

Articles and Essays by Edward G. Carmines, Wayne A. Cornelius, Thomas C. Nowak and Kay A. Snyder, Kenneth Jowitt, David W. Moore, Robert A. Bernstein and William W. Anthony, Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, John Wanat, Paul Allen Beck, Gordon S. Black, George H. Quester, Samuel H. Beer

Arthur H. Miller, Jack Citrin
Trust in Government

**Walter Dean Burnham, Philip E. Converse,
Jerrold G. Rusk, Jesse F. Marquette**
Political Change in America

Larry B. Hill
Institutionalization, the Ombudsman, and Bureaucracy

Peter G. Stillman
Hegel's Critique of Liberal Theories of Rights

Lawrence C. Dodd
Party Coalitions in Multiparty Parliaments

Published Quarterly by

The American Political Science Association

Vol. LXVIII

September 1974

No. 3

POLITICAL SCIENCE



Kenneth Prewitt and Sidney Verba

AN INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

This introduction to the foundations, spirit, and operation of the American political system includes innovative discussions of how the U.S. economic system has shaped our democracy, how political capitalism effects the class structure, the degree to which the principle of democracy has its roots in the hearts and minds of the American people, and how the American citizen participates in political life. Policy is discussed in depth with applications made to taxes, medical care, desegregation, and Vietnam. There is a postscript on Watergate. 630 pages; \$9.95. 1974. *Instructor's Manual.*

Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie

PARTICIPATION IN AMERICA: Political Democracy and Social Equality

☆ **NOW IN PAPER** ☆ *Received the 1973 Gladys M. Kammerer Award of the American Political Science Association for the best publication of 1972 in the field of U.S. National Policy as well as honorable mention in the 1973 Woodrow Wilson Foundation award competition. The most extensive study of the subject available, this book, based on a large-scale empirical study, provides not only new information and a new perspective on the ways in which citizens take part in political life, but also a new theoretical understanding of the role of participation in a democracy. 428 pages; \$5.95; paper. 1972.*

Monte Palmer, Larry Stern, and Charles Gaile

THE INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY OF POLITICS

This text deals with the problems of clarity, precision, operationalization, and measurement inherent in the use by political scientists of concepts, theories, and conceptual frameworks developed by members of other social science disciplines. The intent is to provide students with a basic conceptual understanding which will facilitate their acceptance of concepts and conceptual frameworks. Tentative: 177 pages; \$4.95; paper. August 1974.



1817

FROM HARPER & ROW

10 East 53d Street, New York 10022

The American Political Science Review

Vol. LXVIII

September 1974

No. 3

CONTENTS

- 951 *Political Issues and Trust in Government: 1964–1970* Arthur H. Miller
973 *Comment* Jack Citrin
989 *Rejoinder* Arthur H. Miller
1002 *Theory and Voting Research: Some Reflections on Converse's "Change in the American Electorate"* Walter Dean Burnham
1024 *Comment* Philip E. Converse
1028 *Comment* Jerrold G. Rusk
1050 *Rejoinder* Walter Dean Burnham
1058 *Social Change and Political Mobilization in the United States: 1870–1960* Jesse F. Marquette
1075 *Institutionalization, the Ombudsman, and Bureaucracy* Larry B. Hill
1086 *Hegel's Critique of Liberal Theories of Rights* Peter G. Stillman
1093 *Party Coalitions in Multiparty Parliaments: A Game-Theoretic Analysis* Lawrence C. Dodd
1118 *The Mediating Influence of State Legislatures on the Linkage Between Interparty Competition and Welfare Policies* Edward G. Carmines
1125 *Urbanization and Political Demand Making: Political Participation Among the Migrant Poor in Latin American Cities* Wayne A. Cornelius
1147 *Clientelist Politics in the Philippines: Integration or Instability?* Thomas C. Nowak and Kay A. Snyder
1171 *An Organizational Approach to the Study of Political Culture in Marxist-Leninist Systems* Kenneth Jowitz
1192 *Foreign Policy and Empirical Democratic Theory* David W. Moore
1198 *The ABM Issue in the Senate, 1968–1970: The Importance of Ideology* Robert A. Bernstein and William W. Anthony
1207 *Need for Achievement and Competitiveness as Determinants of Political Party Success in Elections and Coalitions* Bruce Bueno de Mesquita
1221 *Bases of Budgetary Incrementalism* John Wanat
1229 *Environment and Party: The Impact of Political and Demographic County Characteristics on Party Behavior* Paul Allen Beck
1245 *Conflict in the Community: A Theory of the Effects of Community Size* Gordon S. Black
1262 *Communications*
1281 *Editorial Comment*
1285 *Book Reviews and Essays*
1285 *Chemical and Biological Warfare* George H. Quester
1292 *Tradition and Nationality: A Classic Revisited* Samuel Beer

Office of publication: Curtis Reed Plaza, Menasha, Wisconsin.

Foreign Agent: P. S. King and Staples, Ltd., Great Smith Street, Westminster, London.

Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices.

Printed in the United States of America by George Banta Company, Inc., Menasha, Wisconsin.

