : Guy Hermet). Certains centres de recherche des Instituts d'Etudes Politiques de Bordeaux et de Grenoble lui sont associés. La Fondation a en outre des services de recherches économiques, sociales et historiques.
3. Publications. Depuis 1975, les Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques (directeur : Louis Bodin) assurent de manière autonome une activité de publication lancée dès 1947. Outre une quinzaine d'ouvrages par an, les Presses de la FNSP publient cinq revues, dont la *Revue Française de Science Politique*, organe de l'Association Française de Science Politique et de la FNSP.

Le Conseil d'administration de la Fondation est présidé par René Rémond.

● L'Institut d'Etudes Politiques est une institution d'enseignement. Il délivre un diplôme propre et des doctorats. Ses étudiants, au nombre d'environ 4.500, se répartissent entre une première année commune, un deuxième cycle de deux ans (quatre sections : Section Service public ; Section Economique et Financière ; Section Politique, Economique et Sociale ; Section des Relations Internationales) et divers programmes post-diplôme. Créé comme Institut de l'Université de Paris, l'IEP est devenu en 1969 institut indépendant des universités, et a été érigé en 1984 en « grand établissement ». Son Conseil de direction est présidé par François Goguel.

Les deux institutions, étroitement liées — Michel Gentot est à la fois administrateur de la Fondation et directeur de l'Institut — et associant ainsi des activités d'enseignement, de recherche, de documentation et de publication, constituent un ensemble original : « les institutions de la rue Saint-Guillaume », ou plus familièrement, « Sciences Po ». Leur statut sauvegarde leur autonomie de gestion et leur permet d'obtenir le concours de personnalités très diverses pour s'adapter à des besoins qui changent rapidement.

La *Notice* IEP-FNSP de l'année universitaire 1985-1986, dans laquelle on trouvera une description détaillée de leurs activités et de leurs programmes, sera remise au Secrétariat du Congrès à tous les participants qui en feront la demande.

FONDATION NATIONALE DES SCIENCES POLITIQUES
INSTITUT D'ETUDES POLITIQUES DE PARIS

The National Foundation for Political Sciences (FNSP) and the Paris Institute of Political Studies (IEP) were both established in 1945 as successors to the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques, founded in 1872 by Emile Boutmy.

• *The objective assigned to the FNSP by the government ordinance of 9 October 1945 is « to foster the progress and dissemination, in France and abroad, of the political, economic and social sciences ».*

Since its creation, the Fondation has been entrusted with the administrative and financial management of the Paris IEP; this task was confirmed in 1969 and again in 1985.

The Fondation's other major activities are:

1. *Documentation. The Fondation's library has become one of the most important in Europe in the social sciences (director: Jean Meyriat).*
2. *Research. In cooperation with the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, the Fondation has set up major research centers in the field of political science: Center for the Study of Contemporary French Politics (CEVIPOF; director: Alain Lancelot); Centre of International Studies and Research (CERI; director: Guy Hermet). Research centers at the Bordeaux and Grenoble Institutes of Political Studies are associated to it. The Fondation also has research centers in the fields of economics, sociology and history.*
3. *Publications. Since 1975, the Presses de la FNSP (director: Louis Bodin) have operated autonomously — the Fondation had been active as a publisher since 1947. In addition to approximately 15 books each year, the Presses de la FNSP publish five journals, among which the* Revue française de Science Politique, *sponsored by both the Fondation and the French Political Science Association.*

The Fondation's Board is presided by René Rémond.

• *The Institute of Political Studies (IEP) is a teaching institution, with instruction leading to a diploma and to doctoral degrees. After a common first year, its students — approximately 4,500 in number — follow a two-year curriculum leading to the diploma, and may choose among four departments: Public Service; Economics and Finance; Political, Economic and Social Sciences; International Relations. There are also various graduate programs. Established as an Institute of the University of Paris, it became in 1969 an independent institute, and was placed in 1984 in the category of* grands établissements. *Its Board is presided by François Goguel.*

The two institutions have close links — Michel Gentot is simultaneously administrator of the FNSP and director of the IEP. They perform jointly tasks of instruction, research, documentation and publishing, and make up an original whole: « the institutions of the rue Saint-Guillaume » or, more familiarly, « Sciences Po ». Their status guarantees their autonomy and enables them to enlist the cooperation of a great variety of personnel and adapt to rapidly changing demands.

The IEP-FNSP Brochure *for the academic year 1985-1986, which describes in detail their activities, programs and curricula, is freely available (in French...) at the Congress desk.*

LES BATIMENTS

La séance d'ouverture se tient au Grand Amphithéâtre de la Sorbonne (Sorbonne nouvelle, construite entre 1888 et 1901 ; architecte : Henri-Paul Nénot ; peinture allégorique du Grand Amphithéâtre : La Sorbonne, par Henri Puvis de Chavannes).

Tous les autres travaux du Congrès se déroulent dans les bâtiments de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques :

Bâtiment A (27, rue Saint-Guilaume). Partie centrale : Hôtel de Mortemart, construit au milieu du XVII[e] siècle, habité dès 1663 par Gabriel de Rochechouart, duc de Mortemart, père de la future Mme de Montespan ; acheté en 1880 par l'Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques. Parties récentes : construites dans les années 1930 et entre 1948 et 1965 ; architectes : H. et H. Martin.

Bâtiment B (30, rue Saint-Guillaume). Construit en 1963 par le Service Constructeur de l'Académie de Paris. Architectes : H. et H. Martin.

Bâtiment C (56, rue des Saints-Pères). Hôtel de La Meilleraie, construit vers 1660 par Daniel Gittard, architecte du roi. Rénové en 1978-1979 par H. Martin et G. Gilbert, architectes.

Bâtiment D (9, rue de la Chaise). Hôtel Récamier, construit en 1763. Rénové et agrandi en 1975 par H. Martin et G. Gilbert, architectes.

THE BUILDINGS

The Opening Session will be held in the Aula Magna (« Grand Amphithéâtre ») of the New Sorbonne, built between 1888 and 1901 (architect: Henri-Paul Nénot; allegory of the Sorbonne, painted by Henri Puvis de Chavannes).

All the other meetings will be housed in the buildings of the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques :

Building A *(27, rue Saint-Guillaume). Central part: Hôtel de Mortemart, built in the middle of the 17th century, inhabited in 1663 by Gabriel de Rochechouart, duke of Mortemart, father of the future Mme de Montespan; bought in 1880 by the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques. Recent parts: built in the 1930s and between 1948 and 1965; architects: H. and H. Martin.*

Building B *(30, rue Saint-Guillaume). Built in 1963 by the Academy of Paris. Architects: H. and H. Martin.*

Building C *(56, rue des Saints-Pères): Hôtel de La Meilleraie, built around 1660 by Daniel Gittard, the King's architect. Renovated in 1978-1979; architects: H. Martin and G. Gilbert.*

Building D *(9, rue de la Chaise): Hôtel Récamier, built in 1763. Renovated and completed in 1975; architects: H. Martin and G. Gilbert.*

INTRODUCTION GÉNÉRALE

Tout congrès mondial de science politique se distingue des précédents par la manière dont il est organisé et par la variété des thèmes des séances et des groupes de travail qu'il comporte. Le XIII[e] Congrès mondial de l'A.I.S.P., qui se tient du 15 au 20 juillet 1985 à Paris, sera différent des congrès précédents du fait qu'il est centré sur le thème des institutions et sur la dynamique des politiques publiques.

Un congrès mondial dont l'objet est de refléter la situation d'une discipline telle que la science politique, qui a connu une telle explosion des connaissances, ainsi que de répondre aux questions intéressant quelque 2 000 participants éventuels et les tendances des recherches de spécialistes provenant d'une quarantaine de pays, doit nécessairement être organisé en fonction de quelques principes de sélection. C'est la seule façon de traiter d'une gamme aussi étendue d'intérêts, pour faire de ce Congrès autre chose qu'un pot-pourri de sujets hétéroclites. Le Comité du programme a donc voulu que le Congrès de Paris traite un nombre limité de thèmes et d'approches, de manière à assurer autant d'homogénéité que possible. Nous avons ainsi estimé que, pour que tout se déroule bien et que le Congrès soit, en quelque sorte, le levain de nouvelles idées, il devait être façonné d'une manière bien particulière, pour laisser un souvenir permanent aux participants. C'est, en outre, une tentative de venir aux prises avec les contraintes communes à tous les congrès internationaux. Plus particulièrement, le Comité du programme a dû faire face à deux dilemmes fondamentaux.

Il fallait d'abord trouver un juste milieu entre l'ampleur des thèmes du programme et la possibilité de prévoir des discussions exhaustives. De toute évidence, le programme devait refléter la productivité croissante des politistes, de même que le degré croissant de spécialisation en science politique. Mais il devait aussi permettre que les divers sujets soient approfondis et qu'il y ait un échange fructueux d'idées et d'expériences empiriques dans un cadre organisationnel maniable. On pouvait différer quant au nombre exact de séances que le Congrès devait comporter, mais personne ne pouvait contester que leur nombre devait être plafonné. Les congrès antérieurs, les exigences actuelles de l'organisation et une appréciation réaliste de la possibilité pour chaque participant de tirer profit de ce que le Congrès peut offrir, voilà les considérations qui nous ont amenés à fixer une limite d'un peu moins de 200 séances. Il a donc fallu en venir à un compromis entre l'ampleur du thème et la possibilité de le traiter sérieusement.

En second lieu, le Comité du programme s'est heurté à la nécessité de combiner dans le programme les contributions des écoles et des approches établies et la qualité éventuellement novatrice des contributions nouvelles de divers individus et groupes. La logique même d'un congrès veut que la première considération soit primordiale. Les filières existantes, les réseaux officiels d'organisation font qu'on a tendance à accorder une grande représentation aux écoles établies, et cela est légitime. Une assemblée de ce genre doit tirer parti des secteurs les plus représentatifs de la discipline et dûment tenir compte des

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Every world congress in political science has some particular traits, that make it unique in the series of congresses. This reflects the way in which they are organized and the different thematic content of their sessions and work groups. The XIIIth IPSA World Congress in Paris, 15-20 July 1985, will differ from previous congresses in being framed around the theme of governmental institutions and the dynamics of public policy.

A world congress that aspires to mirror the situation in a discipline which has experienced such an explosive development as political science, that wants to serve the interests of some 2,000 potential participants, that tries to accommodate the scholarly trends rooted in experiences in some 40 countries, has to be organized on the basis of some selective principles. This is the only way to tend to such a conglomeration of concerns, at the same time making the Congress into something more than a potpourri of disparate topics. Accordingly, the Programme Committee has wanted to shape the programme for the Paris Congress such that the various themes and approaches to be elaborated in the sessions, would constitute as far as possible a coherent whole. We felt that to function efficiently and act as a leaven for the germination of new ideas, and thereby have a life also after its days are ended, the Congress had to be moulded by a specific conception. In away, such a stand is also a conscious attempt to deal with the sets of constraints that are common to all world congresses. In particular, the Programme Committee had to face two such basic dilemmas.

Firstly, it had to find a reasonable balance between the thematic breadth to be represented in the programme and the possibility for comprehensive discussions of the subjects included in it. Obviously, the programme had to reflect the growing scholarly productivity, as well as the increasing specialization in political science. But at the same time, it had to allow for extensive treatment of the various topics and for a rich interchange of ideas and empirical experiences within a manageable organizational framework. It may be a matter of dispute exactly what the total number of sessions in a congress should be. But nobody would presumably dispute that there should be a limit. Past experiences, present organizational requirements and a realistic assessment of the possibility for the participants to fruitfully exploit what the Congress has to offer, dictated a limit of somewhere below 200 sessions. Hence, a compromise had to be reached between the thematic span to be included and the possibility of thorough discussions of the various subjects.

Secondly, the Programme Committee was confronted with the need to combine in the programme both the richness and insight of the established and well-known schools, and the freshness and potentially innovative quality of new and largely unknown scholarly contributions by individuals and groups. The very logic of a congress tilts strongly in the direction of the first consideration. The existing channels of communication and the formalized organizational networks tend to secure a large representation of the established schools. This is in many ways as it should be. A scholarly meeting of this sort has to

contributions récentes qui se sont révélées valables. Mais un congrès mondial doit aussi trouver le moyen de faire place à l'inconnu et aux concepts qui n'ont pas été mis à l'épreuve. Il doit favoriser l'expérimentation, exposer à de nouvelles idées, même si elles ne sont pas toujours durables. Le pire qui puisse effectivement arriver à un congrès mondial, c'est qu'il arrête le développement de la discipline à l'intérieur des paradigmes établis. C'est pourquoi il faut trouver le juste milieu entre le connu et l'inconnu, entre ce qui est manifestement utile et ce qui pourrait l'être.

Pour résoudre ces dilemmes, il a semblé nécessaire de centrer le Congrès sur un thème principal : c'était un moyen de choisir parmi une multitude de propositions et de suggestions. Mais pour ce faire, il fallait que le thème principal fût suffisamment large pour être subdivisé, d'une manière raisonnable, en un ensemble de thèmes secondaires, et circonscrit à l'intérieur d'un cadre cohérent. L'objet était à la fois de lui donner un point de mire et d'attaquer une gamme assez étendue de sujets, afin de répondre aux questions qui se posent dans les diverses branches de la science politique. Le contenu même du thème principal avait pour cela une grande importance.

Les congrès récents de l'A.I.S.P. ont donné un aperçu très général de la discipline, axés comme ils l'étaient sur des domaines extérieurs à la structure centrale de l'Etat. L'interdépendance de l'économie et de la politique a donné lieu à des préoccupations récurrentes. Les thèmes généraux ont aussi porté sur les relations entre la politique et la culture, le spatial et le temporel. Cette largeur de vues a effectivement permis d'agrandir le périmètre de notre discipline et d'accentuer son inclination interdisciplinaire. Il a semblé néanmoins opportun à ce stade du développement de la science politique de centrer le Congrès sur l'Etat et les institutions de réglementation publique. Cela concorde avec une tendance importante dans notre discipline, à savoir le retour aux considérations institutionnelles et au contenu de l'activité gouvernementale, en y intégrant les leçons tirées du behaviorisme et de nos raids interdisciplinaires. Nous viserons à discuter et à élucider diverses conceptions, constatations empiriques et approches analytiques sur l'évolution des tendances gouvernementales et la dynamique des politiques publiques. Le tout autant que possible sous forme comparative, en comparant explicitement les expériences qu'ont connues différents pays.

L'une des ramifications de cette conception générale a trait aux exposés sur les fondements idéologiques, normatifs et moraux de l'Etat moderne. Les éternels problèmes de la légitimité, de l'autorité et de l'Etat sont donc au cœur même des délibérations. Les conceptions de l'Etat ont-elles subi des modifications sous l'influence de la recherche en science politique ? Comment se comparent les différentes idéologies relatives aux fondements de l'Etat et de ses fonctions ? Quelles sont les conditions normatives préalables, quels sont les impératifs moraux de l'Etat moderne ?

Un autre domaine d'étude important à placer sous la même rubrique est l'expansion de l'appareil gouvernemental. Quelles sont les particularités de l'administration publique dans le contexte contemporain ? Se sont-elles quelque peu estompées ? L'Etat traditionnel est-il en déclin, pour faire place aux « organismes quasi-gouvernementaux » ? La constitution de groupes organisés, parfois décrits comme des tendances néo-corporatives, des « triangles d'airain » ou des « réseaux d'intérêts », ont-ils favorisé l'écart grandissant entre l'Etat et les secteurs démunis de la société civile ? Et qu'en est-il du rôle de la fonction publique au sein des sociétés « post-industrielles », en comparaison avec les pays en voie de développement ?

Le thème général, qui porte sur les institutions publiques et leur impact, nous amènera aussi à discuter des politiques gouvernementales et des moyens de les évaluer. Nous tirerons ici profit de l'expansion extraordinaire de ce domaine depuis quelques années. Que peuvent nous révéler ces études au

capitalize on the most representative parts of the discipline and give proper consideration to what have proved to be valuable contributions in its recent development: However, a world congress has also to find a way to mitigate this tendency, giving space to the unknown and the untested. It has to allow for experiments, for the exposal of new conceptions, not all of which may have a lasting value. Indeed, the worst that might happen to a world congress is that it freezes the discipline in a scholarly status quo within established paradigms. A middle way had thus to be found between the recognized and the unknown, the obviously useful and the potentially fruitful.

Organizing the Congress around a specific main theme was perceived as one way of dealing with these basic dilemmas. It would offer a gauge for making a choice between the multitude of proposals and suggestions. But in order to achieve this purpose, the main theme had to be broad enough to be subdivided in a reasonable way into a set of subthemes, at the same time being sufficiently circumscribed as to offer a coherent framework. The aim was to achieve both a common focus and a fair range of subjects, accommodating the interests of the various subfields in political science. Much thus depended on the actual content of the main theme.

Recent IPSA congresses have taken a large view of the discipline, concentrating on areas outside the core structure of government. The intertwining of the economy and the political sphere has been a recurrent concern. But the general themes have also included the relationships between politics and culture, space and time. This large view has indeed contributed to a widening of the perimeter of our discipline and the accentuation of its interdisciplinary bent. However, it seemed appropriate at this stage of the development of political science to make government itself and the institutions of public control, the central focus of the Congress. This would be in tune with a major trend in our discipline, namely a return to institutional considerations and to the substance of governmental activity, integrating the lessons from the behavioural approach and our interdisciplinary pillages. The aim would thus be to discuss and elucidate various conceptions, empirical findings and analytical approaches concerning changing patterns of government and the dynamics of public policy. All this, as far as possible, to be cast in a comparative mould, explicitly confronting various experiences in different countries.

One ramification of this general conception is the theoretical discourse on the ideological, normative and moral foundations of modern government. The perennial questions of legitimacy, authority and the state would thus be placed in the very center of the proceedings of the Congress. Have the different views of the state undergone changes under the impact of political science research? How do the different ideological stands about the basis of the state and its functions compare? What are the normative preconditions of government and what are the moral imperatives of the modern state?

Another main area of study to be subsumed under the same heading is the development of the governmental apparatus. What are the specific traits of public administration in a modern context? Has it become more blurred at the edges? Is the traditional state withering, leaving the stage for "quasi-governmental organizations"? Or has the public incorporation of organized groups, variously described as "neo-corporative trends", "iron triangles" or "issue networks", contributed to an accentuation of the distance between the governmental sphere and the less resourceful parts of the civic society? And what is the role of public bureaucracy in post-industrialized societies compared to its functions in developing societies?

The general theme of governmental institutions and their impact will also bring us into the field of comparative public policy and evaluation studies. Here we will profit from the enormous expansion of this field in recent years. What can these studies tell us about the character of the modern interventionist

sujet des caractéristiques de l'Etat interventionniste contemporain ? Peut-on déceler des tendances analogues dans le développement des mesures gouvernementales de divers pays ? Certains facteurs de conditionnement contribuent-ils à créer des types différents d'ingérence gouvernementale ? La préoccupation concernant le contenu des politiques publiques suscitera des questions sur l'impact réel et éventuel de la recherche en matière de politiques sur les actions gouvernementales. Il faut espérer que ces enjeux provoqueront des débats entre universitaires et praticiens, ce qui devrait ajouter une importante dimension nouvelle au Congrès.

Enfin, l'accent mis sur les institutions dans le contexte des relations internationales mettra en évidence le rôle de l'Etat dans la gestion des problèmes auxquels nous faisons face à l'échelle mondiale : course aux armements, déséquilibre croissant entre la population et les ressources alimentaires, épuisement des richesses naturelles, absence de normes universelles pouvant régir la société internationale. Dans quelle mesure l'Etat moderne peut-il relever ces défis qui nous préoccupent tous ?

Le thème principal du Congrès, **L'Etat, son évolution et son interaction avec la société nationale et internationale,** *recouvre une panoplie de sujets qui devrait intéresser des spécialistes de nombreux domaines. Nous avions résolu d'élaborer un programme bien défini, et il a donc fallu donner la priorité à certains aspects de la discipline. C'était inévitable : les prochains congrès donneront la priorité à d'autres sujets. Dans une certaine mesure, les deuxième et troisième parties du programme, à savoir les séances organisées par les Comités de recherche et les Groupes d'étude, ainsi que les séances hors programme, compenseront les limites du thème principal. Cependant, même dans ce dernier cas, le choix définitif des sujets est fonction du principe adopté pour l'organisation du Congrès : trouver le juste milieu entre l'ampleur des thèmes et les questions à approfondir, et entre les écoles établies et les nouvelles contributions.*

C'est donc là le défi fondamental que présentait l'élaboration du programme, et ce sera aussi celui que devront relever les participants. C'est dans cet esprit que j'ai le plaisir, au nom du président de l'AISP, Klaus von Beyme, et des membres du Comité du programme, de vous souhaiter la bienvenue au XIII[e] Congrès mondial de l'A.I.S.P.

Francesco Kjellberg, Université d'Oslo
Président du Comité du programme.

state? Are similar trends to be detected in the development of the public spheres in various countries? Or do conditioning factors make for a variegated pattern of public intervention? The concern with the content of public policy will also lead us to the question of what is the actual and potential impact of policy research for governmental action. Such issues will hopefully make some sessions into encounters between scholars and practitioners, adding an important new dimension to the Congress.

Finally, a concentration on governmental institutions in the sphere of international relations will bring to the fore the role of the national state in the management of the global problems with which we are faced: the spiraling arms race, the growing imbalance between population and food, the depletion of natural resources, the lack of universal norms to govern the international society. What are the possibilities and the limitations of the modern state in solving these challenges of existential concern to us all?

The main theme of the Congress, **The Changing State and Its Interaction which National and International Society,** thus covers a wide range of issues, accommodating a variety of scholarly interests. Yet, our determined attempt to give the programme a clear profile, has perforce implied giving priority to some parts of the discipline. This could hardly be avoided, and it will be compensated through different priorities in future congresses. To some extent it will even be atoned by the sessions in the second and third part of the programme: the sessions organized by the Research Committees and Study Groups, and the Special Meetings proposed by individual scholars. But even in the last case, the final choice of subjects and convenors has been dictated by the principle underlying the organization of this Congress: to achieve a balance between broadness and depth and between established schools and new contributions.

This has been the basic challenge in working out the programme, and it will also be the challenge for the participants. It is in this spirit that I have the pleasure of welcoming you, on behalf of the IPSA President, Klaus von Beyme, and the members of the Programme Committee, to the XIIIth IPSA World Congress.

Francesco Kjellberg, University of Oslo
Programme Chairperson.

Thème principal :

L'ÉTAT, SON ÉVOLUTION ET SON INTERACTION AVEC LA SOCIÉTÉ NATIONALE ET INTERNATIONALE

SOUS-THEME I

Etat et gouvernement dans la théorie politique récente

C'est peut-être la première fois dans l'histoire de l'AISP que la théorie politique a obtenu une place à peu près égale à celle des autres branches de la discipline : près d'une douzaine de séances lui sont consacrées. Je voudrais donc remercier le Comité du Programme pour sa généreuse réponse aux demandes que la théorie politique formule depuis si longtemps.

L'Etat moderne constitue le thème général du congrès de Paris et les spécialistes de théorie politique ont, bien entendu, beaucoup à dire à son sujet. Grâce à la consolidation des institutions démocratiques et à la reconnaissance de la promotion active du bien-être de ses citoyens comme l'une de ses principales fonctions au cours de ces dernières décennies, l'Etat moderne n'est plus une institution formelle et coercitive occupant un domaine indépendant et lointain qui lui serait propre. Grâce également au mouvement vers la décentralisation et le pluralisme des points de vue et des valeurs, grâce aussi à l'émergence de groupes d'intérêt organisés, la structure interne de l'Etat connaît actuellement de grands changements. De plus, l'interdépendance croissante des états, qu'elle soit économique, militaire, politique ou autre, implique qu'aucun état, pour aussi puissant qu'il soit, n'est désormais entièrement autonome et souverain, au sens traditonnel de ces termes. Par suite de ces changements et d'autres encore, nous sommes peut-être les témoins d'un remplacement progressif de l'Etat moderne par une autre forme d'entité politique, dont les contours sont naturellement encore flous et peu distincts. Cette question est d'une grande portée philosophique et historique, et constitue le sujet de la séance générale consacrée aux réflexions philosophiques sur l'Etat moderne.

A un niveau différent, l'Etat contemporain soulève de nombreuses autres questions d'ordre moins général, qui constituent le sujet de séances spécifiques.

1) Nous devons examiner comment les grands théoriciens du passé ont compris l'évolution de l'Etat moderne, depuis le XVI^e^ siècle jusqu'à nos jours, les concepts et les catégories qu'ils ont utilisés pour décrire sa nature, les questions qu'ils ont posées à son propos, et également si, et dans quelle mesure, tout cela demeure utile.

2) Gouverner l'Etat moderne est une activité extrêmement complexe. Les tentatives pour comprendre sa nature et définir ses fonctions ont donné naissance à plusieurs théories, parmi lesquelles le marxisme, le libéralisme et le conservatisme sont les mieux développées. Nous devons examiner leur nature, leur structure logique, leurs hypothèses de base, leurs mutations historiques, leurs points de rencontre et leur modes d'argumentation spécifiques et voir si elles conservent leur validité.

3) L'autorité du gouvernement a été différemment légitimée aux diverses périodes historiques, en fonction du caractère du régime politique du moment, de son mode d'interaction avec la société et des vocabulaires culturels existants. Au cours du XX^e^ siècle, spécialement après la seconde guerre mondiale, on a estimé défectueuses ou inapplicables les théories antérieures de l'autorité et

Main theme :

THE CHANGING STATE AND ITS INTERACTION WITH NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY

SUBTHEME I

State and Government in Recent Political Theory

This is perhaps the first time in the history of IPSA that political theory has been accorded almost equal importance with the other branches of the discipline, and nearly a dozen sessions are devoted to it. I would like to thank the Programme Committee for its generous recognition of the long-standing claims of political theory.

The modern state constitutes the general theme of the Paris Congress, and obviously political theorists have much to say about it. Thanks to the consolidation of democratic institutions and the recognition of the active promotion of the welfare of its citizens as one of its major functions during the last few decades, the modern state is no longer a formal and coercive institution occupying a remote and independent realm of its own. Thanks also to the movement towards decentralisation, pluralism of views and values and the emergence of organised interest groups, the internal structure of the state is undergoing important changes. Further, the increasing economic, military, political and other forms of inter-dependence between the states has meant that no state, however powerful, is fully self-governing and sovereign in the traditional sense, of the terms. As a result of these and other changes, we may perhaps be witnessing a gradual supersession of the modern state by some other form of polity whose outlines are naturally at present very hazy and indistinct. This question is of great historical and philosophical significance, and forms the theme of the general session on philosophical reflections on the modern state.

At a different level the contemporary state raises many questions of a less general nature, which constitute the subject matter of specific sessions.

1) We need to examine how the great political theorists of the past understood the evolution of the modern state from the 16th century onwards, the concepts and categories they used to articulate its nature, the questions they asked about it and so on, and whether and to what extent these are helpful today.

2) Governing the modern state is an extremely complex activity. The attempts to understand its nature and define its functions have given rise to several theories of which Marxism, Liberalism and Conservatism are the most well-developed. We need to examine their nature, logical structures, assumptions, historical mutations, points of contact and characteristic modes of argument, and explore if they still remain valid.

3) The authority of the government has been legitimised differently in different historical epochs, depending upon the character of the polity, its pattern of interaction with society and the available cultural idioms. In the twentieth century, especially after the Second World War, the earlier theories of authority and legitimacy have been found defective or inapplicable. They have been drastically revised or replaced by others and we have even begun to talk about the "legitimation crisis". We need to critically examine the new theories, and inquire if the traditional concepts of authority, legitimacy, consent, natural right and obligation require radical reformulation.

de la légitimité. Elles ont été radicalement révisées ou remplacées par d'autres, et nous avons même commencé à parler d'une « crise de la légitimation ». Nous devons procéder à un examen critique des nouvelles théories et chercher à voir si les concepts traditionnels d'autorité, de légitimité, de consentement, de droit naturel et d'obligation nécessitent ou non une reformulation radicale.

4) Au XX^e siècle, et spécialement après la seconde guerre mondiale, de nouveaux types d'ordre social ont vu le jour, tant dans les pays dits du Tiers monde que dans les pays socialistes. Dans l'un et l'autre cas, l'Etat est structuré et relié à l'ensemble de la société d'une toute autre façon que dans les démocraties libérales occidentales. Dans les pays en voie de développement du Tiers monde, l'Etat est profondément ancré dans la société et ce n'est que graduellement qu'il acquiert une identité indépendante et autonome. Pour différentes raisons, une situation similaire existe dans les pays socialistes. Les théories traditionnelles de l'Etat ont un pouvoir explicatif limité lorsqu'on les applique à ces états, et nous devons rechercher les nouvelles théories nécessaires pour rendre compte de leur nature.

5) Après la seconde guerre mondiale, un nouveau modèle de relations internationales est apparu. Les états diffèrent grandement quant à leur capacité à agir de façon indépendante ou autonome, et certains, bien que formellement souverains, ne jouissent pas effectivement de la souveraineté ni de la capacité d'action organisée, au sens réel du terme. A un niveau différent, un nouveau système économique international est né. Chaque état est profondément dépendant des autres, encore que certains le soient moins que d'autres et jouissent d'un plus grand degré d'indépendance. Il en résulte que l'impérialisme économique a remplacé le modèle colonial antérieur, et nombre de petits Etats ne sont guère que des jouets entre les mains d'Etats plus forts ou de compagnies multinationales puissantes et jouissent d'appuis politiques solides. La nouvelle réalité politique et économique mondiale a profondément tranformé le contexte dans lequel opère l'Etat moderne, à tel point qu'on ne peut plus le comprendre en tant qu'entité propre, comme l'ont fait tous les théoriciens depuis le XVI^e siècle. Aujourd'hui, les relations internationales ne se situent plus en marge de la théorie politique, mais se trouvent à son cœur même. La théorie politique ne peut évidemment pas être conduite de nos jours comme elle l'était par le passé.

Voilà quelques-unes des questions que les spécialistes de théorie politique doivent aborder s'ils veulent rendre compte de l'Etat moderne d'une façon significative. Elles constituent le sujet de plusieurs séances organisées au titre du sous-thème « Etat et gouvernement daus la théorie politique récente ». Je voudrais remercier leurs organisateurs pour avoir formé des groupes de discussion dont les travaux ne manqueront pas d'être intéressants.

Bhikhu Parekh, Universités de Hull et de Baroda.

4) In the twentieth century, and especially after the Second World War, new types of social order have come into existence both in the so-called Third World and the Socialist countries. In each the state is structured and related to the wider society quite differently from the liberal democraties of the West. In the developing countries of the Third World, the state lies deeply embedded in society and is only gradually acquiring an independent and autonomous identity. For different reasons a similar situation exists in the socialist countries. Traditional theories of the state have limited explanatory power when applied to these states, and we need to explore what new theories are needed to articulate their nature.

5) After the Second World War a new pattern of international relations has emerged. States vary greatly in their capacity for autonomous and independent action and some, although formally sovereign, do not enjoy sovereignty or the capacity for organised action in any real sense of the term. At a different level a new international economic system has emerged. Each state is deeply dependent on the others, although some are less so than others and enjoy greater degree of independence. As a result economic imperialim has replaced the earlier pattern of colonialism, and many small states are little more than play things of larger states or of powerful and politically supported multinational companies. The new global economic and political reality has profoundly altered the context in which the modern state operates so much so that the latter can no longer be understood in its own terms as all political theorists since the sixteenth century onward have done. International relations today are no longer marginal to political theory but lie at its very heart. Political theory cannot obviously be carried on to-day in the same way as in the past.

These are some of the question to which political theorists need to address themselves if they are to give meaningful acounts of the modern state. They form the subject matter of the several sessions organised under the First Subtheme. I would like to thank their organizers for putting together stimulating panels.

Bhikhu Parekh, Universities of Hull and Baroda.

SOUS-THEME II

Changements de fonctions et de structure dans l'appareil étatique

Au XX^e siècle, l'Etat a changé et change encore. Au nombre des raisons de ces changements, on trouve (1) la diversité croissante des ordres socio-économiques et politiques, comme conséquence de l'apparition de deux systèmes mondiaux différents et concurrentiels, ainsi que de la libération nationale des pays précédemment colonisés ; (2) l'impact des techniques, y compris de celles de coercition et de persuasion ; (3) les activités de l'Etat, quels que soient son système politique et son idéologie officielle, dans le domaine de la planification économique et de la politique sociale ; (4) la croissance de la fonction publique ; (5) les changements survenus dans les attitudes et le comportement du corps électoral comme dans les structures et les modes de fonctionnement des partis politiques.

Le second sous-thème du Congrès cherche à esquisser les grandes caractéristiques des nouvelles structures de l'appareil étatique ainsi que les moyens par lesquels les politistes les étudient.

La séance générale sur « l'état des travaux » sera consacrée principalement à trois communications qui présentent les résultats des recherches ainsi que les théories et les méthodes appliquées aux Etats-Unis, en Europe occidentale, en URSS et en Europe de l'Est, dans le domaine de l'analyse comparative en sciences administratives. L'accent y sera bien entendu mis sur les aspects comparatifs, qu'il s'agisse d'études explicitement comparatives dans leur dessein ou d'études présentant, à partir d'analyses nationales, des conclusions comparatives. La discussion de ces contributions, auxquelles pourront s'ajouter des communications complémentaires, permettra de poser les problèmes d'ordre théorique que soulèvent les études comparatives sur les pays en voie de développement, toujours dans le domaine des sciences administratives.

La séance générale sera suivie de séances particulières, consacrées à huit sujets différents, chacun occupant deux séances. L'un de ces sujets concerne l'influence exercée sur les changements institutionnels par les spécialistes des sciences sociales ; deux sujets traitent de la fonction publique (en général, ou dans les pays en voie de développement) ; un autre, des relations entre le centre et les périphéries et des changements qu'on y observe (dimension nationale-locale) ; les trois derniers, de l'impact de divers facteurs sur l'Etat contemporain. Ces facteurs sont au nombre de trois : le corps électoral (qui manifeste dans beaucoup de démocraties de type occidental une volatilité croissante), l'affaiblissement des partis politiques, l'impact croissant des nouveaux mouvements sociaux et des diverses formes de participation des citoyens, enfin, les médias. Cette liste ne prétend pas à l'exhaustivité ; elle se borne à énumérer certaines forces et certains changements sociaux et politiques qui contribuent à transformer l'Etat contemporain.

Les auteurs de rapports et les intervenants présenteront une grande variété de points de vues et d'approches méthodologiques ; il faudra néanmoins chercher des points de convergence dans notre façon d'aborder le problème des changements dans la structure de l'appareil étatique. C'est en effet un des grands objectifs de nos congrès que de permettre la confrontation de points de vue différents, dans l'espoir qu'elle conduira à formuler des hypothèses et des théories communes. Peut-être faudra-t-il consacrer à cet effet une attention particulière aux propositions ci-dessous :

SUBTHEME II

The Changing Functions and Structure of the Governmental Apparatus

The state has changed, and is still in the process of change in the twentieth century. There are several reasons for this: (1) the growing diversity of socio-economic and political orders, resulting from the emergence of two different and competing world systems, as well as from the national liberation of the formerly colonial countries; (2) the impact of technology, including the technology of coercion and persuasion; (3) the involvement of the state, regardless of its political system and official ideology, in economic planning and social policy; (4) expansion of public bureaucracy, and (5) changes in the attitudes and behaviour of the electorates as well as in the internal structures and patterns of functioning of political parties.

The second subtheme of the Congress intends both to outline the main characteristics of the new structure of the governmental apparatus and to discuss the ways in which political scientists study these problems.

It opens with the general session devoted to the "state of the art", at which three main papers discuss results of research as well as theories and methodologies applied in the comparative study of public administration, in the United States, Western Europe, and the USSR and Eastern Europe, respectively. The emphasis is on the comparative aspect: both in terms of explicitly comparative cross-national studies and in terms of drawing comparative conclusions from national studies. Discussion and additional papers will also raise the theoretical issues of comparative study of public administration in developing societies.

The general session is followed by eight sections, each divided into two sessions. One of them deals with the role of social scientists in governmental institutions, two sections concentrate on public bureaucracy (in general and particularly in developing societies); one section is devoted to changing relations between center and periphery (national-local dimension) and the remaining three sections discuss the impact of extra-governmental forces on the modern state. These forces are primarily three: changes in the electorate (which in many Western democracies becomes more volatile) and weakening of political parties, growing impact of new social movements and various forms of citizens participation, and mass media. Such a selection of topics does not pretend to be exhaustive; it focuses on the most important social and political forces which in the present-day world produce transformations of the state.

While individual paper-givers and discussants will present a great variety of views and methodological approaches, one may look for some common points in our approach to the changes in the structures of governmental apparatus. In fact, it is one of the principal aims of our Congresses to compare divergent views with the hope that such comparison may lead to formulation of common hypotheses and theories. In this case, the following main lines of discussion seem to deserve special attention:

1) The modern state does change. It is no longer what it used to be at the beginning of the twentieth century, nor even what it was right after World War II. Old normative theories, as well as the body of analytical knowledge accumulated

1) L'Etat se modifie. Il n'est plus ce qu'il était au début du XX^e siècle, ni même au lendemain de la deuxième guerre mondiale. Les théories normatives traditionnelles, et aussi l'ensemble de connaissances analytiques accumulées dans le passé, doivent être constamment réévalués et repensés. De plus, l'Etat continuera à changer ; notre recherche doit donc être tournée vers l'avenir, être capable de prévoir les changements et, tâche encore plus ambitieuse, contribuer à les façonner.

2) Quelle que soit la diversité des ordres étatiques, les Etats contemporains font face à certains problèmes communs. Il n'est pas nécessaire d'accepter une version simpliste de la thèse de la convergence entre systèmes étatiques différents pour comprendre que les Etats contemporains, quelles que soient leurs différences, font face à des problèmes analogues, ou du moins à des problèmes suffisamment semblables pour justifier l'analyse comparative. Au cours des deux dernières décennies, l'analyse comparative a déplacé son accent de l'étude des normes juridiques et des croyances d'ordre philosophique, vers celle des politiques publiques. Il nous faut, cependant, rester attentifs à la nécessité de situer ces politiques publiques dans leur cadre institutionnel. En d'autres termes, nous continuons à avoir besoin d'études comparatives combinant les divers points de vue, traditionnels et modernes.

3) Non seulement les Etats font face à des problèmes analogues — ils apprennent les uns des autres. Il est donc très important d'être en mesure d'apprécier le degré auquel les Etats contemporains acceptent et sont capables d'apprendre, d'intérioriser les leçons à tirer de l'expérience des autres Etats. A cet égard, nous trouvons trois types de situations : (a) apprentissage réciproque entre Etats situés approximativement au même niveau de développement et appartenant à des systèmes politiques, socio-économiques et idéologiques de même nature ; (b) apprentissage réciproque entre Etats situés au même niveau de développement, mais présentant des différences d'ordre systémique, et même antagonistes ; (c) processus par lesquels les nouveaux Etats apprécient les possibilités et les difficultés que présente l'utilisation de l'expérience des Etats plus anciens. Chacun de ces processus mérite d'être analysé avec soin.

4) Si les Etats changent, ce n'est pas seulement à cause des processus qui se déroulent à l'intérieur de leurs structures, mais aussi, et peut-être principalement, en raison de l'effet produit par des changements sociaux d'ordre général. C'est ainsi que l'éducation des masses produit de nouvelles attitudes politiques qui, à leur tour, affectent les structures de la vie publique. Les médias et les activités de loisir exercent de grands effets sur la vie politique. Il en est de même de la complexité croissante des processus économiques et technologiques, qui à bien des égards ne respectent pas les frontières nationales.

5) Les spécialistes de sciences sociales eux-mêmes ne sont plus seulement des observateurs distants des changements qui surviennent dans les structures étatiques ; ils jouent un rôle dans le processus de changement. Il est donc fondamental que dans notre analyse de l'Etat contemporain nous examinions les problèmes que pose le rôle joué par les spécialistes des sciences sociales comme experts et conseillers. Dans la communauté des politistes, on déplore parfois que des chercheurs acceptent d'être impliqués dans la préparation et/ou la prise des décisions politiques ; on peut aussi voir là des possibilités nouvelles et un défi à relever. Le moment est venu de chercher à apprécier sereinement à la fois les avantages et les dangers que présente le rôle que les spécialistes des sciences sociales jouent désormais à l'égard de l'Etat.

Le sous-thème n° 2 fait partie du programme général du Congrès — c'est la raison pour laquelle nous ne nous sentirons pas obligés de poser la question de l'impact qu'ont sur l'Etat les forces internationales. Mais nous savons bien que les changements internes ne constituent qu'un des aspects d'un ensemble complexe de changements dans la structure de l'Etat moderne et de son appareil.

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in the past, call for a continuous process of reevaluation and rethinking. Moreover, the state will continue to undergo changes — therefore, our research must be future-oriented, able to forecast future changes and, even more, to help shape them.

2) In spite of the diversity of existing state orders, modern states face common problems. One does not have to accept a simple-minded version of convergence between different state systems to realize that modern states — different as they are — are confronted by common problems or at least problems that have enough in common to justify a comparative approach. In the last two decades the focus of comparative political inquiry has shifted from comparing legal norms, philosophical beliefs and institutional arrangements to comparing public policies. One must, however, be aware of the necessity to locate public policies in their institutional framework. In other words, we still need comparative studies which will combine various points of view — both old and new.

3) States not only have common problems, they also learn from one another. It is most important, therefore, to be able to assess the extent to which modern states are willing and able to learn, to internalize lessons drawn from the experience of others. Here, however, we are confronted by three different types of situations: (a) when learning takes place between states at approximately the same level of development and of similar political, socio-economic and ideological systems, (b) when states at similar levels of development learn from each other in spite of their systemic differences, and even political animosities, and (c) when new states assess the prospects and difficulties of learning from the older ones. Each of these processes deserves careful analysis.

4) States change not only because of processes which take place within their own structures but also — and perhaps particularly — under the impact of social change in general. Education of the masses leads to new political attitudes which then result in changing patterns of public like. Mass media and leisure time activities have a profound impact on politics. So does a new complexity of economic and technological processes, which in many ways transcend national boundaries.

5) Social scientists themselves are no longer distant observers of the changes in the governmental structures; they play a role in the process of change. It is, therefore, vitally important that in our discussion of the modern state we raise the issue of social scientists as experts and advisors to the governments. Within the political science community some deplore the fact that scholars allow themselves to be involved in the process of preparing and/or making state decisions, while others see in this a new challenge and opportunity. It is time, therefore, to try to assess calmly both the advantages and the dangers involved in the role social scientists now play vis-à-vis the state.

The Second Subtheme is an integral part of the general program. Therefore we do not feel obliged to raise the question of international forces of world politics and of their impact on the state. But we do realize that internal changes constitute only one aspect of the more complex pattern of changes in the structure of the modern state and its govermental apparatus.

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SOUS-THEME III

Politiques et actions publiques, études comparatives

L'analyse des politiques publiques vient de connaître une phase de développement accéléré. Elaborés dès la fin des années 1960 dans quelques pays, les paradigmes qui la sous-tendent se sont diffusés dans la plupart des pays et ont interpellé des traditions scientifiques fort différentes. Un intérêt croissant est accordé à des phénomènes jusque là peu explorés par les politistes : comment les mesures et les actions prises par les autorités publiques structurent-elles les acteurs et les jeux politiques ?

Dans le cadre du Congrès mondial de Paris, une sorte de bilan dans ce domaine peut s'avérer nécessaire. Il s'agit de situer, de repérer les réalisations et les certitudes que 10 à 15 années de recherche permettent d'ores et déjà d'accumuler. Pour ne prendre qu'un exemple, les processus liés à la mise en œuvre et à l'évaluation des politiques publiques constituent un thème où des progrès significatifs ont été accomplis. Cependant le constat apparaît aussi judicieux à établir qui identifie les questions encore ouvertes, les incertitudes ou les zones mal défrichées. Ainsi est-il évident que la communauté internationale des politistes ne s'est pas vraiment attaquée à un problème pourtant aussi décisif que celui de la construction de l'agenda public, de l'émergence d'enjeux pour l'action gouvernementale.

L'approche comparée et comparative fournit un levier à bien des égards stimulant pour faire le point. La confrontation des travaux par terrains (pays, secteurs, etc.) et par problèmes théoriques demeure encore peu pratiquée malgré quelques programmes de recherche déjà menés à terme avec succès. Les pratiques scientifiques observables à l'heure actuelle indiquent l'émergence d'un certain nombre de courants et de perspectives qu'il serait fructueux de mieux explorer en commun au cours des séances du Congrès.

1) L'étude des politiques publiques a longtemps privilégié la dimension nationale, et accessoirement les actions à portée locale ou régionale. Depuis peu, elle se confronte à un aspect décisif mais délicat : l'internationalisation sinon la mondialisation des scènes publiques et politiques. Comment les Etats gèrent-ils cet interface ? Existe-t-il des objets de politique publique qui revêtent une dimension proprement supra-nationale, qui révèlent l'existence de véritables « polities » internationales ou mondiales ?

2) Les recherches connaissent une réelle diversification géographique de leurs terrains. En témoigne la part croissante d'intérêt accordée à des sociétés peu industrialisées, aux pays en voie de développement. Pour l'étude des politiques publiques, il s'agit d'un test scientifique significatif. Car n'est-ce pas la montée de l'Etat providence qui a été à la source de son développement ? Qu'en est-il dans les sociétés et les systèmes politiques qui ne relèvent pas de ce modèle ? En même temps des questions analytiques de fond se trouvent posées telles que celle de la notion de « programme » dans des pays où celle-ci n'existe pas de façon budgétaire ou administrative.

SUBTHEME III

Comparative Public Policy and Governmental Actions

Policy analysis has recently gone through a period of rapid growth. Developed in a few countries, in the late 1960s, its basic paradigms have spread almost everywhere and challenged very different scientific traditions. Growing interest is thereby shown in phenomena little explored hitherto by political scientists: how do decisions and actions of public agencies structure politics and its actors?

At the Paris World Congress, some stock taking may prove necessary. We ought to identity and locate the achievements and the knowledge which research in this field has enabled us to accumulate in the last 10 to 15 years. Thus, policy implementation and policy evaluation are fields in which significant progress has been made. But we must also identify issues still open, areas of uncertainty or insufficiently explored. It will appear, for instance, that the international political science community has not yet really come to grips with problems as important as those of public agenda building, or the emergence of issues for government action.

The comparative approach is in many stimulating ways appropriate to such stock taking. Despite a few successful research programs, comparison between areas (countries, fields, etc.) or based on the theoretical problems involved is still not very frequent. Existing scientific practice points to the emergence of trends and approaches which should be fruitfully explored jointly at the Congress.

1) Policy analysis has long concentrated on the national framework, and to a smaller extent on local or regional action. In recent years, it has confronted a decisive but difficult problem: the internationalization, or even the globalization, of public arenas and policies. How do states manage such interface relations? Are there fields with a specifically supra-national dimension, which reveal the existence of genuine international or global « polities »?

2) Research has become more diversified geographically, as shown by the growing interest in the less industrial and the developing countries. For policy analysis, that is a significant scientific test. Was not the rise of the Welfare state the motor of its own progress? What is happening in societies and political systems outside that pattern? At the same time, substantial analytical issues are raised, such as the concept of "programme" in countries where it is hardly relevant in public budgeting or administration.

3) The Welfare state seems not to the same extent to be the focus for political science attention (and criticism) as a few years ago. The dominant ideologies have changed. Still, the field is not yet unproductive: the public sector is still growing, and we can observe new forces and alternative strategies of response to collective challenges (unemployment, public welfare, etc.). Was not the baby thrown out with the bath water? Is not the Welfare state still present, to be re-discovered, different and located elsewhere, but just as important for politics?

3) L'Etat providence semble ne plus mobiliser l'attention (et la critique) des politistes comme il y a encore quelques années. Les idéologies dominantes ont changé. Et pourtant tout n'a pas encore été épuisé sur le sujet : la croissance du secteur public se poursuit, de nouvelles forces et des stratégies alternatives de réponse aux enjeux collectifs (chômage, aide sociale, etc.) se manifestent. N'aurait-on pas un peu rapidement jeté le bébé avec l'eau du bain ? L'Etat providence n'est-il pas à redécouvrir, ailleurs et autre, mais tout aussi important pour la politique ?

4) Le recours à des modes de perception et de découpage de la réalité inspirés de l'analyse institutionnelle ou historique semble en voie de diminution. L'étude des politiques publiques a permis de beaucoup mieux comprendre toute une face cachée du fonctionnement et du changement politiques et administratifs : l'ambiguïté des processus de consultation, les stratégies des groupes d'intérêt, etc. Est-il aujourd'hui possible de proposer des modes d'analyse spécifiques permettant d'établir une théorie et une étude de l'action publique qui soient autre chose que des emprunts à des disciplines connexes telles que la théorie de la décision ou la sociologie des organisations ?

5) La découverte de « zones grises » de l'action publique est un acquis important des politiques publiques. Il existe des limites où l'efficacité et l'efficience se retournent sinon engendrent des dysfonctions. Autour du noyau identifiable de l'autorité gouvernementale et sans relever ni du marché ni des réseaux de solidarité sociale (parenté, voisinage, etc.) se développent des formes parapolitiques d'intervention. Un repérage plus systématique de ces systèmes d'action et des modes de régulation qu'ils induisent nous semble une voie tout à fait prometteuse pour la science politique dans le débat qui a lieu sur le thème des limites de l'Etat et de la réglementation publique.

6) Enfin et surtout, c'est le problème de l'étude comparative proprement dite qu'il s'agit de poser. Pourquoi n'est-il pas facile de comparer des politiques publiques entre elles, pour quelles raisons empiriques et à cause de quels obstacles conceptuels ou théoriques ? Trouver des réponses valables, c'est pour la science politique retourner à des questions de fond, comme l'illustre bien un thème tel que celui de l'évaluation. Mais c'est aussi progresser sur la voie plus classique de la connaissance des « polities » et des systèmes politiques, notamment par le renouvellement des tentatives typologiques (par états, par style de gouvernement, etc.).

En définitive, le thème du congrès de Paris renvoie à des questions plus fondamentales sur la place de l'étude des politiques publiques au sein de la science politique moderne. L'une concerne la valeur et la spécificité de ses fondements épistémologiques : est-elle un geste scientifique ou s'agit-il d'une déviation idéologique ? Quelle est la valeur de ses paramètres, de ses variables, de ses hypothèses ? L'autre renvoie à la question fondamentale posée par Lasswell : une science de l'action est-elle possible, à laquelle la science politique contribue valablement en tant que science ?

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4) The use of modes of perception and classification of reality inspired by institutional and historical analysis seems to be declining. Policy analysis has made it possible to understand far better the whole hidden face of political and administrative performance: the ambiguity of advisory procedures, the strategy of interest groups, etc. Can we already propose specific modes of analysis leading to theory building in policy studies and not merely borrow from related disciplines such as decision or organizational theory?

5) The discovery of the "grey areas" of public policy is a major achievement of policy analysis. There are limits beyond which efficacy and efficiency tend to decrease, or even produce dysfunctions. Around the identifiable nucleus of governmental authority, and outside the market and the networks of social solidarity (kinship, neighborhood, etc.), we see the development of para-political patterns of intervention. Identifying more systematically these systems of action and the modes of regulation which they produce seems a promising road for political science in the present debate on the limits of the State and of government regulation.

6) Finally, we must tackle the very problem of comparative analysis. Why is it not easier to compare public policies? What are the empirical reasons, and the conceptual and theoretical obstacles? For political science to give valid answers to these questions means returning to substantial issues, as shown by the theme of evaluation. But it would also mean progress on the more traditional road to better knowledge of the polities and the political system, through new attempts to develop typologies (according to states, government style, etc.).

Thus, the theme of the Paris Congress leads to some basic questions concerning the place of policy analysis within modern political science. One concerns the value and specific nature of its epistemological foundation: Is policy analysis a scientific gesture or an ideological deviation? What is the value of its parameters, variables and hypotheses? The other takes us back to Lasswell: Is a policy science possible? Can political science as such make a valid contribution to it?

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SOUS-THEME IV

L'Etat face aux problèmes globaux

Le thème de relations internationales du Congrès mondial de Rio de Janeiro était celui du nouvel ordre mondial en voie de constitution. L'accent était mis sur les changements, sur les tendances, ainsi que sur les possibilités de solution de quelques-uns des grands problèmes dont l'ensemble constitue l'ordre du jour des relations internationales contemporaines. En 1985, nous avons à examiner les agents qui sont à la fois créateurs et objets de ces tendances et de ces changements. L'Etat est affecté par un certain nombre de problèmes et de tendances, dont certains proviennent des changements fondamentaux survenus dans la structure et les processus des relations internationales, et dont d'autres sont des conséquences du système d'Etats classique. Les questions essentielles d'ordre théorique qu'auront à se poser les participants aux séances consacrées aux relations internationales sont les suivantes : Quel est à l'heure actuelle le statut, quelle est l'efficacité politique de l'Etat-nation comme acteur principal des relations internationales ? Compte tenu des forces qui à la fois intensifient et freinent le nationalisme, qui engendrent aussi bien la fragmentation que l'interdépendance internationales, que pouvons-nous attendre, en théorie et dans la réalité politique, de l'Etat-nation ? A centrer nos études sur les activités de l'Etat, qu'avons-nous à gagner ou à perdre dans notre compréhension des relations internationales ? Quel est le rôle des acteurs non-étatiques dans le domaine de la politique étrangère et des relations internationales, et comment devrions-nous l'étudier ? Le système global, caractérisé par un haut degré d'interdépendance, rend-il vraiment l'Etat-nation périmé ou inefficace ? Ces questions ont été au centre de grands débats théoriques dans notre domaine au cours des années récentes. Elles suggèrent de grandes possibilités de changement au plan théorique : si nous affirmons que l'Etat, dans une perspective globale, subit effectivement des changements fondamentaux, nous pouvons avoir, en tant que spécialistes des relations internationales, à procéder à un grand réaménagement de notre équipement intellectuel, à considérer le monde de façon fondamentalement différente.

1) L'Etat est vulnérable de façon simultanée aux forces « sub-nationalistes » — mouvements sécessionnistes, activité incontrôlée et peut-être incontrôlable d'acteurs non-étatiques — et aux contraintes croissantes qu'exerce un puissant réseau mondial de relations d'échanges commerciaux, de communications, d'investissements. La séance générale consacrée à notre sous-thème examinera l'impact de ces forces. Nous assistons par exemple à la multiplication de phénomènes transnationaux apparemment incontrôlables tels que le trafic de stupéfiants, les migrations, le terrorisme. Les mouvements sécessionnistes brisent la structure d'Etats dont certains sont nouveaux, d'autres anciens. Néanmoins, le nombre des Etats continue à croître. L'objectif primordial de la plupart des mouvements politiques n'est pas de créer une communauté mondiale, mais bien plutôt de faire en sorte que chaque communauté politique finisse par posséder les attributs classiques de l'Etat : autonomie, indépendance, souveraineté. Si à bien des égards les gouvernements « perdent le contrôle », s'ils sont de plus en plus vulnérables aux événements et aux tendances d'ordre international, il n'en reste pas moins que la souveraineté demeure l'objectif ultime de la plupart des communautés politiques.

SUBTHEME IV

Global Problems: Challenge to the State

The international relations theme of the IPSA meetings in Rio de Janeiro emphasized the problem of the emerging world order. Its focus was on the changes, trends, and possibilities for overcoming some of the great problems that make up the agenda of international relations today. Our theme for 1985 concentrates, now, on the agents which are at once the creators and objects of those trends and changes. The state is buffeted by a number of problems and trends, some of which emanate from fundamental changes in the structures and processus of international relations, and others of which are the consequences of the classical states system in operation. The essential theoretical concerns of the panels on international relations are these: What is the status and political efficacy of the nation state as a major agent of international relations? Given forces that both enhance and stifle nationalism, that generate both international fragmentation and interdependence, what can we expect, theoretically, empirically, and politically, of the nation-state in the future? What do we gain and lose in our understanding of international relations when we focus our studies on state activities? What is the role of — and how should we study — non-state actors in foreign policy and international relations? Is the global system, characterized by high levels of interdependence, really rendering the nation state obsolete or ineffectual? These questions have raised substantial theoretical debates in the field in recent years. They suggest profound possibilities for theoretical changes in our field: if we argue that indeed the state, viewed from a global perspective, is undergoing fundamental change, then we may well have to rearrange our intellectual furniture as scholars of international relations; we may have to begin looking at the world in fundamentally different ways.

1) The state is vulnerable simultaneously to the forces of sub-nationalism — secessionist movements, the uncontrolled, and possibly uncontrollable activities of non-state actors — and to the growing constraints found in a rich global network of trade, communication, and investment. Our subtheme general session explores the impact of these forces. For example, we can see the proliferation of seemingly uncontrollable transnational phenomena such as drug trade, migration, and terrorism. We also see secessionist movements tearing apart the fabric of both new and old states. Yet, the number of states continues to increase; the driving animus of most political movements is not to create a global community, but to ensure that each distinct political community ultimately becomes adorned with the classical attributes of statehood, namely autonomy, independence, and sovereignty. Thus, while there is considerable evidence that governments are "losing control", that they are increasingly vulnerable to international events and trends, we also see that sovereignty remains the ultimate goal of most political communities.

But what of movements for international integration? The creation of the EEC stimulated an extensive literature which implicitly or explicitly assumed that the way to peace was to render the individual state obsolete through formal integration. What are the possibilities of such integration today? Are the forces of supranationalism operating today? What is the status of the

Qu'en est-il alors des mouvements d'intégration internationale ? La création de la Communauté économique européenne a donné naissance à une abondante littérature dont les hypothèses implicites ou explicites étaient que pour atteindre la paix, il fallait rendre les Etats individuels obsolètes, et cela par l'intégration. Quelles sont aujourd'hui les possibilités d'intégration ? Des forces subnationales sont-elles en action ? Quel est le statut des travaux d'ordre théorique qui cherchent à décrire et à expliquer les tendances intégrationnistes ? L'Etat doit-il répondre au seul défi des forces impersonnelles mises en mouvement par l'interdépendance croissante et par les activités des acteurs non étatiques ? Certains Etats au moins n'aboutiront-ils pas à la conclusion que la meilleure façon de résoudre les problèmes classiques ou nouveaux au plan international serait une abrogation formelle de la souveraineté ?

2) Quelle que soit la nature des changements observés, l'ordre du jour international, qu'on s'en félicite ou qu'on le déplore, reste pour l'essentiel fixé par les gouvernements des Etats-nations. Ce sont eux qui déterminent si nous devons être en guerre ou en paix, et qui façonnent tout ordre international à venir. L'« état de guerre », décrit de façon si profonde par Rousseau, subsiste dans beaucoup de régions du monde, malgré les tendances à la constitution d'une communauté mondiale. Nous aurons donc, en second lieu, à examiner certains des problèmes traditionnels auxquels doivent faire face les Etats, problèmes qui accroissent ou atténuent les risques de guerre, qui améliorent ou réduisent les possibilités d'atteindre une plus grande égalité entre individus.

Qu'il y ait ou non un quelconque système d'Etats ou ordre international, cela dépend en dernière analyse de la façon dont les principaux protagonistes de la guerre froide apprendront à gérer leurs relations, de leur succès ou de leur échec à réduire les dangers que présentent la poursuite d'une course illimitée aux amements et la prolifération nucléaire. Les problèmes de la guerre et de la paix, qui ont retenu l'attention des plus grands philosophes politiques des XVIII^e^ et XIX^e^ siècles, restent actuels ; ceux qui gouvernent les Etats doivent constamment les affronter. Nos séances accordent donc la priorité à ces problèmes permanents ; elles examineront diverses façons de contribuer à réduire les menaces que présente l'environnement nucléaire. Les sujets en sont divers : les régimes de sécurité en Europe, les zones dénucléarisées, la neutralité et le neutralisme, le changement pacifique, l'amélioration des techniques de gestion des crises. Ce qu'ils ont en commun, c'est la problématique traditionnelle des procédés visant à réduire, ou tout au moins à contrôler, les conflits internationaux. Nous y trouvons toujours, en effet, le principal défi à l'Etat.

3) Nous devrons nous intéresser aussi à un danger plus neuf dans les relations internationales : la possibilité que l'épuisement de certaines ressources naturelles intensifie les conflits internationaux. Puisque tous les Etats doivent satisfaire le besoin de bien-être, comment le faire alors que les ressources sont réparties à travers le monde presque au hasard, que l'accès à ces ressources est problématique, que la possibilité de les voir s'épuiser peut menacer les valeurs fondamentales de beaucoup d'Etats ? Tout cela pose aussi des problèmes d'équité. Comment peut-on exploiter de nouvelles ressources, en particulier celles situées au-delà des frontières nationales, de telle façon qu'on empêche les pays les plus avancés sur le plan technique de s'approprier des ressources « communautaires » ? Assistons-nous, pour ce qui est des conflits au sujet des ressources rares, à un retour de la géopolitique ? Quelles conséquences d'ordre politique et stratégique entraîne la prise de conscience de ce que les ressources mondiales ne sont pas illimitées ?

Au cours de la dernière décennie, nous n'avons que trop appris que la croissance et le développement économique ne sont pas acquis. La crise mondiale nous a montré à quel point les projets de développement peuvent être affectés par les tendances économiques mondiales ; à quel point même des Etats disposant d'un minimum d'autonomie économique peuvent être victimes

theoretical work that attempts to describe and explain integrative tendencies? Is the state challenged solely by impersonal forces associated with growing interdependence and the activities of non-state actors, or will at least some states conclude that the best way to handle the classical and newer problems on the international agenda is through formal abrogation of sovereignty?

2) Whatever the nature of the changes we observe, for better or worse it is still the governments of nation-states that set most of the international agenda. They will determine whether we have war or peace, and they will fashion the configuration of any future international order. The "state of war", defined so profoundly by Rousseau, continues to exist in many areas, regardless of any trends toward the evolution of a global community. Our second concern, then, is with exploring some of the traditional problems that states face, problems which increase or mitigate the chances of war, and which enhance or stifle the opportunities for greater human equality.

Wether or not we will have *any* states system or international order depends ultimately on how the main protagonists of the Cold war learn to manage their relationship, and whether or not they succeed in reducing the dangers that are inherent in the continuation of unlimited arms racing, or of nuclear proliferation. The problems of war and peace, which exercised the minds of our greatest political philosophers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, remain with us; they constantly confront those who govern states. Our panels give priority to these enduring questions, examining ways and means of helping to ameliorate the threats that exist in the present nuclear environment. The subjects are varied: security regimes in Europe, nuclear-free zones, neutrality and neutralism, peaceful change, and perfecting crisis management techniques. But they have in common the traditional policy-relevant *problematic,* how to reduce or control international conflict. This remains the critical challenge to the state.

3) We are also concerned with a newer danger in international relations: the possibility that depletion of resources will engender higher levels of international conflict. Given the requirement of all states to meet welfare needs, how can they achieve them when resources are distributed almost randomly throughout the world, when access to them is problematical, and when the possibility of dwindling supplies could threaten the core values of many states? There are also questions of equity involved. In what ways can new resources, particularly those located beyond national jurisdictions, be exploited so as to prevent those who have the most advanced technologies from appropriating "community" resources for themselves? Have geopolitics — implying conflict over scarce resources — re-emerged? What are the political and strategic consequences of recognition that the world's resources are finite?

We have learned only too well during the past decade that economic growth and development cannot be taken for granted. The global recession has shown how plans for development can be subverted by global economic trends; how states enjoying some modicum of economic autonomy can become victims of the unanticipated consequences of decisions taken elsewhere; and how linkages between economics and politics develop — and not always in the interest of distributive justice. Poor economic performance has immense political consequences, particularly on those that are most dependent upon the global economic system. For many, the "dependency syndrome" continues, or grows more acute, again revealing the extent to which the state is buffeted by various transnational processes. Our papers explore the issues of autonomy and dependence, and the requirements for more equitable forms of international collaboration.

4) Thanks to important theoretical and technical innovations in modelling, we are no longer constrained only to speculate on the problems facing the state. We now have elaborate means of projecting present trends, and for

des conséquences imprévues de décisions prises hors de leurs frontières ; comment se développent les liens entre économie et politique — pas toujours conformément aux règles de la justice distributive. Les mauvais résultats économiques ont d'énormes conséquences politiques, tout particulièrement pour les pays qui dépendent le plus du système économique mondial. Pour beaucoup d'entre eux, il subsiste un « syndrome de dépendance » qui peut même s'intensifier, montrant à nouveau à quel point l'Etat est à la merci de divers processus transnationaux. Les communications traitent des problèmes de l'autonomie et de la dépendance, et de l'exigence de formes plus équitables de coopération internationale.

4) Grâce aux importants progrès réalisés au plan théorique comme dans les techniques de construction des modèles, nous n'avons plus à nous limiter aux spéculations quand il s'agit des problèmes que doit affronter l'Etat. Nous disposons désormais de moyens complexes d'extrapoler les tendances constatées, et de construire diverses sortes de scénarios. Le domaine des modèles globaux n'est pas sans danger ni difficultés, en raison notamment de la perversité avec laquelle les contingences historiques peuvent démentir même les projections les plus raffinées. Mais nous tirons tous profit intellectuellement de cette gymnastique de l'imagination, qui nous permet de confronter nos intuitions, nos hypothèses et nos espoirs aux ensembles de plus en plus importants de données relatives aux changements dans la vie politique internationale que nous aurons à étudier dans les séances de notre Congrès.

Sous-jacent à toutes nos séances, nous trouvons donc le problème du changement. Les plus clairvoyants reconnaîtront la grande continuité des structures et des processus classiques des relations internationales, mais verront aussi des phénomènes et des tendances nouveaux, et même sans précédent. Il demeure sur l'agenda diplomatique de vieux problèmes, et parfois même sous des formes particulièrement aiguës et dangereuses ; mais on y trouve aussi des problèmes nouveaux, qui souvent laissent perplexes les gouvernements autant que les chercheurs. Pour ceux-ci, la question la plus importante est de savoir comment distinguer ce qui est profond et durable de ce qui est superficiel et éphémère. Comment identifier les changements fondamentaux ? Comment situer leurs effets ? Comment pouvons-nous, en tant qu'enseignants, séparer les phénomènes véritablement importants et significatifs des phénomènes triviaux et temporaires ? Comment savoir quand et si un changement de paradigme de notre équipement intellectuel devient nécessaire ? Les diverses contributions à nos séances, prises dans leur ensemble, devraient permettre de fournir quelques réponses à ces questions.

Kal J. Holsti, Université de la Colombie britannique.

constructing scenarios of various types. The field of global modelling is not without its pitfalls and difficulties, not the least of which is the perverse ways that historical contingency can render even the most sophisticated projections incorrect. Nevertheless, we all profit intellectually by stretching our imaginations, by checking our hunches, hypotheses, and hopes against the growing bodies of data which document the sorts of changes in international politics we will explore in our sessions.

Underlying our theme is the problem of change. Those with some acuity will acknowledge the continuity of the classical structures and processes of international relations, but will also recognize new and unprecedented phenomena and trends. Old items on the diplomatic agenda remain, albeit in particularly acute and dangerous forms, while newer problems emerge, often confounding governments and academics alike. The critical question for scholars is to distinguish between the profound and lasting on the one hand, and the passing and ephemeral on the other. How do we identify fundamental changes? How do we locate their consequences? How do we, as teachers, separate the truly important and significant from the trivial and passing phenomenon? How do we know when and if a "paradigmatic" change in our intellectual furniture is required? Taken together, the contributions of our panels should provide some clues to these questions.

Kal J. Holsti, University of British Columbia.

OPENING MEETING / *SÉANCE D'OUVERTURE*

Date : Monday 15, 5 p.m. / *lundi 15, 17 h*

Room/*Salle :* Grand Amphithéâtre de la Sorbonne
47, rue des Ecoles, Paris 5e

Introduction : John Trent, Secr. gen., AISP / IPSA

Georges Vedel, Président de l'Association française de science politique

Opening / *Ouverture*

Representatives of — The French Government
Unesco

Représentants — *du Gouvernement français*
de l'Unesco

Addresses / *Allocutions :*

Klaus von Beyme, Président de l'AISP / IPSA

Francesco Kjellberg, Président du Comité du Programme / Chairperson of the Programme Committee

CLOSING MEETING / *SÉANCE DE CLOTURE*

Date : Saturday 20, 9.30 a.m. / *samedi 20, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* Auditorium N° 1 / Amphithéâtre N° 1

PLENARY SESSIONS / *SÉANCES PLÉNIÈRES*

PS. 1 The Concept of the State and the Development of the Public Sphere / *Le concept d'Etat et le développement de la sphère publique*

(Session Organized in Co-operation with the International Social Science Council / *Séance organisée en collaboration avec le Conseil International des Sciences Sociales)*

Date : Wednesday 17, 5.15 pm / *mercredi 17, 17 h 15*

Room/*Salle :* Auditorium N° 1 / *Amphithéâtre N° 1*

Chair/*Présid. :* Francesco Kjellberg, Univ. of Oslo
Candido Mendes, Sociedade Brasileira de Instrução

Paper/*Communic. :* The Concept of the State and the Development of the Public Sphere
Klaus von Beyme, Univ. of Heidelberg

Disc./*Comment. :* Sabino Cassese, Univ. of Rome
Michel Crozier, Centre de Sociol. des Org., Paris
Mancur Olson, Univ. of Maryland

PS. 2 Politics and Political Science / *Science politique et vie politique*

Date : Friday 19, 5.15 pm / *vendredi 19, 17 h 15*

Room/*Salle :* Auditorium N° 1 / *Amphithéâtre N° 1*

Chair/*Présid. :* John E. Trent, Univ. of Ottawa
Georges Vedel, Univ. de Paris II

Participants : Ralf Dahrendorf, Univ. of Constance, former director of the London School of Economics, former member of the Commission of the European Communities (FRG)

Michel Debré, député, ancien Premier ministre (France)

Marian Dobrosielski, Univ. of Warsaw, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs (Poland)

Joseph Nye, Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, former Deputy to the Under-Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology (USA)

Karan Singh, former MP, former Minister of Education, Social Welfare and Culture (India)

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THE CHANGING STATE AND ITS INTERACTION WITH NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY

Thème principal :

L'ETAT, SON EVOLUTION ET SON INTERACTION AVEC LA SOCIETE NATIONALE ET INTERNATIONALE

Subtheme I : STATE AND GOVERNMENT IN RECENT POLITICAL THEORY

Sous-thème 1 : ETAT ET GOUVERNEMENT DANS LA THEORIE POLITIQUE RECENTE

Consultant : B.C. Parekh, Univ. of Hull and Baroda

I.0 - Philosophical Reflections on the Modern State / *Réflexions d'ordre philosophique sur l'Etat moderne*

Date : Tuesday 16, 9.30 am / *mardi 16, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* Auditorium N° 1 / *Amphithéâtre N° 1*

Convener/*Resp. :* B.C. Parekh, Univ. of Hull and Baroda
J.W. Moore, Concordia Univ., Loyola Campus

Paper/*Communic. :* Responsibility Without Power : States and Incoherence of Modern Conceptions of the Political Good
John Dunn, Univ. of Cambridge

The State and the International Economic Order
Rajni Kothari, Univ. of Delhi

La fin de l'Etat
Pierre Birnbaum, Université de Paris I

Disc./*Comment. :* Stanislaw Ehrlich, Univ. of Warsaw
Shlomo Avineri, The Hebrew Univ. of Jerusalem

I.1 - Assessment of the Great Theoretical Controversies about the State / *Bilan des grandes controverses théoriques sur l'Etat*

Convener/*Resp. :* Pierre Birnbaum, Université de Paris I
Karl-Heinz Röder, Academy of Sciences of the GDR

I.1.1 - Assessment of the Great Theoretical Controversies about the State / *Bilan des grandes controverses théoriques sur l'Etat*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm */mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* Auditorium N° 3 / *Amphithéâtre N° 3*

Chair/*Présid. :* Pierre Birnbaum, Université de Paris I

Paper/*Communic.* : Welfare States and the Social Theory of the State Restated
Goran Therborn, Catholic University of Nijmegen
Theo Berben, Catholic University of Nijmegen

State, Culture and the Market
Ilkay Sunar, Bogazigi University, Istanbul
Faruk Birtek, Bogazigi University, Istanbul

Disc./*Comment.* : Charles Tilly, New School for Social Research, NY
John Hall, Univ. of Manchester

I.1.2 - Assessment of the Great Theoretical Controversies about the State / *Bilan des grandes controverses théoriques sur l'Etat*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium N° 3 / *Amphithéâtre N° 3*

Chair/*Présid.* : Karl-Heinz Röder, Academy of Sciences of the GDR

Paper/*Communic.* : The Marxist Debates on the State in Post-war Japan
Tetsuro Kato, Hitotsubashi University
Fukuji Taguchi, Nagoya University

Faces of the State in an Underdeveloped Country
Mae C. King Akesode, Univ. of Benin

The Pragmatic Evolution of the Contemporary State: 1960-85.
Aurora Arnaiz Amigo, Univ. Nat. Autónoma de México

The Concept of the State in an Advanced Socialist Society
Zdenek Masopust, Czechoslovak Acad. of Sciences

Disc./*Comment.* : Antoine Nasri Messara, Univ. Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth
Aaron T. Gana, Univ. of Jos,
Zzonko Posavec, Univ. of Zagreb

I.2 - Modes of Legitimizing the Authority of the State / *L'autorité de l'Etat : modes de légitimation*

Convener/*Resp.* : Christian Bay, Univ. of Toronto
Claus Offe, Univ. of Bielefeld

I.2.1 - Modes of Legitimizing the Authority of the State / *L'autorité de l'Etat : modes de légitimation*

Date : Wednesday, 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium N° 3 / *Amphithéâtre N° 3*

Chair/*Présid.* : Christian Bay, Univ. of Toronto

Paper/*Communic.* : Legislation on the Status of Foreign Residents as Symbolic Process of the Legitimation of the State: Reflections on the Case of Switzerland
Gérard de Rham, Inst. d'Etudes Sociales, Genève

The Mode of Legitimizing a Modernizing State: The Case of Turkey
Metin Heper, Bogazici University, Istanbul

Problems of Legitimation in Soviet Type Societies
Andrew Arato, New Sch. for Soc. Research, N.Y.

Disc./*Comment.* : Claus Offe, Univ. of Bielefeld
Helga Hernes, Inst. of Social Research, Oslo

I.2.2 - Modes of Legitimizing the Authority of the State / *L'autorité de l'Etat : modes de légitimation*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* Auditorium N° 3 / *Amphithéâtre N° 3*

Chair/*Présid. :* Claus Offe, Univ. of Bielefeld

Paper/*Communic. :* Freedom versus Legitimacy
Burton Zwiebach, Queens College, New York

Theoretical and Practical Problems of Legitimation of State Authority
Josek Skala, Czechoslovak Assoc. of Pol. Sci.

