

Current Issues in Political Science

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That we have come together to talk about our particular field of social science and national development is a significant occasion for us and for our country. National development, as we all know, is the obsession of the Philippines and all other developing states in the world, whereas political science is what Aristotle calls the sovereign of all sciences. No matter what timorous scholars have called it — “soft” science or pseudo-science — political science nevertheless remains the only field of study which looks into all aspects of the sole body that possesses the monopoly of the authoritative power to allocate rewards and punishments. In other words, it is the machinery that determines and makes any formula work. Without such a machinery, people will have no ways to discern between what is common and individual property, and therefore any formula for people to live together peaceably and achieve any degree of progress or development would be rendered meaningless.

What political science talks about at any age or period is what is current at the time or whatever can remedy the present situation but which is rather unacceptable, undesirable, or unworkable. This is to say that students of political science concern themselves not only with what affects them at the moment but also with what could possibly give better results in the immediate or distant future. The process to achieve this is like a block-building endeavor. A student proposes some basic ideas or even a whole model of a desired state of affairs while other students may supply the other designs to suit the model. Some other students may test the strength of such relationships of parts and help the rest to discard what cannot stand the test of time, or to strengthen what may be useful parts and relationships.

Thus, political science students have identified and studied such issues and have offered some studies to those who are, in one way or another, interested in probing them. We are such students. We propose ideas of relationships among the parts of our own political

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system and other subsystems. And we also look over whatever have been studied by others. All of us work in the hope that, one day, we may discover such laws governing men's relationships with one another in a life under a common authority. Having discovered the laws, we can live hopefully under conditions of peace and mutual predictability.

My task this morning is quite an interesting one — to bring to you, in some organized manner, the products of the labor of such students. As you can see, such task entails a perceptivity which only the human imagination can invent. Not only am I to look at every scholarly journal within a certain period but also I must be sure that I looked at the most important publications from every available source in the world. This is clearly impossible to do within two months and within the condition of unavailability here of a number of prestigious scholarly publications.

The best thing I could do was to look at the *International Political Science Abstracts* published in Paris, which contains the abstracts of articles and books in political science published in America, Europe, the U.S.S.R., Middle East, Africa, and Asia. I selected the period 1972 to 1975 for convenience, and then I looked at the available abstracts published within that period. Those topics which were written about in at least five occasions during those years were classified as issues. I then chose some issues which I thought would be of interest to us. They constitute a good number to make my paper short enough to be stimulating but long enough to bring together contending ideas about the issues for your intellectual delectation.

The literature I am presenting has been classified into methods and theories, political ideas, and international relations and foreign policy. From the literature covered in this paper, certain trends become apparent to us. In the area of methods and theories, there is a tendency for political science students to look for more precision in the use of conceptual tools, such as the concepts of "small states," "relevance," "rationality," and "development." There is also an obvious desire to improve the methods for comparative analysis such as giving more concern to the internal validity of indicators, taking more variables into account for explanations, and increasing the levels of analysis. In one of the issues pertaining to the popular study of alternative models for the future of society or futurism, the trend is to identify more components for making a credible scenario. A variety of contradictions is raised over the meaning of democracy.

There are students who consider some democratic practices as fatal to democracy itself. There is also a trend to introduce new orientations in the discussion of the issue of stability and instability. Some of the newer views are: (1) the inappropriateness of the use of Western images as the sources of conflicts between developed and developing states; (2) the incompatibility produced by the "two-nations" theory of nationalism; (3) the use of rational properties of dissidence to explain radical behavior; (4) the predictability of contemporary revolutionary movements based on geographical patterns and imaginative leadership; and (5) the *coup* as caused by the closure of legitimate systemic channels.

In the area of political ideas, political science students are looking into new meanings of authoritarianism, democracy and Marxism. Particularly mentioned are the roles of authoritarianism today which link aspects of sophisticated managerial society with the traditional fellow-traveller's outlook; or which could result from the growing involvement of industrial society in a democratic government.

The trends that appear in our selected issues in foreign policy and international relations are the reexamination of the uses of the policies of strategy and *détente* in big power politics and the evaluation of the policies of Romania for an independent outlook within the socialist bloc, and the policies of Yugoslavia and Poland for reforms. There is also a continuous review of U.S. relations with other states advocating a change for more equal association.