Copyright, 1974, by The American Political Science Association

ARTICLES

951 Political Issues and Trust in Government: 1964–1970. National survey data demonstrate that support of the federal government decreased substantially between 1964 and 1970. Policy preference, a lack of perceived difference between the parties, and policy dissatisfaction were hypothesized as correlates of trust and alternative explanations of this decrease. Analysis revealed that the increased distrust in government, or cynicism, was associated with reactions to the issues of racial integration and U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war. A curvilinear relationship was found between policy preference on these and other contemporary social issues and political cynicism. The minority favoring centrist policies was more likely to trust the government than the large proportion who preferred noncentrist policy alternatives. This complex relationship between trust and policy preference is explained by dissatisfaction with the policies of *both* political parties. The dissatisfied noncentrists formed highly polarized and distinct types: “cynics of the left,” who preferred policies providing social change, and “cynics of the right,” who favored policies of social control.

By ARTHUR H. MILLER, Study Director, The University of Michigan, Center for Political Studies.

Comment. By JACK CITRIN, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley.

Rejoinder. By ARTHUR H. MILLER.

1002 Theory and Voting Research: Some Reflections on Converse’s “Change in the American Electorate.” Philip E. Converse has challenged the findings of a 1965 article, “The Changing Shape of the American Political Universe,” and other work by Burnham. Converse asserts that most of the very high voter participation which occurred before 1900 can be explained by a combination of electoral corruption, the absence of personal-registration requirements and other “undramatic” factors, and thus that the anomalies which Burnham reported are largely spurious. Issues of major importance for social-science explanation are joined. The present article attempts to demonstrate that intervening structural variables cannot come close to explaining all the post-1900 decline in voting participation and that the genuine existence of universal nineteenth-century rural corruption has yet to be demonstrated. These efforts to explain away anomaly are held to be unpersuasive. The weight of evidence supports the objective reality of the phenomena originally reported. This in turn means that more adequate conceptualizations are needed to integrate empirical findings than those which have hitherto dominated the voting-behavior research community.

By WALTER DEAN BURNHAM, Professor of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Comment. By PHILIP E. CONVERSE, Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan.

Comment. By JERROLD G. RUSK, Associate Professor of Government, University of Arizona.

Rejoinder. By WALTER DEAN BURNHAM.

1058 Social Change and Political Mobilization in the United States: 1870–1960. The central problem of the general search for explanations of political change has been the lack of adequate explanations of the relationship between social change and political change. This research proposes and tests a six-variable causal model of the process of social change and political mobilization in the United States during the period 1870 to 1960. The variables used are based on previous theoretical efforts which have indicated that the process of social and political change is a syndrome. From these previous efforts a new model is synthesized. The model is found to operate as proposed during the period 1870 to 1910, and a simplified version in four variables is identified for the period 1920 to 1960.

One of the central questions explored by this research is the degree to which the pattern of social change alters as the process of change proceeds through time. The transition in the United States is explained by reference to the threshold effect of two social infrastructures—urbanization and government activity in education.

In light of the identification of the model, an attempt is then made at revising certain aspects of modernization theory.

By JESSE F. MARQUETTE, Assistant Professor of Political Science, The University of Akron.

1075 Institutionalization, the Ombudsman, and Bureaucracy. This article proposes an authority based conception of the phenomenon of institutionalization. Whereas most social science writing on the subject focuses either upon the organization’s internal structural integration (such criteria as well-boundedness, universalism, complexity, and coherence often are employed) or upon its ability to cope with environmental challenges (the concepts of adaptability and autonomy have been suggested), I propose that an organization’s *offensive capabilities* vis à vis environmental actors be viewed as a measurement of its institutionalization.

Principally based upon fieldwork in New Zealand bolstered by additional research in Scandinavia, Britain, and Hawaii, this study focuses upon the institutionalization of the ombudsman—an increasingly

popular bureaucratic control mechanism. A sociometric analysis of ombudsman-bureaucratic interaction is undertaken, and four questions are investigated: How extensive is the interaction? How consequential is the threat posed by complaints? What demands does the ombudsman make? How cooperative is the agency in responding? The investigation provides answers which are indicative of the ombudsman's successful institutionalization. That is, the office performs its mission and has established itself with the environmental actors as an authority figure.

By LARRY B. HILL, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Oklahoma.

- 1086 Hegel's Critique of Liberal Theories of Rights.** In "Abstract Right," the first part of the *Philosophy of Right*, Hegel criticizes the usual content and formulations of liberal theories of rights. In terms of content, Hegel argues that the subject of rights is only a narrow abstraction from the full human being; that he has limited self-determination and limited political freedom; and that, when he acts on his rights, he produces terror and destruction. In terms of formulations, Hegel argues that the pervasiveness of contract relations is inaccurate and undesirable; that the state cannot be derived from the natural man's alienating his right to punish; and that it is inaccurate to conceptualize civil society as only limiting natural man's freedoms. By transforming natural to abstract rights, Hegel retains much of the substance of rights, while concurrently preparing for the later sections of his text which try to overcome the inadequacies of a political theory based only on rights.

By PETER G. STILLMAN, Assistant Professor in Political Science, Vassar College.

- 1093 Party Coalitions in Multiparty Parliaments: A Game-Theoretic Analysis.** This study focuses on A. Lawrence Lowell's classic thesis that a parliamentary democracy must possess a majority party system if durable cabinets are to exist. The argument of this study is that majority party government is not essential to cabinet durability. Rather, in line with the British analyst W. L. Middleton as well as more contemporary game-theoreticians, the critical factor is held to be the coalitional status of the cabinet: (1) cabinets of minimum winning status should be durable; as cabinets depart from minimum winning status, cabinet durability decreases; (2) the coalitional status of the cabinet that forms is partially a product of party system fractionalization, instability, and polarization. Hypotheses derived from the theory are tested with data drawn from 17 Western parliamentary democracies, from 1918 to 1940 and from 1945 to 1970. The findings generally support the theory. A key to durable government is the minimum winning status of the cabinet. Minimum winning cabinets are possible in multiparty and majority party systems.