Legitimation Problems of Science and Technology Policy
Herbert Kitschelt, Duke University

Participatory Democracy: A New Mode of Legitimizing the Authority of the State?
Erkki Berndtson, Univ. of Helsinki

Disc./Comment. : Philippe Resnieck, Univ. of British Columbia
Carole Pateman, Univ. of Sydney

I.3 - The State in the Socialist Countries: Theoretical Analyses / *L'Etat dans les pays socialistes : analyses théoriques*

Convener/*Resp. :* Donald Kelley, Univ. of Arkansas at Fayetteville
Constantin Sheremet, Academy of Sciences of the USSR

I.3.1 - The State in the Socialist Countries: Theoretical Analyses / *L'Etat dans les pays socialistes : analyses théoriques*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* Auditorium N° 3 / *Amphithéâtre N° 3*

Chair/*Présid. :* John N. Hazard, EUI, Florence

Paper/*Communic. :* Theory of Soviet State Today
Zafar Imam, Jawaharlal Nehru University

Self-Management and the Changing Role of the State in the Yugoslav Socio-political System
Milas Matic, Univ. of Belgrade

The Interface of State and Society in Poland
Maurice D. Simon, Univ. of North Carolina

Problems of Integration of Economic Growth, Demographic Change, and Political Pluralism in East Central Europe
James H. Seroka, Southern Illinois University

Disc./*Comment. :* Jangir Kerimov, Academy of Sciences of the USSR

I.3.2 - The State in the Socialist Countries : Theoretical Analyses / *L'Etat dans les pays socialistes : analyses théoriques*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* Auditorium N° 3 / *Amphithéâtre N° 3*

Chair/*Présid. :* Constantin Sheremet, Academy of Sciences of the USSR

Paper/*Communic.* : The Modern Socialist State
Boris Topornin, Academy of Sciences of the USSR

Socialist State in Developed Socialist Society
Irgi Grospic, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences

The Organic Labour State
Neil Harding, Univ. College of Swansea

The Concept of Political System and Soviet Theory of the State
Archie Brown, Oxford University

Disc./*Comment.* : John N. Hazard, EUI, Florence

I.4 - The State in the Developing Countries : Theoretical Analyses / *L'Etat dans les pays en voie de développement : analyses théoriques*

Convener/*Resp.* : Okwudiba Nnoli, Univ. of Nigeria
L.S. Rathore, Univ. of Jodhpur

I.4.1 - The State in the Developing Countries : Theoretical Analyses / *L'Etat dans les pays en voie de développement : analyses théoriques*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium N° 4 / *Amphithéâtre N° 4*

Chair/*Présid.* : Okwudiba Nnoli, Univ. of Nigeria

Paper/*Communic.* : Paradigms of the Modern State Formation in the Periphery
Ali Kazancigil, UNESCO

Sovereignty and State-Building: Nominal Sovereignty as an Obstacle to State-Building in Tropical Africa
Robert H. Jackson, Univ. of British Columbia
Carl G. Rosberg, Univ. of California

Disc./*Comment.* : Emmanuel Hansen, Univ. of Essex

I.4.2 - The State in the Developing Countries : Theoretical Analyses / *L'Etat dans les pays en voie de développement : analyses théoriques*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercedi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium N° 4 / *Amphithéâtre N° 4*

Chair/*Présid.* : Yash Tandon, African Ass. of Political Science

Paper/*Communic.* : The Nature of the Nigerian State
U.B. Uba, Univ. of Nigeria

The State and Development in a Third World Country: The Case of India
Abha Shrivastava, Univ. of Jodhpur

The Expanding Role of the State in a Developing Society: A Case Study of India
P.S. Bhati, Univ. of Jodhpur

Disc./*Comment.* : Samir Amin, UNITAR

I.5 - The State and the Concept of a New World Order / *L'Etat et le concept de nouvel ordre mondial*

Convener/*Resp.* : Georgii Shakhnazarov, Academy of Sciences of the USSR
Benjamin Barber, Rutgers University

I.5.1 - The State and the Concept of a New World Order / *L'Etat et le concept de nouvel ordre mondial*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium N° 4 / *Amphithéâtre N° 4*

Chair/*Présid.* : Georgii Shakhnazarov, Academy of Sciences of the USSR

Paper/*Communic.* : The Extension of State Functions and the Specific Requirements for a New International Economic Order Made by the Third World
Hartmut Elsenhans, Univ. of Constance

The Renunciation of the Use of Force and a New World Order
Claus Montag, Academy of Sciences of the GDR

The Antiwar Movements as a Factor Stabilizing the International Political Order
Ivan Nedev, L. Zhivkova Intern. Found., Sofia
Yuri Baturin, Academy of Sciences of the USSR

World Order and the Socio-Cultural Function of the State
Milan Matous, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences

Disc./*Comment.* : Vadim Lukov, Moscow Inst. of Intern. Rel.
Hayward Alker, MIT

I.5.2 - The State and the Concept of a New World Order / *L'Etat et le concept de nouvel ordre mondial*

Date : Thurday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Chair/*Présid.* : Benjamin Barber, Rutgers University

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium N° 4 / *Amphithéâtre N° 4*

Paper/*Communic.* : The Decline of the Super State: the Rise of a New World Order
Hayward Alker, MIT
T. Biersteker, Yale University

Crises in Capitalism and Socialism in the New World Order
Harold Chorney, Concordia University

Disc./*Comment* : Terence Marshall, Univ. de Paris X - Nanterre

1.6 - Methodology for Analysis of the Modern State / *Méthodologie de l'analyse de l'Etat moderne*

Convener/*Resp.* : Yehezkel Dror, The Hebrew Univ. of Jerusalem
Richard Ashcraft, UCLA

I.6.1 - Methodology for Analysis of the Modern State / *Méthodologie de l'analyse de l'Etat moderne*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium N° 4 / *Amphithéâtre N° 4*

Chair/*Présid.* : Richard Ashcraft, UCLA

Paper/*Communic.* : *Qu'est-ce que c'est, l'Etat ?*
Michael Th. Greven, Philipps Univ., Marburg
Bob Jessop, Univ. of Essex

Interclass Struggle, Political Hegemony, and the Origins of Capitalist Democracy in Chile
Michael Th. Greven, Philipps Univ., Marburg

Disc./*Comment.* : Virinder Singh, Punjab University
Richard Ashcraft, UCLA

I.6.2 - Methodology for Analysis of the Modern State / *Méthodologie de l'analyse de l'Etat moderne*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 1

Chair/*Présid.* : Yehezkel Dror, The Hebrew Univ. of Jerusalem

Paper/*Communic.* : Public Policy Theory and the State
Edgar Litt, Univ. of Connecticut

State Centralization, Public Policy and Clientelism
Ezra Suleiman, Princeton University

The Steering of States: A Comparative Conceptualization
Itzhak Galnoor, The Hebrew Univ. of Jerusalem

Consultation to Governments as a Method for Analysing the Modern State: Some OECD Experiences
Ravi Kapil, OECD

War, Historical Methodology, and the State
Darryl Roberts, Duke University

I.7 - Marxist, Liberal and Conservative Theories of the Nature and Functions of Government / *Théories marxiste, libérale et conservatrice de la nature et des fonctions de l'Etat*

Convener/*Resp.* : Preston King, Univ. of South Wales
Ovidiu Trasnea, Academia « Stefan Gheorghiu », Bucarest

I.7.1 - Marxist, Liberal and Conservative Theories of the Nature and Functions of Government / *Théories marxiste, libérale et conservatrice de la nature et des fonctions de l'Etat*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium N° 7 / *Amphithéâtre N° 7*

Chair/*Présid.* : Ovidiu Trasnea, Academia « Stefan Gheorghiu », Bucarest

Paper/*Communic.* : Socialism and Capitalism in the Struggle for Africa: Appearance and Reality
Claude Ake, Univ. of Port Harcourt

On the Inevitability of Government in Marxist, Liberal and Conservative Theory and Practice
Martin Seliger, The Hebrew Univ. of Jerusalem

Australian Marxism and Politics
Eugene Kamenka, Australian National University

The Politics of Social Transformation in the Marxist-Leninist Theory of the State
John Ehrenberg, Long Island University

Disc./*Comment.* : Kenneth R. Hoover, Univ. of Wisconsin-Parkside
Szymon Chodak, Concordia University
Adrian Chan, Univ. of New South Wales

I.7.2 - Marxist, Liberal and Conservative Theories of the Nature and Functions of Government / *Théories marxiste, libérale et conservatrice de la nature et des fonctions de l'Etat*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium N° 7 / *Amphithéâtre N° 7*

Chair/*Présid.* : Preston King, Univ. of South Wales

Paper/*Communic.* : Rousseau and Marx: Two Views of Inequality
Maurice Cranston, London School of Economics

Marx and Weber on the State as an Objective Moral Agent
Alan Gilbert, Univ. of Denver

Towards a Utilitarian Retrieval of Liberalism
Jonathan Riley, Dalhousie University

Disc./*Comment.* : Maurice Robin, Université de Paris X - Nanterre
George K. Romoser, Univ. of New Hampshire

I.8 - The Concept of the State in the New Political Economy / *Le concept d'Etat dans la nouvelle économie politique*

Convener/*Resp.* : James Alt, Washington University
John Ferejohn, Stanford University

I.8.1 - The Concept of the State in the New Political Economy / *Le concept d'Etat dans la nouvelle économie politique*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium N° 7 / *Amphithéâtre N° 7*

Chair/*Présid.* : James Alt, Washington University

Paper/*Communic.* : Military Strength Versus the Provision of Welfare: The State and the Political Economy of Guns-Butter Trade-Offs
John H. Aldrich, Univ. of Minnesota
Raymond D. Duvall, Univ. of Minnesota

The Decline of Productivity Growth and the Rise of the Shadow Economy in the United States
Friedrich Schneider, Aarhus University
Werner W. Pommerehne, Univ. of Zurich

Disc./*Comment.* : Morris Fiorina, Harvard University

I.8.2 - The Concept of the State in the New Political Economy / *Le concept d'Etat dans la nouvelle économie politique*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium N° 7 / *Amphithéâtre N° 7*

Chair/*Présid.* : John Ferejohn, Stanford University

Paper/*Communic.* : The Political Economy of Telecommunications in Industrial Societies
Roger Noll, Stanford University
Protection and Welfare Policies as Substitutes
Michael Wallerstein, Univ. of California
Manipulation of the International Economy
Norman Schofield, Univ. of Essex

Disc./*Comment.* : Douglas A. Hibbs, Jr, Harvard University
Steven Krasner, Stanford University

Subtheme II : THE CHANGING FUNCTIONS AND STRUCTURE OF THE GOVERNMENT APPARATUS

Sous-thème II : CHANGEMENTS DE FONCTIONS ET DE STRUCTURE DANS L'APPAREIL ETATIQUE

Consultant : Jerzy J. Wiatr, Univ. of Warsaw

II.0 - Comparative Public Administration : The State of the Art / *L'analyse comparative en sciences administratives : état des travaux*

Date : Tuesday 16, 9.30 am / *mardi 16, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium N° 2 / *Amphithéâtre N° 2*

Convener/*Resp.* : Jerzy J. Wiatr, Univ. of Warsaw
Carlos Alba, Univ. of Madrid

Paper/*Communic.* : Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of Comparative Research on the State in the Socialist Countries
Wolfgang Weichelt, Academy of Sciences of the GDR
The State-of-the-Art in West European Politics: Problems of the European Community
Jouffroy-Lucien Radel, Univ. of Wisconsin
Conceptual Ambiguities in the Comparative Study of Public Administration
Joel D. Aberbach, Univ. of Pittsburgh
Bert A. Rockman, Univ. of Pittsburgh

Disc./*Comment.* : Gary C. Bryner, Brigham Young University
Stanislaw Gebethner, Univ. of Warsaw

II.1 - Public Bureaucracy and its Role in Modern Society / *La fonction publique et son rôle dans la société moderne*

Convener/*Resp.* : Alberto Spreafico, Univ. of Florence
Inge Perko-Separovic, Univ. of Zagreb

II.1.1 - Public Bureaucracy and its Role in Modern Society / *La fonction publique et son rôle dans la société moderne*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 36

Chair/*Présid.* : Inge Perko-Separovic, Univ. of Zagreb

Paper/*Communic.* : The Bureaucracy and Policy-Making
Donald C. Rowat, Carleton University

The Roles of Bureaucracy in Policy-Making in Anglo-Saxon Commonwealth Countries
V. Subramaniam, Carleton University

Policy-Making and Relationship between Politics and Bureaucracy
Kyosti Pekonen, Univ. of Jyvaskyla

Disc./*Comment* : R.B. Jain, Univ. of Delhi

II.1.2 - Public Bureaucracy and its Role in Modern Society / *La fonction publique et son rôle dans la société moderne*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 36

Chair/*Présid.* : Franco Ferraresi, Univ. of Turin

Paper/*Communic.* : Private Organizations with Policy Tasks as Blockades for De-bureaucratization of Public Administration
Hans Bekke, Univ. of Nijmegen

Bureaucracy and the Demise of Authoritarianism in Brazil
Elisa P. Reis, Candido Mendes University

La bureaucratie et la crise du Welfare State
Miguel Beltrán, Univ. de Madrid

Non-bureaucratic Management in Local Government
Bruno Dente, Univ. of Bologna

The Australian Broadcasting Corporation: Recent Attempts at De-bureaucratization
Eva Etzioni-Halevy, Australian National University

Disc./*Comment.* : Ulf Torgersen, Univ. of Oslo

II.2 - Changes in Governmental Institutions and the Impact of Social Scientists / *Changements institutionnels et influence des spécialistes des sciences sociales*

Convener/*Resp.* : Hellmut Wollmann, Free University of Berlin
Witold Morawski, Univ. of Warsaw

II.2.1 - Changes in Governmental Institutions and the Impact of Social Scientists / *Changements institutionnels et influence des spécialistes des sciences sociales*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 36

Chair/*Présid.* : Witold Morawski, Univ. of Warsaw
Hellmut Wollmann, Free University of Berlin

Paper/*Communic.* : Opportunities and Constraints on Social Scientists' Role in Politico-Administrative Systems: an Italian Case
Anna R. Minelli, Univ. of Bologna

Governmental Commissions as an Institutional Means of Utilising Social Science Expertise: the Case of Britain
Martin Bulmer, London School of Economics

Les hommes de sciences dans les commissions extra-parlementaires suisses
Raimund E. Germann, IDHEAP, Lausanne

Disc./*Comment.* : Jean-Louis Quermonne, Inst. d'Etudes Politiques, Paris
Carlos Alba, Univ. of Madrid
U. Beck, Univ. of Bamberg

II.2.2 - Changes in Governmental Institutions and the Impact of Social Scientists / *Changements institutionnels et influence des spécialistes des sciences sociales*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 36

Chair/*Présid.* : Carol H. Weiss, Harvard University

Paper/*Communic.* : Social Scientists and Public Policy in Brazil
Bolivar Lamounier, IDESP

Economic Reform and the Role of Social Scientists — the Hungarian Case
Istvan Huszar, Inst. of Soc. Sciences, Budapest

Determinants, Restrictions and Patterns of the Engagement of Social Scientists in Policy-Consulting
Georg Thurn, Science Center, Berlin

The Influence of Social Scientists on Political Decisions
Wladyslaw Markiewicz, Polish Academy of Sciences
Witold Morawski, Univ. of Warsaw

The Influence of Social Scientists on Governmental Institutions in Eastern and Southern Africa
Juan Braun, UNICEF

Disc./*Comment.* : Milan Cic, Czechoslovak Assoc. of Pol. Sci.
David Nachmias, Univ. of Wisconsin
Björn Wittrock, Univ. of Stockholm

II.3 - Public Bureaucracy in Developing Societies / *La fonction publique dans les pays en voie de développement*

Convener/*Resp.* : R.B. Jain, Univ. of Delhi
Oscar Ozslak, CEDES, Buenos Aires

II.3.1 - Public Bureaucracy in Developing Societies / *La fonction publique dans les pays en voie de développement*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 36

Chair/*Présid.* : R.B. Jain, Univ. of Delhi

Paper/*Communic.* : Bureaucracy in a Developing Society like India : Its Adequacies and Limitations
V.T. Patil, Karnatak University, Patna
K.P. Singh, Inst. of Rural Development

Public Bureaucracy in a Traditional Society: A Case Study of Nepal
P.S. Bhatnagar, Thribuvan Univ., Kathmandu

The Bureaucracy in an Authoritarian Regime: The Case of the Philippines
Jose N. Endriga, Univ. of Philippines

Ideology, Politics and the Emerging Shape of State Bureaucracy in Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia
Haile K. Asmerom, Free University of Amsterdam

Administrative Coordination in Uganda: The Nature and Conditions of Bureaucratic Leadership
Jeanne-Marie Col, Sangamon State University

Disc./*Comment.* : R.K. Nayah, Nat. Inst. of Soc. Sci, Suryanagar
Inge Perko-Separovic, Univ. of Zagreb
Alberto Spreafico, Univ. of Florence

II.3.2 - Public Bureaucracy in Developing Societies / *La fonction publique dans les pays en voie de développement*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 36

Chair/*Présid.* : Oscar Ozslak, CEDES, Buenos Aires

Paper/*Communic.* : Economic Policy and the Brazilian Congress
Edson de Oliveira Nunes, Center for Latin American Studies, Berkeley

Bureaucracy and the Administrative Reform Policies in the Asean Countries
Jon S.T. Quah, National University of Singapore

Military Bureaucratic Mass Organizations and Social Mobilization in Developing Societies
Gregory J. Kasza, Whitman College, Washington

Minister-Civil Servant Relationship in Development: A Case Study of India
M.V. Pylee, Cochin University

Disc./*Comment.* : Aurora Carbonell-Catilo, Univ. of the Philippines
T.N. Chaturvedi, Government of India

II.4 - Changing Relations between Center and Periphery? / *Les relations entre le centre et la périphérie — quels changements ?*

Convener/*Resp.* : Albert Mabileau, Université de Bordeaux III
Michio Muramatsu, Kyoto University

II.4.1 - Changing Relations between Center and Periphery / *Les relations entre le centre et la périphérie — quels changements ?*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium N° 5 / *Amphithéâtre N° 5*

Chair/*Présid.* : Albert Mabileau, Université de Bordeaux III

Paper/*Communic.* : Changing Relations between Center and Periphery in Canada: Regionalized Executive, Decentralized Bureaucracy and Unilateral Federal Policy
Herman Bakvis, Dalhousie University

Central-Local Relations in Great Britain
J.D. Stewart, Univ. of Birmingham

Evolution of Intergovernmental Relations in the United States
Robert Stein, Rice University

L'évolution des relations centre-périphérie en France
Pierre Sadran, Univ. de Bordeaux III

L'évolution des relations centre-périphérie en Allemagne fédérale
Lothar Albertin, Univ. of Bielefeld

Disc./*Comment.* : Yves Mény, Univ. de Paris II

II.4.2 - Changing Relations between Center and Periphery ? / *Les relations entre le centre et la périphérie — quels changements ?*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium N° 5 / *Amphithéâtre N° 5*

Chair/*Présid.* : Michio Muramatsu, Kyoto University

Paper/*Communic.* : Institutional Rearrangements — A Consequence of the Economic Crisis? A Comparative Perspective
Gerd-Michael Hellstern, Free University of Berlin

State Development and Local Government
Edward C. Page, Univ. of Hull

Changes in Socio-Economic Relations, State Functions and Centre-Periphery Relations. Some Comparisons among Advanced Capitalist Nations
Mark Kesselman, Columbia University

Elites et citoyens dans l'évolution des relations centre-périphéries
Jeanne Becquart-Leclercq, Université de Lille II

Disc./*Comment.* : Albert Johnson, Madurai Kamaraj University
Douglas E. Ashford, Univ. of Pittsburgh

II.5 - Changes in Governmental Institutions and Patterns of Interlocking of Public and Private Sectors / *Changements institutionnels et imbrication des secteurs public et privé*

Convener/*Resp.* : Jack Hayward, Univ. of Hull
Johan P. Olsen, Univ. of Bergen

II.5.1 - Changes in Governmental Institutions and Patterns of Interlocking of Public and Private Sectors / *Changements institutionnels et imbrication des secteurs public et privé*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium N° 5 / *Amphithéâtre N° 5*

Chair/*Présid.* : Jack Hayward, Univ. of Hull

Paper/*Communic.* : Pluralist and Corporatist Linkages between Public Institution and Private Groups in American Cities
Susan E. Clarke, Univ. of Colorado

Contradictions of Institutionalisation within the System of Specialist Self-Management
Mijat Damjanovic, Univ. of Belgrade

Concertation during the Mauroy Governments
William G. Andrews, SUNY, Brockport

The Legitimation of Interest Groups by the Frenĉh Administration
Yves Mény, Univ. de Paris II

Disc./*Comment.* : Vincent Wright, Nuffield College, Oxford
Suzanne Berger, MIT

II.5.2 - Changes in Governmental Institutions and Patterns of Interlocking of Public and Private Sectors / *Changements institutionnels et imbrication des secteurs public et privé*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium N° 5 / *Amphithéâtre N° 5*

Chair/*Présid.* : Johan P. Olsen, Univ. of Bergen

Paper/*Communic.* : Organizing the Central Leadership of Public Agencies : Implications for Political Governance, Professional Autonomy and the Influence of 'Affected Parties'
Morten Egeberg, Univ. of Oslo
Tom Christensen, Univ. of Tromsø
Inger Stigen, Univ. of Oslo

The State as Entrepreneur: Mixed Enterprise in the Western Economies
Stephen Brooks, Univ. of Brock

The Management of Strategic Changes in Large Enterprises
Andrew M. Pettigrew, Univ. of Warwick

Disc./*Comment.* : Fritz W. Scharpf, Science Centre, Berlin
Colin Campbell, Georgetown, University
Olof Ruin, Univ. of Stockholm

II.6 - Volatility of the Electorates and the Control of the Parties: Problems for the State / *Volatilité des électorats et contrôle des partis : problèmes posés à l'Etat*

Convener/*Resp.* : Alain Lancelot, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques
Mogens Pedersen, Odense University

II.6.1 - Volatility of the Electorates and the Control of the Parties: Problems for the State / *Volatilité des électorats et contrôle des partis : problèmes posés à l'Etat*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium N° 5 / *Amphithéâtre N° 5*

Chair/*Présid.* : Alain Lancelot, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques

Paper/*Communic.* : Representative Democracy in Crisis? The Scandinavian Countries
Jan Sundberg, Univ. of Helsinki
Sten Berglund, Univ. of Helsinki

Electoral Volatility and Governmental Stability in Spain
Samuel H. Barnes, Univ. of Michigan
Peter McDonough, Univ. of Michigan
Antonio Lopez Pina, Univ. of Michigan

Nouveau regard sur l'identification partisane en France et en Grande-Bretagne
Jean Charlot, Inst. d'Etudes Politiques, Paris
Monica Charlot, Maison Française, Oxford

L'instabilité du comportement électoral
Gerard Grunberg, Fond. Nat. des Sciences Politiques

II.6.2 - Volatility of the Electorates and the Control of the Parties: Problems for the State / *Volatilité des électorats et contrôle des partis : problèmes posés à l'Etat*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* Auditorium N° 5 / *Amphithéâtre N° 5*

Chair/*Présid. :* Mogens Pedersen, Odense University

Paper/*Communic. :* Language as a Disquieting Dimension in the Party Politics of India
T. Vasanthakumari, Maduray Kamaraj University

Realignment and Polarization in the US Senate, 1927-84
Keith T. Poole, Carnegie-Mellon University
Howard Rosenthal, Carnegie-Mellon University

Electoral Volatility in Brazil, 1946-1982
Marcus Figueiredo, IDESP
Bolivar Lamounier, IDESP

II.7 - The Impact of Citizen Participation and Social Movements on Governmental Activities / *Effets de la participation des citoyens et des mouvements sociaux sur les activités publiques*

Convener/*Resp. :* Josef Blahoz, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences
Wanderly Guilherme dos Santos, IUPERJ

II.7.1 - The Impact of Citizen Participation and Social Movements on Governmental Activities / *Effets de la participation des citoyens et des mouvements sociaux sur les activités publiques*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* Auditorium B - 6 / *Amphithéâtre B - 6*

Chair/*Présid. :* Josef Blahoz, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences

Paper/*Communic. :* Political Participation and Government
William Smirnov, Academy of Sciences of the USSR

Citizen Participation and Environmental Policy Implementation: Case of US Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act
Uday Desai, Southern Ill. Univ., Carbondale

The Impact of the Feminist Movement on Bureaucratic Politics in the United Kingdom and the United States
Joyce Gelb, CUNY

The Impact of the Citizen Participation and Social Movements on the Governmental Activities with Special Reference to Sri Lanka
Newton A. Peiris, Univ. of Colombo

Le phénomène de la participation à l'administration publique en Italie
Salvatore Mastropasqua, Univ. de Cassino

Disc./*Comment.* : Wolfgang Weichelt, Academy of Sciences of the GDR

II.7.2 - The Impact of Citizen Participation and Social Movements on Governmental Activities / *Effets de la participation des citoyens et des mouvements sociaux sur les activités publiques*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium B - 6 / *Amphithéâtre B - 6*

Chair/*Présid.* : Wanderly Guilherme dos Santos, IUPERJ

Paper/*Communic.* : Public Organizations as a Guarantee of Democratic Principles in Governmental Activities
Nora Ananieva, Univ. of Sofia

The Participation of Poor Population in Decision-Making Activities of Municipal, State and Federal Governments in Brazil
Vicente Barretto, Candido Mendes University

Citizens' Movement — An Improvements of Democratic Quality? Confrontation of Concepts and of Realities
Anton Pelinka, Univ. of Innsbrück

The Impact of Citizen Participation on the Governmental Apparatus with Special Reference to India
L.S. Rathore, Univ. of Jodhpur

Disc./*Comment.* : Christian Bay, Univ. of Toronto
Michel Lesage, Inst. de Rech. Jurid., Ivry-sur-Seine

II.8 - Mass Media and the Modern State: the Problem of New Communication / *Les médias et l'Etat moderne : les problèmes posés par les nouveaux modes de communication*

Convener/*Resp.* : Rudolf Wildenmann, Univ. of Mannheim
John Meisel, Queen's University

II.8.1 - Mass Media and the Modern State: the Problem of New Communication / *Les médias et l'Etat moderne : les problèmes posés par les nouveaux modes de communication*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium B - 6 / *Amphithéâtre B - 6*

Chair/*Présid.* : Rudolf Wildenmann, Univ. of Mannheim

Paper/*Communic.* : The New Media — a Chance for Pluralism?
Werner Kaltefleiter, Christian-Albrechts University

The Electronic Media and the Power of Political Executives: The United States and Canada
Robert E. Gilbert, Northeastern University

Politics The Media, and Literary Criticism
C.E.S. Franks, Queen's University

Entre l'Etat moderne et les masses : le sondage et le marketing
Edouard Cloutier, Univ. de Montréal

Disc./*Comment.* : Itzhak Galnoor, The Hebrew Univ. of Jerusalem
John Bokina, Pan American University
C.E.S. Franks, Queen's University

II.8.2 - Mass Media and the Modern State: the Problem of New Communication / *Les médias et l'Etat moderne : les problèmes posés par les nouveaux modes de communication*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium B - 6 / *Amphithéâtre B - 6*

Chair/*Présid.* : John Meisel, Queen's University

Paper/*Communic.* : Media Impact on International Politics
G.W. Wittkämper, Wilhelms-Univ. of Westphalia
Jürgen Bellers, Wilhelms-Univ. of Westphalia

A New Stage in the Relations Between the Private and the Public
Volker Gransow, Free University, Berlin

New Communications Technologies: Policy Dilemmas for the Developing World
Heather E. Hudson, Univ. of Texas at Austin

Mass Media and the Modern State in Japan
Susan J. Pharr, Harvard University

Disc./*Comment.* : David L. Paletz, Duke University
G.W. Wittkämper, Wilhelms-Univ. of Westphalia

Subtheme III : COMPARATIVE PUBLIC POLICY AND GOVERNMENTAL ACTIONS

Sous-thème III : POLITIQUES ET ACTIONS PUBLIQUES : ETUDES COMPARATIVES

Consultant : Jean Leca, Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris

III.0 - Comparative Policy Studies. The State of the Art / *Les études comparatives des politiques publiques : état des travaux*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 am / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium N° 1 / *Amphithéâtre N° 1*

Convener/*Resp.* : Jean Leca, Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris
Arnold Heidenheimer, Washington University

Paper/*Communic.* : Comparative Policy at the Cross Roads: What Nature of Beast?
Arnold Heidenheimer, Washington University

National Styles and Policy Sectors: Explaining Structured Variation
Gary P. Freeman, Univ. of Texas at Austin

National Styles in Industrial Relations Policies: Patterns of Workplace Democracy
Alfred Diamant, Indiana University

Regime Type and Public Policy in Latin America
John W. Sloan, Univ. of Houston
Kent Tedin, Univ. of Houston
Alberta Sbragia, Univ. of Pittsburgh

Disc./*Comment.* : Bernard Cazes, Commissariat du Plan, Paris
Göran Therborn, Catholic University of Nijmegen
Fritz W. Scharpf, Science Centre, Berlin

III.1 - Governmental Structures and the Dynamics of Public Policy and Growth / *Structures administratives et dynamique des politiques et de la croissance du secteur public*

Convener/*Resp.* : Stuart S. Nagel, Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Ch.
Richard Rose, Univ. of Strathclyde

III.1.1 - Governmental Structures and the Dynamics of Public Policy and Growth / *Structures administratives et dynamique des politiques et de la croissance du secteur public*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : B - 5

Chair/*Présid.* : Stuart S. Nagel, Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Ch.

Paper/*Communic.* : Adjusting the Central Mind of Governments to Adversity
Yehezkel Dror, The Hebrew Univ. of Jerusalem

System Characteristics and Policy Outputs
Jan-Erik Lane, Univ. of Umea

The Effects on Public Policy of Concentration and Devolution: A Crossnational Study
Date Krane, Mississippi State University

Disc./*Comment.* : Thomas Lancaster, Emory University
Benny Hjern, Univ. of Umea

III.1.2 - Governmental Structures and the Dynamics of Public Policy and Growth / *Structures administratives et dynamique des politiques et de la croissance du secteur public*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : B - 5

Chair/*Présid.* : Richard Rose, Univ. of Strathclyde

Paper/*Communic.* : Growth in State and Para-State Enterprise: a Comparison
Sabino Cassese, Univ. of Rome

Policy Output as a Function of Institutional Structure: a Cross-National Analysis of Nuclear Power
Otto Keck, Science Centre, Berlin

The Growth of Organisations or the Growth of Resources-in-Organisations?
Richard Rose, Univ. of Strathclyde

Disc./*Comment.* : Ernest J. Wilson, Univ. of Michigan

III.2 - Planning and the Limits of Governmental Regulation / *La planification et les limites de la réglementation publique*

Convener/*Resp.* : Jean-Claude Thoenig, INSEAD, Fontainebleau
Herman Van Gunsteren, Univ. of Leiden

III.2.1 - Planning and the Limits of Governmental Regulation / *La planification et les limites de la réglementation publique*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium N° 7 / *Amphithéâtre N° 7*

Chair/*Présid.* : Jean-Claude Thoenig, INSEAD, Fontainebleau

Paper/*Communic.* : International Planning and Limits of Government. The Case of the European Common Organization of the Market in Sugar
Kurt P. Tudyka, Catholic University of Nijmegen
Ig Snellen, Catholic University of Nijmegen

New Requirements on Theoretical Concepts of Research and Technoloy Policy: The Example of the Setting-Up of the Solar Industry in France and West Germany
Ulrich Hilpert, EUI, Florence

Symbolism of Governmental Regulation and Planning
P. Frissen, Catholic University of Nijmegen

The State and Economic Policy: The Limits of Structure and the Possibilities of Society
Peter Alexis Gourevitch, Univ. of California at San Diego

Societal Planning in Western Europe: Forms and Functions
Sven Bislev, Aalborg University

Consequences of Centralised Planning in a Federal Policy: A Critique of the Indian Plan Process
Albert Johnson, Madurai Kamaraj University

Disc./*Comment.* : Günther F. Schaefer, European Inst. of Public Admin.
Jonathan Story, INSEAD, Fontainebleau

III.2.2 - Planning and the Limits of Governmental Regulation / *La planification et les limites de la réglementation publique*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : Auditorium N° 7 / *Amphithéâtre N° 7*

Chair/*Présid.* : Herman Van Gunsteren, Univ. of Leiden

Paper/*Communic.* : Systèmes organisés complexes et modes d'allocation des ressources : leçon des prestations sociales en France
Dominique Dupuy, Université de Paris I

Public Enterprise, Economic Development, and the Impact of Environmental Regulations: The Experience of American Seaports on the Pacific Rim
Herman L. Boschken, San Jose State University

Insertion professionnelle des jeunes, action volontaire et régulation publique
Philippe Garraud, Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Bordeaux

Hospital Planning and Regulation in Germany: 1945-1984
Christa Altenstetter, CUNY

Disc.//*Comment.* : Catherine Grémion, CNRS, Paris

III.3 - Policy Implementation and Policy Evaluation / *Application et évaluation des politiques publiques*

Convener/*Resp.* : Renate Mayntz, Univ. of Cologne
J.A.M. Maarse, Twente University of Technology

III.3.1 - Policy Implementation and Policy Evaluation / *Application et évaluation des politiques publiques*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 1

Chair/*Présid.* : Renate Mayntz, Univ. of Cologne

Paper/*Communic.* : Public Policies and Their Targets: A Typological Elaboration of Implementation Concepts
Markku Kiviniemi, Univ. of Helsinki

Implementation as Design Problem. Problem Tractability, Policy Theory, and Feasibility Testing
Asje van Dijk, Free University, Amsterdam
Bob Hoppe, Free University, Amsterdam
Henk Van de Graaf, Free University, Amsterdam

Implementation Research: A Critical Analysis of Competing Approaches and Suggested Synthesis
Paul Sabatier, Univ. of California

Comparative Analysis of Policy Implementation. Dashed Hopes and Achieved Promises: Some Experiences of the Field of Environmental Policies
Peter Knoepfel, Univ. of Lausanne
Corinne Larrue, Univ. of Lausanne

III.3.2 - Policy Implementation and Policy Evaluation / *Application et évaluation des politiques publiques*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 1

Chair/*Présid.* : J.A.M. Maarse, Twente University of Technology

Paper/*Communic.* : Determinants of and Perspectives for the Focus of Evaluation Research: Which Difference do Changes in Political Majorities and Political Issue Cycles Make?
Peter Wagner, Free University of Berlin

Comparative Policy Evaluation: Theory and Practice
Hans Bressers, Twente University of Technology
Mac Honigh, Twente University of Technology

Evaluating Policy Implementation: Central Issues in Comparative Analysis
Dennis J. Palumbo, Arizona State University

Critical Evaluation of Public Policy: A Methodological Case Study
Frank Fischer, Rutgers University

III.4 - The Process of Extended Legislation and its Scope / *La législation étendue et son domaine*

Convener/*Resp.* : Peter Gerlich, Univ. of Vienna
Erik Damgaard, Univ. of Aarhus

III.4.1 - The Process of Extended Legislation and its Scope / *La législation étendue et son domaine*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 1

Chair/*Présid.* : Peter Gerlich, Univ. of Vienna

Paper/*Communic.* : Paper title n.a.
Klaus Schubert, Fuhr University, Bochum

Legislating Equality. Some Austrian Evidence
Herbert Gottweis, Univ. of Salzburg
Wolfgang C. Müller, Univ. of Vienna

Legislative Initiatives in the Field of Disaster-Policy
J. Wil Foppen, Univ. of Rotterdam
Menno Van Duin, Univ. of Rotterdam

Disc./*Comment.* : Grant Jordan, Univ. of Aberdeen
Erik Damgaard, Univ. of Aarhus

III.4.2 - The Process of Extended Legislation and its Scope / *La législation étendue et son domaine*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 1

Chair/*Présid.* : Erik Damgaard, Univ. of Aarhus

Paper/*Communic.* : Consultation Processes as De Facto Legislation: Britain
Grant Jordan, Univ. of Aberdeen

The Impact of Interest Groups upon Legislation and Implementation
Wolfgang Zeh, Federal Parliament, Bonn

The Problem of Relation between Law and Political Power in the Social System
Krzysztof Palecki, Jagiellonian University, Cracow

Disc./*Comment.* : Peter Gerlich, Univ. of Vienna
Stanislaw Gebethner, Univ. of Warsaw
Jordi Sole Tura, Univ. of Barcelona

III.5 - The Welfare State in Perspective / *L'Etat de bien-être mis en perspective*

Convener/*Resp.* : Peter Flora, Univ. of Mannheim
Daniel Tarschys, Univ. of Uppsala

III.5.1 - The Welfare State in Perspective / *L'Etat de bien-être mis en perspective*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* Auditorium B - 6 / *Amphithéâtre B - 6*

Chair/*Présid. :* Peter Flora, Univ. of Mannheim

Paper/*Communic. :*

Comparative Politics of Welfare
Theo Berben, Catholic University of Nijmegen
Göran Therborn, Catholic University of Nijmegen
Joop Roebroek, Catholic University of Nijmegen

The Empirical Analysis of Performance of the Welfare States in 24 Countries
Francisco Parra-Luna, Univ. of Madrid

Economic Development and the Welfare State
Walter Korpi, Univ. of Stockholm

The Welfare State as a Labor Market
Martin Rein, M.I.T.
Angelika Willms, Univ. of Mannheim

Equal Treatment for Men and Women in Social Security
Maria Maguire, OECD, Paris

III.5.2 - The Welfare State in Perspective / *L'Etat de bien-être mis en perspective*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* Auditorium B - 6 / *Amphithéâtre B - 6*

Chair/*Présid. :* Stein Kuhnle, Univ. of Bergen

Paper/*Communic. :*

Welfare Austerity and Political Strains: The Case of Italy
Maurizio Ferrera, Bocconi University, Milan

The Welfare State in Germany
Jens Alber, Univ. of Cologne

Politics in the Making of the Welfare State: Finland in Comparative Perspective
Matti Alestalo, Univ. of Helsinki
Peter Flora, Univ. of Mannheim
Hannu Uusitalo, The Helsinki School of Economics

The Working Class and Welfare: Reflections on the Political Development of the Welfare State in Australia and New Zealand
Francis G. Castles, Open University

The Welfare State in Britain
Rudolf Klein, Univ. of Bath

Present Problems and Future Prospects of the Japanese Welfare State
Yasunori Sone, Keio University

III.6 - Patterns of Public Allocation / *Les modes de répartition publique*

Convener/*Resp. :* Dag Anckar, Abo Academy
Artur Bodnar, Univ. of Warsaw

III.6.1 - Patterns of Public Allocation / *Les modes de répartition publique*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 13

Chair/*Présid. :* Dag Anckar, Abo Academy

Paper/*Communic. :* Elusive Issues of Government Revenue and Spending: A General Discussion with an Israeli Illustration
Ira Sharkansky, The Hebrew Univ. of Jerusalem

External Debt Accumulation in the World Political Economy
William P. Avery, Univ. of Nebraska-Lincoln

Public Allocations: By Territory or By Sector?
Pär-Erik Bäck, Univ. of Umea

Allocation Patterns of Social Welfare Policy in Unitary Systems
Fred Lazin, Ben-Gurion Univ. of the Negev

Disc./*Comment. :* Artur Bodnar, Univ. of Warsaw
Donald Rotschild, Univ. of California

III.6.2 - Patterns of Public Allocation / *Les modes de répartition publique*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 13

Chair/*Présid. :* Artur Bodnar, Univ. of Warsaw

Paper/*Communic. :* Problems of Allocation in Science Policy
Ig Snellen, Catholic University of Nijmegen

Public Allocation by Private Organization: Data from Finland
Dag Anckar, Abo Academy
Voitto Helander, Univ. of Turku

Coordination of Local Government Activities
Gustavo D. Donisa, Univ. of Buenos Aires

Public Allocation and Private Influence in Tanzania
Joel Samoff, Stanford University

Disc./*Comment. :* Ralf Helenius, Swedish School of Economics

III.7 - International Actors and Domestic Policy / *Les acteurs internationaux et les politiques internes*

Convener/*Resp. :* Fedor Burlatsky, Academy of Sciences of the USSR
R.N. Trivedi, Ranchi University

III.7.1 - International Actors and Domestic Policy / *Les acteurs internationaux et les politiques internes*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* B - 3

Chair/*Présid. :* Fedor Burlatsky, Academy of Sciences of the USSR

Paper/*Communic. :* Arms Race and its Impact on Domestic Policy
Vitalij Jurkin, Academy of Sciences of the USSR
Eniu Savavd, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

Disc./*Comment. :* Evgeniy Primakov, Academy of Sciences of the USSR
Longin Pastusiak, Polish Inst. of Intern. Affairs

III.7.2 - International Actors and Domestic Policy / *Les acteurs internationaux et les politiques internes*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* B - 3

Chair/*Présid. :* R.N. Trivedi, Ranchi University

Paper/*Communic. :*

International Actors and Domestic Policy: Bangladesh Food Grain Policy Making
M. Anisuzzaman, Government of Bangladesh

Bhutan's Global Role: Domestic Factors
K.M. Deka, Dibrugarh University

The Policies of International Funding Agencies and their Impact on Domestic Policy
S. Subramanian, Madurai Kamraj University

Anti-Indian Feeling in Bhutan: Domestic Determinants
Bishwanath Prasad, Ranchi University

US Foreign Policy Versus Mozambique's Socialist Domestic Policy
Elaine A. Friedland, Inst. of Technology, New York

Soviet and East European International Behavior: Environmental Action, 1972-85
Henry Krisch, Univ. of Connecticut

International Actors and Domestic Policy: A Case Study of Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka
Shelton U. Kodikara, Univ. of Peradeniya

Foreign Enemies, Hegemony and Relative Domestic Political Stability/Instability: A Comparative Study in Political Legitimation and Symbolic Action, Nigeria and America
Daniel Mou, Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison

III.8 - Methodological Issues in the Study of Comparative Public Policy / *L'étude comparative des politiques publiques — problèmes de méthodologie*

Convener/*Resp. :* Elinor Ostrom, Indiana University
Aaron Wildavsky, Univ. of California, Berkeley

III.8.1 - Methodological Issues in the Study of Comparative Public Policy / *L'étude comparative des politiques publiques — problèmes de méthodologie*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 6

Chair/*Présid. :* Elinor Ostrom, Indiana University

Paper/*Communic. :*

The Relationship Between Guidance, Control, and Evaluation
Franz Xaver Kaufmann, Univ. of Bielefeld

The Nature and Construction of Order in Human Societies
Vincent Ostrom, Indiana University

Comparative Policy Analysis: A Public Choice Paradigm
William C. Mitchell, Univ. of Oregon
Joyce M. Mitchell, Univ. of Oregon

Disc./*Comment.* : Uriel Rosenthal, Erasmus University of Rotterdam
Heinrich Siedentopf, Grad. Sch. of Publ. Adm., Speyer

III.8.2 - Methodological Issues in the Study of Comparative Public Policy / *L'étude comparative des politiques publiques — problèmes de méthodologie*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 6

Chair/*Présid.* : Aaron Wildavsky, Univ. of California, Berkeley

Paper/*Communic.* : The Decentralization that Comes from the Center
Claudio de Moura Castro, CNRH, Brasilia

From Political Economy to Political Culture
Aaron Wildavsky, Univ. of California, Berkeley

Beyond the Politics of Interest
Michiel Schwarz, Univ. of London
Michael Thompson, Univ. of Warwick

Public Policy Building and Implementation
Ryszard Zoktaniecki, Univ. of Warsaw

Disc./*Comment.* : Herman Van Gunsteren, Univ. of Leiden
Steve Elkin, Univ. of Maryland

III.9 - Comparative Social Policies / *Etude comparative des politiques sociales*

Convener/*Resp.* : Harold L. Wilensky, Univ. of California, Berkeley
Mincho Semov, Bulgarian Political Sci. Assoc.

III.9.1 - The Interdependence of Social Policy, Economic Policy, and Labour Policy: A Cross-National View / *Interdépendance de la politique sociale, de la politique économique et de la politique du travail : étude comparative*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 12

Chair/*Présid.* : Harold L. Wilensky, Univ. of California, Berkeley

Paper/*Communic.* : The Interdependence of Public Policies and Their Effects
Harold L. Wilensky, Univ. of California, Berkeley

Rates of Unemployment and Labor Market Policy: A Cross-National View
Manfred G. Schmidt, Heidelberg University

Efficiency and Equality: Decommodification and Social Policy
Gösta Esping-Andersen, Harvard University

Social Democracy and Adjustment to Changing Conditions of International Competition
Charles F. Sabel, MIT

Disc./*Comment.* : Stein Kuhnle, Univ. of Bergen

III.9.2 - Comparative Social Policies / *Etude comparative des politiques sociales*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 12

Chair/*Présid. :* Mincho Semov, Bulgarian Political Sci. Assoc.

Paper/*Communic. :*
Comparative Analysis of Social Studies of Youth
Peter-Emil Mitev, Inst. of Youth Studies, Sofia

Getting the Hell Out! Emergency Response Planning for Nuclear Power Plants
Terrel L. Rhodes, Univ. of N. Carolina at Charlotte

Comparative Analysis of Labour Relations
Krastyu Petkov, Inst. of Trade Union Probl., Sofia

On the Possibility of Creating a Methodological Basis for International Comparative Studies in the Field of Politics
Mincho Semov, Bulgarian Political Sci. Assoc.

Subtheme IV : GLOBAL PROBLEMS: CHALLENGES TO THE STATE

Sous-thème IV : L'ETAT FACE AUX PROBLEMES GLOBAUX

Consultant : Kal J. Holsti, Univ. of British Columbia

IV.0 - The State between Sub-nationalism and Inter-nationalism / *L'Etat entre le subnationalisme et l'internationalisme*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* Auditorium N° 2 / *Amphithéâtre N° 2*

Convener/*Resp. :* Kal J. Holsti, Univ. of British Columbia
Marcel Merle, Université de Paris I

Paper/*Communic. :*
The State as a Barrier to International Theory
Yale H. Ferguson, Rutgers University
Richard W. Mansbach, Rutgers University

Sovereignty as a Source of Vitality for the State
J.D.B. Miller, Australian National Univ.

The State in an Era of Cascading Politics: Wavering Concept, Widening Competence, Withering Colossus, or Weathering Change?
James N. Rosenau, Univ. of Southern California

National Interests, Socialism and Internationalism
Radoslav Stojanovic, Univ. of Belgrade

Disc./*Comment. :* Kal J. Holsti, Univ. of British Columbia
Ivo Duchacek, CUNY

IV.1 - Requisites for Global Peace and Security: Arms Control, Disarmament, and Norms of Conduct / *Conditions nécessaires à la paix et à la sécurité mondiales : maîtrise des armements, désarmement, règles de conduite*

Convener/*Resp. :* Max Schmidt, Inst. of Intern. Polit. and Econ., Berlin
Umberto Gori, Univ. of Florence

IV.1.1 - Requisites for Global Peace and Security: Arms Control, Disarmament, and Norms of Conduct / *Conditions nécessaires à la paix et à la sécurité mondiales : maîtrise des armements, désarmement, règles de conduite*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 3

Chair/*Présid. :* Umberto Gori, Univ. of Florence

Paper/*Communic. :*
Nuclear-Weapon-Free-Zones
Paul F. Power, Univ. of Cincinnati

Arms Control and Global Security: A Third World View
T.C. Bose, Univ. of Kalyani

Nuclear Non-Proliferation as a Confidence-Building Measure: The Potential for US-Soviet Cooperation
William C. Potter, Univ. of California

Problems of Strategic Stability
V. Shurkin, Academy of Sciences of the USSR

The Factors of Peace in the World Community
Pierangelo Isernia, « Forum Humanus », Club of Rome

Disc./*Comment. :* Nansen Behar, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences
C. Van Benthem, Inst. of Soc. Studies, The Hague

IV.1.2 - Requisites for Global Peace and Security: Arms Control, Disarmament, and Norms of Conduct / *Conditions nécessaires à la paix et à la sécurité mondiales : maîtrise des armements, désarmement, règles de conduite*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 3

Chair/*Présid. :* Max Schmidt, Inst. of Intern. Polit. and Econ., Berlin

Paper/*Communic. :*
Conditions and Chances for Collective Security in Europe
Max Schmidt, Inst. of Intern. Polit. and Econ., Berlin

A Europeanist Approach to Security and Disarmament
Herbert Wulf, Univ. of Hamburg

Global Security, Regional Security and Defense Policies in Europe
Irnerio Seminatore, Univ. de Paris III

Disc./*Comment. :* Ladislav Dvorak, Czechoslovak Assoc. of. Pol. Sci.
R. Seidelmann, Univ. of Giessen

IV.2 - Management Issues in Global Transformation: Social Change in International Society / *Problèmes de gestion des transformations globales : le changement social dans la société internationale*

Convener/*Resp. :* Nazli Choucri, MIT

IV.2.1 - Management Issues in Global Transformation: Social Change in International Society / *Problèmes de gestion des transformations globales : le changement social dans la société internationale*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 7

Chair/*Présid. :* Nazli Choucri, MIT

Paper/*Communic. :* Contemporary Emigration Policies
Alan Dowty, Univ. of Notre Dame

Social Conflict and Refugee Movements in the Third World
Aristide Zolberg, The New School for Soc. Research, NY

Refugee Flows in Latin America
Sergio Aguayo, El Colegio de México

Refugee Flows in Asia
Astri Suhrke, The American University

Disc./*Comment. :* Göran Melander, Univ. of Lund
Likhit Dhiravegin, Thammasat University
Alejandro Portes, Johns Hopkins University

IV.2.2 - Management Issues in Global Transformation: Social Change in International Society / *Problèmes de gestion des transformations globales : le changement social dans la société internationale*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 7

Chair/*Présid. :* Kinhide Mushakoji, UN University, Tokyo

Paper/*Communic. :* Communication and the Learning Capacity of Societies
Mircea Malitza, Embassy of Romania, Washington

A Comparison of Pre-modern to Most-modern Attitudes and Priorities in Health in India
Devavrat N. Pathak, Peace Research Centre, Ahmedabad

Strategies for Global Morality: Foundations for a Unified Theory
Gordon Burt, The Open University

Theories of Peaceful Change: What Can We Learn of Them?
Esko Antola, Univ. of Turku

New Forms of Governance for a Sustainable Society
Lester Milbrath, State Univ. of N.Y. at Buffalo

Changes and Instability in the Latin American Political System: Its Role and Influence in International Crisis
Roberto Durán, Univ. of Chile

Disc./*Comment. :* Jesse Dent, Johnson C. Smith University

IV.3 - The State and International Integration: Potential and Limits of Regional Cooperation / *L'Etat et l'intégration internationale : possibilités et limites de la coopération régionale*

Convener/*Resp. :* Johan K. de Vree, Univ. of Amsterdam

IV.3.1 - The State and International Integration: Potential and Limits of Regional Cooperation / *L'Etat et l'intégration internationale : possibilités et limites de la coopération régionale*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 3

Chair/*Présid. :* Karl Deutsch, Harvard University

Paper/*Communic. :*

Political Development: A Definition and Classification
M. Arentsen, Catholic Univ. of Nijmegen
L. van Snippenburg, Catholic Univ. of Nijmegen
Joop Roetbroek, Catholic Univ. of Nijmegen

National Political Coalitions as an Obstacle to International Integration
David Singer, Univ. of Michigan

The Dynamics of Integration: a General Model
Johan K. De Vree, Univ. of Amsterdam

Peasantries and State Formation
Ellen Wiegandt, Univ. of Bern

The Decision-Making Capacity of State Bureaucracies
R.H. Lieshout, Twente University of Technology

The Biological Imperative in International System and Process
Dennis J.D. Sandole, George Mason University

IV.3.2 - The State and International Integration: Potential and Limits of Regional Cooperation / *L'Etat et l'intégration internationale : possibilités et limites de la coopération régionale*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 3

Chair/*Présid. :* Johan K. De Vree, Univ. of Amsterdam

Paper/*Communic. :*

The "Gestalt" of Political Mass Events in Western Democracies as Compared to Those of the Fascist Regime of the Third Reich
Herbert Rauch, Univ. of Vienna

The Rise and Decline of European Integration Theory
James Caporaso, Univ. of Denver

International Integration in Asia
Michael Haas, Univ. of Hawaii

Integration in Eastern and Western Europa. A Comparison of the Capacity of Two Political Systems
G. Faber, Europe Institute, Utrecht
V.S.E. Falger, Institute of Int. Law, Utrecht
J.Q.Th. Rood, Univ. of Utrecht

The Testing of Theory on Capacity of Political Systems; Concepts, Indicators and Measurement Procedures
Jan Faber, Univ. of Amsterdam
Michiel de Vries, Univ. of Amsterdam

Disc./*Comment. :* Glendon Schubert, Univ. of Hawaii at Manoa

IV.4 - Non-alignment and Other Security Strategies for Non-nuclear States / *Le non-alignement et les autres stratégies de sécurité possibles pour les états sans armes nucléaires*

Chair/*Présid.* : Raimo Väyrynen, Univ. of Helsinki

IV.4.1 - Non-Alignment and Other Security Strategies for Non-Nuclear States / *Le non-alignement et les autres stratégies de sécurité possibles pour les états sans armes nucléaires*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 4

Convener/*Resp.* : Raimo Väyrynen, Univ. of Helsinki

Paper/*Communic.* : Security Strategies of Mediterranean Countries
Radovan Vukadinovic, Univ. of Zagreb

Norway's Nuclear-Weapon Policy
Nils Petter Gleditsch, PRIO, Oslo

Nuclear Disengagement in Europe
Sverre Lodgaard, SIPRI, Stockholm

The Balkan Nuclear-Weapon Free Zone
Enyu Savov, Bulgarian Assoc. of Pol. Science

Alliances and War: An Interrupted Time-Series Analysis
Frank Wayman, Univ. of Michigan/Dearborn

IV.4.2 - Non-Alignment and Other Security Strategies for Non-Nuclear States / *Le non-alignement et les autres stratégies de sécurité possibles pour les états sans armes nucléaires*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 4

Chair/*Présid.* : Radovan Vukadinovic, Univ. of Zagreb

Paper/*Communic.* : The Emerging Trends of Nonaligned Movement
Surendra Chopra, Guru Nanal Dev University

Peace and the National Question: A Study of the Development of an 'Association of Responsibility' between the Two Germanies
Joyce Marie Mushaben, Univ. of Missouri

Neutrality and Dealignment in Europe
Raimo Väyrynen, Univ. of Helsinki

Equidistance Diplomacy within the Alliance Systems
Hiroko Yamane, UNESCO

IV.5 - Conflicts over Natural Resources and Spheres of Influence: Do Geopolitics Reemerge? / *Les conflits portant sur les ressources naturelles et les sphères d'influence : retour de la géopolitique ?*

Convener/*Resp.* : Charles F. Doran, The Johns Hopkins University
Tamas Szentes, Karl Marx University, Budapest

IV.5.1 - Conflicts over Natural Resources and Spheres of Influence: Do Geopolitics Reemerge? / *Les conflits portant sur les ressources naturelles et les sphères d'influence : retour de la géopolitique ?*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room//*Salle :* A - 10

Chair/*Présid. :* Charles F. Doran, The Johns Hopkins University

Paper/*Communic. :* Scarcity of Resources in Japanese Foreign Policy: Three Historical Lessons from Different Periods
Hiroharu Seki, Univ. of Tokyo

Western Theory and Japanese Practice
Davis B. Bobrow, Univ. of Maryland
Robert T. Kudrle, Univ. of Minnesota

International Management of Marine Mineral Resources
Robert E. Bowen, Oceanographic Institution
Timothy Hennessey, Univ. of Rhode Island

IV.5.2 - Conflicts over Natural Resources and Spheres of Influence: Do Geopolitics Reemerge? / *Les conflits portant sur les ressources naturelles et les sphères d'influence : retour de la géopolitique ?*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 10

Chair/*Présid. :* Tamas Szentes, Karl Marx University, Budapest

Paper/*Communic. :* Present and Future Maritime Security Issues in South East Asian and South China Seas
Robert L. Rau, U.S. Naval Academy

Disc./*Comment. :* Kazimierz Laski, Johannes Kepler University

IV.6 - New Forms of Crisis Management / *Nouvelles formes de gestion des crises*

Convener/*Resp. :* Gilbert Winham, Dalhousie University
A. Yakovlev, Academy of Sciences of the USSR

IV.6.1 - New Forms of Crisis Management / *Nouvelles formes de gestion des crises*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 4

Chair/*Présid. :* A. Yakovlev, Academy of Sciences of the USSR

Paper/*Communic. :* The Bipolar System as a War System: the Logic of International Regimes
Luigi Bonanate, Univ. of Turin
Carlo M. Santoro, Univ. of Bologna

Alternative Attempts at Crisis Management
I. William Zartman, The Johns Hopkins University

Ideological Differences and International Conflicts
Penka Karaivanova, Inst. for Intern. Rel., Sofia

The Ultimate Crisis in the Nuclear Era
Charles F. Hermann, Ohio State University

Disc./*Comment. :* John Sigler, Carleton University

IV.6.2 - New Forms of Crisis Management / *Nouvelles formes de gestion des crises*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 4

Chair/*Présid. :* Gilbert Winham, Dalhousie University

Paper/*Communic. :* U.S.-Soviet Global Rivalry: Types of Competitive "Games" and Problems of Signaling
Alexander L. George, Stanford University

Crisis Management: A Critical Appraisal
J.L. Richardson, Australian National University

Approaches to Nuclear Risk Reduction
Joseph S. Nye, Harvard University
William Ury, Harvard University

Disc./*Comment. :* Wolf-Dieter Eberwein, Science Centre, Berlin
Viktor Kremenyuk, Academy of Sciences of the USSR

IV.7 - Global Economic Crisis and State Policy: Issues of Autonomy, Dependence and Collaboration / *Crise économique mondiale et politiques nationales : problèmes d'autonomie, de dépendance et de collaboration*

Convener/*Resp. :* Helio Jaguaribe de Mattos, INPOLIS
Susan Strange, London School of Economics

IV.7.1 - Global Economic Crisis and State Policy: Issues of Autonomy, Dependence and Collaboration / *Crise économique mondiale et politiques nationales : problèmes d'autonomie, de dépendance et de collaboration*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 5

Chair/*Présid. :* Helio Jaguaribe de Mattos, INPOLIS

Paper/*Communic. :* State, National Project and International Relations in the Global Crisis
Marcos Kaplán, National University of Mexico

Politics Must Take Command; Peripheral European Reactions to the Present Crises
Carl F. Kinkele, Ohio Wesleyan University

IV.7.2 - Global Economic Crisis and State Policy: Issues of Autonomy, Dependence and Collaboration / *Crise économique mondiale et politiques nationales : problèmes d'autonomie, de dépendance et de collaboration*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 5

Chair/*Présid. :* Susan Strange, London School of Economics

Paper/*Communic.* : An Emerging Global State
John Freeman, Univ. of Minnesota
Raymond D. Duvall, Univ. of Minnesota
Duncan Snidal, Univ. of Minnesota

Structure, Strategy and Institutions in World Politics
Robert O. Keohane, Harvard University

Institutionalization and Crisis Management. The Emergence of Bilateral Protectionism
Helge Hveem, Univ. of Oslo

IV.8 - World Stability and World Transformation: Evidence from Global Modelling / *Stabilité et transformation à l'échelle mondiale : l'apport des modèles globaux*

Convener/*Resp.* : Stuart A. Bremer, Science Centre, Berlin
Carlos Mallman, Bariloche Foundation

IV.8.1 - World Stability and World Transformation: Evidence from Global Modelling / *Stabilité et transformation à l'échelle mondiale : l'apport des modèles globaux*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 5

Chair/*Présid.* : Carlos Mallman, Bariloche Foundation

Paper/*Communic.* : Cross-Cultural Orientations toward Global Modelling
Harold Guetzkow, Northwestern University

Adding History, Fear, and Violence to Global Models: Incorporating Political Calculations and Actions
Dwain Mefford, Univ. of Southern California

Global Models and the Management of Complexity
Dieter Ruloff, Univ. of Zurich

The Impact of Political System Structure on Probability Patterns of Internal Disorder
Daniel S. Geller, Univ. of Mississippi

Disc./*Comment.* : Barry B. Hughes, Univ. of Denver

IV.8.2 - World Stability and World Transformation: Evidence from Global Modelling / *Stabilité et transformation à l'échelle mondiale : l'apport des modèles globaux*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 5

Chair/*Présid.* : Stuart A. Bremer, Science Centre, Berlin

Paper/*Communic.* : Protectionism and the Future of Global Trade: Evidence from GLOBUS
Peter Brecke, Science Centre, Berlin
Brian Pollins, Ohio State University

The Political Economy of Government Growth: Evidence from GLOBUS
Thomas R. Cusack, Science Centre, Berlin
Barry B. Hughes, Univ. of Denver

Alternative Future for East-West Relations: Evidence from GLOBUS
Dale Smith, Science Centre, Berlin

Alternative Projections of Political Instability: Evidence from GLOBUS
Wolf-Dieter Eberwein, Science Centre, Berlin

Disc./*Comment.* : Carlos Mallman, Bariloche Foundation

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SESSIONS ON FRENCH POLITICS / *SÉANCES SUR LA VIE POLITIQUE EN FRANCE*

SFP.1 - The Fifth Republic : Constitutional Continuity and Change (1981-1986) / *La V^e^ République : continuité et changements constitutionnels (1981-1986)*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 a.m. / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* Auditorium N° 2 / *Amphithéâtre N° 2*

Convener/*Resp. :* Olivier Duhamel, Univ. de Paris X-Nanterre

Paper/*Communic. :*
Introduction
Olivier Duhamel, Univ. de Paris X-Nanterre

La pratique institutionnelle des socialistes au pouvoir
Didier Maus, IEP, Paris

Le Conseil Constitutionnel depuis 1981
John Keeler, Univ. of Washington

La V^e^ République à l'épreuve de la proportionnelle
Jean-Luc Parodi, Fond. nat. des Sciences politiques

La question de la cohabitation : débats et perspectives
François Goguel, Fond. nat. des Sciences politiques

SFP.2 - Foreign policy : Change or Continuity since 10 May 1981 ? / *La politique étrangère : Changement ou continuité depuis le 10 mai 1981 ?*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 a.m. / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* Auditorium N° 2 / *Amphithéâtre N° 2*

Convener/*Resp. :* Marcel Merle, Univ. de Paris I

Paper/*Communic. :*
Introduction
Alfred Grosser, IEP de Paris

La France et les rapports Nord-Sud
Jean-Pierre Cot, Univ. de Paris I, membre de l'Assemblée des Communautés européennes, ancien ministre

La politique européenne de la France
Françoise de La Serre, Fond. nat. des Sciences politiques, Paris

La France et les rapports Est-Ouest
Pierre Lellouche, Institut Français des Relations Internationales

La France et le conflit du Proche-Orient
Rémy Leveau, IEP de Paris

SFP.3 - French Political Parties since the 1981 Change of Majority / *Les partis politiques français depuis l'alternance de 1981*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 a.m. / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* Auditorium N° 2 / *Amphithéâtre N° 2*

Convener/*Resp. :* Jean Charlot, IEP de Paris

Paper/*Communic. :*

Introduction
Jean Charlot, IEP de Paris

Le Parti socialiste à l'épreuve du pouvoir
Hugues Portelli, Univ. de Paris X-Nanterre

Le RPR et l'UDF à l'épreuve de l'opposition
William Schonfeld, Univ. of California, Irvine

Le déclin du PCF
Jean Ranger, CNRS-Fond. nat. des Sciences politiques

L'émergence du Front national
Monica Charlot, Maison française, Oxford University

Conclusions
Maurice Duverger, Univ. de Paris I

RESEARCH COMMITTEES / *COMITÉS DE RECHERCHE*

RC.1 - Conceptual and Terminological Analysis (COCTA) / *Analyse terminologique et conceptuelle (COCTA)*

Chair/*Présid.* : Fred Riggs, Univ. of Hawaii at Manoa

RC.1.1 - From Conceptual Analysis to Research Practice / *De l'analyse des concepts à la pratique de la recherche*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 10

Chair/*Présid.* : Judith Gillespie, Boston University

Paper/*Communic.* :

The Logic of Formal Theory in Political Science
Stuart J. Thorson, Syracuse University
Robert T. Holt, Univ. of Minnesota

Models in Search of a Test: Contributions of Experimentation to the Design and Development of Formal Theory
Richard K. Wilson, Rice University

Fitting Versus Testing
Dina A. Zinnes, Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Ch.
Robert G. Muncaster, Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Ch.

A Science of Politics Without Numbers
G. Robert Boynton, Univ. of Iowa

Disc./*Comment.* : Cleo Cherryholmes, Michigan State University
Elinor Ostrom, Indiana University
Karen A. Feste, Univ. of Denver

RC.1.2 - From Conceptual Analysis to Research Praxis / *De l'analyse des concepts à la pratique de la recherche*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 10

Chair/*Présid.* : George J. Graham Jr., Vanderbilt University

Paper/*Communic.* :

Concepts and Measurements in Action Theory
George J. Graham Jr., Vanderbilt University

On the Structural Concept of Growth
Zdravko Mlinar, Univ. of Ljubljana

On the Concept and Measurement of Growth
Henry Teune, Univ. of Pennsylvania

Delusion as a Method for Organizing Consciousness and Perception
James M. Glass, Univ. of Maryland
Janic Judson, Hood College

Disc./*Comment.* : A.F.K. Organski, Univ. of Michigan
Jan-Erik Lane, Univ. of Umea
Jacques Gerstlé, Université de Paris I

RC.1.3 - Concepts of Ethnicity (in cooperation with RC. 14) / *Conceptions de l'ethnicité (en collaboration avec le Comité de recherche 14)*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 13

Chair/*Présid. :* Fred Riggs, Univ. of Hawaii at Manoa
Dennis Thompson, Brigham Young University

Paper/*Communic. :* Paper title n.a.
Donald Rotschild, Univ. of California
Martha Olcott, Colgate University

What We Have Learned about Politics and Ethnicity: Explaining the Strengths and Weaknesses of the Field
Naomi Chazan, The Hebrew Univ. of Jerusalem

Disc./*Comment. :* John Ayoade, Univ. of Ibadan

RC.2 - Political Elites / *Les élites politiques*

Chair/*Présid. :* Mattei Dogan, CNRS, Paris

RC.2.1 - Selecting Political Elites in Pluralist Democracy / *La sélection des élites politiques dans les démocraties pluralistes*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 2

Chair/*Présid. :* Mattei Dogan, CNRS, Paris

Paper/*Communic. :* After the Halcyon Years: Elites and Political Consequences of Full Development in Western Countries
G. Lowell Field, Univ. of Connecticut
John Highley, Univ. of Texas

The Selection of Government Ministers in Ireland, 1922-1982
John Coakley, Inst. of Higher Educ., Limerick

System Differences in Elite Ideologies and Values
Samuel J. Eldersveld, Univ. of Michigan

Elite Appraisals of Power Configuration in Germany, Britain and the United States
Dwaine Marvick, UCLA

Disc./*Comment. :* Leo Snowiss, Univ. of California

RC.2.2 - Ruling Groups in Pluralist Democracies / *La classe dirigeante dans les démocraties pluralistes*

Date : Tuesday 16, 9.30 am / *mardi 16, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 2

Chair/*Présid. :* Dwaine Marvick, UCLA

Paper/*Communic.* : The Ruling Class in Classical Literature
Ettore Albertoni, Univ. of Milan

Positional Power and Political Influence in West Germany
Ursula Hoffmann-Lange, Univ. of Mannheim

Criteria that Regulate the Appointment of Cabinet Members in Mexico
Rafael Perez Miranda, Metropolitan University, Xochimilco

The Ruling Class in India
Richard Sisson, UCLA

The Ruling Class in Germany
Rudolf Wildenmann, Univ. of Mannheim

RC.3 - European Unification / *L'unification européenne*

Chair/*Présid.* : Ghita Ionescu, London School of Economics

RC.3.1 - Prospects and Problems of European Community / *Les perspectives et les problèmes de la Communauté européenne*

Date : Tuesday 16, 9.30 am / *mardi 16, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 13

Chair/*Présid.* : Ghita Ionescu, London School of Economics

Paper/*Communic.* : Problèmes et perspectives de la Communauté Européenne
Emile Noel, E.C.

Europe between the USA and the USSR
Pierre Hassner, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques

Negotiations and Coalition Formation in the European Community
Helen Wallace, Civil Service College, London

RC.3.2 - Political Cleavages in the European Community. Comparative Integration: EEC and CMEA / *Les divisions politiques dans la Communauté européenne. Les intégrations comparées : CEE et CAEM*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 13

Chair/*Présid.* : Klaus von Beyme, Univ. of Heidelberg

Paper/*Communic.* : Transnational Party Federations: Towards the Emergence of European Political Parties? An Assessment after the Second Direct Elections
Rudolf Hrbek, Univ. of Tubingen

The Political Economy of Regional Integration: Negative and Positive Integration Revisited
John Pinder, Policy Studies Inst., London

Political Cleavages in the European Community, 1970-85
J.R. Rabier, E.C.
Ronald Inglehart, Univ. of Michigan

European Political Parties
François Dreyfus, Univ. de Strasbourg

New Research on European Unification
G. Ciavarini-Azzi, E.C.

Comparative Integration: E.C. and C.M.E.A.
M. Maximova, IMEMO, Moscow

Disc./*Comment.* : Donald Puchala, Univ. of Carolina

RC.5 - Comparative Studies on Local Government and Politics / *Etudes comparées de l'administration et de la politique municipales*

Chair/*Présid.* : Francesco Kjellberg, Univ. of Oslo

RC.5.1 - Challenges to the Welfare State — New Functions for Local Government / *Les défis à l'« Etat de bien-être » — les fonctions nouvelles du gouvernemental local*

Date : Tuesday 16, 9.30 am / *mardi 16, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 4

Chair/*Présid.* : Hellmut Wollmann, Free University of Berlin
Henry Teune, Univ. of Pennsylvania

Paper/*Communic.* : The New Role of Local Government in Britain in the Current Age of Austerity: The Metropolitan Counties and the G.L.C.
L.J. Sharpe, Nuffield College, Oxford

La fin des solidarités nationales ?
Dan Ferrand-Bechmann, Univ. de Grenoble
M. Bellorgey, Assemblée Nationale, Paris

Local Government and the Local Level — Agent and Arena for Reforming the Welfare State?
Adalbert Evers, European Center, Vienna
Hellmut Wollmann, Free University of Berlin

Disc./*Comment.* : Joanne Fox-Przeworski, Consultant to OECD
Joanna Regulska, Rutgers University
G. Shabbir Cheema, UN Center for Regional Dev.
Dietrich Fürst, Univ. of Hannover

RC.5.2 - Local Influence on Central Structure and Policies / *L'influence locale sur les structures et les politiques centrales*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 4

Chair/*Présid.* : Bruno Dente, Univ. of Bologna
Jacek Tarkowski, Univ. of Warsaw

Paper/*Communic.* : The Local-Central Relationship: The Case of Central Municipal Associations
Ilkka Heiskanen, Univ. of Helsinki
Markku Kiviniemi, Univ. of Helsinki

Urban Policy under Crisis in Poland: Governmental Intervention and Response
Joanna Regulska, Rutgers University

Policy Conflicts between Local and Senior Governments: Canadian, British and American Comparisons
Patrick J. Smith, Simon Fraser University

Local Resistance to Central Policies: Britain and USA Compared
Andrew D. Glassberg, Univ. of Missouri-St. Louis

Disc./*Comment.* : Tore Hansen, Univ. of Oslo
Finn Bruun, Univ. of Aarhus

RC.6 - Political Sociology / *Sociologie politique*

Chair/*Présid.* : Eric Allardt, Univ. of Helsinki

RC.6.1 - The State and Public Bureaucracies / *L'Etat et les bureaucraties publiques*

Date : Tuesday 16, 9.30 am / *mardi 16, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 5

Chair/*Présid.* : Metin Heper, Bogazici University, Istanbul

Paper/*Communic.* : The State and Society: Unity and Diversity in Latin America
George Philip, London School of Economics

Relations entre l'appareil d'Etat et l'administration dans l'expérience politique du Vieux Continent
Gérard Timsit, Université de Paris I

The State and Bureaucracies in the Middle East
Frank Tachau, Univ. of Illinois at Chicago

The State and Bureaucracy in the Anglo-Saxon Setting
C.H. Dodd, Univ. of Hull

Disc./*Comment.* : Kenneth Dyson, Univ. of Bradford
Pierre Birnbaum, Université de Paris I

RC.6.2 - Democratization in Post-Authoritarian Societies / *La démocratisation des sociétés post-autoritaires*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 5

Chair/*Présid.* : Juan Linz, Yale University
Ergun Özbudun, Univ. of Ankara

Paper/*Communic.* : New Political Institutions and the Reconstruction of Political Culture: Transition to Democracy in West Germany 1945-1955
Rainer Lepsius, Univ. of Heidelberg

Transition from Authoritarianism to Democracy in Turkey (1945-1950)
Ergun Özbudun, Univ. of Ankara

Articulation of Social Demands in the Portuguese Transition
Jose Barroso, Univ. de Genève

Political Parties and Social Forces. The Transition from Authoritarian to Democratic Regimes in Argentina, 1971-1973 and 1981-1983
Rodolfo Goncebate, Yale University

"Democradura" or "Reforma pactada"? — Comparative Perspectives on Democratic Restoration in Uruguay
Charles Gillespie, Yale University

The Republic of Korea: A Difficult Transition
Sungjoo Han, Korea University

Iran: Was a Transition to Democracy Possible?
Houchang Chehabi, Yale University

RC.7 - Quantitative and Mathematical Approaches / *Les méthodes quantitatives et mathématiques en science politique*

Chair/*Présid. :* Urs Luterbacher, Grad. Inst. of Intern. Stud., Geneva

RC.7.1 - Rational Models of Politics / *Les modèles rationnels des processus politiques*

Date : Tuesday 16, 9.30 am / *mardi 16, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 6

Chair/*Présid. :* Urs Luterbacher, Grad. Inst. of Intern. Stud., Geneva

Paper/*Communic. :* Deterrence, Redistribution, and War
Dagobert L. Brito, UCLA
Michael D. Intriligator, UCLA

On Mathematical Models of Elections and their Relevance for Institutional Design
Hannu Nurmi, Univ. of Turku

Exploring the Stability of Deterrents: A Formal Evaluation of Assumptions
Jacek Kugler, Vanderbilt University
Frank Zagare, Boston University

Optimal Deterrence
Steven J. Brams, New York University
D. Mark Kilgour, Wilfrid Laurier University

RC.7.2 - Global Modeling and Political Processes / *L'élaboration des modèles globaux et les processus politiques*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 6

Chair/*Présid. :* Michael D. Ward, Univ. of Colorado

Paper/*Communic. :* Macromodels and Microcomputers
Paul Smoker, Univ. of Lancaster

The Globus Model: History, Structure, and Illustrative Results
Stuart A. Bremer, Science Centre, Berlin

International Public Policy Analysis: Energy Crises and the Small State
T. Michael Clarke, Univ. of Geneva
Pierre Allan, Univ. of Geneva

Urs Luterbacher, Grad. Inst. of Intern. Stud., Geneva.
Richard Chadwick, Univ. of Hawaii at Manoa

RC.8 - Legislative Specialists / *Les spécialistes du pouvoir législatif*

Chair/*Présid.* : Allan Kornberg, Duke University

RC.8.1 - Legislatures and Economic Policy / *Les législatures et la politique économique*

Date : Tuesday 16, 9.30 am / *mardi 16, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 7

Chair/*Présid.* : David M. Olson, Univ. of North Carolina

Paper/*Communic.* : Electronics Policy and the Indian Parliament
R.B. Jain, Univ. of Delhi
C.M. Jain, Univ. of Delhi

The Legislature and the Economy in Nigeria's Second Republic
Oyeleye Oyediran, Univ. of Lagos

MPs, Party Cohesion and Economic Policy in the UK
David M. Wood, Univ. of Missouri
Mark Hagger, Kingston Polytechnic

The Budgetary Role of the National Legislatures
Allen Schick, Univ. of Maryland

Disc./*Comment.* : Michael Mezey, DePaul University
Jon Pierre, Univ. of Lund

RC.8.2 - Legislatures and Political Order / *Les législatures et l'ordre politique*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 7

Chair/*Présid.* : Robert J. Jackson, Carleton University

Paper/*Communic.* : Sources of Support for Parliament in a Liberal Democracy: A Reassessment
Allan Kornberg, Duke University

Legislatures and the Political Order: The Case of the Philippine Congress
Manuel A. Caoili, Univ. of the Philippines

On Legislative Change and Institutionalization
John R. Hibbing, Univ. of Nebraska

Disc./*Comment.* : Malcolm Jewell, Univ. of Kentucky
Rinus Van Schendelen, Erasmus University, Rotterdam

RC.9 - Comparative Judicial Studies / *Etudes judiciaires comparatives*

Chair/*Présid.* : John R. Schmidhauser, UCLA

RC.9.1 - Significant Developments in Comparative Judicial Systems / *Développements dans l'analyse comparative des systèmes judiciaires*

Date : Tuesday 16, 9.30 am / *mardi 16, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 8

Chair/*Présid.* : Henry Abraham, Univ. of Virginia

Paper/*Communic.* : The Role of Personal Values in Legal Reasoning
Jan. M. von Dunne, Erasmus University, Rotterdam

The German Federal Constitutional Court and Its Impact on Politics and Policy-Output
Christine Landfried, Univ. of Heidelberg

Using Process Theory to Explain Judicial Behavior
Car Baar, Brock University

Japan's Judges and Lawyers: Their Characteristics in a Modernized Society
Takeo Hayakawa, Senshu University

Judicial Review and Democracy in Japan
David J. Danelski, Occidental College

The Incentive Structure of Lay Adjudicators in Two Legal Cultures: How to Recruit, Key, and Reward Lay Judges and Jurors
Peter Sperlich, Univ. of California, Berkeley

RC.9.2 - The Judicial Elites of Selected Third World and Developed Nations / *Les élites judiciaires du Tiers Monde et des nations développées*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 8

Chair/*Présid.* : Takeo Hayakawa, Senshu University

Paper/*Communic.* : Canada's Bilingual and Bicultural Judicial and Legal Elites
Edward McWhinney, Simon Fraser University

Women on Supreme Courts: A Cross-National Analysis
Beverly B. Cook, Univ. of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Plus Ça Change Revisited: Judicial Elites in Post-Authoritarian Greece and Spain
Carl Pinkele, Ohio Wesleyan University

The Judicial Elites of Germany from Empire to Bonn
Henry W. Ehrmann, Dartmouth College

The Political Significance of the Religious Court Systems of Israel
Martin Edelman, SUNY-Albany

A Dutch Judicial Elite: The Members of the 'Hoge Raad', 1838-1980
Peter J. Van Koppen, Erasmus University, Rotterdam
James G. Kellas, Univ. of Glasgow

RC.10 - Peace and Conflict Studies / *Etudes sur la paix et les conflits*

Chair/*Présid.* : David Singer, Univ. of Michigan

RC.10.1 - Normative Contraints and the Propensity to Violence / *Contraintes normatives et propension à la violence*

Date : Tuesday 16, 9.30 am / *mardi 16, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 9

Chair/*Présid.* : Peter Wallensteen, Univ. of Uppsala

Paper/*Communic.* : Conflict between Socialist States
Anton Bebler, Univ. of Ljubljana

The Invasion of Grenada, 1983 and the Collapse of Legal Norms
Maurice Waters, Wayne State University

The Superpowers and International Terrorism
Michael Stohl, Purdue University

Capability Distribution, Norm Formation, and International Conflict, 1816-1965
Kyungsook Lee Choi, Sookmyung University
Gregory A. Raymond, Boise State University
Charles W. Kegley, Univ. of South Carolina

Disc./*Comment.* : Sarojini Sharan, Patna University
Raimo Väyrynen, Univ. of Helsinki

RC.10.2 - The Incidence and Distribution of International Conflict: Some Alternative Interpretations / *Incidence et répartition des conflits internationaux : les différentes interprétations*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 9

Chair/*Présid.* : Longin Pastusiak, Polish Inst. of Intern. Affairs

Paper/*Communic.* : Military Spending and the Public Welfare Budget: An Empirical Assessment of the Trade-off in Selected Nations
Walter W. Hill, Howard University

A Decision Model of Inter-State Conflict
Michael Nicholson, Univ. of Manchester

Joining the Club of Nations: Independence, Revolution, and Conflict in the Interstate System, 1816-1976
Zeev Maoz, Univ. of Haifa

Statistical Models of the Diffusion of War, 1816-1980
Henk Houweling, Univ. of Amsterdam

Disc./*Comment.* : Fedor Burlatsky, Academy of Sciences of the USSR
Urs Luterbacher, Grad. Inst. of Intern. Stud., Geneva

RC.11 - Science and Politics / *Science et politique*

Chair/*Présid.* : Bernard Crousse, F.U.L., Belgique

RC.11.1 - Uncertainties of Science and Science Policy Towards New Social Demands / *Incertitudes de la science et des politiques de la science face aux nouvelles demandes sociales*

Date : Tuesday 16, 9.30 am / *mardi 16, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 10

Chair/*Présid.* : Bernard Crousse, F.U.L., Belgique
Michaël Th. Greven, Philipps Univ., Marburg

Paper/*Communic.* : Décisions rationnelles et réponses à des besoins individuels et sociaux
Michel Mercier, Facultés de Namur

From Technical Progress to Social Compatibility: Changes in Science and Technology Policy
Jobst Conrad, Science Centre, Berlin

L'évaluation des politiques technologiques : le cas du Québec
Réjean Landry, Univ. Laval

L'évaluation des politiques scientifiques et l'explication politique : les contraintes de l'incertitude
Luc Rouban, C.N.R.S., Université de Rennes

Disc./*Comment.* : Ch. Domozetov, Académie des sciences de Bulgarie
André Philippart, GORDES, Bruxelles
Dian Schefold, Université de Brême
Edward J. Woodhouse, Rensselaer Polytechnic Inst.

RC.11.2 - Limits of Science and Technology in their Contribution to Development and Transfers / *Limites de la science et de la technique dans leurs apports au développement et aux transferts*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 10

Chair/*Présid.* : A. Rahman, NISTADS, New Delhi

Paper/*Communic.* : La politique scientifique en Afrique centrale est-elle décolonisée ?
André-Jean Tudesq, Univ. de Bordeaux III

Brazil's Nuclear Program and Brazilian Scientists
Etel Goldman, Univ. of California

Enjeux et perspectives scientifiques d'une recherche sur les systèmes fonciers étatiques en Afrique noire francophone
Emile Le Bris, ORSTOM, Paris
Etienne Le Roy, Univ. de Paris I

Technological transfer between Japan and Asian Countries
Minoru Hisa, Wakayama, Univ.

Disc./*Comment.* : Henry Brookman, Free University, Amsterdam
Karl-Heinz Roeder, Academy of Sciences of the GDR
S. Schwartzman, IUPERJ
O. Trasnea, Acad. Stefan Gheorghiu, Bucarest

RC.12 - Biology and Politics / *Biologie et politique*

Chair/*Présid.* : Albert Somit, Southern Illinois Univ. at Carbondale

RC.12.1 - The Life Sciences and the Study of Political Behavior: Recent Conceptual and Technical Advances / *Les sciences de la vie et l'étude du comportement politique : progrès récents de la théorie et des techniques*

Date : Tuesday 16, 9.30 am / *mardi 16, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 11

Chair/*Présid.* : Albert Somit, Southern Illinois Univ. at Carbondale

Paper/*Communic.* : A Biochemical Property Relation to Power-Seeking in Humans
Douglas Madsen, Univ. of Iowa

Leaders' Facial Displays as a Political Variable
Roger D. Masters, Dartmouth College
Dennis G. Sullivan, Dartmouth College
John T. Lanzetta, Dartmouth College
Greg McHugo, Dartmouth College

Empirical Tests of Biosocial Model of Status
Allan Mazur, Syracuse University

Age and Political Behavior in Collective Decision-Making
James Schubert, Alfred University
Samuel Hines, The College of Charleston
Thomas Wiegele, North Illinois University

Disc./*Comment.* : Rudolf Wildenmann, Univ. of Mannheim
Tatu Vanhanen, Univ. of Tampere
J.A. Laponce, Univ. of British Columbia
John Wahlke, Univ. of Arizona

RC.12.2 - The Life Sciences and the Study of Political Behavior: Recent Conceptual and Technical Advances / *Les sciences de la vie et l'étude du comportement politique : progrès récents de la théorie et des techniques*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 11

Chair/*Présid.* : Albert Somit, Southern Illinois Univ. at Carbondale

Paper/*Communic.* : The Evocative Significance of Kin Terms in Patriotic Speech: An Experimental Study Based Upon a Theory Linking Kin Selection and Patriotism
Gary R. Johnson, Lake Superior State College
Susan H. Ratwik, Lake Superior State College
Timothy J. Sawyer, German Army College, Munich

Race-Ideologies, Feminism, and Environmentalism. On Culture-Sociology of Biological Orientation
Wolfgang Lipp, Univ. of Würzburg

The Application of Biopolitical Theory to International Development: The Case of US Aid
Joan K. Wadlow, Univ. of Wyoming
Dawn Wadlow, Univ. of Wyoming

Biology, Moral Conduct and Administrative Science
Joseph Lasco, Ball State University

Disc./*Comment.* : Vladimir V. Denisov, Academy of Sciences of the USSR
Meredith Watts, Univ. of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Glendon Schubert, Univ. of Hawaii at Manoa

RC.13 - Development and Political Systems / *Développement et systèmes politiques*

Chair/*Présid.* : Candido Mendes, Sociedade Brasileira de Instrução

RC.13.1 - The Aftermath of the Authoritarian Regimes in Developing Countries / *Les lendemains des régimes autoritaires dans les pays en voie de développement*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 9

Chair/*Présid. :* Olavo Brasil, IUPERJ

Paper/*Communic. :* Regime and Opposition: Prospects for Democracy in Chile
Carlos Huneeus, Acad. de Humanismo Cristiano, Chile
Carlos Filgueiras, CIESU, Montevideo

Transitions from Above: Democratization in Brazil and Spain
Donald Share, Univ. of Puget Sound
Scott Mainwaring, Univ. of Notre Dame

The Control and Policing of the Working Class in a Democratic Transition: the Case of Brazil
Paulo Sergio Pinheiro, Univ. of Campinas

RC.13.2 - Prospects and State of Democracy in the Eighties / *Situation et perspectives de la démocratie dans les années 1980*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 9

Chair/*Présid. :* Tatu Vanhanen, Univ. of Tampere

Paper/*Communic. :* Prospects of Democracy in India: As People See
Ramashray Roy, Centre for the Study of Dev. Soc., Delhi

Political Systems and Types of Polity in Developing Countries
Erik N. Komarov, Academy of Sciences of the USSR

On the Conditions of Democracy in Third World Countries
Dirk Berg-Schlosser, Univ. of Augsburg

The State and Prospects of Democracy in the 1980's
Tatu Vanhanen, Univ. of Tampere

Disc./*Comment. :* Kay Lawson, San Francisco State University
Anuradha Muni, Univ. of Delhi
S.D. Muni, Jawaharlal Nerhu University

RC.14 - Politics and Ethnicity / *Les ethnies et la politique*

Chair/*Présid. :* Dov Ronen, Harvard University

RC.14.1 - Study of Politics and Ethnicity Around the World / *Etude de la politique et de l'ethnicité à l'échelle mondiale*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 1

Chair/*Présid. :* John E. Trent, Univ. of Ottawa

Paper/*Communic.* : Socialist Countries
D. Bromley, Academy of Sciences of the USSR
D. Guboglo, Academy of Sciences of the USSR
D. Drobizhela, Academy of Sciences of the USSR

Third World
A. Jeyaratham Wilson, Univ. of New Brunswick
John Ayoade, Univ. of Ibadan
Omo Omoruyi, Univ. of Benin

The State and (Ethnic) Society
Daniel Latouche, McGill University

Politics, Ethnicity and Nationalism in Western Europe
James G. Wellas, Univ. of Glasgow
Jack Brand, Univ. of Glasgow

Disc./*Comment.* : Dov Ronen, Harvard University

RC.14.2 - Evaluation of the State of the Art in Politics and Ethnicity Studies / *Etat des études sur la politique et sur l'ethnicité*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 1

Chair/*Présid.* : Dov Ronen, Harvard University

Paper/*Communic.* : Lacunae in Theory and Knowledge about Politics and Ethnicity: Goals and Paths for Future Research
Dennis Thompson, Brigham Young University

Interactions Between Society, Government and Research Community: The Impacts of Politics on African Studies
Timothy M. Shaw, Dalhousie University
Samir K. Ghosh, Indian Inst. of Human Sciences
John E. Trent, Univ. of Ottawa

What We Have Learned about Politics and Ethnicity: Explaining the Strengths and Weaknesses of the Field
Naomi Chazan, The Hebrew Univ. of Jerusalem

Disc./*Comment.* : Lorenzo Morris, Howard University
J.A. Laponce, Univ. of British Columbia

RC.14.3 - Concepts of Ethnicity / *Conceptions de l'ethnicité* : See/*Cf.* RC.1.3

RC.15 - Political Geography / *Géographie politique*

Chair/*Présid.* : J.A. Laponce, Univ. of British Columbia
Jean Gottmann, Univ. of Oxford

RC.15.1 - The Partitioning of States: the Role of Inner Boundaries / *L'état cloisonné : le rôle des frontières internes*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 2

Chair/*Présid.* : Jean Gottmann, Univ. of Oxford

Paper/*Communic.* : Le rôle des frontières internes en Belgique
Georges Goriély, Univ. Libre de Bruxelles

The Inner Boundaries of Italy
Calogero Muscara, Univ. of Rome

La frontière linguistique sous-étatique
J.A. Laponce, Univ. of British Columbia

Le rôle des frontières internes au Cameroun
Cosme Dikoumé, Institut Panafricain, Douala

RC.15.2 - The Partitioning of States: the Role of Inner Boundaries / *L'état cloisonné : le rôle des frontières internes*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 2

Chair/*Présid.* : J.A. Laponce, Univ. of British Columbia

Paper/*Communic.* : The Contemporary Partitioning of the Brazilian Amazonian Frontier
Bertha K. Becker, Federal Univ. of Rio de Janeiro

Structural Cleavages, Cultural Representation and Referendum Behavior in Switzerland, 1970-84.
Rolf Nef, Univ. of Zurich
Rolf Ritschard, Univ. of Zurich

Inner Boundaries in Modern States: The Case of India Since Independence
T.S. Murty, Univ. of Delhi

Criteria for the Selection of Regional Boundaries in Proposals for Regional Government in Britain
Brian W. Hogwood, Univ. of Strathclyde

Inner Boundaries and Political Development: Canada and the United States
Peter Wolstenscroft, Univ. of Waterloo

RC.16 - Socio-Political Problems of Pluralism / *Les problèmes socio-politiques du pluralisme*

Chair/*Présid.* : Stanislaw Ehrlich, Univ. of Warsaw

RC.16.1 - The Limits of Pluralism / *Les limites du pluralisme*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 3

Chair/*Présid.* : H.G. Thorburn, Kingston University

Paper/*Communic.* : Pluralism and Neo-Corporatism: The Legacy of the NRA and the "Social Contract"
Richard R. Weiner, Univ. of North Florida

Pluralism, démocratie et socialisme
André P. Donneur, Univ. du Québec à Montréal

The Many Shapes of Pluralism and Uniformism and their Limits
Stanislaw Ehrlich, Univ. of Warsaw

Essai d'une Définition des Limites du Pluralisme
Georges C. Vlachos, Académie d'Athènes

Disc./*Comment.* : Theodore J. Lowi, Cornell University
Luigi Graziano, Univ. of Turin
Alberto Spreafico, Univ. of Florence

RC.16.2 - The Limits of Pluralism / *Les limites du pluralisme*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 3

Chair/*Présid.* : Léo Hamon, Inst. d'Etudes Politiques et Univ. de Paris I

Paper/*Communic.* : Armes Forces and the Limits of Pluralism
Rainer Eisfeld, Univ. of Osnabrück
Les limites du pluralisme dans l'Eglise catholique, doctrine et pratique
J.-Y. Calvez, Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris
Employees' Self-management: The Case of Yugoslavia
Adolf Bibic, Univ. of Ljubljana

Disc./*Comment.* : Jordi Solé Tura, Univ. of Barcelona
Jacek Tarkowski, Univ. of Warsaw
Archie Brown, Oxford University

RC.17 - The Emerging International Economic Order / *Le nouvel ordre économique international*

Chair/*Présid.* : Harold Jacobson, Univ. of Michigan
Dusan Sidjanski, Université de Genève

RC.17.1 - Changes in Development Strategies and North-South Economic Relations / *Les relations économiques nord-sud et les changements dans les stratégies du développement*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 4

Chair/*Présid.* : Harold Jacobson, Univ. of Michigan

Paper/*Communic.* : International Organizations, Third World Local Administrations, and Small-Scale Industrial Development in LDCs
H. Fuhr, Univ. of Constance
Hartmut Elsenhans, Univ. of Constance

Third World Informatisation and 'La problématique de la télématique'
William J. Drake, Columbia University

Indo-African Perspectives on Collective Self-Reliance and India's Efforts at Promoting South-South Cooperation
Usha Sud, Univ. of Delhi

China: A Redistributive System in the World Political Economy
Robert W. Cox, York University

Aspects of Arms Transfers and of Military Technology Transfers in East-South Relations
Robert M. Cutler, Univ. of Arizona
Laure Després, Univ. de Nantes
Aaron Karp, Columbia Univ.