I. Methods and Theory

The message of current publications on methods and theory is that political science has still to sharpen its tools for analysis. We may review several concepts to illustrate what this current concern with methodology is about. Let us consider first the lively discussions that are taking place among policy-makers and among social scientists about what it means when the scientists talk about the concept "small state." It has so far not been sufficiently defined in spite of the perceived domestic and international implications of size of states. In two reviews of books by Edward Azar and Marshall Singer, the usefulness of the concept "small states" as an analytical tool is discussed. The reviewers concluded that definitions which are clear and precise appear to be arbitrary at the same time, while more sophisticated definitions become ambiguous and difficult to apply to concrete cases. In an article by P. R. Baehr (1975), it is said that inquiry into the role of small states in international politics is in the

elementary stage. Although there is a continuum of size of states in international relations, he says, small states form too broad a category for purposes of analysis.

Similarly, the notion of paradigm, according to David Truman and David Almond, has been misapplied in political science. But P. L. Beardsley (1974) says that, in fact, political science has not had a paradigm for a long time, is not acquiring one now, and cannot and should not acquire a single paradigm in the future, but can and should acquire a multiplicity of paradigms.

One of the most common criteria these days for any discussion or adoption of ideas or projects is that of relevance. The concept "relevance," according to L. A. Dexter (1974), has reference to problems of a particular time and a particular place. It connotes contemporary importance or interest. This meaning, however, is always limited and often downright misleading, particularly because solutions to problems become unduly fashionable. There is more validity in trying to reduce bias and putting less emphasis on data learning. More attention should be placed in preparing the people to anticipate and handle problems that occur under circumstances which are not presently perceived.

Another concept which is much used these days is "rationality," which has assumed a newer meaning implying self-interest. N. Frohlich (1974) proposed a model of non-self-interested behavior or altruism to support the concept rationality. His formal model demonstrates that altruistic behavior or burden-sharing among rational allies may help to narrow down the scope of their disagreements.

In the study of political life in Southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America, clientelism or patron-client relationship is used to describe a pattern of interpersonal exchange. R. R. Kaufman (1974) in his criticism of the use of this concept specified three major points: (1) it fails to specify clearly the level of analysis to which the concept is being applied; (2) it does not provide adequate criteria for distinguishing between empirical cases; and (3) it gives inadequate attention to the implications and limitations of the general comparative "approaches" or "frameworks" within which clientelist models are used.

Policy-makers and scholars frequently use the concept "development." D. Apter and S. S. Mushi (1972) say that the role of political science in development is closely linked to that of the other social sciences. They suggest that the following questions should be

answered if development is to be considered as a universal problem: What constitutes development? How can social sciences contribute to its attainment? And what have we achieved so far? Three conceptual approaches have been suggested for the study of the problems of development—structural, normative, and behavioral approaches.

Looking at the phenomenon of development, some "revisionist" scholars have broken away from the moralistic condemnation of corruption and have looked at its functional and dysfunctional consequences in politics at various stages of development. As far as economic development is concerned, the view of these revisionists is that economic development is for achieving political power because states are not closed systems but are embedded in an international system whose key characteristic is the struggle for power. Another view of development, which is that science and technology are useful for our civilization to acquire progress, is challenged. They aver that material progress has become a force arresting and constraining the versatility of life for the sake of diversity of artificial objects and artificial environments.

One particular aspect of development, that of clientelism, has come under examination by B. J. Berman (1974) in his study of African states. He says that external dependence on capitalist metropolises creates and sustains internal structures of dependent growth within African states and encourages the development of clientelistic politics. Patron-client relations are not a transitional stage of political development but the characteristic of a neocolonial political system. Clientelism constrains the development of secular nation-states in Africa by bringing about pervasive corruption, the decay of formal institutions, inhibition of the growth of institutional loyalties, and government inability to make impersonal policy allocations. The growth of clientelistic politics in Africa is the political expression of underdevelopment and is not changed by *coups* and counter-*coups* which only shift power to different groups of patron.

S. N. Eisenstadt (1973) challenges the assumption of many theories of development and modernization that the less traditional society is more capable of sustained growth. He says that varying traditions may facilitate or impede the transition to modernity but the influence is neither unified nor homogeneous. One may tentatively distinguish several major patterns of reconstruction of tradition in situations of social change and modernization. These have implications for macro-sociology and analysis of change.