By LAWRENCE C. DODD, Assistant Professor of Government, University of Texas, Austin.

- 1118 The Mediating Influence of State Legislatures on the Linkage Between Interparty Competition and Welfare Policies.** The purpose of this paper is to reformulate the linkage between interparty competition and welfare policies in the American states. Specifically, it is hypothesized that this linkage should be substantially greater among states with strong, effective legislatures than among states with weak, ineffective legislative systems. When legislative effectiveness was defined in terms of professionalism and welfare effort was assessed by seven specific measures, it was found that the link between party competition and welfare expenditures was indeed stronger among states with effective, as opposed to ineffective, legislative systems. Further, when controls were introduced for several socioeconomic factors, the linkage continued to be stronger among states with professional legislatures. It is concluded, consequently, that the influence of party competition on state welfare policies is mediated by the differential effectiveness of state legislatures.

By EDWARD G. CARMINES, Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science, State University of New York at Buffalo.

- 1125 Urbanization and Political Demand Making: Political Participation Among the Migrant Poor in Latin American Cities.** This paper investigates the proposition that rapid urbanization produces significant changes in the kinds, volume, and intensity of demand making aimed at local and national governments, leading to political system "overload" and pressure for major shifts in resource allocation. Drawing upon data gathered among low-income migrants to Mexico City and other Latin American cities, the paper analyzes the process through which objective needs are converted into demands upon government. The findings indicate that there are often major lags in the process of demand creation among cityward migrants, and that many kinds of felt needs are viewed by migrants as needs to be satisfied primarily through individual rather than governmental action.

Data are presented on the incidence of demand making among the migrant population and the substantive nature of the demands they make upon government. Strategies used in attempting to influence government decisions are described, and the attitudes and perceptions underlying the migrant's preference among alternative strategies are analyzed. The long-term propensity of migrants and their offspring to engage in demand making with regard to broad social and economic issues rather than individual or community-related needs is assessed.

By WAYNE A. CORNELIUS, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

1147 Clientelist Politics in the Philippines: Integration or Instability? Philippine data are presented which indicate that a contradiction exists between changes induced partly through capital accumulation by the indigenous elite and foreign investment, and both increased political factionalism and declining voting participation. While national elites become more powerful through capital accumulation, local political machines confront structural changes weakening their power. More specialized patron-client structures diminish local elites' ability both to deliver votes to national patrons and to stimulate electoral participation. Growth of the middle class in a stagnant economy increases competition for lucrative local political office. Factions proliferate and with the increased concentration of private income, become more dependent on national patronage resources. Unable to meet rising patronage demands, the government resorts to extensive deficit spending which stimulates inflation and further undermines economic growth. The national elite's economic activities thus undermines its authority base as the state becomes increasingly less able to provide security to individuals dislocated by changes generating profit for the elite.

By THOMAS NOWAK, Assistant Professor of Political Sociology, Justin Morrill College, Michigan State University, and KAY SNYDER, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Michigan State University.

1171 An Organizational Approach to the Study of Political Culture in Marxist-Leninist Systems. This paper is addressed to three tasks and the analysis operates at three levels. First, there is an attempt to specify an analytic approach to Marxist-Leninist sociopolitical systems that integrates regime and sociocultural units. This approach rests on a structural conception of political culture, a conception that stresses the informal adaptive quality of political culture, and that includes behavioral as well as attitudinal patterns. The second task consists of analyzing the paradoxical character of development in Soviet-type systems; development that simultaneously reinforces and undermines traditional-peasant political cultures at the community, regime, and elite levels. Finally, this pattern of development is examined in the context of a single Soviet-type regime and society, the Romanian.

By KENNETH JOWITT, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley.

1192 Foreign Policy and Empirical Democratic Theory. This paper compares the research on the determinants of domestic policy outcomes, primarily in American state governments, with similar research in the area of foreign policy. Using seven foreign policy measures, it then tests a hypothesis based on Cutright's cross-national analysis of social insurance programs, that political representativeness is more important in accounting for policy outcomes among developed than among undeveloped nations. Finally, it suggests what implications the reported findings may have on empirical democratic theory.

By DAVID W. MOORE, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of New Hampshire.

1198 The ABM Issue in the Senate, 1968-1970: The Importance of Ideology. Three hypotheses suggesting why senators might adopt or change positions on such an issue as the ABM are compared. The empirical analysis clearly substantiates the contention that position reflects ideology, not party commitment or potential state economic benefits. Furthermore, the influence of ideology is seen to have grown more apparent each year the issue was contested in the Senate. Virtually all the senators who changed position between 1968 and 1970 had initial positions that did not accord with their ideology, and they moved so as to bring them in accord. Virtually all those senators whose initial position was in accord with their ideology maintained that position.

by ROBERT A. BERNSTEIN, Assistant Professor of Political Science and WILLIAM W. ANTHONY, Lecturer in Political Science, Texas A&M University.