RC.17.2 - International Trade: Preferences, Protectionism and Politics / *Le commerce international : préférences, protectionnisme et politiques*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 4

Chair/*Présid. :* Dusan Sidjanski, Université de Genève

Paper/*Communic. :*

The Politics of Protection and Graduation in North-South Trade Relations: The Reneval of the Generalized System of Preferences
Ronald I. Meltzer, State Univ. of New York - Buffalo

The Political Economy of Structural Economic Adjustment at State and Local Levels in the United States: Analytical and Policy Implications
Robert S. Walters, Univ. of Pittsburgh

Reforming the International Trade Regime in Favor of Least Developed Countries: A Case for Managed Markets?
John Ravenhill, Univ. of Sydney

The Foreign Policy Agenda in an Era of Economic Interdependence: The Case of the United States
Earl H. Fry, Brigham Young University

The Franc Zone, Underdevelopment and Dependency in Francophone Africa
Guy Martin, Univ. of Nairobi

Impact of North/South Technology Transfer on Developing Countries' Exports
Alfred Tovias, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem

RC.18 - Asian Political Studies / *Etudes politiques sur l'Asie*

Chair/*Présid. :* Teh-Kuang Chang, Ball State University

RC.18.1 - National Integration and World Peace / *L'intégration nationale et la paix mondiale*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Chair/*Présid. :* Teh-Kuang Chang, Ball State University

Room/*Salle :* C - 5

Paper/*Communic. :*

National Integration in India: Challenge and Response
Sarojini Sharan, Patna University

Southeast Asian Region-Building
Donald K. Emmerson, Univ. of Wisconsin

Unification of China and Security of Asia
Michael Lindsay, The American University

National Integration of Problems in the Philippines
Loretta Makasiar Sicat, Univ. of Philippines

The Politics of Unification in Korea
Byung-joon Ahn, Yonsei University

Disc./*Comment. :* Jurgen Otto Domes, Univ. of the Saar
Robert Scalapino, Univ. of California

RC.18.2 - International Relations in Asia / *Les relations internationales en Asie*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 5

Chair/*Présid. :* John K.C. Oh, Marquette University

Paper/*Communic. :*
Inter-State Relations in South-East Asia: A Plea for Economic Collaboration
S.K. Sharma, Panjab University

Changing Japan-Korea Relations
John K.C. Oh, Marquette University

The Making of China's International Relations, 1949-76: The Mao Factor
Ranbir Vohra, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

The Renunciation of War in the Japanese Constitution: Its Significance for Peace and Security in Asia
Theodore McNelly, Univ. of Maryland

Disc./*Comment. :* Kie Pyung Oh, Sogang University
Jurgen Otto Domes, Univ. of the Saar

RC.19 - Sex Roles and Politics / *Les sexes et la politique*

Chair/*Présid. :* Drude Dahlerup, Univ. of Aarhus
Fanny Tabak, Catholic Univ. of Rio de Janeiro

RC.19.1 - The Political Potential of Women's Movements and Women Politicians / *Les perspectives politiques des mouvements féministes et des femmes politiciennes*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 10

Chair/*Présid. :* Drude Dahlerup, Univ. of Aarhus
Jane Jaquette, Occidental College, Los Angeles

Paper/*Communic. :*
The Political Potential of Women's Movements and Women Politicians in India
Ghitra Ghosh, Netaji Inst. for Asian Studies

Women's Movement and Political Parties in Brazil: A Discussion on Power and Representativity
Jacqueline Pitanguy, CNPQ, Brazil

Why Women are not Elected to Office: An Anglo-American Comparison
Susan Welch, Univ. of Nebraska, Lincoln

Disc./*Comment :* Theresa Chimombe, Univ. of Zimbabwe
Jane Jaquette, Occidental College, Los Angeles
Drude Dahlerup, Univ. of Aarhus

RC.19.2 - Emerging Careers of Women in Public Administration and Politics / *Les nouvelles carrières des femmes dans l'administration publique et la vie politique*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 10

Chair/*Présid. :* Niroj Sinha, Patna University
Monique Leijenaar, Univ. of Amsterdam

Paper/*Communic. :* Career Mobility and Advancement of Women in Public Admninistration: The Indian Scene
Niroj Sinha, Patna University

Emerging Careers of Women in Public Administration
Monika Langkau-Herrmann, F. Ebert Foundation, Bonn

Paper title n.a.
Sirkka Sinkkonen, Univ. of Kuopio

Career Patterns and the Structure of Opportunities for Women in the Media: A Five Country Comparison
Milda K. Hedblom, Augsburg College

Disc./*Comment.* . Frank Boddenlijk, Free University, Amsterdam
Jane Bayes, Calif. State Univ. at Northridge

RC.20 - Political Finance and Political Corruption / *Financement politique et corruption politique*

Secretaries/*Secrétaires :* Michael Pinto-Duschinsky, Brunel University
Herbert E. Alexander, Univ. of Southern California

RC.20.1 - Political Finance / *Finance et politique*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 7

Chair/*Présid. :* Herbert E. Alexander, Univ. of Southern California

Paper/*Communic. :* The New German System of Party Finance
Hans-Peter Schneider, Univ. of Hannover

American Presidential Elections Since Public Funding, 1976-1984
Herbert E. Alexander, Univ. of Southern California

The Decline of the Parti Québécois, The Polls and Political Financing
Harold M. Angell, Concordia University

The 1984 Election and the Developments in Canadian Party Finance
K.A. Paltiel, Carleton University

Political Action Committees and the 1984 Elections
John G. Peters, Univ. of Nebraska, Lincoln

Disc./*Comment. :* Karl-Heinz Nassmacher, Univ. of Oldenburg

RC.20.2 - Political Corruption / *La corruption politique*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 7

Chair/*Présid. :* Michael Pinto-Duschinsky, Brunel University

Paper/*Communic. :*

Political Corruption in India
C.M. Jain, Univ. of Delhi
R.B. Jain, Univ. of Delhi

The Hong Kong Independent Commission Against Corruption's Experience, 1974-1985
David Clark, Univ. of Hong Kong

The Dynamics of Manipulation and Violence in Philippine Elections: A Case of Political Corruption
Aurora Carbonell-Catilo, Univ. of the Philippines

Attitudes to Corruption: A Comparative Study of Britain and the USA
Michael Johnston, Univ. of Pittsburgh

Corrupt Behavior in Post-Mao China: Its Pattern, Causes and Control, 1979-1983
Peter N.S. Lee, Chinese Univ. of Hong Kong

Bumiputra Malaysia Finance: Levels of Corruption
R.S. Milne, Univ. of British Columbia

Corruption in India: An Analysis of Anti-Corruption Strategies
O.P. Sharma, Univ. of Delhi

Disc./*Comment. :* Kenneth M. Gibbons, Univ. of Winnipeg

RC. 21 - Political Education / *L'éducation politique*

Chair/*Présid. :* Artur Bodnar, Univ. of Warsaw

RC.21.1 - Changing Structures of Political Power and Political Education / *Changement des structures du pouvoir et éducation politique*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 8

Convener/*Resp. :* Bernhard Claussen, Univ. of Hamburg

Chair/*Présid. :* Suna Kili, Bogazici University, Istanbul

Paper/*Communic. :*

Civics, Citizenship, State Power and Political Education: The Canadian Experience
Marshall Wm. Conley, Acadia University
B.G. Ramcharan, United Nations, Geneva

L'évolution politique et l'enseignement géo-politique en Allemagne
Karlheinz Filipp, Univ. de Hambourg

The Educational Role of the State in Developing Countries: The Case of Mexico
Carlos Alberto Torres, FLACSO, Mexico
Jose A. Pescador, FLACSO, Mexico

Changing Patterns of Political Education in the Rural Context: The Case of Vietnam
Christine White, Univ. of Sussex

New Developments in Political Education in West Africa
Thierne Mahmud Diallo, Université de Dakar-Fann

The Impact of the State Power Changes on the Structure of Political Education in Turkey
Suna Kili, Bogazici University, Istambul

Disc./*Comment.* : Wilfried Manke, Univ. of Hamburg

RC.21.2 - Political Socialization Through Mass Media / *La socialisation politique par les médias*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 8

Convener/*Resp.* : Ted Cohn, Brunel University

Chair/*Présid.* : David L. Paletz, Duke University

Paper/*Communic.* : Paper title n.a.
David L. Paletz, Duke University

Mass Media and their Impact on Political Socialization: A Case Study of Harijan Women in India
Vijay Laxmi Pandit, Univ. of Delhi

Television News and Youth: Some Dutch Findings
Hans Charmant, Erasmus University

Disc./*Comment.* : Frank Boddendijk, Free University, Amsterdam
Russell F. Farnen Jr., Univ. of Conn. at Hartford
Ildiko Szabo, Univ. of Budapest
Gunnel Gustafsson, Univ. of Umea

RC.22 - Global Communication / *La communication globale*

Chair/*Présid.* : Elizabeth C. Hanson, Univ. of Connecticut, Storrs

RC.22.1 - National Sovereignty and International Communication / *Souveraineté nationale et communication internationale*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 9

Chair/*Présid.* : Elizabeth C. Hanson, Univ. of Connecticut, Storrs

Paper/*Communic.* : The Establishment of a Common Market for Broadcasting in West Europe
George Wedell, Univ. of Manchester

National Sovereignty and International Communication: The Next Decade
Herbert I. Schiller, Univ. of California, San Diego

Trade in Data Services (TDF): The International Policy Discussion
Karl P. Sauvant, United Nations, N.Y.

Global Information Flows and Information Policies
Tapio Varis, Univ. of Tampere

The Media, National Sovereignty, and Political Community in Divided Berlin
Richard L. Merritt, Univ. of Illinois, Urbana-Ch.

Disc./*Comment.* : Jay Blumler, Univ. of Leeds
Itzhak Galnoor, The Hebrew Univ. of Jerusalem

RC.22.2 - Political Implications of New Information Technologies / *Les implications politiques des nouvelles technologies de l'information*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 9

Chair/*Présid.* : Andrew M. Scott, Univ. of North Carolina
John E. Fobes, Western Carolina University

Paper/*Communic.* : New Information and Communications Technologies: Observations about their Political Implications
Andrew M. Scott, Univ. of North Carolina
John E. Fobes, Western Carolina University

Communications Asymmetries: A Major Cause of Failures of the International System
Mahdi Elmandjra, Univ. Mohamed V, Rabat

Technologie : l'état de l'art
Thierry Godin, Min. du Redéploiement industriel, Paris

STUDY GROUPS / *GROUPES D'ÉTUDE*

SG.3 - Political Support and Alienation / *Soutien politique et aliénation*

Chair/*Présid. :* Kristen Monroe, Univ. of California at Irvine

SG.3.1 - Economic Influences on Support and Alienation / *Les influences économiques sur le soutien politique et sur l'aliénation*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 2

Chair/*Présid. :* Kristen Monroe, Univ. of California at Irvine

Paper/*Communic. :*

Economic Expectations, Information Processing and Political Rationality
Kristen Monroe, Univ. of California at Irvine
Lynda Erickson, Univ. of British Columbia

Political Corruption, Alienation and the Stability of Liberal Democratic Party Regime
Ikuo Kabashima, Princeton University

Short-Term Policy Dissatisfactions and Political Trust
M. Stephen Weatherford, Univ. of California at Irvine

Economic Performance and Political Support in Canada
Harold D. Clarke, VPI and State University, Blacksburg, Va.
Marianne C. Stewart, VPI and State University, Blacksburg, Va.
Allan Kornberg, Duke University

Disc./*Comment. :* Tom Jukam, Univ. of Texas at Austin

SG.4 - Human Rights / *Les droits de l'homme*

Chair/*Présid. :* David P. Forsythe, Univ. of Nebraska-Lincoln

SG.4.1 - Human Rights in Global Perspective / *Les droits de l'homme : perspective globale*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 3

Chair/*Présid. :* David P. Forsythe, Univ. of Nebraska-Lincoln

Paper/*Communic. :*

Comparative Humanitarian Strategies
B.G. Ramcharan, United Nations, Geneva
Marshall Wm. Conley, Acadia University

The UN and Human Rights
David P. Forsythe, Univ. of Nebraska-Lincoln

Intellectual and Moral Foundations of Human Rights
Kenneth W. Thompson, Univ. of Virginia
Jacques Freymond, Inst. Univ. de Hautes Et. Intern., Genève

Human Rights and Global Problems of Contemporary World
Josef Blahoz, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences

Advancing Human Rights: Japan, East Asia, and the World
David J. Wessels, Sophia University

Human Rights and Foreign Policy: The Dutch and U.S. Patterns
Peter R. Baehr, Sci. Centre for Gov. Pol., The Hague

SG.6 - Technology and Development / *Technologie et développement*

Chair/*Présid.* : O.P. Dwivedi, Univ. of Guelph

SG.6.1 - Development and Technology Transfer: Policy Perspectives for the Third World / *Développement et transferts de technologie : perspectives pour le Tiers Monde*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 6

Chair/*Présid.* : O.P. Dwivedi, Univ. of Guelph

Paper/*Communic.* : Impact of New Technologies on Development Strategies
Toufiq A. Siddiqi, East-West Center, Hawaii

Water Crisis and International Relations in the Future World
Nansen Behar, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

Technology and Development. A Survey of Technological Capability Building in the Third World
Henry Brookman, Free University, Amsterdam

Conservation and Sustainable Development in Federal Nations: Observations on Australian Ecological Politics
Bruce W. Davis, Univ. of Tasmania

Resolution of International Water Conflicts
J. Eleanora Sabadell, George Washington University
Irene L. Murphy, US Dept of the Interior
O.P. Dwivedi, Univ. of Guelph

Disc./*Comment.* : K. Awosika, National Bank of Nigeria

SG.7 - Armed Forces and Society / *La société et les forces armées*

Chair/*Présid.* : Alexandre Barros, IUPERJ

SG.7.1 - Civil-Military Relations: A World Perspective / *Les rapports entre civils et militaires : perspective internationale*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 6

Convener/*Resp.* : Sam. C. Sarkesian, Loyola University of Chicago

Chair/*Présid.* : Alexandre Barros, IUPERJ
Borris Sapozhnikov, Inst. of Oriental Studies, Moscow

Paper/*Communic.* : Civil-Military Studies: A Comparative and Interdisciplinary Approach
Roman Kolkowicz, UCLA

Social Change and the Development of Concepts of National Security: The Case of the Present Conventionalization Debate
Mathias Schoenborn, SOWI, Munich
Günther Wachtler, SOWI, Munich

Militarism in African Societies: Traditional and Contemporary Sources
T.D. Odetola, Univ. of Ife

The State and Armed Forces: The Case of Latin America
Augusto Varas, FLACSO, Santiago, Chile

The State and Armed Forces: A Socialist Perspective
Vladimir Loukov, Inst. of Oriental Studies, Moscow
Anton Bebler, Univ. of Ljubljana

Disc./*Comment.* : Anton Bebler, Univ. of Ljubljana
B.I.C. Ijomah, Bendel State University

SG.8 - Political Science in Developing Countries / *La science politique dans les pays en voie de développement*

Chair/*Présid.* : Nirmal Bose, Univ. of Calcutta
Adolf Bibic, Univ. of Ljubljana

SG.8.1 - Recent Changes in Political Systems of Developing Countries / *Les changements récents dans les systèmes politiques des pays en voie de développement*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 7

Chair/*Présid.* : Adolf Bibic, Univ. of Ljubljana
Nirmal Bose, Univ. of Calcutta

Paper/*Communic.* : The State, Islam, and Political Opposition
Farhat Haq, Cornell University
Darryl Roberts, Duke University

Political System in India
Nirmal Bose, Univ. of Calcutta

Specifities and Universality of Political Systems in Developing Countries
Anouar Abdel-Malek, UN University, Tokyo

Recent Trends in the Development of Political System of Yugoslavia
Najdan Pasic, Univ. of Belgrade

Transition from Military Dictatorship to Dependent Democracy: The Cases of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil and Uruguay
Salvador Maria Lozada, Intern. Assoc. of Constit. Law, Buenos Aires

Disc./*Comment.* : Likhit Dhiravegin, Thammasat University
L. Adele Jinadu, African Ass. of Political Science
Rukudzo Murapa, Univ. of Zimbabwe

SG.9 - Marxist Political Thought / *La pensée politique marxiste*

Chair/*Présid.* : T. Timofeev, Academy of Sciences of the USSR
Georgii Shakhnazarov, Academy of Sciences of the USSR

SG.9.1 - Peoples and World Politics / *Les peuples et la politique mondiale*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 8

Chair/*Présid. :* Boris Koval, Academy of Sciences of the USSR

Paper/*Communic. :* The Role of Peoples in International Political Relations: Past and Present
Boris Koval, Academy of Sciences of the USSR

National Liberation Movements in World Politics
E. Suares Ganoa, AMCENSMO, Mexico

Antinuclear and Antimissile Movements as a New Political Factor
Jürgen Reusch, Inst. of Marxist Studies, Frankfurt/M.

SG.10 - Psycho-Politics / *Psychologie politique*

Chair/*Présid. :* Elizabeth Wirth Marvick, UCLA

SG.10.1 - The Psycho-Politics of Decisions: Research Findings and Projects / *Décision politique et psychologie : résultats et projets*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 9

Chair/*Présid. :* Elizabeth Wirth Marvick, UCLA

Paper/*Communic. :* The Psycho-Politics of Decisions within Universal Intergovernmental Organizations: The Case of UNESCO
Pierre de Senarclens, Univ. de Lausanne

Chateaubriand : son enfance. Quelques idées politiques
Micheline Vergara-Guiton, Hôpital des Enfants Malades, Paris

Entering and Leaving a Terrorist Group: Psycho-Political Aspects of the Decision
Franco Ferracuti, Univ. of Rome

When Does Personality Make a Difference? Lord Cherwell and the Area Bombing of Germany
Hugh Berrington, Univ. of Newcastle Upon Tyne

Disc./*Comment. :* Nathan Leites
Sudhir Kakar, Centre for Study Dev. Soc., New Delhi
Jerrold Post

SG.11 - Comparative Sociology of Political Science / *Sociologie comparée de la science politique*

Chair/*Présid. :* Michael Stein, McMaster University

SG.11.1 - Changing Paradigms in Political Science and their International/National Societal Linkages / *Changements de paradigmes en science politique : les influences nationales et internationales*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 10

Chair/*Présid. :* William G. Andrews, SUNY, Brockport

Paper/*Communic. :*

L'idée de l'unité africaine dans les années 50-60 chez les leaders africains et son approche aujourd'hui : Problèmes méhodologiques de recherche
Ettore Gelpi, UNESCO
Fabienne Le Houérou, UNESCO

Radical Political Science in Australia: A Critical Survey
Terence H. Irving, Univ. of Sydney

Conceptions of Politics and of the Constitution of Political Science as a Discipline: Reflections on the Case of Weimar Germany
Kari Palonen, Univ. of Jyvaskyla

Marginality versus Participation: A Marxist Critique of and Alternative Approach to Western Studies of Political Legitimacy and Commitment
Fred Mahler, Center for Youth Stud., Bucharest

Disc./*Comment. :* Erkki Berndtson, Univ. of Helsinki
Ray Goldstein, Victoria University of Wellington

SG.13 - Comparative Public Opinion / *L'analyse comparative de l'opinion publique*

Chair/*Présid. :* Frederick Turner, Univ. of Connecticut, Storrs

SG.13.1 - Survey Research in Comparative Perspective / *Les enquêtes : approche comparative*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* C - 12

Chair/*Présid. :* Frederick Turner, Univ. of Connecticut, Storrs

Paper/*Communic. :*

Parallel Value Systems in the Political World Concept of 10-14 Year Old Children
Ildiko Szabo, Univ. of Budapest

The Thai Leaders: Nationalistic Sentiments and Attitudes Toward Other Ethnic Groups
Likhit Dhiravegin, Thammasat University

Nationalism in Britain: Some Diverse Examples
Nancy J. Walker, Nuffield College, Oxford
Robert M. Worcester, Opinion Research Intern., London

Toward an Enlarged Theory of Partisanship: The Problem of Measurement
Philip E. Converse, Univ. of Michigan
Roy Pierce, Univ. of Michigan

Nationalism in a New Democratic System: The Case of Venezuela
Aristides Torres, Univ. Simon Bolivar, Caracas
Mauricio Baez, Catholic University of Caracas

Nationalism as Self-Defence? The Case of Norway
Willy Martinussen, Univ. of Trondheim

Disc./*Comment.* : Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, Univ. of Mainz
Thomas Spira, Univ. of Prince Edward Island

SG.14 - Public Policy Analysis / *L'analyse des politiques*

Chair/*Présid.* : Richard I. Hofferbert, SUNY-Binghamton

SG.14.1 - Policy Analysis in Developing Countries / *L'analyse des politiques dans les pays en voie de développement*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 2

Chair/*Présid.* : Richard I. Hofferbert, SUNY-Binghamton

Paper/*Communic.* : Policy Research in Southern Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Emergence of Policy Research Capacities
Hellmut Wollmann, Free University of Berlin
Peter Wagner, Free University of Berlin
Georg Thurn, Free University of Berlin

Policy Process in Developing Nations: A Case of Korea
Jong Youl Yoo, Kyung Hee University, Seoul

Development Theory, Political Change, and Policy Priorities in Turkey
Ustun Erguder, Bogazici University, Istanbul

Public Policy Under Authoritarian and Non-Authoritarian Rule: A Comparative Study of Seven Latin American Countries
Ute Wachendorfer, Free University of Berlin

Disc./*Comment.* : Martin O. Heisler, Univ. of Maryland
Gunther F. Schaefer, European Inst. of Public Admin.

SG.15 - Analytical Political Philosophy / *Philosophie politique analytique*

Chair/*Présid.* : B.C. Parekh, Univ. of Baroda

SG.15.1 - Political Judgment and Modes of Civil Association / *Jugement politique et modes d'association civile*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 3

Chair/*Présid.* : J.W. Moore, Concordia University

Paper/*Communic.* : Loquocentricity and Democracy: A Communicative Theory of Modern Civic Unity
Kenneth Minogue, London School of Economics

Reflective Judgment and Political Association
Ernst Vollrath, Univ. of Cologne

Leo Strauss, la philosophie et la science politique
Terence Marshall, Univ. de Paris X - Nanterre

Political Judgment and the Representation of Order
James Wiser, Loyola University of Chicago

Disc./*Comment.* : Benjamin Barber, Rutgers University
Sadipta Kaviraj, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi

SG.16 - Rethinking in Political Development / *Repenser le développement politique*

Chair/*Présid.* : A.H. Somjee, Simon Fraser University

SG.16.1 - Rethinking in Political Development / *Repenser le développement politique*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 12

Chair/*Présid.* : A.H. Somjee, Simon Fraser University

Paper/*Communic.* : Parallels and Actuals of Political Development
A.H. Somjee, Simon Fraser University

Ethnocentrism in the Study of Political Development
Howard Wiarda, American Enterprise Inst.

History, Tradition and Culture in Political Development
S.P. Varma, Inst. of Dev. Studies, Jaipur

Political Development: Western Theories and Japanese Reality
Kinhide Mushakoji, UN University, Tokyo

The Biases of "Time" in Studying Political Development
Ronald Tiersky, Amherst College

Need for Rethinking in African Political Studies
Ali Mazrui, Univ. of Michigan

SG.17 - Political Power / *Le pouvoir politique*

Chair/*Présid.* : David A. Baldwin, Dartmouth College

SG.17.1 - Structural Power / *Le pouvoir structurel*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 4

Chair/*Présid.* : David A. Baldwin, Dartmouth College

Paper/*Communic.* : Modes of Organized Interest Intermediation and the Structure of Political Power: A Theoretical Investigation into Political Efficacy
Franz Lehner, Univ. of Ruhr, Bochum

The Indigenisation of the Economy and Power Relations in a Developing Country: The Nigerian Experience
Adeoye Akinsanya, Univ. of Ilorin

Power Structures and Political Behavior
Fredrick W. Frey, Univ. of Pennsylvania

A Structural Definition of Power
Michele Lamont, Stanford University

Structural Power and State Theory
Philip G. Cerny, Univ. of York

SG.18 - Theories of the State / *Théories de l'Etat*

Chair/*Présid.* : Karl-Heinz Röder, Academy of Sciences of the GDR

SG.18.1 - Vanishing Away or Transcendence of the Nation State / *Dépérissement ou transcendance de l'Etat-nation*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 5

Chair/*Présid.* : Marcos Kaplán, National University of Mexico

Paper/*Communic.* : Legitimation Crisis and Atrophy of the Nation-State in Spain: The Basque Case
Francisco José Llera Ramo, Univ. of Basque Country

Crisis and Transcendence in the Mexican State
Francisco J. Paoli Bolio, Metropolitan Univ. of Xochimilco

Itinerary of High Officials and Continuity of the State in Mexico
Claude Gilbert, El Colegio de México

'Nation State': Range and Future of the Concept
Xavier Arbos, Univ. of Barcelona

SG.19 - Comparative Health Policy / *Etude comparative des politiques de santé*

Chair/*Présid.* : Christa Altenstetter, CUNY

SG.19.1 - Restructuring Health Priorities in Declining Economies of the 1980s / *Les priorités sanitaires dans les économies déclinantes des années 1980*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 4

Chair/*Présid.* : Christa Altenstetter, CUNY

Paper/*Communic.* : A Comparison of Pre-modern to Post-modern Attitudes and Priorities in Health in India
Devavrat N. Pathak, Peace Research Centre, Ahmedabad

Resources and Innovation in Health Care
Stuart C. Haywood, Univ. of Birmingham
Wendy Ranade, Univ. of Newcastle Upon Tyne

La double crise de l'Etat-providence
Bruno Jobert, Univ. des Sci. Soc. de Grenoble

Les politiques alternatives dans le domaine de la santé : le maintien à domicile pour certaines catégories de malades, les personnes âgées, les handicapés
Monika Steffen, Univ. des Sci. Soc. de Grenoble

Disc./*Comment.* : William A. Welch, Univ. of South Carolina

SG.20 - Structure and Organization of Government / *La structure et l'organisation du gouvernement*

Chair/*Présid.* : Colin Campbell, Georgetown University
B. Guy Peters, Univ. of Pittsburgh

SG.20.1 - Organizing and Reorganizing Government / *Organisation et réorganisation de l'Etat*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 7

Chair/*Présid.* : B. Guy Peters, Univ. of Pittsburgh
Colin Campbell, Georgetown University

Paper/*Communic.* : When Form Failed to Follow Function: How Four European Countries Eschewed Reorganization in Response to the Post-1973 Economic Crisis
Fritz W. Scharpf, Science Centre, Berlin

Organizational Change in the Government of Canada: The Downsizing of Central Agencies
Peter Aucoin, Dalhousie University
Herman Bakvis, Dalhousie University

Entrenching New Instruments for Government Through Legislation: The Case of Switzerland
Ulrich Kloti, Univ. of Zurich

The Centralization/Decentralization Tug-of-War: The Pursuit of Excellence in the American Bureaucracy
Charles H. Levine, Congressional Research Service

Disc./*Comment.* : Brian W. Hogwood, Univ. of Strathclyde

SG.21 - Comparative Federalism / *Etude comparative du fédéralisme*

Chair/*Présid.* : Lloyd Brown-John, Univ. of Windsor

SG.21.1 - Comparative Federalism. Centralizing/Decentralizing Trends / *Le fédéralisme comparé : les tendances à la centralisation et à la décentralisation*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 8

Chair/*Présid.* : Frank Delmartino, Catholic University of Leuven
Lloyd Brown-John, Univ. of Windsor

Paper/*Communic.* : Politics in Federal States
Alain G. Gagnon, Carleton University

Federalism as Interdependence: The Role of Moderating Institutions
Ralph J.K. Chapman, Univ. of Tasmania

Constitutional Practices in International Relations: Decentralizing Foreign Affairs in Federal States
John Kincaid, North Texas State University

American Federalism in the 1980's: Centralization versus Decentralization
David A. Caputo, Purdue University

Federal Centre-Subnational Units Relations
Isawa Elaigwu, Univ. of Jos

Disc./*Comment.* : Theo Ohlinger, Univ. of Vienna
Ernest Weibel, Univ. of Neuchatel

SPECIAL MEETINGS / *SÉANCES PARTICULIÈRES*

SM.1 - Class Structure, Elites and Political Choices in the Middle East / *Structures de classe, élites et choix politiques au Moyen-Orient*

Date : Tuesday 16, 9.30 am / *mardi 16, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 6

Chair/*Présid. :* Nazih Ayubi, Univ. of Exeter
Timothy Niblock, Univ. of Exeter

Paper/*Communic. :*

From Gang to Elite: The Iraqi Ba'th Party's Consolidation of Power 1968-75
Peter Sluglett, Univ. of Durham
Marion Farouk-Sluglett, Univ. of Durham

Bureaucratic Elites and Public Policies in the Arab World
Nazih Ayubi, Univ. of Exeter

A State without Relative Autonomy: the Case of Lebanon, 1943-85
Michael H. Johnson, Univ. of Sussex

Development Strategies, Social Classes and the State: Egypt's Regimes 1952-1982
Bahgat Korany, Univ. of Montreal

The Gulf War and Political Stability in Iraq
Robert Springborg, Macquarie University

What is an Islamic State? The Case of Iran
Sami Zubaida, Univ. of London

Disc./*Comment. :* Nazih Ayubi, Univ. of Exeter
Timothy Niblock, Univ. of Exeter

SM.2 - Consequences of Electoral Structures in Cross-National Setting / *Les effets des structures électorales : étude comparative*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 6

Chair/*Présid. :* Thomas Mann, American Political Science Ass.

Paper/*Communic. :*

Réalignement électoral et changement de personnel politique. Le cas du Québec 1867-1981
Jean Crête, Univ. Laval
Réjean Pelletier, Univ. Laval

Is Electoral Volatility Increasing?
Ivor Crewe, Univ. of Essex

Elections as Sources of Major Policy Changes: Structural Comparisons of Britain, Ireland and the US Over Time
David W. Brady, Rice University, Houston
Charles S. Bullock, Univ. of Georgia
Louis Maisel, Colby College

Predictors of Electoral Turnout: An International Comparison
Raymond E. Wolfinger, Univ. of California, Berkeley

Disc./*Comment. :* Marie-France Toinet, Fond. Nat. des Sciences Politiques
Morris Manning, Univ. College, Dublin

SM.3 - Women's Advancement in Politics and Administration: The Impact of the UN Decade for Women / *Le progrès des femmes dans la vie politique et dans l'administration : l'impact de la « Décennie des femmes » des Nations Unies*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 2

Chair/*Présid. :* Jeanne-Marie Col, Sangamon State University

Paper/*Communic. :* Women in Public Administration: Upward Mobility and Career Development — The Case of India and Some Countries of the Indian Sub-Continent
Hem Lata Swarup, Kanpur University

The Advancement of Women: An Assessment of the UN Decade for Women
Susan Gluck Mezey, Loyola University of Chicago
Debra Stewart, North Carolina State University

The Impact of the UN Decade for Women in Tanzania
Marjorie Mbilingi, Univ. of Dar-es-Salaam

The Hostile World: American Women and Foreign Policy
Naomi B. Lynn, Georgia State University
John D. Hutcheson, Jr., Georgia State University
Robert A. Lynn, Atlanta University

Disc./*Comment. :* Victoria Schuck, Stanford University
Mariette Sineau, Fond. Nat. des Sciences Politiques

SM.4 - Comparative Leadership Selection Processes / *Les processus de sélection des dirigeants : analyse comparative*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 5

Chair/*Présid. :* John C. Courtney, Univ. of Saskatchewan

Paper/*Communic. :* Party Leadership Choice in the United States and Canada
Richard Johnston, Univ. of British Columbia
Henry E. Brady, Harvard University

Presidents and Prime Ministers: Selecting Chief Executives in the United States and Norway
Donald R. Matthews, Univ. of Washington

Leadership Selection in the Liberal and Progressive Conservative Parties in Canada
John C. Courtney, Univ. of Saskatchewan
George C. Perlin, Univ. of British Columbia

Disc./*Comment. :* Austin Ranney, American Enterprise Inst.
Lars Svasand, Univ. of Bergen

SM.6 - State Corporations in a Comparative Perspective / *Les entreprises publiques : analyse comparative*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 6

Chair/*Présid. :* Pierre Fournier, Univ. du Québec à Montréal

Paper/*Communic.* : The Impact of Political Factor on Thai Public Enterprises: Policy and Management
Kesinee Hongsanand, Chulalongkorn University

U.S. Government Corporations: Useful Instruments?
Lloyd Musolf, Univ. of California, Davis

Entreprises publiques et clientélisme politique
Jacques Bourgault, Univ. du Québec à Montréal

The Governmental Control of Public Corporations in Britain: A History and an Evaluation
Maurice R. Garner, London School of Economics

Les entreprises publiques au Canada et au Québec : tendances récentes
Pierre Fournier, Univ. du Québec à Montréal

Public Television in the United States: Conflicts and Contradictions of a Cultural and Information System
Seymour Slavin, Univ. of Louisville

SM.7 - Crisis and Resurrection of Political Parties in Democratizing Process / *Crise et résurrection des partis politiques dans les processus de démocratisation*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 4

Chair/*Présid.* : Manuel Antonio Garretón, FLACSO, Santiago, Chile
Marcelo Cavarozzi, CEDES, Buenos Aires

Paper/*Communic.* : Relations Between Parties and Changes in Alliance Systems. The Case of Argentina
Marcelo Cavarozzi, CEDES, Buenos Aires

Persistence and Transformations of Parties. The Case of Peru
Henry Pease, DESCO, Lima

Political Parties and Other Social Actors. The Chilean Case
Manuel Antonio Garreton, FLACSO, Santiago, Chile

Disc./*Comment.* : Alain Rouquié, Fond. Nat. des Sciences Politiques
Eli Diniz, IUPERJ
Guillermo O'Donnell, Univ. of Notre Dame
Jordy Borja, CEUMT, Barcelona

SM.8 - Social and Political Exchange: A Critical Overview / *L'échange social et politique : aperçu critique*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 6

Chair/*Présid.* : Luigi Graziano, Univ. of Turin
Paolo Ceri, Univ. of Turin

Paper/*Communic.* : Neo-Corporatist Arrangements, "Konkordanz" and Political Exchange: The Swiss Experience
Leonardo Parri, EUI, Florence

Political Action and Political Exchange
Mario Stoppino, Univ. of Pavia

Precarious Exchanges: On the Logic of Generalized Macropolitical Transactions
Bernd Marin, EUI, Florence

On Political Exchange in Centralized Socialist Systems
Jacek Tarkowski, Univ. of Warsaw

Notables, Mafia and New-Fangled Graft: Clientelism and Political Exchange in Calabria over 40 Years
James Walston, Cambridge University

Disc./*Comment.* : Luigi Graziano, Univ. of Turin
Paolo Ceri, Univ. of Turin

SM.9 - The Political Effects of Direct Democracy / *Les effets politiques de la démocratie directe*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 9

Chair/*Présid.* : Edward S. Greenberg, Univ. of Colorado

Paper/*Communic.* : The Blessings and the Curse of Direct Democracy
Branko Horvat, Univ. of Zagreb

Measuring the External Effects of Direct Democracy
Jane Mansbridge, Northwestern University

Effects of Activity in Decision Making Process on Behavior Within and Outside Organizations
Josip Obradovic, Univ. of Zagreb

The Political Effect of Direct Democraty. The Experience of the Israeli Kibbuts
Menachem Rosner, Univ. of Haifa

The Political Effects of Direct Democracy in Socialist Countries: The Case of Cuba
Andrew Zimbalist, Smith College, Northampton

Disc./*Comment.* : Carole Pateman, Univ. of Sydney

SM.10 - Industrial Policy and International Challenges to the State / *La politique industrielle et les défis internationaux à l'Etat*

Date : Tuesday 16, 9.30 am / *mardi 16, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 7

Chair/*Présid.* : Jeffrey A. Hart, Indiana University

Paper/*Communic.* : The Governance of the American Economy
J. Rogers Hollingsworth, Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison

Institutions and Markets in a Schumpeterian World
Giovanni Dosi, Univ. of of Sussex

International Competition in Industrial Policy: The Case of Biotechnology
Gerd Junne, Univ. of Amsterdam

The Political Impact of Industrial Subsidies in the European Community: Security Communities, Distributional Coalitions, and International Challenges to the State
David Willis, Univ. of Hull

State Intervention in Structural Changes: The International, Social and Technical Dimensions
Linda Hesselman, Cambridge Econometrics

Industrial Policies across North and South: The Problem of a Hegemonic Consensus
Raúl Hinojosa, Stanford University

Disc./*Comment.* : Keitha Fine, Univ. of Massachusetts

SM.11 - Fiscal Austerity and Urban Innovation / *Austérité financière et innovation urbaine*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 7

Chair/*Présid.* : Terry N. Clark, Univ. of Chicago
Gerd-Michael Hellstern, Free University of Berlin

Paper/*Communic.* : Fiscal Austerity in European Countries. National Contrasts, but Similar Local Strategies
Vincent Hoffman-Martinot, IEP de Bordeaux
Jean-Yves Nevers, IEP de Bordeaux

Fiscal Development Strategies in the Asian Countries
Ed Prantilla, UN Center for Regional Dev.

National and Local Strategies in African Countries
Oladipupo Adamolekun, Univ. of Ife

Austerity and Innovation in North American Cities: Political Cultural Contrasts
Terry N. Clark, Univ. of Chicago

Disc./*Comment.* : Daniel Elazar, Jerusalem Center for Publ. Aff.
Manuel Mora y Araujo, Di Tella Institute, Buenos Aires
Guido Martinotti, Univ. of Pavia

SM.12 - The Major Powers and Southeast Asian Security Since 1975 / *Les grandes puissances et la sécurité en Asie du sud-est depuis 1975*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 2

Chair/*Présid.* : Robert C. Horn, Calif. State Univ., Northridge

Paper/*Communic.* : Beyond Comradeship: The USSR and Vietnam in Southeast Asia
Huynh Kim Kanh

Power, Ideology and Ethnicity: China's Environmental Possibilism and the Security of Southeast Asia
Sukhumbhand Paribatra, Chulalongkorn University

The U.S. and ASEAN: The last Years and the Next Ten
Robert C. Horn, Calif. State Univ., Northridge

The Major Powers and Southeast Asia in the 1980s: Confrontation of Peace
Zakaria Haji Ahmad, Inst. of Int. St., Kuala Lumpur

Disc./*Comment.* : Astri Suhrke, The American University
François Joyaux, INALCO, Paris

SM.13 - Arenas of Power / *Les arènes du pouvoir*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 9

Chair/*Présid. :* Theodore J. Lowi, Cornell University

Paper/*Communic. :* Public Policies in Disarray: Political and Legal Restraints in Public Policy Making
Axel Murswieck, Univ. of Heidelberg

Recent Perspectives on a Theory of State in American Politics
Mauro Calise, Univ. of Salerno

Law, Discretion and Policy: Administrative Law and the Administrative Process
Gary C. Bryner, Brigham Young University

SM.14 - Visionary Leadership: Nation-Builders of the Post-War Period / *Leaders visionnaires : les bâtisseurs de nations dans l'après-guerre*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 2

Chair/*Présid. :* Michael Keren, Tel Aviv University

Paper/*Communic. :* The 'Yoshida School' and the Institutionalization of Liberal Democracy in Postwar Japan
Terry E. MacDougall, Boston University

The Vision of a New Poland: Nation-Building in Post-War Poland
Ladis K.D. Kristof, Portland State University

Jawaharlal Nehru: Architect of Modern India
R. Madhanagopal, Madurai Kamaraj University

Disc./*Comment. :* Mekki Mtewa, Intern. Dev. Found., Washington, DC
Moshe Czudnowski, Northern Illinois University

SM.15 - Social Structures and Party Choice in the 1980's / *Structures sociales et choix partisans dans les années 1980*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 9

Chair/*Présid. :* Tom Mackie, Univ. of Strathclyde
Henry Valen, Univ. of Oslo

Paper/*Communic. :* Social Structure and Party Choice in the Netherlands
Cees Van der Eijk, Univ. of Amsterdam
Kees Niemöller, Univ. of Amsterdam

Social and Political Explanations for Party Choice in the United States, 1952-1984
Arthur H. Miller, Univ. of Chicago

Social Determinants of Party Choice in Swedish Elections 1956-1982
Sören Holmberg, Univ. of Goteborg
Bo Särlvik, Univ. of Goteborg

The Decline of Class Revisited: Class and Party in England, 1964-1983
Ian McAllister, Australian National University

Support for Third Force Parties in the Eighties: A Comparative Analysis of German, British and American Data
William L. Miller, Univ. of Strathclyde
Charles Lewis Taylor, Virginia State University

Disc./*Comment.* : Ole Borre, Univ. of Aarhus
Philip E. Converse, Univ. of Michigan

SM.16 - The Politics of Extra-Institutional Protest: Systemic Challenge or Necessary Regeneration? / *Les mouvements de protestation extra-institutionnels : défis au système ou régénération nécessaire ?*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 7

Chair/*Présid.* : Andrei S. Markovits, Boston University

Paper/*Communic.* : Green Growth on the West German Left: Cultivating Political Space
Andrei S. Markovits, Boston University
David S. Meyer, Boston University

U.S. Anti-Imperialist Movements in Two Contexts: The War in Indochina and the Intervention in Central America
A. Belden Fields, Univ. of Illinois, Urbana-Ch.

Les mouvements de jeunesse: contestation ou changement? Le cas des Jeunesses Socialistes en France au tournant du siècle
Yolande Cohen, Univ. du Québec à Montréal

Politics of Rural Violence in Developing Society with Special Reference to Indian Society
Nil Fatan, A.N.S. Inst. of Soc. Studies, Patna

Disc./*Comment.* : David E. Apter, Yale University

SM.17 - Left and Right in Comparative Perspective / *La gauche et la droite : analyse comparative*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 7

Chair/*Présid.* : George Th. Mavrogordatos, Univ. of Athens
Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Free University of Berlin

Paper/*Communic.* : Conceptual and Methodological Issues in Relation to Left and Right: Point Versus Interval Approaches
Kees Niemoeller, Univ. of Amsterdam
Cees Van der Eijk, Univ. of Amsterdam

The Semantic Space of Left and Right in Politics
Dieter Fuchs, Univ. of Cologne
Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Free University of Berlin

Downs Revisited: Spatial Models of Party Competition and Left-Right Measurements
George Th. Mavrogordatos, Univ. of Athens

The Comparative Analysis of Left-Right Orientations on Mass and Elite Levels: The Case of Western European Parties
Hermann Schmitt, Univ. of Duisburg

SM.18 - State and Political Alienation / *L'Etat et l'aliénation politique*

Date : Tuesday 16, 9.30 am / *mardi 16, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 8

Chair/*Présid. :* VI. Mshvenieradze, Academy of Sciences of the USSR
C.A. Perumal, Univ. of Madras

Paper/*Communic. :*

The Federal State and Quebec Political Alienation
Edmond Orban, Univ. de Montréal

Political Alienation in the System of Other Types of Alienation
I.I. Kravtchenko, Academy of Sciences of the USSR

Dictatorship or Self-Dictatorship of Proletariat: De-alienating State, De-alienated Working Class
Dzemal Sokolovic, Univ. of Sarajevo

The Dialectic of Nihilism and Alienation: Implications for an Educational Theory of Empowerment
C.A. Bowers, Univ. of Oregon

Relevance of the Concept of Alienation in a Self-managed Socialist Society: With Particular Regard to its Ideological and Cultural Apparatus
Dimitrij Rupel, FSPN, Ljubljana

The Centralization of Political Authority and Political Participation: Exit, Voice and Loyalty in Traditional Societies
Marc Howard Ross, Bryn Mawr College

Disc./*Comment. :* Luigi Graziano, Univ. of Turin
Raja Ganesan, Univ. of Madras

SM.19 - Economic Conditions and Electoral Behavior / *Situation économique et comportement électoral*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 8

Chair/*Présid. :* Helmut Norpoth, SUNY, Stony Brook

Paper/*Communic. :*

Electoral Stability and Socio-Economic Change in France
Mattei Dogan, CNRS
Daniel Derivry, CNRS

The Economy and Presidential Popularity in the United States
Helmut Norpoth, SUNY, Story Brook

The Economic Crisis and the Nazi Vote in Germany, 1928-33
Jurgen Falter, Free University of Berlin

A Complete Model of French Politico-Economic Interaction
Jean-Domenique Lafay, Univ. de Poitiers
D. Goyeau, Univ. de Limoges

Comparative Economic Voting: France, Italy, Germany, Britain
Michael Lewis-Beck, Univ. of Iowa

Disc./*Comment. :* Manfred Kuechler, Florida State University

SM.21 - Domestic Political Violence / *La violence politique intérieure*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 8

Chair/*Présid. :* Gianfranco Pasquino, Univ. of Bologna
Paulo Sergio Pinheiro, State University of Campinas

Paper/*Communic. :*

Violence politique, guérilla, terrorisme : le Cône sud latino-américain
Emir Sader, Univ. de Campinas

Left-wing Political Violence in Italy During the Seventies: The Formation of Terrorist Organizations
Donatella della Porta, EUI, Florence

A Comparative Approach to the Analysis of Political Terrorism
Martha Crenshaw, Wesleyan University

The Role of the State in Political Violence
Ted Robert Gurr, Univ. of Colorado

The Political Violence in the Basque Country
Gurutz Jauregui Bereciartu, Univ. of Basque Country

Neo-fascist Violence in Italy
Leonard Weinberg, Univ. of Nevada

Terrorist Violence in West Germany: Some Reflections on Recent Literature
Ekkart Zimmermann, German Army College, Munich

SM.22 - Representative Democracy in Latin American Countries at the End of the 20th Century / *La démocratie représentative dans les Etats latino-américains à la fin du XX^e siècle*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 8

Chair/*Présid. :* Hermann Petzold-Pernia, Univ. of Zulia

Paper/*Communic. :*

Representative Democracy and Political Participation in
José E. Molina Vega, Univ. of Zulia

Democracy, the Representative System and Participation in Argentina
Silvia Hass, Argentine Assoc. of Pol. Sci.
Beatriz Rajland, Argentine Ass. of Pol. Sci.

Democracy in Latin America, Stability and Normative Instrumentation
Torcuato A. Sozio, Univ. of Salvador

Considérations sur la démocratie latino-américaine
Luis Sanchez Agesta, Cons. Nat. d'Educ., Espagne

Democracy and Crisis in Central America
Guy Poitras, Trinity University

La démocratie représentative au Vénézuéla : problèmes et perspectives
Hermann Petzold-Pernia, Univ. of Zulia

Disc./*Comment. :* Dirk Berg-Schlosser, Univ. of Augsburg

SM.23 - The Role of Local Government within the State / *Le rôle de l'administration locale dans l'Etat*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 8

Chair/*Présid. :* Louise Quesnel, Univ. Laval

Paper/*Communic. :* The Local State in English Canada
Warren Magnusson, Univ. of Victoria

Les rapports centre-périphéries : évolution du système municipal au Québec
Jacques Léveillée, Univ. du Québec à Montréal

Responses of U.S. Local Government to the Internationalization of Production and the Fiscal Crisis of the Welfare State
Michael Peter Smith, Tulane University

Disc./*Comment. :* Rod Rhodes, Univ. of Essex
Caroline Andrew, Univ. of Ottawa

SM.24 - Ethnic Pluralism, Democracy, and Modernity. Comparative and Theoretical Perspectives / *Le pluralisme ethnique, la démocratie et la modernité : analyse comparative et théorique*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 2

Chair/*Présid. :* William Safran, Univ. of Colorado, Boulder

Paper/*Communic. :* Democratic Theory and the Rise of Modern Ethnocracy
Walker Connor, National University of Singapore

Ethnic Pluralism, Public Policy, and Liberal Democracy: Comparative Perspectives on Tensions and Possibilities
Martin O. Heisler, Univ. of Maryland

From Migrant Workers to Ethnic Minorities? The Political and Organizational Aspects of the Process of Settlement in Western Europe
Barbara Schmitter Heisler, Cleveland State University

Ethnic Mobilization and Traditional Ideologies: Marxism, Jacobinism, and Organicism
William Safran, Univ. of Colorado, Boulder

Disc./*Comment. :* Jørgen Elklit, Univ. of Aarhus

SM.25 - Political Culture in Mediterranean Political Systems / *La culture politique dans les systèmes politiques méditerranéens*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 8

Chair/*Présid. :* Julián Santamaría, Centre for Soc. Research, Madrid
Leonardo Morlino, Univ. of Florence

Paper/*Communic.* : Cultural Transformation and Political Conflict in Italy
Giacomo Sani, Ohio State University
Giovanna Guidorossi, Bocconi University, Milan

Culture Constraints and Political Orientations in Southern-Europe: Socialist Approaches to Politics in Spain and Portugal
José Ramón Montero, Univ. of Cadiz
José Stock, Univ. of Evora

Change in Patterns in Israel's Political Culture
Asher Arian, Tel Aviv University
Michael Keren, Tel Aviv University

Disc./*Comment.* : Percy Allum, Univ. of Reading
Renato Mannheimer, ADPSS, Milan

SM.26 - Work and Politics. The Workplace as a Political Socializer / *Travail et vie politique. Le lieu de travail comme agent de socialisation politique*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 8

Chair/*Présid.* : Roberta S. Sigel, Rutgers University

Paper/*Communic.* : Youth Unemployment: A Source of Political Alienation?
Anders Westholm, Uppsala University
Richard G. Niemi, Univ. of Rochester

The Impact of Workplace Democracy on Women's Participatory Behavior
Janneke van der Ros Schive, Univ. of Oslo

Political Socialization in the Workplace: What the New Boys and Girls Learn in the Office
Virginia Sapiro, Univ. of Wisconsin

Disc./*Comment.* : Paul Abramson, Michigan State University

SM.27 - Socio-Economic Development and Changes in Governmental Apparatus / *Le développement socio-économique et les changements dans l'appareil institutionnel*

Date : Tuesday 16, 9.30 am / *mardi 16, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 3

Chair/*Présid.* : Young Kook Kim, Seoul National University

Paper/*Communic.* : Socio-Economic Development and Changes in the Political System: South Korea and Latin America
Hak-Joon Kim, Seoul National University

Socio-Economic Development and Changes in the Administration: South Korea and Thailand
Kwang Ung Kim, Seoul National University

Socio-Economic Development and Changes in the Legislature: South Korea and Japan
Soong-Hoom Kil, Seoul National University

Socio-Economic Change and South Korea's Political Party System: A Comparative Approach
Byong Man Ahn, Hankuk University, Seoul

Disc./*Comment.* : Chong Lim Kim, Univ. of Iowa
Taik-Whee Lee, Seoul National Teachers College
Sung-Chul Yang, Univ. of Kentucky

SM.28 - Politics in Redemocratizing Societies / *La vie politique dans les sociétés en cours de redémocratisation*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 3

Chair/Présid. : Glaucio Ary Dillon Soares, Univ. of Florida

Paper/*Communic.* : The Transition to Democracy in Spain
Gary Prevost, Saint John's University

Populism and Peronism in Argentinian Elections: Emergence, Revival or Survival?
Manuel Mora y Araújo, Di Tella Institute, Buenos Aires

The Process of Liberalization in Mexico from 1977 to the Present
Wayne Cornelius, Univ. of California, San Diego

La politique de la transition au Brésil : Une réévaluation de la dynamique de l'ouverture
Eli Diniz, IUPERJ

The Role of Participatory Politics in a Transforming Society: Nicaragua's Search for Political Democracy and Economic Sufficiency
Gary Joe Mounce, Pan American University

Disc./*Comment.* : Eduardo Viola, Univ. of Notre Dame

SM.29 - Transition from Authoritarianism to Democracy — Women's Role / *La transition de l'autoritarisme à la démocratie — le rôle des femmes*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 1

Chair/*Présid.* : Fanny Tabak, Catholic Univ. of Rio de Janeiro

Paper/*Communic.* : Women's Politics in the New Democratic Scene: The Southern Cone Experience
Maria del Carmen Feijoo, CEDES, Buenos Aires

Motivations and Beliefs in the Political Mobilization of Women under the Chilean Authoritarian Regime
Julieta Kirkwood, FLACSO, Santiago

Women's Integration in the Spanish Democratic Process
Judith Astelarra, Univ. of Barcelona

Women and Democracy in Portugal
Maria Tereza Ambrosio, Inst. for Dev. Studies., Lisbon

Disc./*Comment.* : Victoria Schuck, Stanford Univ.

SM.30 - Economic Cycles, Social Insurgency and Political Realignment / *Cycles économiques, insurrection sociale et réalignement politique*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 5

Chair/*Présid. :* Suzanne Berger, MIT

Paper/*Communic. :* Political Cycles and Ethnic Mobilization: The Basque Case
Liborio Mattina, EUI, Florence
Donatella della Porta, EUI, Florence

Union Protest and Changes in the National Party Systems as Reactions Against the Economic Crisis in Western Europe: The British and German Cases Compared
Roland Sturm, Univ. of Heidelberg

Campaigning for a Nuclear Freeze: Grassroots Strategies and Local Governments in the Netherlands
Bert Klandermans, Free Univ., Amsterdam
Dirk Oegema, Free Univ., Amsterdam

Disc./*Comment. :* Suzanne Berger, MIT

SM.31 - Rural Development: Policies and Consequences / *L'impact des politiques de développement rural*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 9

Chair/*Présid. :* Ustun Erguder, Bogazici University, Istanbul

Paper/*Communic. :* Policy Making and Implementation in Rural Development: The Case of Saudi Arabia
Othman Y. al-Rawaf, King Saud University

Rural Development and Social Formation in Asia: A Study in Dimension and Variations
Dulal Chandra Bag, N. Bengal University

Foreign Aid Politics and Rural Sector Development. U.S. Economic Assistance to Egypt, 1975-1984
Marvin G. Weinbaum, Univ. of Illinois, Urbana-Ch.

Disc./*Comment. :* Victor Pestoff, Univ. of Stockholm

SM.32 - Socialism and Democracy in the Political Philosophy of Gyorgy Lukacs / *Socialisme et démocratie dans la philosophie politique de Georges Lukacs*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 6

Chair/*Présid. :* Ferenc Tökei, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Paper/*Communic.* : Le tournant marxiste de Lukacs et sa première période marxiste
Ferenc L. Lendvai, Univ. E. Lorand, Budapest

Gyorgy Lukacs's Views in the 1940s on the "New Democracy"
Karoly Urban, Inst. of Party History, Budapest

Georgy Lukacs's Concept of Democracy in the 1960's
Jozsef Bayer, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

La pensée politique de Lukacs dans sa dernière période
Ferenc Tökei, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

SM.33 - The Current State of Political Science Research on Interest Groups / *Recherches sur les groupes d'intérêt : état des travaux*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : A - 9

Chair/*Présid.* : Frank L. Wilson, Purdue University

Paper/*Communic.* : Interest Groups in the United States: What We Know and How We Know It
Graham K. Wilson, Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison

The Study of Neocorporatist Forms of Interest Group Action in West Europe
Gerhard Lehmbruch, Univ. of Constance

Interest Groups in the Third World
Robert Bianchi, Univ. of Pennsylvania

Disc./*Comment.* : Stanislaw Ehrlich, Univ. of Warsaw

SM.34 - Sovereignty and Self-determination / *Souveraineté et auto-détermination*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : C - 1

Chair/*Présid.* : Øyvind Østerud, Univ. of Oslo

Paper/*Communic.* : United Nations Efforts to Resolve the Cyprus Problem from 1960 to 1985
Glen D. Camp, Bryant College

What Makes Political Boundaries Morally Rightful?
Harry Beran, Univ. of Wollongong

Self-determination Reconsidered: Should There Be a Right to Secede?
James Mayall, London School of Economics

Humanitarian Intervention in Political Theory
Raino Malnes, Univ. of Oslo

Towards a Theory of National Self-determination
Øyvind Østerud, Univ. of Oslo

SM.36 - Judicial Process - The Law and the State / *Le processus judiciaire : le droit et l'Etat*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 4

Chair/*Présid. :* Upendra Baxi, South Gujarat University

Paper/*Communic. :*
Adjudication as a Site of State Power and of Class Struggle: A Reflection on Law and State in Africa, Particular Reference to Tanzania
Rose Asha Mtengeti, Univ. of Dar-es-Salaam

The Relative Autonomy of Adjudication, Law and the State in the Socialist Theory of the State
Kalman Kuleszar, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Ideology of Judicial Activism and Reproduction of State Power in Advanced Industrial Societies
Anthony R. Blacksheild, Latrobe University

On the Notions of Adjudication and Legislation: Reflections on the Theoretical Repertoire of Domination
Upendra Baxi, South Gujarat University

Disc./*Comment. :*
Clarence J. Dias, United Nations
John R. Schmidhauser, UCLA
Yash P. Ghai, Univ. of Warwick
Masaji Chiba, Tokyo Metropolitan University
Neelan Tiruchelvam, Int. Cent. for Ethnic Studies, Colombo

SM.37 - The African State in National and Regional Integration / *L'Etat africain et l'intégration nationale et régionale*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 9

Chair/*Présid. :* Dani W. Nabudere, Univ. of Zimbabwe

Paper/*Communic. :*
Andropov's African Policy
Oye Ogunbadejo, Harvard University

Recent Developments in the Relations between East African States
Willy Mutunga, Univ. of Nairobi

The Crisis of the African Neo-Colonial State
Dani W. Nabudere, Univ. of Zimbabwe

The Nkomati Accord in the Context of US Foreign Policy in Southern Africa
Ibbo Mandaza, African Ass. of Political Science

The OAU and the Problem of African Unity
K. Mathews, Univ. of Nigeria

Disc./*Comment. :*
Yash Tandon, African Ass. of Political Science
Guy Martin, Univ. of Nairobi
A. Asobia, Univ. of Nigeria

SM.38 - Analytical Political Theory and the Reality in Developing Societies / *La théorie politique analytique et la réalité des sociétés en voie de développement*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 3

Chair/*Présid. :* Iqbal Narain, Banaras Hindu University

Paper/*Communic. :* A Rawlsian Reading of Gandhi
Ronald J. Terchek, Univ. of Maryland

Realist International Theory and Third World Developmental Realities in International Relations
A.P. Rana, Univ. of Baroda

Alien But Appropriate? Western Social Science Concepts and Third World Contexts: The Logical and the Empirical Relevance of Modernity in the Tradition-Directed Culture
P.C. Mathur, Univ. of Jaipur

Disc./*Comment. :* V.R. Mehta, Univ. of Rajasthan
S. Subramanian, Madurai Kamraj University

SM.41 - Citizens' Security in Big Cities / *La sécurité de la population des grandes villes*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 10

Chair/*Présid. :* Bohumil Nemec, Czechoslovak Political Science Assoc.

Paper/*Communic. :* Citizens' Security in Big Cities in Yugoslavia
Milan Vujicic, Serbian Ass. of Political Science

Citizens' Security in Big Cities in Brazil
Antonio Carlos Silva Biscaia, C. Mendes University, RJ

Officer Orientations Toward the Community: The Impact of Police Bureaucracy
Michael Steinman, Univ. of Nebraska-Lincoln
Linda Steinman, Univ. of Nebraska-Lincoln

New Dimensions of Beggary in Big Cities
R.K. Nayah, Nat. Inst. of Soc. Sci., Suryanagar

Disc./*Comment. :* Jozef Halasz, Hungarian Academy of Sciences
Constantin Sheremet, Academy of Sciences of the USSR

SM.42 - Classification of Contemporary Political Systems / *La classification des systèmes politiques contemporains*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 10

Chair/*Présid. :* Anton Bebler, Univ. of Ljubljana
Maurice Duverger, Univ. de Paris I

Paper/*Communic. :* Démocratie concurrentielle et démocratie consensuelle: Une classification opérationnelle des systèmes politiques contemporains. Essai comparatif
Antoine Nasri Messara, Univ. Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth

On typology of democracies
Arend Lijphart, Univ. of California, San Diego

Classifying Political Systems for Instruction in Comparative Politics
Gary K. Bertsch, Univ. of Georgia

La typologie des systèmes démocratiques occidentaux
Maurice Duverger, Univ. de Paris I

The Relevance of Typologies for the Study of Asian States
M.M. Sankhdher, Univ. of Delhi

On Classifying African Military Regimes
D. Katete Orwa, Univ. of Nairobi

SM.43 - The Analysis of Political Discourse / *L'analyse du discours politique*

Date : Tuesday 16, 9.30 am / *mardi 16, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 2

Chair/*Présid. :* Michael J. Shapiro, Univ. of Hawaii at Manoa

Paper/*Communic. :*
Hermeneutics and Grammatology: Gadamer and Derrida in Dialogue
Fred R. Dallmayr, Univ. of Notre Dame

Nationalist Discourse in the Populist Period in Brazilian History
Guita Grin Debert, Catholic University of Sao Paulo

Soviet Political Language: Esoteric Discursive Practices
Christer Jonsson, Univ. of Lund

The New Politics of Mediation: Disclosing Silences
Deane Neubauer, Univ. of Hawaii at Manoa
Michael J. Shapiro, Univ. of Hawaii at Manoa

Disc./*Comment. :* Michael J. Shapiro, Univ. of Hawaii at Manoa
Hayward Alker, MIT

SM.44 - Recent Changes in the State Institution-Building in the People's Republic of China / *Changements récents dans le développement des institutions étatiques dans la République populaire de Chine*

Date : Tuesday 16, 2.30 pm / *mardi 16, 14 h30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 2

Chair/*Présid. :* Robert E. Bedeski, Carleton University

Paper/*Communic. :*
The Development of China's Constitution
Li Daokui, Chinese Academy of Soc. Science
Xu Chongde, Renmin University

Current Practices and Theories on Public Administration in China
You Chunmei, Chinese Academy of Soc. Science

Changes in the Chinese Electoral System since 1978
Robert E. Bedeski, Carleton University

From Charismatic to Collective Leadership in China
Lowell Dittmer, Univ. of California

Disc./*Comment. :* Xue Mouhong, Chinese Academy of Soc. Science

SM.45 - Constitution Making as a Political Process / *L'élaboration des constitutions, processus politique*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 10

Chair/*Présid. :* R.N. Trivedi, Ranchi University

Paper/*Communic. :*

Constitution Making as a Political Process in India and Regional Parties
K.P. Singh, Inst. of Rural Development

State Ideologies in Constitutional Preambles: some Francophone African examples
Martin R. Doornbos, Inst. of Social Studies, The Hague
Gerti Hesseling, Inst. of Social Studies, The Hague
Wim van Binsbergen, Inst. of Social Studies, The Hague

Quest for a New Political Order: Analysis of Options in Constitution Making after Breakdown of 1976 Constitution
Omo Omoruyi, Univ. of Benin

Party System and the Constitution at Work: Some Lessons from India
Iqbal Narain, Banaras Hindu University

PRIVATE MEETINGS / *RÉUNIONS HORS PROGRAMME*

PM.1 - Data Development for International Research / *Développement de données pour les recherches internationales*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 1

Convener/*Resp. :* Dina A. Zinnes, Univ. of Illinois, Urbana-Ch.
Richard L. Merritt, Univ. of Illinois, Urbana-Ch.

PM.2 - The Welfare State and Local Government / *L'Etat de bien-être et l'administration locale*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 1

Convener/*Resp. :* Hellmut Wollmann, Free Univ. of Berlin

PM.3 - Political Socialization through Mass Media / *La socialisation politique par l'action des médias*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 2

Convener/*Resp. :* David L. Paletz, Duke University

PM.4 - National Phenomena and International War in Historical Perspective / *Phénomènes nationaux et guerres internationales : perspectives historiques*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 1

Convener/*Resp. :* David Singer, Univ. of Michigan

PM.5 - Biology and Politics / *Biologie et politique*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 1

Convener/*Resp. :* Albert Somit, Southern Illinois Univ. at Carbondale

PM.6 - Transition from Authoritarian Regimes to Democracy / *La transition des régimes autoritaires à la démocratie*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 2

Convener/*Resp. :* Juan Linz, Yale University

PM.7 - Health Policy Research / *Recherches sur la politique de la santé*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 2

Convener/*Resp. :* Christa Altenstetter, CUNY

PM.8 - Parliaments and Policy / *Parlements et politiques publiques*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 2

Convener/*Resp. :* David M. Olson, Univ. of North Carolina

PM.9 - Comparative Study of Divided Nations / *Etude comparative des nations divisées*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 3

Convener/*Resp. :* Hongkoo Lee, Seoul National University

PM.10 - Microcomputers and Policy Analysis / *Micro-ordinateurs et analyse des politiques publiques*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 3

Convener/*Resp. :* Stuart S. Nagel, Univ. of Illinois, Urbana-Ch.

PM.11 - Round Table Discussion on Political Support and Alienation / Table ronde sur le soutien et l'aliénation politiques

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 4

Convener/*Resp. :* Kristen Monroe, Univ. of California at Irvine

PM.12 - The Analysis of Political Discourse / *L'analyse du discours politique*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 4

Convener/*Resp. :* Michael J. Shapiro, Univ. of Hawaii at Manoa

PM.13 - The Emergence of New Social Thought / *L'émergence d'une nouvelle pensée sociale*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 3

Convener/*Resp. :* Anouar Abdel-Malek, UN University, Tokyo

PM.14 - Crisis in the Contemporary Political Ideology / *La crise de l'idéologie politique contemporaine*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 3

Convener/*Resp. :* Amalendu Guha, Inst. for Alternative Dev. Research, Oslo

PM.15 - The Study of Transition to Democracy / *L'étude du passage à la démocratie*

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 5

Convener/*Resp. :* Stein Ugelvik Larsen, Univ. of Bergen

PM.16 - The Study of Representation and Electoral Systems / *L'étude de la représentation et des systèmes électoraux*

Date : Tuesday 16, 5.15 pm / *mardi 16, 17 h 15*

Room/*Salle :* A - 1

Convener/*Resp. :* A.H. Somjee, Simon Fraser University
Leon Weaver, Michigan State University

PM.17 - Non-Aligned Movement / *Le mouvement des pays non-alignés*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 1

Convener/*Resp. :* R.N. Trivedi, Ranchi University

PM.18 - Research about Party Activists as Mid-Elites (Two Sessions) / *Les recherches sur les activistes de partis en tant qu'élite intermédiaire (deux séances)*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am and 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30 et 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 4, D - 4

Convener/*Resp. :* Dwaine Marvick, UCLA

PM.19 - The Structure and Organization of Government / *Structure et organisation des institutions*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 5

Convener/*Resp. :* Colin Campbell, Georgetown University
G. Guy Peters, Univ. of Pittsburgh

PM.20 - Human Rights (Two Sessions) / *Les droits de l'homme (deux séances)*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am and 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30 et 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 6, D - 6

Convener/*Resp. :* David P. Forsythe, Univ. of Nebraska-Lincoln

PM.21 - Comparative Public Opinion / *L'étude comparative de l'opinion publique*

Date : Friday 19, 9.30 am / *vendredi 19, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 7

Convener/*Resp. :* Frederick Turner, Univ. of Connecticut, Storrs

PM.22 - The Impact of Citizen Participation and Social Movements on Governmental Activities / *L'impact de la participation des citoyens et des mouvements sociaux sur les activités publiques*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 2

Convener/*Resp. :* Josef Blahoz, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences

PM.23 - Politics and Business / *Vie politique et entreprises*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 3

Convener/*Resp. :* Robert J. Jackson, Carleton University

PM.24 - Research Methodologies for the Comparative Study of Federal States / *Méthodes de recherche pour l'étude comparative des états fédéraux*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 5

Convener/*Resp. :* Lloyd Brown-John, Univ. of Windsor

PM.25 - Research Team on Sex Roles and Politics / *Groupe de recherche sur les rôles sexuels et la vie politique*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : D - 6

Convener/*Resp. :* Jeanne-Marie Col, Sangamon State University

PM.26 - Civil-Military Relations: A World Perspective (II) / *Les rapports entre civils et militaires : perspective internationale (2e séance)*

Date : Friday 19, 2.30 pm / *vendredi 19, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 4

Convener/*Resp. :* Sam C. Sarkesian, Loyola University of Chicago

PM.27 - Religion and Politics / *Religion et vie politique*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 5

Convener/*Resp. :* C. Frederick Stoerker, CUNY

PM.28 - Presentation of *International Studies Notes* / *Présentation des* International Studies Notes

Date : Thursday 18, 9.30 am / *jeudi 18, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle* : D - 6

Convener/*Resp. :* Joan K. Wadlow, Univ. of Wyoming
Leslie Duly, Univ. of Wyoming

PM.29 - European Unification / *L'unification européenne*

Date : Wednesday 17, 9.30 am / *mercredi 17, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 10

Convener/*Resp. :* Ghita Ionescu, London School of Economics

PM.30 - The Regionalization of the State / *La régionalisation de l'Etat*

Date : Tuesday 16, 9.30 am / *mardi 16, 9 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* A - 4

Convener/*Resp. :* Marcel Hotterbeex, Univ. de Liège

PM.31 - Rational Models of Politics / *Modèles rationnels de la vie politique*

Date : Wednesday 17, 2.30 pm / *mercredi 17, 14 h 30*

Room/*Salle :* D - 9

Convener/*Resp. :* Urs Luterbacher, Grad. Inst. of Intern. Stud., Geneva

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ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

This special issue contains, in alphabetical order of first authos, abstracts of papers listed in the official Programme of the Thirteenth World Congress of Political Science. It is primarily meant to be used in conjunction with the Programme. At the end of each abstract, a code indicates the session at which the paper is to be discussed. All abstracts will be included in the cumulative indexes to vol. 35 of *International Political Science Abstracts*, to be published in issue N° 6.

RÉSUMÉS DES COMMUNICATIONS

Le présent numéro spécial rassemble, par ordre alphabétique des premiers auteurs, des résumés des communications figurant au Programme officiel du Treizième Congrès Mondial de Science Politique. Il est conçu de manière à être d'abord utilisé comme complément à ce Programme. A la fin de chaque résumé, une indication renvoie à la séance à laquelle la communication doit être discutée. Tous les résumés seront inclus dans les index cumulatifs du vol. 35 de la Documentation Politique Internationale, *à la fin du n° 6.*

Codes

I.1.1 Subtheme I, Session 1.1/*Sous-thème I, Séance 1.1.*
RC.1.1 Research Committee N° 1, Session 1/*Comité de recherche N° 1, Séance n° 1.*
SG.1.1 Study Group N° 1, Session 1/*Groupe d'étude n° 1, Séance n° 1.*
SM.1 Special Meeting N° 1/*Séance particulière n° 1.*

XIII. 1 ABERBACH, Joel D. (Univ. of Michigan, USA) ; ROCKMAN, Bert A. (Univ. of Pittsburgh, USA) — **Conceptual ambiguities in the comparative study of public administration.**

This paper explores three theoretical and methodological problems in the comparative study of public administration : (1) the relations of parts of the administrative system, usually the focus of inquiry, to the administrative system as a whole, usually the object of theoretical inference ; (2) the connection between universals of organization theory and variabilities in the environment of organizations and administrative systems ; and (3) the link between distinctive levels of analytic focus - structures, actions, and actors. These broad theoretical and methodological problems anchor our more specific analysis of : (1) links between bureaucracies, bureaucrats, and politics ; (2) the ideas of centralization, planning, and coordination ; and (3) the notions of bargaining, mediation, and subgovernments. **II. 0**

XIII. 2 AHMAD, Zakaria Haji (Inst. of Strategic and International Studies, Kuala Lampur, Malaysia) — **The major powers and Southeast Asia in the 1980's : confrontation or peace ?**

With the issue of Cambodia as the centrepiece of the international relations of Southeast Asia, attempts by the two regional blocs, ASEAN and Indochina led by Vietnam, to achieve a political solution, are complicated by the roles of external powers (the US, the USSR, the PRC) as well as the emergent desires of regional powers, viz., Indonesia and Vietnam. The problem is as much the irreconcilability of the Vietnamese contention of the « irreversibility » of the Cambodian situation as it is the protracted ability of ASEAN to « bleed Vietnam white » to the bargaining table. The role of the PRC will remain pivotal in the long-run as it invites the possibility of a « Hanoi-Jakarta » axis which clearly will be resisted by the other members of ASEAN. **SG 7.1**

XIII. 3 AHN Byong Man (Hankuk Univ., Seoul, Rep. of Korea) — **Socio-economic change and South Korea's political party system : a comparative approach.**

In terms of Samuel Huntington's four developmental stages of political institutionalization (factionalism, polarization, expansion, institutionalization), the political party system within South Korea's socio-economic milieu is analysed and compared with those of other developing nations including the Philippines. Rather than following a unilinear development path, South Korea's political party system is found to be a product of a vicious cycle of change from the destruction of old institutions to their replacement by new institutionalization - a process explained in terms of socio-economic change. A similar process of system change in the Philippines is acknowledged as suggestive of the need for a conceptual framework that facilitates meaningful comparisons. **SM 27**

XIII. 4 AHN Byong Joon (Yonsei Univ., Seoul, Rep. of Korea) — **The politics of unification in Korea.**

A central theme of this paper is that the unification policies the two Korean states are seeking reflect their domestic politics respectively. North and South Korea have resumed dialogues on economic exchange and Red Cross societies but the domestic political developments evolving in both states will determine the pace and progress of these talks. The different perspectives that North and South Korea have on unification derive from their different perceptions of and responses to the reality of the Korean peninsula. Until recently, North Korea has refused to accept the reality as it exists and tried to change it by all means necessary including war and revolution. Having failed in these attempts, Kim Il-sung has been calling for a confederation to be established between the two existing states. In so doing, he demands that before this confederation takes shape the current South Korean government be overthrown and the US troops withdrawn from South Korea. What distinguishes South Korea's policy is its recognition of the reality of the two states and their complex relations with the surrounding four powers, i.e., the US, Japan, China and the USSR and of the need to achieve unification gradually by overcoming that reality in a step-by-step way. With this perspective, South Korea has consistently sought to have substantive dialogues with North Korea in efforts to build confidence as President Chun did recently by calling upon President Kim to have an exchange of visits or summit meetings. These efforts culminated in President Chun's January 1982 call for drafting a constitution for unification. In early 1984 Pyongyang suddenly called for a tripartite conference of itself, Seoul and Washington to discuss the matter of US troops withdrawal. Seoul responded by calling upon Pyongyang to resume direct dialogues with itself. In the meantime, Pyongyang set out to seek trade and investments with Western capitalist countries. Against this background, when Seoul renewed its calls for economic and Red Cross contacts. Pyongyang responded positively. It appears that these talks will continue. Their ultimate outcome, however, will be determined by the direction of domestic political development in North and South Korea. **RC 18.1**

XIII. 5 AKINSANYA, Adeoye A. (Univ. of Ilorin, Nigeria) — **The indigenisation of the economy and power relations in a developing country : the Nigerian experience.**

A study of the structure of power in Nigeria prior to and after the enactment of the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Acts of 1973 and 1977 leads to the following conclusions : (1) The indigenisation mesures, while pretending to transfer ownership and control of the national economy to Nigerians and the Nigerian State, had as their main thrust the strengthening of private business ; (2) Apart from encouraging the emergence of a Nigerian bourgeois class, the illusion among the emerging bourgeois (who believe that they have arrived or are about to arrive) reinforces the capitalist dream and militates against the structural transformation of Nigeria from a neo-colonial economy to a modern developed economy ; and (3) the indigenisation measures have not only created the capitalist dream among less pecunious Nigerians ; they have also increased economic inequalities, and by extension exacerbated social polarisation. Specifically, the indigenisation measures have heightened the frustrations and discontent among the masses, and these may reach very high and explosive levels before the end of the 1980s. **SG 17.1**

XIII. 6 ALDRICH, John (Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, USA) ; DUVALL, Raymond O. (id.) — **Military strength versus the provision of welfare : the state and the political economy of guns-butter trade-offs.**

A central part of the concept of the state, whether of the Weberian or the Marxian variety, concerns the extraction of financial resources from the domestic political economy (primarily through taxation) and the use of those resources for state purposes (generally through the government's budget). The state's role in the political economy is strongly shaped by the ways in which these processes of extraction and use of finanacial resources are organized. One important feature of the organization of the state's financial role revolves around the trade-offs that are entailed in the state's commitment of resources to alternative state functions, including, not least, the enhancement of the state's coercive apparatus, on the one hand, and the provision of certain levels of welfare for segments of the population, on the other hand. This paper is an investigation of such trade-offs. It offers a conceptual and theoretical argument for the analysis of « guns-butter » trade-offs as an important determinant of the state's role in the domestic political economy. It also reports the results of an empirical analysis of those trade-offs in the US for the period 1948 to 1984. **I. 8.1**

XIII. 7 ALESTALO, Matti J. (Univ. of Helsinki, Finland) ; FLORA, Peter (Univ. Mannheim, FRG) ; UUSITALO, Hannu (Helsinki School of Economics, Finland) — **Structure and politics in the making of the welfare state : Finland in comparative perspective.**

Some hypotheses about the causes of the development of the welfare state derived from cross-sectional comparative studies are discussed and elaborated using the case of Finland. The development of the welfare state in Finland is described both in comparative perspective and longitudinally. It turns out that the profile of the Finnish welfare state is an outcome of class structure and the political structure closely linked with it. Finland being an industrial late comer, the class party of the agrarian population has had an important effect on the making and profile of the Finnish version of the welfare state. Finally the support for the cross-sectional hypotheses in this particular case is discussed. **III.5.2**

XIII. 8 ALEXANDER, Herbert E. (Univ. of Southern California, Los Angeles, USA) — **American presidential elections since public funding : 1976-1984.**

In the 1970s the laws regulating federal election campaign financing in the US underwent dramatic changes. In regard to presidential campaigns, public funding, contribution limits, expenditure limits and disclosure requirements were intended to minimize opportunities for undue financial influence on office-holders and make the election process more open and competitive. The new laws have accomplished some of their aims, but they also have had some unintended, and not always salutary, consequences. The degree to which the laws have failed to achieve their intended effects testifies at least as much to the inventiveness of political actors in circumventing the laws and the intractability of election campaign finance in a pluralistic society as to the deficiencies of the laws themselves. **RC 20.1**

XIII. 9 AL-RAWAF, Othman (King Saud Univ., Riyadh, Saudi Arabia) — **Policy making and implementation in rural development ; the case of Saudi Arabia.**

The main concern of the paper is to deal with rural development in the last decade during which Saudi Arabia was able, thanks to huge oil wealth, to carry out many projects aiming at improving the quality of life in rural areas. Saudi Arabia has been going through the tremendous experience of rural development consisting of many social and economic programs in the fields of health, education, welfare, transportation, agriculture and water supply, industry, electricity, communication and other. The government has developed also a long standing program to assist the Beduin, in addition to a well established program of community development. The paper examines the social economic and administrative policies, achievements, and difficulties relevant to rural development. **SM 3.1**

XIII. 10 ALTENSTETTER, Christa (City Univ. of New York, USA) — **Hospital planning and regulation in the Federal Republic of Germany : 1945-1984.**

The success of reforms made by the Federal government largely depends on effective implementation in the Länder and inherited hospital infrastructures and service arrangements. The paper deals with the limitations of planning and regulation of hospital developments resulting from a cluster of crucial factors which are entirely beyond the control of planners and regulators. Even when planners have real power and dominance over regulation, financing and planning they encounter severe limits in bringing about desired changes within constitutional, political and economic constraints. The result is that their activities have also meant growing bureaucratization and standardization. **III. 2.2**

XIII. 11 ANANIEVA, Nora (Univ. of Sofia, Bulgaria) — **Public organizations as a guarantee of democratic principles in governmental activities.**

The principles of interaction between state and non-state elements in the political system of socialism are orientated towards the general aim of « reverse absorption » of state power by society (Karl Marx). This aim sets the necessity of a dialectic measure between integration and independence of public organizations. The development of constitutional functions of public organizations in the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the implementation of these functions demontrate that they could enforce the guarantees for democratic activities of the state apparatus. Legislative initiatives and participation in the process of creation of norms of the main public organizations, as well as development of the system of public control reveal a lot of yet unused reserves. Independent public activities are factors for solving the contradiction between democratic principles and acts of undemocratic style of management within the state apparatus, and for defending the rights of the working people against acts of « undemocratic political culture » of those professionally engaged in governmental activities. **II. 17.2**

XIII. 12 ANCKAR, Dag B. (Abo Academy, Finland) ; HELANDER, Voitto (Univ. of Turku, Finland) — **Public allocation by private organizations : data from Finland.**

Research on government-group relations has concentrated mostly on policy stages related to agenda-building, consultation and negotiation. However, interest organizations also play an increasingly important role in the final stage of allocation as they have in several instances been entrusted with the implementation of state authority. This is especially true in the field of « semi-direct » public administration. The paper gives a review of the various forms of public allocation by private interest organizations in Finland, and presents empirical data illustrating its growth. Explanatory factors are discussed, one central issue being whether semi-direct units have come about due to fragmentation, integration or establishment measures from the side of government. Reflections on the impact of semi-direct allocation on representative government are included. **III. 6.2**

XIII. 13 ANDREWS, William G. (State Univ. of New York College, Brockport, N.Y., USA) — **Concertation during the Mauroy governments of France, 1981-1984.**

This study surveys the efforts of the Mauroy governments of 1981-1984 to implement the *concertation* policies of the French Socialist Party. It shows that (1) the references to those policies in official party documents in the years leading up to the 1981 elections were relatively sparse and vague ; (2) an enormous volume of laws and decrees in 1981-1984 made sweeping changes in the legislative framework, and (3) the effects of those texts on

actual practice have been spotty. This case study suggests that government has only very limited ability to effect by text major substantive changes in a structural situation where basic occupation and economic interests of important groups and individuals are deeply affected. **II. 5.1**

XIII. 14 ANSELL, Harold M. (Univ. of Concordia, Montreal, Canada) — **The decline of the Parti Québécois : a mass party, the polls and political financing.**

The party took power in November 1976. It has held it since, re-elected in April 1981. Nevertheless, its purpose – Québec independence – has receded ; it lost the referendum of May 1980. The first true mass party in Canada, it has always been financed by many small contributions, mobilizing 15-20,000 members annually to collect them. It legislated to impose this system on all Québec parties. Only electors may contribute – no corporations, unions, etc. But the Québec Liberal Party has adapted. The system worked well ; in 1980 the PQ collected over $ 4 millions. Since then, the government's alienation of many supporters has caused a decline. The PQ has reduced its target twice (1984 : $ 2M) and has barely reached it. The PQ's decline is measured both by its fading opinion polls and its declining fund-raising campaigns. **RC 20.1**

XIII. 15 APTER, David E. (Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn., USA) — **Obsolete power in the modern state.**

Until the 1970's the relationship between developmental growth and the modern state has been mutually reinforcing. The state intervened to promote development. Growth enabled it to assume more responsibilities for equity and allocation. The social welfare, social democratic and socialist state depends on development both in principle and practice. Theories of development, liberal, socialist, and Marxist have replaced more primordial attachments to the state with a logic and moral teleology. Choice is the primary focus. Enlarging choice is a political obligation under conditions of greater freedom and equality. Today development has begun to falter, growth declines, and choice is restricted. Productivity has declined. Social overhead costs have increased. Class polarization is occurring between a functionally superfluous class and a functionally significant elite. Violence has become more commonplace. Despite the accumulation of power at the center, and political interventions, the state can not ameliorate these conditions. The more it intervenes the more responsibilities it shoulders and the less it accomplishes. State power is becoming obsolete. Three models are employed to examine these propositions : (1) a model of the base which examines declining choice and polarization, (2) a model of society which deals with the impact of polarization on social networks and institutions, and (3) a superstructural model which shows how crises at the other two levels result in the revival of a politics of myth instead of theory, in which the latter is converted into the former as a kind of « mytho-logics ». **I. 2.1**

XIII. 16 ARATO, Andrew (New School for Social Research, New York, USA) — **Problems of legitimation in Soviet type societies.**

The paper first considers the applicability and the non-applicability of the classical concept of legitimation to Soviet type societies. In particular, the functionalist approach of Zaslavsky is criticized for overextending the concept, nevertheless the case for a more limited use is defended. After briefly exploring the relationship of legitimation to other concepts of social integration, e.g. collective identity, the structurally different problems of integrating the empirical center and the peripheries are discussed. Finally, some of the existing versions of national identity and national legitimation are presented in an ideal typical manner, with reference to the general dissolution of Marxist-Leninist and even Revisionist ideologies. **I. 2.1**

XIII. 17 ARBOS, Xavier (Univ. of Barcelona, Spain) — **« Nation State » : range and future of the concept.**

The concept of « Nation State » is far from having a precise meaning, in spite of the attempts of lawyers, sociologists and political scientists. It can arouse serious misunderstandings if it is assumed that every State is a Nation and a One-Nation State. Liberalism associates the idea of « Nation-State » with the principle of national sovereignty – the power of the « Nation – while nationalist movements consider the « Nation-State » their main objective – the « nationhood » of the State. The concept is not only an academic subject but also a political issue, for its main dimension is that of representing the legitimacy of State power. The aim of the paper is to underline all such implications of the concept of « Nation-State » and its possible developments. **SG**

XIII. 18 ARENTSEN, M. (Univ. Nijmegen, Netherlands) ; LETTERIE, J.W. (id.) ; VAN SNIPPENBURG, L. (id.) — **Political development : definition and classification.**

The paper focuses on political development by reporting on an attempt to classify political systems in terms of political change, such that political development is viewed as a particular type of change. It begins with a review of some theoretical and empirical notions which have appeared in the literature on comparative studies in the last two decades or so. Most investigators appear to be drawn to, or even fixated by, notions which conspicuously refer to the liberal democratic characteristics of some Western nations. A concept of political change is introduced, conditionally defined in terms of a number of dimensions, such as the capacity of governments to handle political problems. A theoretical classification constructed on the basis of these dimensions is then presented, in which political development is considered to be an important category but not the only one. The paper concludes by an analysis of this classification using data concerning a large number of countries. **IV. 3.1**

XIII. 19 ASMEROM, Haile Kiros (Free University of Amsterdam, Netherlands) — **Ideology, politics and the emerging shape of state bureaucracy in Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia.**

A comparative study of state bureaucracies of the three countries. Against the background of colonial legacies, it discusses the efforts made by all three to create development-oriented state bureaucracies. A review of the national ideologies and of the ruling single parties is made as an integral part of this re-orientation process. The state bureaucracy in each case operates as a centralized body subordinate to the presidency. A number of environmental factors are examined as additional explanatory forces. The relevance of all to the realization of rural development is evaluated. Finally, a conclusion is drawn on the significance of such a study for the understanding of development administration in Africa as a whole. **II. 3.1**

XIII. 20 AUCOIN, Peter (Dalhousie Univ., Halifax, N.S., Canada) — **Organizational change in the Government of Canada : the downsizing of central agencies.**

The paper focuses on the recent efforts of the Government of Canada to balance the need for meaningful central coordination with the need for functional autonomy in the management of departemental programs and activities. The past two decades have seen an increasing concern for coordinating the highly differentiated and yet interdependent functions of government department and agencies. This concern reached its apotheosis in 1982 with the creation of the Ministry of State for Economic and Regional Development, a central agency responsible for not only economic development but also regional development policies. The introduction of this organizational change constituted the logical extension of the organizational principles inherent in the Policy and Expenditure Management System, developed in the late 1970s, which gave central agencies the paramount role in the management of the government decision-making. The organizational pathologies inherent in the practice of highly centralized efforts at control and coordination resulted in strong reactions from both Cabinet ministers and department officials who felt that the decision-making system was no longer able to function adequately from either a political or administrative perspective. As a result of two changes of leadership in the office of the Prime Minister in 1984, the elaborate complex of central agencies has been downsized with the elimination of two of the largest central agencies. The consequences of this reorganization are assessed in light of recent theories and critiques of the role of central agencies in the coordination of government decision-making. **SG 20.1**

XIII. 21 AVERY, William P. (Univ. of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. USA) — **External debt accumulation in the world political economy.**

One of the most pressing problems in the contemporary world economy, and one of the most serious restraints on resources available for public allocations, is the mounting external debt of a growing number of countries. States such as Mexico, Brazil, the Philippines, and Poland have amassed debts so large that their economies are unable to manage timely payments on the servicing of the loans. Concern is growing that large-scale defaults may occur, threatening the very survival of the international monetary system. While considerable attention has been given to the consequences of debt accumulation for the debtor countries and for the international economy, there remains no comprehensive and systematic investigation on the causes of debt accumulation. This study provides a thorough empirical examination,

in a crossnational setting, of the conditions that influence the scope and level of external debt. Attention is given to a variety of economic and political factors whici are both internal and external to the debtor countries. The paper argues that before meaningful steps can be taken to control debt, a better understanding of its causes is necessary. **III. 6.1**

XIII. 22 BAAR, Carl (Brock University, St. Catharines, Ont., Canada) — **Using process theory to explain judicial behaviour.**

The paper makes explicit the two existing models for explaining judicial decision-making : the legal reasoning model that underlies traditional legal education, and the « variance theory » model that has dominated the behavioural approach, and contrasts them with a third model based on « process theory » as elaborated by Lawrence Mohr. Two major components of process theory are considered : the litigants' strategies (e.g. the degree to which they build on knowledge derived from the two other models, the strength and effects of extra-legal pressures on litigants, and the breadth of coordination among litigants) and the courts' internal procedures (e.g. discretionary jurisdiction, timing of hearings, use of panels). The use of process theory is illustrated by an examination of civil liberties litigation in Canada both before and after enactment of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in April 1982. **RC 9.1**

