

is visible and checked (visitation), where recreation is well provided. The whole system is then tightened by the institutional dedication and example of the non-salaried missionaries and the insistence on Christian love as the integrating element. Because of its demands and its essential non-Maoriness, it was thought that the Mormons would have a large turnover of membership. However, this has not proved so.

(3) Of the New Zealand churches, the Mormon group was found to have the highest percent of Maori attendance in integrated services, in both urban and rural areas. With reference to Church attendance, Mol quotes another study as follows:

Maoris in Auckland preferred to attend services conducted in Maori by Maori ministers and to belong to Maori branches of church organizations. Apart from members of the Mormon Church, very few attend their local churches with any regularity.

With reference to integration in New Zealand, Mol concludes as follows:

The Mormons are the most successful of all churches in the implementation of a policy of integration. Although in some areas nearly all its members are Maori (in such a situation one cannot very well speak of a successful policy of integration) the fact that 50% of its members go to services every Sunday which have many non-Maori overtones, and feel at home in this environment, is certainly an achievement of the first order. . . .

In conclusion it appears here as before that diversity of cultural or class standards tends to have an inhibitive effect on common worship and common participation in Protestant churches, but that this is much less true for Catholicism and untrue for the Church of Latter-day Saints.

The New Zealand situation and the United States situation are to be sure very different in many respects, including the exact racial composition of each. However, the New Zealand experience indicates that the Church has the mechanism and the techniques to establish complete racial integration.

IN OPPOSITION TO THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

Eileen Osmond Saudié

Continuing our effort to present the views and experience of Mormons in various cultures, this essay gives critical comparison of the French and American political party systems. Eileen O. Saudié is a free-lance writer and mother of two boys living in Paris.

Certain segments of the American voting public will be in a real dilemma next year. We don't yet know which segments, but following are three hypothetical cases to illustrate: a) if the Democrats nominate candidate X, a pillar of the military-industrial complex, and the Republicans nominate candidate Y, a civil-rights foot-dragger and champion for the status quo, liberal voter Z is without a candidate; b) if the Democrats nominate candidate A, a left-wing

radical, and the Republicans nominate candidate B, a liberal with an independent voting record, conservative voter C is without a candidate; and c) if the Democrats present labor candidate L and the Republicans present conservative candidate M, centrist voter N is still without a candidate. George Wallace's third party is a step in the right direction, since it would correct one of the above eventualities, but there is nothing to correct the other two.

Part of the problem seems to lie in the fact that the Republican and Democratic "political philosophies" have largely lost their meaning. For example, one can find few platform tenets in common between Ronald Reagan and Nelson Rockefeller, or between William Fulbright and Lurleen Wallace. Both parties have become so broadminded that they cannot possibly run on common platforms that extend to all their candidates. George Romney could not in honesty even support Barry Goldwater as the presidential candidate of his party.

Having lived for the past six years in a country in which the two-party system never did exist (and which, incidentally, does not function as well as the United States as far as representation is concerned — but for different reasons), I have observed some conditions that I would consider improvements if they existed in our American political life.

Americans are among the world's best educated peoples. And they are among the most politically naïve. A peasant woman in India was asked why she had voted for a certain candidate; she replied that his party symbol was the butterfly, and she preferred butterflies to hummingbirds, the symbol of the other party. The woman was illiterate and can be forgiven. But what about the American with a university diploma who votes for a man because he has a pretty wife or because he plays heroic roles in the movies? Last summer I met on a bus a senior from the University of Utah who told me Ronald Reagan would be the best president the country ever had, because "he is known and loved by every American. Every citizen would feel as if he had a member of his family in the White House."

Years ago, Bertrand Russell observed that the British voting public was leaning toward immature voting practices. He warned them that, rather than vote for a man, one should vote for his platform. One should inform oneself on the issues, decide how he stands, and vote for the man who stands for his point of view. Young "first voters" still pride themselves in following this idea. It might be good advice for the American television audiences, who are swayed by the man who has the best makeup job, or who can discourse the most poignantly on "freedom" or "honesty" or the other catch-all words that bring tears to the eyes of a patriot.