1207 Need for Achievement and Competitiveness as Determinants of Political Party Success in Elections and Coalitions. Need for achievement and strategic predispositions among political party elites are hypothesized to have an important impact on the success parties enjoy in elections and in coalitions. More specifically, this study develops and tests a model which suggests that parties whose leaders have high need for achievement and are predisposed to pursue a mixed competitive/cooperative strategy are more likely to do well in elections and in coalitions than are parties whose leaders are low in need for achievement and oriented to either cooperative or competitive strategies.

When the Indian political party system between 1967 and 1971 is used as the data base, the success or failure of political parties is correctly predicted by need for achievement for thirteen out of fourteen variables. By means of multiple regression analysis, as much as seventy-two per cent of the variance in the electoral success of Indian parties is explained by the model.

By BRUCE BUENO DE MESQUITA, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Rochester.

- 1221 Bases of Budgetary Incrementalism.** This essay analyses the explanatory power of Davis, Dempster, and Wildavsky's theory of budgetary incrementalism. By means of sensitivity testing, it demonstrates that inferences to "gaming" or strategic explanations of budgetary incrementalism are not warranted on the basis of correlational analysis.

To explain budgetary incrementalism more satisfactorily, recourse is made to concepts and variables explicit in the vocabulary of the budget process participants. When mandatory requests are distinguished from programmatic requests, the differential treatment of the two by Congress is observed to allow good explanation of budgetary relations. In particular, the inexorable but small mandatory request, which is almost automatically granted, is adequate by itself to explain why requests always increase and why one year's appropriation surpasses the previous one.

By JOHN WANAT, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Kentucky.

- 1229 Environment and Party: The Impact of Political and Demographic County Characteristics on Party Behavior.** While many scholars have recognized that decentralization encourages American party organizations to tailor activities to the local environment, few have studied systematically the relationships between that environment and party behavior. This study examines the impact of certain political and demographic county characteristics on the activities of a national sample of county party organizations in 1964. Three dimensions of party behavior—organization, mobilization, and persuasion—are utilized as dependent variables. The relationships between the environment and these dimensions of party behavior in the North support a revised "machine theory" of environment and party: organizational effort does not vary with environmental conditions, while mobilization and persuasion activities are opposites in their relationships with the concentration of parochially-oriented voters. Additionally, the division of partisan strength influences party activity: parties perform their "natural" activities well where they have strong support and the other party's "natural" activities well under competitive conditions. Few significant relationships are found in the South, but their similarity in direction to those in the North suggests that the normal relationships may have been attenuated by circumstances unique to that region, particularly one-partyism and decades of "whites only" politics.

By PAUL ALLEN BECK, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh.

- 1245 Conflict in the Community: A Theory of the Effects of Community Size.** Two theories of community conflict are examined in this paper with data from elections in 89 cities in the San Francisco Bay area. One theory is developed from the work on group conflict by Georg Simmel and Lewis Coser while the other is a rational choice theory based on assumptions about the costs and risks of conflict in different size cities. Both theories suggest that conflict, while more frequent in larger communities, is likely to become most severe in smaller communities. Both theories are confirmed by the pattern of findings in the analysis, but the rational choice theory proves to have the greater generality, i.e., that it can explain more of the findings in the paper.

By GORDON S. BLACK, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Rochester.

1262 COMMUNICATIONS

From Arthur L. Stinchcombe, Thomas R. Dye, Douglas D. Rose, Abraham H. Miller and Stephen E. Bennett, Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson, Christopher H. Achen, Richard S. Katz, Ken Allen, Peter K. Eisinger, Roy E. Licklider, Anne H. Cahn, Richard S. Beth, Peter J. Taylor, G. William Domhoff, Earl Latham

1281 EDITORIAL COMMENT

1285 BOOK REVIEWS AND ESSAYS

- 1285 Chemical and Biological Warfare.** Frederic J. Brown, *Chemical Warfare: A Study in Restraints*; Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *The Control of Chemical and Biological Weapons*; John Cookson and Judith Nottingham, *A Survey of Chemical and Biological Warfare*; J. B. Neilands, G. H. Orians, E. W. Pfeiffer, Alje Vennema, and Arthur H. Westing, *Harvest of Death*; Steven Rose, ed., *CBW*; Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *The Problem of Chemical and Biological Warfare*, 6 volumes.

By GEORGE H. QUESTER, Professor of Government, Cornell University.

- 1292 Tradition and Nationality: A Classic Revisited.** Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution*.

By SAMUEL BEER, Professor of Government, Harvard University.