XIII. 23 BACK, Pär-Erik (Univ. of Umea, Sweden) — **Public allocations : by territory or by sector ?**

In industrial welfare states public resources are distributed on a « functional » or « sectorial » basis. National government expenditures are allocated to defense, agriculture, housing, etc. Strong administrative bodies guard the special interests of each sector. The system has been criticized, especially from the 1960's onwards, for leading to underachievement and lack of coordination between sectors. In many countries reforms have been introduced in order to give allocations by territory a more prominent place. Using Sweden as an example, the author analyses changes in the national budget as well as organizational innovations within the national bureaucracy. An assessment of the impact of the reform is included. The focus is on ideological and administrative aspects and economic or financial questions are not dealt with in any detail. **III. 6.1**

XIII. 24 BAEHR, Peter (Scientific Council for Govt. Policy, The Hague, Netherlands) — **Human rights and foreign policy : The Dutch and US patterns.**

A comparison is made of the role of human rights in the foreign policy of two western nations : the Netherlands and the US. The paper discusses dilemmas with which policy-makers are confronted when trying to incorporate human rights in foreign policy, such as their relationship to national security policy, to economic interests and to development aid policy. Special attention is paid to the role of the official panel on human rights and foreign policy which was established in 1983 to advise the Dutch foreign minister on human rights issues. There follows a discussion of the role of domestic groups which want to increase the emphasis on human rights in foreign policy and the ways in which they try to accomplish their aims. The conclusions deal with the options that are available to major and to smaller powers respectively. **SG 4.1**

XIII. 25 BAG, Dulal Chandra (North Bengal University, Darjeeling, India) — **Rural development and social formation in Asia : a study in dimension and variations.**

Asian society is known for its rural social pattern of historic origin. It remains basically rural in this last leg of the twentieth century, and is also known for its general poverty-stricken condition barring small parts like Japan and Hong Kong. Deep concern could be marked in the social planner of both the developed world and the developing Asia about the prospects of development of rural conditions of this region by the middle of the century when the dynamics of social forces began to articulate their consciousness in a positive manner. Advance of science and technology in the Western world has broken the seclusion and isolation of the rural society of Asia. Both national and international efforts are directed to break the rural isolation and to lift the rural masses to the path of progress and advance. Numerous plans formulated and put into action with varying sincerity have had their impacts on the social relations of the rural people in different manners in states of varying political and ideological identities. The paper examines the process of rural development and its consequences from the angle of a participant observer in one part of the universe and a quasi-observer in the whole of the universe of study, it tries to identify the broad areas of similarity and variations in the pattern of social formation. Its emphasis remains upon the immediate universe of developmental activities of the agencies of change and their impacts on the social relations of the rural people. It examines if the concepts of revolutionary class formation has any relevance to both developmental initiatives and their effects on social dynamics of the time. It takes into consideration official data and relates them to observed conditions. In the final analysis it tries to indicate the direction of the social forces of the most ancient part of the rural civilization of our time. Answers to the basic question of their adaptibility to the changing conditions of life and their prospects are also sought. **SM 31**

XIII. 26 BAKVIS, Herman (Dalhousie University, Halifax, N.S., Canada) — **Changing relations between centre and periphery in Canada : regionalized executive, decentralized bureaucracy and unilateral federal policy.**

The paper analyses the significant changes which have taken place in the relations between centre and periphery in the Canadian federal state over the past two decades. These changes have included attempts on the part of the central government to regionalize its political executive, to decentralize its bureaucracy and to initiate unilateral federal programs for economic and regional development. These attempts have constituted a strategy on the part of the central government to reassert its primacy vis-à-vis provincial governments through the explicit representation of regional interests in the central decision-making process, by reorganizing its central bureaucracy in order to make it more responsive to the regional dimensions of national policy, and by developing economic and regional development programs which provide the central government direct relations with citizens and thereby enhance its visibility in the regions. These changes will be examined and accounted for in relation to the decline of national political parties in Canada, the development of executive-administrative federalism, the political economy of province-building and the reassertion of a centralist or nationalist concept of federalism on the part of the Trudeau regime. **II. 4.1**

XIII. 27 BARNES, Samuel H. (Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., USA) ; McDONOUGH, Peter (id.) ; LOPEZ PINA, Antonio (Univ. Complutense, Madrid, Spain) — **Electoral volatility and governmental stability in Spain.**

According to the conventional wisdom, electoral volatility leads to growing problems of governability in advanced industrial democracies. While the empirical evidence concerning this proposition is mixed, electoral volability has not resulted in instability in the new democracy in Spain. On the contrary, the weakness of party ties and the relative underdevelopment of associational life have enabled party elites to create and sustain broad coalitions favoring first the center-right government of Suarez and then the center-left socialist government of Gonzalez. The paper explores the mass basis of Spanish electoral politics using national surveys conducted in 1978, 1980 and 1984. It shows that while Spaniards possess stable general orientations, they lack strongly institutionalized political loyalties. Thus they can be appealed to by competing elites which operate within the range of moderate policy objectives compatible with the structure of mass preferences. **II. 6.1**

XIII. 28 BAYER, Jozsef (Acad. Sciences, Budapest, Hungary) — **György Lukacs's concept of democracy in the 1960's.**

During the 1960's Lukacs took the view that people's democracy realised the concept of a « new democracy » decisively different from bourgeois formal democratic rule due to the material transformation of society, the expropriation of private capital and the provision of guarantees for essential material and cultural interests of the working classes. In this long transitory period not only the social structure was to be transformed, based on the new mode of production, but a genuine socialist democracy had to be institutionalized Lukacs was greatly inspired by the twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, which opened a new perspective and a new period for handling the problem of democracy under socialism. In the mid 1960's Lukacs stated that socialist democracy had to be institutionalized not in a formal, agitatorial way, for the absence of original and well-functioning socialist democratic institutions objectively leads to social-economic stagnation. **SM 32**

XIII. 29 BEBLER, Anton A. (Univ. of Ljubljana, Yugoslavia) — **Conflict between socialist states.**

Definitions used. Substantive exclusions. Socialist state vs. Com-

munist state as analytical categories. Theoretical and empirical importance of the subject. Temporal exclusions. Pre-1945 cases falling into, or close, to the framework. Growing salience of the subject since 1945. The socialist/communist subsystem of world politics. Typology of cooperative vs. conflictual relations between socialist states. Various models of conflictual relations. Interactions between the socialist subsystem and other subsystems of worls politics. Empirical overview and a sample of conflicts since 1945. Observations on frequency, participants, known or suspected causes, geographic circumstances, use of military force, legal procedures and historic antecedents. Conflict resolution record compared with records of other world subsystems. Explanations of the record proposed. Peculiarities of the socialist subsystem suspected to bear upon conflict management and conflict resolution between socialist states. Conflict management in parapolitical matters. The role of ideologies, the impact of political systems. Elites' experience in interstate conflict management. Temporal changes. A speculation on the future patterns of conflict management between socialist states. **RC 1.1**

XIII. 30 BECKER, Bertha K. (Univ. fed. de Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) — **The contemporary partitioning of the Brazilian Amazonian frontier.**

While sharing with the rest of Brazil the results of a growth model characterized by intensive technological modernization and State mediation, the Amazonian frontier is a not fully structural space. Occupying more than half of the country, Amazonia is being partitioned on an entirely new scale and rate of transformation. New territorial boundaries are imposed by the State's project of national territorial integration ; they have different scales and different purposes according to the State's contradictions ; the definition of the region for policy purposes (« Legal Amazonia »), the delimitation of territories for large mineral exploitation projects (State associated to private enterprises), for large settlement projects aiming at land distribution, and for direct government-management for strategic reasons. On the other hand, unofficial boundaries are being built, not by the integration project, but by the materialized process of territorial appropriation made by different social groups creating a new local society. It is from the action of these two territorial grids - that projected by the State and that of the « living » space - and from the conflicts caused by them that the new boundaries are being created. **RC 15.2**

XIII. 31 BECQUART-LECLERCQ, Jeanne (Univ. de Lille II, Villeneuve d'Ascq, France) — **Elites et citoyens dans l'évolution des relations centre-périphéries.**

L'évolution des rapports entre le centre d'un système politique et sa périphérie pose le triple problème des élites, des citoyens et de leurs relations mutuelles. Si une politique de décentralisation ne prend en compte qu'un des pôles de ce système relationnel, des effets inattendus risquent de détourner la réforme de ses objectifs. Afin d'analyser les sources possibles de blocage, un paradigme est proposé dont les quatre dimensions concernent: (1) les rôles de hiérarchisation des pouvoirs ; (2) les réseaux relationnels ; (3) les rapports entre l'Etat et le citoyen, et (4) les capacités d'action collective. Les pôles extrêmes de ces dimensions sont combinés pour construire deux idéaltypes de la démocratie locale. Ce modèle d'analyse illustre la complexité du système des relations centre-périphérie : quel que soit l'angle d'origine par où s'amorcent les évolutions, les autres pôles du système doivent être pris en considération pour un réel changement. **II. 4.2**

XIII. 32 BEDESKI, Robert E. (Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada) — **Changes in the Chinese electoral system since 1978.**

With the passage of a new electoral law in July 1979, the Chinese political system embarked on significant changes in the structure and role of the political representation system. The law broke with the Soviet system of single candidates, and introduced a limited competitive electoral structure. There have been some slight modifications in the law, but it has been in practice since its passage. The paper examines : (1) the basic features of the law, and how it differs from previous election law in China ; (2) how elections take place in the various levels of People's Congresses in contemporary China ; and (3) roles and backgrounds of Congress members. The central questions to be examined are the degree to which genuine democratic reforms have taken place since the Cultural Revolution, and how election reform reinforces the present program of modernisation. **SM 44**

XIII. 33 BEHAR, Nansen (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, Bulgaria) — **Water crisis and international relations in the future world.**

Water crisis is rapidly increasing in all regions in the world and is influencing more and more actively international relations. The problem is extremely acute in Third World countries where water crisis not only influences health (1,700 million lack safe drinking water) but turns into an obstacle to development. The direct link between lack of water, nutrition, and development allows to turn the water problem into an instrument of political pressure. The author examines two possible ways for preventing the water crisis from turning into a negative factor influencing international relations in the future world : (1) developing a democratic international cooperation for distribution of water resources on regional and global level (water and NIEO) ; (2) actions directed towards overcoming water deficit at the national level. **SG 6.1**

XIII. 34 BELTRAN, Miguel (Univ. de Madrid, Espagne) — **La bureaucratie et la crise du Welfare State.**

La critique des néoconservateurs soutient que la crise économique est provoquée par l'expansion de l'Etat en Occident depuis 1945. Selon la « théorie économique de la bureaucratie », celle-ci serait un des facteurs de cette expansion, car les directeurs des organismes publics, agissant dans leur propre intérêt, maximisent leur budget et le volume de leurs services, ou bien utilisent des ressources supérieures au coût de ces derniers. Cette théorie attache peu d'importance aux hommes politiques, membres du Parlement et du Gouvernement, et au fait que le désir d'augmenter les dépenses est plutôt dû à l'insuffisante couverture des besoins publics. En tout cas, la bureaucratie publique n'a pas augmenté comme affirment les néoconservateurs, et sa gestion n'est pas nécessairement inefficace. **II. 1.2**

XIII. 35 BERBEN, Theo (Catholic Univ., Nijmegen, Netherlands); ROEBROEK, Joop (id.) ; THERBORN, Göran (id.) — **Comparative politics of welfare.**

The paper deviates from the dominant tendencies of comparative welfare state research in two ways. Politics is treated as a set of processes of conflicts and consensus over issues, and of the making of decisions and the passing of non-decisions. Welfare is viewed as multi-dimensional outcomes of politics and policies, involving not only social insurance and social services, but also social power relevant forms of organization of those policy areas, employment, and primary income development and distribution. These dimensions have a different political charge among different social forces and, given inter-national differences of power constellations, different countries. Provisional empirical findings on Western welfare state developments, in the postwar settlements, the rapid expansion period, and the current crisis are presented. **III. 5.1**

XIII. 36 BERG-SCHLOSSER, Dirk (Univ. Augsburg, FRG) — **On the conditions of democracy in Third World countries.**

Conditions conducive to democratic political systems have been discussed by a large variety of authors. In a Third World context there prevailed at first rather crude concepts concerning the « modernizing » and « democratizing » effects of socio-economic factors such as industrialization, urbanization, literacy, etc., based on cross-sectional comparisons with developed western countries. A later shift in emphasis turned to an analysis of the external factors of « dependency » which largely neglected, however, internal differentiations of political systems. The paper attempts to analyze the conditions of existing stable « semi-competitive » and « polyarchic » systems in the Third World on a macro-quantitative and longitudinal basis, taking into account both internal and external conditions and their specific forms of interaction. It turns out that the factors involved are more varied and less economically determined. The paper thus demonstrates some continuing restrictions but also opportunities open to political actors interested in the establishment of more democratic forms of government in Third World countries. **RC 13.2**

XIII. 37 BERNDTSON, Erkki R. (Univ. of Helsinki, Finland) — **Participatory democracy : a new mode of legitimizing the authority of the State ?.**

Legitimacy is a problematic concept which may refer to different aspects of state and society. It can be argued, however, that there is no legitimacy in general the concept being always linked with specific aspects of society. One of these aspects is a power structure of a given society with its legal bureaucratic norms. In this respect, democracy in its different forms has been an important mode of legitimizing the authority of the bourgeois state. One reason has been that representative democracy was born not

only from the needs of the bourgeois state, but also from the demands of people without a vote. The system of representative democracy seems to face grave problems. On the other hand, this does not necessarily mean a legitimation crisis for the whole bourgois state, but only for the party system. The bourgeois state can try to develop new forms of legitimation. One possibility is to get rid of political parties and to try create controlled structures of participatory democracy. Chances for this grow, as the bourgeois state needs participatory structures in order to maintain some of its functions and at the same time people are demanding more democracy. In this sense new forms of participatory democracy may become a new mode of legitimizing the authority of the state, if people struggling for the enlargement of democracy do not see the mystifying aspects of this development. **I. 2.2**

XIII. 38 BERRINGTON, Hugh B. (Univ. of Newcastle, UK) — **When does personality make a difference ? Lord Cherwell and the area bombing of Germany.**

The area bombing of Germany in 1942-43 brings into relief several important issues that arise in the study of political psychology. The area bombing issue illustrates the importance of personality : (1) when powerful institutional forces are in conflict ; (2) when the situation is highly ambiguous ; and (3) when the actor has special access to the ultimate decision-makers and can limit access by others. The policy advocated by W. Churchill's scientific advisor, Professor Lindemann (Lord Cherwell), was particulary congenial to his temperament. The consequences of the adoption of this policy are still not easy to assess, though post-war appraisals tend to question its military effectiveness. The lack of any agreed concusion about its worth underlines the inherent ambiguity of the situation confronting British policy-makers in 1942, and the opportunity this provided for the impact of personality. **SG 10.1**

XIII. 39 BHATNAGAR, P.S. (Tribhuvan Univ., Kathmandu, Nepal) — **Public democracy in a traditional society : a case study of Nepal.**

Bureaucracy in contemporary Nepal offers a rich ground for studying the impact of modernization on the traditional customs and practices of administration. A feudal society, fused in the Riggsian sense, has embarked upon a process of transformation of old feudal social order into a dynamic, progressive and modern state by giving overall responsibility to the bureaucracy to effect such changes. The paper seeks to examine the role of the bureaucracy, its structural and behavioural characteristics in relation to new tasks assigned to it. An attempt is made to study and analyse the bureaucratic culture that has emerged through the fusion of traditional ways of working with modern practices of running a government, and to examine how far this mixing has been successful in taking on Nepalese society to a path of progress and development. An attempt is also made to study the impact of social, religious, economic, political, and cultural characteristics of Nepalese society on bureaucratic behaviour and practices and to determine if this impact is healthy or is coming in the way of nation building tasks asigned to the bureaucracy. **II. 3.1**

XIII. 40 BHATI, P.S. (Univ. of Jodhpur, India) — **The expanding role of the state in a developing society : a case study of India.**

The Second World War and related factors brought about a significant change in the role of the State in the Third World. The imperialist powers were concerned merely with the maintenance of law and order, so that their industrial economy could be sustained with the marketing of their industrial goods in the colonies. India is the most prominent example of it. Until India's emergence as a sovereign State in 1947, the British government had taken over just one segment of India's economy, i.e., the railways in 1937 and rest was managed by private enterprise and by the British Companies operating in India. With the achievement of freedom, the problem of socio-economic reconstruction received tremendous fillip. It could not be left to a few individuals and non-governmental organizations. The fact whether socialism is accepted as a guide to social change or not was not relevant. The State had to play a more positive role to tarnish poverty, backwardness, unemployment, ignorance and injustice. The State in India and elsewhere has therefore undergone a great change both in respect of its organization and functions. It is politically stable and economically viable, and despite divisive forces so peculiar to nascent democracies, it is vital, strong and abiding. It has so far played a positive role in re-structuring the economy and in removing some of the more glaring causes of injustice. It is hoped that it will, given peace and goodwill, play a more positive role to establish a truly just democratic society. **I. 4.2**

XIII. 41 BIANCHI, Robert R. (Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, USA) — **Interest groups in the Third World.**

The paper summarizes and evaluates the study of interest group politics in Latin America, Asia and the Middle East. The discussion focuses on four major issues : (1) early efforts to combine the study of political development with pluralistic group theory ; (2) the more recent tendency for corporatist paradigms of group politics to supplant pluralist paradigms ; (3) the importance of developing the concept of « heterogeneous systems of interest representation » especially with regard to non-Western polities in which both pluralist and corporatist structures often coexist and compete in various patterns, and (4) an overview of research on interest group politics in the Middle East where the persistent coexistence and occasional synthesis of rival modes of interest representation strongly suggests the need to revise conventional dichotomous distinctions between pluralism and corporatism and between state corporatism and societal corporatism. **SM. 33**

XIII. 42 BIBIĆ, Adolf (Univ. of Ljubljana, Yugoslavia) — **Self-management and pluralism.**

There is a general tendency of development in a socialist society and politics of development from monism to pluralism. This is deeply rooted in socio-economic development, although it is usually not formally acknowledged in particular societies. The paper tries to outline the specific connections between self-management and the reception of a specific pluralism, the « pluralism of self-management interests » in Yugoslavia. It stresses the differences between this type of pluralism and others. Major dimensions, some results and problems of self-management pluralisms are outlined. **RC 16.2**

XIII. 43 BISLEV, Sven (Univ. of Aalborg, Denmark) — **Societal planning in Western Europe - forms and functions.**

Public planning was originally seen as a problem of economic rationality, a way of using the state to reach aims unattainable for a « pure » market economy. Traditional planning theory treats that problem, from an administrative or an economic angle. The empirical effect of planning attempts in Western Europe is most fruitfully seen as a process of creating institutional innovations in the interface between the public and the private sectors, between, also political and economic processes. The paper summarizes some of the major developments in Western European planning, discussing primarily the effects of such institutional innovations in terms of the influence they have on policy making and interest representation. **III. 2.1**

XIII. 44 BLAHOZ, Josef (Institute of Law, Acad. of Sciences, Prague, Czechoslovakia) — **Human rights and global problems of contemporary world.**

The solution of all global problems of the contemporary world - (1) preserving peace and adverting the possibility of the Third World War, particulary a nuclear war ; (2) solving the social problems of a considerable part of the population in the developing world, particulary the problems of food, health service, education, culture, etc. ; (3) solving ecological problems, particulary preserving a sound environment for future generations ; (4) solving the problem of exhaustion of raw material resources, and (5) establishing a new, more just organization of international economic relations in contemporary world - is closely connected with the problem of effective application and further development of human rights, on both the national and the international scale. The solution of global problems of the contemporary world and the further development of human rights can be considered as communicating vessels, as both groups of problems are mutually connected by the means and the aim of their solutions. The paper analyzes the contemporary codification and application of human rights on the international as well as national levels with regard to their contribution to the solving of contemporary global problems. In conclusion, it makes concrete recommendations for the application and development of human rights on both levels. **SG 4.1**

XIII. 45 BOBROW, Davis B. (Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md, USA) — **Western theory and Japanese practice.**

Western writers have addressed the nature of and relationships between resource diplomacy and spheres of influence in waves - the analyses of German and Japanese policy in the 1930's, the exploration of environmental possibilism by the Sprouts in the 1960's, and the emphasis on vulnerabilities and « weapons » triggered by the oil events of the 1970's. There has also been recurrent attention to resource reach through power projection as motive and danger for spheres of influence (from Lenin to Choucri

and North). We believe it important to explore how well such Western analyses fit with Japanese practice and results in recent decades. That exploration will clarify the conditions under which and extent to which : (1) the differing objectives of military power and economic performance call for different strategies ; (2) a nation can advance resource diplomacy by taking advantage of the spheres of influence of third parties ; (3) domestic economic and science policy car contribute to resource diplomacy, and (4) resource diplomacy treated in a global economic context yields different prescriptions than those from a regional or bilateral framework. **IV. 5.1**

XIII. 46 BONANATE, Luigi (Univ. di Torino, Italy) — **The bipolar system as a war system : the logic of international regimes.**

The paper is divided into two parts. (1) The first part moves from the assumption that the international system, in its actual bipolar form, is by definition a « War system ». It then defines the concept of « War system », its basic patterns of behavior (duel/game/rite), its functional interaction with the two major actors (US, USSR). It then examines one of the most relevant « regimes » existing within the bipolar system : the « nuclear deterrence regime ». (2) The second part describes the structure of the « nuclear deterrence regime » as a specific case of « International regime », finding out principles and norms governing the process, together with rules and procedures which made operational the whole frame. The paper finally tries to demonstrate that the « nuclear deterrence regime » can be seen as an autonomous variable, affecting independently not only related behavior and outcomes of the two super-powers, but also the basic causal variables that led to its formation in the postwar period. **IV. 5.2**

XIII. 47 BOSCHKEN, Herman L. (San Jose State Univ., San Jose, Cal., USA) — **Public enterprise, economic development, and the impact of environmental regulation : the experience of American seaports on the Pacific rim.**

Port authorities perceive goals as broadly supportive of regional economic development and are strongly associated with development agencies and growth oriented citizens' groups. However, shifts in American foreign trade, the use of new technologies and environmental regulation have dramatically changed the seaport industry over the last two decades. As public enterprises, many ports responded to the new competitive markets by developing efficient but capital intensive container technologies. While conventional wisdom on cause might stop here, an additional possibility is that environmental regulation also had a role in stimulating more efficient use of port lands. This paper examines this contention with both economic logic and inferential data. **III. 2.2**

XIII. 48 BOSE, Nirmal (Univ. of Calcutta, India) — **The political system in India.**

The political system that exists in India is the result of the struggle for freedom of the country from colonial rule for 200 years. On 26 January, 1950, the country adopted its Constitution through an elected Constituent Assembly, and its basic features are : Democracy, Republicanism, Secularism and Federalism. India presents a plural society with wide diversities in religion, language, culture and ethnicity, and as such, a secular and federal system has been considered appropriate. In spite of a multiplicity of political parties, the one-party dominant system with the Congress (I) party's preponderance is distinct. Though as in some other developing countries the growth rate of economic prosperity is significant, the benefits of growth have gone to a very few at the top in the present socio-economic conditions and the masses have remained poor. In foreign policy, non alignment is the hallmark with emphasis on nuclear disarment and world peace. In the parliamentary system of Westminster model which has been adopted, the Opposition is still very weak ; though there are Left Front Governments in two States, West Bengal and Tripura, leftists are not strong throughout the country. Despite occasional strains and stresses, democracy has survived. After a continued rule of the Congress Party from 1947 to 1977, the Party was routed in the 1977 parliamentary elections and the Janata Party came to power. But, in 1980, the Congress Party came back again to power with massive support, and its performance in the recent parliamentary elections (December, 1984) is impressive. The smooth succession of Rajiv Gandhi after the assassination of Indira Gandhi on 31 October, 1984 has strengthened confidence in the system. Within the democratic system itself there are unhealthy trends of authoritarianism, dynastic rule, secessionism and communal outbursts and concentration of power at the Centre. People are also restive because of increasing unemployment and inflation. But as a whole, the roots of democracy are strong and the masses, fifty per cent of whom still live below the poverty line and are illiterate, have proved again and again that they are quite competent to defend federalism with a secular democratic value system. **SG 8.1**

XIII. 49 BOSE, Tarun C. (Univ. of Kalyani, India) — **Arms control and global security : a Third World view.**

An attempt to highlight the danger facing humanity today as a result of the nuclear arms race between the superpowers and the consequent threat to global peace and security. The nuclear threat not only exists but also continues to grow largely because of vertical proliferation by the superpowers and their failure to arrive at a mutually acceptable arms control agreement to limit and to reduce their nuclear arsenals. For arms control negotiations to be meaningful, it is necessary that both sides should take into consideration each other's legitimate interests and the principle of equality and security. Qualitative improvements in military technology which have generated a process of weapons and counter-weapons development underlie the importance of an understanding between the superpowers. The Third World countries, however, feel that the superpowers are seeking to perpetuate a nuclear condominium. Thus, despite a decade and a half of negotiations, the superpowers have not been able to make good on their pledges in the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) of 1968 to reduce their own arsenals of nuclear weapons. They have been asking the non-nuclear weapon countries to renounce any intention to have nuclear weapons to forestall horizontal proliferation, but there is nothing in the NPT to prevent vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons. The Third World countries hold that before the superpowers can call upon the non-nuclear states to give up their nuclear option, they should themselves destroy their nuclear weapons. The superpowers appear to emphasize only the need to curb horizontal proliferation, but the Third World countries believe that the more serious proliferation threat lies not in additional countries acquiring nuclear capability, but in the superpowers continuing to add to their nuclear arsenals which, in their opinion, constitutes the largest single threat to global peace and security. **IV. 1.1**

XIII. 50 BOWERS, C.A. (Univ. of Oregon, Eugene, Or., USA) — **The dialectic of nihilism and alienation : implications for an educational theory of empowerment.**

The paper examines the modernizing ideology that provides a basis of legitimation and authority for the state, and how public schools (in North America) serve as carriers of this modernizing ideology. Key aspects of this ideology - a purposive rational mode of thought that emphasizes explicit forms of knowledge, theory and measurability, atomistic individualism, and the progressive nature of change - serve to de-authorize the traditional forms of cultural authority that represent an alternative source of moral authority and legitimation. As a carrier of the modernizing ideology schools strengthen the centralization of power in the state, while at the same time appearing to foster individualism and the power of critical reflection. How this modernizing ideology contributes to a form of nihilism and alienation, as well as the potential of schools for providing an emancipatory from the education that contributes to communicative competence (and thus reducing the nihilism that supports growth of the state) will represent the other major foci of the paper. **SM 18**

XIII. 51 BOYNTON, G.R. (Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, USA) — **A science of politics without numbers.**

Many important political phenomena cannot easily be captured for analysis with our current research technology. It is argued that numbers are « information poor » when used as the mechanism for handling certain types of political phenomena. The propositional calculus, as a more general form of symbol processing, is suggested as an appropriate augmentation of our technology of analysis. The first section presents a use of formal languages in general. The second section responds to one criticism of using formal languages. The third section suggests types of political phenomena in which reduction to numeric analysis loses much of the information needed for understanding. The final section draws these strands together with an illustration. **RC 1.1**

XIII. 52 BRADY, David W. (Rice Univ. Houston, Texas, USA) ; BULLOCK, Charles S. (Univ. of Georgia, Athens, Ga., USA) ; MAISEL, Louis (Colby College, Waterville, Mc., USA) — **Elections as sources of major policy changes : structural comparisons.**

This paper analyzes major public policy shifts in three countries : Ireland, UK and the US in the twentieth century. The analysis is a comparison of the electoral conditions associated with policy

shifts to welfare statism in the three countries. Among the explatory variables are : party platforms or manifestoes as indicators of ideological distance, electoral rules as contributors to the size and cohesion of parliamentary parties, and systematic characteristics such as separation of powers. The results indicate that : (1) prior to major policy shifts the old minority parties clearly distinguish themselves ideologically from the ruling party, (2) electoral rules benefits the new majority party in the critical election(s) and, (3) systemic differences affect the ability of the « new » majority party to legislate major policy shifts. **SM 2**

XIII. 53 BRAMS, Steven J. (New York Univ., USA) ; KILGOUR, D. Marc (Wilfrid Laurier Univ., Waterloo, Ont. Canada) — **Optimal deterrence.**

Deterrence means threatening to retaliate against an attack in order to deter it in the first place. It is widely held that only through continuing mutual deterrence has a nuclear confrontation of the superpowers been avoided. Yet the central problem with a policy of deterrence is that the threat of retaliation may not be credible if retaliation leads to a worse outcome - perhaps a nuclear holocaust - than a side would suffer from absorbing a limited first strike and not retaliating. The optimality of mutual deterrence is analyzed by means of a « deterrence game » in which each player chooses a probability (or level) of preemption and of retaliation if preempted. The Nash equilibria, or stable outcomes, in this game duplicate those in the game of Chicken, on which it is based, except for a « deterrence » at which the players never preempt but are always prepared to retaliate with a probability above a calculate threshold. This equilibrium is Pareto-superior, dynamically stable, and - when supported by « robust threats - as invulnerable as possible to misperceptions or miscalculations by the players. How robust the deterrence policies of the superpowers are today is unclear, though their precommitments to retaliate if attacked are consistent with probabilistic threats in the deterrence game. **RC 7.1**

XIII. 54 BRECKE, Peter K. (IIVG, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, FRG) ; POLLINS, Brian (Ohio State Univ., Columbus, Ohio, USA) — **Protectionism and the future of global trade : evidence from GLOBUS.**

The question of relative gains from trade in a continuum from essentially free to highly protectionist trade regimes is addressed using the political-economic global model GLOBUS. The model features 25 nations and a « rest-of-the-world » grouping trading dyadically in 6 commodities while operating within a context of international political as well as domestic political and economic activity. First is an exploration of protectionism with respect to commodities, second an analysis of favoritism with respect to trade partners, and third a combination of the two. Analysis is done through the use of scenarios with the options ranging from no change to the 1970 levels of protectionism and bias towards trade partners to endogenous changes of those variables to user-determined changes. **IV 8.2**

XIII. 55 BREMER, Stuart A. (IIVG, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, FRG) — **The GLOBUS model : history, structure, and illustrative results.**

GLOBUS is a computer simulation model of some important political and economic relationships within and among 25 prominent contemporary nations. The model is to be used to explore alternative paths of global development to the end of the century. A review of the history of the project reveals a steady evolution of the model towards a higher level of complexity and comprehensiveness. Illustrative results produced by the newly developed NATional MODule (or NATMOD 6, for short) reveal some of the range of national economic and political behavior the model is capable of simulating. **RC 7.2**

XIII. 56 BRESSERS, Hans (Technische Hogeschool Twente, Enschede, Netherlands) ; HONIGH, Mac (id.) — **Comparative policy evaluation, theory and practice.**

A very different factor in comparative policy evaluation is the bias resulting from different circumstances when comparing various countries, policy areas or policy instruments. Coping with this problem requires a very careful analysis of the elements compared. The theoretical framework of analysis must be the same for all elements. The practical usefulness of this approach can be shown by the results of some actual comparative evaluations. First the degree of effectiveness and explanations for that of a number of policy areas is discussed. Secondly, a comparison of policy instruments in one policy area (i.e. environment) is made, also placing it in an international context. **III. 3.2**

XIII. 57 BRITO, Dagobert L. (Univ. of California, Los Angeles, Cal., USA) ; INTRILIGATOR, Michael D. (id.) — **Deterrence, redistribution and war.**

The nature of deterrence, the possibility of using a redistribution of wealth via transfers as an alternative to war, and the circumstances under which the outbreak of war is most likely are all analyzed using a formal model of conflict between nations. In the formal model countries act as rational agents concerned with both consumption and the public bad of a war. The model is one of two periods. In the first period both countries can either consume or build arms out of available resources. In the second period there can be threats of force or use of force in order to reallocate resources. Thus, the first period is one of a potential or actual arms race while the second period is one of a potential or actual war. Agents can adopt one of two possible strategies in the first period : (1) a war arms investment strategy in which they arm to fight a war in the second period and, (2) a deterrence arms investment strategy in which they arm to deter a war in the second period. An implication of the model is that if there is a positive transfer between countries in the second period, an equilibrium level of weapons exists and the allocation that results from one country adopting a deterrence arms investment strategy and the other adopting a war arms investment strategy is a Nash equilibrium. By contrast, if there are no transfers and both countries adopt a deterrence arms investment strategy, then the resulting arms investment strategy is not a pure Nash equilibrium. In the former case the country adopting a deterrence arms investment strategy may invest in a greater level of weapons than if it had adopted a war arms investment strategy. **RC 7.1**

XIII. 58 BROOKS, Stephen (Univ. of Brock, St. Catharines, Ont., Canada) — **The state as entrepreneur : mixed enterprise in the Western economies.**

In this paper the partnership of public and private capital in the mixed ownership corporation is examined for what it reveals about the relationship between the state and business in a modern capitalist society. Two propositions are tested : (1) that the state's ability to influence decisions of the mixed enterprise is contingent upon private sector satisfaction that the commercial objectives of the corporation are not compromised by public policy expectations for the organization ; (2) that the resolution of conflict between state preferences and those held by corporate management and/or private shareholders may mobilize a wider set of interested parties around an issue with higher stakes than those attendant upon the proximal cause of dispute. Cases are drawn from Canada, France and the UK. **II 5.2**

XIII. 59 BROWN, Archie H. (St. Antony's College, Oxford Univ., UK) — **The concept of political system and Soviet theory of the state.**

The paper traces the development and increasing use of the concept of political system in Soviet writing and discusses its relationship with traditional and contemporary Soviet theory of the state. It notes some of the differing interpretations of « political system » offered by contemporary Soviet scholars and the relationship of the concept to « political regime » and « political organization of society ». Attention is paid to developmental perspectives on the political system and, in particular, to Soviet views of the stages and factors of development of a « political system of the socialist type ». **I. 3.2**

XIII. 60 BRYNER, Gary C. (Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, USA) — **Law, discretion and policy : administrative law and the administrative process.**

The administrative process is the core of modern democracies, yet it fails to satisfy some of the most important expectations held for democratic government. Procedural devices such as administrative hearings, legislative review and oversight, judicial review, generic economic and scientific criteria have been imposed on administrative agencies in order to limit administrative discretion and structure decisionmaking. This paper examines the way in which administrative law and other procedural approaches are used in governmental systems of separation of powers to structure the exercise of administrative power and limit administrative discretion. The paper compares these alternative approaches and examines the possibilities for experimenting with them accross national boundaries. **SM 13**

XIII. 61 BULMER, Martin (London School of Economics and Political Science, UK) — **Governmental commissions as an institutional means of utilising social science expertise : the case of Britain.**

The governmental commission, whether a Royal Commission or

departmental committee of inquiry, has a long and distinguished history in Britain stretching back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The paper will examine the use made of social science, and the impact of social science, upon the workings of British commissions during the last twenty years. During this period, social science has made an increasing contribution to the deliberations of these expert bodies, through members who were social scientists, staff with social science backgrounds or academic social scientists brought in as consultants. Several detailed case studies of particular commissions will be discussed, drawing on a number of sources including interviews with participants. In each case the particular contributions of social scientists will be identified and evaluated, and this contribution weighed against the contributions of other expert advisers and other sources of evidence. **II. 2.1**

XIII. 62 BURT, Gordon J. (Open University, Milton Keynes, UK) — **Strategies for global morality : foundations for a unified theory.**

Terrible problems confront world society today. What strategies do we have for constructing a better world ? To answer this question we turn to the knowledge in the academic disciplines. Doing this, we find ourselves facing a conceptual problem and a moral problem. This paper attempts to solve these problems in the following manner : addressing the moral problem, it provides a critique of world society today, it postulates an alternative better society, and it discusses the transition from the present to the alternative society. In order to address the conceptual problem, the preceding analysis is grounded in a general theory of society and social change. In turn this is grounded in a general theory of reality. Finally, these theories are grounded in relevant mathematical abstractions. **IV 2.2**

XIII. 63 CALISE Mauro (Univ. di Salerno, Italy) — **Recent perspectives on a theory of state in American politics.**

A developmental approach to the role of the state in American politics has never been dominant, the more so when compared to the importance of a statebuilding perspective in the European tradition of political thought. Yet, recurrent charges of American statelessness notwith standing, one can find many studies pointing out to the making of a state machinery in the US as the result of an American pattern within the more general state paradigm of western civilization. This article analyses some recent works focusing on the role of party machines and corporate institutions in American statebuilding. A more comprehensive and systematic approach is found in Theodore Lowi's attempt to use his « arenas of power » scheme to construct a theory of state in American politics as outlined in three unpublished chapters of a forthcoming book, which are reviewed. **SM 13**

XIII. 64 CAMP, Glen D. (Bryant College, Smithfield, R.I., USA) — **United Nations efforts to resolve the Cyprus problem from 1960 to 1985.**

After a historical review of the major events on Cyprus from 1960 to 1985 and consideration of the political, constitutional, and legal issues, we examine in detail the efforts of the UN to resolve the Cyprus problem from 1960 to 1985 including the various initiatives of the UN Secretary-General and the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative (the UNSGR) on the island. We conclude that the Republic of Cyprus (ROC) should not have rejected these initiatives so quickly since the Greek Cypriots are unlikely to obtain a better settlement from their rivals, the Turkish Cypriots. Moreover, current ROC policy will simply drive the Turkish Cypriot authorities more closely into the arms of Ankara until the North of Cyprus becomes merely the 68th *vilayet* (province) of Turkey. Suggestions for an optimum settlement are offered, provided the ABC and EC countries are prepared to exercise real but discreet pressure on both metropole-protectors : mainland Greece and mainland Turkey. We argue that an overall settlement, a grand *rapprochement* between Greece and Turkey is required, of which a Cyprus settlement would be but a part. Finally, we suggest that the best mecanism for achievement of an overall Cyprus settlement is for the UN Secretary-General through his UNSGR to lead the negotiations between the two warring ethnic communities, while the outside powers apply pressure to the metropole-protectors, Athens and Ankara, discreetly behind the scenes. **SM 34**

XIII. 65 CAOILI, Manuel A. (Univ. of the Philippines, Quezon City, Philippines) — **Legislatures and the political order : the case of the Philippine Congress.**

This paper analyzes the role of the Philippine Congress in maintaining the political order from 1946 to 1972 in the context of : (1) the influence of the environment on the political process in general and on the power structure in Congress in particular, and its functioning as the national legislature which must respond to socioeconomic and political demands ; (2) the powers of Congress and its relations with the President ; (3) the policy outputs of Congress regarding the Philippine economy and society; and (4) the impact of Congress on the functioning of the political process, i.e. its effectiveness in maintaining the political order and mediating political/social/economic change and development. Focusing on the politics of Metropolitan Manila reorganization, the study shows that legislators' preoccupation with traditional clientelist politics led to the declining performance and prestige of Congress and thus contributed to the political discontent in the late 1960s and Martial Law in 1972. The latter spelled the dissolution of Congress. **RC 8.2**

XIII. 66 CAPORASO, James (Univ. of Denver, Col., USA) — **The rise and decline of European integration theory.**

In this paper I explore the narrative history of a body of thought, that of Western European integration theory, in particular, the reasons for the relative decline in a body of thought that predicted a much stronger outcome for European integration, particulary in terms of the institutional development of European Community institutions. Three lines of approach are taken. (1) I examine the phenomenon and try to assess whether it was adequately understood in integration theory. In particular, I explore the extent to which the enthusiasm for a united Europe was spread across diverse social-economic groups. (2) I re-examine the bargaining environment in which member states of the European Community interacted. My argument is that the kind of institutional environment in which groups bargained with one another was not conducive to the long-range institutional development of Community institutions. (3) I explore a variety of conjunctural phenomena that characterized the domestic and international environments of advanced capitalist states in the 1950s and the 1960s and argue that, although they prompted a short-run, limited integration, they did not bode well for the long-run integration (as opposed to interdependence and coordination) of the European Community. **IV. 3.2**

XIII. 67 CAPUTO, David A. (Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind., USA) —**American federalism in the 1980s : Centralization versus decentralization.**

In recent years there has been considerable interest in the nature of American federalism and on whether the policies of the Reagan Administration have had a centralizing or decentralizing impact on domestic policy. This paper explores the major policy initiatives of the Reagan years and the impact they have had and are likely to have in the future. In addition, the paper explores the questions of the impact of the policies on American federalism and the political and jurisdictional implications of the policy proposals and newly implemented policies. **SG 21.1**

XIII. 68 CARBONELL-CATILO Ma. Aurora (Univ. of the Philippines, Manila, Philippines) — **The dynamics of manipulation and violence in Philippine elections : a case of political corruption.**

Elections touch on the most critical element in a political society, namely, power and its use. Their significance lies in their ability to promote the use of power for socially desirable ends. Electoral manipulation and violence, resorted to and perpetrated by the political elites to keep themselves in power and to maximize its rewards, constitute the unsanctioned use of public resources for private ends. As such, they are a form of political corruption. Using this as context, this paper analyzes the dynamics of manipulation and violence in Philippine elections over time - their manifestations, the explanatory and mediating factors in their occurrence, and their consequences on society. On the basis of the Philippine case, it attemps to generate hypotheses as building blocks of a theory of electoral manipulation and violence in developing countries, particulary in those where the authoritarian option has been applied. **RC 20.2**

XIII. 69 CASTLES, Francis G. (Open University, Milton Keynes, UK) — **The working class and welfare : reflections on the political development of the Welfare State in Australia and New Zealand.**

Recent research in comparative public policy analysis has pointed to the influence of working class activism in the expansion of the welfare state, but has not resolved the issue of whether the causal influence is partisan incumbency or class politics. This question is examined in two countries which constitute critical cases insofar as they have been characterised by strong working class mobi-

lisation, but very little Left incumbency. A number of theories are examined to seek the sources of Australasian exceptionalism in social policy development, with special attention being paid to the early development of working class strategy and to the conditions facilitating the unity of the political Right. **III. 5.2**

XIII. 70 CAVAROZZI, Marcelo J. (CEDES, Buenos Aires, Argentina) — **Relations between parties and changes in alliance systems : the case of Argentina.**

Between 1955 and 1976, the party system in Argentina suffered from constant instability, making the reconstruction of a democratic system almost impossible. In the first decade (1955-1966), Peronism was outlawed, and all attempts at establishing an institutional democracy were doomed before starting. In the second decade, increased authoritarianism and militarism culminated in 1973 in a virtual electoral monopoly for the Peronists. The wide margin of victory brought negative consequences in that it left the rest of the parties without real possibilities for disputing power. Even more critical was the fact that Peronism proved incapable of transforming itself into an arena for institutional competition among different sectors and forces. Against the background of the collapse of the military regime in 1983, there was a major political change. The Radical party became serious electoral competition for Peronism. This paper analyzes some of the reasons for, and consequences of, this change. **SM 7**

XIII. 71 CERNY, Philip G. (University of York, UK) — **Structural power and state theory.**

Contemporary theories of the state cluster around four poles : (1) the state as a field for the interplay of social forces ; (2) the state as having a « relative autonomy » developed in the context of capitalist society ; (3) the state as centralized power (sovereignty, *potestas*, the « true state ») ; and (4) the state as a collection of individual actors. Each of these approaches, whether identified as « state-centered » or « society-centered », has serious drawbacks for an understanding of (a) the historical development of the state, (b) the endogenous operation of state apparatuses and political institutions, (c) the dialectic of state and society, and (d) the state in a truly international and comparative perspective. By developing the concept of structural power, and by elaborating several of the elements which would be necessary for a full structural theory of the state, this paper aims to establish an operational framework for analyzing and comparing states in a way which is both theoretically coherent and intuitively recognizable. **SG 17.1**

XIII. 72 CHAPMAN, Ralph J.K. (Univ. of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia) — **Federalism as interdependence : the role of moderating institutions.**

In federal systems today national and sub-national sovereign units must interact with one another to provide government for their respective citizens. Their interactions are continuous, increasingly complex and may properly be characterised as interdependent. Past descriptions of these relations have been based on the location of authority and power in the system. The test of a federal system has been diffusion of both authority and power. This is too limited as it ignores the commitment of all to the maintenance of the whole. A more fruitful approach to understanding modern federations is to extend the analysis beyond questions of centralisation to those of interdependence. The units operate in a set of interorganisational arrangements based on mutuality, reciprocity and exchange. Sometimes these arrangements are through personal contacts (characterised by the diplomatic analogy or regarded as executive or pragmatic federalism) but mainly through institutionalised means. Organisations for sustaining these interactions may be premiers conferences, ministerial councils or similar official bodies or they may be territorial such as regional agencies for solving particular problems. The paper argues that these moderating institutions, situated as they are outside the framework of governments, national and sub-national, are essential to federal systems. It is through such moderating institutions that the component units are influenced and their interdependence is recognised. In the complexity of federal relationships today moderating institutions play a crucial role as forms for the mutuality, exchange and reciprocity which are otherwise unavailable. **SG 21.1**

XIII. 73 CHARMANT Hans (Erasmus Universiteit, Rotterdam, Netherlands) — **Television news and youth : some Dutch findings.**

As in most western countries a substantial percentage of Dutch elementary school children watch television news in a number of different formats. Of special interest in this paper will be two different news programs : the 8 minute news program for children at 6.45 p.m. (« Jeugdjournaal ») and a shorter news program for adults at 7 p.m. (« NOS-journaal »), broadcast daily by Dutch national television networks (NOS). Research findings both from the Netherlands and from abroad clearly indicate the importance of television news as a source of political learning for the young. In fact, the news program for children in the Netherlands was deliberately created to further children's political knowledge, interest and involvement. Results of Dutch research into the effects of the special news program for children are compared with results of foreign research on the subject. A sample of both « Jeugdjournaal »-issues and « NOS-journaal »-issues are compared with respect to item selection, rank order of items prominence of political items and provision of political background information. Political items of the children's news program are further analyzed regarding political values expressed and political concepts employed. Findings are discussed with regard to data on effects and to professed aims of the program. **RC 21.2**

XIII. 74 CHEHABI, Houchang (Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn., USA) — **Iran : was a transition to democracy possible ?.**

This paper addresses the question whether the revolution of 1978-79 could have led to a democratic form of government. Twice the Shah attempted to liberalize his regime. The first attempt, 1960-63, ended in a reconsolidation of the authoritarian regime that had resulted from the 1953 coup. By 1978 democratic ideas had lost their hegemony in the opposition, and the non-democratic opposition had found a charismatic leader in the person of Ayatollah Khomeini. The increasing sultanistic tendencies of the Shah's regime impeded a reequilibration of his authoritarian regime, and these factors combined with the mass-mobilization of the revolutionary movement to render impossible an orderly transfer of power to a democratic regime, despite some goodwill by some members of both sides in the last moments. **RC 6.2**

XIII. 75 CHOI, Kyungsook Lee (Sookmyung Univ., Rep. of Korea) ; KEGLEY, Charles W., Jr. (Univ. of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C., USA) ; RAYMOND, Gregory A. (Boise State Univ., Boise, Idaho, USA) — **Capability distribution, norm formation, and international conflict, 1816-1965.**

Scholars who have studied the relationship between system change and international conflict have generally focused their attention on changes in the structural attributes of the international system. Our paper is based on the contention that we can increase our knowledge about this relationship by also examining changes in the system's cultural attributes. The specific purpose of our paper is to determine whether changes in the distribution of capabilities within the system (a structural attribute) have been associated with changes in the content of those norms that pertain to the use of force (a cultural attribute) and, in turn, the incidence of international conflict. Based on a time-series regression analysis of data from the Correlates of War and Transnational Rules Indicators Projects, we conclude that high levels of capability concentration lead to the formation of norms that regulate the use of force and decrease the incidence of international conflict. **RC 10.1**

XIII. 76 CHOPRA, Surendra (Guru Nanak Dev Univ., Amritsar, India) — **The nonaligned movement.**

The nonaligned movement has a definite political and economic philosophy. The idea of traditional nonalignment underwent a dramatic change with Lusaka Summit in 1970 and some new trends emerged with were primarily economic. While the main plank of classical nonalignment was anticolonialism, anti-neocolonialism became the hallmark of new nonalignment. The seventh summit of the NAM gave a fillip to the basic ideology of new nonalignment. It has suggested a three-pronged strategy - North-South cooperation, self-reliance and South-South cooperation - to bring about structural changes in the international economic order and build the countervailing power to break the North-South deadlock for global negotiations. The real threat to the independence of the developing countries comes not only from the military but from the economic power of the superstates as well. The strategy of the new nonalignment is to establish a new international economic order with a view to reforming the unjust and undemocratic Bretton Woods institutions and eliminating patron-client relationship. **IV. 4.2**

XIII. 77 CIAVARINI-AZZI, G. (E.E.C., Brussels, Belgium) ; LASTENOUSE, J. (id.) — **New research on European unification.**

Political science stands in the league table of European integration studies much were it has stood for some time, at about 16 %,

compared with 40-42 % for law, 32 % for economics and 6 % for history : the figures have shown little change for five years. On the other hand appreciable shifts in emphasis have lately been emerging. (1) There is less interest in studies on theoretical models of integration, except to stress the limitations of the functionalist approach. (2) Specialized studies on particular topics, as opposed to overall studies, are, in contrast, on the increase. Subjects still much to the fore are the Institutions (e.g. the play of political forces in the European Parliament, the national civil services in face of integration, and so on) and external relations (e.g. the role of the Community in the North-South dialogue), but a political science approach is also being taken on such matters as the European Monetary System or European regional affairs ; growing attention is being focused, too, on European security. (3) There is more and more study of political sociology and national mass psychology : this new field, opened up by the introduction of data processing into social science, is being thoroughly explored by the political scientists following the development of analyses and surveys of political values and political behaviour in European society. **RC 3.2**

XIII. 78 CLARKE, Harold D. (V.P.I. & State Univ., Blacksburg, Va., USA) ; KORNBERG, Allan (Duke Univ., Durham, N.C., USA) ; STEWART, Marianne C. (V.P.I. & State Univ., Blacksburg, Va., USA) — **Economic performance and political support in Canada.**

Over the past decade, Western democracies have struggled to overcome serious and persistent economic difficulties. To date, little is known about how to adverse economic conditions and the political issues thereby engendered influence public support for liberal democracies. This paper investigates how public economic concerns have affected national regime and community support in contemporary Canada. The paper utilizes data from national surveys conducted between 1974 and 1984. These panel data permit measurement of individual-level change in political support, assessments of governmental economic performance, and other key variables. This, in turn, facilitates analysis of multivariate models of the political economy of political support. Such analyses should enhance understanding of the extent to which public evaluations of governmental economic performance influence support for liberal democratic polities. **SG 3**

XIII. 79 CLARKE, T. Michael (Univ. Geneva, Switzerland) ; LUTERBACHER, Urs (Grad. Inst. Int'l Studies, Geneva) ; ALLAN, Pierre (Univ. Geneva) — **International public policy analysis : energy crises and the small state.**

We develop an empirically estimated dynamic simulation model of Switzerland, SIMSWISS, which captures interactions among sectors representing government support and expenditure, military expenditure, weapons stocks, the economy including an agricultural sector, population structure and dynamics, and an energy sector. The model has been constructed so as to emphasize the multiple dimensions of Swiss security with respect both to national policies and international influences. The case study of the impact of an energy crisis is analyzed with the help to the model using a scenario approach. A supply shortage of oil from the Persian Gulf linked with escalating superpower tensions is investigated in its effects upon both the Swiss government's policies are the response of the Swiss politico-economic system. Our results suggest a good adaptive capacity of Switzerland in the short and medium run. **RC 7.2**

XIII. 80 CLARKE, Susan E. (Univ. of Colorado, Boulder, Col., USA) — **Pluralist and corporatist linkages between public institutions and private groups in American cities.**

This analysis explores the issue of interest representation in city-wide economic development policy-making in American cities ; the research addresses whether the modes of interest group representation in this policy area are becoming more comparable to corporatist than pluralist modes and examines whether different representation modes are associated with the different local policy orientations. Two unique data are used : statistical information on the public/private partnership characteristics and distributional benefits of Urban Development Action Grants in 100 cities with population greater than 100,000 during 1978-81 and interview data from officials in a sample of those cities with distinctive policy formation and implementation arrangements. **II. 5.1**

XIII. 81 CLOUTIER, Edouard (Univ. Montréal, Canada) — **Entre l'Etat moderne et les masses : le sondage et le marketing.**

Le sondage et le marketing constituent les deux moments du système de guidage indispensable aux appareils contemporains de direction sociale, dont en premier lieu l'Etat : d'une part la mesure pour saisir où logent les masses, d'autre part l'intervention par le message pour activer l'esprit et, par conséquent, le comportement dans le sens désiré. L'usage croissant de ce système du guidage par les Etats modernes explique le déclin contemporain des appareils traditionnels de représentation politique que sont les parlements, les partis politiques et les groupes de pression au profit des appareils exécutifs, des consultants et des experts dont la fonction expresse consiste en l'utilisation scientifique et artistique des sondages et des média. Elle explique aussi les fortes tendances centralisatrices qu'accusent tous les appareils politiques contemporains. **II. 8.1**

XIII. 82 COAKLEY, John (Nat. Inst. for Higher Education, Limerick, Ireland) — **The selection of government ministers in Ireland, 1922-1982.**

The paper examines the characteristics of ministers appointed to Irish governments over the 1922-1982 period from two perspectives. The first is the overall composition of this formally dominant political group, which shows some of the features of a post-revolutionary elite. The second is a topic that has been rather neglected in the comparative literature : the criteria used by heads of government in selecting teams of ministers. This entails examination of the pattern of ministerial appointments in individual governments in the context of the constitutional, legal and political constraints under which prime ministers operate. Attention is given to the relative importance of regional considerations, factional links and personal characteristics in appointment to ministerial office. **RC 2.1**

XIII. 83 COHEN, Yolande (Univ. Québec à Montréal, Canada) — **Les mouvements de jeunesse : contestation ou changement ? Le cas des Jeunesses Socialistes en France au tournant du siècle.**

Alors que les caractéristiques psychologiques et même sociales de la jeunesse sont bien documentées, l'étude de l'histoire et de la politique développées par les mouvements de jeunesse présente de nombreuses lacunes. Cette étude présente les résultats d'une recherche sur les mouvements de jeunesses socialiste en France (1880-1914), établie à partir des sources d'archives et de documents originaux. Ils servent de base à une réflexion sur la participation politique des groupes exclus du système parlementaire et marginaux aux partis politiques. Alors que les fractions socialistes cherchent une insertion possible dans les institutions de la République naissante, les jeunesses veulent en profiter pour se faire entendre. Les stratégies qu'elles développent à leur égard obéissent à un cycle ternaire d'attrait, de compromis, enfin de rejet par les partis. L'antimilitarisme est l'alternative politique que les jeunesses socialistes inventent alors. Ainsi, la jeunesse doit, dans l'indifférence générale d'abord, puis dans l'adversité, constituer ses propres réseaux d'intervention et définir sa plateforme politique, qui sera alors forcément contestataire. Cette étape franchie, et se sentant investi désormais d'un pouvoir de contestation, le mouvement de jeunesse constitue alors la voie royale d'accès à l'arène politique pour les jeunes. Parce qu'être jeune est une situation éphémère, l'histoire des groupes de jeunesse est une histoire émiettée. **SM 16**

XIII. 84 COL, Jeanne-Marie (Sangamon State University, Springfield, Ill., USA) — **Administrative coordination in Uganda : the nature and condition of bureaucratic leadership.**

Especially under conditions where a country desires rapid socio-economic change and relies heavily on bureaucracy for policy-making, it is necessary to examine the personal leadership qualities of top level bureaucrats, the conditions which encourage the exercise of leadership and the processes for encouraging the development of vision, sensitivity and initiative in administrative training and practice. A case study of the use of leadership in administrative coordination in Uganda illustrates the necessary and sufficient conditions for fostering bureaucratic leadership. Barriers and facilitators are highlighted for the role of District Commissioner, an interstitial position which emphasizes coordinative responsibilities. Such non-routine linkage tasks especially require creative problem-solving and networking in which the administrator interprets bureaucratic structure as opportunity rather than constraint. **II. 3.1**

XIII. 85 CONLEY, Marshall W. (Acadia Univ., Wolfville, N.S., Canada) ; OSBORNE: Kenneth (Univ. Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada) — **Civics, citizenship, state power and political education : the Canadian experience.**

The authors begin with a clarification of the concepts of civics, citizenship, and political education. Much confusion has resulted in the mixing of these concepts and they attempt to settle this

misunderstanding once and for all. This is followed by a brief survey of the Canadian education system, outlining the aspects of provincial control in the sphere of education and the lack of national goals and direction. The question of local control and autonomy as regards curricula guidelines and the diversity of curricula throughout the country is examined. The general finding is that Canada has always placed a strong emphasis on citizenship and civics, but little emphasis on political education, with a few recent developments as the exception. Citizenship has always been an important issue in Canadian schools and the authors provide examples from the 19th century through to the 1980s. Citizenship has been perceived as an important agent for building nationalism and inculcating certain desired values (deference, loyalty, etc.). This is evidenced in the so-called « hidden curriculum ». Civics also has a long tradition in Canadian schools with its major features being the avoidance of controversial issues. The concentration has been on factual descriptions of government institutions and as a consequence, this subject has been an easy and safe one to teach. Finally, the emergence of « political education » in recent years is examined in detail. The authors conclude that political education is desirable and must be encouraged. **RC 21.1**

XIII. 86 CONLEY, Marshall W. (Acadia Univ., Wolfville, N.S., Canada) ; RAMCHARAN, B.G. (UN Center for Human Rights, Geneva, Switzerland) — **Comparative humanitarian strategies.**

When the international community has a crisis, the crisis is defined and an attempt is made to discover a solution of that crisis. Three international actors dealing with crises of human rights nature are the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and the UN Centre for Human Rights (CHR). The authors examine the strategies of these three organisations in an attempt to propose a general international humanitarian strategy for humanitarian crises. The basic premise for this approach is that each time there is a humanitarian crisis there should be a response based upon a humanitarian strategy, rather than on *ad hoc* arrangements. Each of these three organisations has principle strategies for dealing with crisis. The strategies are examined in detail and a political analysis of each is offered. The organisational and political analyses are based upon an extensive experience, research and interviews in New York, Geneva and Ottawa. **SG 4.1**

XIII. 87 CONNOR, Walker (Nat. Univ. Singapore) — **Democratic theory and the rise of modern etchnocracy.**

The consequential concept that any people considering itself a nation has the right, if it so desires, to its own state surfaced in the world of real politics without being anticipated by political philosophers. The explanation lies in the fact that the concept of popular sovereignty, which had been widely anticipated and disseminated by philosophers, was most popularly interpreted as a right of national self-determination. The bloodless and abstract « people » in whom philosophers said the right to rule was ultimately vested shaded in popular perceptions into « my people », « my nation ». The most fundamental dogma of democratic theory is therefore also the wellspring of national self-determination, but today some of the derivatives of democratic dogma, such as majority rule, are evoked to deny the self-determination principle. **SM 24**

XIII. 88 CONRAD, John (IIVG, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, FRG) — **From technical progress to social compatibility : changes in science and technology policy.**

Societal evaluation of science and technology and their products underwent considerable changes in the past decades. These changes in public perception and assessment of science and technology are partly reflected in science and technology policy, even if only on a symbolic level. Questions of technology assessment and public participation are no longer completely neglected as compared with criteria of economic profitability and efficiency. However, even when assuming a real concern about the social compatibility of science and technology, the actual application of respective criteria for technology evaluation is confronted with serious theoretical and practical problems. The paper describes general changes in the goals, principles, instruments and substantive emphasis of science and technology policy in western industrialized countries since World War II with the focus on the FRG. It then inquires to what extent rising criticism in public debate about the orientation of the development of science and technology has influenced science and technology policy. Finally, somme conclusions are drawn regarding the relevance of more differentiated concepts, such as social compatibility, for present and probable future trends of development in science and technology policy. **RC 11.1**

XIII. 89 CONVERSE, Philip E. (Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., USA) ; PIERCE, Roy (id.) — **Toward an enlarged theory of partisanship : the problem of measurement.**

The role of partisanship in shaping mass behavior is widely recognized, but there is less realization that partisan feelings are multifaceted. Thus various instruments have casually been employed in mass sample surveys within and across countries to measure partisanship under the illusion that partisanship is a unitary phenomenon, and that any question about party feeling will evoke a response which is functionally equivalent to any other. Here we analyze several surveys from countries with diverse party systems, to show the facet of partisanship measured depends on the measurement instrument employed. The variety of instruments is discussed, and the dynamic properties of the type of partisanship that is revealed in each case are examined. On that basis, an enlarged theory of partisanship is proposed. **SG 13.1**

XIII. 90 COOK, Beverly B. (Univ. of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, USA) — **Women on Supreme Courts : a cross-national analysis.**

The presence of a woman on a national constitutional court of last resort is an indicator of the acceptance of women, at least at the token level, among the judicial, legal, and political elite. The small size of the court at the apex of the national judicial hierarchy provides considerable visibility and equal decisionmaking power to each Justice ; thus expectations raised by her presence among educated women for their inclusion in government may foster further feminist efforts for political and social change. The purpose of this research is to explain how, when, and why a woman first achieves the position of Supreme Court Justice. The study begins by describing the location and identity of women who have served on the highest courts of fifty major nations and then proposes explanations based upon (1) the status of women on the nation's political and economic institutions ; and (2) the structure and norms of the judiciary and legal profession. This model for the inclusion of outsiders in government has a broader theoretical import for the integration of other excluded groups into national decisionmaking bodies. **RC 9.2**

XIII. 91 COURTNEY, John C. (Univ. of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Sask., Canada) ; PERLIN, George C. (Queen's Univ., Kingston, Ont., Canada) — **Leadership selection in the liberal and progressive conservative parties in Canada.**

Conflict in Canadian Conventions is commonly explained in terms of two mains forms of cleavage : regionalism and ideology. The purpose of this paper is to explore those two dimensions of Canadian leadership selection using the 1983 Progressive Conservative and 1984 Liberal data collected by Georges Perlin in the CBC-sponsored surveys of those conventions. The data were gathered in a 3-wave sample in 1983 and a 2-wave one in 1984. Part One explores ideological dimensions of conflict within these conventions. It shows that although there is a tendency for voting behaviour to be associated with self-identification in ideological terms (using the labels Left, Centre and Right), substantial issues of an ideological nature do not have as much bearing on delegate preference as regional ones. Part Two explores regionalism as expressed at Canadian conventions and its impact on national integration. Among the questions addressed are : how is « national » political leadership defined by constituency delegates ? By MPs ? By party officials and other elites ? What leadership qualities and policy positions are looked for by each of these three categories of delegates ? Does the regional dimension of Canadian politics manifest itself as a critical variable for all of these groups ? The answers to these and related questions provide the empirical data for the larger normative question to be addressed : how successful are Canadian leadership conventions in integrating the national political community ? **SM 4**

XIII. 92 COX, Robert W. (York Univ., Toronto, Canada) — **China : a redistributive system of the world political economy.**

The institutions and practices of the world political economy are market-oriented. China is a redistributive system (in Polanyi's sense of the term), i.e. what is produced is determined by political criteria of desirability and not by market criteria of profitability. China's leaders now invoke market mechanisms, giving rise to misconceptions on both left and right of the western political spectrum that China may be moving towards capitalism.

The twin problems for China's leadership are (a) to raise production by making the economy more efficient and to increase external inputs particulary in technology, while (b) maintaining overall control of the direction of China's development and avoiding any further traumatic disturbances to a society in need of political repose and accustomed to a state-regulated basic-needs welfare. Markets may help with (a) but may involve threats to (b), and therefore are to be kept subordinate to the plan and designed so as to make the plan work more efficiently. Internal changes in the structures of redistribution involve strengthening of the state Party and industry bureaucracies ; making labour allocation and flexible ; and raising agricultural production. Control over linkages with the world economy is to be understood through Polanyi's concept of the port of trade applied in two sense : (a) a geographical point of interface (Hong Kong), and (b) functional links, e.g. state trading, technical cooperation and free zone production – all subject to central control. **RC 17.1**

XIII. 93 CRENSHAW, Martha (Wesleyan Univ., Middletown, Conn., USA) — **A comparative approach to the analysis of political terrorism.**

Terrorism is a specialized form of organized political violence, and terrorist groups have features in common with other political organizations. Using an organizational approach to terrorism permits comparison and analysis of different terrorist groups. It suggests that acts of terrorism may be motivated by the imperative of organizational survival or the requirements of competition with rival terrorist groups. Terrorism, in addition to reflecting ideological goals, is the outcome of the internal dynamics of the organization. The members of terrorist organizations may be attracted to the group as much for nonpolitical as for political ends. Incentives include comradeship, status, excitement, and material benefits as well as political aspirations. The longer the organization exists, the more likely it is that group solidarity will replace political purpose as the dominant incentive for members. Leaders of terrorist organizations struggle to prevent decline through defection or factionalism. New terrorist organizations are often formed through a process of internal division of larger organizations or splinter off from broader social movements. Such organizational considerations strongly affect terrorist behavior. Terrorism motivated by internal factors can become self-sustaining regardless of its objective success or failure in attaining the group's stated political objectives. **SM 21**

XIII. 94 CRÊTE, Jean (Univ. Laval, Québec, Canada) ; PELLETIER, Réjean (id.) — **Réalignement électoral et changement de personnel politique – le cas du Québec, 1867-1981.**

On observe dans les démocraties libérales des périodes relativement courtes de changements électoraux qui laissent dans l'électorat des marques sinon indélébiles, du moins très stables. Ces périodes de réalignements électoraux (calculées ici à partir d'un indice global de volatilité électorale) produisent-elles des modifications notables de la représentation législative et sont-elles l'occasion d'un renouvellement du leadership politique ? Nous voulons non seulement tester l'hypothèse de l'émergence d'un nouveau leadership politique, mais également montrer que le nouveau personnel politique issu des réalignements n'est pas nécessairement monolithique ; en d'autres termes, que la discontinuité observée ne transcende pas nécessairement les lignes des partis. En effet, les périodes de réalignement sont l'occasion d'un bouillonnement des idées, des représentations et des coalitions si bien qu'on peut se retrouver non pas avec une seule unité générationnelle, mais bien plutôt avec une constellation d'unités nouvelles. Cette recherche se situe donc au croisement des études sur les élites politiques, les générations politiques et les réalignements électoraux. Les données utilisées ici viennent d'une étude des résultats de toutes les élections (provinciales) tenues au Québec de 1867 à 1981, ainsi que du personnel politique formant chacune des législatures consécutives à ces élections générales. **SM 2**

XIII. 95 CREWE, Ivor (Univ. of Essex, Colchester, UK) — **Is electoral volatility increasing ?.**

The party systems of a number of Western democracies are frequently depicted as subject to a process of « dealignment », of which one indicator and consequence is a growth of electoral volatility. This paper describes and compares various definitions, classifications and measures of electoral volatility : net vs gross, inter-electoral vs intra-electoral, inter-party vs abstentional and short-term vs long term. It compares trends in these forms of volatility across Western democracies and assesses the impact of a variety of potential determinants which are categorised as sociological, ideological, structural and political. The paper seeks to explain why volatility has increased in certain countries and at certain times but decreased in other countries and other times. It examines the consequences of growing electoral volatility for electioneering, party systems and democratic government. **SM 2**

XIII. 96 CUSACK, Thomas R. (IIVG, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, FRG) ; HUGHES, Barry B. (Univ. of Denver, Col., USA) — **The political economy of government growth : evidence from GLOBUS.**

GLOBUS is the first global model to combine a representation of basic economic structures with a fairly detailed submodel of governmental budgeting, both revenue raising and expenditures. The geographic units of GLOBUS are 25 nation-states, from OECD, centrally-planned and less developed groupings. In this paper we use GLOBUS to explore the interactions among government spending (especially social spending categories, but also military), government revenue raising, and national economic performance. In particular, we will examine propositions that aging populations and continued growth in entitlements may generate stressful budgetary choices and, as well, strain the capacities of the economies within the western industrialized states. **IV. 8.2**

XIII. 97 CUTLER, Robert M. (Univ. of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz., USA) ; DESPRES, Laure (Univ. Nantes, France) ; KARP, Aaron (Columbia Univ., New York City, USA) — **Aspects of technology transfer and arms transfers in East-South relations.**

This paper adopts the standpoint of international political economy rather than any bilateral approach. It opens with a survey of perspectives on the subject that derive from various traditions within political science. It treats, on an empirical basis, arms transfers from the USSR and the European CMEA countries to the developing countries, emphasizing economic motives for the supply of arms by the former countries and economic determinants of the demand for those arms by the latter countries. In contrast with Western practice, and despite isolated exceptions, the USSR hesitates to transfer arms-production technology to countries not belonging to its own political-military bloc. The paper concludes with a discussion of arms-production technology transfer as one particular facet of technology transfer generally. The need to improve knowledge about the social and economic effects, on recipient countries, of all transferred technologies is emphasized. **RC 17.1**

XIII. 98 DALLMAYR, Fred R. (Univ. Notre Dame, Ind., USA) — **Hermeneutics and grammatology : Gadamer and Derrida in dialogue .**

The paper compares the philosophical and political perspectives of Gadamer and Derrida. A first section discusses the actual dialogue which took place between the two thinkers in 1981 (a German version of which has recently been published under the title *Text und Interpretation*) ; a number of convergences and divergences were mutually acknowledged in this dialogue. A second section of the paper extends the discussion to the broader philosophical positions : that is, to a juxtaposition of Gadamer's « philosophical hermeneutics » and Derrida's « grammatology ». Here the argument is advanced that, while Gadamer follows mainly the insights of Dilthey and the early Heidegger (of *Being and Time*), Derrida pursues intimations in the work of the later Heidegger (modified by Nietzschean and Saussurean accretions). A final section turns to the implications of both perspectives for political theory. Here the contrast is seen to consist mainly between Gadamer's neo-Aristotelian emphasis on practical philosophy and on prudential judgment (or *phonesis*) on the one hand, and on the other, Derrida's quasi-ontological preoccupation with « difference » viewed as virtual matrix underlying the polarities of theory and practice and of action and non-action (or passivity). In Rortyan terms, the distinction can be stated as the divergence between a « normal » and an « abnormal » politics : the one concerned with the continuity of political practices within an established public space, the other with the constitution or opening up of a new public space. **SM 43**

XIII. 99 DAMJANOVIĆ, Mijat (Institut za Političke Studije, Belgrade, Yugoslavia) — **Contradictions of institutionalisation within the system of socialist self-management .**

The theory of institution and its operationalisation. Stands on institutionalisation within socialism : content, forms and prospects. The system of socialist self-management : repercussions of the existing dualism of authority and self-management on the qualitative and quantitative aspects of intitutionalisation. The composite state, the federation, and the problem of institutionalisation

from the point of view of its transformation. Forms of self-management, organisation by function, territory and interest, their incorporation into vertical socio-political institutionalisation. The democratisation of the political system and its effects on the nature of economic, political and social organisation. The decentralisation trend, with its positive and negative effects on global re-institutionalisation. The decentralisation of authority and the delegation of self-management - a new form of organisational proliferation. Basic development trends in organisations and communities in the SFR of Yugoslavia between 1976 and 1984, observed according to different distinctions of a functional and territorial nature. General conclusions on the contradictions of institutionalisation within the system of socialist self-management. **II. 5.1**

XIII. 100 DANELSKI, David J. (Occidental College, Los Angeles, Cal., USA) — **Judicial review and democracy in Japan**

The principal purpose of the power of judicial review in the Japanese Constitution is to guarantee fundamental human rights necessary for the operation of the democratic process. In the past 38 years the Japanese Supreme Court has exercised that power with great restraint. Three related hypotheses that appear to explain that restraint are (1) incompatibility of judicial and legislative powers in the Japanese Constitution, (2) a legal culture shaped by the Meiji Constitution that in some ways supports and in other ways opposes judicial review, and (3) uneven recruitment of judges who are willing and able to perform what Mauro Cappelletti has called « the value-laden, quasi-political functions involved in judicial review ». Despite its restraint in the exercise of judicial review, the Japanese Supreme Court has sufficiently exercised that power so that it is now a part of Japan's living constitution, and hence it is at least potentially an effective instrument to guarantee the democratic process in Japan. **RC 9.1**

XIII. 101 DAVIS, Bruce W. (Univ. of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia) — **Conservation and sustainable development in federal nations : observations on Australian ecological politics .**

Australia is a continental landmass with a limited and highly urbanised population. Yet economic development remains highly dependent upon natural resource exploitation, often in areas where environmental sensitivity exists. A number of major conservation controversies have arisen between provate corporations, public authorities and voluntary conservation groups, sometimes creating difficult situations on intergovernemental relations between regional and central governments. Some lessons of conflict mediation appeat pertinent to other federal jurisdictions and illustrate the growing complexity of ecological politics in developing nations. **SG 6.1**

XIII. 102 DEKA, K.M. (Dibrugarh Univ., Assam, India) — **Bhutan's global role : domestic factors .**

The paper analyses Bhutan's global role in the context of her domestic environment conditioned by virtual non-existence of democratic inputs in the kingdom's political system and her special relationship with India. Having little potentialities for self-defence in the event of the attack, as in the case of Tibet, or a political manœuvre, as in the case of Sikkim, Bhutan pursues her domestic interests through her role mainly in the UN and Non Aligned Movement. She is evolving a stratagem to assert her sovereignty - otherwise limited by the Indo-Bhutanese Treaty, 1949) - by (1) deviating from the stand taken by her mentor on crucial issues such as Kampuchea at the UN, (2) developing effective contacts with other international actors, particulary China, if necessary by flouting the aforesaid Treaty, and (3) involving international agencies in the development activities in the realm. The paper therefore submits that Bhutan is pursuing her basic domestic goals - sovereignty, security and stability - through her global role. **III. 7.2**

XIII. 103 DENTE, Bruno (Univ. Bologna, Italy) — **Non-bureaucratic management on local government .**

The paper presents the results of a research comparing the structure and the outcomes of four different decision-making processes in the metropolitan area of Milano (Italy). The aim was to find possible equifunctional roles in the decision processes between the public bureaucracies and other political or private actors. The conclusions show how, contrary to expectations, the initial proposals as well as the main inputs in the processes come from public institutions and namely from the technical bureaucracies. In the rise of innovative policies it appears that the role of technical bureaucracy - a scarce resource on Italy - is essential. **II 1.2**

XIII. 104 DE RHAM, Gérard (Institut d'Etudes Sociales, Geneva, Zwitzerland) — **Legislation on the status of foreign residents as symbolic process of the legitimation of the State : reflections on the case of Switzerland.**

The very existence of a political debate on modification of the Swiss Law on Foreign Residents (1974-1982), and the structure of this debate, reveal the functioning of a social power exerted by the State in the name of the national people. This debate is held between political organizations representing the Swiss citizens in accordance with the norms of national democratic legitimacy. It founds a radical separation between nationals and foreigners, making foreign residents an object-group, the power and protection of which are submitted to the will of nationals. By doing this, the legislative process legitimizes the national-democratic institutions that produce it and that it contributes to produce. This effect as « political supercode » (P. Ansart) is at least as important as the effect of consensus in legitimizing the democratic Nation-State. **I. 2.1**

XIII. 105 DESAI, Uday (Univ. of Illinois, Carbondale, Ill., USA) — **Citizen participation and environmental policy implementation : the case of the U.S. Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act.**

The paper examines the role of citizen participation in environmental policy implementation using the case of the U.S. Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act (SMCRA). Historical origins and types of citizen participation in the environmental movement are identified, and discussed. SMCRA's creation and provisions for citizen participation are analyzed. Relationship between regulatory ideology upon and citizen participation and environmental policy implementations are highlighted. The study is based on interviews with agency officials, environmental activists, agency documents and published materials. Three major conclusions are drawn. (1) There is a paucity of empirical research on impacts of citizen participation on policy implementation. (2) Citizen participation perhaps has its greatest influence during the permit process. (3) Political ideology is an important, if not the most crucial, influence upon environmental policy implementation. **II. 7.1**

XIII. 106 DE VREE, Johan K (Univ. of Utrecht, Netherlands) — **The dynamics of integration : a general model.**

Integration is conceived to consist of the processes through which social systems acquire a (higher) decision-making or steering capacity. These processes are analyzed as a function of, roughly, the relations of power among the members of the system, in which « power » is conceived in terms of the ability to (more efficiently) use or produce energy. Relations of power are, in their turn, influenced by such « exogenous » factors as the evolution of information or technology, by nature, and by the behaviour on the part of other, outside systems ; but, not least importantly, also by the outcomes of the social or political processes to which they give rise in the first place - which constitutes the central feature of the dynamics of integration processes. **IV. 3.1**

XIII. 107 DHIRAVEGIN, Likhit (Thammasat Univ., Bangkok, Thailand) — **The Thai local leaders : nationalistic sentiments and attitudes toward other ethnic groups.**

This is a field survey of nationalistic sentiments of about two hundred local leaders of Thailand. The sample from a group of local leaders who were attending a meeting held in Bangkok, December 18, 1984. These local leaders consist of the tambel (commune) headmen, village headmen, tambel clerks and tambel medics of Central, North, Northeast and South of Thailand. A questionnaire of ten items consisting of questions on nationalism and the Bogardus-type social distance scale modified to suit the local context, was used for the survey. It was discovered that most local-leaders are nationalistic. Their attitude conforms to the policy line at the government. This set of « formalistic nationalism » is reflected of the success of the governmental propaganda policy especially the antagonistic attitude toward Vietnameses, Laotians and Cambodians. The majority of those local leaders are proud of being Thai and they have expressed their hope that if born again in the next existence or reincarnation, they would choose to be born Thai. **SG 13**

XIII. 108 DIKOUMÉ, Cosme (Institut Pan Africain pour le Développement, Douala, Cameroun) — **Le rôle des frontières internes au Cameroun.**

« Union nationale, Construction nationale, Union... » ces expressions que l'on rencontre dans les discours, dans les appellations des partis politiques ne sont pas de simples slogans. Elles constituent (ou devraient constituer) le programme fondamental des gouver-

nants pour les Etats tels que le Cameroun, produits d'un découpage arbitraire consécutif à la Conférence de Berlin et de certains accords subséquents. Le Cameroun comme entité territoriale connaît à ses frontières une singulière dialectique résultant d'un courant à la fois centrifuge et centripète selon, le plus souvent, des intérêts immédiats et réels des populations. On comprend alors l'importance, la nécessité pour le Gouvernement du Cameroun à établir des accords d'amitié, de coopération privilégiée et à créer des Unions régionales regroupant les pays voisins. **RC 15.1**

XIII. 109 DINIZ, Eli R. (IUPERJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brésil) — **La politique de la transition au Brésil : réévaluation de la dynamique de l'ouverture.**

Ce travail essaie de donner une nouvelle interprétation du processus de transition politique en cours au Brésil. Il s'agit de préciser, par rapport aux principales voies que peuvent suivre les transitions de régimes autoritaires vers un système politique plus ouvert, les aspects particuliers du cas brésilien. Le point de départ est la révision critique des schémas analytiques plus répandus, qui en général proposent deux types opposés d'explications : celles centrées sur le rôle de l'Etat ou, inversement, celles qui soulignent le rôle joué par les pressions de la société civile. En rejetant les perspectives unilatérales, on choisit une troisième orientation, selon laquelle l'explication de la transition découle de la confluence de deux dynamiques fondamentales : une dynamique de négociation menée par les élites et une dynamique de pressions déclenchées par la société. **SM 28**

XIII. 110 DITTMER, Lowell (Univ. of California, Berkeley, USA) — **From charismatic to collective leadership in China.**

Having been under charismatic leadership for the first three decades of its post-liberation existence, the People's Republic of China offers an excellent opportunity to analyze the attempt, currently in progress, to shift from charismatic to collective leadership. This paper begins with a definition and brief description of charismatic leadership as it functioned under Mao Zedong, followed by an account of the decline of charismatic leadership and the probable ressons for this. The second half of the paper analyzes the recent attempts to institutionalize a collective leadership, and discusses the likely political consequences of this attempt. **SM 44**

XIII. 111 DONNEUR, André P. (Univ. de Québec, Montréal, Canada) — **Pluralisme, démocratie et socialisme.**

Le pluralisme « ne peut être analysé isolément de la totalité des problèmes reliés à la démocratie » (Stanislaw EHRLICH, *Pluralism on and off course*, p. 245). Dans les régimes non démocratiques, le pluralisme est toujours fragile. Le « socialisme autoritaire » des dictatures oligarchiques de l'est en est témoin. Le pluralisme ne peut s'épanouir pleinement que dans des régimes démocratiques. Mais, même dans ceux-ci, il existe des tendances oligarchiques sur le plan politique et de larges secteurs de la société restent non démocratiques. Ainsi dans le secteur socio-économiques, en Yougoslavie l'entreprise est plus démocratisée que dans la plupart des sociétés occidentales, où la démocratie industrielle n'a été introduite largement qu'en Suède et, à des degrés plus limités, en Allemagne, en Autriche et en France, par des gouvernements socialistes. **RC 16.1**

XIII. 112 DOORNBOS, Martin R. (Inst. Social Studies, The Hague, Netherlands) ; VAN BINSBERGEN, Wim (id.) ; HESSELING, Gerti (id.) — **State ideologies in constitutional preambles : some francophone African examples.**

This paper analyses a selected number of francophone African constitutional preambles in an attempt to identify the articulation and evolution of a specific level of formalized ideological legitimation of post-colonial African statehood. The paper seeks to explain the particular form and content of constitutional preambles on different socio-political contexts and addresses itself to the question what political significance, beyond the purely nominal and symbolic, may be attached to the declaratory texts of constitutional preambles. **SM 45**

XIII. 113 DOSI, Giovanni (Univ. of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton, UK) — **Institutions and markets in a Schumpeterian world.**

Most of the analyses of the impact and scope for industrial politicies - and especially those undertaken by economists - embody a view of economics system as a highly homeostatic system, wherein institutional intervention is simply meant to correct « frictions » and « imperfections ». This paper, on the contrary, explores some implications of a different perspective, whereby economic mechanisms, institutions and policies jointly define the order in the patterns of transformation of the economy and its conditions of dynamic stability. This « non-reductionist » perspective has illustrious representatives in history of social thought - from Veblen and Schumpeter to Simon, Nelson and Winter - but has never become the majority view amongst economists. However, such a perspective, it is argued here, can allow a better understanding of (1) the processes of change in general and technological change in particular within each economy and (2) the inter-country differences in technological and economic performance. The paper discusses the relative role of market mechanisms, institutional regularities in the behaviour of the agents and public policies in a world characterised by time, uncertainty, technical change and various kinds of irreversibilities. Finally, the explicit account of the openness of each economy to international trade introduces an additional set of economic stimuli and constraints, which bear important implications for both the endogenous adjustment mechanisms in each economy and the scope of industrial policies. **SM 1**

XIII. 114 DOWTY, Alan K. (Univ. of Notre-Dame, Ind., USA) — **Contemporary emigration politicies.**

After an interlude of fairly free international movement, coercive emigration politicies - both expulsion and denial of the right to leave - emerged as features of twentieth century global society. The two types of coercion reflect a common conception that subordinates individual choice of political association to the interests of the state. There are actually two patterns of controlled movement. One, basically political and ideological, tightly restricts all emigration as a threat to overall control and to the overidding interests of a collectively-organized society. The second, mainly economic and developmental, forces or blocks movement in order to promote national unity and prevent the loss of professional manpower. The first pattern is a more basic threat to free movement ; the second has produced a wave of refugees but is largely irrelevant and ineffective as a « brain drain » measure. Both patterns seem, in fact, to be counter-productive in terms of the long-run societal goals they are designed to advance. **IV. 2.1**

XIII. 115 DRAKE, William J. (Columbia Univ., New York City, USA) — **Third world informatisation and « La problématique de la télématique ».**

From a structural point of view, the central features of the information revolution underway in the North are the merging of telecommunications and informatics (computers) into telematics and the concomitant transportability of disembodied services. This techno-institutional change is blurring once distinct boundaries between equipment, services, corporate players, industrial strategies and regulatory rationales, giving rise to a *problématique* of complexy interrelated policy problems. Given the nature of international interdependences and their governing arrangements, what are the systemic and unit-level implications of this for the LDCs ? How have these states interpreted their new developmental context, and how have they used the mechanisms of international organization to offset their domestic weaknesses in this realm ? The paper explores these questions by examining collective LDC attitudes and activities regarding the use of telematics for transborder data flows. Emphasizing in particular the interplay of organizational processes and technical knowledge, it finds that a growing understanding of complexity's constraints has resulted in shifts in the style and substance of Southern strategies for movement into the information age. **RC 17.1**

XIII. 116 DROR, Yehezkel (Hebrew Univ. Jerusalem, Israel) — **Adjusting central mind of governements to adversity.**

Central minds of governements (CMG) fulfill crucial functions in facing aggravating adversity. But their performance is inadequate, as a result of obsolescent consequent upon non-adjustment of rapidly changing situations and predicaments. Therefore CMG need far-going improvements, such as in respect to : reality assessment and look-out ; overall and long range process-systems view ; fuzzy-gambling sophistication, grand policy thinking ; crisis decision-making ; creativity and innovativeness ; realistic visions ; constructive-destruction command authority ; enlightenment abilities ; and high quality and rapid learning. To improve such capacities, within a selective-radicalism reform strategy, needed are : advanced aids for top decision-makers ; think-tank clusters ; novel policy professionals ; task-force structures ; policy-enlightenment systems ; and policy effectiveness audit. These are but some illustrations of the overall necessity to retrofit governance. Redesigning governance poses major challenges to political science which require redirecting the discipline. **SM 14**

XIII. 117 DUVALL, Raymond D. (Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., USA) ; SNIDAL, Duncan (Univ. of Chicago, Ill., USA) — **An emerging global state.**