In analyzing the constructive aspects of the French system, it might be simplest to describe how the various parties functioned during the legislative elections last March, and refer to the Presidential election in 1965. Each French election consists of two parts: the election in which *all* the political parties present their candidates, and the "run-off" (*le "ballotage"*) election a week later. When de Gaulle missed getting the 51% that would have kept him from having to run in the "ballotage," the lighter side of the French press went almost hysterical. If we had had a Trafalgar Square, the newsmen of *Le Canard Enchaîné* would certainly have gone and splashed in the fountains.

Some candidates do get this 51% in the first election, and no *ballotage* is held in their district. If all candidates presented get less than 51%, the two

highest present themselves a week later, and campaign at fever heat during that week.

In March, the French Chamber of Deputies (Congress), consisting of 487 members, were elected or re-elected to the Assembly. These candidates are named by not two parties but at least seven main ones and a couple of other little ones. The *Communists* presented their candidates in the first election without making any "deals" with other parties for the run-off. But when they saw that de Gaulle's majority could be effectively threatened (as indeed it was), they formed coalitions for the run-offs. De Gaulle saw the threat, too, and delivered a "red scare" tirade that made McCarthy look pale in comparison, but so little attention was paid to it that de Gaulle's party squeaked by with a majority of *one seat*.

The Unified Socialist Party (PSU) led by Mendès-France, the Socialist Party led by Guy Mollet, and the leftist faction of the Radical Party formed a coalition called the *Federation of the Socialist Left*, which presented candidates in common for the first election and coalesced with the Communists for the run-offs.

The M. R. P. (Popular Republican Movement) led by Lecanuet leads a coalition called the *Democratic Center*, incorporating the Independent Peasants, the rightist segment of the Radical Party, and other centrists who oppose de Gaulle.

Just to the right, but still claiming to be centrist, is a weak little party called the U. N. R. (*Union for the New Republic*) which at the present time has one trump: Charles de Gaulle.

And to the far right is the party of Tixier-Vignancour, those who wanted to keep Algeria French, etc. It's interesting to note that in the presidential election two years ago when Tixier was eliminated, he threw his votes to the leftist candidate, Francois Mitterand. In other words, he said to the French voters, "Elect the devil himself, but not de Gaulle."

In cases where the Federation of the Left candidate got more votes than the Communist candidate, the Communists threw their votes to the Federation candidate in the run-offs, and vice-versa. Lecanuet did not throw his votes; he told members to decide for themselves. De Gaulle, of course, has never thrown any votes anywhere; he is only handicapped if his party fails to win a majority over all the other parties put together — like Johnson or Wilson or any other parliamentary executive. Tixier's doctrine is "beat de Gaulle," and in each district his followers vote for any party that has a chance of doing this. He bears de Gaulle a heavy grudge for giving Algeria its independence when he wasn't supposed to — after four years of trying not to.

Sometimes when votes are thrown, not all of them are caught. The Communists were told to vote for the leftist candidate when they lost out in the presidential election, but there is evidence that some of them voted for de Gaulle.

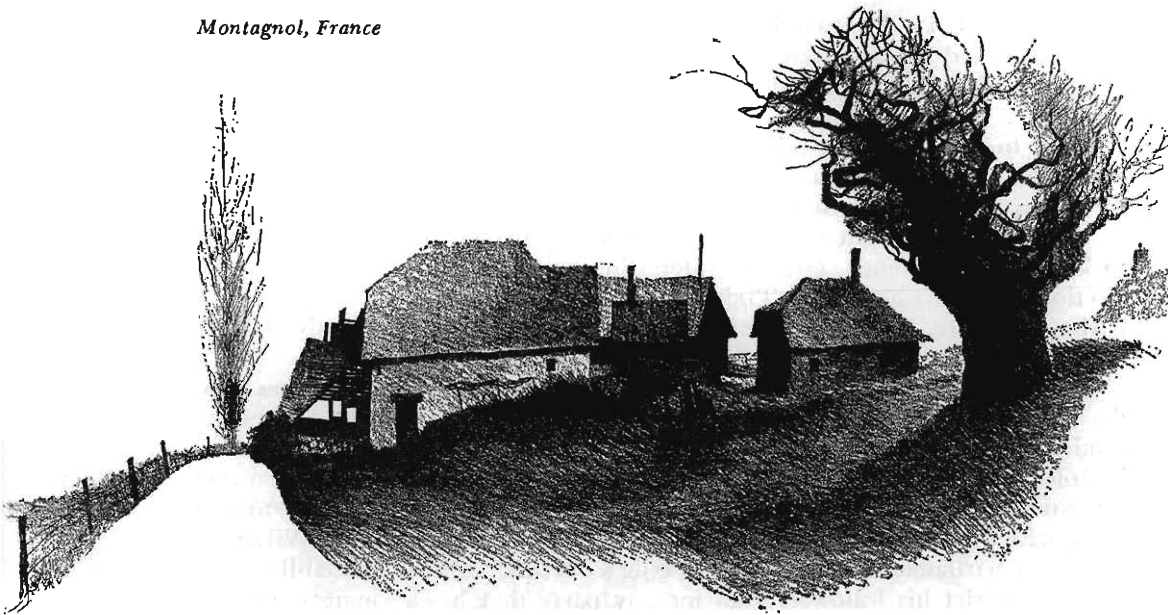
At a glance, all this looks a little muddled. And to muddle things further, we have little constitutional clauses that permit the deputies to throw out the President,¹ the President to throw out the deputies, or the leader of the gov-