1296 Political Theory, History of Political Thought and Methodology

- Jerald G. Bachman, Robert L. Kahn, Martha T. Mednick, Terrence N. Davidson, and Lloyd D. Johnston, *Youth in Transition, Vol. I: Blueprint for a Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Boys*; Jerald G. Bachman, *Youth in Transition, Vol. II: The Impact of Family Background and Intelligence on Tenth-Grade Boys*; Jerald G. Bachman and Elizabeth Van Duinen, *Youth Look at National Problems: A Special Report from the Youth in Transition Project*; and Jerome Johnston and Jerald G. Bachman, *Youth in Transition, Vol. V: Young Men and Military Service*. Jarol B. Manheim, p. 1296
- Marshall Berman, *The Politics of Authenticity: Radical Individualism and the Emergence of Modern Society*. Allan Bloom, p. 1297
- Hugh Brogan, *Tocqueville*. J. P. Mayer. p. 1299
- Stanley Chodorow, *Christian Political Theory and Church Politics in the Mid-Twelfth Century: The Ecclesiology of Gratian's Decretum*. Ernest L. Fortin. p. 1300
- Robert A. Dahl and Edward R. Tufte, *Size and Democracy*. Heinz Eulau. p. 1301
- Gottfried Dietze, *Two Concepts of the Rule of Law*. Stephen L. Wasby. p. 1303
- Andrew Dunsire, *Administration: The Word and the Science*. Robert T. Golembiewski. p. 1303
- Giuseppe Fiori, *Antonio Gramsci: Life of a Revolutionary*. Dante Germino. p. 1305
- Richard E. Flathman, *Political Obligation*. Leslie J. Macfarlane, p. 1305
- Julian H. Franklin, *Jean Bodin and the Rise of Absolutist Theory*. Randal H. Ihara, p. 1306
- Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Translated by John Cumming. Hiram Caton, p. 1307
- Dick Howard, *The Development of the Marxian Dialectic*. Z. A. Jordan, p. 1308
- Raphael G. Kasper, ed., *Technology Assessment: Understanding the Social Consequences of Technological Applications*. Victor Ferkiss, p. 1310
- Nikki R. Keddie, *Sayyid Jamal ad-Din "al-Afghani": A Political Biography*. Marvin Zonis, p. 1310
- Daniel C. Kramer, *Participatory Democracy: Developing Ideals of the Political Left*. Carole Pateman, p. 1311
- Robert E. Meagher, ed., *Toothing Stones: Rethinking the Political*. D. M. White, p., 1313
- Saad Z. Nagi and Ronald G. Corwin, eds., *The Social Contexts of Research*. Arnold Thackray, p. 1314
- Vincent Ostrom, *The Political Theory of a Compound Republic: A Reconstruction of the Logical Foundations of American Democracy as Presented in The Federalist*. Robert S. Ross, p. 1315
- Ralph Ross, *Obligation: A Social Theory*. Melvin M. Tumin, p. 1316
- Louis Schneider and Charles Bonjean, eds., *The Idea of Culture in the Social Sciences*. Harry C. Triandis, p. 1318
- Alfred Schutz and Thomas Luckmann, *The Structures of the Life-World*. Translated by Richard M. Zaner and H. Tristram Engelhardt, Jr. Hwa Yol Jung, p. 1319
- Ellen Meiksins Wood, *Mind and Politics*. Vincent E. Starzinger, p. 1321

1322 American Government and Politics

- Robert T. Bower, *Television and the Public*. Paul Conway, p. 1322
- David W. Brady, *Congressional Voting in a Partisan Era: A Study of the McKinley Houses and a Comparison to the Modern House of Representatives*. Charles M. Tidmarsh, p. 1323
- Jonathan D. Casper, *American Criminal Justice: The Defendant's Perspective*; Jack D. Douglas, ed., *Crime and Justice in American Society*; and John T. Elliff, *Crime, Dissent, and the Attorney General: The Justice Department in the 1960's*. Ruth G. Weintraub, p. 1324
- Robert D. Cuff, *The War Industries Board: Business-Government Relations During World War I*. Robert A. Kagan, p. 1325
- Timothy L. Fitzharris, *The Desirability of a Correctional Ombudsman*. Karl A. Friedmann, p. 1326
- William E. Fruhan, *The Fight for Competitive Advantage: A Study of the United States Domestic Air Trunk Carriers*. Robert L. Thornton, p. 1327
- Perry Goldman and James S. Young, eds., *U.S. Congressional Directories, 1798-1840*. Nelson W. Polsby, p. 1328
- Bennett Harrison, *Education, Training, and the Urban Ghetto*. JeDon A. Emehiser, p. 1328
- Bruce D. Johnson, *Marihuana Users and Drug Subcultures*; and National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse, *Drug Use in America: Problem in Perspective*. Joseph L. Zentner, p. 1329
- Michael Kammen, *People of Paradox: An Inquiry Concerning the Origins of American Civilization*. Jack P. Greene, p. 1331
- Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson, eds., *Essays on the American Revolution*. Richard Crosby, p. 1332
- Norman Markowitz, *The Rise and Fall of the People's Century: Henry Agard Wallace and American Liberalism, 1941-1948*. Edward L. Shapsmeier, p. 1333
- George E. Mowry, *Another Look at the Twentieth-Century South*. Charles S. Bullock, III, p. 1334
- Rolla Edward Park, ed., *The Role of Analysis in Regulatory Decisionmaking: The Case of Cable Television*. Nathan Shoehalter, p. 1335
- Jeffrey L. Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky, *Implementation: How Great Expectations in Washington Are Dashed in Oakland; Or, Why It's Amazing that Federal Programs Work at All, This Being a Saga of the Economic Development Administration as Told by Two Sympathetic Observers Who Seek to Build Morals on a Foundation of Ruined Hopes*. Martha Derthick, p. 1336

- Walter A. Rosenbaum, *The Politics of Environmental Concern*. Harris S. Cohen, p. 1337
- Kirkpatrick Sale, *SDS*. Edward J. Bacciocco, Jr., p. 1338
- Paul A. Theis and Edmund L. Henshaw, Jr., eds., *Who's Who in American Politics: 1973-1974*. Fourth edition. Charles O. Jones, p. 1339
- Melvin I. Urofsky and David W. Levy, eds., *Letters of Louis D. Brandeis: Volume I, 1870-1907, Urban Reformer; Volume II, 1907-1912, People's Attorney; Volume III, 1913-1915, Progressive and Zionist*. Robert G. Seddig, p. 1340
- Hanes Walton, Jr., *Black Political Parties: An Historical and Political Analysis*. William R. Keech, p. 1341
- Arnold R. Weber, *In Pursuit of Price Stability: The Wage-Price Freeze of 1971*. William A. Niskanen, p. 1342
- Edward Wenk, Jr., *The Politics of the Ocean*. Donald E. Milsten, p. 1343
- William M. Wiecek, *The Guarantee Clause of the U.S. Constitution*. Robert J. Morgan, p. 1344