Some processes in the world political economy are setting the foundations for a structural transformation in global authority, while other processes are reinforcing the established world political-economic order. The simultaneous existence of these processes of continuity and change makes the careful study of the emerging structure of world political economy both challenging and of the greatest importance. In this paper we contribute to such a study. The analysis begins with an identification of features of the contemporary globalization of both capitalism and the state system. It then turns to a consideration of the interaction between the underlying logics of the reproduction of capitalism and the state system on a global scale. The analysis shows that there is an increasingly pronounced and possibly irreconcilable tension between the two logics ; simultaneous reproduction of global capitalism and of the state system is progressively problematic. Three resolutions of the tension are evaluated : a heightened crisis dynamic leading to the destruction for one of both systems ; the greater encapsulation of capitalism by the state system ; and the weakening and supplementing of the state system by the emergence of a global state. Attention is focused on the last of these three alternatives, which is generally ignored by students of international political economy but which exhibits clear manifestations in today's world. **IV. 7.2**

XIII. 118 DURAN, Roberto (Univ. Catolica de Chile, Santiago, Chile) — **Change and instability in the Latin American political system : its role and influence in international crisis**

The analysis of Latin American problems is usually focused on economic and domestic political issues. That is the case of such research referring to Latin American integration and of several recent studies about the relationship between authoritarian regimes and the struggle for democracy. There remain, however, many unanswered questions, particulary those concerning the arms race among some Latin American countries, the emergence of geo-strategic issues in the continent's Southern Cone and some insecurity in bilateral relations among these countries. This is due to the existence of military governments in the area and also to deep change in the conception of national interest in democratic regimes. Thus, the border conflicts among northern South American countries involve a new style in their diplomatic ties, which in turn involve an increasing arms race and a psychological feeling of insecurity. The Latin American political system has chnged, especlially in the 1970s. The paper aims at clarifying this new phenomenon and its implications for the stability of the international political system as a whole. **IV. 2.2**

XIII. 119 EDELMAN, Martin (State Univ. of New York, Albany, N.Y., USA) — **The political signifiance of the religious court systems of Israel.**

Each of the 14 recognized religious communities within Israel has its own, state-supported, court system to handle private law matters, especially issues of family law. These courts make decisions which profoundly affect the lives of Israeli citizens. Equally important, those judicial decisions have a cumulative impact on Israel's political culture. Each court system operates within the parameters of the religious law of its own community. From the perspective of substantive law therefore similar disputes are frequently resolved differently. Nonetheless from a societal perspective, all the religious court systems have a similar impact - they each reinforce the conservative, separatist elements within each community. Politically the religious courts are formidable obstacles to the development of a shared concept of Israeli citizenship. **RC 9.2**

XIII. 120 EGEBERG, Morten (Univ. of Oslo, Norway) ; STIGEN, Inger (id.) ; CHRISTENSEN, Tom (Univ. of Tomsø, Norway) — **Organizing the central leadership of public agencies : implications for political governance, professional autonomy and the influence of « affected parties ».**

A classic, and permanent, theme of European administrative history has been how to organize the central leadership of the public agencies. Our focus is on the public services in areas like transport, health, social security, police and energy, characterized by a central organization at the national level, and subordinated organizations at the district or local levels. Different organizational solutions have been tried out, varying from the integrating the leadership into the ministry to separating it from the ministry in the form of a « directorate ». Often a governing body has been placed at the top of the directorate, made up of representatives from the employees and other affected interest groups, and from political parties, among others. The policy implications of these different organizational solutions are our topic for the paper. **II. 5.2**

XIII. 121 EHRMANN, Henry W. (Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H., USA) — **The judicial elites of Germany from Empire to Bonn .**

The social composition, education and socialization of the German legal and judicial elites have survived four major regime changes largely unchanged. In the 1850s and 1950s an almost identical percentage (about 40 %) of law students were children of civil servants. Law faculties still provide a traditionally rigorous theoretical training with little attention to jurisprudential questions. Emphasis on legal correctness, belief on an objectively « right » solution translated during the empire into strict positivism. This tradition was interrupted during Weimar : in a more democratic community the binding force of legislation became problematic to many judges ; a right to judicial review was invoked. During the Third Reich judges were forced to accept executive inroads into judicial independence and the rule of law. In the Federal Republic jurists have regained their status as an elite in public life and society. A return of the judiciary to legal positivism is generally noted. **RC 9.2**

XIII. 122 EISFELD, Rainer (Univ. Osnabrueck (FRG) — **Armed forces and the limits of pluralism.**

Contrary to the internationalization of capital, global militarization has hardly aroused any comment from the pluralist camp. The diagnosed tendency of pluralism to function only in certain sectors is reinforced, however, (1) by a « spill-over » of military values and norms into civil society, (2) by the fusion of military and other interests into a military-academic-industrial complex apparently on the verge of exerting a pervasive - spiritual, political, economic - influence. The author considers military democratization and civil-military integration that were attempted, during 1974/75, by the Portuguese officers who overthrew the Caetano dictatorship, as possible solutions to the dilemma. He also discusses both measures as prerequisites for « transarmament » (Galtung), a gradual replacement of present retaliatory (esp. nuclear deterrence) policies by other strategies. **RC 16.2**

XIII. 123 ELDERSVELD, Samuel J. (Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., USA) — **System differences in elite ideologies and values .**

Using data from a seven-nation study of top level civil servants and members of parliament in western democracies, the paper focuses on the differences rather than the uniformities in elite attitudes and perspectives. It first describes the differences by nation in a variety of such elite attitudes, and then explores the factors which may help explain these differences. Explanatory variables utilized are : party affiliation, SES, age, tenure, educational curriculum, type of ministry, contact patterns, and institutional conditions. The objective is to arrive at more systematic knowledge of what factors are responsible for cross-national non-uniformities in elite beliefs. **RC 2.1**

XIII. 124 ELSENHANS, Hartmut (Univ. Konstanz, FRG) ; FUHR, H. (id.) — **International organizations, Third World local administrations, and small-scale industrial development in LDCs .**

Development projects have become an important instrument of international assistance and of development administration, and the primary means of transferring financial resources for development from richer to poorer countries. As industrial development belongs to the dominant objectives of international co-operation, the primary purpose of our study is to analyze UNDP, IDA and UNIDO supervised projects in promoting SSI in three selected LDCs. In contrast to studies which either put emphasis to donor - or recipient - immanent obstacles for successful project implementation, - our main interest is to focus the various interactions between local governments and international agencies. Both types of bureaucracies are constantly intervening and deforming planned or on-going projects according to interests of their actually co-operating segments and clienteles, whereby certain clienteles try to gain control over others by acquiring resources. Analyzing these conflicting bureaucratic interactions will very likely give important answers to questions like - the degree of decentralization -, efficient size and duration of projects, - more effective international co-operation, - and finally higher efficiency of development administration by means of more market-oriented policies through implementation of SSI and MSI. **RC 17.1**

XIII. 125 EMMERSON, Don (univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., (USA) — **Southeast Asian region-building.**

No part of the world of comparable size is more diverse or has seen more conflict than Southeast Asia. Region-building in such conditions would seem chimerical. Yet the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has since its inception in 1967 compiled an enviable record of cooperation. Can this success be enlarged to include other nations of the region, notably Indo—China ? Conciliation between ASEAN and Indochina could occur if ASEAN were to accept Vietnam's occupation of Kampuchea, or were Vietnam to accommodate China. These prospects raise the question : are initiatives toward regionalism in Southeast Asia more likely to succeed with reference to China as an enemy or as a patron ? In 1985, if Thailand and Singapore could not go down an anti-Chinese road toward conciliation with Indochina, neither could Indonesia or Malaysia accept Chinese tutelage. Between antagonizing and mollifying China lies a more promising strategy for regional concord. As the experiences of Eastern Europe, Central America, and the Caribbean suggest, regional cooperation among small states in the vicinity of a much larger power is easier to achieve by accommodating than by confronting that power. So long as Vietnam continues to defy China by seeking a military solution in Kampuchea, and so long as Indonesia keeps its own relations with China « frozen », as they have been since the mi-1960s, there is little chance that a more fully Southeast Asian region can be built. **RC 18.1**

XIII. 126 ENDRIGA, José N. (Univ. of Philippines, Manila, Philippines) — **The bureaucracy in an authoritarian regime : the case of the Philippines.**

State corporatism, as a particular version of authoritarianism, has been installed in the Philippines by the martial law regime through a variety of means designed to achieve firmer state control of society. This has involved efforts to rationalize the economy, politics and society through greater state intervention and coordination of various economic activities, the construction of new political institutions fully controlled by the government for managing limited amounts of popular mobilization, and the establishment of peak organizations in labor, the professions, business and industry. Such corporatist trends have also been carried out in the bureaucracy, which has undergone a drastic reorganization and reform, guided by a philosophy of rationalization and ideological reorientation. The bureaucracy has expanded in response to the imperative of state intervention in more activities, streamlined its organization, imposed severe administrative discipline through the removal of corrupt civil servants, and emphasized human resource development. Intensive training programs have involved a heavy orientation on the philosophy of the regime (billed as the New Society). Personnel policies have come to stress the merit system and the professionalization of the civil service. While otherwise fulfilling the aims of civil service reform, the changes seem to have contributed to the greater organic harmony of interests sought by the corporatist regime. **II. 3.1**

XIII. 127 ERGUDER, Ustün (Bogazici Univ., Istanbul, Turkey) — **Development theory, political change and policy priorities in Turkey.**

The paper attempts to study the relationship between political variables and policy priorities within a context of development and development strategies. The Turkish experience in social and economic development will be used as a case with the aim of analyzing the relationship between policy preferences and different stages of Turkish political development. The transition of the Turkish political system from a « tutelary democracy », in the early days of the Republic, to a competitive party democracy in the 1950s and the military interventions that interrupt that competitive process every ten years since 1960 has been well documented but not analyzed with a policy analytic approach. The paper attempts to study the impact of such rich political variance on the policy process while also addressing the problem of the applicability of policy paradigms developed in the West to the context of social and economic development. **SG 14.1**

XIII. 128 ETZIONI-HALEVI, Eva (Australian National Univ., Canberra, Australia) — **The Australian Broadcasting Corporation : recent attempts at de-bureaucratization.**

The first thesis presented in this paper is that there is a complex but symbiotic relationship between bureaucracy and democracy. A powerful, independent bureaucracy poses a threat to democracy ; and yet, such a bureaucracy is also a necessity for the proper functioning of democracy. Hence, attempts at de-bureaucratization are likely to cause problems by disturbing the already precarious balance between bureaucracy and democracy. The second is that bureaucracy has extraordinary resilience, is only marginally subject to control by deliberate policies designed to curb or contract it, and attempts at de-bureaucratization are likely to create more problems than they solve by calling forth feelings of insecurity, low morale, and resistance among staff. Support for these thesis comes from a case study of recent attempts at de-bureaucratization at the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. **II 1.2**

XIII. 129 EVERS, Adalbert (European Centre, Vienna, Austria) ; WOLLMANN, Hellmut (Freie Univ., Berlin, FRG) — **Local government and the local level - agent and arena for reforming the Welfare State ?.**

The development of the modern welfare state and neo-Keynesian intervention state has been marked particulary by (1) a growing involvement of central government in the formulation and funding of policies in an increasing number of fields ; (2) the expansion of regulatory legislation and of public and quasi-public bureaucracies for implementing and delivering such policies. For these and others reasons, local government has been largely reduced to the function of implementing centrally formulated, regulated, and funded policies. The development of the modern welfare and intervention state has come under attack from different political sides and camps. The conservative position has been criticizing in principle the degree and volume of the arrived-at state involvement, calling for more market and more « private » initiative. From a « leftist » angle, the advanced welfare state has been criticized as having become « over-etatistic » and « over-bureaucratic », tending to « define out » forms of collectively and solidarily organized production and delivery of social services. Facing and hit by these trends on a period of economic and fiscal crisis, local governments may live up to the challenge and take the lead in counteracting and correcting these critical developments both in institutional terms (by, for instance, opening new political avenues for grassroot participation and new administrative links through « intermediary » agents) as well as in terms of normative options and value contents (e.g. for community groups and self-help groups). The paper discusses these trends in a comparative manner. **RC 5.1**

XIII. 130 FABER, Gerrit (Univ. of Utrecht, Netherlands) ; ROOD, J. Q. Th. (id.) — **Integration in Eastern and Western Europe. A comparison of the capacity of two political systems.**

In most theory, integration is conceived as a peaceful process of growing decision-making capacity of international organisations, or a condition in which a specified level of decision-making has been reached peacefully. In this paper, integration is presented as a dynamical process of growing problem solving capacity of political systems in which (the threat of) use of force and violence is an important component. Theoretically,most prominent are the developments in a system's power concentration and regulatory subsystem. Operationalisation is focused on the variable of power concentration in the political systems of Eastern and Western Europe. By means of economic, political and institutional parameters, which proceed from the system's capacity theory, the development or evolution in both political systems are described and explained. In this way, this paper tries to break systematically through the different political systems, which are traditionally judged as incomparable. **IV. 3.2**

XIII. 131 FABER, Jan (Univ. Amsterdam, Netherlands) ; De VRIES, Michiel (id.) — **The testing of a theory on capacity of political systems-concepts, indicators and measurement procedures.**

In this paper a review will be given of the system-analytical theory of De Vree (1982) on the factors determining and the factors influenced by the level of the capacity of a political system. Capacity, as seen as the amount of information available and the smoothness with which a system os able to react to disturbances, is a function of the homogeneity, the concentration of power, the legitimacy and the power of the regulatory sub-system. Key concepts are Power, Density, Dependencies and Harmony of interest. Problems in testing such a highly general and abstract theory will be discussed, indicators and measurement procedures proposed and some results from empirical analysis presented. **IV. 3.2**

XIII. 132 FAROUK-SLUGLETT, Marion (Univ. of Durham, UK) ; SLUGLETT, Peter (id.) — **From gang to elite : the Iraqi Ba'th Party's consolidation of power, 1968-1975.**

This paper describes the way in which a small but highly organised group of individuals, united by ties of kindship and co-residence, used the Iraqi Ba'th Party and the armed forces first as a means

of seizing power, and then as a means of taking total control of the state apparatus. It shows how the Party and the armed forces were rapidly transformed into instruments of coercion and surveillance, whose principal objectives were the maintenance and consolidation of the regime in power. In time, the ruling elite became narrower and narrower until it became entirely dominated by Saddam Husain and his immediate family and associates. **SM 1**

XIII. 133 FERGUSON, Yale H. (Rutgers Univ., Newark, N.J., USA) ; MANSBACH, Richard W. (Rutgers Univ., New Brunswick, N.J., USA) — **The state as a barrier to international theory.**

As J.P. Nettl emphasized, « the state » has always been a « conceptual variable ». Moreover, estimates of the concept's utility in the construction of international theory have varied over time. Except for die-hard Realists, during the late 1960s through the mid-1970s, the intellectual fashion was to emphasize such « domestic » and « international » constraints on state autonomy as interest groups, bureaucracies, and transnational actors. More recently, the notion of state autonomy has been enjoying a « neo-Realist » revival in wrintings from self-styled « statists », neo-Marxists, system theorists, and « regime » analysts. Nevertheless, the essential ambiguity of the concept of the state, as well as that of « autonomy », remains. Theoretical analysis today in international relations has never been so prodigious, and yet we have never been farther from a unified field. **IV. 0**

XIII. 134 FIELDS, A. Belden (Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., USA) — **U.S. anti-imperialist movements in two contexts : the war in Indochina and the intervention in Central America.**

The paper first examines the structural context in which U.S. anti-imperialist movements of the 1980s are operating and compares it with the context during the Indochinese War era of the 1960s and early 1970s. It then moves to a comparative examination of the acting subjects. It attempts to establish a relationship between the acting subjects and the structural contexts. It probes such issues as the role of economic forces, cultural phenomena, and the media vis-a-vis consciousness and action. Finally, it examines the resources and strategies available to both the government and the anti-imperialist movement. It raises the question : can we construct possible scenarios of interaction in order to assess potentials for systemic or reformist change resulting from this contemporary conflict of forces ? **SM 16**

XIII. 135 FEIJOÓ, María del Carmen (CEDES, Buenos Aires, Argentina) — **Women's politics in the new democratic scene : the Southern Cone experience .**

When the transition process is over, a process in which women generally play a prominent role, the rules of women's participation in the political arena tend to be again as they were before dictatorship : the situation tends to go back to the previous scene. Thus while women's participation in street struggles was important, their presence on candidate lists is not comparable. Of course, the patriarchal system as a whole can be blamed, but the chief question is directed rather to the issue of how discrimination operates inside political parties and the women's movement itself. Why do women abandon the political struggle in democracy in such a way that they acomplish the self-fullfilling prophecy ? Which is the relation between this problem and the position of women and feminism in front of the State ? The paper brings empirical data and discusses some findings from these points of view. The goal is to explain women's political participation « from the bottom ». **SM 29**

XIII. 136 FERRAND-BECHMANN, Dan (Univ. des Sciences Sociales de Grenoble, France) — **La fin des solidarités nationales ?**

La décentralisation ne produit pas seulement un déplacement des solidarités du national au régional. On peut faire l'hypothèse qu'elle induit un processus de renvoi des responsabilités et des pouvoirs aux acteurs eux-mêmes : familles, voisins, amis, bénévoles, collègues, camarades de partis ou de syndicats, corréligionnaires, parents d'élèves d'une même école, membres des mêmes associations, etc. Dans la situation de 1985, de chômage et de nouvelle pauvreté, mais aussi de crise des solidarités nationales, quelles vont être les stratégies nouvelles de solidarités des acteurs au niveau local ? Quell va être la réponse de l'Etat ? **RC 5.1**

XIII. 137 FERRERA, Maurizio (Univ. Bocconi, Milano, Italy) — **Welfare austerity and political strains : the case of Italy.**

The paper discusses some problems and policy choices confronting the Italian welfare state of the 1980s. A summary picture of the dramatic financial situation is given, together with a survey of the first restrictive measures taken to cope with it and of the harsh political conflicts which these have provoked. A description/ evaluation of the new « interest constellation » around the contemporary Italian welfare state is then suggested : the argument is that a new structural cleavage between a « transfer » and a « producer »constituency is gradually emerging as a result of the distributive processes within the welfare state – a cleavage which is already causing serious imbalances in the political (especially party) system. Finally the intellectual debate on welfare is illustrated, highlighting some of the main « themes » which are more likely to influence future institutional changes. **III. 5.2**

XIII. 138 FIELD, G. Lowell (Univ. of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn., USA) ; HIGLEY, John (Univ. of Texas, USA) — **After the halcyon years : elites and political consequences of full development in Western countries .**

This paper seeks to account for the sharp change of mood and outlooks that began to spread among the elites and political classes of Great Britain, the US, Canada, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Australia and New Zealand after the mid-1960s. It argues that by the end of the 1950s what may be called « full development » – the substantial completion of a pattern of occupational change that had long been underway in the West – produced in each of these countries a new type of society to which old political beliefs and aligments were no longer applicable. In each country the need for much of the bureaucratic and service work that the bulk of its work force was by then performing became highly subjective. Combined with the progress of automation, this subjectivity created growing uncertainty in the labor market, and eventually, quite widespread unemployment and underemployment. However, adventitious circumstances arising from World War II and its Cold War aftermath suspended the emergence of this basic problem and delayed elite consideration of the dilemmas it poses until at least the mid-1960s. During the comparatively « halcyon » period, elites and most other politically informed persons were lulled into outlooks and policies which tended to exarcerbate the underlying employment problems of full development, making them all the more shocking and baffling when they eventually began to surface. After the halcyon years ended, the populations of most of the countries considered have tended to divide in entirely new ways, fragmenting pre-existing bases of elite political support, and ushering in a period of marked political turbulence. The elites of the countries in question do not as yet appear to have any effective managerial response to these political consequences of full development. **RC 2.1**

XIII. 139 FIGUEIREDO, Eurico L. (Univ. Federal Fluminense, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) — **The military in the process of democratization .**

This paper deals with alternative roles of the military in the process of political opening. It is divided into two parts. In the first, an understanding of this process from the specific military point-of-view is proposed. In the second, some alternative scenarios are established. Scenario N^0 1 can be called « tutelary ». In this alternative the military would retreat from government but not from power. Scenario N^0 2 can be called « democratic ». In this alternative the military would have their loyalty and obedience captured by civilian hegemony after a transitional period. Scenario N^0 3, « retrogression » would require a new form of regime usine blunt military domination and with a limited social basis. Each of these scenarios must face given conditions and elements that mist be properly identified and defined. The Brazilian case is the main universe of preoccupation. However, from a theoretical perspective, parallels and analogies are drawn, bearing in mind other cases, both in the South Cone and in Mediterranean Europe. **SG. 7.1**

XIII. 140 FIGUEIREDO, Marcus (IDESP, São Paulo, Brazil) ; LAMOUNIER, Bolivar (id.) — **Electoral volatility in Brazil, 1946-1982 .**

The study applies the analytical strategy suggested by the concept of electoral volatility to the Brazilian case. This objective is particulary relevant considering that prior studies about party competition in Brazil have used Rae's electoral fragmentation framework. Second, the period considered is suggestive due to important discontinuities in the party system. In 1965, under the military government, the old multiparty system (13 parties) changed to a two-party system (ARENA, governmental, versus MDB, opposition). The political reforms of 1979 made room for a new multiparty system (now 5 parties), but the elections of 1982 showed a high degree of polarization between the two main par-

ties (PDS versus PMDB) at the national level : together, the two received 90 percent of the national vote. The empirical basis for this analysis are data on party competition at the state level (22 states) for congressional seats. This procedure allows greater control of socio-economic changes so as to bring out differences due to the elctoral dynamics as such. **II. 6.2**

XIII. 141 FILIPP, Karlheinz (Univ. Hamburg, RFA) — **L'évolution politique et l'enseignement géo-politique en Allemagne.**

L'auteur remonte au XIXe siècle pour montrer les liens géographiques aux grands événements politiques. Après la victoire sur la France (1870-71) et après le premier Congrès des Géographes allemands (1881), l'impérialisme politico-géographique avait été installé (Ratzel). La défaite de 1918 et l'Etat de Hitler ont élargi la puissance de la géographie sous son application géo-politique (Haushofer). Après 1918, et surtout après 1933, la géographie agraire du paysage germanique pouvait servir à justifier certaines revendications territoriales. Récemment deux aspects ont envahi la géographie : l'étude de la société et l'idée de Réforme qui vise à intégrer l'enfant dans son environnement. En Allemagne fédérale, on sent une gêne qui vient de deux côtés : (1) un certain passé, qui a mené à des échecs, voire à des catastrophes ; (2) la proximité de l'autre Allemagne, socialiste, qui inquiète. **RC 21.1**

XIII. 142 FISCHER, Frank (Rutgers Univ. Newark, N.J., USA) — **Critical evaluation of public policy : a methodological case study.**

The paper presents an approach to public policy evaluation based on the epistemological categories of Jurgen Habermas's critical theory. Through a methodological case study of Project Head Start, a compensatory educational program for disadvantaged children, the analysis shows that the methodological components of a critical theory have direct bearing on both techniques and politics of policy evaluation. The discussion also demonstrates the import of these connections for a « postempiricist » reconstruction of the policy sciences. **III. 3.2**

XIII. 143 FOURNIER, Pierre (Univ. de Québec, Montréal, Canada) — **Les entreprises publiques au Canada au Québec : tendances récentes.**

Dans le cadre de la crise fiscale de l'Etat canadien, nous assistons à l'heure actuelle au Canada comme dans plusieurs autres pays à une remise en question du rôle de l'Etat, et notamment à des pressions de plus en plus fortes pour la privatisation de certaines entreprises publiques. Il nous semble donc important de tenter de répondre aux questions suivantes. Les entreprises publiques au Canada et au Québec sont-elles des instruments efficaces de l'Etat dans l'économie ? Quelle est l'importance relative des objectifs sociaux, économiques et politiques ? Quels sont les avantages et les désavantages de la privatisation ? Quels mécanismes de contrôle les gouvernements ont-ils mis sur pied depuis quelques années pour améliorer l'efficacité des entreprises publiques et pour rendre leurs objectifs et leur action plus compatibles avec les objectifs gouvernementaux, notamment au niveau de la politique industrielle ? **SM 6**

XIII. 144 FRANKS, C.E.S. (Queen's Univ., Kingston, Ont., Canada) — **Politics, the media, and literary criticism.**

Modern liberal democratic politics takes place within the context of, and through, the mass media. The media are, in large part, an artistic and literary form. To a large but generally unrecognized extent, the form of politics as presented through the media has a similar form to that of the fictional and dramatic presentations in the media. In particular, on the tragic-romantic dichotomy, the plot and mode of drama on mass media are romantic, and so are the plot and mode of political ideology, and the myth of the leader. The structures and processes of legislatures and debates can also be interpreted through the techniques of literary criticism. This dominance of the romantic mode means that modern politics is incomplete : it does not accurately portray the range of human existence contained in a fully developed literature. In particular, the absence of the tragic mode creates an illusory sense of the possibilities of perfection through political action. **II. 8.1**

XIII. 145 FREEMAN, Gary P. (Univ. of Texas, Austin, Texas, USA) — **National styles and policy sectors explaining structured variation.**

This paper explores the relative explanatory power of two alternative perspectives on comparative public policy. The first, the national style perspective, suggests that individual countries, as a result of their unique developmental patterns, political cultures, institutional structures, and domestic political arrangements, exhibit distinctive national policymaking styles. The second, the policy sector perspective, argues that the issues, problems, and constraints associated with particular types of public policies lead to a pattern of rough similarity in the policies of nations, whatever their differences in other respects. The paper reviews the literature in comparative public policy in an attempt to shed light on these hypotheses. It deals primarily, and necessarily sketchily, with the cases of the United States, Britain, France, Germany, and Sweden, and the economic, social security, education, and health policy sectors. **III. 0**

XIII. 146 FRIEDLAND, Elaine A. (Inst. of Technology, New York City, USA) — **US foreign policy versus Mozambique's socialist domestic policy.**

US foreign policy objectives are not limited to the sphere of interstate relations, but also seek to influence the content of the domestic economic policy of the developing countries so that the domestic policy of the latter conforms to the needs of the US economy. Furthermore, the US government not only uses bilateral relations to affect the domestic policies of these countries, but also employs its influence within Multilateral Development Banks to pressure the developing countries to adopt the domestic policies desired by it. Simultaneously, the Mozambican government has chosen a domestic policy which emphasizes (1) the development of local consumer and heavy industries, (2) the use of Mozambique's natural resources for the betterment of the Mozambican people, and (3) the expansion of socio-economic equality. Therefore, since Mozambique's independence in 1975, there has been a political and economic conflict between the Mozambican and US governments. The paper examines this conflict in terms of : (1) the strategies and tactics the US government has employed since the Ford Administration to compel the Mozambican government to alter its domestic policy ; (2) the ability of the Mozambican government to pursue its domestic policy, within the context of western international opposition - organized by the US government - and (3) the possible future political and economic relations between the US and Mozambican governments. **III. 7.2**

XIII. 147 FRISSEN, P. (Catholic Univ., Nijmegen, Netherlands) — **Symbolism of governmental regulation and planning.**

The paper presents a view on (limits to) governmental regulation and planning based on the anthropological concepts of symbolism and rituality. This view leads to an understanding of why consensus on ineffectiveness of regulation and planning does not result in substantive changes. Governmental regulation and planning can be viewed as symbolic and ritual processes of formation of meaning, rooted in the political myth of the state governing society. In that respect the question of effectiveness of governmental regulation and planning is not adequate, being itself part of these processes of formation of meaning. The paper therefore presents a relativistic perspective, while sketching some concepts useful for political analysis in the field of regulation and planning. **III. 2.1**

XIII. 148 FRY, Earl H. (Brigham Young Univ., Provo, Utah, USA) — **The foreign policy agenda in an era of economic interdependence : the case of the United States.**

The paper examines the record of the US Government in meeting the challenges of international economic interdependence in three specific issue areas : trade, investment, and Third World debt. The US Government's foreign economic policy process leaves much to be desired in the face of increasing interdependence and vulnerability in the global economy. Washington's problems may be linked to (1) insufficient attention given to international economic issues in top policy circles, (2) institutional weaknesses which accentuate insularity and hinder policy coordination in the economic sphere, and (3) a significant proliferation in actors at the national, subnational, and transnational levels who have a stake in international economic issues, thereby making it difficult for the US to speak « with one voice » on economic matters. The paper concludes by discussing the implications which US foreign economic policy has for West-West, West-East, and North-South relations, and by offering a set of recommendations for improving national policy coordination in an era of complex interdependence. **RC 17.2**

XIII. 149 FUCHS, Dieter (Univ. Köln, FRG) ; KLINGEMANN, Hans-Dieter (Freie Univ., Berlin, FRG) — **The semantic space of left and right in politics.**

The left-right scheme constitutes one of the established generalized media of communication on the European political systems.

On the individual level it allows for an effective cognitive organization of political events, on the system level it is needed for an efficient political communication. We assume that the universe of meaning of the terms left and right is related to the major social cleavages which have given rise to the party systems in the diverse countries. It is expected that changes of this traditional pattern of conflict will be reflected in the meaning associated with left and right. Social and cultural structures should be complementary. Data about the meaning of left and right in politics from cross-section surveys are presented in the paper (The Netherlands, West Germany). The analysis focuses on two questions, mainly : (1) is the understanding of the terms really defined by the « old » cleavage lines, and (2) are there new elements of meaning which might point to the emergence of new social and political cleavages ? **SM 17**

XIII. 150 GAGNON, Alain G. (Carleton Univ., Ottawa, Canada) — **Politics in federal states.**

Significant effort has been devoted to the comparative analysis of politics within federal states, including the work of K.C. Wheare, C.J. Friedrich, I.D. Duchacek, A.W. MacMahon and T. Frank, among others. Nevertheless, political scientists are still searching for a satisfactory methodology which will contribute to the understanding of the dynamic relationships between or among levels of government in federal systems, and better prepare analysts to analyse the means of « conflict management » in those states. This study will examine and assess how existing approaches to the study of comparative federalism account for the conflictual and consensual matrix of politics between central and member governments, focusing particular attention upon the processes of conflict management. Attention to the problem of conflict management in federal systems allows both a discussion of the role of methodology in the social sciences and an opportunity to assess the major methodologies employed in the study of comparative federalism. Because methodologies guide the analyst in deciding what activity/facts are worth analyzing, as well as the theoretical implications of those observations, their strengths and weaknesses in contributing to our understanding of the dynamic relationships between or among the levels of government in federal states can be evaluated. Which methodologies seem most and least appropriate ? What are the areas requiring improvement ? These questions will structure the focus of the paper. This focus is especially relevant at the present time, when economic stringencies pose the potential of increasing the political salience of societal divisions. The nature of power distribution in federal systems has been impacted by such forces, causing governments to pursue various strategies ranging from centralization to diffusion of policy-making authority in an effort to cope with these challenges. **SG 21**

XIII. 151 GALNOOR, Itzhak (Hebrew Univ., Jerusalem, Israel) — **The steering of states : a comparative conceptualization.**

The focus is on « steering » as a key concept for comparative research of whole political systems and of states. The conceptualization of this approach is based on the study of politics from a communication perspective, i.e., the analysis of the polity as a communication network with channels, information flow, etc., as well as the steering mechanism itself. Political development is defined as a process of creating « steering capacity », not inherently related to democratization. Democratic political development is defined as a special case of political development - the process whereby citizens increase their opportunities to have an impact on steering. Democratic political development cannot occur without political development but these processes can take place simultaneously. Democratic steering requires certain components such as access and participation, which in addition to the system's steering capacity, will sustain the citizen's impact. The paper concludes with propositions for comparing the steering of states. **I. 6.2**

XIII. 152 GARNER, Maurice R. (London School of Economics and Political Science, UK) — **The governmental control of public corporations in Britain : a history and an evaluation.**

For the post-war British nationalisations, the public corporation was the preferred organisational form and Morrisonianism was the dominant philosophy - basically, the philosophy of commercially viable, autonomously managed enterprises at arm's length from government and independent of other interests. This concept was strained in the early years by political circumstances, later by the impact on government financing of the corporations' requirements for external financing and, subsequently, by growing concern about efficiency in the national allocation of economic resources and in the corporations' actual use of resources. Now a system has developed, requiring agreement upon a few inter-related objectives but giving primacy to a limit on external financing. Will this prove a better solution to the inherent conflict between governmental control and managerial autonomy ? **SM 6**

XIII. 153 GARRAUD, Philippe (IEP de Bordeaux, France) — **Insertion professionnelle des jeunes, action volontaire et régulation publique.**

L'opération 16-18 ans repose sur la mise en œuvre en France d'un dispositif institutionnel et fonctionnel visant à une meilleure insertion professionnelle des jeunes qui tend à créer et animer un système d'action collective. L'objet de cette communication est d'analyser la mise en œuvre effective de cette politique publique, les dysfonctions auxquelles elle se heurte, les effets, attendus ou non, qu'elle engendre. Le fonctionnement des structures mises en place révèle un système de contraintes (origine et nature de la population concernée, offres de stages de formation, logique de fonctionnement des organismes de formation, situation et connaissance de l'emploi), une incertitude quant aux objectifs (insertion sociale en qualification professionnelle, qualification quasi-déqualifiée ou réellement qualifiante, formation ou emploi) et un cloisonnement institutionnel et fonctionnel (absence de relations entre orientation et état du marché de l'emploi, structures d'accueil et organismes de formation, formateurs et entreprises) qui conditionnent forteement la capacité d'action de l'autorité publique et limite ainsi l'efficacité de son action de régulation. **III. 2.2**

XIII. 154 GARRETÓN, Antonio Manuel (FLACSO, Santiago, Chile) — **Political parties and other social actors : the Chilean case.**

Las relaciones entre los partidos políticos y el conjunto de actores sociales en Chile se caracterizan por la solidez de las fuerzas políticas y por una cierta dependencia y debilidad de las organizaciones sociales, que adquirían presencia sólo en la medida que se vinculaban a la estructura político-partidaria. Esto durante todo el período del « Estado de compromiso » y, pese algunos desbordes, hasta 1973. Durante el régimen militar se desarticula esta relación y surgen espacios sustitutivos para la constitución de actores sociales. El papel describe la forma de articulación previa, los cambios ocurridos durante el régimen militar y las proyecciones de tales transformaciones en la relación partido-actores sociales para un proceso de transición a la democracia y para la consolidación de ésta. **SM 7**

XIII. 155 GELB, Joyce K. (City College of New York, USA) — **The impact of the feminist movement on bureaucratic polities in the UK and the USA.**

The focus of this project is to compare and contrast the contemporary feminist movement in the UK and US, and especially to show that national culture, political institutions and ideology are crucial to understanding movement development and goals. Based on the comparative research undertaken, the study finds that the most active part of the British movement shuns formal structure and hierarchy and centers activities around small groups which stress autonomy, decentralization and internal democracy. While movement activists engage local authorities in order to obtain funding and other resources, in the main they are ambivalent about participation in the political process. In contrast, the American movement has moved closer to an accommodation between the more « radical » women's liberation movement and middle class reformist women, and toward professionalization and political engagement. British women have sought to gain greater representation and policy influence within parties and unions. Support has been for women's issues at party and union conferences and, in addition, women have gained specially set aside seats on union and party governing bodies and sought to enhance the role of the (predominantly advisory) women's groups present in parties and many unions. Thus far, little change in institutional power structures has occurred, as male domination continues at all levels. These findings suggest that while feminists in both the US and the UK have a long way to go in altering power relations and traditional sex roles, in the US, the greater openness of the political system has enhanced feminist ability to mobilize potential allies and members and have greater impact on the political process. **II. 7.1**

XIII. 156 GELLER, Daniel S. (Univ. of Mississippi, USA) — **The impact of political system structure on probability patterns of internal disorder.**

This study involves the analysis of violent internal political con-

flict by means of a Markov model. It was recently demonstrated (with a ninety-three nation sample covering a period of eight years) that : both « internal war » and « turmoil » are ergodic and regular Markov processes ; both chains quickly become independent of their starting states ; and extended-time distribution functions can be estimated. However, year-to-year transitions in conflict levels as well as fixed-point probability functions may be dependent upon certain political system characteristics. Hence, the nation sample was subdivided by regime-type with first order and higher-order transition probabilities calculated for each set. The results indicate tje impact of system structure on probability patterns of political violence and suggest a basis for short - and long - term prediction. **IV. 8.1**

XIII. 157 GELPI, Ettore (UNESCO, Paris) ; LE HOUEROU, Fabienne (id.) — **L'idée de l'unité africaine dans les années 1950-60 chez les leaders africains et son approche aujourd'hui : problèmes méthodologiques de recherche.**

(1) Réflexions sur l'unité africaine de : Awolowo, Azikiwe, Ben Bella, Boganda, Cabral, Dia, Houphouët Boigny, Modibo Keita, Kenyata, Lumumba, Nkrumah, Nyerere, Sekou Touré et autres leaders africains dans les années 1950-60. (2) L'influence de ces réflexions sur la politique africaine contemporaine. (3) Les obstacles à la recherche politique sur cette problématique. (4) Les nouvelles tendances concernant l'unité africaine qui se développent dans le cadre institutionnel et associatif et dans la recherche politique en Afrique et à l'extérieur de l'Afrique par des ressortissants africains et des chercheurs étrangers. (5) Recherches concernant l'impact des transferts technologiques, de la militarisation et de la division internationale du travail en Afrique sur l'unité africaine. (6) De la réflexion et de la recherche centrée surtout sur la problématique politique et idéologique des années 1950-60 à celle centrée surtout sur la problématique économique des années 1980. **SG 11**

XIII. 158 GEORGE, Alexander L. (Stanford University, Cal., USA) — **US-Soviet global rivalry : types of competitive « games » and problems of signalling.**

The rivalry between USSR and the US can be viewed as comprising a variety of competitive « games » in different parts of the globe. These games have different structures and somewhat different « logics » (implications) for the task of managing their rivalry in the interest of crisis avoidance and crisis management. The fundamental structure of each type of game is determined by the magnitude and balance (or imbalance) of interests that underlies the superpower competition in each area. Six game structures, each of a distinctive kind, are identified. While the paper regards this topology as a useful starting point, a number of other variables complicate its utility for developing « rules of behavior » for regulating US Soviet rivalry. The paper focuses upon the difficulty both superpowers experience in attempting to determine their interests in some areas and in successfully communicating those interests to each other in efforts to avoid misperception and miscalculation. **IV G. 2**

XIII. 159 GERMANN, Raimund (IDHEAP, Lausanne, Suisse) — **Les hommes de science dans les commissions extra-parlementaires suisses.**

Dans le cadre d'une recherche sur les « commissions extra-parlementaires » rattachées à l'administration fédérale, une enquête a été effectuée auprès de 203 membres de ces commissions. Un certain nombre de questions portant sur le rôle joué par les hommes de science dans ces commissions ont suscité des réponses qui font l'objet de l'article. Il traite de l'utilisation de connaissances scientifiques par les commissions ainsi que du mode d'interaction entre hommes de science et décideurs politiques. Un certain nombre de modèles d'interaction, notamment les modèles « décisionniste », « technocratique » et « pragmatique » de Jürgen Habermas sont confrontés avec les données de l'enquête. Le modèle officiel qui semble dominer dans les commissions, est celui du « décisionnisme ». S'il y a « technocratie », elle se manifeste sous forme d'arbitrages effectués par les hommes de science entre groupes opposés. L'analyse révèle également que les rôles d'homme de science et de décideur politique ont tendance à se confondre, et que la fonction de légitimation qui revient souvent aux scientifiques est d'une importance considérable dans le contexte suisse. **II. 2.1**

XIII. 160 GHOSH, Chitra (Nataji Inst. for Asian Studies, Calcutta, India) — **The political potential of women's movements and women politicians in India.**

As compared to other countries, India guarantees full constitutional rights to woman and accords ample protective legislation. Women have freedom to choose their preferences, occupations and employment. Yet, their participation in political movements is limited. Urban middle and upper class women are only recently emerging as a coherent effective socio-political group. The paper tries to look for their low participation rate : is political activity in India anti-women, and exploitive in character ? Is the persistence of traditional norms a hindrance ? What are the psychological stresses ? How does the status-conscious and status-bound Indian society affect woman ? Is violence a deterring factor ? Is economic hardship the major hindrance, or are the economic pressure of big business ? The paper tries to locate the reasons which have contributed to the deficiency in organised local movements by Indian women. **RC 19.1**

XIII. 161 GILBERT, Robert E. (Northeastern Univ., Boston, Mass., USA) — **The electronic media and the power of political executives : the United States and Canada.**

The electronic media, particulary television, pose dangers and opportunities for both the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Canada. Although the former operates within a presidential and the latter a parliamentary system, there are important parallels in their experience. Contemporary Presidents have the means of reaching simultaneously much of their national constituency. Regardless of whether the technique used be addresses to the nation, press conferences or news programs, the President enjoys a large audience. Often his appearances increase his standing in public opinion polls and typically they serve an important agenda-setting function. In Canada, the Prime Minister, the Head of Government, serves many of the symbolic and ritualistic functions normally served by a Head of State. This has contributed to sustained news attention being focused on the Prime Minister. The media « image » of recent Prime Minister has been a vital factor in their degree of success. Although his position as party leader gives the Prime Minister his power, the electronic media detract from or enhance that power through the type of linkage they foster between the political executive and the Canadian public. **II. 8.1**

XIII. 162 GILLESPIE, Charles (Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn., USA) — **« Democradura » or « Reforma Pactada » ? Comparative perspectives on democratic restoration in Uruguay.**

Eleven years after seizing power, the Uruguayan military institution reached an agreement with two of the country's three main parties on transitional conditions imposed as the price for permitting elections. The paper examines the failure of previous hopes for their return to the barracks, notably following the 1980 Plebiscite and the 1983 « dialogue » between military and parties, as well as the controversial manner of their ultimate extrication in 1984-85. Such attempts at regime transition have been analyzed from varying perspectives including : (1) political economy ; (2) legitimation and legitimation crisis ; (3) corporate interests of the military and other power holders as institutions ; (4) opposition and/or alliance strategies of political parties ; (5) the mobilizational strength and ideology of unions and other popular movements. All are relevant to an attempt to explain the timing of regime transition in Uruguay and the contrasting experiences of other countries. In terms of comparative analysis, it is argued that the problems of legitimation and the nature of popular movements were also especially relevant in locating the Uruguayan case. **RC 6.2**

XIII. 163 GLASS, James M. (Univ. Maryland, College Park, MD, USA) ; DIAMOND, Michael A. (Univ. of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., USA) — **Delusion as a method for organizing consciousness and perception.**

Delusion consists of an unconscious method that encircles reality and transforms rationality. Extreme expressions of delusion exist in schizophrenics, but the delusional world affects awareness and action throughout all ranges of « normal » perception. Delusion influences perception of time, others, tasks and functions ; it structures relationships between people ; it defines limits and boundaries within groups ; it infuses value orientations ; it stands behind « all or nothing » positions ; it is instrumental in « paranoid » reactions to persons, events, and actions. Delusions then as method for organizing consciousness affects all sorts of political and organizational processes. It may even become « ritualized » in actions that tent to repeat or duplicate specific psychodynamic factors (or structures) repressed in the self. Further, it will be argued that it mystifies decision-making, even theories of « rationality » to assume that these unconscious dynamics can be « split off » from normal consciousness. Every decision involves unconscious factors ; every perception is influenced by delusional underpinnings ; the origins of ethical systems may even possess or

contrain a delusional etiology. Delusion then encircles phenomena; it « organizes » the world ; it creates logics, languages, values, even « politics ». In this respect, delusion is a method for organizing perception. **RC 1.2**

XIII. 164 GLASSBERG, Andrew D. (Univ. of Missouri, St-Louis, Mo., USA) — **Local resistance to central policies : Britain and US compared.**

This paper examines differing patterns of national-subnational relationships in the American and British political systems. The paper particulary focuses on similarities and differences in responses to fiscal problems in the two countries, and the role of central governments in local affairs. Recurrent questions of the consequences of unitary or federal structures on national-local relationship can be examined in a particulary interesting contemporary setting in the US and the UK, since the two countries have governments with relatively similar conservative ideologies at the national level, but yet have followed quite different paths of relationships with their respective local authorities. Interview and budgetary data suggest indirect controls aver local government are sufficient to achieve ideological purposes such as reduced local social spending in the American context, but not in Britain. British national government has needed to use more « brute force » solutions such as « rate capping » (limitations on local property taxes) than have proven necessary in the US. On the US, more « indirect » steps of reducing federal aid work effectively to redirect local government activities away from social spending. Although local authorities in the UK, operating in a centralized system, are weaker than their American counterparts in any formal sense, many seem much more willing to use the powers they do have to resist and counteract central government policies than is true in the US. **RC 5.2**

XIII. 165 GLEDITSCH, Nils Petter (International Peace Research Inst., Oslo, Norway) — **Norway's nuclear weapons policy.**

In 1957, the annual conference of the Norwegian Labour Party unanimously decided that nuclear weapons were not to be stationed on Norwegian territory. In 1961 this policy was confirmed but the restriction was explicitly limited to peacetime. This decision contributed to the decline of the forst Norwegian nuclear disarmament movement. Nevertheless, the role of nuclear weapons in wartime has continued to be a source of some controversy. Specific issues include training for nuclear warfare the use of dual capable weapons systems, allied reinforcement with nuclear capable forces, as well as the operation of airfields, command and control facilities, etc. linked to nuclear weapons systems. In recent years, Norwegian governments have claimed that they have refrained from undertaking a number of pratical preparations for the use of nuclear weapons in peacetime and that the nuclear weapons policy goes beyond the peacetume restriction. This claim is critically examined. Recent proposals for the extension of the nuclear weapons policy are also discussed and some comments are made about the prospects of such proposals in public opinion and in party politics. **IV. 4.1**

XIII. 166 GOLDMAN, Etel (Univ. of California, Los Angeles, USA) — **Brazil's nuclear program and Brazilian scientists.**

The paper attempts to explain the decision by the Brazilian regime to opt for a nuclear program based on foreign technology, obeying the logic of the economic model adopted in 1964 (priority of economic growth over issues of distribution, or development of national technological capabilities). This logic was reinforced by the attempt to exclude the Brazilian scientific community (physicists on particular) which had been among the most vocal critics of the regime. Most scientifists argued for a nuclear path stressing national independence and distributional spinoffs, reflecting the distinct political attributes of the technological options discussed. The Brazilian case is compared to the Argentine nuclear program which has been preserved in isolation from broader societal debates on industrialization and development, and based on the development of national technological competence. The literature on the scientific community in less developed countries is sparse and has significantly neglected the role of that group in high technology policy-making. This study hopes to shed light on both theoretical and policy-relevant issues regarding the links between science, technocracy, and democracy. **RC 11.2**

XIII. 167 GONCEBATE, Rodolfo S. (Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn., USA) — **The transition from an authoritarian to a democratic regime : Argentine 1971-1973 and 1981-1983.**

The central theme refers to the characteristics of the authoritarian regime established in Argentine with the military coup of 1976, discusses the process of political transition that followed from 1981 to 1983 culminating with the general elections of october 1983 and the inauguration of a newly elected government on 10 December. The antecedents outline the political instability that proceded these events and that characterized the political scene since 1930 to 1963. Also the analysis of the recent transition toward a democratic regime - the main focus of this paper - will be projected against some relevant features of the previous authoritarian experience of 1966-1973 (Ongania, Levingston, Lanusse). The research for this topic was conducted during 1982-1983 and includes 28 in-depth interviews with the national political leaders. **RC 6.2**

XIII. 168 GRAHAM, George J. Jr. (Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn., USA) — **Concepts and measurements in action theory.**

Political scientists have come to recognize the need to use several levels of theories and models in order to deal with the multiple dimensions of politics. However, most of the problems of conceptualization and measurement associated with developing and supporting political theories on the action (as distinct from behavioral) level of analysis remain to be solved. Concepts that permit the isolation of reasons for action (motivations) are especially difficult to develop because motivations are often exemplars of conceptualization, suitable for translation into measurable phenomena, derived from theories of *verstehen*, phenomenology, rational choice, language, and rhetoric. It demonstrates how they can be used to support or disconfirm thoretical claims at the action level of political analysis. **RC 1.2**

XIII. 169 GRANSOW, Völker (Univ. Bielefeld, FRG) — **A new stage in the relations between the private and the public.**

Both established sociology as well as Marxism are by now confronted with certain limitations. They are both looking for a new kind of political research able to grasp both the subjective aspect and the quasi-natural aspect of social systems which are withdrawn from what is immediately accessible to the consciousness of the actors. One reason for this new approach is the emergence of new social movements. Another reason is the observation that microelectronics seems to be the most remarkable technology ever to confront mankind. It concerns leisure, work, the welfare state, the security state, the Third World, and especially the communication media. A communication system is emerging in which all human relations are technically intermediated. Thus, a new stage in the destruction of the public has been reached, which is nevertheless accompanied by a new stage in the alternative inderstanding of the relationship between the private and the public. **II. 8.2**

XIII. 170 GREVEN, Michael Th. (Philipps Univ., Marburg, FRG) — **Qu'est-ce que c'est, l'Etat ?**

Traditionally the concept of « State » has covered a very prominent place in some approaches of political theory while it is almost completely neglected in others. This is for example evident in approaches as different as conservative (idealistic) political theory and (neo-)marxism on one hand, as it is obvious with respect to the variety of system theory-based or socio-technological approaches for the research and explanation of politics. In addition, « state-theory » traditionally separates aspects of the phenomenon from each other, as indicated in concepts such as Welfare, Police, Nation-State, *Ständestaat, Rechtsstaat,* etc. The paper argues on favour of an empirically based theory of the state which would be necessary for the analysis and explanation of politics in complex societies of different types. It tries to outline an historical-functional approach which integrates the neo-marxist with the weberian tradition. Its major pursuit is to find arguments appropriate to different functional aspects of the critical-size-type », so that a praxiological approach of social theory might be able to participate in the ongoing discussion of « de-stateization » (*Entstaatlichung*) of politics with empirically based arguments. **I. 6.1**

XIII. 171 GROSPIC, Jiri (Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague, Czechoslovakia) — **The socialist state in developed socialist society.**

Theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of objective tendencies of development of the socialist state in political system and its periodization. Influence of the economic and social development of socialist society on the changes of the role and the functions of the socialist state. Growth of creative organiza-

tional functions, their quantitative development and qualitative features. Role of the socialist state in the solution of global problems of mankind. Role of the socialist state in the intensification of the socio-economic reproduction process. The socialist state and social progress in social relations, in the solution of nationality relations, in the formation of the socialist way of life. The socialist state and the democratization of social life. Development of traditional and new forms of socialist democracy. Intensification of relations of state and non-state forms of democracy in the socialist political system. Investigation of legal foundations and improvement of the role of legality in the development and the deepening of socialist democracy, protection and application of abilities of the individual. Mutual relations between humanist collectivism and individual freedom (freedom of the individual). **I. 3.2**

XIII. 172 GRUNBERG, Gérard (FNSP, Paris) — **L'instabilité du comportement électoral.**

Cette contribution a un double objet : (1) faire le point sur l'état actuel de la réflexion et de la recherche sur les phénomènes de volatilité électorale menée dans les pays anglo-saxons ; (2) donner une première évaluation de l'importance de l'instabilité du comportement électoral en France dans la période récente, et s'interroger sur l'utilité des approches anglo-saxonnes pour l'étude de ce phénomène en France. Les traits principaux du système politique français obligent à prendre en compte d'une manière plus nette que dans la plupart des études anglo-saxonnes les éléments relatifs à l'offre électorale. En revanche, la recherche des *issue effects*, encore assez peu développée en France, apparaît prometteuse pour l'approfondissement des études sur l'instabilité électorale. **II. 6.1**

XIII. 173 GUETZKOW, Harold (Northwestern Univ., Evanston, Ill., USA) — **Cross-cultural orientations toward global modeling : East/West, Latin America, and Asia.**

This study, yet in progress, is designed to develop understanding of the perspectives of knowledgeable individuals throughout the world on global modeling via stimulations. Eastern Europeans, as constrated with North Americans and Western Europeans, focus their concerns on end-value. The Latin Americans, by and large, model their own nations, with little attention to regional and global contexts. The Asians often center their interests on their regions, with recent emphasis upon the Pacific. The simulations are usually mounted in computer formats ; the research across the continents uses analytic technologies transferred from the work of system engineers and econometricians. **IV. 8.2**

XIII. 174 GURR, Ted Robert (Univ. of Colorado, Boulder, Col., USA) — **The role of the state in political violence.**

State violence and terror are policies or strategies chosen by political elites in response to actual or anticipated opposition. Evidence from historical and contemporary repressive regimes provides the basis for propositions about three kinds of causal conditions. (1) Situational variables effect the decision-making calculus of elites : the greater the immediate political threat posed by challengers and the weaker the regime, the more likely are elites to resort to coercion rather than accommodation. (2) Structural conditions define elites' relations with their opponents and constrain their options : elites are most likely to use violent means of control in heterogeneous and highly stratified societies, and during periods of involvement in international conflict. (3) Dispositional conditions refer to elites' norms about the acceptability of coercive strategies. Elites who have seized and held power through violence are likely to be habituated to its use ; secret police and similar agencies established during such conflicts provide means and reinforcement for persisting reliance on state terror. The theory is summarized in two interrelated models of the causes of state violence generally and state terror specifically. **SM 21**

XIII. 175 HAAS, Michael (Univ. of Hawaii, Manoa, Hawaii, USA) — **International integration in Asia.**

One of the recurrent complaints about regional cooperation is that it tends to break down internationalizing trends, leading to parochialization of the world community into feuding blocs that seek their self-interest at the expense of the larger world order. The purpose of the paper is to trace the development of regional international organizations in Asia from 1950 to 1985 so as to determine whether Asian regionalism has been progressive or parochial. The paper begins by refuting a number of a priori claims about the inherent parochialism of regional organizations. Examples are drawn from the experience of Asian regional cooperation. The first empirical section compares membership by subregion in each Asian organization in two data points - the first year of each IGO and 1985. The second empirical section consists of cluster analyses of data on common membership in Asian IGOs, using three different algorithms. Results show that there is indeed a degree of subregional distinctiveness in Asian regional cooperation today. The reasons for this finding appear to contradict the parochialism thesis, however. Some countries, moreover, are reluctant to join IGOs, so it is their own lack of pan-Asianness that accounts for subregionalism in many cases rather than exclusivity on the part of countries that appear eager to join new IGOs. Finally, IGOs are formed initially through the planning of core groups of countries, so we would not be surprised to find initial subregionalism in a new IGO. Thus, the trend toward subregionalism today is expected to be reversed in time. **IV. 3.2**

XIII. 176 HADJI VASILEVA, Jokica (Institut de politique et d'économie internationales, Belgrade, Yougoslavie) — **L'Etat dans les pays africains**

Le rôle renforcé de l'Etat dans le développement actuel des Etats africains est souligné ainsi que la spécificité de cette intervention par rapport à d'autres sociétés et régions. L'attention est attirée sur les différences existant à l'intérieur de l'interventionnisme d'Etat africain, aussi bien de type capitaliste que de type socialiste (pays à orientation socialiste). Outre les aspects positifs de l'intervention de l'Etat, de nombreuses faiblesses (bureaucratie, inefficacité du secteur d'Etat) sont analysés. Il faudrait un Etat qui agirait sur le développement de la participation du peuple et des travailleurs à l'économie et à la vie de la société en général. La participation du peuple devrait réduire le rôle de l'Etat à sa juste mesure et empêcher que son renforcement ne devienne un frein au développement social. La démocratie telle qu'elle est appliquée dans plusieurs pays africains n'est pas comprise comme facteur de socialisation du pouvoir économique et politique, comme une expression du dépérissement de l'Etat, mais plutôt comme un contre-poids à l'absolutisation du pouvoir de l'Etat. **SG 8**

XIII. 177 HARDING, Neil (Univ. College, Swansea, UK) — **The organic labour state.**

Soviet-type state formations are best understood as organisms whose objective is the coordination and development of a social system of production. They are not properly political associations, but organisms with a cellular structure in which the cells are not sovereign individuals but productive collectives. Within the primary cell all the functionally differentiated organs of the larger whole are most vitally operative continuously exposing it to stimuli and conditioning it into appropriate response. Within the cell they replicate the values, the patterns of status, reward and punishment, surveillance, socialisation and mobilisation, common to the organism as a whole - of which it is a microcosm. The functionally differentiated organs of the state that converge on the primary cells are vertically articulated and only converge again at the nervous and cerebral centre of the organism of which the Party is both mind and will. It is the central apparat of the Party that is the authoritative allocator of function, it coordinates and inspires differentiated organs of state. Without it they would atrophy. Within the Organic Labour State the individual, collective, society and state are moments in the ascent towards generality. Man is conceived of as cooperative producer, society as a network of productive relations striving towards coordination and integration. The socialist state is, precisely, the locus of that coordination and integration. The parts attain their meaning only through functional contribution to the goals of the entire organism. In logic, in constitutional theory and in actual practice, the whole is prior to its constitutive parts. The social, productive, civic and political spheres of life are conflated and have no separable identity. The employment of comparativist methodology or transposition of western models of the state must tend to obscure rather than illuminate this unique state formation. **I. 3.2**

XIII. 178 HART, Jeffrey A. (Indiana Univ., Bloomington, Ind., USA) — **Sticky states and sectoral dynamics**

There is an inherent incompatibility between theories of state-societal linkages which stress the inertial character of those linkages within any given nation-state (« sticky state » theories) and those which stress the responsiveness of linkages to changes in the fortunes of firms and industries in domestic and international markets (« sectoral dynamics » theories). The first suggest that there is relative uniformity of state societal linkages across sectors within any nation-state, the second that sectoral differences will arise that preclude such uniformities. A more general and logically consistent theory of state-societal linkages is required to reconcile these two approaches. **SM. 10**

XIII. 179 HAYWOOD, Stuart (Univ. of Birmingham, UK) — **Resources and innovation in health care.**

The paper discusses the impact of financial constraints on managerial innovation, focusing on the experience of the National Health Service (NHS) in the UK. It examines the hypotheses that the expectation of a decrease, or no increase, in resources : (1) encourages the speedier introduction, and use of, systematic analyses, informed by rational decision-making models ; (2) relates innovations to the strengthened position of « corporate rationalisers », rather than consumers, vis-à-vis the professional interest. It sets the discussion in the context of significant changes in resource allocation policies designed to achieve geographical justice; to effect tighter controls of health care spending ; and to stimulate managerial interest in improving productivity. The argument is illustrated with material drawn from a series of studies of 10 district health authorities, each responsible for the organization and delivery of comprehensive health services to approximately 250,000 people. **SG 19.1**

XIII. 180 HEDBLOM, Milda K. (Augsburg College, Minneapolis, Minn., USA) — **Career patterns and the structure of opportunities for women in the media : a five-country comparison.**

The research reported in this paper investigates career patterns among women in broadcast media organizations in five European countries. More than one hundred depth interviews were conducted in Austria, Britain, France, Norway and Sweden over a period of five years. These interviews explored (1) career patterns, (2) organizational policy and ideology, (3) perceptions about career mobility within specific broadcast organizations, and (4) assessments of public policy addressing women's status in society. Regardless of national differences, this research indicates that a distinctive career opportunity ladder has emerged in all the organizations which shapes career patterns for women along lines not described by the covering ideology. **RC 19.2**

XIII. 181 HEISKANEN, Ilkka (Univ. of Helsinki, Finland) ; KIVINIEMI, Markku (id.) — **The local-central relationship : the case of central municipal associations.**

The paper presents a conceptual elaboration of local-central relationship in shaping public policies, illustrates it with an empirical case, and suggests ideas for further comparative analysis. An analysis of local-central relations deals ideally with both structural and processual aspects. The analysis of processes identifies the actors : their values, resources and interaction patterns. The actors can be conceived as situationally influential subjects which in their action reveal the structures and utilize them as their resources. In the analysis of local-central relations the traditional categories of actors have been central government and local government. The analysis of structures identifies the institutional economic, social, political and ideological contexts of action. In the analysis of local-central relations the traditional structure is usually conceived direct and hierarchical in all four respects. The increasing interdependence and interaction of the actors have produced new hierarchical or extra-hierarchical intermediary institutional structures. The Finnish central municipal associations are analyzed as extra-hierarchical coordinating structures and further ideas for comparative research are suggested. **RC 5.2**

XIII. 182 HEISLER, Barbara Schmitter (Cleveland State Univ., Cleveland, O., USA) — **From migrant workers to ethnic minorities ? The political and organizational aspects of the process of settlement in Western Europe.**

In the mid 1980s there can be little doubt that the migrant workers who had come to Europe's advanced industrial societies in the post World War II period are rapidly becoming a part of their permanent populations. The paper examines the process of settlement by focusing on ongoing institutional and organizational relationships between immigrant communities, host societies and countries of origin in the light of existing theoretical models of ethnic inequality (e.g. segmented labor market, immigrant enclave, internal colonialism, expatriate community). After presenting some recent empirical evidence from France and West Germany, the author concludes that existing models cannot account for the consequences of the continued involvement of countries of origin. Demonstrating the theoretical and empirical importance of this variable for understanding emerging patterns of host society/immigrant institutional relations, she presents an additional model: the political enclave. **SM 24**

XIII. 183 HEISLER, Martin O. (Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md., USA) — **Ethnic pluralism, public policy, and liberal democracy : comparative perspectives on tensions and possibilities.**

While ethnic pluralism is a multifarious phenomenon, its manifestation in virtually all states in the late 20th century provides certain nontrivial empirical and theoretical commonalities. The paper – a synthesis of research and theoretical speculation pursued during the past decade – develops a taxonomy of the major forms of the phenomenon ; considers the salient public policy dimensions of the problems and opportunities in ethnic relations in a wide range of contemporary societies ; and poses the central problems in policy approaches to ethnic relations in terms of the normative and positive theoretical conundrums found in Liberal Democratic theory and philosophy. The central argument is that historical characteristics of Liberal Democratic thought constrain both normative and positive dimensions of public policy addressed to the political, legal, economic and cultural dimensions of ethnic pluralism – for groups, polities, societies alike. **SM 24**

XIII. 184 HELLSTERN, Gerd-Michael (Free Univ. of Berlin, FRG) — **Institutional arrangements - Consequence of the economic crisis ? A comparative perspective.**

The 1980s signal a change in the institutional arrangements of the states in Europe. Former centralized states like France, Greece or Spain turn around to emphasize decentralization of power and functions, in the Federal Republic of Germany the rise of local social movements has led to the formation of a new national party emphasizing local control and feedback processes. Arguments fostering the decentralization point to the need of modern societies to increase their learning capacities by built-in system-flexibility to deal with situation-specific configurations of events. Decentralized systems are better able to adapt, shorten information processing and enhance local engagement. More critical evaluations point to the internationalization of economic activities and the tendency to decentralize the cost of those processes. Both explanations hide the fact that behind the decentralization formula quite divergent solutions have emerged as a result of the combined forces of economic pressures, technological changes and political culture. At the end of the current period of transition, different types of urban systems may emerge. **II. 4.2**

XIII. 185 HEPER, Metin (Bogazici Univ., Istanbul, Turkey) — **The mode of legitimizing a modernizing state : the case of Turkey.**

Although a developing country, Turkey shares with countries like France and Federal Germany a tradition of a sovereign and autonomous state. With its roots deep in the Ottoman past, this tradition was further consolidated and elaborated under the Republic, established in 1923. During the Republican period, one comes across three distinct periods vis-à-vis the fortunes of the state : (1) a transient transcendental state (ca. 1923-1938) ; (2) increased transcendentalism in a bureaucratic direction (ca. 1938-1980) ; (3) a transient and partially transcendental state (post-1980 period). The paper traces the crises of legitimacy in each period. **I. 2.1**

XIII. 186 HERMANN, Charles F. (Mershon Center, Ohio State Univ., Columbus, O., USA) — **The ultimate crisis in the nuclear era.**

A head of state advised that missiles, presumably nuclear-armed, have been detected headed toward his country – this represents the ultimate crisis of the nuclear era. The literature on decision-making and stress, which is reviewed, provides some insight regarding what can be expected from policy makers under those conditions. With this background, a new look is taken at the problems of crisis stability of strategic systems, control arrangements, and the combinations of technology and strategy that enhance or erode the quality of human decision-making. Given the extreme limits insuring quality decision-making in such an ultimate crisis, the major focus of potentially corrective steps is in the pre-crisis period – crisis avoidance and crisis warning options. These are examined together with possible scenarios for their development and use. **IV. 6.1**

XIII. 187 HESSELMAN, Linda (Cambridge Econometrics, Cambridge, UK) — **State intervention in structural change: the international, social and technological dimensions.**

The growth trajectory which characterised the long boom after World War II was associated with the development of a set of stable expectations about the structure of decision-making ; the

need for state intervention ; and the nature of the government-company interface. These expectations were interpreted in different ways in different countries : US regulations, French planning, West German coordination, UK industrial and regional policy, Japan's use of MITI ; but shared certain pre-conceptions. The structural changes that occurred during the 1970s disrupted these expectations in a fundamental way, creating uncertainty about the form of political interaction with the micro-economy. Technological trends, the mode of discourse with companies and the political constituency became unclear. Governments found it difficult to identify which type of company they should support and encourage. The social heterogeneity and ambiguous nationality of those who seemed to be obvious allies confused priorities. The implications of these ambiguities and uncertainties for government policies towards industrial development are analysed with particular reference to electronics. **SM 10**

XIII. 188 HIBBING, John R. (Univ. of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb., USA) — **On legislative change and institutionalization**

A serious problem with legislative studies is that, while a substantial amount has been discovered about various aspects of many individual legislatures, there is no acceptable, general model of legislative change. The notion of institutionalization, as developed by S. Huntington and others and as applied to the US House of Representatives by N. Polsby, probably offers the most promise to these who hope this situation will change. Here we find the seeds of what could become a model of legislative evolution. To date, however, no serious attempt has been made to determine how well the concept of institutionalization fares in other legislatures. Moreover, significant differences persist regarding the interpretation, operationalization, and merit of the term. Consequently, in this paper I provide a fairly detailed description of the strengths and weaknesses of the notion of institutionalization as it has been applied to legislatures, and I present data from a legislature other than the U.S. House of Representatives (the House of Commons). This should be seen as a preliminary attempt to ascertain the ability of the concept of legislative institutionalization to explain change in legislatures and not just change in the US House of Representatives. **RC 8.2**

XIII. 189 HILL, Walter W., Jr. (Howard Univ., Washington D.C., USA) — **Military spending and the public welfare budget : an empirical assessment of the trade-off in selected nations.**

A growing body of literature examines the possible trade-off between resource allocations for the defense, and democracies have reached contradictory conclusions regarding a possible trade-off. This paper compares recent expenditures for the US, France, and Sweden. Data for defense and education are analyzed. Using regression techniques and weak-Granger methods it is discovered that whether or not a trade-off is found depends in part on how one defines a trade-off. Furthermore, trade-offs are more readily apparent after one ignores the few years immediately following the Korean War. Positing models with simple non-linear functions captures better the behavior of these variables. **RC 10.2**

XIII. 190 HILPERT, Ulrich (Univ. Konstanz, FRG) — **New requirements on theoretical concepts of research and technology policy : the example of the setting-up of solar industry in France and West Germany.**

Studies on research and technology policies have been a field of national scientific activities. There is therefore a lack of comparative international research. Because of socio-economic developments in the Third World, particulary in energy needs and demand for solar technology, new circumstances have arisen for research and technology policy. The importance of Third World countries as consumers of specific technologies, appropriate to their needs, offers a chance to the industrialized countries to set up a new branch - the development and production of solar technologies. For export market-oriented technological and industrial innovations, France and West Germany unfold different concepts. The French concept is innovation oriented toward the Franc-zone and organized by research and technology policy ; the West German concept promotes the development of competitive technology oriented toward the world market. In both cases research and technology policy is a means for organizing new competitive positions. **III. 2.1**

XIII. 191 HOFFMAN-LANGE, Ursula (Univ. Mannheim, FRG) — **Positional power and political influence in West Germany.**

The paper deals with the problems involved in the identification of national elites. Starting out from the presumption that the differences between the three basic approaches of elite identification are of substantive rather than methodological nature, the first section discusses the different aspects of power and influence each of the approaches uses. The second section deals with the major advantages and flaws of the positional approach. Since this approach is the one most commonly used in studying national elites, its limitations are of crucial importance. In the last section, a new approach is presented, which combines the positional approach with features of the decisional approach by using sociometric nominations of elite respondents. This hybrid approach allows to study the transformation of power resources connected with leadership positions in different sectors of society into influence in political decision-making. **RC 2.1**

XIII. 192 HOFFMANN-MARTINOT Vincent (I.E.P. de Bordeaux, France) ; NEVERS, Jean-Yves (id.) — **Fiscal austerity in European countries - National contrasts, similar local strategies.**

Technological, institutional, demographic and economic changes are currently transforming the national urban systems, creating a climate of pressures for innovation at the local level. Despite different national constitutional frameworks, traditions and cultures, the set of policies followed show some remarkable similarity. Variations seem to result from the need for tailored solutions in specific cities. From the vast set of innovation strategies some will probably exercise a long-term impact even after the fiscal austerity has been overcome. They relate to the creation of more responsive city management tools, the fostering of local institutional capacities for analysis and the redrawing of boundaries between the private and the public sector, emphasizing new forms of private-public cooperation. Empirical results suggest that, despite national differences, the future urban policy processes and strategies will be determined by closer interaction between the levels of governments and between the private and public sector. **SM 11**

XIII. 193 HOGWOOD, Brian W. (Univ. of Strathclyde, Glasgow, UK) — **Criteria for the selection of regional boundaries in proposals for regional government in Britain.**

The paper examines proposals made in the twentieth century for regional governments within Britain and analyses the criteria used in drawing the boundaries of the proposed regions. The extend to which criteria were made explicit is assessed. Each proposal is considered in terms of whether economic or cultural criteria were used. The degree of contiguity between different sets of proposals is assessed, and variation in boundaries is analysed in terms of differences in criteria used for drawing boundaries and the functions of the proposed regional governments. The proposed regional boundaries are related to the multiplicity of sets of regional boundaries currently used by British government for administrative purposes. **RC 15.2**

XIII. 194 HOLLINGSWORTH, J. Rogers (Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., USA) — **The governance of the American economy.**

Focusing on sectors of the contemporary economy of the US this paper addresses two problems. (1) It develops a typology of the American economy, classifying different sectors of the economy into various categories. (2) It compares the relative importance of the following mechanisms in governing the American economy : markets, the state, large scale corporations, business trade associations, and the informal activity of clans. Contrary to the tone of most political economy literature, the paper demonstrates that there is great variation across sectors of the economy in the role which mechanisms play in governing the American economy. While there is a strong predisposition for Americans to prefer market solutions to problems, non market forces are far more important in the governance of the American economy than is usually recognized. The paper attempts to explain why there is variation in the governance of the economy. **SM 10**

XIII. 195 HOLMBERG, Sørenn (Univ. of Gøteborg, Sweden) ; SÄRLVIK, Bo (id.) — **Social determinants of party choice in Swedish elections, 1956-1982.**

The paper looks at the social bases of parties in Sweden in the last three decades from two points of view : (1) the relationships between social characteristics and party voting ; (2) the changes that have occurred in the social composition of the electorate and the consequences of such changes. It gauges the extent to which the class bases of parties have changed from the mid-1950s to the early 1980s, it attempts also to assess the effects on the balance of party strength of new phenomena such as the apparent emergence of a political divide between the public and the private sector in the economy as well as the political consequences of a dra-

matic increase in the proportion of gainfully employed women in the electorate. The shifting voting patterns among young voters during this period are also traced. The paper is based on data drawn from national election surveys conducted 1956-1982 by the Department of Political Science at the University of Göteborg in collaboration with the Swedish Central Bureau of Statistics. **SM 15**

XIII. 196 HONGSANAND, Kesinee (Chulalongkorn Univ., Bangkok, Thailand) — **The impact of political factor on Thai public enterprises : policy and management.**

The term « public enterprise » originally relates to a country's economy, but since it is a part of the public policy, the management inevitably affects the nation's politics especially in a developing country such as Thailand. The management of more than 70 public enterprises under the control of various ministries has been criticized widely for not being as successful as it should be in both the government's investment and the use of manpower. The reasons for the failure of the public entreprises' management are uncertainty of the state policy especially when there are frequent changes of governments, inappropriate controlling agencies, inefficiency of Parliamentary control, etc. Most of the management has also been under the influence of politics since, in the past, taking over business in the form of public enterprise seemed like a way to seek income benefit for some pressure groups more than to seek benefit for the public. The government has realized these problems and tried to find ways and means to improve the public enterprises in both policy and management, in accordance with the Cabinet's resolution of 6 March, 1984. The resolution calls for ministries with public enterprises under their control to accept the advice of the National Bureaucratic Administrative Reform Committee on « the policy management and classification of public enterprises to enable management of the organizations to meet their objectives ». **SM 6**

XIII. 197 HORN, Robert C. (California State Univ., Northridge, Cal., USA) — **The United States and ASEAN : the last ten years and the next ten.**

There are several crucial ambiguities and uncertainties in US-ASEAN relations including economic ties and relations with Vietnam, the USSR, and China. The manner in which these are resolved, or are not resolved, will determine the nature of the relationship over the next decade and beyond. This thesis is examined first by discussing the causes and nature of American policy toward Southeast Asia prior to 1979 and the developments which led to the new US approach which has characterized the 1980s. Second, the paper analyzes the nature of this new American posture, the strengths and particulary the problem areas or ambiguities on Washington's relationship with the ASEAN states. Third, the paper investigates the possible scenarios for the next ten years in US-ASEAN relations and American policy in Southeast Asia. **SM 12**

XIII. 198 HORVAT, Branko (Univ. of Zagreb, Yugoslavia, and Yale Univ., USA) — **The blessings and the curse of direct democracy.**

Industrial democracy means the elimination of social hierarchy, the humanization of relations at the work place, but also cliques and irresponsibility. Communal self-government means participation in the political process, but also the emergence of local bosses. There is relative autonomy of direct democracy at the work place and the place of living. The state level means political participation and self-determination but also overdecentralization and multiplication of norms. Direct participation in decision-making increases the societal potential for conflict resolution but also multiplies the number of overt conflicts. The increasing complexity of modern society requires expanding participation in all spheres of social life. Like sophisticated technology, however, participatory decision-making requires new skills to be efficient. These skills are social - they cannot be learned in school but are the result of life experience. If life experience is contradictory - as it is bound to be in a transitional period - direct democracy appears less valuable than it really is. **SM 9**

XIII. 199 HRBEK, Rudolf (Univ. of Tübingen, FRG) — **Transnational party federations : towards the emergence of European political parties ? An assessment after the second direct elections.**

The establishment of EC-wide party federations (Socialists 1974, Liberals and Christian Democrats 1976) was accompanied by expectations that they would develop towards coherent party organizations able to fulfil certain functions : (1) being the party political basis for the respective party group in the European Parliament and giving them political guidelines ; (2) contributing to a pattern of close communication between the levels of the national and the EC system and, (3) as a consequence, improving the democratic legitimacy of EC policy making. The paper deals with different aspects of these party federations (organizational structure and decision-making procedures ; relations to national parties and the European Parliament's party groups ; efforts to formulate common programmes or election manifestos ; participation on campaigning, 1979 and 1984) and concludes that they (including the Conservative EDU and a « Green » alliance) have not yet achieved the quality of European political parties. **RC 3.2**

XIII. 200 HUDSON, Heather E. (Univ. of Texas, Austin, Texas, USA) — **New communications technologies : policy dilemmas for the developing world.**

While we tend to think of new communications technologies as the toys and tools of the industrialized world, they offer major opportunities - and also dilemmas - for the developing world. Issues in satellite communications are the primary focus of the paper. Satellite technology offers the opportunity to provide reliable communications - both interactive telecommunications and broadcasting - to virtually every human community. While many leaders are aware of the potential, only a few developing countries are actually using this technology to achieve development goals. The paper will explore the political, economic, and organizational factors which influence decisions on level of telecommunications investment, urban-rural priorities, centralization vs. decentralization of programming, and mix of interactive and one-way communications services. In addition, the paper examines issues to be raised at the World Administrative Radio Conference on the Geostationary Orbit and Services Utilizing It (Space WARC or ORB 85), the first session of which will be held in Geneva in August, 1985. The issues raised above will be important in determining the positions taken by developing countres at the conference, and the likely outcome of the first session. **II. 8.2**

XIII. 201 HUSZAR, Istvan (Inst. of Social Sciences, Budapest, Hungary) — **Economic reform and the role of social scientists - the Hungarian case.**

The Hungarian economy was characterized by substantive reforms in the 1960s and 1970s. As a result of these changes Hungarian economy became decentralized by the late 1960s. Social scientists played a crucial role in initiating and preparing changes in the structure of the economic system. The paper deals with the preparation of economic reforms, concentrating on the introduction of the « New Economic Mechanism » in 1968, and the second reform wave in the late 1970s. Experts influenced the decision-making process through both formal and informal channels. Formal changes were always initiated through party politics, i.e. within the political system. Conceptions of reform steps were matured within the scientific community, with an interaction of state and non-state formal organisations. The paper focuses on the possibilities and limits of expert action in forming economic policy and structure. **II. 2.2**

XIII. 202 HVEEM Helge (Univ. of Oslo, Norway) — **Institutionalization and crisis management : the emergence of bilateral protectionism.**

This is a first and preliminary report on an on-going project on « institutional economics » at the international level. Starting from concepts like « international political economy » and « politicization of world markets », the author develops his argument by discussing markets, negotiations and industrial organization as three models by which international economic transactions may be analysed. He discusses in a dynamic perspective how and under which conditions they may interact, and relates them to the evolution of international regimes. Two specific hypotheses are put forth. (1) Negotiation (or politics in the narrower sense) and industrial organization have to a large - and, over the last years, to an increasing - extent substituted, or reduced the market system of transaction. Secondly, an arrangement termed « bilateral protectionism » has come to the fore as a strategy of organizing international transactions, to some extent representing a way of linking state and private interests, integrating industrial organization and negotiation. Some support for these hypotheses is presented by use of statistical material. **IV. 7.2**

XIII. 203 IMAM, Zafar X. (Jawaharlal Nehru Univ., New Delhi, India) — **The theory of Soviet state today.**

The theory of State in the USSR has, after Stalin, assumed importance essentially as a process of the functionalization of the Soviet

political system. The theoretical debate was revived by the 21st CPSU Congress, finally leading to Developed Socialism (1977 Constitution), with two major theoretical innovations. (1) Developed Socialism is not a transitory stage but « a natural logical stage on the road to communism ». (2) It is « developing on its own foundations », presumably without the birthmarks of its earlier stage. Self-preservation and self-renewal, the two traditional theoretical inputs in the developmental model of Soviet polity, acting and reacting on each other, however, remain relevant here. The typology of Developed Socialism may be viewed as its functional framework. However, its theoretical formulations do appear novel, if not contradictory, to Soviet reality. **I. 3.1**

XIII. 204 INGLEHART, Ronald (Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., USA) ; RABIER, Jacques-René (EEC, Brussels, Belgium) — **Political cleavages in the European Community, 1970-1985.**

The emergence of the peace movement, the environmentalist movement, the anti-nuclear energy movement and the women's movement are manifestations, at the macropolitical level, of underlying long-term cleavages that have been taking place among the publics of the European Community nations. Such factors are reshaping the political cleavages that have long prevailed in these countries. The conventional Left/Right dimension based on religious cleavages and social class conflict remains important, but new axes of polarization have been superimposed on it, creating strains within existing political parties and sometimes leading to the emergence of new ones. In this paper we chart the main lines of political cleavage within the European Community as of 1985, and analyze the changes that have taken place since 1970, using data from the Euro-Barometer surveys. We will also assess the prospects for further integration of transnational political party federations such as the Socialist International, examining the cleavages within given political families in Western Europe, identifying those issues on which there is clear consensus, and those on which there is relatively great dissensus. In conclusion, we discuss the implications these findings have for European integration and, more broadly, for the Atlantic Alliance. **RC 3.2**

XIII. 205 IRVING, Terence H. (Univ. of Sydney, Australia) — **Radical political science in Australia : a critical survey.**

A critical analysis and description of radical political science in Australia in the period from the late 1960s. In the first part, a number of questions about the history and sociology of radical political science are considered, in order to focus on the process by which intellectual influences from the USA were adapted to suit local conditions. Three indigenous forces are specified in this adaptation : an episode of intellectual corporateness ; a revival of socialist thinking ; and a faltering in the leadership coming from the ruling class. After a survey of the literature, certain features of radical political science are noted. The paper concludes with an assessment of the absences in the literature and the contributions made by the radicals to the study of politics. **SG 11**

XIII. 206 ISERNIA, Pierangelo (Forum Humanum Project, Rome, Italy) — **The factors of peace in the world community.**

A summary report of a three-year research project (1985) on « The Factors of Peace in the World Community », which will be concluded by the fall of 1985. The aim of the research is to build up a spectrum of alternative long-term scenarios of the international political system and some crucial regional areas. The research is articulated as follows : (1) the articulation of the « structure of the present situation » at two levels of analysis : the international system as such ; three main regional levels : Western Europe and USA ; Eastern Europe and USSR ; Latin America. Three main points are addressed : the structure of the international political system ; the relationships between domestic structure, foreign policy and international system, focusing on one side on the elites dynamics and on the other side on the state-society problems. (2) The construction of the long-term alternative scenarios (through mathematical modelling and cross-impact analysis) at these two levels : High Conflict, High Security ; Low Conflict, Low Security ; High Conflict, Low Security ; Low Conflict, High Security. (3) The discussion of these scenarios on a wider context, posed by a matrix of 16 alternative images of the future obtained by combining together two dimensions : Profiles of the Future and Worldwiews. (4) Short and long-term policy recommendations at the different levels. **IV 1.1**

XIII. 207 JACKSON, Robert (Carleton Univ., Ottawa, Canada) ; ROSBERG, Carl C. (Univ. of California, Berkeley, Cal., USA) — **Sovereignty and state-building : nominal sovereignty as an obstacle to state-building in Tropical Africa.**

The body of the paper explores three primary relations between sovereignty and state-building in Tropical Africa. (1) Nominal sovereignty was sufficient for the attainment of independence and substantive sovereignty - recognition of empirical statehood - was not necessary in most cases. (2) The erosion of empirical statehood on the part of an independent African government - e.g., Chad, Ethiopia, Angola, etc. - is not a valid ground for the withdrawal of nominal sovereignty. (3) Most important, nominal sovereignty can be an obstacle to empirical state-building by (a) preventing a realignment of international boundaries to more adequately represent underlying political, sociological, and econonomical realities ; (b) constituting a disincentive to empirical state-building by governments which have lost substantial control over to support from significant territories and people but are in no danger of losing their nominal sovereignty. The paper explores these and other relations between sovereignty and state-building in some detail. Finally, the paper has some methodological implications for the theory of the state : namely, the state is in part a creature of law, including international law in the case of sub-Saharan states, and the theory of the state must therefore also be in part a legal theory. In the traditional - pre-behavioral revolution - study of the - primarily Western - state the emphasis was entirely on legal theory of a narrow, formal-international kind. In the initial studies of the non-Western state the emphasis switched to post-behavioral sociological and political-economy theories. The paper suggests strongly that an adequate theory of the contemporary state involves both legal and sociological/political economy analysis. **I. 4.1**

XIII. 208 JAIN, R.B. (Univ. of Delhi, India) — **Electronics policy and the Indian Parliament.**

The paper discusses the Indian Parliament's involvement in the formulation and implementation of electronics policy. Since 1970, when a separate Department of Electronics was established, and an Electronics Commission came into being in 1971 to formulate policies in the field of electronics for achieving an integrated and self-reliant base in the country, the Parliament has had many opportunities to discuss the working of the Commission and the electronics policy of the Government of India. The paper seeks to analyse the role of Parliament in the area of electronics policy. It concludes that notwithstanding the great interests shown and some very useful and significant suggestions made by members of the Parliament and its various Committees, the overall impact of Parliament on electronic policy has been marginal in comparison to the executive initiative. **RC 8.1**

XIII. 209 JAUREGUI BERECIARTU, Gurutz (Univ. del Pais Vasco, Bilbao, Spain) — **Political violence in the Basque Country.**

The phenomenon of ETA derives from the interaction of two factors : Basque nationalism and franquism. The fundamental elements of ETA, both ideological and strategical-political, were already well defined and developed in the Basque nationalism of the pre-war period particulary in its intransigent and radical sector represented by the Aberri and Jagi-Jagi groups. At a later period ETA would acquire characteristics of its own which would separate it from the traditional nationalism, and the regime of terror and repression imposed by franquism would exert a fundamental influence on this state of affairs so inclining ETA definitively towards extremely radical and intransigent postures. In this way the activism of ETA arose. This activism should be understood as the sublimation of praxis to the detriment of theory, the structure of ETA as an armed group and the adoption of a third world, anticolonialist-style guerrilla strategy. **SM 21**

XIII. 210 JOBERT, Bruno (I.E.P. de Grenoble, France) — **La double crise de l'Etat-Providence.**

L'Etat-Providence est actuellement ébranlé par deux crises distinctes. La première est une crise de légitimation. Elle met en cause la bureaucratisation des services, la dépendance vis-à-vis des professionnels comme autant d'obstacles à une revendication de l'autonomie qui plonge ses racines dans le développement d'un individualisme plus radical dans les sociétés contemporaines. La deuxième est une crise de régulation. Elle résulte de la difficulté des Etats à attribuer des ressources nouvelles aux secteurs sociaux dans une situation de crise fiscale des Etats. L'une et l'autre de ces crises ont suscité une reformulation des politiques sanitaires dont la mise en œuvre a été poursuivie avec un inégal succès. **SG 19.1**

XIII. 211 JOHNSON, Albert (Madurai Kamaraj Univ., Madurai, India) — **Consequences of centralised planning in a federal polity : a critique of the Indian Plan process.**