A common hypothesis about the sources of international conflict holds that war and turmoil will be the inevitable result of the widening "gap" between developed and underdeveloped states. This view is based on a common Western image of underdeveloped states. K. J. Holsti (1975) challenges this hypothesis and its assumption. His paper concludes with a critical review of common liberal solutions to development problems, and suggests that one strategy possible to serve developing countries is increased isolation from the international system. Theories on the media's role in developing countries have been influenced by inadequate general theories of development. Theories of exogenously induced change ignore internal processes within developing states.

Although comparative analysis has been used much since the 1960's, it still has many methodological problems. W. M. Chandler (1974) analyzes the problem of indicator-formation in comparative research. Indicators may vary as a function of the theories from which they are derived. The linkage between indicators and concepts varies along two dimensions: abstractness and theoretical relatedness. The indicator-theory relationship has important consequences for comparative research. Two or more indicators of a given concept are limited in their interchangeability. Operational indicators must be treated as part of one's theory rather than as universal measures external to a model. Indicators are viewed as epiphenomena of models rather than as objectives, transferable categories. Thus, for genuine comparative analyses to proceed, greater attention must be paid to indicators' internal validity.

Applying the comparative analysis to the study of student movement, Martinelli and Cavalli (1972) contend that the tendency to explain its resurgence in terms of a worldwide crisis in educational institutions seems to be irrelevant. The analysis should focus on the inter-relationships between basic components of a given society and its position in the world system. Many variables have to be taken into account. They are: the international political system, the international economic system, the subsystem of higher education, and the organization of student movement.

In decision-making, two norms have also come under comparative study — majority rule and amicable settlement. It has been found out in a study that the latter is supported more by top leaders than by activists. It has implications for the consociational model of democracy.

Comparative analysis as applied to the analysis of political leader-

ship is offered by L.J. Edinger (1975). Basic themes and questions that delineate different aspects of leadership analysis were extracted from current literature and examined with reference to comparative research methodology. From an overview, three interrelated but analytically distinct aspects of comparison emerged: the acquisition, performance and consequences of political leadership.

On general cross-national comparative research, a Polish scholar, Wiatr (1974), suggested that some phenomena seem to be of particular importance: the mutual interaction between differing political systems, the scholars' role in politics, the integration of the social sciences, improved research techniques, and the quantitative and qualitative growth of information. It is also important to study culture and nation as categories of comparative analysis.

One of the obsessions of scholars and policy-makers these days is futurism. It seems to be the tendency to provide for alternative models for the future of society. The use of *Scenario* has become common or has been found useful in many of these futuristic studies. A scenario delineates the modeler's conception of whatever he is attempting to represent. P. De Leon (1975), in his *Overview of Scenario Design*, says that scenarios are critical to virtually every model or simulation for establishing the parameters of the exercise, treating the data and altering the parameters. The components of the scenario include the time setting, the environment, and the necessary level of detail. Scenario credibility, plausibility, and predictability are also important.

F. L. Bates (1974) presents alternative models for the future of society, from the invisible hand to the visible hand. In a complex society, differentiated social organizations are bound together in reciprocally necessary exchange relationships of two sorts: market and commissary. Norms controlling the market form prevent levels of conflict that might preclude necessary inter-organizational exchange. The commissary form makes for asymmetrical exchange, guided by norms that promote cooperation. These forms of exchange are paralleled by two modes of coordination, the invisible and the visible hand systems, respectively. Real societies display a mixture of the two systems of control but tend to move towards the visible hand system — the managed society. This is due to the emergence of large-scale organizations, a heightened awareness of political disasters, and new views of man derived from the social sciences.

Going to large-scale organizations, one of the most discussed

phenomena these years is the multinational corporation. Both economics and political science literature keep dissecting this new phenomenon, its usefulness and evils. J. G. Craig (1974) analyzes the multinational corporation as a "good" corporate citizen. Some criteria offered are nationality of corporate owner, types of corporation, and some combinations. So far this is an unexplored matter in organization theory.

Another study presents the influence of business firms in government, the need for careful examination of definitions, structures, and trends; new forms of inter-imperialist contradictions; and increasing domination and exploitation. The United Nations report on multinational corporations in world development analyzes their expansion and presents the need to set guidelines to limit the harmful effects of their power.