1345 Comparative Government and Politics

- Richard Antoun and Iliya Harik, eds. *Rural Politics and Social Change in the Middle East*. Douglas E. Ashford, p. 1345
- David E. Apter and James Joll, eds., *Anarchism Today*. Stanley Rothman, p. 1346
- John Badgley, *Asian Development: Problems and Prognosis*. Khalid B. Sayeed, p. 1347
- John M. Baines, *Revolution in Peru: Mariátegui and the Myth*. Harry Kantor, p. 1348
- Correlli Barnett, *The Collapse of British Power*. F. S. Northedge, p. 1349
- Harvey Cox and David Morgan, *City Politics and the Press: Journalists and the Governing of Merseyside*. Morris Davis, p. 1350
- John Dunn, *Modern Revolutions: An Introduction to the Analysis of a Political Phenomenon*. Rex Mortimer, p. 1351
- Milton Esman, *Administration and Development in Malaysia: Institution Building and Reform in a Plural Society*. Lucian W. Pye, p. 1352
- John Friedmann, *Urbanization, Planning and National Development*. Jorge I. Domínguez, p. 1354
- Robert E. Gamer, *The Politics of Urban Development in Singapore*. Lynn T. White, III, p. 1355
- Nigel Harris, *Competition and the Corporate Society: British Conservatives, The State and Industry, 1945-1964*. S. C. Ghosh, p. 1357
- Nicholas S. Hopkins, *Popular Government in an African Town: Kita, Mali*. William J. Foltz, p. 1358
- Derek Hopwood, ed., *The Arabian Peninsula: Society and Politics*; and Elizabeth Monroe, *The Changing Balance of Power in the Persian Gulf: An International Seminar Report*. John G. Merriam, p. 1359
- Shashishekhar Jha, *Political Elite in Bihar*. Douglas C. Smyth, p. 1361
- Robert Kern, ed., *The Caciques: Oligarchical Politics and the System of Caciquismo in the Luso-Hispanic World*. Douglas A. Chalmers, p. 1362
- Rajni Kothari, *Politics in India*. Myron Weiner, p. 1363
- David Lane and George Kolankiewicz, eds., *Social Groups in Polish Society*. Szymon Chodak, p. 1364
- Peter Mansfield, ed., *The Middle East: A Political and Economic Survey*. 4th Edition. Robert Owen Freedman, p. 1365
- D. Bruce Marshall, *The French Colonial Myth and Constitution-Making in the Fourth Republic*. Peter Alexis Gourevitch, p. 1366
- S R. Mehrotra, *The Emergence of the Indian National Congress*. Paul Wallace, p. 1367
- John Meisel, *Working Papers on Canadian Politics*. Peter Regenstreif, p. 1369
- Michael Parrish, *The Soviet Armed Forces, Books in English, 1950-1967*. Leon Goure, p. 1370
- Howard Penniman, *Elections in South Vietnam*. Allan E. Goodman, p. 1370
- Rutherford M. Poats, *Technology for Developing Nations: New Directions for U.S. Technical Assistance*. Brewster C. Denny, p. 1371
- Walter R. Roberts, *Tito, Mihailović and the Allies, 1941-1945*. Alex N. Dragnich, p. 1372
- Martin Schnitzer, *East and West Germany: A Comparative Economic Analysis*. Gerald G. Watson, p. 1373
- Robert E. Scott, ed., *Latin American Modernization Problems*. Eldon Kenworthy, p. 1373
- Peter J. Seybolt, *Revolutionary Education in China: Documents and Commentary*. Anthony W. Ferguson, p. 1375
- Ralph Smith, *Vietnam and the West*. Robert L. Youngblood, p. 1375
- Frederic Spotts, *The Churches and Politics in Germany*. Guenter Lewy, p. 1376
- Arnold Strickon and Sidney M. Greenfield, eds., *Structure and Process in Latin America: Patronage, Clientage, and Power Systems*. Steffen Schmidt, p. 1377
- Book Publishing in the USSR: Reports of the Delegations of U.S. Book Publishers Visiting the USSR, October 21-November 4, 1970, August 20-September 17, 1962*. Second Edition. Patricia K. Grimsted, p. 1379
- Karl-Eugen Wädekin, *The Private Sector in Soviet Agriculture*. 2nd revised edition of *Privatproduzenten in der sowjetischen Landwirtschaft*. Edited by G. F. Karcz. Translated by K. Bush. James R. Millar, p. 1379
- Ben Whitaker, ed., *The Fourth World: Victims of Group Oppression*. Richard Sandbrook, p. 1381