The Constitution of India provides the broad framework within which the Federal (Union) and State governments are expected to take decisions regarding planning. But the vast amount of economic powers at the disposal of the Federal Government is further reinforced by the powerfully staffed and non-statutory bodies : the Planning Commission and the National Development Council. The State Planning Boards do not merit comparison with the Planning Commission. Experience has shown that the States are not competent enough to influence the Planning Commission in their favour. The contributions of the States to the planning process is of marginal significance. The commanding position of the Federal Government with the Planning Commission can be checked only if there is strengthening of the planning machinery at the State level. Balanced development of all the States, a basic objective of planning in India, has not been realised, primarily because of the centralising tendency in the federal model. **III. 2.1**

XIII. 212 JOHNSON, Gary R. (Lake Superior State College, Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., USA) ; SAWYER, Timothy J. (German Army College, Munich, FRG) ; RATWIK, Susan H. (Lake Superior State College) — **The evocative significance of kin terms in patriotic speech : an experimental study based upon a theory linking kin selection and patriotism.**

Terms like « motherland » and « fatherland » are used frequently in patriotic speech. The frequent use of such kin terms can be predicted by a theory which links kin selection and the patriotic socialization process through kin recognition cues. Association is probably one important kin recognition cue for humans. Since kin terms typically apply to an individual's closest associates, these previously neutral stimuli should acquire through conditionning the capacity to elicit behaviors normally directed only to close associates. Kin terms should therefore be more evocative than other terms of association. This hypothesis was examined through a study involving three experimental groups exposed to versions of a patriotic speech that differed only in the terms of association emplyed. Measurements were taken on several physiological and attitude variables. **RC 12.2**

XIII. 213 JOHNSON, Michael H (Univ. of Sussex, Brighton, UK) — **A state without relative autonomy : the case of Lebanon, 1943-1985.**

The political power of Lebanese merchants and financiers was such that their state was different from most other bourgeois states, which can be characterised by a more indirect political influence of the dominant social class. This meant the Lebanese state lacked the « relative autonomy » (N. Poulantzas) necessary for it to mediate between the competing interests of the bourgeoisie and other classes, or between the different interests of « fractions » and individuals within the bourgeoisie itself. Reforms introduced by President Shibab after the civil war of 1958 made the state temporarily more autonomous, but the commercial-financial bourgeoisie had regained direct control by 1970. The subsequent undermining of Shihabist structures, particulary the internal security apparatus, contributed to the conditions which led to the 1975-76 civil war and ultimately to the complete destruction of the state. **SM 1**

XIII. 214 JOHNSTON, Michael (Univ. of Pittsburgh, USA) — **Social conceptions of right and wrong in Britain : exploring « subjective » definitions of corruption.**

« Subjective » definitions of corruption are an enduring concern for analysts of corruption. Data from the 1984 British Social Attitudes Survey are used to explore social perceptions of right and wrong in both public and private settings ; the results are also compared with American data. People may generally agree on the relative seriousness of various kinds of wrongdoing, but their judgments are arrayed along a finely-shaded continuum with no precise distinctions between right and wrong. Indeed, the variations in perceptions are more interesting : people differ in the overall severity of their judgments, and in the importance placed on perceived categories of wrongdoing. Moreover, judgments vary with circumstances and attributed motives. The standards by which people judge public conduct draw upon private, everyday experiences as well as upon conceptions of legality ; thus society operates under multiple (and at times conflicting) conceptions of right and wrong. **RC 20.2**

XIII. 215 JOHNSTON, Richard (Univ. of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada) ; BRADY, Henry E. (Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass., USA) — **Party leadership choice in the United States and Canada.**

The paper assesses the effect of leadership choice rules on the kind of leader actually chosen, by a comparison of Canadian and American procedures. Primary voters or convention delegates may employ one or more of these choice criteria : (1) « proximity » : how close each candidate is to the voter or delegate on policy questions ; (2) « viability » : how likely the candidate is to win the leadership ; and (») « electability » : how likely the candidate is to lead his party to general election victory. Candidates who do well by one criterion may do poorly by another. The electoral success and essential character of a party depend greatly on how these motives fit together in the choice of its leader. The paper proposes models of leader choice in which selection rules play an explicit role and tests the models with 1980 and 1984 US National Election Study data and with Canadian convention delegate surveys. **SM 4**

XIII. 216 JÖNSSON, Christer (Univ. of Lund, Sweden) — **Soviet political language : esoteric discursive practices.**

The paper proceeds from the notion that discursive and interpretive practices are part of historically engendered social practices. It seeks to relate Soviet discursive practices to Soviet political culture. Relevant historical traits of Russian and Soviet political culture are outlined. The distinction between « official » truth (pravda) and philosophical truth (istina) in the Russian language makes for a « bilingual » tradition in Russian/Soviet political discourse. The premises and functions of the official and unofficial political language are analyzed. Looking beyond the manifest Marxist-Leninist jargon of official Soviet discourse and the opaque language of the counterculture, an effort is made to uncover certain political themes pervading both official and unofficial Soviet discursive practices. **SM 43**

XIII. 217 JORDAN, Grant (Univ. of Aberdeen, UK) — **Consultation processes as de facto legislation : Britain.**

Parliamentary type of legislative activity in Britain is largely formal - Parliament is marginal to the policy process. The paper documents how there are extensive procedures for group-Departmental negotiations and how these kinds of processes for both major and specialist topics have survived the arrival of the Thatcher Governments, which superficially have been more interested in strong political leadership than in consultation and social peace. **III. 4.2**

XIII. 218 GERD, Junne (Univ. of Amsterdam, Netherlands) — **International competition in industrial policy : the case of biotechnology.**

Biotechnology promises to have similar far-reaching consequences on economic structure and international trade in the 1990's as microelectronics has (had) in the 1970's and the 1980's. All major industrial countries, therefore, support national efforts in this field. There is a strong interactive element between national industrial policies in different countries. Since it seems less important to get a new industry from the ground than it is to do this faster and more effectively than in other countries, there is a certain « zero-sum »-element in this interaction. Major industrial countries have become caught in an international restructuring race (of which the « biotechnology-race forms part », which implies that direct competition between companies is more and more superseded by increasing rivalry among states. **SM 10**

XIII. 219 KABASHIMA, Ikuo (Univ. of Tsukuba, Japon) — **Political corruption, alienation, and the stability of the Liberal Democratic Party regime.**

Japan's 37th general election was dubbed the « Tanaka verdict election », a reflection of the prominence given to the political etchnics surrounding the conviction of Mr. Tanaka, the ex-Prime Minister and leader of the largest LDP faction. In the election, Mr. Tanaka and his faction, stressing regional advantage politics, were conspicuously successful in the midst of a general setback for the LDP. This setback was attributed to the mass abstention from voting of « weak » LDP supporters who were disturbed by the LDP's corruption ; rather than voting for an alternative party, they abstained from voting. The success of Mr. Tanaka and his faction would increase the political distrust among the Japanese people. The wavering of the LDP's supporters indicates the potential volatility of the LDP regime. **SG 3**

XIII. 220 KALTEFLEITER, Werner (Christian-Albrechts Univ., Kiel, FRG) — **The new media - a chance for pluralism ?**

The new media - cable and satellite communication - offer new options for mass communication. For technological reasons, the number of programs and channels was traditionally limited, in the FRG, for example, to only 3 TV programs. Also for technological and economic reasons, the print media suffered a substantial concentration process over the last decades. This development has raised the question whether an effective pluralistic system of mass communication still exists in the free societies. The existence of new media offers a technological option for a new pluralism. Whether this option can be used depends on the legal and organizational framework of the new media. Can we expect new types of programs or just a multiplication of existing ones ? Will we receive responses to the demands of different minority groups ? To what degree will the new programs be accepted by the public ? Will the new electronic media replace existing print media ? What will be the implications on human behavior in general, or, in particular, with regard to family structure and the use of leisure time ? These are only a few of the questions that must be examined in connection with the introduction of new media. **II. 8.1**

XIII. 221 KAPLAN, Marcos (Univ. Nacional de México) — **State, national project and international relations in the global crisis.**

The state in Latin America, since its origins but specially in the contemporary phase, tended increasingly to growth, autonomization and supremacy over society, classes and institutions. It has been more and more so as an apparatus and institution, as an enbodiment of public elites, and as the main socio-economic and political agency. The present double crisis, in the international system and in national development, has co-produced and reinforced a crisis in the State itself, thus threatening its autonomy, its operating capacity, its very existence. The causes, the characteristics, the trends and the consequences of the State's interventionism and autonomization, of its limits and its crisis, are analyzed. The hypothesis is advanced of a continuity and reinforcement of the Natio-State, related to the crisis itself, to different types of political regimes and processes, and to alternative models of national development and regional and international integration. **IV. 7.1**

XIII. 222 KARAIVANOVA, Penka (Inst. Intern. Relations and Socialist Integration, Sofia, Bulgaria) — **Ideological differences and international conflicts.**

After clarifying the nature, essence and sources of international conflicts and the influence of ideology as a component of foreign policy, the author attempts to give an answer to the following questions : Is it possible to contain the objectively inavoidable ideological struggle between states with different political systems within the framework of peaceful coexistence ? How plausible are the theories that the ideological factor in international relations stimulates international conflicts ? What measures to avoid international crises and to solve them when they arise are being applied at present in the Balkans between the Warsaw fact and NATO countries, which pursue foreign policy strategies based on fundamentally opposite ideological and theoretical stands ? The paper attempts to substantiate the thesis that ideological social relations should not interfere with interstate relations, that the arguments in the sphere of ideas should not lead to confrontations among states. **IV. 6.1**

XIII. 223 KASZA, Gregory J. (Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash., USA) — **Military bureaucratic mass organizations and social mobilization in developing societies.**

It is widely accepted that political parties (i.e., organizations created for the purpose of controlling the state) play a unique role in structuring mass political involvement. However, a number of military regimes have utilized a different type of institution to organize the masses : the « administered mass organization » (AMO). Examples are Japan's Imperial Rule Assistance Association, Poland's Camp of National Unity, Egypt's Arab Socialist Union, and Pakistan's Basic Democracies. Though most scholars have perceived these bodies as failed parties, AMOs constitute a distinct organizational type created by elites who have consciously rejected party politics. They are not designed to win control of the state, but to serve a preexisting ruling institution with no intention of sharing its power. This paper describes the characteristic structures, objectives, and effectiveness of the AMOs serving military regimes, demonstrating that in certain cases they have been used successfully to effect radical social change, to displace opposition groups, and to shape new patterns of mass political involvement. Given their role in facilitating greater state control over society, the conclusion is that these organizations deserve a distinct place in empirical political theory and greater attention from students of the modern state. **II 3.2**

XIII. 224 KAUFMANN, Franz X. (Univ. Bielefeld, FRG) — **The relationship between guidance, control and evaluation.**

Comparative studies of public policy need general points of reference which are linked to central issues of political theory, e.g. coordination. By criticizing established approaches as planning and decision theory in terms of bounded rationality a more sociological approach is taken, asking about the conditions of effective learning in policy making. These conditions are defined in terms of guidance, control and evaluation, and some fit of the outcomes of such processes is postulated as necessary. In order to explain how long chains of action among various (public and private) actors are established, the distinction of institutional and operational coordination is developed. Emphasis is given to the lasting impact of institutional coordination. **III. 8.1**

XIII. 225 KAZANCIGIL, Ali (Unesco, Paris, France) — **Paradigms of the modern state formation in the periphery.**

A number of recent researches put the emphasis on the culture-bound nature of the modern state, which emerged in Western Europe between the 16th and the 20th centuries. However, too exclusive an importance given to endogenous cultural determinations meets with difficulties in explaining the readily observable fact of the world-wide extension of the modern state to societies with quite differing cultures. The paper examines critically certain paradigms currently used to explain this phenomenon, which gained momentum over the last few decades the developmentalist approach, derived from functionalism and characterized by its evolutionism, the diffusionist approach, inspired by anthropology. I argue in favour of a structural approach, integrating the endogenous and the exogenous, as well as economic and political/cultural determinations of the state, thus allowing for a more satisfactory explanation of the extension of the modern state in the periphery of the world system. **I. 4.1**

XIII. 226 KECK, Otto (IIES, Wissenschafts-Zentrum, Berlin, FRG) — **Policy output as a function of institutional structure : a cross-national analysis of nuclear power.**

Nuclear power has developed differently in different countries. The US and West Germany have adopted the light-water reactor early, whereas France and Britain initially based commercial electricity generation on gas-graphite reactors and switched later to the light-water reactor. On the other hand, France and Britain were quicker to develop the fast breeder reactor and to build commercial-size plants for reprocessing spent fuel. This paper tries to explain some of these differences as a function of the structure of the state. Using a new model of the interaction of government and industry, the paper argues that, even in a seemingly technical policy area, centralization vs. decentralization of state authority shapes this interaction so as to lead to different policy outputs. **III. 1.2**

XIII. 227 KELLAS, James G. (Univ. of Glasgow, UK) ; BRAND, Jack (Univ. of Strathclyde, Glasgow, UK) — **Politics and ethnicity and nationalism in Western Europe.**

The resurgence of nationalism and ethnic politics in Western Europe led to a large literature in political science. It has also led to a variety of responses by governments, notably in the 1970s and 1980s. The paper analyses the contribution of the principal authors in the subject, and looks particularly at theoretical and historical approaches which have been adopted. Among authors discussed are Ernest Gellner, Stein Rokkan, Benedict Anderson, Tom Nairn and Michael Hechter. Countries examined with reference to nationalism and ethnicity are Spain, France, Belgium, Ireland, Britain (especially Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales). **RC 14.1**

XIII. 228 KEOHANE, Robert O. (Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., USA) — **Structure, stategy and institutions in world politics.**

As Realist writers emphasize, international politics is « anarchic » : no common government enforces rules. Yet this anarchy is consistent with a wide range of conflict and cooperation, which in turn is not adequately explained by the Realist reliance on power and interest. Without altering the basic structure of anarchy, governments can make the world safer, or more dangerous, through the strategies that they follow. Furthermore, international regimes and organizations - institutions, broadly defined - are important even under assumptions of rational self-interest, since they affect how easily governments can make mutually benefi-

cial agreements. Analysts of world politics need to go beyond the analysis of power and interests toward more sophisticated explorations of strategies such as reciprocity, and of international regimes, in order to improve both their understanding of world politics and the quality of their advice for policymakers. **IV. 7.2**

XIII. 229 KIL, Soong-Hoom (Seoul National Univ., Rep. of Korea) — **Socio-economic development and changes in the legislature : South Korea and Japan.**

There is a close association between socio-economic development and governmental apparatus : socio-economic development has a positive impact on making the legislature more plural and democratic. Under such a theme, the paper attempts to explore how the socio-economic development recently achieved in Korea and Japan has affected the legislative system in the two countries. It argues that socio-economic development in Japan has made a significant contribution to transforming the Japanese Diet from a conflict-ridden arena into a site of real bargaining and compromise, whereas it failed to do so in Korea. It then attempts to explore the factors which cause such different results in Korea and Japan. **SM 27**

XIII. 230 KILI, Suna (Bogazici Univ., Istanbul, Turkey) — **The impact of state power changes on the structure of political education in Turkey.**

All political systems attempt to achieve a consensus regarding the system's basic values and attitudes. If this consensus is not realized, the system cannot function, or functions only with difficulty. Political education is a decisive factor in the legitimization of all political systems. Changes in the power structure of the state and differences among those who determine or influence policy lead to changes in political education. This paper takes Turkey as a case study of a country which has undergone fundamental transformation in its development into a secular democratic state. Four distinct periods of Turkey's political development are analyzed and discussed with regard to the impact of state power changes on the structure of Turkish political education. Finally, conclusions are drawn from the Turkish experience which may shed light on the nature of structural influences on political education in other developing countries. **RC 21.1**

XIII. 231 KIM, Hakjoon (Seoul National Univ., Rep. of Korea) — **Socio-economic development and changes in the political system : South Korea and Latin America.**

Socio-economic development in South Korea in the 1960s resulted in the emergence of a bureaucratic authoritarian political system in the 1970s and 1980s. President Park Chung-hee changed the democratic political system in the early 1960's into the bureaucratic authoritarian political system, arguing that for the acceleration of socio-economic development the strong political leadership and the effective bureaucracy should be firmly established even at the cost of democratic ideals and procedures. The result was contrary to the assumptions suggested by Lipset, who argued that socio-economic development would lead to democratization. The case of South Korean development resembles the case of Latin America. In the case of Latin America, too, the bureaucratic authoritarianism emerged in the process of economic development at the expense of democracy. **SM 27**

XIII. 232 KINCAID, John (North Texas State University, Denton, Texas, USA) — **Constitutional practices in international relations : decentralizing foreign affairs in federal states.**

The place and role of constituent states of federal polities in international law and international relations have always been problematic. Both the states and the nation in a federal polity have domestic interests to project as well as interests to promote in the international system. While the trend in the modern era appeared to be one of greater centralization of governmental powers, especially in foreign relations, in nation-states, during the past two decades, there has been a marked increase in state foreign affairs activities in a number of federal polities. These « micro-diplomatic » activities are conducted independently of, and interdependently with, the federal government. These activities appear to be associated with four factors : (1) the nature of federal constitutions and systems, (2) intensification of global interdependence, (3) increased constituent governmental capacities for international relations, and (4) greater interest in local autonomy. In the United States, individual states have begun to carve out roles for themselves in foreign affairs as partners in foreign policy formation, pressure points, polities in their own right, proxies, promoters, parties to agreements, public opinion forums, and patrons of democracy. The implications of these activities for the states, the union, and the international system are potentially profound, though to date most activities have taken place within an atmosphere of intergovernmental cooperation. **SG 21.1**

XIII. 233 KING-AKESODE, Mae C. (Univ. of Benin, Benin City, Nigeria) — **Faces of the state in an underdeveloped country.**

The state in an underdeveloped country features five faces which together dominate its character and define its uniqueness : the faces of « eroding traditions », « factional politics », « structural poverty », « imported technology » and « brooding justice ». The dynamics of these faces interact and reinforce each other. They form a state in which values and institutions are incongruent. The national political community is deformed in its infancy and becomes too weak to define and sustain the dominance of public interests over private interests. The impact of imported technology intensifies these contradictions and deformities, as society's capacity to process and to control the social consequences of technical choices becomes overtaxed. The scale of the simultaneous social changes taking place and the impact of imported technology on the underdeveloped state appear to require a new definition of development. Such a definition must focus on the synchronization of dominant external values and structures which constantly intervene in an underdeveloped state, as well as the synchronization of changing internal values and structures with the internal environment of the state. These synchronization processes entail an abrupt expansion of state power, characterized by a high degree of violence. However, the developed states that emerge from these processes are likely to establish new criteria for ascertaining state maturity. **I. 1.2**

XIII. 234 KITSCHELT, Herbert P. (Duke Univ., Durham, N.C., USA) — **Legitimation problems of science and technology policy.**

The paper discusses reasons for the politicization of science and technology development and of related public policies. (1) It proposes a conceptualization of legitimation problems that avoids both an instrumentalist and a technology-out-of-control view of the role of science/technology in society. (2) It examines why legitimation problems of science/technology were quite rare until recently. The following sections then reconstruct three analytically linked processes of delegitimation of science and technology choices : (3) cognitive obstacles in the assessment of socio-technical systems ; (4) disputes about the moral values promoted by scientific and technological capabilities ; (5) conflicts about the decision modes that govern the choice of science and technology. Finally, the paper considers strategies for overcoming such legitimation problems. **I. 2.2**

XIII. 235 KIVINIEMI, Markku A. (Univ. of Helsinki, Finland) — **Public policies and their targets : a typological elaboration of implementation concepts.**

The implementation of public policies can be conceived as a case of social action. This implies that the processes of implementation are regarded as interaction of several actors, both implementors and target groups, who have respectively different values, resources, and intentional activities. From this perspective the different types of implementation environments are conceptualized. An attempt is made to combine the types of policy and the types of policy targets as actors to each other. Following Theodore J. Lowi's typology of public policies it is suggested that different types of policies – distributive, regulative, constituent, and redistributive – imply different implementation environments, i.e. types of relations between implementors, target groups and other potential actors. These environments can be further specified with reference to the changes of costs and benefits among the target groups. It is argued that the important factors in the formation of policy environments are the value structure and the resources of the target actors. These properties of target actors are supposed to condition different types of target reactions : conformity, cooperation, detachment, or opposition. The dynamics of a policy environment is thus analyzed as networks and types of social interaction. **III. 3.1**

XIII. 236 KLANDERMANS, Bert (Free Univ., Amsterdam, Netherlands) ; OEGEMA, Dirk (id.) — **Campaigning for a nuclear freeze : grassroots strategies and local governments in the Netherlands.**

An analysis of coalition formation, barganing and mobilization of the mass public to put pressure on city councils in the Netherlands. Data have been collected in two communities with different political constellations. The result – attributed to these diffe-

rent local political constellations – was passage of two different freeze motions, though the IKV-peace movement groups began with the same blueprint in the two communities. In addition to extensive data from the two communities, additional data from several other communities where freeze motions were either accepted or rejected by the councils are employed. **SM 30**

XIII. 237 KNOEPFEL, Peter Th. (IDHEAP, Lausanne, Switzerland) ; LARRUE, Corinne (id.) — **Comparative analysis of policy implementation : dashed hopes and achieved promises : some experiences of the field of environmental policies.**

Comparative policy analysis and especially comparative policy implementation research have been conducted since about ten years. On the basis of experiences made in the field of environmental policies, the contribution outlines some reasons explaining why most of the comparative projects could not make good promoses concerning intended policy transfers, impacts on related national policy debates as well as the development of actually new theoretical hypothesis. Although this dashing down of initial hopes seems due to constraints inherent to all single policy oriented comparative approaches themselves (conceptual rigidity and selectivity), the authors argue that attempts to conceptually and organisationally improved comparative policy implementation analysis should be continued. Such analyses have turned out to contribute to the development of other important stances of practical and theoretical knowledge more adequate and even more fascinating than those initially announced. This pretended strength basically relies upon the same characteristices responsible for the mentioned limitations : the search for a limited and well defined set of possible explanatory variables eften enables scholars to find out policy relevant determinants in their country they would not have asked for without cooperating in a comparative context. This approach helps to overcome cultural biases and leads towards a better understanding of country specific determinants of policy success of failure. Furthermore, this approach allows testing hypothesis on a broader range and thus contributes to the development of theory on public policy explanations. Especially if it includes regional and local policy implementation processes, the approach is likely to lead discovering explanatory patterns for implementation policy outouts and impacts, which are in fact common to policies of different countries with varying policy programmes. **III. 3.1**

XIII. 238 KODIKARA, Shelton U. (Peradeniya Univ., Sri Lanka) — **International actors and domestic policy : a case study of ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka.**

Linkages between international politics and domestic policy have been a traditional focus of studies in international relations. Study of the role of non-state actors in international relations, focusing mainly on UN organisations, multinational corporations, international religious organisations, political parties, labour unions, and so on, are also not entirely new. In recent years, however, the salience of expatriate ethnic groups and other substate organisations as actors in international politics has acquired a new interest as a parameter in interstate relations. The paper attempts to explore the variegated reaction of a variety of international actors of Sri Lanka's recent ethnic conflicts arising out of divergences between the majority Sinhalese and the minority Tamil segments of the population, and of the demand of the Tamil militants for a separate Tamil state. An attempt is also made not only to identify the principal state actors directly or indirectly involved in this conflict, namely India, the US, USSR, China and Pakistan, but also to describe the role of the state of Tamilnadu in India, of the UN and of the UN Human Rights Commission and, most importantly, of expatriate ethnic groups, whether Tamil or Singhalese as non-state actors. **III. 7.2**

XIII. 239 KOLKOWICZ, Roman (Univ. of California, Los Angeles, Cal., USA) — **Civil-military studies : a comparative and interdisciplinary approach.**

The paper examines the causes and consequences of professional fragmentation and trifurcation within the Western studies of civil-military relations in the developed, developing, and socialist countries. In each of these three areas of concentration, there have been advanced specific conceptual foci, dominant assumptions, analytical methods, and prescriptive norms by the major exponents who have come largely from respectively the ranks of sociologists, comparativists, and area study specialists. While the study of the military in the developed and developing countries received serious and extensive scholarly attention in the West, this did not extend to the military in socialist countries, which were considered to be inert, fully subordinated and integrated bureaucracies without any institutional interests or values, and without any internal political or social roles. The paper suggests the need to reduce this fragmentation and to integrate the disparate approaches to the study of civil and military relations around the globe. **SG 7**

XIII. 240 KORNBERG, Allan (Duke University, N.C., USA) — **Sources of support for parliament in a liberal democracy : a reassessment.**

Under appropriate conditions legislatures can help foster the legitimacy of political systems and enhance public support of them. In previous papers, we argued that although the extent to which, and the conditions under which, people's orientations towards legislative bodies influence their support for legislators, legislatures and political systems more generally still are imperfectly understood, public support for political objects – legislatures included – has two principal sources. One is the early and/or later life political socialization experiences (varying in their duration and intensity) of people which generate affective feelings on their part for the object in question. The other is cost-benefit-calculations – however rough and ready – in which people engage concerning the ways in which the object allocates societal values and provides for their own well-being and the well-being of others they cherish. Our previous research on the sources of public support for the Canadian parliament employed six sociodemographic variables (age, level of formal education, and four region-ethnicity dummy variables) that were intended to reflect the varying effects on support of people's political socialization experiences. In this paper we supplement these variables with several that more directly reflect the impact of these experiences. Similarly, we supplement several variables previously employed to delineate the kind of cost-benefit assessments in which people engage with additions that measure both people's « egocentric » and « egotropic » perspectives on the manner in which economic factors affect their own and the lives of fellow citizens. We begin by describing the distribution of a representative sample of the Canadian public along the newly acquired measures. These and other appropriate variables then are used to construct a Lisrel model explaining variations in public support for parliament in 1984. On the assumption that sources of support for parliament may vary among key subgroups of population, the model is applied to the latter to determine its explanatory power for selected subgroups. This exercise facilitates our ability to better comprehend the overall character of support for parliament in Canada and provides a more satisfactory explanation of variations in the level of that support than has hitherto been possible. **RC 8.2**

XIII. 241 KRANE, Dale (Mississippi State Univ., USA) — **The effects on public policy of concentration and devolution : a cross-national study.**

The modern state has evolved into a complex organization that utilizes public resources to shape societal outcomes. Government structures serve as the primary organizational linkage between the extraction and allocation of public resources and the attainment of policy goals. The question of how to structure government for improved goal achievement poses classic issues of political design that are at the center of comparative policy analysis. Unfortunately, systematic examination of the relationship between the structural arrangements of government organization and public policy performance has been severely limited by a number of conceptual and analytic constraints. The paper combines Douglas Ashford's (1984) structural analysis of social policy with G. Bingham Powell's (1982) comparative approach to system performance in an effort to explore how variation in national-local structural interaction influences policy atteinment. The data bases includes Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Norway, Peru, Romania, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America. The time frame spans the period from approximately 1875 to 1980. Time series analysis of inter-governmental fiscal relationships suggests that variation in national-local arrangements differentially conditions economic growth and social policy development. This result reinforces the importance of incorporating neglected institutional dimensions of the state into the basic input-output models of the policy process. **III. 1.1**

XIII. 242 KRISCH, Henry (Univ. of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn., USA) — **Soviet and East European international behavior : environmental action, 1972-1985.**

The paper examines certain aspects of the international behavior of the USSR and some of the East European states from two

perspectives. (1) What has been their substantive policy response to new, environmental issues in for example marine, trans-frontier, and global arena (e.g., Antarctica) settings ? (2) Has grappling with these policy issues led to a pattern of Soviet (and East European) international behavior that differs from the pattern in other policy areas ? I examine first the detailed record of Soviet and East European participation in uni-, bi-, and multi-lateral international environmental action, including the series of global (UN) conferences. Next I consider the theoretical elaboration of these policies by Soviet and East European theorists. Finally, I examine the record in the light of Western theories of international behavior. **III. 7.2**

XIII. 243 KRISTOF, Ladis K.D. (Portland State Univ., Portland, Or., USA) — **The vision of a new Poland : nation-building in post-war Poland.**

Every nation has a vision – a geopolitical image – of its fatherland. It is a visual as well as an intelectual image which reflects both reality and a dream : the fatherland as it actually exists as a geographical landscape and as it was shaped by ancestors and is expected to be shaped by the history of tomorrow. The Polish people have struggled to maintain a continuity of their national life despite discontinuity in the political existence of their homeland. At the end of World War II they faced the task of both redirecting and restructuring the image of themselves and creating a new geopolitical image of the ideal fatherland which geography changed radically from that deeply ingrained in the national literature and even popular culture. For the present only a tentative answer can be given to the question of what is the new Polish image of Poland. **SM 14**

XIII. 244 LAFAY, Jean-Dominique (Univ. de Poitiers, France) ; GOYEAU, Daniel (Univ. de Limoges, France) — **A complete model of French politico-economic interaction.**

The Economic Theory of Politics has shown how the behaviour of the State could be endogenized, taking into account the political objectives of the government and the specific objectives of the bureaucracy and introducing explicitly the behaviour of the electorate. This led to the building and estimation of global politico-economic models. The model proposed for France presents the following characteristics : (1) The behaviour of the public sector is analyzed at a relatively disaggregated level, since political influences on economic policy are not limited to measures concerning macroeconomic objectives, but are also very important at the redistributive level. (2) Pure political logic is crucial in explaining economic policy, but it is not the only one : the economic logic of stabilization, the logic of balanced budget and the bureaucratic logic also contributes to explain the reaction of economic decision-making to economic situations. (3) Political variables not only influence the behaviour of the public sector but they also help to explain the economic behaviour of the private sector, particularly its investment behaviour. The model presented has been estimated with quarterly French data, from 1966 to 1982. It includes sixty equations (for sixty endogenous variables), spread over three blocks. Block A describes the behaviour of the public sector ; Block B describes the behaviour of the private sector ; and Block C serves to determine the global indicators of economic performance (production, employment, wages and prices) and of political situation (political popularity). The results show clearly the significant improvement brought by modelizing explicitly the public sector and by introducing political variables in macroeconomic models. **SM 19**

XIII. 245 LAMONT, Michele (Stanford Univ., Stanford, Cal., USA) — **A structural definition of power.**

In this paper, I (1) summarize Marx's view of structural power ; (2) contrast this view with exchange theories and behavioralist theories of power. I argue that the latter theories have not succeeded in developing a structural theory of power, and that, in the recent literature, power at the macro level is viewed either as an extension of power relations at the micro level, or as an institutional phenomena. By borrowing elements of the field theory of power and of subjective expected utility theory, I argue for a definition of structural power as a « capacity to structure one's reality ». **SG 17.1**

XIII. 246 LAMOUNIER, Bolivar (IDESP, São Paulo, Brazil) — **Social scientists and public policy in Brazil.**

Social scientists have had an important impact on public policy in Brazil throughout this century. This can be shown on three different levels : (1) broad premises about the country's identity, which affect the debate about state and nation-building ; (2) the design of specific institutions, such as the electoral system, development agencies, specific bureaucracies ; (3) direct involvement in governmental agencies. Between the extremes of contemplative conservatism and directly revolutionary activity, social scientists have significantly participated in public life, seeking to shape concrete policies. Adequate demonstration of this argument requires consideration of a long historical span, from the independent thinkers of the late 19th century to present-day institutionalized academic research and teaching. **II. 2.2**

XIII. 247 LANDFRIED, Christine (Univ. Heidelberg, FRG) — **The German Federal Constitutional Court and its impact on politics and policy output.**

Justices of the German Federal Constitutional Court as well as Members of Parliament intensify the impact of judicial review on politics and policy output to an extent that is inadequate for a democratic society. Members of Parliament are making laws in an excessive and anticipatory « obedience » to the Court. The Justices contribute to the judicialization of political problems by transgressing their competences to the debit of parliament. It can be shown that those decisions with which the Court transgressed its competences were not based on sufficient social science information. Because of this relationship we will argue that a careful consideration of social facts in judicial review would be favorable to judicial self-restraint. The Justices are not prepared – neither by their former professional careers nor by their fields of knowledge – to cope with problems of sociology or technology. The paper ends with the proposal to establish a social science information service at the Court. **RC 9.1**

XIII. 248 LANDRY, Réjean (Univ. Laval, Québec, Canada) — **L'évaluation des politiques technologiques : le cas du Québec.**

Le but de cette communication est d'évaluer l'impact de certains types d'arrangements institutionnels sur le rythme et la direction de l'innovation technologique au Québec. La stratégie d'évaluation adoptée comprend trois éléments principaux : (1) l'identification des effets attendus des interventions de la politique scientifique et technologique à l'aide de la technique d'analyse de contenu ; (2) l'identification des incitations et des contraintes des arrangements mis en place pour réaliser ces interventions en recourant de nouveau à la technique de l'analyse de contenu ; (3) l'identification de l'impact des incitations et des contraintes des arrangements institutionnels sur les décision des dirigeants d'entreprises et des dirigeants syndicaux en recourant à la technique de l'entrevue et à l'analyse de sensibilité. Contrairement aux études statistiques qui ne tiennent pas compte des défis institutionnels que doivent relever les individus innovateurs, l'évaluation des impacts des arrangements institutionnels pourrait contribuer à expliquer les variations régionales et nationales des effets des politiques scientifiques et technologiques en focalisant l'attention sur ce qui les distingue spécifiquement : les arrangements institutionnels régionaux et nationaux qui se différencient les uns des autres dans le temps et l'espace. **RC 11.1**

XIII. 249 LANE, Jan-Erik (Univ. of Umea, Sweden) — **System characteristics and policy outputs.**

The paper assesses the idea that policy-making depends on the structure of the political system. Public finance data are employed as indicators on policies and a variety of system properties are used to tap the structural dimensions of political systems. The analysis is based on data about the post-World War Two period and covers a set of nations including OECD nations as well as developing countries and communist systems. **III. 1.1**

XIII. 250 LANGKAU-HERRMANN, Monika (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Bonn, FRG) — **Emerging careers of women in public administration.**

The report describes fisrt the social, economic and political framework defining the position of women in public service in the Federal Republic of Germany. The feminist, segmentary approach sees the reason for women's low participation in management positions on one hand in the orreconcilability of career work and family work under the conditions of industrial production and on the other hand in the assignment of women primarily to family work. The current study is concerned with orientations, values, career patterns that women develop in management positions of public service in order to balance disparate « male » and « female » behaviour patterns. The study is based primarily on interviews with 35 each female and male managers in public service, as well as on interviews with experts. **RC 19.2**

XIII. 251 LAPONCE, Jean A. (Univ. of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada) — **La frontière linguistique sous-étatique.**

Que le but d'une frontière linguistique sous-étatique soit de faciliter l'assimilation graduelle de ses minorités par le groupe dominant, ou au contraire de sécuriser et protéger une ethnie minoritaire, ou bien encore et simplement de faciliter l'administration de l'Etat, les mêmes questions se posent : Qui contrôle une telle frontière, l'Etat central ou l'autorité locale, l'ethnie dominante ou l'ethnie dominée ? Qui peut franchir cet obstacle et qui n'en a pas le droit ? Peut-on la déplacer ? Si oui, qui opère le déplacement et sous quelles conditions ? Nous répondrons à ces questions à partir des modèles soviétique, yougoslave, canadien, finlandais, belge et suisse. Il apparaît que, du point de vue minoritaire, la solution la plus favorable prend la forme d'une frontière rigide contrôlée par le pouvoir local. **RC 15.1**

XIII. 252 LATOUCHE, Daniel (McGill Univ., Montréal, Canada) — **The State and (ethnic) society.**

What impact has the ethnic nature of a given society on the autonomy of the State ? How are State-Society relations organized in an ethnic context ? How can the State regulate the ethnic society, through what channels ? Are state structures affected by ethnic constraints ? What are the relations between ethnicity and the other major determinants of civil society : social class, racial, religious, sexual ? The paper explores these questions in the context of the North-American (American, Canadian and Québec) literature on ethnicity. The major hypothesis is that the increasing saliency of ethnicity is profoundly modifying the state-society relations notably at the community and local level. Traditional state structures are proving incapable of effectively regulating ethnic demands which possess a dynamics of their own. The delivery of state services at the local level is being increasingly impaired by this incapacity thus increasing the already serious legitimacy crisis of the modern state. **RC 14.1**

XIII. 253 LAZIN, Fred A. (Ben Gurion Univ., Beersheva, Israel) — **Allocation patterns of social welfare policy in unitary systems.**

The paper concerns the allocation patterns of social welfare policy within a unitary system. It is based on research in Israel which serves almost as an ideal case of a unitary and highly contralized political system. The focus is on Project Renewal, a program intended to provide social and physical (housing) rehabilitation for depressed neighborhoods in Israel. The paper seeks to determine the relative importance of political institutional versus socio-economic and status variables in the allocation process. Much attention is also given to the role of local municipalities and their role in affecting the allocation of social welfare resources. The paper is based on research in Israel which is formally a unitary system. The results are placed in a comparative context making reference to other unitary (France, England) and federal (USA, FRG) systems. **III. 6.1**

XIII. 254 LE BRIS, Emile (ORSTOM, Paris, France) ; LE ROY, Etienne (Univ. de Paris I, France) — **Enjeux et perspectives scientifiques d'une recherche sur les systèmes fonciers étatiques en Afrique noire francophone.**

Parlant des politiques foncières étatiques contemporaines, nous montrons comment le foncier s'est constitué en objet autonome, en particulier par la dévalorisation des expériences autochtones, ce que nous avions caractérisé dans *Enjeux fonciers en Afrique noire* par la construction du « référent pré-colonial ». Mais surtout, en liant le statut du foncier aux représentations de l'espace et aux politiques du territoire, nous montrons le sens de la rupture majeure introduite par la colonisation avec son mode de penser l'espace et les rapports sociaux. Pour caractériser l'impact de ce mode de penser sur les pratiques d'affectation de l'espace, nous élargissons le concept de « matrice d'espace » proposé par N. Poulantzas et nous justifions l'usage de ce concept. Enfin, nous nous interrogeons sur le sens politique des transformations introduites par l'Occident et le capitalisme et sur le sens de nos actions de recherche. **RC 11.2**

XIII. 255 LEE, Peter Nan-shong (Chinese University of Hong Kong) — **Corrupt behavior in Post-Mao China : its pattern causes and control, 1979-1983.**

An analysis of the pattern, causes and control of corrupt behavior in post-Mao China on the basis of cases pertaining to policy making and implementation during the 1979-1983 period. The paper examines two basic categories of corrupt behavior : (1) « improper work style », e.g. misappropriation and illegal construction of housing units, excessive expenditure for entertainment and travelling, illegal allocation of job opportunity, transfer of household registration, and (2) « economic crimes » including bribery and embezzlement as well as illicit deals in commercial transactions and administrative allocation system. **RC 20.2**

XIII. 256 LEHMBRUCH, Gerhard (Univ. Konstanz, FRG) — **The study of neocorporatist forms of interest group action in Western Europe.**

Research on neo-corporatism has begun to move beyond an initial phase of theoretical speculation and conceptual controversies. A tentative synthesis of some substantive findings in a comparative perspective appears to become feasible thanks to a broadening empirical basis. This presupposes a classification of « systems of interest intermediation » in Western European nations, on the basis of a pluri-dimensional typology elements of which have been developed in earlier publications. From this starting point, developmental relationships in the emergence of strongly « corporatist » institutional and inter-organizational structures will be explored. Medium-term prospects for stability or change of such structures are discussed in the context of selected national case studies. **SM 33**

XIII. 257 LEHNER, Franz (Ruhr-Univ. Bochum, FRG) — **Modes of organized interest intermediation and the structure of political power : a theoretical investigation into political efficacy.**

In his *The Rise and Decline of Nations* Mancur Olson argues that in the modern pluralist economies special interest groups have disproportionate power. This enables them to press for protective policies which not only create severe problems of political legitimacy but of economic efficiency as well. Although Olson's argument is very interesting, it suffers from neglect of institutional structures. There are goods theoretical reasons and some empirical evidence to assume that institutional structures strongly influence the power of special interest groups and the political efficacy in a democracy. The proposed paper will elaborate on this assumption and discuss different institutional arrangements in a comparative perspective. The types of arrangements that are of interest are : (1) Traditional competitive democracies (e.g.) ; (2) Liberal corporatism (e.g. Austria, Sweden) ; (3) Log-rolling (USA) ; (4) Bureaucratic *étatisme* (France) ; (5) Consociational democracy (Switzerland) ; (6) Interlocked federalism (West Germany). The paper will argue in theoretical terms using the tools of modern political economy. Attempts will be made to substantiate the theoretical argument by empirical evidence. **SG 17.1**

XIII. 258 LENDVAI, Ferenc L. (Univ. E. Lorand, Budapest, Hungary) — **Le tournant marxiste de Lukacs et sa première période marxiste.**

György Lukacs rejette à cette époque la culture et la civilisation bourgeoises du tournant du siècle, qu'il avait appris à connaître et condamner dès sa prime jeunesse, dans l'esprit de l'anti-capitalisme romantique, et c'est de courants intellectuels de caractère conservateur qu'il attend l'éclosion d'une nouvelle grande culture. Dans le même temps, la transformation bourgeoise représente encore un progrès indiscutable dans une Hongrie où règnent des conditions sociales à la fois semi-féodales et semi-capitalistes. Pour cette raison, la pensée du jeune Lukacs suit une voie parallèle à celle des radicaux bourgeois et des socialistes, mais dans le même temps, il condamne les sociaux-démocrates à qui il reproche de ne pas rompre avec les conditions sociales et idéologiques de caractère bourgeois comme l'avait fait Marx en son temps. Lorsque Lukacs fait connaissance en 1917-18 avec le bolchévisme, il s'y rallie après un bref temps d'hésitation, motivé éthiquement, convaincu qu'il est d'avoir trouvé là le grand courant social messianiste qu'il avait attendu dès le départ. Sa première période marxiste (1918-1933) évolue dans l'esprit du sectarisme messianiste. Ses positions sont sectaires, puisqu'il renvoie dos à dos, en partant du principe de « tous ceux qui ne sont pas avec nous sont contre nous », le fascisme et la démocratie bourgeoise « unidimensionnelle », tous deux à leurs débuts. Mais elles sont aussi messianistes du fait que c'est avant tout de l'auto-sacrifice révolutionnaire qu'il attend la délivrance. **SM 32**

XIII. 259 LEPSIUS, M. Rainer (Univ. Heidelberg, FRG) — **New political institutions and the reconstruction of political culture : transition to democracy in Western Germany 1945-1955.**

Democratization of the western occupation zones of Germany was a complex process of external intervention by the occupying powers and internal reorganization by German elites. The inter-

play led to the establishment of democratic institutions, their internal legitimation and successful operation. Two periods must be distinguished : direct rule by the occupying powers from 1945 to 1949 and indirect rule of the occupying powers from 1949 to 1955. The impact of institutional reorganization leads to the acceptance of democratic values and the development of a new democratic political culture. The main aspects are : orientation towards western political culture, devaluation of German nationalism, acceptance of the idea of institutionalization of political conflicts, separation of conflict on distribution and consensus on constitution. The interplay between institution-building and political culture is analysed. **RC 6.2**

XIII. 260 LÉVEILLÉE, Jacques (Univ. Québec, Montréal, Canada) — **Les rapports centre-périphéries : évolution du système municipal au Québec.**

Du début des années 1960 au tournant des années 1970, les réformateurs québécois ont volontiers puisé à l'idéologie autonomiste dominante pour amorcer une stratégie municipale et urbaine provinciale par rapport à la périphérie fédérale, et à l'idéologie du rattrapage pour encadrer la périphérie représentée par les 1,600 corporations municipales du territoire québécois. Depuis le milieu des années 1970, en revanche, les énoncés réformistes sont beaucoup moins linéaires. La conjoncture économique difficile, les contraintes budgétaires et la remise en question de plusieurs manifestations de l'Etat-providence obligent le gouvernement provincial québécois à élaborer, avec les appareils périphériques fédéral et municipal, un nouveau modèle de relations inspiré par l'idée du « partenariat » plutôt que celle du conflit. Cette recherche révèle une dynamique fort complexe. Quelles sont les influences de cette dynamique des dix dernières années sur le rôle des gouvernements locaux à l'intérieur de la société politique canadienne et surtout québécoise ? Les concepts de centre et de périphérie suffisent-ils pour théoriser sur les variations dont témoignent cette dynamique et cette évolution dans le modèle des rapports entre instances gouvernementales ? C'est pour pouvoir répondre à ces deux questions que sera organisée notre communication. **SM 23**

XIII. 261 LEVINE, Charles H. (Library of Congress, Washington DC, USA) — **The centralization/decentralization tug-of-war : the pursuit of excellence in the American bureaucracy.**

The paper examines three sets of proposals currently being advocated for improving Federal government administration in the United States : (1) the recommendations of the *President's Private Sector Survey on Cost Control* (the Grace Commission) ; (2) the recommendations of *Reform 88* (presently being developed further by the Office of Management and Budget) ; and (3) the recommendations contained in the National Academy of Public Administration's report *Revitalizing Federal Management : Managers and their Over-burdened Systems*. Each of the three efforts seeks to improve the Federal government's management systems by taking a broad look at the dysfunctions and inefficiencies built into present arrangements and proposing rather sweeping changes. While there is some overlap between the three, there are many fundamental differences, most notably that the Grace Commission would limit the size and cost of the Federal government, that Reform 88 efforts would standardize government operations (and thereby centralize them), and that the Academy report would decentralize management (and strengthen career managers). These three reform efforts are symptomatic of the political struggle taking place in the US over the proper way to organize the activities of the Federal government. Their political feasibility suggests much about the future structure and organization of the administrative state in the US and elsewhere. **SG 20.1**

XIII. 262 LIESHOUT, Robert H. (Techn. Hogeschool Twente, Enschede, Netherlands) — **The decision-making capacity of state bureaucracies.**

Organizations can be viewed as exosomatic structures of information about the (physical and social) environment, which will be judged by the membership according to their utility : the extent to which these are perceived to lead to as successful (in terms of the command of energy) adaptation to an uncertain world. The higher the organization's perceived effectiveness or legitimacy, the more the membership will want to protect the existing system of information. This mechanism makes it highly improbable that organizations will be very sensitive to changes in their environment, the more so, the greater the organization's legitimacy. State bureaucracies will be relatively more successful in protecting the command of energy of the membership. Consequently it will be relatively more improbable that these organizations will adapt their policies to a changing environment. **IV. 3.1**

XIII. 263 LLERA, Francisco J. (Univ. del Pais Vasco, Bilbao, Spain) — **Legitimation crisis and atrophy of the nation-state in Spain : the Basque case.**

A radical opposition to the current institutional system on the part of 10 % of the population ; one third of the Basque citizens aiming to get independence from Spain ; a nationalist majority in regional and local institutions ; a massive rejection of State-wielded institutional violence and the antirepression solidarity it triggers, constitute, among others, the factors that define the etiology of the legitimation crisis and the atrophy of the Nation-State as far as Basque society is concerned. Political segmentation and polarized pluralism characterize the Basque party system. They are the result of political relations based on the absence of consensus and negotiation abilities and a political discourse centred upon their collective identity, symbolic matters which generate exclusive and intransigent attitudes. This legitimation crisis in the formal process of political institutionalization affects especially the State presence amongst Basque society, supporting the hypothesis that while globally the Spanish community has been able to complete the political transition from dictatorship to Democracy, in the Basque Country it has not yet been completed. The great problem for State legitimation in the Basque Country is that, along with unrecycled historical factors stemming from the Ancient Regime and the Liberal State centralism, there is an over-dramatization of the Civil War and the Dictatorship. That is a great success achieved by the armed resistants, resulting in a dualism of legitimacies and identities. **SG 18.1**

XIII. 264 LOSCO, Joseph (Ball State Univ., Muncie, Ind., USA) — **Biology, moral conduct and administrative science.**

The paper explores the biological basis of moral conduct and examines the import of a biological conception of man as a moral agent for the study and practice of public administration. Utilizing a framework which envisions moral conduct as rule-following behavior, the author attempts to show how some of the rules humans follow are related to biological function and how the individual uses these to construct his moral world within the context of a particular social and cultural milieu. He addresses the implications of this view for the administrative sciences, suggesting that current models which posit a purely rational portrait of human action fail to capture the complexity of human motivation by failing to acknowledge man as a moral agent. **RC 12.2**

XIII. 265 LYNN, Naomi B. (Georgia State Univ., Atlanta, Ga., USA) ; HUTCHESON, John D, Jr. (id.) — **The hostile world : American women and foreign policy.**

Comparisons of foreign policy perspectives of men and women reveal significant differences on dimensions such as salience of foreign policy, isolationism, protectionism, interventionism, and trust in foreign governments. These differences are consistent with stereotypic views of women as « protectors of the hearth », but result in a xenophobic foreign policy orientation. This research focuses upon antecedents of differences between foreign policy perspectives of women and men and their electoral implications. A survey of a stratified random sample of women and men in the Atlanta metropolitan area is employed. The data permit analyses of the influence of such factors as race, workforce participation, socio-economic status, and liberalism/conservatism. **SM 3**

XIII. 266 MacDOUGALL, Terry E. (Boston University, Boston, Mass., USA) — **The « Yoshida School » and the institutionalization of liberal democracy in postwarJapan.**

Yoshida Shigeru, Prime Minister of Japan during the early postwar years, expounded a vision of Japan as a Commercial State dedicated to liberal principles in association with the United States. The vision put highest priority on Japan's economic growth, integration into the Western free-market trading system, non-involvement in overseas conflicts, and allegiance to the democratic and peaceful principles of the postwar Constitution. Resisting pressures from nationalistic conservatives and from the political left, Yoshida's moderate conservative economism became institutionalized through his efforts to establish a non-punitive peace treaty and bi-lateral security treaty that would recognize Japan's strategic importance to the West, to construct a political-bureaucratic-business interaction conducive to capitalistic development, and to develop a network for recruiting political successors who could carry forth his vision. **SM 14.1**

XIII. 267 MADHANAGOPAL, R. (Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai, India) — **Jawaharlal Nehru : architect of modern India.**

Four major uphill tasks faced India at the time of her independence : national integration, ushering in political democracy, rapid economic growth, and dispensation of social justice. Because of the troubled pre-independence situation which persisted, integration of a highly diverse and heterogeneous society had to be given priority. It was not easy for any leadership to pay attention to political integration and economic development simultaneously, and both through open democratic means. Indeed, that is what happened in India and a new system crystallised under the visionary leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru. The focus of attention in the paper is on the contribution of Jawaharlal Nehru to nation-building, democratisation of a heterogeneous polity, planned economic development and setting a viable foreign policy option for India in a polarised world. **SM 14**

XIII. 268 MADSEN, Douglas K. (Dept. of Political Science (Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, USA) — **A bio-chemical property relation to power-seeking in humans.**

In previous research I have shown that whole blood serotonin has a pronounced relationship with an amalgam of behaviors and attitudes characterized in psychiatry as Type A, in social psychology as « Machiavellianism », and in political science as a dominance or power orientation. The research reported here builds on that finding, presenting behavioral and biochemical patterns which appear to depend on this power orientation and on sertonin levels. **RC 12.1**

XIII. 269 MAGUIRE, Maria (OCDE, Paris, France) — **Equal treatment for men and women in social security.**

Over the last several decades there have been marked changes in patterns of family organisation and in female labour force participation rates which have created a demand for changes in the social security protection offered to women. The paper examines how social security systems have adapted or failed to adapt to the social changes which have taken place. The assumptions concerning the involvement of men and women in the labour force and in the family which underpin current policies are analysed and an assessment is made of the extent to which existing structures provide adequate and equitable social protection for women. Finally, consideration is given to how social security systems may need to be modified in view of the changing role of women in society. **III. 5.1**

XIII. 270 MANSBRIDGE, Jane J. (Northwestern Univ., Evanston, Ill., USA) — **Measuring the effects of direct democracy.**

Studies of individual and group therapy often cannot measure any effects of the therapeutic intervention. This does not mean that no changes have taken place. These studies indicate, rather, how difficult it is for social scientists to measure subtle, though extremely important, intra-psychic changes. If it is so difficult to measure changes brought about by an intensive process specifically designed to bring about attitude and behavior change, it would be surprising if social scientists could easily measure important effects on attitudes and behavior of direct democracy — a process designed in large part for other ends. The paper warns that the political impact of studies showing « no effect » on character from direct democracy may well be to discredit claims that the process of direct democracy has a characterological impact, rather than simply promoting a reasonable scepticism about measurement in the social sciences. **SM 9**

XIII. 271 MANSUROV Valery (Acad. of Sciences of USSR, Moscow, USSR) — **Sociological approach to the study of global communication — influence of ethical values.**

Because of their quick development and circulation mass media attract attention as a means of culture and social transformation. On the one hand there are enormous technical possibilities of mass media development, especially media such as radio and television. On the other hand an enormous need exists for scientific, political, cultural and tecnological information, especially in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America This provides an objective basis for attempts to create global communications — systems of communication which can cover the whole world — and is also a reason for discussing the possibilities, functions and principles of such systems activity. Naturally the economic interests of large firms and monopolies and the political and ideological interests of various states are of great importance in stimulating international and global communications development. Many researchers pay attention to the fact that information prepared in one country in many cases does not accord with political, national, cultural and especially ethical values of other countries. A real decision on this problem is impossible without respecting the moral values and cultural traditions of all peoples. **RC 22.1**

XIII. 272 MARIN, Bernd (European University Institute, San Domenico di Fiesole, Italy) — **How is generalized political exchange possible ? A preliminary statement.**

The paper analyses a specific and most precarious class of political exchanges (PE), namely generalized macropolitical/macroeconomic transactions between organized, collective actors with divergent/antagonistic but functionally interdependent interests (capital/labor, producer/consumer, economic/ecological interests etc.) — GPE. After having conceptualized GPE and delineated areas of applicability a series of problems are addressed : the questions of political money, credits and generalized media of exchange ; necessary trust to cope with transactional risks and the incapacity of modern law to handle them (GPE as social contracts without contracts) ; procedural rules and contextual prerequesites of GPE ; the terms of political trade with special regard to (re) balancing unequal exchanges and the functions of indeterminacy ; the timing and time structure of GPE ; and inherently self-negating effects of self-sustaining exchange patterns, contradictions apart from any environmental challenges. **SM 8**

XIII. 273 MARKIEWICZ, Wladyslaw (Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland) ; MORAWSKI, Witold (Univ. Warsaw, Poland) — **The influence of social/scientists on political decisions.**

In the first part of the paper we present a typology of behavioral attitudes and special strategies which appeared in the evolution of the Polish social sciences towards the political centre. We first distinguish apologetic attitudes, i.e. supporting decisions made at the top. Next we present diagnostic of diagnostic and prognostic and sociotechnic experts reports. Finally we consider reformative attitudes and strategies. In the second part of the paper we describe mechanisms of situations which incline political decision-makers to make use of expert reports. We distinguish the political mechanisms of the crisis period, when interest in expert reports and readiness to use them increases, and mechanisms of times of normalization, when such interest declines. In the third and last part we present systematically various factors which influence the relation between experts and decision-makers ; i.e., we deal mainly with the political order, national economy needs and social and cultural determinants. **II.2.2**

XIII. 274 MARKOVITS, Andrei S. (Boston Univ., Boston, Mass., USA) ; MEYER, David S. (id.) — **Green growth on the West Germany left : cultivating political space.**

The success of any social movement is dependent upon two factors : (1) a moment of political opportunity ; (2), a movement's maximization of that opportunity. Political opportunity requires a space for legitimate, if unconventional, political mobilization. This « political space » can result from the failure of an established linkage mechanism to integrate new cohorts successfully, or from the rise in importance of new issues of concern which are outside the scope of established linkage mechanism. We examine these theoretical constructs in light of the success of the West German Green party, and the opening of political space as a function of the failure of the Social Democratic Party (SPD). We then assess the efficacy ot the Green Party in maximizing the opportunity for both mobilization and access to decision making in that space. **SM 16**

XIII. 275 MARSHALL, Terence E. (Univ. de Paris X - Nanterre, France) — **Leo Strauss, la philosophie et la science politique.**

A son origine la philosophie politique se distinguait à la fois par sa matière et par son mode d'expression. Une forme de la philosophie qui est politique, ou prudente, son mode de raisonnement diffère de ceux, analytiques ou synthétiques, qui marquent les études politiques contemporaines. Néanmoins, le langage politique commun continue de refléter le logos de la prudence qu'élabora la philosophie politique telle qu'elle fut comprise à ses débuts. La tentative de découvrir cette logique a été déterminante pour les études de Leo Strauss sur l'histoire de la philosophie politique. Or, ces études ne sont pas qu'historiques. Elles transmettent d'une façon aléatoire un enseignement politique. Cherchant à comprendre la philosophie politique de Leo Strauss, cet essai cherche à comprendre le rapport entre ses mots écrits et la prudence qui les informe. En ce sens, l'essai essaye de redécouvrir la prudence qui est l'expression même de la raison politique. **SG 15.1**

XIII. 276 MARTIN, Guy (Univ. of Nairobi, Kenya) — **The Franc Zone, underdevelopment and dependency in Francophone Africa.**

The Franc zone is a monetary cooperation arrangement set up between France and her former colonies in West and Central Africa following the latter's independence in the early 1960s. While this system is central to an understanding of these African countries' dependence of France, it has, surprisingly, been the subject of few objective and scientific studies. Indeed, most of the literature is heavily biased in favour of the system. The present study is an attempt to take a closer, more realistic look at the facts. Using a political economy approach, and dependency theory, it analyzes the origin, structure and functioning of the Franc zone system and assesses its legal, political and economic consequences for the African member states. The evidence shows that, contrary to the prevailing view, the Franc zone, far from contributing to the economic development and independence of its African member states, is largely instrumental in perpetuating and increasing these states' underdevelopment and dependence on France. **RC 17.2**

XIII. 277 MAGNUSSON, Warren (Univ. of Victoria, B.C., Canada) — **The local state in English Canada.**

Analysis of local government in Canada traditionally has focused on the municipalities. However, the municipalities are only a part of the « local state » - i.e., of the state in so far as it is present in and concerned with the local community. This paper offers a broader account of local state institutions in English Canada, and explores the geographical variation in their caracter. It relates this institutional complex to historical changes in the mode of production and to the politics of territoriality in Canada. The main theoretical claim advanced is that a local state perspective enforces attention to the politics of territoriality and so leads away from the economism that has characterized recent accounts of local government in Western Europe and North America. **SM 23**

XIII. 278 MASOPUST, Zdenek (Czechosl. Academy of Sciences, Prague, Czechoslovakia) — **The concept of the state in an advanced socialist society.**

The paper, although aiming at certain generalizations concerning the state in the present-day stage of development of the « real existing socialism », focuses mainly on problems concerning the socialist state in Czechoslovakia. It tries particularly to elucidate (1) the role of the socialist state in transforming the structure of socialist society ; (2) the role of the socialist state in consequently implementing the principles of socialist democracy ; (3) the role of the socialist state in solving the global problems of mankind. The author approaches points 1 to 3 as mutually interrelated, emphasizing that only through a concerted and coordinated handling of all three problems can the socialist state both strengthen its prospects and contribute decisively to a progressive development of mankind. **I. 1.2**

XIII. 279 MASTERS, Roger D. (Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H., USA) ; SULLIVAN, Denis G. (id.) ; LANZETTA, John T. (id.) ; McHUGO, Greg (id.) — **Leaders' facial displays as a political variable.**

One reason the media have transformed politics in industrialized societies might be the transmission of televised images showing leaders' nonverbal displays — and especially facial gestures — which social psychologists and ethologists have found play a vital role in social behavior. To be a meaningful political variable, such displays must : (1) have significant effects on the emotional responses and attitudes of viewers, and (2) differ in their effects depending on the leader, the viewer, or both. The paper explains the theoretical framework and results of an experimental study of these two issues by a research team at Dartmouth. First, our data show that expressive displays of happiness/reassurance, anger/threat and fear/evasion elicit differential verbal and psychophysiological responses, but that verbal responses are also dependent on the subject's prior attitudes. Second, during the 1984 American election, the facial displays of different Presidential candidates varied in character and in evocative consequences. Not only did seeing a few televised excerpts sharply change viewers' attitudes, but increases in perceived status over the campaign modified emotional responses and attitudes. Viewers' attitudes toward known and unknown leaders can thus be influenced by the nonverbal cues shown on television. **RC 12.1**

XIII. 280 MASTROPASQUA, Salvatore (Univ. di Cassino, Italie) — **Le phénomène de la participation des citoyens à l'administration publique en Italie.**

Parmi ses principes fondamentaux, la Constitution italienne reconnaît et sauvegarde les droits de l'homme soit en tant qu'individu, soit en tant que membre des groupements sociaux auxquels il participe. En outre, parmi les principaux objectifs qu'il faut réaliser, la Constitution envisage le plein développement de la personne humaine et la participation effective de tous les citoyens à l'organisation politique, économique et sociale du pays. Dans le système juridique italien on peut considérer la participation soit comme participation politique, c'est-à-dire comme moyen pour réaliser la démocratie politique, soit comme participation administrative, c'est-à-dire comme technique d'organisation pour assurer la participation des usagers de certains services publics à l'administration de ces services, de façon qu'il puisse assurer leur intervention dans les processus décisionnels. Ce dernier phénomène est aussi appelé « participation organique », parce qu'elle se réalise dans des organes ayant un caractère collégial. On peut préciser que les citoyens appartenant aux catégories intéressées, dans les cas prévus par la loi, sont chargés d'élire leurs représentants à des organes publics ayant un caractère collectif. En Italie, ce processus de participation des citoyens aux organes administratifs a été réalisé surtout dans les écoles publiques, où il existe des organes collectifs dans lesquels les parents d'élèves, et aussi les élèves sont représentés, et à l'Université, où il existe des organes académiques dans lesquels les étudiants sont représentés. Ces organes n'ont pas seulement des pouvoirs consultatifs ou de contrôle, mais aussi, dans certains cas, des pouvoirs de décision. **II. 7.2**

XIII. 281 MATHEWS, Kay (Univ. of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria) — **The OAU and the problem of African unity.**

It is rightly argued that if Africa is to remain free and enjoy the full benefits of her rich resources, she must unite. The idea of a United States of Africa has been a fascinating and dominating theme for several African leaders. However, the pre-independence support for the ideal of African unity as expressed in the concept of pan-Africanism soon evaporated with independence. This is reflected in the OAU, the only vehicle of pan-African unity. In the past, Africa has lived in contradictions, preaching unity while in reality reinforcing the chaotic absurdity of mini-sovereignties that plague the continent. Pan-African unification has floundered mainly because of political, economic, cultural and ideological hegemonies emanating from the West, the East and Arab World, now competing in a new scramble for Africa. Only a stronger OAU and greater African unity built around African masses could be the solution for the continent's problems. The death of OAU would be the death of Africa. **SM 37**

XIII. 282 MATHUR, P.C. (Univ. of Jaipur, India) — **Alien but appropriate ? Western social science concepts and Third World contexts : the logical and the empirical relevance of modernity in the tradition-directed culture.**

-Social science concepts must be multi-contextual. All the poverty and inequalities prevailing in the contemporary world notwithstanding, the conceptual frameworks radiating from the West certainly possess some logical and empirical relevance in the Third World. This is specially true in countries like India where the industrial, agricultural and democratic revolutions are taking place under the auspices of a middle class championing the cause of modernity against all types of resistance from a variety of sections of society including middle castes. **SM 38**

XIII. 283 MATIĆ, Milian (Univ. of Belgrade, Yugoslavia) — **Self-management and the changing role of the state in the Yugoslav socio-political system.**

In the course of the last three decades, the development of a self-management system in Yugoslavia has brought about considerable changes in the social role of the state. The state, federal in particular, has been stripped of investment functions. A substantial part of former state competencies have been reallocated into the sphere of self-management decision-making (social compacts and self-management agreements). The role of the state, under the Constitution, has been reduced to (a) general protective, (b) complementary, (c) intervening (in some cases) functions. But the other sources of state power (organizational, normative, informative, etc.) still remain very strong. Extensive decentralization and formal socialization without the reverse process of effective self-management integration has caused dangers to macro-regulation in the form of : (1) a hardly controllable « disguised state » ; (2) informal polyarchy (relied upon group property), etc. **I. 3.1**

XIII. 284 MATOUŠ, Milan (Czechosl. Academy of Sciences, Prague, Czechoslovakia) — **World order and socio-cultural functions of the state.**

In history the character of the state and, consequently, also its socio-cultural functions, particularly its relation to war and peace, have undergone considerable development. The mass destruction weapons are increasing the tension between the objective necessity of the peace-fostering role of state and its actual policy. The peace movement is not an abstract negation of the idea of war, but a practical obstacle to such state policy as endangers peaceful world order. The solution of the specific socio-cultural needs of nations and states by peaceful means is in the universal interest of the whole mankind. The experience of Czechoslovakia has proved the mutual interaction between the provision of peaceful socio-cultural needs of the world society and the national state. The search for the relation of the military policy of the state to the socio-cultural needs of society necessitates concrete analysis based on the concept of the state as a class political system. This forms the theoretical basis for solving the practical problems of peaceful coexistence as the basic socio-cultural need of human society. I. 5.1

XIII. 285 MAVROGORDATOS, George Th. (Univ. of Athens, Greece) — **Downs revisited : spatial models of party competition and left-right measurements.**

Almost thirty years ago, A. Downs spelled out a spatial theory of party competition that was already long-familiar to practitioners and observers of politics alike, especially in Western Europe. Research accumulated since then has strangely failed to become cumulative, in the sense of finally proving or else disproving the theory. This is perhaps to be explained by the growing divergence and isolation of three main directions that such research has taken, one concentrating on ideological and even philosophical issues, another on empirical self-placement data, and yet another on abstract mathematical models. When the results of these distinct approaches are compared and eventually integrated, it may be shown that spatial theory is indeed a « complete scientific theory, » as recently claimed. SM 17

XIII. 286 MAZRUI, Ali (Univ. of Jos, Nigeria, and Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., USA) — **Is modernization reversible ? An African perspective.**

Famine and drought in Africa may in part be a consequence of dis-modernization — a reversal of the « Westernization » processes initiated by the colonial experience. In order to modernize economically, is it necessary to Westernize culturally ? Japan from 1868 onwards decided that a country could modernize industrially without Westernizing culturally. Turkey under Atatürk decided that in order to modernize economically she needed to acquire Western culture. Is Africa a third model — acquisition of cultural Westernization without technological modernization ? Is the crisis of Africa's capacity to feed itself one devastating consequence of Westernism without modernity ? Modernization is innovative change based on more advanced knowledge and leading to wider social horizons. Development is modernization minus dependency, the promotion of innovative change and the broadening of social horizons without excessive reliance on others. Westernization is the acquisition of Western life styles and consumption patterns without necessarily mastering Western productive techniques. In Africa the contradictions of « Westernism without modernity » have resulted in military coups, inefficient law enforcement, corruption in high places, decaying economic systems, worthless currencies, cultural dependency, and the food crisis. When is « modernization » a mere mirage of modernity ? When it is neo-colonial. SG 16

XIII. 287 MAZUR, Allan (Syracuse Univ., Syracuse, NY, USA) — **Empirical tests of a biosocial model of status.**

A model of face-to-face status interaction is described. Its mechanisms depend on short term changes in the sympathetic nervous system and long term changes in testosterone. The model holds across all primate species, but with special modifications to incorporate human conversation. It assumes that individuals often compete for status in fairly well defined contests, each trying to « outstress » the other through actions of words. Finally one individual « surrenders, » accepting the lower rank and in so doing alleviates the stress that he experienced during the competition. The level of stress that is experienced may be high, as when the contest takes the form of aggressive combat, or very low, as when the competition takes the form of polite conversation, in which case the participants may barely be aware that they are in a contest. RC 12.1

XIII. 288 McALLISTER, Ian (Australian National Univ., Canberra, Australia) — **The decline of class revisited : class and party in England, 1964-83.**

Class has long been the pre-eminent source of political conflict in industrial society, but its electoral influence has declined in recent years. The sources of this decline are not yet firmly established and the implications for political parties remain unclear. The decline of class hypothesis states that parties of the left will decline as the working class becomes more affluent, while the party appeals hypothesis suggests that, as the electorate becomes more middle class, parties of the left will try and offset their losses by appealing to the growing middle class. This paper applies multivariate analysis to survey data collected in England between 1964 and 1983 to test four specific hypotheses derived from these two scenarios. The results support the decline of class theory's prediction that economic development erodes the working class bases of leftwing parties, but not its claim that the leftwing party's vote declines proportionately. The results suggest that parties are able to change their appeals and reduce their losses, but not to eliminate them. SM 15

XIII. 289 McCAUGHRIN, Craig (Washington and Lee Univ., Lexington, Va., USA) — **Actuarial aspects of mobilization.**

The *problem* is to identify actuarial bases of aging in social processes like mobilization. These provide a new, non-paradigmatic account of aging, not growth in all, not just political mobilization. At question : Which putative factors best explain rates of aging or longevity ? The *plan* is to test such factors via time-series analysis of sample data (Poland, 1948-80/USSR, 1946-80) on longevity/mortality among mobilization campaigns plus several theoretically postulated exogenous (« wear-and-tear ») and endogenous (« internal clock ») factors of mortality. *Results* support exogenous factors since the timing and tempo of mortality among campaigns match external societal changes. But mortality rates vary by system from constant (Poland) to asymptotic, half-life decay (USSR). Mobilization's life-span thus appears contingently extendable. *Prospects* include greater mastery over aging in mobilization and thus mobilization regimes, over other processes confronting the same macro-geriatric forces, over linkages between geriatric (aging) and genetic (growing) processes, and over their impact upon values like innovation and stability. III. 2.2

XIII. 290 McNELLY, Theodore (Univ. of Maryland, Silver Spring, Md, USA) — **The renunciation of war in the Japanese Constitution : its significance for peace and security in Asia.**

Japan's 1946 Constitution renounces not only war but also military forces. It was hoped that this unique « Peace Constitution » would protect both the Japanese people and their neighbors from the horrors of war. Japan has not been directly involved in wars since 1946, but maintains « self-defense forces, » has the world's eighth largest military budget, and permits the US to maintain military bases on its soil. Wars in Asia have been much more frequent and involved many more countries (most of them newly independent) in the thirty-nine years since 1946 than during the thirty-nine years before 1946. Japan's constitutional ban on arms inhibits Japan from contributing its « fair share » to Asian security, but does not seem to have been a direct cause of Asia's wars. RC 18.2

XIII. 291 MEFFORD, Dwain (Univ. of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal., USA) — **Adding history, fear, and violence to global models : incorporating political calculations and actions.**

The drama of international politics is singularly lacking in the global models that have been built to date. Politics is approached only indirectly, if at all, through parameter settings on locations, production, or reaction functions. Changes in levels, rates of procurement, and stocks takes the place of the explicit portrayal of violent conflict, creative diplomacy, and the hopes and fears of populations. Politics in the larger sense of the capacity of a society to organize and act in purposive ways is rarely considered. To some extent this reflects the disciplinary origins and technical training of the current model-builders, whose attention has been directed to social and economic « tangibles » as defined by economists, demographers, and others. To a greater extent the seeming indifference to history and current events reflects the profound conceptual and technical difficulties involved in capturing the tangible dimensions of politics. The paper proposes and demonstrates a strategy for modeling perceptions and calculations as informed by prior experience. The effort incorporates and adds to the agenda of the present generation of global models. The

approach is illustrated with worked examples and an outline of an interface for the current version of the Wissenschaftszentrum's GLOBUS model. **IV. 8.1**

XIII. 292 MELTZER, Ronald I. (State Univ. of New York, Buffalo, N.Y., USA) — **The politics of protection and graduation in North-South trade relations : the renewal of the generalized system of preferences.**

The paper analyzes the renewal of the generalized system of trade preferences (GSP) granted to developing countries. It focuses on the US extension of GSP in 1984 and compares American policy-making in this area with similar efforts undertaken by other OECD nations, such as Canada. The paper assesses changing domestic and international conditions relating to such preferential trading schemes, and evaluates the types of policy choices and constraints posed by renewing GSP programs. Finally, it places policymaking developments on trade preferences within the broader context of evolving North-South trade relations. **RC 17.2**

XIII. 293 MÉNY, Yves (Univ. de Paris II, France) — **The legitimation of interest groups by the French administration.**

Despite, or because of, its many variants, the neo-corporatist model does not offer a satisfactory way of interpreting relations between the state and interest groups in France. The exchange process between them can be analysed as the reciprocal legitimation which the two groups of partners seek to secure or to extend. However, French practice shows that the exchange is very unequal and that the legitimation of some interest groups by the state amounts to a virtual co-optation or integration, notably through the misuse of the criterion of « representativeness ». **II. 5.1**

XIII. 294 MERCIER, Michel G. (Facultés Univ. de Namur, Belgique) — **Décisions rationnelles et réponses à des besoins individuels et sociaux.**

La conception économique issue de la théorie néo-classique du concept de rationalité a été étudiée à la lumière de théories et de méthodes d'approche expérimentale du comportement. Cette confrontation a ouvert la voie à une réflexion qui aborde le problème de l'expérimentation des modèles comportementaux. Dans le même contexte, la question de la définition du concept de besoin social a été abordée. Dans ce domaine, il s'agissait également de chercher des instruments de mesure permettant d'évaluer les besoins de groupes sociaux. La nécessité de tester empiriquement ou de vérifier expérimentalement le bien-fondé des décisions politiques en vue de répondre à des besoins sociaux articule ces deux problématiques. Le problème se fait sentir actuellement, en sciences humaines, de mieux confronter les hypothèses et les théories à des données empiriques en vue de rendre les modélisations plus opérationnelles. Ces deux problématiques doivent se rejoindre pour des raisons tant pratiques que scientifiques. Pour des raisons pratiques, il n'est pas concevable de prendre des décisions sans que ces dernières aient une efficacité (positive ou négative) de réponse à des besoins. Point de vue scientifique, les modèles sociologiques qui visent à cerner les besoins le font, dans la plupart des cas, en vue d'aider à prendre des décisions adéquates à propos de groupes sociaux particuliers ; les modèles économiques qui tentent de décrire les processus de décision font intervenir la poursuite d'objectifs pour le décideur lui-même ou pour d'autres acteurs sociaux. La prise de décisions rationnelles et la réponse à des besoins individuels sont au centre des applications technologiques de la démarche scientifique. C'est le cas en médecine lorsqu'il s'agit de poser des choix d'application de techniques en vue d'améliorer le bien-être d'individus ou de populations. Dans ce domaine, le décideur maîtrise des conséquences possibles d'applications de techniques (préventives ou curatives), sans pour autant toujours maîtriser l'ensemble des conséquences. Sa décision rationnelle doit, dans certains cas, être prise alors que des incertitudes restent liées à l'application des techniques. Elle se base sur une probabilité de réalisation de l'efficacité des techniques utilisées. Dans son choix, le mieux-être attendu, la réponse à un besoin, est également un facteur de décisions. L'objectif est de mieux cerner la rationalité des décisions dans ce domaine en tenant compte, à la fois, des degrés d'incertitude et de l'amélioration du bien-être. Par ce biais, il s'agit de fonder à partir de la psychologie, de l'économie et de la sociologie le choix posé par des scientifiques qui appliquent des techniques à l'être humain. Il s'agit de tenter de repérer des modélisations ou des quantifications possibles d'évaluations qualitatives susceptibles d'éclairer des problèmes d'éthique médicale et de politiques de soins de santé. Cette question est portée par de nombreux scientifiques en différents domaines de la recherche et de la pratique médicale. **RC 11.1**

XIII. 295 MERRITT, Richard L. (Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., USA) — **The media, national sovereignty, and political community in divided Berlin.**

The electronic media's role in divided Berlin has been at issue since 1945. Early Soviet control of the city's single radio station led American and British authorities to establish their own (RIAS and NWDR, the latter, renamed SFB now operated by West Berlin and expanded to include television). SFB and, still more, RIAS program for West Berliners but, through a policy of free flow of information, seek to sustain a sense of identity and political community between East and West. The GDR has sought unsuccessfully to use carrots and sticks to stop what it sees as the Western media's violation of its national sovereignty. Available data indicate that information flows constitute a one-way street rather than a basis for reintegration based on mutual adjustment. **RC 22.1**

XIII. 296 MESSARRA, Antoine Nasri (Univ. Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth, Liban) — **Démocratie concurrentielle et démocratie consensuelle : une classification opérationnelle des systèmes politiques contemporains. Essai comparatif.**

Sous l'apparence d'une classification des systèmes politiques en vue d'en dégager les différences et les similitudes, la théorie politique d'inspiration jacobine a érigé le système concurrentiel de gouvernement — présidentialisme, parlementarisme, régime de multipartisme, de parti unique ou dominant, etc. — en modèle normatif et exclusif de référence. On ne peut considérer nombre de systèmes (Suisse, Belgique, Pays-Bas, Autriche, Chypre, Iles Fidji, Kenya, Liban, etc.) comme des cas spéciaux, des exceptions, des anomalies ni des systèmes non modernes, surtout que ces cas sont aujourd'hui répandus et permettent la régulation des conflits et la stabilité politique dans nombre de sociétés plurales (Chypre, Inde, Sri Lanka, Irlande, Soudan, Afrique du Sud, Indonésie, Zimbabwe, Nouvelle-Calédonie, etc.). La distinction entre démocratie concurrentielle et démocratie consensuelle, fondée principalement sur les modalités d'application de la loi de majorité, revêt un caractère explicatif et opérationnel. **SM 42**

XIII. 297 MILLER, Arthur H. (Univ. of Chicago, USA) — **Social and political explanations for party choice in the United States, 1952-1984.**

Since the mid-1960s partisanship in the US has declined both in terms of self-identification with a party and as reflected in loyalty to a party when voting. The paper utilizes survey data from 1952-1984 to examine several theoretical explanations for this historical decline in partisanship. An initial explanation focuses on socioeconomic shifts in the population. Another hypothesis considers a possible deterioration in the organization strength of political parties. An increase in negative assessments of presidential candidates and a growth in alienation from political parties is also investigated. Another explanation involves a slippage in the performance of the parties, such as the failure of the parties to differentiate themselves on the issues. A reduction in the amount of party relevant information available through the mass media, especially in relation to the increasing focus on candidates is also explored. Implications of the analysis results for possible party realignment and the future state of the party system are discussed. **SM 15**

XIII. 298 MILLER, John D.B. (Australian National Univ., Canberra, Australia) — **Sovereignty as a source of vitality for the state.**

After defining the three terms in the title, the paper discusses various reasons why the state acquires vitality from its possession of sovereignty. These reasons include : the way in which sovereignty protects (though it cannot guarantee) the state's independence, sometimes against major powers ; the legal capacity which sovereignty provides for governments to coerce, persuade and provide for their peoples ; the way in which sovereignty creates an object of attachment and loyalty which cannot be easily avoided in domestic terms, and for which there is no obvious substitute ; the distinctive identity and separation from other state and international actors which sovereignty supplies, even to small states ; the opportunity to join with other states in regional and worldwide groups, thus acquiring extra vitality in certain situations ; the participation in « the international community » which provides access to international aid of various kinds for under-developed countries. None of these reasons for vitality applies to colonies, which, while they may succeed in attempts at economic growth and social harmony, cannot develop independently. As a source of vitality, there is no alternative to sovereignty. **IV. 0**

XIII. 299 MILLER, William L. (Univ. of Strathclyde, Glasgow, UK) ; TAYLOR, Charles Lewis (Virginia Polytechnic Inst. and State Univ., Blacksburg, Va., USA) — **Support for third force parties in the eighties — a comparative analysis of German, British and American data.**

The Green Party in Germany, the SDP-Liberal Alliance in Britain, and the Anderson candidacy in the US have recently challenged the earlier two-party stability in each country. Support for these third force parties can be explained in terms of forces that allow people to vote against the old parties (the push), of forces that attract people to the new party (the pull), and of interactions between these forces. Weak party and class identifications, greater negative than positive evaluations of the old parties, balanced trust and ratings of the old parties and their leaders, contradictions between class position and issue attitudes, previous vote, and parents' class all tend to reduce the likelihood of voting for either of the older parties and to increase the availability for a new one. People are released from their old loyalties or are even driven away. The presence and program of a third force party may be attractive for some people in its own right, but the party also operates as a way station for some people with weakened loyanties who are unwilling to move entirely to the erstwhile opposition. This argues against the likely long term success for these parties. **SM 15**

XIII. 300 MILNE, Robert S. (Univ. of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada) — **Bumiputra Malaysia Finance : levels of corruption.**

Until recently it had been believed that levels of corruption were lower in Malaysia than in most neighbouring countries. However, in 1982 Bumiputra Malaysia Finance, a Malaysian government company operating in Hong Kong, made huge losses when the property boom ended, having concentrated its loans on too few firms. There were rumours of corruption, several officials resigned, the government instituted an enquiry, and an investigation official was murdered in Hong Kong. Suspicion even affected some high-level politicians and internal elections in Malaysia's most important party, UMNO. The main issues are : has the level of corruption indeed increased ? If so, is it related to the recent rise of a new Malay capitalist class ? Are there parallels with the crash of PERTAMINA, the state oil company,, in Indonesia in the mid-1970s ? **RC 20.2**

XIII. 301 MINELLI, Anna R. (Univ. of Bologna, Italy) — **Opportunities and constraints on social scientists' role in politico-administrative systems : an Italian case.**

Some problems of inference regarding the role of social scientists have been solved as following : (1) using a strictly bounded concept of social scientist (focusing on political scientists in the Italian context) ; (2) identifying a case of institutional participation to a project of modernizing administrative structures and procedures ; (3) following through the events after the project itself. The essay consists of two parts : (1) an analysis of a case of administrative innovation where we find a direct influence by a political scientist ; (b) an analytical framework (tor comparative purposes) through which a general hypothesis can be verified : the probability of notable impacts by social scientists depends on both features of the national policito-administrative system and of the case considered. A more specific hypothesis is that the role of political scientists can be relevant when (among other features) the political culture of the country is homogeneous and pragmatic, the institutional change is flexible, the assessment of political science in the country is strong, the technology exhibited by the political scientists is distinguishable, and their scientific interests are specific and empirically oriented. **II. 2.1**

XIII. 302 MITCHELL, William C. (Univ. of Oregon, Eugene, Or., USA) ; MITCHELL, Joyce M. (id.) — **Comparative policy analysis : a public choice paradigm.**

Policy analysis has become an ad hoc, miscellaneous collection of studies without a core or distinctive theme. It need not be that and will not if policy analysts in political science focus their attention on the simple economic concept-efficiency. The study of efficiency in the allocation of scarce resources provides a powerful means for genuine comparisons of policy-making and policy outcomes. Analysts are also afforded a normative standard by which to make judgments about alternative policies and processes for generating policies. Efficiency has long dominated economic theory and with highly beneficial results. In our paper we present several case studies from public choice showing how efficiency sheds light on basic problems facing policy analysts. **III. 8.1**

XIII. 303 MOLINA VEGA, José E. (Univ. del Zulía, Maracaibo, Venezuela) — **Representative democracy and political participation in Venezuela.**

Venezuela has developed what might be called a purely representative type of government. But for elections, the citizens have no other institutional mechanism for participating in the political decision making process. This has brought about the following consequences : (1) Large autonomy of the political parties vis-à-vis the policy preferences of their electorate ; (2) Electoral campaigns focused on personalities rather than issues ; (3) State policy influenced more by the interests and needs of powerful pressure groups than by those of the majority ; (4) Progressive growth of anti party feeling and of interest in political reform in order to curb the power of the parties and to increase participation. The paper suggests that electoral reform will not be enough for actually increasing the influence of the electorate on the political decision making process. To achieve the latter it will be necessary to introduce some mechanisms such as the referendum, therefore changing from pure representation to participant-representation. **SM 22**

XIII. 304 MONTAG, Claus (Akademie für Staats- und Rechtswissenschaft, Berlin, GDR) — **The renunciation of the use of force and a new world order.**

Forty years after the end of World War II and the foundation of the UN the renunciation of the use of force as a means of policy in international relations is more urgent than ever. The formation of a new world order must be based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and the rules of international law. This, however, is seriously obstructed by the imperialist countries' policy of confrontation and arms drive which, moreover, increases the danger of military conflicts, particularty the likelihood of the outbreak of a worldwide nuclear inferno, and this makes political solutions impossible. A general confirmation of already fixed principles to refrain from the use of force does therefore not suffice. A confirmation of the principle of the renunciation of the use of force must be brought comprehensively in line with current international developments and dangers. Effective barriers against the use of military force have to be brought forth. There is, in particular, a strong necessity to renounce the first use of nuclear as well as conventional weapons in the form of a treaty binding in international law. The conclusion of a treaty on the renunciation of the use of force and peaceful relations between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization would be of principal importance not only to the consolidation of security in Europe, but also to the shaping of a new world order. **I. 5.1**

XIII. 305 MOU, David (Univ. of Winconsin, Madison, Wis., USA, aud Univ. of Jos, Nigeria) — **Foreign enemies, hegemony and relative domestic political stability/instability : a comparative study in political legitimation and symbolic action, Nigeria and America.**

The paper analyses the evocation of « foreign » enemies by political elites to ensure mass conformity and quiescence thereby preserving the existing social order. Although these processes are probably present in order societies, the focus is on Nigeria and America. The implication of this analysis is that socialization, repression and performance are no longer the only ways for ensuring the persistence of a prevailing social order, however unfair it might be. The evocation of « foreign » enemies seems, perhaps, the most efficacious and least expensive method for preserving hegemony in contemporary societies. Symbolic dramatization of « foreign » enemies seems, therefore, a persistent phenomenon given that there would continue to be opportunities for questioning the legitimacy of the existing hegemony by the mass public that usually unfolds these processes. **III. 7.2**

XIII. 306 MTENGETI, Rose Asha (Univ. of Dar-es-Saalam, Tanzania) — **Adjudication as a site of state power and of class struggle : a reflection on law and state in Africa, with particular reference to Tanzania.**