¹ De Gaulle's tailor-made constitution has cleared things up a bit and incidentally has given the President "more power than Napoleon or Louis XIV had," according to Francois Mitterand.

ernment to throw out the dissidents (which happened in 1947 when Ramadier quietly threw out all the Communists). The one advantage is this: Whatever your political feelings, there is a party that believes as you do, and works to put its philosophy into effect in the country.

In the United States we have two political machines, both split, and no political parties. Very often a voter will substitute party loyalty, which is meaningless when there is no party philosophy, for any sort of effort to decide for himself.² And even if one wants to be informed and vote intelligently, it is very often difficult to do so because the candidates permit themselves to be evasive on certain controversial issues, or in some cases run on one platform and reverse themselves after they get into office. The fault still lies with the electorate, which does not use its power to force the candidate to take a stand on vital issues and then to follow through as he proposed to do. Goldwater was not unjustified in saying, "When I talked about bombing North Viet Nam it was called foolhardy extremism. Now it's called statesmanship."

Montagnol, France



In order for Americans to inform themselves adequately, and to vote in their own interests, there need first of all exist and be recognized at least five political parties; inside the two political camps that now exist, we have people that fall loosely into the following categories:

The Radical Right. The Bomb China Firsters who are against civil rights, against social reforms and welfare agencies, for stamping out Communism wherever it raises its head and by whatever means at our disposal, and for the "survival of the fittest."

² In 1952 I voted for Eisenhower against Stevenson. I discovered many years later that I was in agreement with Stevenson on every single issue.

The Right. People who are in favor of going all the way in Viet Nam, slowing down on civil rights, reducing civilian welfare agencies in favor of defense, opposing Communism by maintaining the status quo,⁸ and maintaining "natural monopolies."

The Center. Middle-of-the-roaders who believe we must stay in Viet Nam until a capitalist bulwark is assured (but not bomb the North), move along moderately on civil rights, maintain capitalistic colonies (but seek acceptable terms between investors and the local population), maintain the Truman status quo policy (but work for reforms) and control trusts and monopolies.

The Left. People who would negotiate an immediate withdrawal from Viet Nam, move fast to solidify the application of civil rights legislation, allow foreign investment at the risk of the investor, junk the status quo policy and withdraw support of unjust, corrupt, or autocratic governments, and push socialistic reforms while maintaining capitalist institutions.

The Communists. Withdraw American troops and materiel not only from Viet Nam, but Laos and Thailand as well, insist on equal rights in all cases for racial minorities, not support foreign investment, support only the leftist governments of the world, and nationalize industry.

It seems to me particularly important that the Communists be recognized and that we overcome our paranoid fear of them. Neither Britain nor France seems to fear an overthrow of its government because a number of their citizens are Communists, and one of the most unhealthy aspects of our political climate is the lumbering imbalance toward the right.

The rightist organizations of our country have never borne the taint of social stigma and official banishment that the Communist party and related groups have; and because the rightist groups are generally made up of affluent people, they can afford a gigantic propaganda effort to convince the public that what's good for them is good for everybody. "Everybody" is inclined to believe it, because the American dream gives us all the right to go from rags to riches; so as we wear our rags we cast our votes to the advantage of the rich man we are sure to become. Under the aegis of superpatriotism, all sorts of crimes against humanity can be, and have been, committed. Americans don't always seem to remember that the Nazis were superpatriots too.