1382 International Politics, Law and Organization

- W. F. Biddle, *Weapons Technology and Arms Control*. Bernard Brodie, p. 1382
- Tarun Chandra Bose, *The Superpowers and the Middle East*. O. M. Smolansky, p. 1382
- Henry Brandon, *The Retreat of American Power*. Frank Burd, p. 1383
- Gerald E. Bunker, *The Peace Conspiracy: Wang Ching-wei and the China War, 1937–1941*. James E. Sheridan, p. 1384
- David P. Calleo and Benjamin M. Rowland, *America and the World Political Economy*. Ole R. Holsti, p. 1385
- Mauro Cappelletti and Denis Tallon, eds., *Fundamental Guarantees of the Parties in Civil Litigation: Studies in National, International and Comparative Law*. Richard Pierre Claude, p. 1386
- James Chace, *A World Elsewhere: The New American Foreign Policy*. Hilliard A. Gardiner, p. 1387
- Helen D. Cohn, *Soviet Policy Toward Black Africa: The Focus on National Integration*. Vernon McKay, p. 1388
- Robert W. Cox, Harold K. Jacobson, Gerard and Victoria Curzon, Joseph S. Nye, Lawrence Scheinman, James P. Sewell, and Susan Strange, *The Anatomy of Influence: Decision-Making in International Organization*. H. Field Haviland, p. 1389
- William R. Duggan, *A Socioeconomic Profile of South Africa*. Thomas Karis, p. 1391
- David V. Edwards, *Creating a New World Politics: From Conflict to Co-Operation*. J. L. Richardson, p. 1392
- Theodore Geiger, *The Fortunes of the West: The Future of the Atlantic Nations*. Annette Baker Fox, p. 1393
- Wesley L. Gould and Michael Barkun, *Social Science Literature: A Bibliography for International Law*. Anthony D'Amato, p. 1394
- Donald C. Hellmann, *Japan and East Asia: The New International Order*. Willard H. Elsbree, p. 1395
- Robert Hunter, *Security in Europe*. F. S. Northedge, p. 1396
- Helge Hveem, *International Relations and World Images: A Study of Norwegian Foreign Policy Elites*. Nils Ørvik, p. 1397
- Robert Jungk, Ernan McMullin, Joseph Needham, Joan Robinson, Stuart Schram, William Sewell, and Bernard Towers, *China and the West: Mankind Evolving*. John H. Boyle, p. 1399
- Davendra Kaushik, *Soviet Relations with India and Pakistan*. Paul Gerhardt, p. 1400
- Bernard P. Kiernan, *The United States, Communism, and the Emergent World*. Roger E. Kanet, p. 1401
- George Lichtheim, *Europe in the Twentieth Century*. George L. Mosse, p. 1402
- Gerald M. Meier, ed., *International Economic Reform: Collected Papers of Emile Despres*. Robert E. Asher, p. 1403
- Roger Morgan, ed., *The Study of International Affairs: Essays in Honour of Kenneth Younger*. John H. Herz, p. 1404
- Alton H. Quanbeck and Barry M. Blechman, *Strategic Forces: Issues for the Mid-Seventies*. Herbert Scoville, Jr. p. 1405
- Norman Rich, *Hitler's War Aims: Ideology, the Nazi State, and the Course of Expansion*. A. J. P. Taylor, p. 1406
- Robert L. Rothstein, *Planning, Prediction, and Policymaking in Foreign Affairs*. Bernard C. Cohen, p. 1407
- R. J. Rummel, *The Dimensions of Nations*. Gordon Hilton, p. 1408
- Daniel B. Schirmer, *Republic Or Empire: American Resistance to the Philippine War*. Milton Plesur, p. 1409
- Robert M. Slusser, *The Berlin Crisis of 1961: Soviet-American Relations and the Struggle for Power in the Kremlin, June-November 1961*. Werner J. Feld, p. 1410
- Edward Reynolds Wright, *Barriers to Progress in South Vietnam: The United States Experience*. William W. Boyer, p. 1411

The American Political Science Association

1527 New Hampshire Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

President: AVERY LEISERSON, Vanderbilt University; *President-Elect:* AUSTIN RANNEY, University of Wisconsin, Madison; *Vice Presidents:* SUSANNE H. RUDOLPH, University of Chicago; DANKWART A. RUSTOW, CUNY (Brooklyn); JOHN C. WAHLKE, University of Iowa; *Secretary:* SAMUEL H. BARNES, University of Michigan; *Treasurer:* CHARLES O. JONES, University of Pittsburgh; *Program Chairman:* SAMUEL C. PATTERSON, University of Iowa; *Executive Director:* EVRON M. KIRKPATRICK, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; *Managing Editor, APSR:* NELSON W. POLSBY, University of California, Berkeley.

COUNCIL: (Above-named Officers *ex officio*), 1973–74: PAUL Y. HAMMOND, Rand Corporation; DONALD G. HERZBERG, Georgetown University; MATTHEW HOLDEN, JR., University of Wisconsin, Madison; ROBERT H. HORWITZ, Kenyon College; WILLIAM S. LIVINGSTON, University of Texas at Austin; H. MARK ROELOFS, New York University; ROBERTA S. SIGEL, Rutgers University; SIDNEY WISE, Franklin and Marshall College. 1974–75: LUCIUS BARKER, Washington University, St. Louis; MARTIN DIAMOND, Northern Illinois University; ADA W. FINIFTER, Michigan State University; STANLEY HOFFMANN, Harvard University; THEODORE J. LOWI, Cornell University; FRANCINE F. RABINOWITZ, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; SIDNEY VERBA, Harvard University; AARON WILDAVSKY, University of California, Berkeley.