The state as the political organisation of the ruling class endeavours to develop a social, political and economic system to safeguard its interests. In Tanzania the state has devices to ensure that its interests are protected and upheld. One such device is the law. The paper examines the trend of post-colonial legislation and adjudication as a reflection of class struggle in Tanzania. This will be in the areas of Preventive Detention, Economic Sabotage, Villagisation, Nationalisation and National Security. It is intended to give background to such legislation and its implementation. The discussion therefore centres on reported and unreported cases, in order to show how courts may be a site of class struggle. The paper shows how the judiciary, as part of the state, protects ruling class interests through adjudication. **SM 36**

XIII. 307 MURTY, T.S. (Univ. of Delhi, India) — **Inner boundaries of modern states : the case of India since Independence.**

States are hierarchical structures composed of successive lower level territorial units. Inner boundary lines are the areal units' limits : each unit having historically established group identity, recognised by political decisions. The quality of group unity varies with time and location. There is a multiplicity of functions which internal and external boundaries serve. Inner boundaries get ignored when deciding areas where special projects operate. In India, the 1950, 1956, 1966 and 1971 re-organisations of provinces used varying criteria : contiguity, language and proximity to the international boundary. Limited success has been achieved in forming provinces into regional groups. The re-organisations have caused several boundary disputes and demands for further new provinces. Improvement of communications has partially reduced the internal boundaries' importance as linear limits to areal assertions of group identity. **RC 15.2**

XIII. 308 MURSWIECK, Axel (Univ. Heidelberg, FRG) — **Public policies in disarray : political and legal restraints in public policy making.**

Disagreement and disaggregation on policy issues have become more conspicuous in Western democracies. Observers see a clear tendency to a revival of ideological cleavages, to growing concerns about a decline of political institutions to an increase of opposition and a public distrust in governmental competence. The paper analyzes those assumptions in the areas of social regulations and welfare policies, i.e. the functions of regulation and redistribution, and discusses the role of growing political and institutional restraints posed on policy-makers. It argues that unlike the image of the « end of consensus » and the « ungovernability » those restraints strengthen both the adjustment of political institutions and the adequacy of public policy solutions. Policy analysis has to emphasize substance and process in new perspectives. **SM 13**

XIII. 309 MUSCARA, Calogero (Univ. of Rome, Italy) — **The inner boundaries of Italy.**

In the first part we try to find what survives of the ancient historical and cultural geographical divisions of Italy, a relatively new state, and to determine the relevance of new divisions resulting from recent geographic, economic, societal and cultural changes. In the second part we study the relationships between the old and the new divisions and the actual territorial structure of the state with reference to representative democracy and the growing number of cases in which the government intervenes directly in the economic and social life of the country. **RC 15.1**

XIII. 310 MUSHABEN, Joyce Marie (Univ. of Missouri-St.Louis, Miss., USA) — **Peace and the national question : a study of the development of an « association of responsibility » between the two Germanies.**

The paper addresses the immediate as well as the longer-term effects that the development of separate national peace movements and the post-1983 deployment of additional theater nuclear forces in Central Europe have had on the conduct of German-German relations. It develops the argument that a unique geostrategic location, demographic polarization and the shared lack of a « national identity » accord to the East and West German peace movement a political significance not witnessed in other European systems. The paper begins with a brief overwiew of peace movement developments in the two German states from 1979 to the present. It then surveys the extent and nature of intensified contacts between the two states that have assumed priority on their respective foreign policy agendas. In the third section, the author takes the plunge into the historical thicket of « German nationalism » and its 1970's counterpart, neutronationalism, in an effort to determine whether or not the existence of parallel peace and ecology movements in the FRG and the GDF heralds the possibility of a new type of *Entspannungspolitik*, viz. one that rejects a traditional attachment to the concept of national sovereignty, in favor of a European « Third Force » and European identification. **IV. 4.2**

XIII. 311 MUSHAKOJI, Kinhide (United Nations Univ., Tokyo, Japan) — **Political development : western theories and Japanese reality.**

Japan is generally considered a success story in terms of industrialization and economic development. It is also a commonplace to stress the fact that this development has not been accompanied by the westernization of the Japanese political culture. The western theory of political development, based on the basic assumption that the economic development of a non-Western society requires its adoption of Western political values, is unable to treat satisfactorily the political conditions of Japan's economic development, and several attempts by Western social scientists have been made to explain the Japanese case. These attempts are, however, not convincing enough to the Japanese. That is why there are a few attempts made by Japanese political scientists to present a more coherent interpretation to the political development in Japan. The paper refers to both the non-Japanese and the Japanese attempts to interpret the Japanese case of political development. Based on such reflection, a pluralistic approach to political development will be proposed, as an alternative to the now predominant approach to the analysis of political development. **SG 16.1**

XIII. 312 MUSOLF, Lloyd (Univ. of California, Davis, Cal., USA) — **US Government Corporations : useful instruments ?**

Characteristics of the polity (decentralized and pluralistic decision-making) and the economy (strongly private-enterprise-oriented) in the US inevitably limit the precision with which government corporations are guided. Though they probably are the government tool that accords least well with this country's consensual values, they are employed for a surprising variety of public purposes. The explanation, it is posited, is that many government corporations have been established to support and augment the private sector and some have a structure that is intended to facilitate eventual private-sector dominance. In general, the setting assures differentiated treatment of individual government corporations by policymakers, rathen than treatment as a collective instrument, but this phenomenon merely reflects the pervasive method of decision-making in the federal government. **SM 6**

XIII. 313 MUTUNGA, Willy (Univ. of Nairobi, Kenya) — **Recent developments in the relations between East African states.**

The paper analyses in some detail the reasons behind the collapse of the East African Community. Upon this background, it then analyze an interesting scenario : where assets are distributed amongst the East African states ; the institutions of the East African Community are dismantled rathen than strengthened ; and this is done amidst the talk of a new era of East African Co-operation : The conclusion is that the fundamental reasons for the collapse of the East African Community are still there. No attempt has been made to analyse them as a basis for new co-operation ; the institutions have since been dismantled. Recent moves at co-operation have as their basis the political security of the regimes in East African States. And co-operation based on such a basis is bound to be temporary. **SM 37**

XIII. 314 NABUDERE, Dani W. (Univ. of Zimbabwe, Harare, Zimbabwe) — **The crisis of the African neo-colonial state.**

The paper analyses the current crisis facing the African neo-colonial state. It traces the origin of this crisis to the historical roots of traditional society and its interaction with the dominant monopoly capitalist relations that were imposed with colonisation. It focuses on particular aspects of the crisis such as ethnic and nationality claims and links them to the historical roots. The crisis facing the African nation-state is in fact not endemic to the African situation, but part of the crisis of the nation state in general. The emergent forces struggling to break the neo-colonial state up are in fact progressive forces which must find a new direction. **SM 37**

XIII. 315 NARAIN, Iqbal (Banaras Hindu Univ., India) — **Indian constitution at work : some observations in the context of the emerging party system.**

The basic assumption is that, as India as a demogratic polity, the political parties are an essential input which in turn determines the working of the constitution in good measure. India has, by a large, had a one-party dominant system with sprinkling and phases of coalitional politics both at intra-party and inter party levels. The one-party dominant system has been typified in the form of the Congress system which had itself undergone qualitative changes through the periods of Prime-Ministership of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Shri Rajiv Gandhi, besides others. Similarly, the Congress hegemony has itself had a component of intra-party coalitions built around caste, religion, language, region, personalities and the like. Besides these, situation of intra-party coalition, there has been similar situation in regard

to the Janta experiment when the Janta Government was in power. Finally, there have also been inter-party coalitions particularly in Kerala and in other states (specially during 1967-71). It will thus be obvious that party system as an input in the working of the constitution has been a multi-faceted phenomenon. An effort is made to examine this with illustrative case study material. The objective of the study is to find out how far the emerging party system can be said to be functional or dysfunctional to the working of the Indian Constitution since independence. **SM 45**

XIII. 316 NEDEV, Yvan (L. Zhivkova International Foundation, Sofia, Bulgaria) ; BATURIN, Juri (Acad. of Sciences, Moscow, USSR) — **The state and the concept of a new World Order.**

The International System is considered as a polysystem consisting of : (1) a system of international actors ; (2) a system of international relations ; (3) an international control system of standards of international law and political norms ; (4) a communication system combining the above into a whole. The International Order is interpreted as the functioning of the International System within a structural stability zone. Antiwar movements are influential international actors. Their communication connections, their influence on other actors, the system of international relations, international legal and political norms are analyzed. Numerous wars in the past did not change the International Order although they had a great influence on the state of the international system and consequent instabilities were controlled by legal means (from Grotius to the modern jus in bello). A nuclear war will upset the stability of the international system. That is why the New International Political Order does not accept the right of war (jus ad bellum). This makes the antiwar movements a stabilizing factor which helps the International System stay within its structural stability zone. **I. 5.1**

XIII. 317 NEF, Rolf (Univ. Zürich, Switzerland) ; RITSCHARD, Rolf (id.) — **Structural cleavages, cultural representation and referenda behavior in Switzerland, 1970-1984.**

The first part of the paper discusses Switzerland as a structurally and culturally divided nation. The structural center-periphery-cleavage is largely independent of the cultural cleavages and boundaries. The cultural boundaries can be interpreted as some kind of « political memories » reproduced over the time mostly by the subnational political organization and the ideological cleavages between the political elites. The second part analyses the outcomes of 30 important nation-wide referenda to detect the articulation profiles in contemporary Switzerland. Five articulation profiles or interest-dimensions are discussed : « value modernization », « social equalization », « socioeconomic centralization », « cultural centralization » and « identitive closing ». The third part combines these articulation profiles with structural and cultural cleavages. Multivariate models detect important effects of the cultural cleavages and boundaries on the articulation of interest and values on the political level. The effects of the five articulation profiles vary strongly. A final typology can be constructed which shows the issue-specific relevance of the different cultural boundaries. **RC 15.2**

XIII. 318 NEUBAUER, Deane E. (Univ. Hawaii, Honolulu, USA) ; SHAPIRO, Michael (id.) — **The new politics of mediation . disclosing silences.**

The paper focuses on an emerging academic discipline and set of political practice : alternative dispute resolution. The overriding goal in alternative dispute resolution is the search for a negotiated solution to an existing conflict by the articulation of interests and identifications common to the participants. The field and its practices are heralded as a breakthrough in the politics which have come to characterize most western industrialized nations, an alternative to the normal interest and class based politics of previous decades. Alternative dispute resolution purports to work by « illuminating » an existing set of issues bound in conflict. It is in part this « making explicit » which permits movement toward the negotiated solution. We argue a competing interpretation. The « new politics of alternative dispute resolution (often held by its proponents to be « non-political ») succeeds in part through the inculcation of a « language of silences ». In its efforts to « illuminate », other interests (voices) are displaced into the « shadows ». Phrased differently, the « new » language of alternative dispute resolution succeeds in part by devaluing other (alternative) languages which embody interests and identities absent from that which is proposed. We discuss the nature of « a politics of silence » with particular reference to its consequences in this emerging area. **SM 43**

XIII. 319 NICHOLSON, Michael B. (Univ. of Manchester, UK) — **A decision model of inter-state conflict.**

The purpose of the paper is to interpret various international situations in terms of a formal decision making model. The basic model is an expected utility model, with some variants to add to realism and in particular to introduce some dynamic elements into the theory. Four cases are considered in terms of the model-exemplifying three different types of hostile interaction between states. (1) The Fashoda Crisis (1898) — a crisis which was resolved. (2) The beginning of World War I — a crisis which was not resolved. (3) The intervention in Russia (1917-1920) and the Suez War (1956), both interactions which involved wars which were « aborted » when military gains were still thought possible by one party. The application of decision theory to specific historical examples adds to our understanding of these instances and throws light on the class of cases to which the instance belongs. It also shows some of the weaknesses of formal decision theory, and suggests remedies which retain the power of the analysis, while not sacrificing too much in realism. **RC 10.2**

XIII. 320 NIEMÖLLER, Kees (Univ. Amsterdam, Netherlands) ; VAN DER EIJK, Cees (id.) — **Conceptual and methodological issues in relation to left and right : point versus interval approaches.**

Empirical research in which left-right positions of voters (and sometimes of parties) are used customarily assumes that such positions can be conceptualized and measured adequately as discrete points. For a number of reasons, it way be more plausible to think of the location of voters and parties not as points but rather as segments or even as continuous functions (utility, perception, or policy functions). The consequences of a shift from point estimates to segments or functions are discussed and illustrated with data for the Netherlands. The following aspects in particular are treated : (1) the conceptual status of « left-right » in theories of party choice and party competition ; (2) the operationalization of left-right positions of voters and parties ; (3) the analysis of left-right data measured as segments or as functions. **SM 17**

XIII. 321 NOËL, Emile (C.E.E., Bruxelles, Belgique) — **Problèmes et perspectives de la Communauté européenne.**

La Communauté affronte aujourd'hui des difficultés extrêmement graves : freinage des négociations d'élargissement avec l'Espagne et le Portugal, blocage de son financement, dérive institutionnelle. L'ampleur même de ces difficultés a conduit les institutions et la plupart des dix Gouvernements à prendre conscience de la nécessité de réformes pour assurer son fonctionnement, surtout après l'élargissement. Si les derniers obstacles à l'élargissement et au règlement des problèmes financiers sont surmontés pendant les prochains mois, l'effort conjugué des Institutions (nouvelle Commission européenne, Présidence du Conseil) peut conduire à un déblocage du dossier institutionnel, ce qui donnerait à la Communauté de meilleures chances d'exécuter le programme ambitieux de développement industriel, monétaire et économique qui répondrait aux besoins présents. **RC 31**

XIII. 322 NORPOTH, Helmut (State Univ. of New York, Stony Brook, NY, USA) — **The economy and presidential popularity in the United States.**

Concerns over economic well-being have dominated the political agenda during the presidencies of Nixon, Ford, Carter and Reagan, ever since the world economic crisis of 1973-1974. In examining the effects of the economy on government support in the US, the paper constructs a model according to which macroeconomic conditions (real disposable income, unemployment, inflation) shape perceptions of economic well-being in the electorate (are you better off ?) which then influence the approval ratings of presidents. The analysis uses time series data (quarterly observations) and employs ARIMA methods (Box-Jenkins) to estimate and test the model. In addition, surveys from the 1980 and 1984 elections are used to confirm the effects of economic perceptions on electoral choice at the individual level. **SM 19**

XIII. 323 OBRADOVIC, Josip (Univ. of Zagreb, Yugoslavia) — **Effects of activity in decision making process on behavior within and outside organizations.**

The paper presents a synthesis of recent data obtained by Yugoslav researchers in political science, sociology and social psychology. The first part deals with activity in the decision making process (DMP), structure of participation, roles of different groups, power in DMP, etc. It is empirically founded on many research projects. Two other parts deal with the consequences of activity

in DMP. The second analyses personal consequences, such as feelings of alienation, work morale, satisfaction with different aspects of the work situation, identification with organization. The third discusses consequences outside production organizations. It is mainly theoretical, because of lack of empirical studies. We try to analyse relationships between activity in decision-making process and values, norms or generally collectivistic or egotistic behavior outside production organization at least on a hypothetical level. The study posits general relations between activity in DMP and materialistic orientation, or value systems formation in general. **SM 9**

XIII. 324 ORBAN, Edmond (Univ. de Montréal, Canada) — **L'État fédéral et l'aliénation politique au Québec.**

Depuis la « conquête », les francophones du Québec sont restés longtemps en dehors des grands circuits économiques et les principales décisions échappent encore à leur contrôle. Cependant, de plus en plus de conflits ont tendance à se traiter dans le réseau des relations entre un Etat embryonnaire (provincial) et l'Etat central. Or la mémoire collective du groupe menacé globalement par l'assimulation retient surtout les défaites les plus significatives face au gouvernement central. Ce dernier sert alors de catalyseur au ressentiment engendré, tandis que le gouvernement provincial se heurte à un Etat soucieux de préserver ses pouvoirs stratégiques. De cette lutte inégale découle un sentiment d'aliénation politique variant en fonction du degré de centralisation tel que perçu par la majorité des francophones et en rapport avec les retombées économiques. **SM 18**

XIII. 325 ORWA, D. Katete (Univ. of Nairobi, Kenya) — **On classifying African military regimes.**

The African continent is still going through an evolutionary process. The creation of states remains incomplete. The newness of the states also leaves the question of political integration and legitimacy unsettled. Nearly each year a new government is born on the continent, not by the consent of the people but, in the words of Bismarck, « by blood and iron ». This makes difficult the classification of African political systems. In examining the literature one comes across a diversity of classificatory schemes. Among these are the so-called : developmental dictatorships ; guided democracies ; liberal democracies ; consocial and social democracies ; illiberal democracies ; authoritarian military regimes ; paternalistic military regimes. The list can go on without end. One thing is clear : it is impossible to fit the numerous African regimes into these schemes. The study seeks to classify African military regimes as follows : (1) Conservative regimes — those which seek to maintain the status quo ; they may be autocratic, authoritarian or paternalistic ; (2) Militarised systems — civilian regimes which manifest characteristics of a military regime ; (3) Revolutionary regimes — radical reform-oriented regimes, whether of the « Right » or the « Left ». **SM 42**

XIII. 326 OYEDIRAN, Oyeleye (Univ. of Lagos, Nigeria) — **The legislature and the economy in Nigeria's Second Republic.**

Nigerian legislatures were not known to be effective instruments in the making of public policies. Since the establishment of the Nigerian Council by governor Lugard soon after the amalgamation of the Southern and Northern Protectorates of Nigeria in 1914, public policy making had been dominated by the executive. Despite the stipulation in the 1963 republican constitution empowering the legislature to be supreme in public policy making, the executive devised various means of sidetracking this. Several measures were adopted in the presidential system of government which was operated between 1979 and 1983 — the period of the Second Republic — to strengthen legislature involvement in public policy. The paper seeks to determine how effective these measures were, particularly in the area of the economy. **RC 8.1**

XIII. 327 ÖZBUDUN, Ergun (Univ. of Ankara, Turkey) — **Transition from authoritarianism to democracy in Turkey (1945-1950).**

The paper starts with an analysis of the historical evolution of the Kemalist regime, in the belief that this is crucial to understand the process of transition to a competitive political system in the late 1940's. The causes and consequences of this transition are then discussed. Later events, such as the evolution of the democratic regime and its temporary breakdowns in 1960, 1971, and 1980 are briefly touched upon, but the emphasis remains on the 1945-1950 period. The paper concludes that the tutelary and potentially democratic nature of the Kemalist regime and President Inönü's firm personal commitment to democratization provided the crucial impulse for the transition. Changes in the international environment and in the structure of Turkish society at best provided facilitating conditions. **RC 6.2**

XIII. 328 PAGE, Edward C. (Univ. of Hull, UK) — **State development and local government.**

It is possible to identify three major historical phases in the development of local government when central-local relations took divergent paths. During the first phase, prior to 1800, some countries retained higher level local government units (e.g. English countries), while other countries abolished them. During the second phase, in the latter half of the 19th century, local elites in different countries pursued distinctive strategies in securing central government approval and finance for capital intensive urban infrastructure projects. During the third phase, the inter-war period, municipal bureaucracies in some countries developed as subordinate to national bureaucracies in status and expertise. An examination of the British and French experience can serve as a basis for generating a variety of hypotheses about the development of central-local relations in other European states. **II. 4.2**

XIII. 329 PALECKI, Krzysztof (Jagiellonian Univ., Cracow, Poland) — **The limits of bureaucracy : the political power factor.**

Contrary to widespread opinions, the social functioning of bureaucracy does not depend on the way of governing (the kind of political regime) but on the extent of the actual political power which is exercised by the subsystem of this power. Hence, the varieties of bureaucracy are not subject to a process of evolution which proceeds in a definite direction, but to constant fluctuations depending on the extent of the current political power exercised by those who take advantage of bureaucracy. The typical ideologies of bureaucracy are subject to an analogous fluctuation. In fact, they are nothing but pseudo-rational explanations of a certain relation between bureaucracy and the other elements of the social system. If such reasoning is correct, the following conclusion can be drawn : if both the type of state bureaucracy and its operational strategy, the quality of its activity, and even the content of its ideology depend on the actual limits to political power in a given historical moment, then it is the political power which marks out the limits of the social functioning of state bureaucracy, or more simply the limits of bureaucracy. **III. 4.2**

XIII. 330 PALONEN, Kari (Univ. of Jyväskylä, Finland) — **Conceptions of politics and the constitution of political science as a discipline : reflections on the case of Weimar Germany.**

The Weimar Republic, with Max Weber, Carl Schmitt and others, is a golden age for the history of the concept *politics*. With the Deutsche Hochschule für Politik, a step towards the constitution of academic political science was also taken. These are, however, different responses to the experience of politicization during war and revolution. The debate on politics and the political had two sources. It thematized the previously neglected political aspect in the subject matter of academic disciplines, such as philosophy, history, international and constitutional law. The experience of politicization had made the traditional, étatiste and instrumental views on politics obsolete, and the intense academic and literary debate indicates a search for new conceptions. Although the Deutsche Hochschule für Politik was founded as a « school », its proponents, for example Ernst Jäckh or Theodor Heuss, also intended to institutionalize a discipline. To achieve public legitimacy for their project, they did not try any re-definition of the basic concept of political science but adopted a rather conventional view of politics. **SG 11.1**

XIII. 331 PALTIEL, Khayyam Z. (Carleton Univ., Ottawa, Canada) — **The 1984 federal general election and developments in Canadian party finance.**

The paper examines the financial aspects of the 1984 Canadian Federal Election in terms of the amounts raised and spent by each of the registered parties at the national and regional levels and by the candidates in the local constituencies. It explores the methods used to raise these funds, the objects of expenditure and the extent to which the parties and candidates were constrained by the lack of funds or by the restrictions imposed by the relevant legislation. Particular attention is paid to the impact of the statutory amendments adopted in the autumn of 1983 and the constitutional challenge made by the National Citizens' Coalition, upheld by the Alberta Court of Queen's Bench in June 1984. The paper also reviews the weaknesses of the existing legislation and the results likely to flow from the above-mentioned decision. **RC 20.1**

XIII. 332 PALUMBO, Dennis J. (Arizona State Univ., Tempe, Ariz., USA) — **Evaluating policy implementation ; central issues in comparative analysis.**

Policies cannot be evaluated but the programs that are meant to translate them into practice can. These programs will be different in each location in which they are implemented because each location is unique. Thus, evaluating policy implementation either within a single country or cross-nationally is somewhat like comparing oranges and apples. From this perspective one might conclude that it is not possible to compare policy implementation, for what succeeds in one location may not succeed in another. However, there are common factors in successful implementation : (1) commitment to the program by street as well as upper-level implementors ; (2) existence of a policy entrepreneur ; (3) agreement among implementors about policy goals ; (4) participation in decision-making by all implementors ; and (5) modification in components to adapt to local needs. Building on these factors, it is possible to construct a theory of successful implementation regardless of location. **III. 3.2**

XIII. 333 PANDIT, Vijay Laxmi (Maitreyi College, Univ. of Delhi, India) — **Mass media and their impact on political socialization : a case study of Harijan women in India.**

The mass media are one of the agencies of political socialization, due to their continuous attempt try to broaden the cognitive map of citizens of a nation. The mass media are expected to play a crucial role in marking the citizens politically conscious, socially assimilative, culturally sound and mentally articulative. There are a number of studies pertaining to the impact of the mass media on the political socialization in the Indian context. However, there are only a few studies of the political socialization of the Indian women, especially the Harijan women who belong to the down-trodden section of the society and are regarded as untouchables. An attempt is made to examine the impact of the mass media on the political socialization of the Harijan women. Data for the study were collected through field work conducted during 1983-84 in suburban areas of Delhi. **RC 21.2**

XIII. 334 PAOLI BOLIO, Francisco José (Univ. autónoma metrop. Xochimilco, Mexico) — **Crisis and trascendence of the Mexican state.**

The main purpose of the paper is to explain the sources of hegemony and crisis in the Mexican state through an analysis of the relations between state and society since 1917. The construction of the postrevolutionary state and its fundamental characteristics, as well as the ways of obtaining consensus and stability, are pointed out. The paper also explains how important changes in the modernization of contemporary Mexican society challenge to a certain extent the hegemony of the state. Finally, there are considerations about the problems with which the De la Madrid government is dealing and the possibilities of the Mexican state to continue its process of democratization and recovery of its hegemony. **SG 18.1**

XIII. 335 PARIBATRA, Sukhumbhand (Chulalongkorn Univ., Bangkok, Thailand) — **Power, ideology and ethnicity : China's environmental possibilism and the security of Southeast Asia.**

From the perspective of noncommunist Southeast Asia, there is ambivalence concerning the People's Republic of China (PRC). On the one hand, as a result of the decline of US role in juxtaposition with Soviet expansion and Vietnam's occupation of Kampuchea, the PRC is looked upon as a valuable countervailing forc against Soviet and Vietnamese threats. On the other hand, because of its geographical contiguity, the presence in Southeast Asia of a large number of its « kith and kin », and fundamental ideological differences, the PRC is perceived to be a potential danger especially over the long run. The paper examines the overall security impact of the PRC on the region with particular focus on Thailand, the « frontline state » in the present Indochina conflict. It concludes that the Chinese threat, although often magnified beyond reality, does exist. Given the present trends of developments on mainland Southeast Asia, it is likely to increase, with adverse long term consequences. **SM 12**

XIII. 336 PARRA-LUNA, Francisco (Univ. Complutense, Madrid, Spain) ; TAILOR, Charles L. (Virginia Polytechnic Inst., Blacksburg, Va., USA) — **The empirical analysis of performance of the Welfare State in 24 countries.**

An attempt is made to calculate the concept of political performance (T) as defined by $T = Y/X$ where Y are the outputs and X the inputs. Both inputs and outputs are operationalized through a theoretical selection of empirical indicators. Inputs represent a comparative level of potentiality for obtaining outputs, and outputs a comparative level of « achieved goals ». In this way, if $T > 1$ the system is « multiplicative » ; if $T < 1$ the system is « reductive ». An empirical application of this theory is carried out on three groups of eight countries each, which represent the three main political regimes : Capitalism, Communism, and Fascism, for the period 1960-1980. **III. 5.1**

XIII. 337 PARRI, Leonardo (Inst. Univ. Europeo, San Domenico di Fiesole, Italy) — **Neo-corporatist arrangements, « Konkordanz » and political exchange : the Swiss experience.**

The paper deals with state-interest organizations relations, both historically and structurally. These are interpreted utilizing the concept of political exchange. Its main features are discussed linking them to the concept of neo-corporatist arrangements. After examining the interest-intermediation system, I concentrate on the dynamics of the stable political exchanges which take place within Swiss neo-corporatist arrangements. The result is that the strong political status of the interest organizations is an effect not of a state strategy of governability, but of a strategy of exchange between public and private actors. The latter have a functional primacy over the former, thanks to their self-regulative performances. The paper ends by focusing on the relations of political exchange between state and unions from 1918 to 1981. **SM 8**

XIII. 338 PEIRIS, Newton A. (Univ. of Colombo, Sri Lanka) — **The impact of the citizen participation and social movements on governmental activities, with special reference to Sri Lanka.**

Citizens' participation in governmental activities in Sri Lanka dates back to 2500 years. The impact of foreign colonisation (1505-1948) and the introduction of the parliamentary system of Government influenced the social and political system. Another chapter in the country's political system was the transition of feudal colonialism to capitalism. The capitalist influence resulted in semi-socialist and anti-imperialist movements pressuring the regime making a social revolution in 1956. The introduction of the First Republican Constitution in 1972 ceased the last links to the British Monarchy. The 1977 Constitution introduced a presidential form of Government, a compromise between the Westminster and French systems. Current political developments, while enhancing citizens' participation, are leading Sri Lanka to a social democratic and plural system of government. **II. 7.1**

XIII. 339 PEKONEN, Kyösti (Univ. of Jyväskylä, Finland) — **Policy-making and the relationship between politics and bureaucracy.**

The main problem with which the paper deals is the relationship between modern politics and administration, especially how politics can lead public administration. The point of departure is the division of labor between administration and modern politics. Following Max Weber, we can say that the state as administration represents stability, planned action and as a rule rationalization in the sense of minimizing « accidents ». Weber analyzed politics as a subjective and even in a sense irrational and accidental form of social action (especially when analyzing charisma). Politics is in this sense organized struggle for power positions, which comes true especially through language and words. This means that the most effective « means » by which parliamentary politics can lead is symbolic leadership. The stiffening or loosening of effective political symbols produces an atmosphere of indetermination. This makes possible the actualization of the problem of bureaucraty as the coincidence between a given structure and political events. **II. 1.1**

XIII. 340 PELINKA, Anton (Univ. Innsbrück, Austria) — **Citizens' movements — an improvement of democratic quality ? Confrontation of concepts and realities.**

(1) The framework : « liberal » systems in industrialized societies, defined by political pluralism (competitive party system) and economic capitalism. (2) The problem : balance between plebiscitarian and representative elements jeopardized by different developments (trend towards oligarchy, etc.). (3) The concept : new plebiscitarian tendencies such as citizens' movements have an improving impact on the already paralyzed structure of local, regional and national governments. (4) The reality : new social issues (ecology, peace, equality of women) tend to be presented and successfully articulated by citizens' movements which are

using new techniques of political pressure. (5) The reality : the social background of the activists of citizens' movements is usually an elitist one, defined socially, economically, culturally. (6) Evaluation : citizens' movements are an improvement for the political process as well as for the balance between traditional and new social issues ; but they are no improvement at all for the lack of equality within the system. Traditional elitism (parties, interest groups) is confronted with a new elitism. **II. 7.2**

XIII. 341 PÉREZ-MIRANDA, Rafael (Univ. autónoma metropolitana, Xochimilco, Mexico) — **Criteria which regulate the appointment of cabinet members in Mexico.**

The Chief of the Executive needs not offer cabinet positions to members of the other political parties, since he wins elections by an overwhelming majority. Neither does he need to bargain with political groups within his party, since these groups do not exist. Businessmen's organizations exercise pressures in order to further or prevent government policies, although these groups actions do not impinge upon the shaping of the cabinet. The organized workers' sector chiefly belongs to the PRI, and it does not ask for ministerial positions. The peasant and popular sectors' leaderships are also led by the same government officials, through PRI directions. Since Lázaro Cárdenas broke with Elias Calles, Presidents do not ponder on the political or personal opinions of their predecessors. The only pressure felt by presidents is to appoint the person that led the PRI during the electoral campaign. The core of the Cabinet is made up of those high-rank politicians who supported the « unveiling » during the pre-campaign period. In the opening cabinets, those under secretaries who were aides to the « unveiled » during the previous administration are appointed Secretaries. For the last two administrations, this tendency to resort to officials from the ministry or the sector to which the « unveiled » belonged has become even more apparent. **RC 2.1**

XIII. 342 PETERS, John G. (Univ. of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb., USA) — **Political Action Committees and the 1984 elections.**

The paper examines the role of political action committee in the US congressional elections of 1984. An assessment is made of who gives and who receives PAC contributions and what effect these contributions have on electoral outcomes. The research attempts to determine if incumbents berefit differentially from PAC money. Moreover, an attempt is made to determine the effect of PAC's on House committee assignments and behavior. To that end, case studies are presented for the House Agriculture Committee and the House Commerce Committee. **RC 20.1**

XIII. 343 PETTIGREW, Andrew M. (Univ. of Warwick, Coventry, UK) — **The management of strategic change in large entreprises.**

The paper discusses the various process theories currently in use to describe and analyse processes of strategic change in large enterprises. Using data from a longitudinal study of Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI) strategic change is noted as occurring in radical packages interspersed with long periods of incremental adjustment. Such radical or revolutionary eras of change are often triggered by business crisis, but the eras of radical change may also be preceded by periods of education, persuasion, and conditioning when the ideological climate is being prepared for the next revolutionary break. These data from strategic change in ICI are compared with other empirical examples of processes of continuity and change in large private and public UK organisations. **II. 5.2**

XIII. 344 PETZOLD PERNIA, Hermann (Univ. del Zulía, Venezuela) — **La démocratie représentative au Vénézuela : problèmes et perspectives.**

Le Vénézuela — et ce n'est pas exceptionnel en Amérique latine — a eu depuis 1830 vingt-deux Constitutions (plus le Statut Constitutionnel Provisoire de 1914), presque toutes éphémères ou de durée brève. Cette absence d'une tradition constitutionnelle ferme et prolongée fait que les parties et groupes politiques et sociaux prédominants ne se sont pas préoccupés de faire pleinement appliquer les normes constitutionnelles. L'étude du fonctionnement de l'organisation constitutionnelle démocratico-représentative de l'Etat vénézuelien après la promulgation de la Constitution de 1961, encore en vigueur avec les deux Amendements de 1973 et 1983, montre que l'on assiste au développement d'une crise de la légitimité. Parmi ses causes, on trouve d'une part que depuis 1958 les différents gouvernements des deux partis politiques nationaux majoritaires (A.D. et C.O.P.E.I.) n'ont réalisé que très partiellement le programme de réforme économique et sociale et de promotion humaine prévu par la Constitution. D'autre part, ces dix dernières années, la « corruption administrative » est montée au degré le plus scandaleux, malgré les dénonciations publiques et les procès. L'analyse des résultats électoraux montre qu'il est de plus en plus difficile pour les citoyens de croire aux messages des leaders et des parties. Des changements politiques, économiques, sociaux, etc. sont donc inévitables. **SM 22**

XIII. 345 PINDER, John (LSE, London, UK) — **The political economy of regional integration : negative and positive integration revisited.**

Negative integration was defined in 1968 as the removal of discrimination between economic agents of participating countries and positive integration as the application of common policies for other economic and welfare ends. While negative integration has generally been the more successful in the European Community, attempts were made through the 1970s to develop positive integration also. In the 1980s, the resurgence of neo-liberal policies has inhibited such development. The conflict between neo-liberal and mixed-economy ideologies was reflected in the divergences between the two authors of the Albert-Ball report, Towards European Recovery in the 1980s. The way in which this conflict is resolved will determine the future pattern of integration in the EC and influence the character of economic relations with CMEA countries. **RC 3.2**

XIII. 346 PITANGUY, Jacqueline (CNPQ, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) — **Women's movement and political parties in Brazil : a discussion of power and representativity.**

Women's participation in institutional politics has been extremely low in Brazil. In 1984, there were no more than 7 women among the 479 members of the Federal Chamber of Deputies, and only one among the 67 senators. This absence of women from the political institutional scenario should not be taken as an indicator of their lack of participation to the public sphere. As far as women are concerned, it is necessary to reexamine traditional concepts of political participation, such as occupation of elective functions and participation in executive committees of political parties, since they are not the only forms of political exercise. The social sciences have largely failed to register relevant dimensions of the political strength and social participation of women because they fail to ascribe political « visibility » to other social movements, developed outside the formal political framework and frequently divorced from political parties. In Brazil, those other forms of social mobilization — feminist movements, mothers' clubs, associations for urban improvement, neighborhood associations, etc. — have taken, in the last 20 years, great importance due, on the one hand, to their specifity and, on the other, to the authoritarian political mold, which which the dynamics of the formal political parties have taken place. The paper discusses the political parties, organic structure and the dynamics of the social movements in terms of both their necessary autonomy and their alliances. **RC 19.1**

XIII. 347 POITRAS, Guy (Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas, USA) — **Democracy and crisis in Central America.**

A crisis of participation confronts Central America. The crisis in Central America may be traced to a number of domestic and foreign sources but the failure to accommodate the demands of new groups to participate meaningfully within the old models of order has led to crisis in which political participation has grown, become diversified and is in some cases even out of control. Crisis and participation go together in those republics where democracy is most repressed. The extent and meaning of democracy in Central America is determined by elections, individual rights and the human condition. In each of these, Central America exhibits considerable diversity. The democratic condition in El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Costa Rica is surveyed. The denial of democracy and meaningful powersharing is important for understanding the crisis. The crisis is also a serious impediment for the prospects of democracy. **SM 22**

XIII. 348 POOLE, Keith T. (Carnegie-Mellon Univ., Pittsburgh, Penn., USA) ; ROSENTHAL, Howard (id.) — **Realignment and polarization in the US Senate, 1927-84.**

Roll call voting in the US Senate can be described largely in terms of a unidimensional spatial model. A single liberal-conservative dimension has dominated voting in the Senate in the last half century. The dimension is most likely the result of a major realignment that occured during the Depression. The dimension was temporarily upset by the civil rights issues of the sixties, but the dimension in place today is highly similar to that in place in the 1940s and 1950 s. These results are established by first performing maximum likelihood estimation of the parameters of an undimensional stochastic utility model and then carrying out a singular

value decomposition (with missing entries) of the matrix formed by the senator coordinates from 43 separate scalings. Other results in the paper emphasize the long-term liberal trend in American politics and the recent increasing polarization of the two parties. In particular, Southern Democrats, who were at least as liberal as Northern Democrats in the Depression but who, as a group, became conservative in the postwar period, have become more liberal in recent times while Republicans have become more conservatire. The overall movement in the conservative direction initiated with the Reagan administration is not large in magnitude by historical standards. **II. 6.2**

XIII. 349 PORTA, Donatella della (Istituto Univ. Europeo, San Domenico di Fiesole, Italy) — **Left-wing political violence in Italy during the seventies : the formation of terrorist organizations.**

The paper describes the process by which left-wing terrorist organizations came into existence in Italy during the 1970s. Using judicial proceedings' materials and daily press as sources, 13 armed groups have been investigated. Information refers to such indicators as : personal registry office's data, social origin, political provenance of the promoters ; activities, ideologies and structures of the organizations in their first years ; general characteristics of the environment in which terrorism emerged. The empirical investigation has been oriented to check the main hypotheses derived from the literature on the formation of political organizations. Adopting a rational approach to protest, I consider terrorism as the product of the evolution of conflict between collective actors — and within political organizations — influenced in their behavior by the kind of resources present in the environment and by the characteristics of the social networks mobilized in the protest. My findings show that the left-wing terrorist organizations rose in Italy when long periods of hard political mobilization created some environmental resources in terms of aggregated interests, experimented strategies, spread ideologies. If the length and intensity of protest have been related with the ineffectiveness of institutional interests' mediation, the emergence of terrorism has been determined by the internal differentiation of the movements' areas during the experimentation of different acceptable strategies. **SM 21**

XIII. 350 PORTA, Donatella della (Istituto Univ. Europeo, San Domenico di Fiesole, Italy) ; MATTINA, Liborio (id.) — **Political cycles and ethnic mobilization : the Basque case.**

The papers examine the formation of the ethnic movement active in the Spanish Basque Country since the mid 1960s and analyzes the results of its action. The attention is concentrated on the environmental resources and political opportunities that permitted the nationalist organizations' mobilization and development. The community's internal resources are analyzed with reference to three main variables : cultural attributes, solidarity networks and interests' structure. « Political opportunities » refers to the sets of interactions existing between the ethnic groups and the other actors of the political system, including state organizations. The research findings are examined in the light of the more recent contributions on ethnic movements in political **SM 30**

XIII. 351 POTTER, William C. (Univ. of California, Los Angeles, USA) — **Nuclear nonproliferation as a confidence-building measure : the potential for US-Soviet Cooperation.**

Despite the extensive literature on nuclear nonproliferation and confidence building measures as approaches to arms control, scholars have given little attention to the utility of US-Soviet cooperation in the field of nonproliferation and nuclear exports as a confidence-building measure. The paper examines the major areas of convergence in US and Soviet perspectives on nonproliferation and suggests how this parallelism in thinking and past behavior might be exploited as a confidence-building approach to strategic arms control. **IV. 1.1**

XIII. 352 POWER, Paul F. (Univ. of Cincinnati, Ohio, USA) — **Nuclear-weapon-free zones.**

Despite recurrent surges, NWFZ efforts have not progressed. Owing to geopolitical-security factors, the NWFZ question divides the East and West and six continents. Combining nuclear defense and nonproliferation, two nuclear security systems intertwined with the NPT work against NWFZs. Threshold or post-threshold states opposing the NPT and NWFZs keep a nuclear-weapon option. Possessing unique features aiding a free-zone, the Latin American exception to the NWFZ record offers a model showing how critical states block a mature NWFZ. Often adversarial and destabilizing in intent, the NWFZ notion is part of a regional anti-nuclear perspective that is incompatible with nuclear deterrent technology, the present structure of power and governing perceptions of national security. **IV. 1.1**

XIII. 353 PREVOST, Gary F. (St. John's Univ., Collegeville, Minn., USA) — **The transition to democracy in Spain.**

No country in Western Europe has undergone more political changes in the last decade than Spain. In 1975 the Francoist apparatus, though beginning to crumble, was still holding on to absolute power. Basque nationalist militants were being executed, the political leaders of the then-illegal Communist and Socialist Parties, including Felipe Gonzalez were still in exile, non-government controlled trade unions operated underground, and the prospects for dramatic change were not great. Ten years later, the country is ruled by a dominant social-democratic party, the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE), civil liberties have been fully restored, an active trade union movement plays a significant role in national politics, nationalist political parties have gained a measure of power through regional autonomy, and some of the most virulent forms of Francoist power, particularly the military have been decisively curtailed. This paper analyzes that transition with particular emphasis on the role of the different and contending political forces that shaped the transition. It draws upon survey data on the changing attitude of the Spanish population, particularly the working class during the transition. **SM 28**

XIII. 354 PYLEE, M.V. (Asian Inst. of Dev. and Entrepreneurship, Univ. of Cochin, India) — **Minister-civil servant relationship in development : a case study of India.**

In India, the higher civil services belong to the All India Services, the most important of which are the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service. Personnel of these services are governed by a uniform system of laws, rules and service conditions and therefore are expected to provide a uniform pattern of administration at the higher levels all over the country. This certainly has great advantage in the context of a pattern of planned development envisaged under the successive five year plans. So long as the governments at the Centre and in the States were under the same political party, this appeared to work very well and produce fairly good results. But when different parties began controlling the governments at the Centre and in the States, the system seems to have broken down and appear to be incapable of producing the results which it was expected to produce. A further development of recent times is the emergence of coalition governments in several states. The result has been the sharing of ministerial power by representatives of different parties in the same government. With political instability added to this unsatisfactory situation, the interface between the Ministerial and service wings of India's public administrative system has been undergoiong a revolutionary change. What is the nature of this change ? How has it affected the effectiveness of India's higher civil services and to what extent ? What are its likely consequences in the attitudes of these services ? How will it affect the present centralised planning process and its implementation ? What possible measures can be indicated to remedy the situation ? These and other related issues are highlighted. **II. 3.2**

XIII. 355 QUAH, Jon S.T. (National Univ. of Singapore) — **Democracy and administrative reform policies in the ASEAN countries : a comparative analysis.**

The purpose of this paper is to initiate comparative research on the public bureaucracies in the ASEAN countries by examining the patterns of administrative reforms in Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand (Brunei was not in ASEAN when the study was conducted, and published data on its public bureaucracy are scarce). I compare the patterns of administrative reforms in the five countries by focusing on the following variables : (1) the content of administrative reform ; (2) the goals of administrative reform ; (3) the approach selected by the political leaders toward administrative reform ; (4) the nature of the environment in which the administrative reform is being implemented, and (5) the attitude of the political leadership toward administrative reform. The purpose is twofold : to identify similarities and differences in administrative reforms in the five countries in terms of the above variables ; more importantly, to provide explanations for such similarities and differences. The paper is based on interviews with public officials in the capitals of the five countries and primary and secondary data collected during trips to these countries. **II. 3.2**

XIII. 356 RADEL, Jouffroy-Lucien (Univ. of Winconsin, Oshkosh, USA ; Ecole des Hautes Etudes Internationales, Paris, France) — **The state of the art in West European politics : problems of the European Community.**

I. Contours of the model. The process characterizing E.C. integration is ascertained as one that lacks continuity, in spite of the remarkable result achieved in fulfillment of the postulates and goals prescribed by the Treaties of Rome. When micro-analyzed, this in turn shows a grouping of three larger state-members (France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy) as rapidly pursuing, from the outset, the avenues and modalities of European integration, while simultaneously facing opposing attempts to slow down the integrative process by the Benelux Union of three « smaller » state-members insisting on practical guarantees for voice equality for each member in E.C. decision-making. Paradoxically, in appearance, this initial attitude was reversed as soon as the first major E.C. crisis threatened self-destruction. Thus, Belgium, Luxemburg and the Netherlands quickly began to hasten the European integration via a Dutch proposal, formally presented, amended and voted upon as the « Benelux Memorandum ». This weight balance accelerated substantially the integrative process, within the framework of a voice and decision-making equilibrium perturbed mainly by the admision of the UK and her role. II. Data on internal policy-conflicts. The paper reflects research conclusions portraying a series of EC intra-conflicts along a battleground opposing the main EC governing institutions, such as the Commission and the Parliament of the EC, on the one hand, and the Council of Ministers on the other. **II. 0**

XIII. 357 RAJLAND, Beatriz (Buenos Aires, Argentina) ; HASS, Silvia (id.) — **Democracy, the representative system and participation in Argentina.**

The issue of participation has its origin in Argentina beginning with the repeated authoritarian experiences suffered as of 1930, not only as an instance capable of overcoming the political, economic and social consequences of such experiences deeply aggravated during the recent period, 1976-1983, but basically capable of overcoming even the liberal-political scheme itself. Universal suffrage was established in 1912, producing the irruption of the popular masses on the political scene and expressing the will of the majority, but not implying a real advance in power and decision. The participation we are referring to, not entirely consumed in the action of voting, tends to a more dynamic interweaving of the civilian society, the political society and the State, and must be considered within the framework of the opposition of formal democracy and real democracy, where the traditional representative system is not sufficient. **SM 22**

XIII. 358 RANA, A.P. (M.S. Univ. of Baroda, India) — **« Realist » international theory and Third World development realities in international relations.**

« Realist » international theory has maintained a prominent place in the landscape of international relations theorisation since the Second World War. Although this corpus of « analytical » theory has elicited considerable criticism, its fundamental premises have been defended with vigour, and it continues to attract new adherents who have helped to refine some of its earlier premises. These premises (with their underlying philosophical presuppositions) are largely the outcome of the observation of formal behaviour in high politics of nation-states in their mutual interactions. Within this perspective, it reflects the behaviour not only of the great powers, but of most of the LDCs as well. While the latter in their political pronouncements appear to be its sharpest critics, their actual foreign policy actions belie such positions as are taken, and reduce them to the level of political rhetoric. It is interesting to examine the reasons for this dissonance, and consider the extent to which it contributes to the frustration of some of the fundamental development needs of the Third World. Yet « Realist » theory continues to possess considerable cogency in explaining the cognitive realities of the LDCs' participation in international relations. **SM 38**

XIII. 359 RATAN, Nil (A.N. Sinha Inst. of Social Studies, Patna, India) — **Politics of rural violence in developing society with special reference to Indian society.**

In the developing societies, even after years of independence, the rural social structure has not changed at the level of values and attitudes. What has happened actually at the grass root level is that the advanced group, which includes the landed rich and neo-rich, have found that democratic values are more expensive and less profitable. The privileged ones have used their freedom to cut down participation and dissent of the less privileged ones. Underlying this attitude is the phrase « deny others the benefits of development and democracy ». **SM 16**

XIII. 360 RATHORE, L.S. (Univ. of Jodhpur, India) — **The impact of citizen participation on the governmental apparatus with special reference to India.**

The impact of citizen participation on governmental apparatus in India should broadly be studied under two phases, namely, the Jawaharlal Nehru Model (1947-64) and the Post-Nehru Models (June 1964 - onwards). The Nehru Model was based on the principle of democratic consensus, willing cooperation and enlightened participation of all sections of society. This model accepted the cultural plurality of the Indian society. The citizens were given the necessary civic rights and the universal adult suffrage and various structures were created to activate citizen participation. The main features of the model were democratic consensus and decentralisation. Among the post-Nehru models of citizen participation, those models of Prime Ministers Lal Bahadur Shastri and Morarji Desai were, not as important as Mrs. Indira Gandhi's model. In the Indira Gandhi model, decentralization gave place to centralisation, the role of state legislative bodies diminished in importance, and the principle of democratic consensus was eroded. Emergency (1975-77) under Indira Gandhi was worst from the point of view of citizen participation ; it encouraged centralisation and increased the bureaucratic role But after 1980 till her assasination, Mrs. Indira Gandhi had become cautious and sober and was trying to accelerate citizen participation within the framework of existing laws and the Constitution. The process of participation is being retarded owing to the combination of factors, such as poverty, ignorance, politicisation of castes, communal disharmony, linguistic multiplicity, associations based on religion, language, ethnicity and localism, traditional social infrastructure, increased anomic phenomena, diversified and weak leadership among political parties, calibre of legislators, weak socialization agencies, debilities in electoral system, the legacies of imperialism, and cultural plurality. **II. 7.2**

XIII. 361 RAU, Robert L. (US Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md., USA) — **Present and future maritime security issues in the Southeast Asian and South China Seas.**

The paper analyzes past, current and future security interests of the primary maritime powers (US, USSR, China, and Japan) in the Southeast Asian and South China Seas. Special attention is paid to the security implications of resource allocation (fisheries, oil and natural gas) ; 200 mile economic zones ; and conflicting territorial claims. The increasingly important question of the rapid military power buildup (patrol aircraft, missiles, ship types and bases, etc.) of the littoral states is discusses. China's dispute with Vietnam is outlined in the context of its impact on security in the South China Sea. Attention is also paid to the questions of military capability projection of forces and questions of strategy. **IV. 5.1**

XIII. 362 RAUCH, Herbert (Univ. of Vienna, Austria) — **The Gestalt of political mass events in Western Democracies as compared to those of the fascist regime of the Third Reich.**

Using the empirical investigation (with data from observer ratings for some sixty variables) of twelve mass events of a pre-election campaign (Austria, 1982), the « challenge principle » is used and tested as the key concept for the elaboration of a theoretical framework of political mass events. Western Democracies in the 1980s provide a specific « surrounding social system », the political communication structure of which tends to be increasingly dominated by conditions emerging from the still growing and refined technology of mass media. Within this context political events display a largely differentiating Gestalt, both when media — transmitted and when staying beyond the level of media attraction, as compared to the political mass events in fascist regimes, as exemplified by those of the Third Reich. **IV. 3.2**

XIII. 363 RAVENHILL, John (Univ. of Sydney, Australia) — **Reforming the international trade regime in favor of least developed countries : a case for managed markets ?**

Least developed countries have largely been bypassed by recent changes in the international division of labor. Reforms in the international trade regime, e.g., the introduction of Generalized Systems of Preferences (GSP), have benefited only a handful of newly-industrializing countries. Extension of GSP coverage to agricultural products may actually have harmed the interests of poorer countries which previously enjoyed privileged access to the markets of former colonial powers. Over the last two decades the shares of least developed countries' traditional agricultural exports in industrialized countries' markets have been eroded. This trend has been especially pronounced for sub-Saharan Africa.

Middle-income developing countries, e.g., Brazil and Malaysia, as a result of larger investments in agricultural production, have displaced the least developed from product markets where – in principle, at least – they should enjoy a comparative advantage. For many least developed countries, the root of the problem is a production crisis. Prolonged drought has contributed to the difficulties faced by many African countries. But, as the World Bank and other international agencies have pointed out, low producer prices have also played a major role. To maintain or raise real producer prices is difficult, however, where governments have been faced with declining terms of trade : the experience of most low income countries in Africa over the last 15 years. Drawing primarily on data on trade between Africa and the European Community, the paper shows that least developed countries have been most successful in maintaining their market shares where trade has been governed by international commodity agreements or by special trading regimes such as the Lomé Convention's sugar and banana protocols. In that prospects for the Common Fund and additional international commodity agreements are uncertain at best, consideration needs to be given to alternative measures to promote the trade of the least developed. The paper examines the case for establishing regional managed markets for the agricultural products of the least developed – in addition to reforming GSP schemes and international safeguard arrangements. **RC 17.2**

XIII. 364 REGULSKA, Joanna (Rutgers Univ., New Brunswick, N.J., USA) – **Urban policy under crisis in Poland : governmental intervention and response.**

Planned economy systems offer great potential for the formulation of complex policies of urban growth coordinated with economic development. This opportunity has not, however, been fully exploited in Poland. The primacy of economic goals presented the state with conflicts in which the social infrastructure become of secondary importance. Policies limiting expenditures for non-productive sectors caused delays in the urbanization process and in the improvement of living standards. Recent social unrest in Poland is evidence of widespread dissatisfaction with government policies affecting the distribution of resources and benefits. It was not until the 1980-82 crisis that a shift in the orientation of economic policy became inevitable. This paper examines the evolution of legislative and institutional structures which created the framework for governmental intervention in the urban process. **RC 5.1**

XIII. 365 REIN, Martin (MIT, Cambridge, Mass., USA) ; WILLMS, Angelika (Univ. Mannheim, FRG) – **The Welfare State as a labor market.**

The paper examines trends in social welfare employment between the early 1960s and around 1983 in selected countries (Sweden, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain and the US). In two of these countries (Sweden and Britain) social welfare employment is virtually identical with the welfare state as empoyer. However, in Germany and in the US social welfare employment is found in the public, private, and non-profit sectors. It is important therefore to look at social welfare employment in all of the sectors of the economy in which it is found and not to restrict one's analysis to the direct activities of the welfare state. The main findings show that in all of the countries, including the US, social welfare is a major factor in accounting for the growth of employment for women. But while social welfare integrates women into paid employment, it also segregates them into a group of industries and occupations which are highly gender concentrated. The paper documents this trend and then explores some of the theories which explain why women are so concentrated in social welfare employment. Finally, the policy implications are explored. If the direct and indirect activities of the welfare state are reduced in the future, what effect will this have on the future integration of women in the labor market ? What social policies are needed in order to both permit women to enter paid employment and at the same time not be segregated into highly feminized occupations and industries ? **III. 5.1**

XIII. 366 REIS, Elisa P. (Conjunto Univ. Candido Mendes, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) – **Bureaucracy and the demise of authoritarianism in Brazil.**

In 1979 the Brazilian government launched a program aimed at redressing public bureaucracies. The National De-bureaucratization Program, still active, was conceived as part of the regime's liberalizing agenda. The Program's multiple purposes range from smoothing street-level bureaucracies to privatizing state firms. The paper analyses the strategies, methods, and accomplishments of the Program, critically assessing its « democratizing » impact. Then, reversing the lens, it explores possible implications of political liberalization for the functioning of public bureaucracies. Finally, the Brazilian case is place on a comparative perspective, and some parallels and contrasts between developing and advanced societies are drawn in an attempt to assess the role of public bureaucracies in the contemporary world. **II. 1.2**

XIII. 367 RHODES, Terrel L. (Univ. of North Carolina, Charlotte, N.C., USA) – **Getting the hell out ! Emergency response planning for nuclear power plants.**

The paper focuses primarily on the continuing issue of nuclear power generating plants in the US, Great Britain, France and the Federal Republic of Germany. Policy in some Third World nations, the USSR and Eastern Europe is also included. Although some of the enthusiasm for nuclear power plants has diminished in recent years, all of these countries rely heavily on nuclear power generation for their supplies of electricity. Each has pursued slightly different policies toward emergency response planning in the event of a critical incident at a nuclear plant. It is the latter set of policies – emergency response planning – that I address. What are the responsibilities of various levels of government for protecting nuclear facilities ? What are the plans for responding in the event of an emergency ? Are the plans tested ? How frequently ? By whom ? What is the level of citizen involvement in the process ? With the increasing potential for critical incidents to occur as the number of nuclear plants increases and the threat of terrorist attack continues unabated, the answers to these questions become quite crucial to policy planners, individuals and organizations that implement the policies, and to the general citizenry that all too frequently live in close proximity to nuclear plants. The paper examines the official plans for emergency response in these four countries (with lesser attention given to several other European countries) and evaluates them on the basis of : (1) intergovernmental responsibilities for emergency response and protection ; (2) procedures and responsibilities for warning and/or evacuating the population ; and (3) procedures and responsibilities for waste disposal and restoration of affected areas in the event of an emergency. This analysis and evaluation will provide some recommendations that may help reduce the potential dangers of the international commitment to nuclear power. **III. 9.2**

XIII. 368 RICHARDSON, James L. (Australian National Univ., Canberra, Australia) – **Crisis management : a critical appraisal.**

The paper inquires to what extent the confidence which is often expressed in crisis management is justified. It argues that the concept itself has misleading overtones and has not been satisfactorily defined. Nonetheless, an analysis of prominent discussions of crisis management indicates a high degree of consensus on certain principles first articulated at the time of the Cuban missile crisis. These have been criticized for their excessive generality, short-term perspective, neglect of psychological and political contraints and lack of grounding in theoretical analysis. An assessment of these criticisms suggests that the crisis management doctrine retains some value so long as its limitations are acknowledged, but that there are major problems of crisis diplomacy which it does not address and which are little understood. **IV. 6.2**

XIII. 369 RILEY, Jonathan M. (Dalhousie Univ., Halifax, Canada) – **Towards a utilitarian retrieval of liberalism.**

Five claims made by J.S. Mill about the nature of the liberal state are discussed briefly in relation to recent literature on liberalism. Objections to the claims do not appear conclusive. The claims are that : (1) Utilitarianism properly conceived provides a rational conception of a good life in which absolute libertarian rights over private matters are consistently integrated with a democratic public choice rule in which all citizens have an « equal voice ». (2) This good life is feasible only if each citizen develops a formally well-defined « moral character ». (3) Otherwise, a « liberal vanguard » should impose some « approximate conception » of the good. (4) Majority rule (combined with proportional representation if representation is generally expedient) is an ideal public choice rule. (5) Not only is inequality in the personal distribution of wealth compatible with the good life, but capitalism, socialism or some mixed system of resource ownership might all be ideal. **I. 7.2**

XIII. 370 ROSENAU, James N. (Univ. of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif., USA) – **The state in an era of cascading politics : wavering, concept, widening competence, withering colossus, or weathering change ?**

The paper outlines four perspectives through which to approach

the place of the state in today's world. These perspectives are often competitive, even mutually exclusive, but the goal is to suggest ways in which they are overlapping and susceptible to synthesis. One perspective is founded on methodological rigor, a second on the salience of domestic politics, a third on the power of global interdependence, and a fourth on the effectiveness of adaptive mechanisms. Each perspective highlights a different answer to the question posed in the paper's subtitle. If methodology seems paramount, the state becomes a wavering concept. If the domestic scene is treated as pre-eminent, the state emerges with an ever-widening competence. If stress is placed on global interdependence, the state appears as a withering colossus. If adaptive capacities are highlighted, the state is seen as weathering change. **IV. 0**

XIII. 371 ROUBAN, Luc (Univ. de Rennes, France) — **L'évaluation des politiques scientifiques et l'explication politique de l'incertitude.**

L'évolution contemporaine des politiques scientifiques et technologiques est marquée d'une double incertitude. Incertitude économique car les frontières de la science ne correspondent plus au découpage des politiques publiques ; incertitude politique, puisque l'univers des représentations en renvoie des images contrastées. L'évaluation des politiques de la science, et plus encore de la technologie, permet de gérer l'incertitude mais suscite de nouveaux enjeux politiques dans la mesure où sa fonction est aussi de structurer la recherche. Elle ne peut donc suppléer à l'effort prospectif qu'en occultant le questionnement des rapports désirés ou poursuivis entre science et politique. Une problématique de la médiation politique peut dont être proposée à partir d'une critique de l'évaluation et d'un examen des divers outils politiques disponibles. **RC 11.1**

XIII. 372 ROWAT, Donald C. (Carleton Univ., Ottawa, Canada) — **The bureaucracy and policy-making.**

The paper considers comparatively the role of the bureaucracy in policy-making and the ways in which the bureaucracy is held accountable in the developed democracies. It is based on a set of country essays by experts on public administration in twenty developed countries, prepared for a book that the author is editing. In particular, the paper highlights the degree of politicization of senior public servants and the contrast between the permanent, neutral top level of the public service in parliamentary countries and the changing, political top level in the US. Methods of accountability compared include control by the legislature, opposition parties, ombudsmen, courts, and the right of access to administrative documents. **II. 1.1**

XIII. 373 ROY, Ramshray (Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi, India) — **Prospect of democracy in India : as people see.**

In attempt to explore the philosophical and theoretical foundations of democracy in general, and its successful consolidation in India in particular. The point of departure is the adverse evaluation of the functioning of democratic institutions by common men inhabiting the lowest strata of rural society. India has, since independence, been engaged in successfully carrying out the twin revolutions of industrialization and democratization, reflecting the belief that one sustains the other. The widespread awareness of the developing disjunction between the two raises the question of the validity of the thesis either that pre-requisites of democracy are lacking in the Third World countries or that the conditions that sustained democracy in the industrialized West no longer obtain. The examination of this question leads to evaluating theories — classical and modern — of democracy and lying bare their philosophical and theoretical assumptions. Rejecting the thesis of the pre-requisites of democracy, the paper also shows the deficiencies of democratic theories, both classical and modern. It then presents ideas of common men about the reconstruction of democratic theory and their views about the way democratic institutions can be made to work. **RC 13.2**

XIII. 374 SABADELL, J. Eleanora (George Washington Univ., Washington, DC, USA) ; MURPHY, Irene L. (US Dept. of the Interior, id.) ; DWIVEDI, P.O. (Univ. of Guelph, Ont., Canada) — **Resolution of international water conflicts.**

Part I briefly summarizes past and current methods of resolving international disputes over shared river basin resources, critiquing the literature that describes and evaluates the usefulness of these methods. Part II presents two decision maling models, applicable to the development of public policy in all countries. One model portrays policy formation on the management of intranational water resources and the other foreign policy formation. An optimal operation of the models for the resolution of river basin conflicts is described, including their interface during crucial conflict resolution stages. The models are applied to some countries demonstrating their applicability to variable hydrologic, economic and other conditions. Part III shows the possible usefulness of the resolution concept in current water resources disputes between India and Bangladesh, Argentina and Brazil, and Egypt and the Sudan. **SG 6.1**

XIII. 375 SABATIER, Paul A. (Univ. of California, Davis, Calif., USA) — **Implementation research : a critical analysis of competing approaches and suggested synthesis.**

This paper first reviews the implementation literature of the past fifteen years, with particular emphasis on the relative strengths and weaknesses of the « top down » and « bottom up » approaches. It also argues that the 4-6 year time-frame used in most implementation research misses many critical features of public policy-making. The paper then outlines a conceptual framework for examining policy change over a 10-20 year period which combines the best features of the « top down » and « bottom up » approaches with insights from other literatures. **III. 3.1**

XIII. 376 SADER, Emir (Univ. de Campinas, Brésil) — **Violence politique, guerrilla, terrorisme : le Cône Sud latino-américain - Essai d'analyse.**

Le rapport s'efforce de contribuer à l'élaboration d'un cadre spécifique dans lequel se sont produits les phénomènes de violence politique dans les pays du Cône Sud de l'Amérique latine — Uruguay, Brésil, Argentine et Chili — en partant de la méthodologie élaborée pour étudier le terrorisme européen. Il s'agit d'établir une comparaison avec le phénomène européen qui, malgré la coïncidence temporelle et certains aspects communs, est différente dans ses éléments fondamentaux. En essayant de le démontrer, on cherche à insérer le phénomène latino-américain dans le cadre des traditions et tendances politiques et idéologiques du continent, pour déplacer la compréhension du phénomène au niveau stratégique et redéfinir à partir de là sa signification particulière. **SM 21**

XIII. 377 SAFRAN, William (Univ. of Colorado, Boulder, Col., USA) — **Ethnic mobilization and traditional ideologies . Marxism, Jacobinism, and organicism.**

In discussing the reasons why ethnic sentiments have been maintained or revived in advanced democracies, this essay raises questions about the relevance of Jacobinism, which viewed the « nation-state » as the ideal vehicle for the promotion of universalism and saw ethnic groups as impediments ; and of Marxism, which viewed ethnicity as a false social category. Jacobinism has been discredited because global interdependence puts in question the belief about the adequacy of the nation-state. Moreover, several large « nation-states » have been eclipsed morally ; their claims to cultural superiority have been put in doubt ; and recent interpretations of democracy are such as to stress personal autonomy, local participation, and mediating structures. Marxism has been discredited not only because of the failure of communist systems to displace narrow nationalism but also because the scope and intensity of economic modernization have been so massive as to change the nature of the labor market, weaken trade unions as manifestations of class identification, and create the need for new solidarities or for a revival of old ones. These developments bring up questions about the appositeness of « organicist » doctrines to the democracies. The romanticist-idealist views of Herder and his contemporaries have been rejected for several reasons by contemporary American (and Americanized) political scientists : (1) their vulgarization by ultra-nationalists, especially in Germany; and (2) the fact that American political scientists have unable to orient comfortably to « culture » (as opposed to « political culture ») as a focus of political identity, behavior, or investigation, owing to their mechanistic and anti-historicist orientations, and their abhorvende of the « anecdotal ». The possibility is discussed of a reemergence of a more pristine « organicism » that is non-exclusivist, tolerant and pluralistic. **SM 24**

XIII. 378 SAMOFF, Joel (Stanford Univ., Stanford, Calif., USA) — **Public allocation and private influence in Tanzania.**

At independence in Africa there was unbounded optimism about what the schools could achieve. They were to be the major vehicle for developing skills and inculcating the values deemed necessary for development and national unity. Tanzania was archetypical. Notwithstanding rapid school expansion, universal primary education, and extensive adult literacy programs, the supply of schooling

has never satisfied the demand. To respond to persisting pressures, the Tanzanian leadership encouraged private (community rather than individual) secondary schools, currently accommodating nearly half of Tanzania's secondary school students. Although required to operate within national educational policies, and although drawing on indirect public support, private secondary schools have in practice increased inequalities of access. Thus, a public policy at the core of the national development agenda is undermined by private initiatives. **III. 6.2**

XIII. 379 SANDOLE, Dennis J.D. (George Mason Univ. Fairfax, Va., USA) — **The biological imperative in international system and process.**

The paper is concerned with the role on the « biological imperative » in social behaviour, including cooperation and conflict, integration and disintegration at the international level. No matter what the nature of our immediate, societal and global environments, there are basic human needs which must be met for cooperation to occur. If these needs are constantly frustrated, then, at minimum, a condition of latent conflict will exist which could explode into systemic collapse and transformation (though coercive integrative behaviour could occur for a time). Given that we do lack a « big picture » view of human behaviour, as is suggested by our disciplinary fragmentation of knowledge, and that social theorists tend to ignore or discount biological factors, it might be useful to explore, within an interdisciplinary framework, the role of « human nature » in the development and manifestation of functional and dysfunctional processes at the global level. **IV. 3.1**

XIII. 380 SANKHDHER, M.M. (Univ. of Delhi, India) — **The relevance of typologies for the study of Asian states.**

The paper examines the various typologies for the study of Asian states. It probes into the adequacies and shortcomings of the typologies used for such studies. The problem of complex diversities and commonalities of Asian states has thrown up the following archetypes whose relevance is analyses : (1) Archeological ; (2) Anthological, (a) Literary and linguistic ; (b) Epistomological and philosophical ; (3) Historiographical, (1) The State and the economy ; (b) Logic of the Asian Mode of production ; (4) Geographical, (a) Geo-political model ; (b) Climate factor analysis ; (5) Anthropological, (a) Ecological delineation ; (b) Demographic mapping ; (6) Sociological, (a) Caste ideology ; (b) Rural-urban continuum ; (c) Tradion-modernity syndrome ; (7) Systems analysis, (a) Political-economic interaction ; (b) Structure-function correlation. The need for a coherent theory of Asian political development and a framework of analysis is emphasises. **SM 42**

XIII. 381 SAUVANT, Karl P. (UN, New York, N.Y., USA) — **Trade in data services (TDF) : the international policy discussion.**

The paper (1) sketches the importance of data services ; (2) discusses the interest constellation of the principal participants in the international policy discussion on trade in data services. (3) reviews the status and prospects of these discussions in the light of (2). **RC 22.1**

XIII. 382 SAVOV, Enyer (Ludmila Zhivkova Intern. Foundation, Sofia, Bulgaria) — **The Balkan Nuclear-Weapon free zone.**

The idea of a nuclear-weapon free zone in the Balkans (BNWFZ) arose in the 1950s. In 1981, Bulgaria came out with a new proposal, accepted by most Balkan states. The first discussions at the level of experts have begun. All Balkan states have accepted the IAA guarantees concerning the use of nuclear power for peaceful purposes. All, except Albania, are parties to the NNPT. The most probable form of setting up the BNWFZ will be by a treaty on the basis of the principle of sovereign equality and equel security for all without disrupting the existing military balance. Making the Balkans a NWFZ will prevent the use of nuclear weapons in the region. No Balkan state will lose its guarantees under the existing security system. The creation of the BNWFZ is regarded as part of the efforts to strengthen peace and security in Europe. Its creation will become an important part of the efforts of mankind for definite results in disarmament and will have a favorable impact on resolving other global problems. **IV. 4.1**

XIII. 383 SCHARPF, Fritz W. (Wissenschaftszentrum, Berlin, FRG) — **Policy failure and institutional reform why should form follow function ?**

Institutional structure is a powerful constraint upon the substance of public policy. It does not follow, however, that institutional reform and government reorganization should be easily available instruments for the improvement of public policy or even the correction of glaring policy failures. Even when there is a clear preponderance of power which does permit purposive, policy-oriented change, (as may be the case in business firms, in local government reform or in the formative period of a new government) the policy consequences of reorganization are often unexpected and counterproductive. Under most conditions, however, organizational change is itself the outcome of non-purposive evolutionary processes which may be entirely unresponsive to organization-related failures of substantive policy. Under such circumstances, the adaptation of public policy to given institutional conditions is more likely (and may be more promising as a problem-solving strategy) than purposive institutional reform. These propositions will be illustrated by the responses of several European countries to the post-1973 economic crisis. **SG 20.1**

XIII. 384 SCHEELEN, Willem (Netherlands Society and Armed Forces Foundation, The Hague, Netherlands) — **Military unionism and politics.**

In The Netherlands the organizations of military personnel have the right to act as trade unions. Since the end of the 19th century there have existed « interest-unions » of officers and NCO's. In 1968 the first union of conscripts was formed. In general the goal of these unions is the promotion of their members' interests in a narrower sense, i.e. more pay and better working conditions. The unions of officers have developed a second goal : to make the armed forces as good and efficient as possible. The largest officers' union, The Netherlands Officers Union (NOV) even has a « third goal » : to speak out on questions of peace and security. The right of military trade unions to take a stand on pay and work in discussions with the employer, the Minister of Defense, is not questioned. This process was even institutionalized in the so-called « Organized consultation » (Georganiseerd Overleg, GO). With respect to the second and third goals of the unions, recently a debate has started. Central question : at which moment are military unions no longer busy negotiating their primary interests but involving themselves in the political process and how (un) desirable must one view that possibility, especially insofar as their second and third goals are at stake ? Last year there were some incidents of a kind which indicates the necessity of a reflection on this question. Possibly there is a need to stress even in The Netherlands the principle of political subordination of the armed forces and emphasize the limits for military personnel to act politically, individually or as unions. **SG 7.1**

XIII. 385 SCHICK, Allen (Univ. of Maryland College Part, Md., USA) — **The budgetary role of the national legislature.**

The budgetary role and activity of many national legislatures has expanded in recent times. Once organized around « supply days » in which the opposition had the opportunity to question — but rarely the power to alter — the government's estimates, legislative budgeting has been broadened into a consideration of the medium-term outlook and macroeconomic framework of governmental policy. This broadening is due to the rising prominence of entitlements and other transfers in national budgets and the breakdown of economic consensus. The paper is based on data from approximately one dozen national legislatures in industrialized democracies. The study finds that increased legislative activity does not generally mean increased independence from the government's budget recommendations. **RC 8.1**

XIII. 386 SCHILLER, Herbert I. (Univ. of California, San Diego, Calif., USA) — **National sovereignty and international communication — the new decade.**

For most countries, national sovereignty is well on the way to becoming a memory. The new information technologies already in operation, and continuously being installed, have the capacity, and are being used, to circumvent, if not undercut, national determination in scores of countries. Overwhelmingly at the disposal of private trans-national corporations and a few powerful governmental bureaucracies and military establishments, e.g., the Pentagon, the CIA, NASA and the National Security Agency, the utilization of the new information technologies internationally serves the objectives and increases the authority of existing Western power centers. At the same time, the media apparatus of the same power centers are pleased to disseminate the good news that the new instrumentation will serve the educational, cultural and physical needs of people and nations everywhere. **RC 22.1**

XIII. 387 SCHMIDT, Manfred G. (Freie Univ., Berlin, FRG) — **Rates of unemployment and labour market policy : a cross-national view.**

This paper reviews labour market policy efforts and outcomes in OECD nations from a political-institutionalist view. Attention focuses in particular on the impact that political structures, ideologies and power relationships in parliamentary and extra-parliamentary arenas have on the labour market. **III. 9.1**

XIII. 388 SCHMIDT, Max (Inst. fuer Int. Polit. und Oekon., Berlin, GDR) — **Conditions and chances for collective security in Europe.**

Collective security in Europe is a desirable objective. To embark on a road towards common or collective security requires, in the first place, positive evaluation of detente experience of the 1970s. A systematic account of this experience is given in seven items. It depends, secondly, on realistic assessment of the present dangers to peace and security in Europe which emanate from nuclear and conventional arms race escalation. Europe is exposed to one of the severest tests since World War Two. The aggravated situation, however, is not irreversible. Thirdly, a new sense of security is required, based on the understanding that more arms provide less rather than more security and that security is, first of all, a political category. Security, today, is no longer achievable against a potential adversary but only together with the adversary, as common security on an equal footing. Coalition of common sense and realism is the fourth requirement and must provide a new approach to security and cooperation on the widest possible social and political basis and in constructive political dialogue among states and governments. The foundations and political forces for such coalition are defined. **IV. 1.2**

XIII. 389 SCHMITT, Hermann (Univ. Duisburg, FRG) — **The comparative analysis of left-right orientation on mass and elite levels : the case of Western European parties.**

The paper tries to explore what effect various forms and intensities of party-political participation have on the left-right orientation within Western European parties. It compares the left-right self-placement of voters and middle-level party elites along the heterogeneity/homogeneity dimension and the centrality/polarity dimension of left-right orientation. Earlier studies in the field suggest that (1) varying intensities of party involvement on the level of the populace tend to systematically influence the heterogeneity/homogeneity dimension, whereas (2) varying forms of intra-party participation on the level of middle-level party elites relate more closely to the polarity/centrality of aggregate left-right orientation. The results of an empirical analysis of leaders and followers of more than 50 Western European parties generally support these basic assumptions. Nevertheless, we find results qualifying, and deviating from, our theoretical considerations. The recognition of intervening variables such as « party system » or « ideological family » is proposed for further analyses. **SM 17**

XIII. 390 SCHNEIDER, Friedrich G. (Aarhus Univ., Denmark) ; POMMEREHNE, Werner W. (Univ. Zurich, Switzerland) — **The decline of productivity growth and the rise of the shadow economy in the United States.**

The first goal of the study is to identify the major factors leading people to work in the shadow economy. From our empirical results we find that marginal federal income (and social security) tax rates, as well as the intensity of regulation, are the most important factors. The second goal is to investigate whether the increased activities in the shadow economy have an effect on the slowdown of productivity growth. We find a statistically significant negative influence of the shadow economy activities on officially measured productivity growth. Considering this preliminary empirical result, we conclude that people engaged in activities in the shadow economy become increasingly aware of the overall burden imposed by the state and therefore have less incentive to work efficiently in their « official » job, which may result in a decline of official productivity growth. **I. 8.1**

XIII. 391 SCHOENBORN, Mathias (Sozialwissentschaftl. Inst. der Bundeswehr, Munich, FRG) ; WACHTLER, Guenther (id.) — **Social change and the development of concepts of national security : the case of the conventionalization debate.**

The paper starts with a discussion of new approaches to guarantee national security which, in contrast to traditional concepts, put more emphasis on « conventional » military means. Resulting from the delegation of the doctrine of nuclear deterrence the present conventionalization debate in the FRG follows two basic tracks. First, there are many oppositional attempts to develop defensive conventional strategies which as alternatives to flexible response concepts rely mainly on traditional conventional military means. The second, « governmental » approach is directed at strengthening conventional defense by qualitatively new, « high-tech conventional » weaponry. Concentrating on the latter, i.e. the « ruling doctrine », the analysis searches for aspects of social change which may contribute to explain the changes of the present concepts of national security. In this context both the new social movements (i.e. ecology, peace, women) have to be dealt with as becoming dominant expressions of neo-conservative ideologies, as well as the conservative governments in the most influential western industrialized societies. **SC 7**

XIII. 392 SCHOFIELD, Norman J. (Calif. Inst. of Technology, Pasadena, Calif., USA) — **Manipulation of the international economy.**

In recent years a number of results on the manipulation of economic systems have become available. Manipulation generally may take one of two forms. (1) Manipulation by preference occurs when individuals misrepresent their true preference so as to bring about a desired outcome. This possibility has been extensively analyzed in social choice and public goods theory. (2) Manipulation by resource occurs for example when one agent (or set) transfers resources to another to affect the eventual general equilibrium outcome to the first agent's advantage and the second's disadvantage. It is possible to construct general trade models where this phenomenon occurs. The paper discusses the significance of resource manipulation for the theory of international trade, and attempts to include various international trade arrangements (commodity agreements, buffer stocks, export stabilization schemes, aid schemes) into an integrated framework focusing on manipulation. **I. 8.2**

XIII. 393 SCHUBERT, James N. (Alfred Univ., Alfred, NY, USA); WIEGELE, Thomas (Northern Illinois Univ., De Kalb, Ill., USA) ; HINES, Samuel (College of Charleston, S.C., USA) — **Age and political behavior in collective decision-making.**

The paper reports empirical findings on the relationship between age and political behavior in the decision-making process of small political bodies. Data, drawn from an ongoing study on « Age, Age Structure and Political Decision-Making » supported by the National Institute on Aging, are developed through direct observation of municipal councils on indicators of both verbal and paralinguistic aspects of individual behavior. Findings are based on data from the first months of a 12-mont observation period of eight councils each from New York, Illinois, and South Carolina. The sample includes five groups of councils with median ages ranging from old (63+) to young (44—). At the individual level the sample includes a substantial number of elected officials in their late 50s, 60s, and some in their 70s, permitting analysis of age and behavior with data points on the independent variables that span the age spectrum of elected officials. Dependent variables measure involvement in the group process, status and influence in the group, qualities of participation (rigidity, originality, conformism, aggressiveness, etc.), and political values supported, among other concepts. Hypotheses derived in part from experimental literature in social psychology are tested with these data. In sum, the paper reports on a study employing an ethological approach to explore systematically the effects of a potentially important biological parameter of political behavior. **RC 12.1**

XIII. 394 SCHWARZ, Michiel (Imperial College of Science and Technol., Univ. of London, UK) ; THOMPSON, Michael (Univ. of Warwick, Coventry, UK) — **Beyond the politics of interest.**

Politics of interest models fail at four crucial points. (1) They focus on goal-seeking and disregard goal-setting. (2) They ignore the need for moral justification in decision making. (3) They treat rationality as extensional — as having an existence independent of organisational context. (4) They view social institutionals as aggregations of individuals and not as cultural entities. In confronting and rectifying these four failures, we set out the essential features on a cultural theory. Before policy actors can act they have to exist. By suggesting that not all combinations of perceptual constraints an social contexts are viable, the cultural theory questions the voluntaristic assumptions that underpin the rational choice perspective on political analysis. **III. 8.2**

XIII. 395 SCOTT, Andrew M. (Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C., USA) ; FOBES, John E. (Western Carolina Univ., Webster, N.C., USA) — **New information and communications technologies : observations about their political implications.**

The three decades since the middle of the century have seen major changes in human communications and there are no signs that the pace of these developments are slowing. This paper seeks to provide a framework within which the political implications of these changes can be considered. It examines the possible implications of these changes by examining successively three different issue areas : (1) political implications within countries ; (2) implications for the international political system ; (3) implications for symmetry and/or asymmetry among nations. The paper concludes with a section on the need for guidance of international communications development.