Proceeding to organization theory, there is now a view which assumes that organization for the formulation of policies in government are ill-suited to the demands of its growing role in the management of social, economic, and political systems because of some inherent characteristics of political and administrative systems and of diffused boundaries. It suggested that the government must develop a focal point wherein overall policies can be holistically viewed.

Democracy is still a favorite issue among political scientists. Political scientists sharply disagree over the meaning of democratic participation. To Verba and Nie (1972) who adopt an asymmetrical perspective, participation denotes the influence ordinary people have over the selection of superiors and the policies they issue. For others who adopt the symmetrical perspective, participation refers to direct involvement in making decisions and policies. Together with their conceptual differences, contrasting definitional strategies and empirical settings are employed. W. R. Schonfeld (1975) proposes their synthesization into a single coherent conception by considering the importance people attribute to their membership in the polity and in other social units. However, some political scientists may challenge this by pointing out the lack of continuum between perception and translation to action.

T. Henderich (1974) finds a difficulty with democracy. He calls this perplexity "the paradox of democracy." A democrat votes in a democratic election for policy A. Policy B, incompatible with A, receives majority support. As a democrat, he is committed to the judgment that B ought to be enacted. The solution he proposes is the democratic rule that, if A has majority support, it ought to be

enacted. If B has majority support, then it ought to be enacted. After the election, B becomes consistent with his voting judgments. Still on decision-making by majorities and committees, G. Sartori (1975) raises the question of whether or not democracy will kill democracy.

M. Boss (1974) tested empirically the hypothesis of the economic theory of democracy that the rational individual will agree to relax inclusive voting requirements only if there is compensation of some means to offset expected increases in external costs. Voters in Oregon rejected a reform proposal reorganizing school finance at the state level even though about 85 per cent of the voters would enjoy a tax saving under the proposal. Voters in Oregon appeared to have put a definite value, calculable in dollars, on local fiscal control of education.

More on the contradictions of democracy, Brittan (1975) says that democratic political practice is best regarded neither as a means of popular participation nor as a means of carrying out the popular will, but as a competition for power by means of votes. In this light, two weaknesses are seen: (1) the generation of excessive expectations through the processes of political competition, and (2) the disruptive effects from the pursuit of self-interest by rival groups. To resolve these conflicts, there must be an attempt to make a consensus in a "socially just" order. That means there should be a change in the intellectual climate to remove the obsessions among intellectuals and media with "equality" to remove the tensions of democracy.

Quite related to any theory on democracy or fascism are the concept "political stability" and the conditions tending to disrupt stability.

A definition of political stability is offered by C. Ake (1975) after making a critique of conventional definitions which he says invariably reflect the class bias of contemporary political science. The definitions lead us to confuse political stability with absence of political change. They lead us to assume that some forms of political behavior are destabilizing for all political systems. The analytic utility of the concept of political stability will be increased if we define it in terms of the regularity of the flow of political exchanges.

A new paradigm is offered by F. G. Castles (1974) to study political stability and instability. He proposes that it can be seen as a consequence of the two broad variables: (1) the nature of social, economic, and political organization; and (2) the expectations held by political actors of the appropriate nature of social, economic and

political actors of the appropriate nature of social, economic and political action (images of society). In any given society, one image will be dominant, and continuing stability will be a concomitant of changes in organization being in accord with this dominant image.

The functional framework for the study of political science by Almond, as influenced by T. Parsons, is reviewed by C. P. Bhambhiri (1973). He says that functionalists in politics are concerned with the stability and equilibrium of the political system. Societies which are undergoing large-scale transformation cannot be studied within this framework because it has no theory to understand fundamental political changes.

Fascism is often invoked by policy-makers of democratic states as the ever-lurking threat. A. J. Joos (1974) examined the past and future of fascism in a study which also suggests why important elements in a number of developing societies find various models of fascism attractive and viable. Fascism is much more than a merely historical phenomenon; its relevance to the developing societies is becoming widely recognized. Conflicting definitions of fascism are analyzed and a synthesizing definition is given. Fascist parties and movements are classified along several dimensions, including attitudes toward racial minorities, privileges of social and economic elite groups, and the environment in which fascism developed.