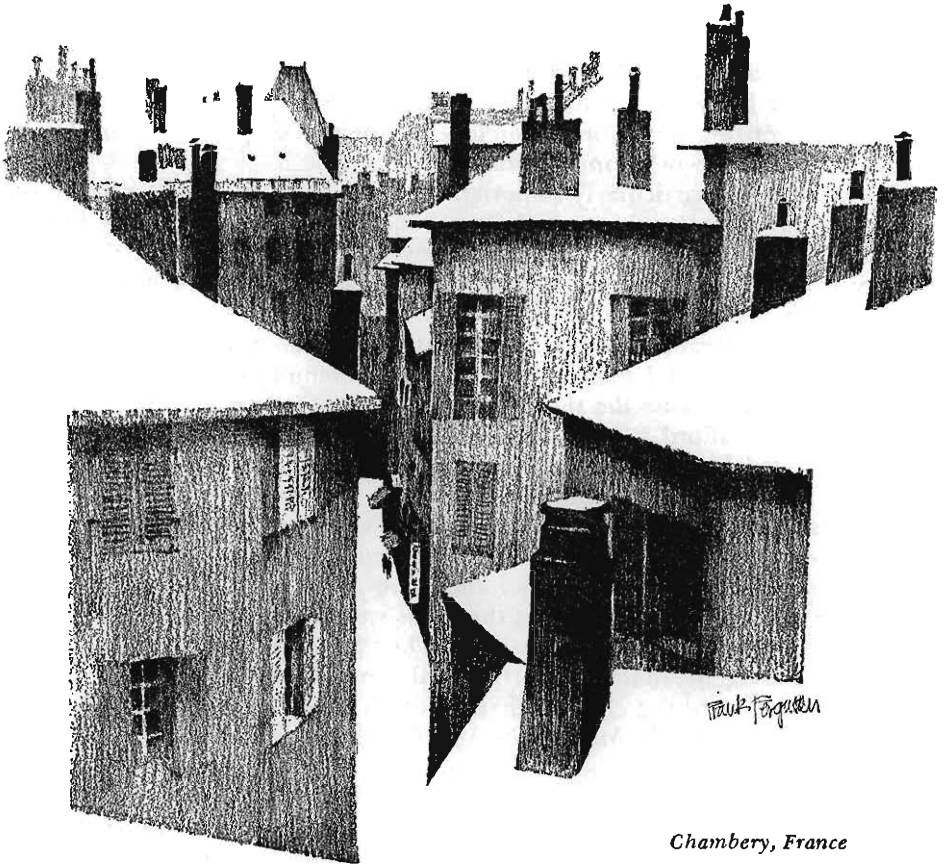
The French have no such illusions. They have recently seen the awful effects of creeping overnationalism, not only in their neighbors, but among themselves; and since the chances that a French laborer will ever be rich are far less than those of his American counterpart, he is much more pragmatic and realistic. And that may be why, out of fifty thousand votes, the Communist party is likely to cop ten thousand. It is also interesting to note that, although only 20% of the French *vote* Communist, in a recent IFOP (Gallup-type) poll, 40% of the French are favorable to having Communist ministers in the government (*Le Monde*, 19 Jan. 1967).

Rightly so. Directly because of the activity and influence of the Communist Party, the French working person is entitled to four weeks' minimum paid vacation a year; French social security covers at least a percentage, if not all, of his medical expenses and those of his dependents; and, most important,

⁸ Truman, in a March 12, 1947, message to Congress, states, "... It *must* be the policy of the United States to support free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure. . . ."

the radical right is counter-balanced by a radical left,⁴ leaving a stable political climate.

Even more important to us than the fact that a political balance seems constructive, it seems necessary to have some sort of check on the smell of treason that the rightists of our country attribute to the leftists. Since the time of McCarthy, and even before, it has been not only possible, but a common practice, for a conservative candidate to insinuate or declare that his liberal opponent was willing to threaten the security of the United States by "making deals with the enemy," and such candidates have been so zealous to protect their compatriots from their enemies that if we didn't have any conceivable enemies at the time, they were left at a great loss until we did.



Chambéry, France

I don't presume to say that in France all political thought is tolerated with benign generosity, or that a fatalistic lethargy typical of American don't-know-and-care-less types doesn't exist. I enjoy drawing people I meet, particularly taxi drivers, into political arguments, and once or twice I have been

⁴ The Radical Party is not radical at all. It's smack in the center with a split down the middle.