XIII. 396 SEMOV, Mincho (Lyudmila Zhivkova Intern. Found., Sofia, Bulgaria) — **On the possibility of creating a methodological basis for international comparative studies in the field of politics.**

IPSA should set up an international research team representing all countries as well as individual scientists. Its task would be to work out methodological principles on which to build up a system of indicators to be used in joint comparative studies or in different countries. The first principle for discussion is that conscientiousness, good will, unity in the limits to natural differences among scientists. The second principle is accepting as the initial approach in international comparative studies that which unites us in our starting positions and allows us to work out a unified approach acceptable to scientists of differing orientations in political thinking. As an example I offer the relationship between economics and politics. Marxists points out the determining role of economics as the basis of politics while others admit that this role exists and is becoming more organic. Almost all political scientists accept this relationship though they evaluate if differently. The contradiction could be overcome as in the study we will be using different hypotheses. I discuss the political role of the work collective which could also be one of the beginnings of international comparative studies in the field of politics. **III. 9.2**

XIII. 397 SENARCLENS, Pierre de (Univ. de Lausanne, Suisse) — **Les dimensions psycho-politiques du processus de décision dans le cadre des organisations intergouvernementales : le cas de l'UNESCO.**

Le processus de prise de décision dans les organisations intergouvernementales universelles ne répond pas toujours aux logiques des modèles bureaucratiques classiques. La faiblesse des normes et des institutions de contrôle, l'hétérogénéité culturelle et politique de leur secrétariat, leur organisation souvent très hiérarchisée engendrent des phénomènes socio-affectifs et politiques particuliers qui influencent toutes les étapes du processus de décision. Ces phénomènes sont examinés à partir de l'analyse du processus de décision dans le cadre de l'UNESCO. **SG 10.1**

XIII. 398 SEROKA, James H. (Southern Illinois Univ., Carbondale, Ill., USA) — **Problems of integration of economic growth, demographic change, and political pluralism in East Central Europe.**

East Central Europe has undergone profound economic and political changes during the las two decades. Its economies and societies however, are based heavily on a demographic profile that no longer reflects the true situation. The increase in the age of the population, the slowdown in economic growth — and the breakdown in the relationship between investment and production are having a major impact on the political process. The most significant change is that efforts to integrate economics and demographics have altered the definition of social groups and the traditional pattern of political relationships among groups. In general, these political changes have not yet been fully appreciated in political research work. **I. 3.1**

XIII. 399 SHARAN, Sarojini (Patna Univ., India) — **Terrorism as a political weapon : India and Srilanka.**

A comparative study of the methods of systematic and planned terrorism used in the 1980s in India and Srilanka for achieving « Khalistan » or « Ealam ». The methods aimed at accomplishing certain short term objectives supposed to assist in reaching the long term goal are discussed. Terroristic activities began by strengthening organizations, finances, arms collections and enlisting foreign sympathies. Secondly, terrorists attempted to weaken the fibres of civil and military administrations. Thirdy, by creating hostage situations, they attempted to obtain the release of their colleagues from prison and demanded as ransom big sums of money from their governments. Lastly, terrorists attempted to militarize the whole situation by attempting to force the army to overact and produce a feeling of insecurity in common people - all this to break the government's morale. **RC 18.1**

XIII. 400 SHARE, Donald (Univ. of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Wash., USA) ; MAINWARING, Scott (Univ. of Notre Dame, Ind., USA) — **Transitions from above : democratization in Brazil and Spain.**

The purpose of the paper is to analyze aspects of the logic of « transitions from above » and to place the Brazilian and Spanish cases in comparative perspective. Democratization from above is a form of regime transition in which the authoritarian regime retains significant control over political change, setting the rules of the game and limiting the actors. The paper begins by specifying this distinct form of transition from authoritarian, rule and then explicates a model of transition from above, defining each of its components deductively. The questions of why a well entrenched authoritarian regime would initiate democratization, and the conditions required for such democratization, are then addressed. A penultimate section explores, and tries to explain, the significant differences between the Spanish and Brazilian cases. Spain's transition was rapid and better defined while Brazil's is still incomplete and has been more protracted. Finally, the paper assesses the costs and benefits associated with controlled transitions. A major argument of the paper is that transitions from above are extremely difficult to bring about, and unlikely to be successful in the absence of a complex set of economic, social, and (especially) political conditions. The failure of Brazilian leaders to implement a rapid and unambiguous transition to democracy, compared with the more rapid and clear cut Spanish model, helps to illustrate some of the difficulties involved in transitions from above. While in both cases transition from above may make democracy possible, the paper points to a series of political, social and economic costs that appear to accompany such transitions. **RC 13.1**

XIII. 401 SHARKANSKY, Ira (Hebrew Univ., Jerusalem, Israel) — **Elusive issues of government revenue and spending : a general discussion with an Israeli illustration.**

Adolph Wagner's « law of increasing expansion of public activities » has guided the analysis of government finances for the last 100 years. However, the literature is confused by great variety in the measurements used to assess changes in government finance, and much dispute about the rate and persistence of governmental growth. Furthermore, official compilations of revenues and expenditures are generally innocent of the financial records of quasi-governmental organizations, and the magnitude of « tax expenditures ». Without taking account of these significant factors, the writing about the magnitude or the change in governmental finance is destined to hide as much as it reveals. While conventional reports or Israeli government expenditure indicate outlays in the range of 40 per cent of GNP, an unconventional analysis finds government expenditures for 1980 as 135 per cent of GNP. **III. 6.1**

XIII. 402 SHARMA, O.P. (Univ. of Delhi, India) — **Corruption in India : an analysis of anti-corruption strategies**

Corruption is a widely discussed topic in India. Its problems of corruption are complex and widespread, and it has roots and ramifications in society as a whole. Though corruption has been present since mythological and ancient times, the scope and incentive is much greater today. India has had innumerable committees/commissions of inquiry on corruption. We have set up special police establishments and vigilance units in departments of administration. We have a Central Vigilance Commission and Central Bureau of Investigation. Somes states have set up Lokayukta (ombudsmen). We have all the laws necessary to combat corruption. But none of them have been effective enough in reducing the general prevalence of corruption. Why ? An attempt is made in the paper to critically examine the various anti-corruption measures initiated by the Government and why have they failed. **RC 20.2**

XIII. 403 SHARPE, L.J. (Nuffield College, Oxford Univ., UK) — **The new role of local government in Britain in the current age of austerity : the metropolitan countries and the G.L.C.**

Since the mid-1970s central government has sought to limit the overall expenditure of local government. In the first phase of this policy from 1976 to 1979 it was reasonably successful. Since 1979

it has been less so, and a form of open welfare between the centre and the localities has gathered pace culminating in a drastic two-pronged strategy by the centre. The first consists of giving the centre statutory power to fix the level of individual local budgets. The second is actually abolishing recalcitrant local authorities ; namely, the six metropolitan counties and the Greater London Council (G.L.C.). The second part of the paper considers the second prong of this strategy with particular emphasis on its most important aspect, the abolition of the G.L.C. **RC 5.1**

XIII. 404 SHAW, Timothy M. (Dalhousie Univ., Halifax, N.S., Canada) ; GHOSH, Samir K. (Indian Inst. of Human Sciences) ; TRENT, John E. (Univ. of Ottawa, Canada) — **Interactions between society, government and research community : the impacts of politics on African studies.**

The « underdevelopment syndrome » of ethnicity and instability still preoccupies scholars and planners in Africa. Despite continued attempts to bring academic, political and economic insights and interests together national constitutions, plans and institutions remain fragile. The existential African condition (declining production, spreading drought and growing population) is matched by an intellectual crisis of competing explanations, expectations and predictions. The definition and subsequent demise of Nigeria's 1979 constitution and Africa's 1980 Lagos Plan of Action are symptomatic of great debates, hopes and disappointments. Despite the growth of intellectual creativity and institutional capacity, Africa's research community remains marginal in national and continental affairs, symbols of the continent's rich resource base of peoples and products which has yet to be mobilised and maximised for effective development. A questionnaire administered to IPSA African(ist) members will provide further and topical data on the intellectual nexus of African studies and its relationship to the continental crisis. **RC 14.2**

XIII. 405 SHRIVASTAVA, Abha (Univ. of Jodhpur, India) — **The state and development in a third world country : the case of India.**

A multiplicity of structural determinants facilitate the process of development, but the most critical factor is the state and the political values which it upholds. The process of development in India has been closely and intricately related to the process of modernization which began mainly due to the impact of the West, during the British colonial rule. Consequent upon its emergence as an independent nation-state, the Indian state had to assume primary responsability to inspire and institutionalize far-reaching changes. In this process the state had to mobilize into collective action its vast masses, steeped in poverty and ignorance. The reasons for some of the halting successes and many failures in this endeavour can be understood only against the background of the social and political structure of the country, and with reference to age-old traditions and institutions. **I. 4.2**

XIII. 406 SIDDIQI, Toufiq A. (East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii, USA) — **Impact of new technologies on development strategies.**

The implications of recent developments in technology have not yet been incorporated to any significant degree in plans for national development. A large number of countries have formulated development strategies that closely follow the paths that were taken by Europe, Japan, and North America, with considerable emphasis on heavy industries, large urban centers, and corresponding infrastructure. It is argued that new technologies such as microcomputers, satellite communications, and decentralized energy sources provide many developing countries with the opportunity to design alternative development strategies. Instead of playing technological « catch-up » to the industrialized countries, they may be able to reach directly the stage of what is being called the « post-industrial society » or « the information society », and bypass many of the traditional features of the « industrial society. » **SG 6.1**

XIII. 407 SIMON, Maurice D., East Carolina Univ., Greenville, N.C., USA) — **The interface of state and society in Poland.**

State-society relations have undergone significant changes since 1970. From 1970-1975, state authorities promised to build a « Second Poland. » During the 1976-1980 period, the Polish leadership stressed the concept of « developed socialism, » but society experienced a severe decline in system performance. Thus, the 1980-1981 period witnessed the rise of « Solidarity » and new challenges to established political patterns. This gave way to martial law and attempts at « normalization » (1982-1983). Finally, the 1984-1985 period has been marked by a very tentative and fragile restabilization of state-society relations. The paper seeks to identify and elaborate some of the main factors that have promoted dynamic changes in state-society relations in contemporary Poland. By examining divergent conceptions of citizenship and political participation, it will focus attention on sources of strain in mass-authority relations. In particular, the paper analyzes competing versions of « socialist democracy » and how these affected the nature of policy demands, political action, and system performance. It selectively reviews survey research findings that illuminate the nature of state-society relations. **I. 3.1**

XIII. 408 SINGER, David (Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., USA) — **National political coalitions as an obstacle to international integration.**

Despite a great deal of effort, considerable research, and optimistic promises, the world has seen very little integration at the global or the regional levels. While this lack of progress might be attributed to weak and unimaginative leadership in the nations, inadequate education, and deeply ingrained attitudes of nationalism, for example, there may be a more serious obstacle to such integrations : the fundamental organization of territorial states, resting as it does upon party, factional, class, ethnic, and regional interest group coalitions. The dynamics of coalition formation and maintenance within and between states is examined in terms of their effect upon foreign policy. **IV. 3.1**

XIII. 409 SINHA, Niroj (Patna Univ., India) — **Career mobility and advancement of women in public administration : the Indian scene.**

A discussion on the position of women in Indian public bureaucracy. Females from Delhi metropolitan Government and Bihar Government have been selected for this study. The data reveal that the position of female administrators is not very different from that in the developed West. The hold of social norms which defined women only as wife/mother is very strong. This role differentiation based on gender, together with the process of socialization, creates the most serious obstacle to sex equality in public administration. Women's entry to the « males domain » is resented. The low literacy level of Indian women enables very few to sit for administrative examinations, which requires a graduate degree as a pre-condition. In India women in administration have nevertheless fared well, however small their number. Access to higher posts has not been very difficult and women have proved their « metal », willingly shouldering tough jobs. **RC 19.2**

XIII. 410 SINGH, K.P. (Kasturba Inst. of Rural Studies, Patna, India) ; PATIL, V.T. (Karnataka Univ., India) — **Bureaucracy in a developing society like India : its adequacies and limitations.**

Developmental goals are set within a specific time-horizon. This involves identification of problems, fixing up of priorities, mobilization of adequate resources, creation of new organisations and implementing programmes and projects within a definite time frame. Bureaucracy has a vital role in fostering rapid socio-economic transformation. It establishes well-conceived norms of integrity and professional competence, values essential for efficient and effective crisis management. However, Indian bureaucracy operates as part of a rule-bound administrative system and within the framework of a status-bound society. Hence, bureaucracy suffers from red tape, rigidity and endless rules and regulations. It is urban-oriented and elitist in nature and significance without much relevance to the needs of the vast millions of Indians living in the rural areas. Over-bureaucratisation acts as a threat to political leadership and prevents the institutionalisation of popular participation. The following hypotheses are examined: (1) In the context of a society in transition from tradition to modernity, the bureaucracy system places greater emphasis on division of labour and specialisation to achieve its developmental objectives ; (2) In a pre-modern society such as India the bureaucracy is less institutionalised and less formalised, thereby leading to immense concentration of powers in the hands of charismatic political leaders. **II. 3.1**

XIII. 411 SISSON, Richard (Univ. of California, Los Angeles, Calif., USA) — **The ruling class in India.**

The formation of a political community in India from more or less autonomous territorially bounded cultural units was a function of a national political class that successfully engaged an autonomous colonial state. This political class took form in India during the last quarter century of the British Raj and encompassed with increasing autonomy segments of major social and economic

groups. The paper investigates the fragmentation of this national ruling class which developed during the preindependence period and which extended, as it did, through the first quarter century of the independence era. The analysis entails an examination of the conditions and processes of this transformation change which has occurred in India, the resultant structure of the Indian ruling elite, and its relationship to the Indian state. **RC 2.2**

XIII. 412 SKALA, Joseph (Czechoslovak Assoc. of Polit. Science, Prague, Czechoslovakia) — **Theoretical and practical problems of legitimation of state authority.**

Legal-philosophical and procedural problems of legitimacy of state authority and constitutional, political and social functions of legitimation and consensus. Analysis of the concrete state of social and political environment in which legitimation and consensus take place. The stimulation of legitimacy and consensus from the viewpoint of prevailing social consciousness, governmental initiative, social structure, political relations and methods of political decision-making. Influence exercised by previous political development, national psyche and the level political culture of the population. Why internal transformations in certain directions take place in some countries and not in others, although the form of their government is the same, and the level of economic development, social structure and political relations comparable. The paper provides a Marxist-Leninist assessment of the concepts of legitimacy and consensus connected with the conceptual evaluation of the effect of political and state practice. It analyses the function of the relations between the highest state authorities and the citizen and the state and the socio-political interaction of social and political environment, political consciousness and constitutional institutions, enabling the decoding of the present conditions of society and state with reference to the implementation of democracy and tendencies of development. **I. 2.2**

XIII. 413 SLAVIN, Seymour (Univ. of Louisville, Ky., USA) — **Public television in the United States — conflicts and contradictions of a cultural and information system.**

The paper examines the political and economic constraints and possibilities as well as inherent conflicts and contradictions of public television in the US. Public television, in contrast to other western capitalist democracies, represents a relatively small sector of the cultural and information spectrum. Federal funds for public television in the US are equivalent to 64¢ per person compared to $ 11.29 in Great Britain and $ 18.94 in Canada. The privatization of the air waves in the equivalent to privatizing roadways and public streets. Yet, in spite of its relatively smaller scale in comparison to the huge IV networks and new pay cable channels, current attempts are being made by ideological groups on the extreme right to further privatize this sector and limit its role and constraint its role politically and ideologically through attempts at privatization. This accords to the current ideological thrust of the new right to reduce the public functions of government except for its national security and military functions. The paper explores these issues in the light of hegemonic concepts and theories with respect to cultural control and domination. **SM 6**

XIII. 414 SLOAN, John W. (Univ. of Houston, Texas, USA) ; TEDIN, Kent (id.) — **Regime type and public policy in Latin America.**

The paper studies the relationship between regime type (democratic, traditional-authoritarian, bureaucratic-authoritarian, and communist) and patterns of public policy. Previous studies have not been able to demonstrate systematic relationships between regime types and public policy, but we believe these studies suffered from simplistic definitions of regime types (i.e., military and civilian) and inadequate policy data. We have accumulated systematic and comparative data for two decades (1960 to 1980) in a variety of policy areas. If a particular regime type is most likely to produce better results in promoting economic growth or distributive justice or both, this study should reveal that relationship. **III. 0**

XIII. 415 SMIRNOV, William (Acad. of Sciences, Moscow, USSR) — **Political participation and government.**

History attests that all significant socio-political changes are both accompanied and caused by the desire of previously underprivileged or newly rising social strata and classes to gain access to political power, to participate in state affairs. The emergence, rise, and decline of numerous political entities in the past, the factors that make some institutions viable and others not viable, and the development of modern political systems can be greatly clarified by studying the forms of participation in politics, the participants themselves, the level of their activity and the results of participation. More generally political participation as a universal entity can be contemplated as involvement either on individual, group, strata, class or other ground by members of a socio-political community (kin, tribe, ethnic group, nation, state organized society or some part of it) in political power relations in this community (or, from a certain stage of world development onwards, in international society). Political participation is one of the basic dimensions of democratic or undemocratic character of government. The paper outlines their interrelation mainly in theoretical thinking. The basis coincidence of the interests of the individual, the collective and socialist society as a whole do not remove all contradictions. As some surveys and studies conducted in the Soviet Union have shown, there is still an untapped potential for further involvement of the citizens in administration and in politics. **II. 7.1**

XIII. 416 .SMITH, Dale L. (IIVG, Wissenchaftszentrum, Berlin, FRG) — **Alternative futures for East-West relations : evidence from GLOBUS.**

The GLOBUS World Model is used to investigate possible alternative futures for East-West relations. Relations between that East and West have moved in the last 25 years through very definite phases. The hostile inter-bloc climate of the Cold War evolved in the 1970's into the relatively cooperative climate of detente (or Ostpolitik). Finally, at the beginning of the 1980's a swing back to more hostile inter-bloc relations was clearly evident. Future changes in the international relations between these two groups will continue to have profound effects on the individual states within each group as well as repercussions in other parts of the international system. Three different scenarios representing different levels of future inter-bloc tensions are simulated, and their consequences in the following areas are examined : (1) government budgeting policies ; (2) domestic economic conditions ; and (3) bilateral and multilateral international relations. **IV. 8.2**

XIII. 417 SMITH, Michael Peter (Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La., USA) — **Responses of US local government to the internationalization of production and the fiscal crisis of the Welfare State.**

Capital flight, foreign investment, multinational corporate competition and global interdependence of production activities are all dimensions of what has been termed the « new international division of labor. » This globalization of economic relations has influenced migration from periphery to core and channeled interurban migration within the US. Leading cities in this emerging network are often described as unfolding « world cities ». The tendency has been to view world city development from the perspective of the unfolding logic of the world system. Yet political life in world cities has been characterized by socio-spatial conflicts between multinational corporate growth strategies and national, regional and local forces demanding a stable economic base. It is the premise of the paper that the very unfolding of global capital restructuring creates profoundly destabilizing conditions of everyday life in the locales most immediately affected. If this is the case, we must turn to the realm of local politics to comprehend the real consequences of capital restructuring. The paper explores the points of connection between global restructuring and several intertwined political-economic and social processes in US cities : the growth of the informal economy, the rise of « new » sweatshops, the « new immigration » from the Third World to US cities, the vulnerability of trade unionism at the grassroots, the spread of the neighborhood movement from Snowbelt to Sunbelt cities, and the responses of local governments to these conditions. The case of Hispanic migration to Sunbelt cities is used to concretely illustrate these connections. **SM 23**

XIII. 418 SMITH, Patrick J. (Simon Fraser Univ., Burnaby, B.C., Canada) — **Policy conflicts between local and senior governments : Canadian, British and American comparisons.**

The dynamic of local-senior government relations offers an important focus for comparative analysis of urban public policy making and governance. Much of the recent research has focusced on local autonomy-centralization dimensions. This study represents a comparative analysis of recent provincial-municipal, state-local and central-local relations in metropolitan Vancouver (Canada), Seattle (USA) and London (UK). Recent case examples within each of these juridictions have been examined to illustrate the nature of local influence on public policy making. This case research allows for assessment of « the power relationship which really lies at the heart of this discussion .» (R. Bird). Griffith has suggested that with regard to central-local relations « every

example can be shown in some way to be unrepresented and ill-chosen ». It is a contention of this paper that the policy issues selected (1) are topical, (2) have significant implications for financing/planning/policy making in local authorities and (3) do illustrate something of the direction of local senior government relations and of the influence of local authorities on central structure and policies. Central to this examination is the contention by Swainson that such relationships may be characterized by « the growing recognition that each has a considerable capacity to frustrate the other and yet, in the long run, is likely to derive little advantage from this type of behaviour. » The range of public policy issues and juridictions allows for comparative reflection of Swainson's « frustration thesis », on the hierarchical aspects of urban governance in Britain, America and Canada, on the extent and current direction of local autonomy/centralization, and on possible explanations of such phenomena. **RC 5.2**

XIII. 419 SMOKER, Paul (Lancaster Univ., UK) — **Macromodels and microcomputers.**

The paper describes the development of global systems models using micro computers. It draws on the Guetzkow tradition of simulating international processes and describes the development of variants of these models for use on widely available micro computers. The difficulties involved in such approaches are discussed and the potential for further research using micro computers is evaluated. **RC 7.2**

XIII. 420 SNELLEN, Ig (Univ. of Nijmegen, Netherlands) — **Problems of allocation in science policy.**

Design problems in science policy are of paramount importance especially for smaller countries which have to allocate their sparse resources for research with much consideration. Criteria have to be developed to determine the social merit of research programs and the relative importance of these programs in view of international economic, scientific and other competition. Ways and means have to be found to assure that allocations for research programs do result in the desired research efforts. Approcahes are proposed for resource allocations to research programs in a national and international context (as they are developed for Dutch science policy). Measures for allocation are derived from the illuminating, economic or countervailing function of research in a national perspective. The international dimension of the research allocations concerned is related to a set of national motives and circumstances. Finally indications are given on how research programs can improve the effectiveness of allocations in science policy. **III. 6.2**

XIII. 421 SOMJEE, A. H. (Simon Fraser Univ., Burnaby, B.C., USA) — **Parallels and actuals of political development.**

In examining political societies of developing countries, we are often inclined to search for parallels of historical and political experiences of Western countries. And when we do not notice such parallels, we tend to look upon what we see as obdurately traditional or deviant from the norm set by us. What we do not examine, however, are the actualities of political complexity in the relatively less familiar situations of the non-Western world. Apart from the near absence of scholarly criticism and controversy, the idioms through which human knowledge advances, such an approach, of looking for parallels rather than actuals, has been forced upon us by the nature of our theoretical knowledge in the sub-discipline of political development. Such a body of knowledge, entirely based on the political experiences of a few Western countries, despite its fundamental contribution, needs to be refined, supplemented, and in some cases reformulated, so that it can justify its claim to universal validity. The paper seeks to identify some of those inadequacies, insensitivities, and distorsions caused by various theoretical approaches and conceptual tools used in order to understand social and political reality of the non-Western world. **SG 16.1**

XIII. 422 SONE, Yasunori (Keio Univ., Tokyo, Japan) — **Present problems and future prospects of the Japanese Welfare State.**

The present Japanese welfare system is comparable to most of other advanced countries. Therefore, we are facing almost the same, or even more difficult problems, although the Japanese welfare system started fairly recently, the rapid economic growth allowed a high level of fiscal feasibility, the average age was relatively young. These conditions are changing very quickly. After the oil crisis, the Japanese government had to solve its fiscal deficit and to issue a great amount of national bonds along with increasing social security expenditure. The age structure is getting old much faster than in any other advanced countires in the next thirty years. We have now to solve future problems, particularly the pension plan and medical insurance system. The anticipated future seriously affects present choices. **III. 5.2**

XIII. 423 SPERLICH, Peter W. (Univ. of California, Berkely, Calif., USA) — **The incentive structure of lay adjudicators in two legal cultures : how to recruit, key and reward lay judges and jurors.**

Citizen participation gives direction to politics and legitimacy to the state. One of its most important manifestations is « lay adjudication, » enabling citizens to influence the legal process-indispensable for maintaining popular trust that fairness and justice will prevail. Most research has focused on the jurors of common law countries and the lay assessors placed on the mixed benches of the civil law nations. Much less is known about the third major from of lay adjudication : the lay courts (« social courts ») of the socialist countries. The key findings for East German lay judges are remarkably similar to those for other lay adjudicators. The office is a heavy burden. Official support and popular appreciation often seem inadequate. Real costs tend to exceed real rewards. Only serious civic commitment can balance the scales. Fortunately for the future of lay adjudication, there appears to exist a steady core of dedicated citizens willing to undertake the demanding and strenuous task of resolving disputes in the neighborkood and at work. **RC 9.1**

XIII. 424 SPRINGBORG, Robert D. (Macquarie Univ., North Ryde, NSW, Australia) — **The Gulf War and political stability in Iraq.**

The durability of the Iraqi Ba'thist regime following the disastrous decision to invade Iran has defied expectations and requires explanation. Sources of legitimacy for the regime are ideological, organizational, and personal. National identity has become comparatively firmly established ; secularism has demonstrated a continued appeal ; and the performance of the Ba'thists has surpassed that of preceding governments and proven superiorto that of other regional competitors. Organizational sources of legitimacy include a new class, created and enriched through a policy of infitah and providing in turn a major base of support for government. The Ba'th Party continues to demonstrate more impressive capabilities of control than any other comparable institution in the region. Opposition groupings remain weak, fragmented, ans as yet far from forming even the semblance of an alternative government. Finally, Saddam Hussein is an adroit and ruthless politician, whose combination of moderate policies with repression has thus far pre-empted the Ba'thist and anti-Ba'thist opposition. **SM 1**

XIII. 425 STEFFEN, Monika (IEP de Grenoble, France) — **Les politiques alternatives dans le domaine de la santé : le maintien à domicile pour certaines catégories de malades, les personnes âgées, les handicapés.**

La recherche procède d'une comparaison systématique entre ces différents secteurs selon les hypothèses suivantes : Les politiques alternatives se heurtent aux mêmes difficultés administratives et politiques. La coalition pour la « nouvelle médecine » est faible et les résistances sont d'autant plus fortes qu'un secteur concerne plus immédiatement le corps médical. Les entraves sont de trois ordres : les alternatives vont à l'encontre des hiérarchies professionnelles établies ; elles se heurtent à la fragmentation institutionnelle et aux codages administratifs ; elles butent sur les problèmes de coordination locale. **SG 19.1**

XIII. 426 STEINMAN, Michael T. (Univ. of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb., USA) ; STEINMAN, Linda (id.) — **Officer orientations toward the community : the impact of police bureaucracy.**

The study examines why police officers have positive or negative orientations toward the communities they serve. Orientations are measured by respondent agreement or disagreement with two statements : « I often encounter situations where my professional standards are in conflict with the expectations of the community » ; « The people in this city don't seem to appreciate, on the whole, what good police services are all about ». The hypothesis is that officer orientations are much more affected by factors related to their membership in a department than by their direct, off-duty community involvements and their personal histories. Data were obtained in a survey of rank and file officers in two urban departments. **SM 41**

XIII. 427 STEWART, John D. (Univ. of Birmongham, UK) — **Central-local relations in Great Britain.**

The period since the election of the Conservative Government

in 1979 has been marked by a continuing crisis in central-local relations culminating in the Gonervment taking direct powers to control the taxing powers of individual local authorities and in legislation to abolish the metropolitan counties and the Greater London Council. The paper analyses the continuing conflict and assess the position reached at this stage in the crisis, highlighting the instability of the position reached. The analysis set against the background of a changing politics at both national and local level and the problems of the British economy. **II. 4.1**

XIII. 428 STOHL, Michael (Purdue Univ., Lafayette, Ind., USA) — **The superpowers and international terrorism.**

An empirical examination of the use of three forms of state terrorism in international affairs, violent coercive diplomacy, clandestine operations, and surrogate terrorism by the US and the USSR in the post-1945 period. The initial sections of the paper discuss the assumptions of contemporary superpower interactions and the relevance of the bipolar distribution of power for the development of patterns of alternative military interactions. The heart of the paper is an examination and comparison of US and USSR use of the three forms of terrorism in international interactions, supplemented by brief case studies of Nicaragua and Poland. The conclusion discusses the implications of these patterns for the future development of superpower use of terrorism. **RC 10.1**

XIII. 429 STOJANOVIC, Radoslav (Univ. of Belsrade, Yugoslavia) — **National interests, socialism and internationalism.**

In socialism national interests gradually give way to the international interests of the working class. Socialist theory has expounded this view since the 19th century. A problem arose, however, with the formation of the first socialist states. As long as the USSR was the sole socialist country it was not so evident, although relations in the Komintern had presaged its future. With the emergence of several socialist countries, the problem sprang from the obvious conflict between national interests and the so-called international interest of the world proletariat. Is this a real conflict ? What are the international interests of the world proletariat ? Who determines what they are ? The proletariat itself or some self-appointed leader of the proletariat ? If a socialist state is recognized as the leader of the world proletariat, can it neglect its own national interests in favour of the interests of the world proletariat ? Can its perceptions of the international interests of the world proletariat escape the bounds of its own context ? At this historical juncture, that is not feasible. But then, clearly the national interests of this state are linked to its power. Power subsumes imposing one's own perception of interests on others, which will resist. The result will be conflict between the states. This is contrary to internationalism, but contemporary experience bears it out. Socialist theory is not invalidated. The course of events which socialist theory had in mind was quite different from contemporary praxis. **IV. 0**

XIII. 430 STOPPINO, Mario (Univ. of Pavia, Italy) — **Political action and political exchange.**

Political exchange is interpreted as a key concept in the framework of a general theory of rational political action. Political action is defined as action aiming at obtaining, maintaining and improving « guaranteed cooperation » (guaranteed by violence monopolization and political productivity of a given regime). The political leader who aims at occupying governmental roles, the social leader who exerts pressure on government in order to get the guarantee of possession and employment of the social resources at his disposal, as well as the participant individual who strives to maintain or improve his rights to citizenship, safety and welfare, all carry out political actions. Political exchange is an exchange of « guaranteed cooperation » (in the forms of « authority » and « legal rights » between political and social leaders, between the political leader and the participant individual, and between the social leader and the participant individual. In the last pages of the paper, the author singles out the differences between this theoretical approach, the systems approach and the economic analysis of politics approach. **SM 8**

XIII. 431 STURM, Roland (Univ. Heldelberg, FRG) — **Union protest and changes in the national party systems as reactions against the economic crisis in Western Europe : the British and German cases compared.**

Economic crises force societies to react. There is no automatic response that one has to expect from Western societies troubled by economic problems. The British and West German experiences in the 1970s and 1980s provide ample evidence for the need of a careful analysis of the specific consequences of the overall economic crisis in Western Europe in national contexts. The hypothesis is that although the dynamics of change have affected the political consensus in both Britain and Germany, there is a marked difference between the British and the German experiences. Whereas in Britain the economic crisis has above all heightened the traditional conflict about the relative positions of capital and labour, in West Germany this conflict has gained new dimensions because of the central importance of quality of life issues for many sectors of the West German society. In both Britain and West Germany the crisis of the 1980s has been accompanied by an « opening up » of the national party systems. However, new perspectives on the economic crisis have not become influential, because of the narrowing down of political options by the conservative governments in power. **SM 30**

XIII. 432 SUBRAMANIAN, S. (Madurai Kamraj Univ., India) — **The policies of international funding agencies and their impact on domestic policy.**

One of the most important and fundamental changes in the political and economic structure of international relations since World War II has been the emergence of the third world countries as national sovereign states. These states have been trying their best to raise the living standards of their population for laying the material foundation of their national identity. For this these countries need the know-how of industrial skills, modern technology, entrepreneurial ability and financial support. The international funding agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank along with the US, the USSR and other European countries play a dominant role. The paper examines the terms and conditions imposed by them and the impact of such conditions on domestic policies, particularly in India. **III. 7.2**

XIII. 433 SUBRAMANIAN, V. (Carleton Univ., Ottawa, Canada) — **The roles of bureaucracy in policy-making in Anglo-Saxon Commonwealth countries.**

The fast increasing role of top bureaucracy in policy-making in all parliamentary system and their ambivalent position regarding politics : the active shuttling from politics to administration in Canada. Their role as politico-administrative mediators in the federal systems of Australia and Canada. The differing roles of the specialist in policy-making. The supervening role of the economist inside and outside the bureaucracy. Faith versus disillusionment in the use of mathematical tools in policy-making. **II. 1.1**

XIII. 434 SUD, Usha (Univ. of Delhi, India) — **Indo-African perspectives on collective self-reliance and India's role in promoting it.**

The paper describes the trends in India's trade, commerce and technology transfer with Africa mainly, and also with other Arab and Asian countries of the Third World, since the formation of G-77 and the adoption of the Arusha Declaration. In the attempts at collective self-reliance, or south-south cooperation, India's role cannot be overlooked. It is one of the few Third World countries, which can offer suitable and cheap technology to other LDCs. India also has a tremendous reservoir of trained manpower, which for years has been utilized under the EPTA and now through the UNDP for training and building up socio-economic infrastructure in other Third World Nations. In recent times bilateral agreements and contracts have been signed by India, mainly with Afro-Arab countries for building airports, bridges, roads and housing cimplexes with great success. India has also provided scarce capital to some of the MSA countries. The perspectives of India and the African countries are not very different on the question of self-reliance. Only the difference in geography, the stage of economic and technological advancement, and availability of natural and human resources prompt a different strategy and approach on the part of African countries, more prone to natural disaster and which have a one-crop economy in general. **RC 17.1**

XIII. 435 SUNDBERG, Ian H. (Univ. of Helsinki, Finland) ; BERGLUND, Sten (id.) — **Representative democracy in crisis ? The Scandinavian countries.**

The paper embraces the party systems of Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden. Applying Giovanni Sartori's numerical criterion to the Scandinavian party systems, Finland traditionally constitutes the example of polarized pluralism, whereas the rest are considered typical examples of moderate pluralism. In general polarized party systems correspond to instability and an extreme form of mass pressure, with opposite tendencies in systems of

moderate pluralism. The former corresponds to the very unstable cabinet legislatures in Finland, compared to more stable in Denmark, or at an other extreme to those in Norway and Sweden. The life-span of cabinets can be explained only partly by the number of parties. Since the Second world war, the number of parties has increased in all countries except Sweden. Where numerical changes have been rapid, the effects are displayed in increased electoral volatility. The main effect of these changes is that Denmark also could be classified as a polarized party system. This does not necessarily imply that the cleavages on the left-right continuum have increased in Denmark and in Finland. On the contrary, the growing electoral volatility in these countries seems to determine a decrease in the traditional cleavages between right and left. Moreover, this empty conflict space has not been left unemployed ; strongly interest-oriented parties with much publicity have occupied the political arena, causing a new political pattern. **II. 6.1**

XIII. 436 SWARUP, Hem Lata (Kanpur Univ., India) — **Women in public administration : upward mobility and career development. The case of India and some countries of the Indian Subcontinent.**

The paper provides aggregate statistics of India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, with a comparative analysis. On the basis of the analysis of questionnaire data and personal interviews, the difficulties experienced by women administrators in upward mobility and career development are explained. Conclusions are drawn also from comparative examples of successful women and men administrators. An attempt is made to correlate differences in social, political, economic and religious aspects of the various countries, and to explore the future through time-series growth statistics. **SM 3**

XIII. 437 SYLLA, Lanciné (Univ. d'Abidjan Côte-d'Ivoire) — **Primauté du parti - primauté de l'Etat. La quadrature du cercle politique africain.**

Les conflits structurels entre Parti et Etat sont latents dans la plupart des pays africains. Face à une primauté de fait de l'Etat dont le parti apparaît de plus en plus comme un simple appendice, les acteurs politiques ne cessent de proclamer la primauté (de principe) du Parti. D'où la quadrature du cercle. Sociologiquement, entre le Parti et l'Etat, trois types de rapports sont observables, caractérisés par la confusion, par la fusion ou par la séparation. En fait, ces rapports sont déterminés par la nature de l'Etat postcolonial et par le mode d'accession à l'indépendance : Etat hérité de la colonisation après une accession pacifique à l'indépendance, ou Etat reconstruit à la suite d'une guerre de libération nationale. L'évolution historique conduit soit à un Etat-Parti avec primauté de fait de l'Etat (qui peut devenir primauté de droit), ou un Parti-Etat, avec une prédominance du Parti (fondée soit sur la fusion, soit sur la séparation des deux). L'analyse comporte deux sections : (1) l'Etat-Parti : de la primauté de fait à la primauté de droit de l'Etat, processus dont les principaux moments sont vus en Côte d'Ivoire, au Sénégal et au Cameroun ; (2) le Parti-Etat : de la fusion à la séparation du Parti et l'Etat, processus du PDG de Guinée et du FRELIMO de Mozambique.

XIII. 438 SZABO, Ildiko (Univ. of Budapest, Hungary) ; CSEPELI, György (id.) — **Parallel value systems in the political world concept of 10-14-year-old children.**

When establishing their own value system, children try to form a balanced, contradiction-free picture of reality. But how can the values transmitted by the daily perceived world and those of the institutionally cultivated world be squared ? Which values are accepted in the everyday world and which are followed in the other ? Are these value systems connected at all ? If the evaluation of a political-social topic in an everyday context contradicts the institutionally cultivated values, how can children solve the contradiction ? These were the topics to be analyzed in the research sponsored by the Mass Communication Research Centre, Budapest in the spring of 1982. A questionnaire was administered to a representative sample of 500 10-14-year-old children living in Budapest. According to our hypothesis, the double situation defining children's political understanding establishes two different knowledges. The basis of their pragmatic knowledge in the informally learnt patterns of evolution ; the components of the other, ideological knowledge originate in the institutionally cultivated values. **SG 13.1**

XIII. 439 TAGUCHI, Fukuji (Nagoya Univ., Japan) ; KATO, Tetsuro (Hitotsubashi Univ., Japan) — **The Marxist debates on the State in post-war Japan.**

It is well known that before 1945 the Japanese state was very repressive and authoritarian, but also a driving force of capitalist development. After defeat in World War II, Japan grew to be the second economic power in the capitalist world. To conceptualize this state, there were debates among Japanese Marxists till 1960. We sketch an outline of these debates and show the strong tradition of economic reductionism and Japanese exceptionalism. In the 1960s and 1970s, we had no « great » debate on the state in contemporary Japan. But our research and discussions, at least in the academic world, were much influenced by the « Renascence » of Marxist state theory. Concerning the Marxist debates on the state, we insist on the importance of world-wide aspects, the possibility of Marxist policy of austerity in advanced countries, the articulation of class struggles and popular democratic struggles, and the need for critical analysis of real, existing socialist states. **I. 1.2**

XIII. 440 TERCHEK, Ronald J. (Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md., USA) — **A Rawlsian reading of Gandhi.**

The paper moves away from a literal reading of M.K. Gandhi to examine his theories of economic development. What is important in Gandhi's work is his commitment to the moral autonomy of individuals in a nonviolent society. His criticisms about economic development did not rest on the argument that they were bad in themselves but that they hindered, if not destroyed, his basic goals. Gandhi's suspicions about economic development are well-founded in the sense that it tends to exact high costs from the present generation, and particularly the worst-off. The work of John Rawls is used to provide a way of reading Gandhi in order to set some standards for economic development. The paper considers the relationship of some of Rawls' central ideas, such as his two principles of justice, his criterion of using the least well off to judge policies, and his just saving principle as it applies to future generations. Recognizing that there are profound differences between Rawls and Gandhi does not minimize the importance of their common stance that the justification of economic production must ultimately be based on its effects on the moral autonomy of everyone in the present as well as the future and that any costs must be seen as benefiting the least-advantaged members of society. The paper shows some areas where Gandhi and Rawls part company, particularly in regards to the importance of tradition and personal identity and then argues that some of Gandhi's concerns in these areas can be accommodated within a Rawlsian model of development. **SM 38**

XIII. 441 THERBORN, Göran (Univ. of Nijmegen, Netherlands) — **Welfare states and the social theory of the state restated.**

The paper takes issue with both the first wave of neo-Marxist theories of the state and with the later « state-centered » challenges to the former. The different character of classes and states is laid out, arguing that the two cannot be juxtaposed or counterposed on the same plane. It is asserted that a re-stated neo-Marxist state theory, which gives room for other social determinations of the state than by classes only, provides the best theoretical approach to the analysis of welfare state developments, over and above statist and pluralist approaches. Empirical findings on different kinds of welfare states and of historical welfare state trajectories are presented in support of this argument. The different kinds of advanced capitalist welfare states in existence can only be satisfactorily explained by different societal constellations of power, in which classes and politically organized religions play a crucial part. **I. 1.1**

XIII. 442 THORSON, Stuart J. (Syracuse Univ., Syracuse, N.Y., USA) ; HOLT, Robert T. (Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Mn., USA) — **The logic of formal theory in political science.**

Formal theory is a particular way of approaching the descriptive task in which assumptions and conclusions are explicit and the logic connecting them is clearly specified. There are few empirical tests of the many theorems that have been developed through formal methods and they are accepted because their formal demonstration is impeccable and they conform to common sense views of the world. Technically their empirical truth claims remain in doubt. In such situations it is helpful to view the theorem from a constructive perspective. Here the question is not of making further logical derivations, but instead of « what must the world be like for the theory to correctly describe it ». The tools for such analyses are provided by the field of mathematical logic known as model theory. An example of these techniques is provided by proposing a non-standard model for a well known theory of choice behavior. The analysis shows that the assumptions used in this theory constrain the world in perverse ways that

are not obvious from a simple analysis of the assumptions or from the theorems of from empirical tests. Standard applications of the model theory approach assume that the logical system employed in the derivations is acceptable. But we must recognize that alternative logics are feasible and that carefully derived theorems may be empirically false because an inappropriate logical system was employed. Illustrations are provided to show how modifications in the logical system will affect the kinds of theorems which can be derived. **RC 1.1**

XIII. 443 THURN, Georg (Wissenschaftszentrum, Berlin, FRG) — **Determinants, restrictions and patterns of the engagement of social scientists in policy-consulting — a cross-national analysis.**

Assuming that the topic of the section may be interpreted at least in two ways, namely, as to (1) whether, why and how social scientists have had an impact on (specific) governmental institutional changes (for instance, the reorganization of ministries or the territorial reform of local government), and (2) whether, why, how (and with which effects) social scientists' advice has been institutionalized through governmental institutional changes (for instance, through setting up adhoc advisory bodies, permanent advisory councils, etc.), the paper prefers to put the emphasis on the later dimension. Drawing on the findings of an internationally comparative project it analyses and seeks generalizations as to (1) the organizational and procedural modes in which such institutionalization of social science involvement has been effected, and (2) the periods and the substantive issues around which the various subdisciplines of the social sciences have been drawn into policy-formation. **II. 2.2**

XIII. 444 TIERSKY, Ronald (Amherst College, Amherst, Mass., USA) — **The biases of « time » in studying political development.**

Bias in the study of politics, contrary to commonly held views, is not a simple matter. What is bias ? How does it work to deform the study of politics ? How does bias infiltrate the study of political development ? The answers to these questions are complex, and lead in unexpected directions. The most evident forms of bias — for example ethnocentrism and the substitution of partisanship for analysis — may not even be the most common or the most damaging forms of bias, in the sense that cultural and political biases may be easier to detect and compensate than intellectual prejudices. Conceptions of « time » can be a subtle form of bias, and often can subsume or imply other forms of prejudgment. Time is problematic ; yet it is only recently that the study of politics has noticed that time is not self-evident. Analyzing relations of time and political development opens a whole series of important questions. Does the idea of « three worlds of development », for example, imply three different time scales of development ? Or do conceptions such as « interdependence », « dependency », and « world-economy » imply a single time scale of development ? Different conceptions of time, finally, imply different purposes, and can both unify and separate the different « worlds » of developmeét. **SG 16.1**

XIII. 445 TÖKEI, Ferenc (Univ. E. Lorand, Budapest, Hongrie) — **La pensée politique de Lukacs dans sa dernière période**

Durant les dernières années de sa vie, Lukacs s'attache tout particulièrement à chercher comment il serait possible de procéder à une restauration de la méthode originale et de la pensée de Marx, pour contribuer à un degré fondamental à la renaissance souhaitable du marxisme. Il se rend fort bien compte des premiers signes de la crise économique mondiale capitaliste, tout autant que des contours de la problématique du renouveau socialiste, et ne se montre guère optimiste quant au proche avenir. Il rejette catégoriquement l'idée d'une solution aux problèmes du socialisme moderne grâce aux méthodes et aux formules de la démocratie bourgeoise. Pour lui, le problème du développement du socialisme ne peut être résolu que par le long processus du démocratisme et de la « démocratisation » socialistes. Dans un tel processus, les masses bougent à nouveau afin de régler elles-mêmes leurs propres affaires, et la vie quotidienne, le mode de vie des pays tentant l'expérience du socialisme, présentent de nouveau de l'attrait pour les masses populaires des pays capitalistes développés. **SM 32**

XIII. 446 TORRES, Carlos A. (Flacso, Mexico) ; PESCADOR, José A. (Univ. autonoma-X, Mexico) — **The educational role of the state in developing countries : the case of Mexico.**

The paper addresses the relationship between political power and education in the Mexican state. Particular focus is on recent policy changes in education, the intestine struggles to control policy-planning and policy-making in the educational bureaucracy, and some of the educational outcomes of recent educational reforms. **RC 21.1**

XIII. 447 TUDESQ, André-Jean (Univ. de Bordeaux III, France) — **La politique scientifique en Afrique centrale (Congo, Gabon, Zaïre)**

La politique scientifique en Afrique centrale est-elle décolonisée ? (1) La politique scientifique : secteur réservé (a) au chef de l'Etat ; (b) à la Coopération. (2) Les domaines privilégiés de l'actualité scientifique : (a) la santé ; (b) l'agriculture ; (c) la recherche minière et pétrolière ; (d) les télécommunications. (3) La dépendance : (a) formation ; (b) matériel ; (c) applications ; (d) l'exemple de l'informatique. **RC 11.2**

XIII. 448 TUDYKA, Kurt (Univ. of Nijmegen, Natherlands) ; SNELLEN, Ig (id.) — **International planning and limits of government. The case of the European Common Organization of the Markets in Sugar.**

The European Common Organization of the Markets in Sugar is a kind of international and multilevel planning system, going down from the interstate level through the level of national governments and that of the sugar manufactures and further down to the base level of sugar growers and their respective national and regional organizations. Through this system a very intricate web of horizontal and vertical checks and balances is created excluding final consumers and their organizations. It has featured, since its introduction in 1968, guarantees of prices and marketing differentiated according to the production quotas allocated to each factory. The sugar beet growers and sugar manufacturers had to assume coresponsability for the budget coasts entailed by the disposal of sugar surpluses - e.g. by financing the dumping prices of export to the world market. The functioning of the whole planning system is as stable as it is stiff. The role of the national government is reduced to one of sponsor departments of the national coalition of growers and manufactures ; the role of the European Commission is that of a technical expert advising the top of the European horizontal and vertical cartel of the sugar sector during its annual efforts to determine the prices. **III. 2.1**

XIII. 449 URBAN, Karoly (Inst. of Party History, Budapest, Hungary) — **György Lukacs's views in the 1940s on the « new democracy ».**

Questions of democracy were raised in a new meaning by the fight against fascism during World War II and in the post-war period. The Marxist theory of G. Lukacs exercised great influence in Europe on the general criticism of bourgeois democracy. Lukacs rejected bourgeois democracy as formal. He conceptualised « new democracy » as a long transition from capitalism to socialism, lasting probably 10-20 years after WWII, which would have some constant features : controlled and limited capitalistic private ownership ; preponderance of the vital material and cultural interests of the working classes ; permanent and direct participattion of working people in public life, etc. People's democracy in Hungary and in other East European countries, in his judgment, partly realised this concept. But in 1948, in the atmosphere of Cold War, an impatient, voluntaristic policy won over in Hungary too, refusing Lukacs's conception. (the Lukacs Debate 1949-1950). Developing Lukacs's theory of democracy then stopped, and only after 1956 did it enter a new stage. **SM 32**

XIII. 450 VAN DER EIJK, Cees (Univ. of Amsterdam, Netherlands) ; NIEMÖLLER, Kees (id.) — **Social structure and party choice in the Netherlands.**

The relationship between voters' party choice and their social position (most notably in terms of religion and social class) has changed dramatically in the Netherlands since the early 1960's. The paper documents the nature of this change and its consequences in terms of party strength. A number of explanations for these historical changes are then reviewed in the light of available evidence. Following this a more detailed description of the relation between social structure and party choice in the 1980's is presented, with special emphasis on intervening and mediating variables (ideology, identifications with parties, issues, etc.). Finally, the implications of the results are discussed for theories on the relevance of social structures for party choice, party competition, political change and democratic representation. **SM 15**

XIII. 451 VAN DER ROS SCHIVE, Janneke (Univ. of Oslo, Norway) — **Workplace democracy and women's participatory behaviour.**

As workplace democracy is rather well developed in Norway, I am

interested in analyzing women's participation in this area, as well as the impact of these democratic structures on women's participatory behaviour in general. The paper is by and large exploratory and empirical. I want to probe whether sex segregation in the labour market may have implications on the democratic options for women. Another factor which may complicate the use of democratic structures for women is their type of attachment to the labour market, e.g. part time, seasonal work. Third, I want to find whether there is a positive relationship between democratic structures at the workplace and women's participatory behaviour at large, i.e., whether workplace democracy stimulates women's democratic behaviour in general. **SM 26**

XIII. 452 VAN DIJK, A. (Free Univ., Amsterdam, Netherlands) ; VAN DE GRAAF, H. (id.) ; HOPPE, R. (id.) — **Implementation as design problem. Problem tractability, policy theory, and feasibility testing.**

The policy process is about continuous pragmatisation. Thus, not lack of foresight, but disconnected cognitive levels between designers, implementors, and recipients is the crucial problem in design-implementation relationships. Implementation research may improve the cognitive maps of policy outcomes genealogy and ecology of high-level policy-makers. Implementation concepts and heuristics are crucial to developing more action-oriented design methods. Implementation estimates should not specify « ideal » implementation, but test the feasibility of promising policy alternatives. Linking problem tractability, policy theory, and implementation strategies, four criteria are proposed to judge a policy mandate's pragmatisation-« maturity ». The criteria are also used to evaluate the appropriateness of some well-known proposals for methods of producing implementation estimates. Finally, the feasibility testing approach is applied to a number of actual policy designs. **III. 3.1**

XIII. 453 VANHANEN, Tatu (Univ. of Tampere, Finland) — **The state and prospects of democracy in the 1980s.**

The aim of this paper is to describe and analyse the degree of democratization in 147 contemporary independent states in 1980-83 and to evaluate the prospects for democracy in these countries. The starting point is a theory of democratization claiming that it is causally related to the distribution of various economic, intellectual, and other resources used as sources of power. When power resources are widely distributed in a society, no group is able to suppress its competitors, and consequently power sharing becomes inevitable. And so democratization begins. Empirical variables are used to measure the degree of democratization in 1980-83 and the distribution of various power resources in these countries. The results of correlation analysis show that the Index of Democratization (ID) is highly correlated (0.844) with the Index of Power Resources (IPR). Regression analysis was used to detect the countries that deviated the most. On the basis of empirical analysis it is concluded that the number of democracies will most probably increase, particularly in Latin America, whereas in Africa the prospects of democracy are still bleak. **RC 13.2**

XIII. 454 VARAS, Augusto (Flacso, Santiago, Chile) — **The state and the armed forces : the case of Latin America.**

After the Latin American experiences of institutional military dictatorships, the armed forces in the region achieved an increasingly autonomous role in local politics. The maintenance of high levels of military expenditure, the increase in military personnel, and the hughe transfer of military technology from the North, produced institutional effects. These effects have been observed in the increasing autonomization of military institutions vis-a-vis the state and the rest of society. In both democratic or authoritarian regimes, the armed forces achieved higher levels of corporating independence from the rest of civilian counterbalances. The combined and simultaneous effect of modernization and professionalization resulted, in a weak civilian control milieu, in a stable political corporative presence of the armed forces in Latin American societies.Different from past experiences, the new political role of the military will be much more related with state matters than before. This stable political position will prevent any attempt at further and deeper democratization in the coming decades. **SG 7**

XIII. 455 VARIS, Tapio (Univ. of Tampere, Finland) — **Global information flows and information policies.**

One aspect of the global production and dissemination of information and knowledge as well as the ideological influence is the international flow of information through different media. After studying the international flow of television programmes and news in 1972-1973, the author concluded that there were two indisputable trends : (1) a one-way traffic from big exporting countries to the rest of the world, and (2) dominancy of entertainment material in the flow. Ten years later, in 1983, a follow-up study was carried out in more than 50 countries throughout the world. The present situation seems to repeat the earlier pattern. However, there are interesting regional trends, in Latin America and the Arab world. Most interesting in the analysis of foreign programming in Western and Eastern Europe, where the regional process of detente has taken place during the period. The author finds small but important changes in the European situation. He discusses the problems of Europeanization of broadcasting as well as the role of cultural relations in general in East-West and North-South relations. **RC 22.1**

XIII. 456 VARMA, S.P. (Inst. of Developt Studies, Jaipur, India) — **Re-thinking in political development.**

Theories of political development, based on « Western » models - distinctive characteristics, stages-of-growth concept, will-and-capacity approach hesitating between « participational » and « operational » variables and identified with « modernization » rooted in Protestant/Calvinist ethics, are constricted in time and space (« ethno-centric ») and « a-historical ». They do not take into account that (a) great civilizations existed in the past, (b) no civilization lasted eternally, Western civilization itself being on the decline, (c) « developing » countries, with different historical experiences, needed different « kinds » of development, (d) « traditions » could incorporate « modern » thought and institutions (Japan), or (e) a society could not be uprooted from its « culture », faith in which motivated nation-building in « developing » countries. However, once colonization was proved harmful to colonizer and colonized and « modernization » challenged in the name of (Christian) ethics and reason (Gandhi), political development needed drastic re-thinking. **SG 16.1**

XIII. 457 VASANTHAKUMARI, T. (Madurai Kamaraj Univ., Madurai, India) — **Language as a disquieting dimension in the party politics of India.**

A common language, which usually forms a powerful unifying force in nation-states, acts as a divisive force in multilingual states like India, where differences in language always correlate with ethnic and religious differences. Instrumental conflicts between different groups are likely to be converted into sentimental conflicts because language differences have a tendendy, in such situations, to intensify identity differences. When conflict turns sentimental, the persisting differences further erode mutual trust and thereby render difficult the possibility of negotiated settlement. The political parties, particularly in a multilingual setup, more often than not, play with the sentiments of the people, so as to gain leverage for achieving their political objectives, thereby making the problem more acute. In countries like India, which has a heterogeneous polity characterised by ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversities, the problem becomes still more complicates. **II. 6.2**

XIII. 458 VAYRYNEN, Raimo (Univ. of Helsinki, Finland) — **Neutrality and dealignment in Europe.**

Neutrality is a policy option for those European states that prefer to stay outside military blocs, while dealignment is a tendency towards neutralism within military alliances. Neutrality has become over time an increasingly legitimate part of the political order in Europe, and in particular during the detente period its institutional agent, the N+ N Group, was able to play a constructive political role. With the resurgence of international tension the substance of neutrality and the opportunities of its influence have changed. In certain respects neutral countries have enhanced their cooperation even outside the CSCE framework and have approached the non-nuclear-weapon countries of the military alliances. In these countries societal and even governmental actors have advocated the policy of partial and selective dealignment in order to opt out of ethe predicament created by nuclear weapons and military strategies associated with them. The search for denuclearization has gradually evolved into a common denominator of neutral and non-nuclear allied countries. **III. 4.2**

XIII. 459 VLACHOS, Georges (Acad. d'Athènes, Grèce) — **Essai d'une définition des limites du pluralisme.**

Les doctrines qui ont tenté d'analyser le politique à partir d'une conception atomistique de la société et d'une séparation principielle de l'Etat et de la société privée, de même que les conceptions réduisant le politique en un rapport consensuel entre le Pouvoir et l'environnement sociétal n'ont donné que des résultats peu satisfaisants. S'il est vrai, au contraire, que le politique se laisse

définir au point d'intersection des notions cardinales d'intérêt général et de contestation, il devient aisé d'y insérer la pluralité des intérêts sociaux de base et de situer les limites du pluralisme en tenant compte, à la lumière de l'expérience constitutionnelle comparative actuelle, de l'intérêt de la société globale et de celui des individus et des groupes. **RC 16.1**

XIII. 460 VOHRA, Ranbir (Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., USA) — **The making of China's international relations, 1949-76 : the Mao factor.**

The paper reassesses China's foreign relations, from the establishment of the People's Republic to the death of Mao Ze-dong. Though national security concerns and domestic politics played an important role, it was Mao's preoccupation with his revolutionary ideology and the concomitant faith in self-reliance, and his perception of China as an independent world power, that shaped the making of Chinese international relations. Mao did not accept the existing, West-centered, world order. He tried to re-structure international relations according to grand global revolutionary formulas conceived by him. It is further suggested that China's current acceptance of the existing international system (the trend towards which had become evident even before Mao's death) was largely because Mao failed to establish his revolutionary ideology internally. He was forced to concede, however reluctantly, to those Chinese leaders who had long emphasized interdependence and the strengthening of China through economic modernization. Mao also felt that China had, at last, achieved the world status he had hoped for. **RC 18.2**

XIII. 461 VOLLRATH, Ernst (Univ. Köln, FRG) — **An associational concept of political communication.**

It has become increasingly fashionable to conceive of the political as some kind of discourse or communication. What I want to contest is the identitarian character usually implied in the notion of political communication, as though only those who have agreed upon everything and are of the same opinion form an authentic political community. The model of such a community is nothing but the fundamentalistic sect bound together by common convictions, which is a-political *per se !* Only that paradigm of a community based on difference and differentiation can be called political. I want to exhibit an associational concept of political communication, by which I understand a community which not only includes and tolerates difference but for which differentiation is one of the founding elements. The problem then is : what kind of universal obligation is needed to form a community of those who differ ? It will be found in the argumental structure of those judgments, i.e. in a certain kinds of communication that have been analysed, although not in their political character, in Kant's Critique of Judgment. **SG 15**

XIII. 462 VUKADINOVICH, Radovan (Univ. of Zagreb, Yugoslavia) — **Security strategies of Mediterranean countries.**

The Mediterranean, the barometer of the world's political climate, has vast strategic importance. Seventeen Mediterranean countries have diverse economic, political, socio-cultural and religious features. Owing to their special positions, Mediterranean countries adopt different security strategies. Some Mediterranean countries belong to NATO, others are relaying on their own armed forces. Powerful naval fleets of the super powers are controling the sea. The struggle for independence and the desire for consolidation of their sovereignty have led several countries in the area to fight for demilitarization, neutralization and making Mediterranean Sea into a « zone of peace and cooperation ». This is the long-range security strategy of Mediterranean Non-Aligned countries. **IV. 4.2**

XIII. 463 WADLOW, Joan K. (Univ. of Wyoming, Laramie, Wy., USA) ; WADLOW, Dawn (id) ; DULY, Leslie (id) — **The application of biopolitical theory to international development : the case of US aid.**

In 1969 Robert Stauffer wrote about the neglect by political scientists of the possible impact of biological factors on political behavior. This study analyzes the extent to which contemporary political scientists dealing with development are aware of biological factors affecting the development process, and provides documentation of the employment of these factors by practitioners in the field. The study is limited principally to bio-factors of nutrition, disease, health, and population. Utilizing primarily internal AID documents describing current and historical field practices as well as other sources, it concludes that the AID inadvertently and, possibly, unknowingly is employing biopolitical factors to an increasing degree. Scholars have not acknowledged this in literature nor have they provided the important theoretical constructs. Thus, a major gap continues between practitioners and scholars in the critical field of international development. **RC 12.2**

XIII. 464 WAGNER, Peter (Wissenschaftszentrum, Berlin, FRG) — **Determinants of and perspectives for the focus of evaluation research : which difference do changes in political majorities and political issue cycles make ?**

The development of the thrust and focus of policy research is sometimes described and explained in using a model that links the research cycle to the policy cycle. This model includes the idea that in a reform policy period evaluation research directs itself on the « improvement » of such reform policies, whereas, in more conservative tides, it sets the « termination » of such policies on its agenda. Analysing this development and relation in a more detailed and comparative manner (in particular by comparing countries that recently experienced political « turnarounds » (« Wende ») — such as the USA, the UK and West Germany — with countries like France and Sweden) reveals that this explanatory view is much too simplistic. On the one hand, the development of evaluation research appears to be linked to the overall analytical needs prompted by the development of the modern welfare state (regardless of the « political complexion » of the government incumbents). On the other hand, evaluation research appears to be inspired by an orientation and by concepts that are drawn from and tailored to the prevalent policy model, shaping the underlying normative and conceptual assumptions of policy research. **III. 3.2**

XIII. 465 WALKER, Nancy J. (Nuffield College, Oxford Univ., UK) ; WORCESTER, Robert M. (MORI, London, UK) — **Nationalism in Britain : some diverse examples.**

While Britain does not have a serious nationalist political party of its own, the feeling of nationhood and pride in being British is strong. The paper explores several faces of nationalism in Britain, using survey data and impressionistic comment. We discuss two kinds of nationalism, from the relations between Britain and other countries to the internal divisions caused by Celtic nationalism in this multination state. We consider four specific examples : (1) attitudes to Europe and membership in the European Community, (2) the Falklands War and jingoism in post-Empire, (3) changing views of the « special relationship » between the US and the UK the nationalism of the left, and (4) similarities and differences in the Scottish and Welsh nationalist movements. **SG 13.1**

XIII. 466 WALLACE, Helen S. (Civil Service College, London, UK) — **Negotiations and coalition formation in the European Community.**

The pattern of negotiations in the EC has evolved considerably over the last 10 years or so, in response to changes in institutional processes, enlargement of membership and shifts in the policy agenda. Coalition-building was always an important part of the process of developing (or obstructing) consensus, but there has been a clear trend towards more systematic bilateral (or sometimes trilateral) negotiations to prepare for and to sustain multilateral negotiations in the formal EC framework. Such informal processes of consultation and coalition-building variously involve the Commission and member governments and particular groupings of governments, some ad hoc or issue-oriented, others based on more sustained and systematic efforts to exercise influence over the outcomes of EC negotiations recurrently. The Franco-German relationship is a particular case. The paper explores the pattern of coalition-building, drawing on recent research on relationships among France, the FRG and the UK. **RC 3.1**

XIII. 467 WALTERS, Robert S.(Univ. of Pittsburgh, Pa., USA) **The political economy of structural economic adjustment at state and local levels in the United States : analytical and policy implications.**

The political economy of responses to structural shifts in international production and trade has been the subject of a burgeoning literature on industrial and trade policies across numerous countries and economic sectors in recent years. These studies have focused overwhelmingly on public policy, the structuring of interests, and the role of the state in market-oriented economies at the national level. This study examines the political economy of structural adjustment within the US steel industry at local and state levels. Differences are explored in the structuring of interests, public policies, and in expectations of the government's role in the economy at state and local levels versus at the national level. These disjunctures are neglected features in conventional

assessments of the state's role in the economy and in the character and effectiveness of national and international efforts to manage structural economic change. **RC 17.2**

XIII. 468 WATERS, Maurice (Wayne State Univ., Detroit, Mich., USA) — **The invasion of Grenada, 1983, and the collapse of legal norms.**

When the Eric Gairy government of Grenada was overthrown by a bloodless coup in 1979, the new government of Maurice Bishop was faced with widespread criticism by the governments of the other British Commonwealth islands of the Caribbean, and specially by the US. The grounds for the complaints were the abandonment of the Westminster model by the Bishop Administration, and its close ties with Havana and Moscow. Within four years the Bishop government was also overthrown, precipitating an invasion and occupation by US forces with the collaboration of several Caribbean Commonwealth states. The grounds provided by the participants for the intervention consisted of (1) rights of individual and collective self defense provided by article 51 of the UN Charter ; (2) rights of regional organizations to engage in self defense provided by articles 52 and 53 of the UN Charter ; (3) the right to safeguard one's nationals whose lives are endangered in a foreign country ; (4) the right of humanitarian intervention ; (5) the right to enter a country whose government is endangered and whose chief executive requests military assistance to remove that danger ; a right derived from customary international law. The paper explores these claims as to their legitimacy and their legality. It concludes with a commentary on the dangers to the international legal order when policies and arguments such as those presented by the government involved, and their supporters, are distorted to serve national objectives, and are offered in place of positions which sustain the more traditional views of international law based on pacific settlement efforts. **RC 10.1**

XIII. 469 WAYMAN, Francis W. (Univ. of Michigan, Dearborn, Mich., USA) — **Alliances and war : an interrupted time-series analysis.**

The paper uses interrupted time-series analysis to examine the effects of alliances on war, 1816-1965. Major-major and major-minor defense pacts, as defined by the Correlates of War Project, are the object of study, and the analysis is conducted at the dyadic level. Alliances are found to have no impact on the incidence of war : joining an alliance does not prevent war or make war more likely ; neither does leaving an alliance. The study has clearer policy implications than some earlier research on alliances because its evaluation research design permits causal inference (see Campbell and Coork). While a policy of alliance may be useful in certain particular circumstances, the evidence indicates that, historically, joining an alliance (or leaving one) has not significantly changed a nation's probability of war involvement. **IV. 4.1**

XIII. 470 WEDELL, George (Univ. of Manchester, UK) — **The establishment of the common market for broadcasting in Western Europe.**

The paper describes the technological and political conditions giving rise to the proposal for the creation of a common market for broadcasting in the European Economic Community. It discusses the development of the policy of the EEC Commission, as set out in its interim report on *Realities and Tendencies in European Television : Perspectives and Options* (1983) and its Green Paper on *Television Without Frontiers* (1984). Reference is made also to the interests in this area of the meetings of Heads of State and Government and the Ministers of Culture of the EEC. The paper places the EEC initiatives into the context of the national media policies of the Member States and of their respective national traditions. It explores the characteristics of a possible European media policy and examines alternative institutional frameworks within which this might be achieved. **RC 22**

XIII. 471 WEICHELT, Wolfgang (Acad. of Sciences, Berlin, GDR) — **Theoretical and methodological aspects of comparative research on the state in the socialist countries.**

Comparative research on the state in the socialist countries is a component of political science and jurisprudence marked by the underlying social-economic factors. It gains in importance and substance. First of all it compares the development of socio-economic factors, the legal basis, the structures and the working methods of the elected representative institutions as well as the state apparatus of the socialist countries. Its objective is to identify general tendencies within the increasing national variety of socialist political structures and generalizing useful collective experiences. The theoretical approach underlying it is the dialectic of approximation of state and society in socialism. In its methodology one can find a turn to historic-analytical and empirical methods. Comparative research covering socialist and developed capitalist states is concentrated on the relationship between the state and the people on the one hand, on the furtherance of intergovernmental forms of peaceful coexistence between different social systems on the other. Comparative research on the state in developing countries is a new development. **II. 0**

XIII. 472 WEINBAUM, Marvin G. (Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., USA) — **Foreign aid politics and rural sector development - US economic assistance to Egypt, 1975-84**

Conceding the primacy of political objectives in much of US economic assistance to developing countries, the paper stresses the often competing motives behind American efforts. The study focuses mainly on US aid programs to Egypt between 1975 and 1984, with particular reference to agriculture and rural development. Changing models in the recent history of US development assistance are examined. The paper also describes the direction and values in assistance programs and, in particular, the influence of the strong free-market philosophy promoted by the Reagan Administration. The discussions delineate the mixed aid strategies aimed at agricultural and rural development in Egypt and identity obstacles to their success. A concluding section questions the contribution of US aid to self-sustained economic growth, equity, and political stability. **SM 31**

XIII. 473 WEINBERG, Leonard B. (Univ. of Nevada, Reno, Nev., USA) — **Neo-fascist violence in Italy.**

The paper provides an analysis of neo-fascist violence in Italy. It does so in two ways. (1) The paper examines the social and political backgrounds of individual neo-fascists who were arrested for commiting acts of political violence between 1970 and 1984. It investigates such questions as whether or not there were any meaningful differences in the backgrounds of neo-fascist versus left-wing terrorists. (2) The paper seeks to explain the incidence of neo-fascist violence by relating the volume of neo-fascist attacks to a variety of social, economic and political variables. **SM 21**

XIII. 474 WEINER, Richard R. (Univ. of North Florida, Jacksonville, Fl., USA) — **Pluralism and neo-corporatism : the legacy of the NRA and the « social contract ».**

The history of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (USA) sheds interesting light on the recent debates on the relation between trade unions and the state, and the larger issue of pluralism versus neo-corporatism. Pluralism and neo-corporatism are, respectively, forms of state-civil society relations. These forms of mediation emerge so as to reduce the intensity of interest conflict through the institutionalization into the political process of organized pressure groups. The study depicts union leaders' desire to collaborate with industrial management and the state, and to accept functional integration in the organized condition of post-liberal capitalism, and the rank-and-file opposition it provoked. It considers as well the desirability of such a « social contract » policy in both the USA and Britain with regard to the transition from industrialization to post-industrialization. **RC 16**

XIII. 475 WELCH, Susan (Univ. of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb., USA) — **Why women are not elected to office : an Anglo-American comparison.**

In both the US and Britain, women are elected to public office in far fewer numbers than their population proportion and their mass political activity would predict. The paper explores several reasons for this underrepresentation. Several factors that might impede women's political representation are discussed including the psychological attitudes of women ; the demographic characteristics of women (age, occupation, and education) ; political structures such as single member districts ; discrimination by voters or political party elites ; and the effects of incumbency on producing low turnover among political office holders. Research on these factors will be summarized, and new data presented from both the US and Britain. **RC 19.1**

XIII. 476 WESSELS, David J. (Sophia Univ., Tokyo, Japan) — **Advancing human rights : Japan, East Asia, and the world.**

The dialectic between universal and particular dimensions of human rights is an important aspect of both the theory and the practice of rights. Although there are specific historical antecedents to today's global standards of achievement, the force of claims to human rights rests on their general applicability. In this context, it is especially enlightening to consider variables of poli-

tical culture and political system in East Asia which affect the advancement of human rights in that region of the world. Because of both its history and its future potential for humanity, East Asia is a crucial area in the encounter of human rights and world politics. A survey of Japan's recent behavior on human rights issues in the international arena concludes the study. **SG 4.1**

XIII. 477 WESTHOLM, Anders (Univ. of Uppsala, Sweden) ; NIEMI, Richard G. (Univ. of Rochester, NY, USA) — **Youth unemployment : a source of political alienation ?**

In this paper, we test a set of hypotheses concerning the effect of youth unemployment on attitudes towards the political system. The data used come from a 1981 to 1983 panel study of Swedish adolescents, aged 15-18. In the first part, we discuss the definition and measurement of the key dependent variables : political efficacy and political trust. Taking stock of previous findings revealing a lack of internal homogeneity in the concept of political efficacy, we develop three new measures which we thing solve some important problems at the conceptual as well as the measurement level : (1) cognition of government responsiveness ; (2) cognition of citizen political capability, and (3) feeling of political inferiority. These are distinguished from a fourth measure, that of political trust. In the second part, we proceed to test the impact on these measures of (a) actual unemployment, (b) fear of unemployment and (c) evaluation of partisan policies with respect to youth unemployment. A moderate effect of the former two variables is discernable with respect to feeling of political inferiority, whereas cognition of government responsiveness and political trust are primarily affected by policy evaluations. We conclude by discussing these results in the light of present theory on the relationship between economic well-being and political orientatations and behavior. **SM 26**

XIII. 478 WIARDA, Howard J. (American Enterprise Inst., Washington DC, USA) — **The problem of ethnocentrism in the study of political development : implications for foreign assistance programs.**

The paper suggests that the models of development most familiar in the literature are all derived from the Western experience, of a particular time and place, and therefore have but limited relevance to today's Third World nations. It analyzes the efforts of various Third World areas to devise indigenous models of development, or to blend these with Western presumably more universal models. It suggests why Western foreign assistance programs, largely based on the older ethnocentric understandings, have seldom been successful ; yet concludes pessimistically that because we lack the comprehension and knowledge base to understand the Third World on its own terms, we are likely to continue repeating past mistakes. **SG 16.1**

XIII. 479 WIEGANDT, Ellen (Univ. Bern, Switzerland) — **Peasantries and state formation.**

The formation of states is viewed as a process involving the absorption of diverse social groups within a particular territory into a single institutional structure that monopolizes certain key activities (taxation, coercion, etc.). The peasantry has played a central role in this transformation. The paper intends to examine its impact in the context of the recent debate on the significance of local institutions — especially equalizing structures — in favoring particular kinds of collective action. Research on Switzerland and references to the French and Italian experiences provide data to examine the impact of various forms of peasant collective action on state formation. Of particular interest is the interaction between individual maximizing behavior and institutional constraints that has been the focus of recent work on group formation and collective action theory. **IV. 3.1**

XIII. 480 WILDAVSKY, Aaron (Univ. of California, Berkeley, Cal., USA) — **From political economy and political culture.**

My aim is to root explanation in social life. I wish to make good the promise of social science by emphasizing the social as well as the scientific component. In this paper I try to account for my movement from political economy to political anthropology, from a local rational choice to a global cultural theory in order to explain political phenomena. After a brief description of what this cultural theory looks like, I adduce the conscious considerations that led me to make a radical break with prior modes of explanation. **III. 8.2**

XIII. 481 WILLIS, David (Univ. of Hull, UK) — **The political impact of industrial subsidies in the European Community : security communities, distributional coalitions, and international challenges to the state.**

Whilst neo-mercantilist political economy encourages a view of subsidies as « new protectionism » (internal and external defence of nationally based trading interests) and bulwarks of the « strong state », a more interactional perspective emphasises challenges to territorial sovereignty arising from internationalisation of the economy and economic aid. Drawing on evidence on reciprocal influences of business organisations and Common Market regional policies in Britain and America, assumptions concerning the relationship between political and economic power in « security communities » are analysed, focusing on disagreements on the decisiveness of macro-economic and technological change in revisions to the brokerage role of national governments. The analysis suggests a « security problematic » of the modern nation state arising from shifts in the basis of economic efficiency and wealth creation, but manifest in the development of sectoral cleavages and conflict between electoral and interest group politics. **SM 10**

XIII. 482 WILSON, Jeyaratham A. (Univ. of New Brunswick, Fredericton, N.B., Canada) — **Study of politics and ethnicity around the world : the Third World.**

A relatively stable economic foundation, a population which is unilingual (with one or two exceptions) and the acceptance of a secular state enabled sovereign states in the Western world to contain fissiparous tendencies. The absence of these factors encouraged centrifugalism in the states of polyglot and multi-religious South and Southeast Asia. Hence the emergence of secessionist movements within them. Some of the Western devices of political accommodation were tried but without success. Democracy was misunderstood too as meaning the majority based on language, religion and culture. We are therefore at the threshold of nation-breaking in some of the states of the region. The literature of political science has therefore begun to look into this leap from intra-state ethno-nationalism to movements for sovereign statehood outside the existing state. We examine these trends in our paper. **RC 14.1**

XIII. 483 WILSON, Graham K. (Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., USA) — **Interest groups in the US : what we know and how we know it.**

Research on interest groups has long been accepted as a fundamental aspect of the study of the politics of the US. Partly because initial empirical studies presented a sceptical view of the impact of interest groups on policy, research languished in the 1960s and 1970s. The vigorous role played by interest groups in the US in recent years has forced political scientists to pay more attention to interest groups. Few writers so far, however, have come to terms with the unique character of the American interest group system, and a comparative dimension is often lacking in the field. **SM 33**

XIII. 484 WILSON, Rick K. (Rice Univ., Houston, Tex., USA) — **Models in search of a test : contributions of experimentation to the design and development of formal theory.**

Experimentation is an important adjunct for formal theory. It is a tool for the development of theoretical models, a tool for the exploration of theoretical anomalies, and a tool for the disposal of implausible theories. It greatly differs in kind from the empirical estimation of behaviors, events or trends. Instead, laboratory experimentation is especially suited for examining and testing formal models. If a researcher develops experimental tests within the framework of a research program and exercises caution in assessing experimental data, then experiments can be valuable for testing formal models. Likewise, experiments have real contributions to make in extending formal models given the rich variety of decision situations that can easily, simply and cheaply be developed. Finally, as with non-obvious implications derived from formal models, unexpected empirical results from controlled experiments deserve special scrutiny. In order to illustrate these points a few simple models of a committee voting process are sketched and a series of 5-person committee experimental tests are discussed. These models and the subsequent analysis exemplify the manner in which experiments may provide for an insightful intersection between theory and the empirical world. **RC 11**

XIII. 485 WISER, James L. (Loyola Univ., Chicago, Ill., USA) — **Political judgment and the representation of order.**

Political judgments seek to introduce into a given situation a certain form of principled order. At the same time the legitimation of such judgments may require that one be able to

justify the very source of order itself. In the history of Western political thought one such justification can be found in the appeal to nature. However beginning as early as Plato a recognized alternative has included the appeal to human nature. Plato's famous statement « the polis is man writ large » represents a break from the dominant cosmological tradition and its attempt to ground political order on a specific conception of cosmological order in general. By referring to the structure of the human psyche as the model for social and historical order Plato established philosophical anthropology as the most fundamental of the social sciences. The Classical Greek appeal to the human psyche as the source of political and social order has always had its critics. Some modern critics, such as Thomas Hobbes, have advocated a return to the various forms of « naturalism » as an alternative to the essentially anthropological based conception of political order. However given certain problems with modern understandings of nature there has emerged a renewed interest in an anthropologically based theory of political order. The paper explores some of these recent efforts and relates their findings to the traditional alternatives. **SG 15**

XIII. 486 WITTKÄMPER, G.W. (Westf. Wilhelms-Univ., Münster, FRG) ; BELLERS, J. (id.) — **Media impact on international politics.**

The influence of 1970 press reports on foreign policy decision makers during the German-Polish negotiations of the same year is presented and analyzed. The analysis is based on three methods : quantitative content analysis, queries and interviews of West German decision makers, reconstruction of the decision-makers' cognitive maps. The methods are combined and their results evaluated through statistical and historical-interpretative means. The following are the main results : (1) In periods preceding foreign policy decisions, the press creates an atmosphere conducive to an innovation in foreign policy (innovative function). Decision makers employ the press tactically by making it give signals to foreign negotiators (operative function). Accordingly, we can talk about a latent partnership of journalists and politicians. (2) After foreign policy decisions have been taken, the press fulfills a legitimating function by reporting rather favorably about these decisions. (3) The benefits which decision-makers receive from reading the press (uses-and-gratification-approach) lie in coming to know what their constituents learn about political matters (resource function). **II. 8.2**

XIII. 487 WOLFINGER, Raymond E. (Univ. of California, Berkely, Cal., USA) — **Predictors of electoral turnout : an international comparison.**

Voter turnout in the US is much lower than in almost all other democratic countries. This has been interpreted as a symptom of popular alienation from the political system, suspicion of politicians, and pessimism about the consequences of political activity. When these perspectives are measured directly, however, it is clear that Americans score very low on almost every item. Indeed, there is no relationship between political contentment and turnout. Turnout does not reflect international variations in acceptance of politicians or the political system. Rather, it responds to variations in the bureaucratic steps require to cast a ballot. The US is one of a handful of countries that requires a separate step — registration — before the citizen can vote ; and it is the only country in which the individual rather than the state bears the responsibility for registration. **SM 2**

XIII. 488 WOOLMANN, Hellmut (Wissenschaftszentrum, Berlin, FRG) ; THURN, Georg (id.) ; WAGNER, Peter (id.)— **Policy research in Southern Europe : A comparative analysis of the emergence of policy research capacities.**

Developing countries dispose of analytical capacities to a much lesser extent than industrialized countries. This holds true not only regarding natural science research (in order to provide, *inter alia*, the underpinning for economic progress), but also concerning social science research (in order, in an applied orientation, to improve the formulation and implementation of policies). The reasons for this state of the applied social sciences can be surmised to lie in (1) cultural traditions that (for instance, due to church influence) may be prevented or delayed the « disenchanting » (« entzaubernd ») impact of « enlightened » scientific thinking ; (2) the science system that may lack pragmatic orientation, research manpower, institutional infrastructure, etc. ; (3) the administration system that may be based on legalistic and « introverted » bureaucratic patterns unfamiliar with, or even hostile to, utilizing social science information ; (4) the political system that may be marked by the rule of (e.g. « clientelist ») elites and a political process with little resort to information-based consensus-formation. The paper explores these hypotheses with regard to Southern European countries and speculates on what might change and be changed in the future. In particular, attention is focused on attempts to stimulate policy research developments through « foreign aid » in social science policy and their impacts on the political-administrative system and the social science community. **SG 14.1**

XIII. 489 WOOD, David (Univ. of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., USA) ; HAGGER, Mark (Kingston Polytechnic, UK) — **MPs, party cohesion and economic policy in the UK.**

Analysis of whipped divisions in the 1979-80 and 1983-84 sessions of the House of Commons reveals greater dissent amongst Conservative MPs than among opposition Labour MPs in both sessions, and greater numbers of dissents amongst Conservatives in 1983-4 than in the 1979-80 session. The relationship between the Liberals and other minor parties, and the Conservative and Labour Parliamentary Parties is examined for both sessions. Dissent on economic policy questions is less frequent than on moral questions and on the European Community. Underlying ideological splits over economic questions occasionally emerge within parties, as is revealed by a comparison of scales derived from roll call analysis with those developed from interviews with 147 MPs regarding economic policy issues. Dissent on economic issues can be classified in terms of (1) ideology, (2) MPs specialization, and (3) constituency motivations. **RC 8.1**

XIII. 490 WULF, Herbert (Univ. Hamburg, FRG) — **A Europeanist approach to security and disarmament.**

The security of Europe requires a line of thinking detached from exclusive superpower predomination and rivalry. In a number of issue areas obvious disagreements and diverging interests exist between the US and Western Europe and within these countries : the role of strategic weapons, space weapons and conventional forces, decoupling the European theater, financial contributions, weapons technology and procurement, detente and arms control, East-West trade, the use of troops in the Third World etc. The center piece of armament's policy on both sides of the Atlantic is the perception of a Soviet threat — a notion that can neither be proved nor falsified in theory, but is extremely unrealistic. The three most obvious security policy options for Western Europe are (1) continuation of past policies, including US dominance and West European subordination ; (2) more independent force posture ; (3) West European self-reliance, emphasising security policy and de-emphasising the role of the military. The paper explores policy options for Western Europe and their perspectives and consequences for East-West security relations and disarmament. Freedom of manoeuvre is not limited as sharply as is claimed ; possibilities to approach a Europeanist security policy exist. **IV. 1.2**

XIII. 491 YAMANE, Hiroko (Unesco, Paris, France) — **Equidistance diplomacy within the alliance systems.**

Recent instability both in the alliance systems and non-aligned positions necessitates some reflexions on the ways in which States attempt to enlarge the degree of their autonomy in present international relations, as well as the difficulties that such a quest involves. For most countries in polarized international situations, the ways to ensure autonomy consist of « equidistance diplomacy », but there exist various forms of equidistance : neutrality, neutralism and non-alignment. Developments in the post-World War II period show that neutrality, a legal status guaranteed by treaties, is not only difficult to obtain in practice, but is also inconvenient for many Third World countires. For this latter group of countries, a political and even economic concept of « non alignment » offers a polyvalent instrument of negotiation with opposing greater powers. If this evolution from a rigid, legal concept of neutrality to a more fluid political concept of non-alignment characterized the option of the Third World, the same « fluidization » of defense policy marked the choice of some States within the alliance systems. Thus, the so-called « equidistance diplomacy » of Japan in the 1970s meant « non-exclusiveness » despite its military alliance with one of the Big Powers, and became the inevitable means of assuring both its autonomy and security. Taking Japan's « equidistance diplomacy » as a case of the State's search for autonomy in constraining conditions, the paper examines the possibilities and limits of equidistance diplomacy in the alliance systems, as well as its implications for present international relations. **IV. 4.2**

XIII. 492 YOO, Jong Youl (Kyung Hee Univ., Seoul, Rep. of Korea) — **Policy process in developing nations : the case of Korea.**

The paper attempts to identify the typical characteristics ot the

policy process in developing countries, particularly, Korea. The characteristics include : (1) the absence or insufficiency of a legitimation process ; (2) executive supremacy over the legislature in policy-making ; (3) personalized policy formulation ; (4) restricted social feedbacks to policy-making ; (5) bureaucratic rigor and uninnovative policy recommendations, etc. Generally these procedural traits present many dysfunctional problems hindering effective socio-economic development. They have been identified on the basis of a model of policy process, which is a Weberian ideal-type. This model presents six policy steps : goal-setting, problem identification, formulation of policy alternative, legislation (selection) of the optimum policy alternatives, realization strategy, and policy evaluation. The policy processes of developing and advanced (Western) countries are compared with reference to this model. **SG 14.1**

XIII. 493 ZARTMAN, I. William (School of Adv. Intern. Studies Johns Hopkins Univ., Washington DC, USA) — **Alternative attempts at crisis management.**

The paper examines two successful attempts at crisis management and resolution (Panama Canal, Zimbabwe) and two failures (Cyprus, Falklands) in an effort to test and develop useful concepts for both a better understanding of the management and resolution process and a better conduct of crisis management and resolution. It concludes that successful handling of crises is part of a ripening process, not an isolated event ; the nature of the ripening process is a shaping of alternatives, until a mutually acceptable bargaining range is established, with crises incidentally erupting and dominating an ongoing process from time to time. Within this process there are windows of opportunity, or ripe moments, often created by the crisis itself through such elements as stalemate (blocked escalation), shifts in power relations, and restructured perceptions. The ripening of the conflict and the eruption of the crisis have their impacts on the creation of a formula for management and/or resolution, which brings separate positions within the bargaining range into common focus. In conclusion, the question of conflict profiles is addressed, in order to identify requirements for necessary data, and the relation of the catalysing mediator to crisis management is identified. **IV. 6.1**

XIII. 494 ZEH, Wolfgang (Bundestag, Bonn, FRG) — **The impact of interest groups on legislation and implementation.**

Politics are occupied in processing, adopting, and rejecting interests. That is neither new nor exciting. Naturally interests are pushed by groups and associations. Legislation and administration have clearly to be performed under influence. Political science has often dealt with methods and problems of exercising influence on the legislative process. But it scarcely deals with a corresponding role of interest groups in exercising — or mediating — governmental influence on their clients. Government today would not be able to ensure at least some impact of programs and legal rules without the support of associations. They inform, adjust, and domesticate their clients. If they did not back the results of bargaining under their influence, clients would not believe in the effectiveness of this influence and, therefore, in the capability of the associations' personnel. That is the hidden cost they pay for access to governmental decision-making, and it is also the hidden cause by government generously allows their access. Government and interest groups have a non-denounceable contract : government will accept their bargaining in legislation as long as the groups guarantee implementation assistance ; and interest groups will transmit governmental input as long as they can codetermine of what kind it it. **III. 4.2**

XIII. 495 ZEITLIN, Maurice (Univ. of California, Los Angeles, USA) — **Interclass struggle, political hegemony, and the origins of capitalist democracy in Chile.**

Bourgeois states doubtlessly differ from precapitalist forms of political sovereignty. The question remains, however, as to the heuristic value of the structuralist Marxist effort to abstractly delineate the ostensibly irremediable structural features and inherent functions of the so-called « capitalist state ». What is needed instead is genuire comparative and historical class analyses of actually existing states under contemporary capitalism. Only through such concrete empirical analysis of the real historical circumstances in which they were formed and of the real class relations (organized and unorganized) in which they are implicated, can their real inner workings and potential transcendence by more advanced forms of democratic political sovereignty be understood. The state in Chile is examined as a paradigmatic case. The historical anomaly of Chile's « bourgeois democracy » is that the society it governed never became quite bourgeois itself. Contrary to structuralist political theory, a state that was bourgeois in « structure » governed in the second half of the 19th century a social formation that was surely not yet dominated by capitalist relations of production, and it enforced the dominion of large landed property — if it was not indeed the mere « instrument » of the ruling great landlords of the Central Valley. This can be understood only by a historically specific theory of these concrete class-state relations. **I. 6.1**

XIII. 496 ZIMMERMANN, Ekkart (Hochschule der Bunderswehr, Munich, FRG) — **Terrorist violence in West Germany : some reflections on recent literature.**

Descriptive evidence as to the forms, goals, and victims of left and right political terrorism in West Germany is given. Are cyclical effects involved ? Concerning left-wing terrorism, the five volumes of the Government Commission (« Analyses about Terrorism ») are evaluated. While overall they seem to have achieved their goal, some of the chapters document massive deficiencies in analyzing political terrorism. Failures in « expert »-recruitment seem to have contributed to this. Some of the chapters about terrorist recruitment, career patterns and group pressures, however, belong to the best yet written in analyses about terrorism. Right-wing terrorism is much less analyzed, a noteworthy finding in itself. In terms of damage and danger it is, however, no less a threat than leftist terrorism. Comparisons between left-wing and right-wing terrorism are drawn with respect to recruitment base, ideological profile, supporters and other aspects. While theoretically much less sophisticated and « coherent » and also remarkably stronger on working class recruits, right-wing terrorism is shown to be as dangerous as left-wing terrorism for liberal democracy in the Federal Republic. The reproach of state terrorism is dismissed as an unwarranted claim. **SM 21**

XIII. 497 ZINNES, Dina A. (Univ. of Illinois, Champaign, Ill., USA) ; MUNCASTER, Robert (id.) — **Fitting vs. testing.**

A discourse on the distinctions between fitting models to data and testing models empirically, and on the relative merits of each as builders of confidence for a given model. Through several examples, ranging from simple metaphorical to complex analytical, we distill the conceptual steps behind any procedure of fitting or of testing. Then by illustration from our own research we indicate how even moderately complex models call for a rethinking of the conventional notions of fitting and testing. **RC 1.1**

XIII. 498 ZOLBERG, Aristide (New School for Social Research, New York, NY, USA) ; SUHRKE, Astri (American Univ., Washington, DC, USA) ; AGUAYO, Sergio (Colegio de Mexico) — **Social conflict and refugee movements in the Third World.**

The paper analyzes contemporary refugee movements in and from the Third World with respect to the social conflicts from which they originate, and entry and exit policies of the states concerned. These processes must be examined with reference to international political and economic forces which decisively shape the formation of refugee flows. Two types of social conflict are discussed : revolutions and nation-state formation. Internationalization of these conflicts typically exacerbates the refugee problem. Solutions to current refugee problems thus must be sought at the international, political-diplomatic level, in particular to regulate and reduce foreign intervention. If further must be recognized that refugee policy necessarily has a foreign policy dimension. **IV. 2.1**

XIII. 499 ZUBAIDA, Sami D. (Birkbeck College, London, UK) — **What is an Islamic state ? The case of Iran.**

The paper surveys modern ideas and definitions regarding the « Islamic State ». It examines particular aspects of the ideology and the practice of Islamisation of state institutions in Iran after the Revolution. Beyond certain minimal prescriptions such as penal laws, personal status laws, and the prohibition of interest payments, what does it mean to institute Islam in the State ? Can we discern forms and institutions of legislation, of political representation, of administration, and of economic policy and planning which are specifically Islamic ? General implications for Islamic movements in the Arab World are considered. **SM 1**

XIII. 500 ZWIEBACH, Burton (Queens College, CUNY, NY, USA) — **Freedom versus legitimacy.**

The attribution of legitimacy to a social structure, such as a state, is ordinarily accompanied by an idealization of its practices. Where institutions within a legitimate structure are regarded as normal and participate in its (idealized) practices, they come to be seen as sharing the ideals embodied in those practices, and gradually take on the attribute of legitimacy. In late capitalist society, corporations derive increasing legitimacy by this route. This legitimacy attaches to the entire range of corporate activities. As corporate power is thus converted into public authority, the range of legitimate authoritative action grows. Ironically, then, legitimacy — whether consensual or not — works against liberal democratic expectations : it expands rather than constrains the exercise of power. The concept of legitimacy is fundamentally inconsistent with freedom. **I. 2.2**

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