Nationalism is seen by political scientists as a still forceful idea. T.V. Sathyamurthy (1970) looks at the sociology of nationalism in order to draw out their implications for a few specific and pressing problems which demand attention. He found out that nationalism acquires different psychological connotations in environments with varying degrees of economic strength and concentration of political power. On the other hand, within the same material socio-political milieu, the three main factors affecting nationalism — social division, religion, and technological specialization — manifest themselves in very different orientations or patterns of mutual interrelationships. In Africa, nationalism is a reaction to the evils of colonialism and the various economic manifestations which were largely part of the political agitations of the time. On Quebec and the two nations theory, D. Kwavnick (1974) studies the concept of "sociological group" nationalism as opposed to "state-based" nationalism. Problems do arise when a sociological group nation, i.e., a nation based on a shared ethnicity, or language, or culture, etc., attempts to convert the apparatus of the state into an instrument of the nation. The power concludes that when sociological group nationalism demands

that the state be made over in the image of the nation, it becomes incompatible with the fundamental values of Western democracy. In Ukraine, U.S.S.R., the Soviet policy towards the Ukrainian national rights movement is another link in what the distinguished physicist, Andrei Sakharov, has called "the long chain of repressions of people for their opinions." Rumania can be characterized today by the renaissance of nationalism. G. S. Schopflin (1974) says that this nationalism has adapted itself to Marxist-Leninist ideology and makes Rumania an agreeable society. The Malaysian miracle has its dilemma, according to P. Chopra (1974). In a country where strong communalism exists, political independence and economic democracy have yet to follow.

Radical political behavior or radicalism is also a topic that has been widely discussed. S. Halebsky (1974) proposed a new orientation for the study of radicalism, away from the prevailing social psychological theories and giving greater attention to social, structural and institutional analyses and the role of the actor in defining his circumstances. It is perceived as stressing the rational, purposive, and cognitive properties of dissidence compared to the focus in the social psychological theories in the mass. R. Biftensky (1975) says that his study of social change has neglected the dynamics motivating individuals to join mass movements. Particularly obscure is how apathetic people are transformed into social activists. The author suggests three stages of development through which the individual progresses in attaining a higher level of personal and social maturity. In the end, the individual perceives himself as a social being. Society is humanized by the greater participation of individuals. A study in dissident behavior among Argentine party elites uses a new analytical technique which suggests that career benefits and costs distinguish loyalists from dissidents rather than social backgrounds characteristic in ideology. On the class level, ethnicity or class conflict has been more marked everywhere in the last twenty years. The reason for this, according to N. Gleazer and D. P. Moynihan (1974), includes the rise of the welfare state, the clash between egalitarianism and the differential achievement of norms, the growing heterogeneity of states, and the international system of communications. This set of reasons, though not in a form of theory, suggests that ethnicity is intimately and organically bound up with major trends of modern societies.

On the national level of analysis, a multiple regression of some cross-national data suggested, though not too firmly, that crowding

and civil strife are related. Indicators of crowding are people per room, dwellings per hectare, and population per hectare, and all these are related to four interactions. Crowding explained a moderate percentage of the incidence of civil disorder. In international relations, S. Friedlander and R. Cohen (1975) made a study to find out if it was possible to talk of a belligerence typology, and if so, whether such a type possessed certain common characteristics and background. Investigation of the fourteen decision-makers, including Hitler and Dulles, indicated the existence of a distinct belligerent type who, throughout the course of his career, displayed preference for belligerence and possessed certain recognizable personality traits such as rebelliousness, dictatorial tendencies and verbal aggressiveness. On the peasant level, a study by E. J. Hobsbawm (1973) on peasant politics suggests that the politics of traditional peasantries are conditioned by their separation from subalternity, and hostility to nonpeasants. The national area of political decision is beyond the peasants' exact knowledge and institutional influence, so the basic unit of their political action is the community. Peasant revolutions without outside coordination is unlikely on a national scale. Disappointment of hopes for a "great change" periodically stimulated by news, rumor, or revolution, is demoralizing to peasants.

Finally, social upheavals of revolutions may be understood better by subsuming it under the concept "internal war" and integrating it with a model of the social system which incorporates a theory of social change and includes system and individual level of analysis. W. C. Opello, Jr. (1974) argues that a satisfactory definition of revolution and an explanation of its causes can be achieved through the analysis of the social system as a unit, undergoing social change and including the concept of internal war into the scheme. R. W. McNicoll (1975) finds geographical themes in contemporary Asian revolutions. He says that consistent political geographical patterns can be identified for contemporary revolutionary movements, making many of their activities predictable. These include the insurgents' emphasis on the use of intellectuals and youth, their focus on cities rather than on rural areas, and a more select division of rural bases into political categories of mass bases, focus, and liberated areas. Modern warfare has forced reliance on terror and international sympathy in place of clashes on the battlefield. Stress is given to careful and imaginative leadership in the use of national political geography. The purely charismatic politician is played down.

The *coup d'état* has also been examined. One of the studies is by P. A. J. Waddington (1974), who applies the general systems framework to study the *coup*. Two antecedents are identified in terms of systemic factors: the balance between demand and support inputs, and the closure of legitimate channels. The coup is analyzed in relation to three systemic regulation processes: the monitoring of internal channels to detect conspiracy; the prevention of attack through gatekeeping; and the modulation of inputs following the coup.

II. Political Ideas

It is possible in this authoritarian age to recognize the "authoritarians of the left." L. Coser and I. Howe (1974) say that left authoritarianism joins the most up-to-date and sophisticated theories of managerial and bureaucratic society with the cynical element of the traditional fellow traveller's outlook.

On the other hand, R. Lowenthal (1974) asks if "mass democracy" based on equal suffrage is ultimately compatible with the preservation of a guaranteed scope for individual freedom, under the conditions of modern industrial society and its complex network of organized interests. He contends that the growing mutual involvement of industrial society and democratic government by itself implies the degeneration of the latter into some form of totalitarian dictatorship. He suggests that the alternatives to the totalitarian utopia of a completely planned social development is the humane correction of that development through democratic control in constant interaction between society and state.

Marxism was much dissected in the political science literature of recent years. H. M. Pachter (1974) points out that Marx's concept of "progress" was radically different from that of present progressists, particularly of those radical-national movements which present communist theory recognizes as "progressives." Marx did not assume a necessary march of history towards an end stage defined as *reason* by Hegel, nor the *essential men* of the modern socialist humanists. Since *progress* cannot mean that the latest stage is always the highest, and a materialist philosophy cannot make any metaphysical assumption on where is "up," Marx does not speak of *progress* as the Liberals would. Marx uses the word almost exclusively in connection with the rise of the bourgeoisie and the expansion of the capitalist-industrialist civilization.

A paper by A. Dirlik asserts that Marxism, restricted within the

national unit, has lost its international class character. The convergence of national-social revolutionary movements is represented by national liberation movements of which the Chinese Communist revolution was the first instance. Whereas Lenin perceived national revolutions as a temporary stage in the international socialist revolution, Chinese Marxist ideology, preoccupied with the national question, merged the two revolutions into one process that was an end in itself.

In Yugoslavia eight Marxist philosophers and sociologists were recently expelled from the University of Belgrade. O. Gruenwald (1975) says this is a loss to both East and West. The Yugoslav *avant garde's* radical reinterpretation of the Marxist-Leninist intellectual heritage is both a rebellion and a reconciliation. It is a rebellion against all the inhuman and unnatural conditions that dehumanize man. It is also a reconciliation since its humanist paradigm appears as a vehicle for promoting dialogue and understanding within its own society as well as possibly bridging ideological gaps between civilization.

III. Foreign Policy and International Relations

According to P. Chatterjee (1973), much of recent strategic theory is based on rational choice models of social behavior. However, even at a purely logical level, there exist certain areas of politics where the assumptions of rational choice theory break down. Theories of limited strategic war assume that decision-makers assign expected values to various alternatives open to them. But nuclear strategy involves options with positive probabilities of infinitely disastrous results. So Chatterjee asks how we can rationally compare expected costs and benefits between alternatives with finite probabilities to infinite probabilities of an all out nuclear war.

Analysts of SALT and détente evaluated the aims and effects of these. There is a preponderant thinking that, as a result of the two conditions, there is an evolution towards greater Soviet hold in the East European countries. Also, all throughout the SALT, opposite to pretensions, both the U.S. and U.S.S.R. developed new kinds of strategic and nuclear weapons system.

The Arab-Israeli October War was much discussed in political science journals. The issues that were taken up were the effects of the October War on the Arab World such as the diplomatic isolation of Israel because of its nonvictory, the psychological victory of the Arabs, the discovery of the power of oil, the prominence of the

Palestinian problem, and the search for a peace settlement. The October War led to great political changes in the Middle East. On the Israeli side, it is suggested that its concept of national security is strategic in outlook because of external and self-imposed constraints.

Iran is seen to be expanding its capabilities within an international environment conducive to more active diplomacy.

As regards Europe, Romania's adherence to international law was the topic of many Romanian political scientists. Since the proclamation of the Republic, it has upheld the principles of international law, has integrated itself to international relationships and good neighborhood, and has looked forward to the positive conclusion of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Romania also established relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, a move which is along the policy to contribute actively to the cause of security and collaboration in Europe. Analysts, however, believe that new developments like U.S.-U.S.S.R. *détente* harm Romania's independent outlook within the bloc as the U.S. will pay less attention now to Romania. With China's growing relations with the U.S. and West Europe, Romania's importance tends to decrease. Yugoslavia's rapprochement with U.S.S.R. reduces support to Romania's autonomy.

As for Yugoslavia, the resurgence of hardliners and the new difficulty of returning to liberalism are seen as resulting from the East-West *détente* and the recent reforms in Yugoslavia. Poland's present rule of a mixture of reforms and restrictions for political and economic efficiency gives the impression that Gierk is not completely orthodox, but he has also not appeared to be a liberal.

New China's diplomacy is a current issue, and it is asked whether a new "People's Middle Kingdom" will come about. One article says that Maoist views are compatible with modernization.

U.S. relations with India, Japan, Spain, China, and the U.S.S.R. were very much in the news. Particularly popular were U.S. bases in Spain and Iran, as well as the need to see Japan as an equal partner rather than a client, and this can happen if the U.S. took greater interest in the realities of Japanese internal politics. Japan, on the other hand, is presented by some Japanese and American political scientists as needing new directions for its technology effort because the present export-led technological progress is no longer appropriate to Japan. One article says that there is no proof that Japan is reconstituting a traditional army.

The rise of militarism in East Africa provoked a rethinking of Huntington's praetorian theory that the military intervenes because of political reasons. Events in Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania show that variations in the characteristics of armed forces make a difference in their responses to political situations. The crisis of African democracy is traced by some scientists to the transfer of the parliamentary system from alien cultures.

Soviet politics did not lack attention. An attempt to explain it in terms of systems from a Soviet political scientist's viewpoint was compared with the Western concept of systems. A look at the internal situation suggested that neo-Leninism in Soviet politics is needed to maintain the CPSU in power.

Asia was not featured much in the last few years. Three articles held the position that conclusions for the situations in Thailand, Vietnam, and the Philippines could only be, at best, tentative. Even the proposal for the Pacific Basin was prescriptive — "it ought to become one of the dynamic poles of world economy." Indonesia's relations with the U.S.S.R. after or despite the resumption of cultural and commercial relations were still "not genuine."

Integrationists of the neofunctionalist school inspired by Ernst Haas and Karl Deutsch are criticized by Hveem (1974) who says that integration should be more clearly related to the distribution of power and to social structure.

Finally, two topics that were taken up in the literature under review are of great interest to us. First, those who are inclined to philosophy are presented with an analogy between the shaman and the philosopher. This is said to be based on the use of a vision or image as a form of incantation, which then works on the perception and acts as a psychological factor transforming the feelings and existence of pain into the psychotherapeutic vision of a nonalienated being (Plato's *Republic*, Rousseau's *Social Contract*, Marx's *Future Society*). The philosopher and the shaman are not functional equivalents but their manipulation of images and their perceptions of their task as healer give the comparison a form of legitimacy.

The second topic focuses on the roles of the political scientist as a scholar and as a policy adviser, whether on a direct or indirect basis. The scholar assumes the following roles *vis-à-vis* the government: policy innovator, problem solving expert, defender of officialdom, holder of the official hand, short-circuiter of bureaucratic processes, legitimizer of the policy process, friendly critic, and countervailing analyst. Alternatively, the scholar may decide that a policy orientation is incompatible with scholarship.

Our review of current publications has revealed a great variety of new insights into the nature of politics and social science. In our case, we have only focused our interest on such areas as methods and theory, political ideas, foreign policy and international relations, as our interest is principally in the political perspective. It is up to us to put the new insights in political theory to further testings and to see whether they can be helpful in interpreting political reality, particularly the rapidly changing realities of the Third World. Undoubtedly the deepening of our understanding of tools of analysis and the strengthening of methodological approaches in our social studies are prerequisites for scholarly success and progression of the discipline.