FORMER PRESIDENTS: FRANK J. GOODNOW, ALBERT SHAW, FREDERIC N. JUDSON, JAMES BRYCE, A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, WOODROW WILSON, SIMEON E. BALDWIN, ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, W. W. WILLOUGHBY, JOHN BASSETT MOORE, ERNST FREUND, JESSE MACY, MUNROE SMITH, HENRY JONES FORD, PAUL S. REINSCH, LEO S. ROWE, WILLIAM A. DUNNING, HARRY A. GARFIELD, JAMES W. GARDNER, CHARLES E. MERRIAM, CHARLES A. BEARD, WILLIAM B. MUNRO, JESSE S. REEVES, JOHN A. FAIRLIE, BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH, EDWARD S. CORWIN, WILLIAM F. WILLOUGHBY, ISIDOR LOEB, WALTER J. SHEPARD, FRANCIS W. COKER, ARTHUR N. HOLCOMBE, THOMAS REED POWELL, CLARENCE A. DYKSTRA, CHARLES GROVE HAINES, ROBERT C. BROOKS, FREDERICK A. OGG, WILLIAM ANDERSON, ROBERT E. CUSHMAN, LEONARD D. WHITE, JOHN M. GAUS, WALTER F. DODD, ARTHUR W. MACMAHON, HENRY R. SPENCER, QUINCY WRIGHT, JAMES K. POLLOCK, PETER H. ODEGARD, LUTHER H. GULICK, PENDLETON HERRING, RALPH J. BUNCHE, CHARLES MCKINLEY, HAROLD D. LASSWELL, E. E. SCHATTSCHNEIDER, V. O. KEY, JR., R. TAYLOR COLE, CARL B. SWISHER, EMMETTE S. REDFORD, CHARLES S. HYNEMAN, CARL J. FRIEDRICH, C. HERMAN PRITCHETT, DAVID B. TRUMAN, GABRIEL A. ALMOND, ROBERT A. DAHL, MERLE FAINSOD, DAVID EASTON, KARL W. DEUTSCH, ROBERT E. LANE, HEINZ EULAU, ROBERT E. WARD.

The American Political Science Review

Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley 94720

EDITORIAL BOARD: NELSON W. POLSBY, *Managing Editor*, University of California, Berkeley; PHILIP SIEGELMAN, *Book Review Editor*, California State University, San Francisco; SHLOMO AVINERI, *The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*; LUCIUS BARKER, *Washington University*; BRIAN BARRY, *Nuffield College, Oxford University*; RICHARD A. BRODY, *Stanford University*; SAMUEL D. COOK, *Duke University*; ELMER E. CORNWELL, *Brown University*; S. RUFUS DAVIS, *Monash University*; ROBERT C. FRIED, *University of California, Los Angeles*; ROBERT J. JACKSON, *Carleton University*; ROBERT JERVIS, *Harvard University*; DALE RODGERS MARSHALL, *University of California, Davis*; RUSSEL D. MURPHY, *Wesleyan University*; JOAN M. NELSON, *Washington, D.C.*; J. ROLAND PENNOCK, *Swarthmore College*; SAMUEL L. POPKIN, *University of Texas, Austin*; ROBERT D. PUTNAM, *University of Michigan*; DOUGLAS W. RAE, *Yale University*; AUSTIN RANNEY, *University of Wisconsin*; GIOVANNI SARTORI, *University of Florence*; MICHAEL J. SHAPIRO, *University of Hawaii*; JAY STARLING, *Southern Methodist University*; STEPHEN V. STEPHENS, *The Johns Hopkins University*; GEORGE E. VON DER MUHLL, *University of California, Santa Cruz*; RICHARD A. WATSON, *University of Missouri*; RICHARD WINTERS, *Dartmouth College*, **MANUSCRIPT EDITOR:** ELLEN Y. SIEGELMAN. **EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS:** BARBARA EPSTEIN, BETSEY COBB, DENISE DRUCKER. **EDITORIAL INTERNS:** ROBERT ARSENEAU, JONATHAN BENDOR, COLIN CAMPBELL, BETH CAPELL, PETER COWHEY, RICHARD G. HUTCHESON, III, RICHARD G. C. JOHNSTON, YVONNE JONES, ELAINE KAMARCK, HARRY KREISLER, DAVID LAITIN, JAMES I. LENGLE, WILLIAM M. LUNCH, MATTHEW PINKUS, ALEX RADIAN, STUART A. ROSS, CHRISTINE M. SIERRA, SERGE TAYLOR, STEPHEN VAN EVERA, M. STEPHEN WEATHERFORD.

About the American Political Science Review

The American Political Science Review, published quarterly during the months of March, June, September, and December, is supplied to all APSA members. Membership dues are charged according to the following schedule:

Membership Category	Dues
Regular	
Annual income	
Under \$12,000	\$20
\$12,000–\$15,000	\$25
Over \$15,000	\$30
Student and Retired	\$10
Family	\$5
Life	\$1000
Institutional (includes <i>APSR</i> and <i>PS</i>)	\$50

Student memberships are limited to five years per person. Foreign currency at the official exchange rate will be accepted for foreign subscriptions and foreign membership fees. The equivalent of \$1 for additional postage should be added for foreign subscriptions.

Current issues are priced at \$10.50 per copy; for *back issues prior* to 1968 address Johnson Reprint Corp., 111 5th Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003; for issues 1968 and later send request directly to the American Political Science Association.

Applications for membership, orders for the *Review*, and remittances should be addressed to the Executive Director, The American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. *Notices of changes of address* should be received in the Washington office by the 25th day of the months before publication.

INSTRUCTIONS TO CONTRIBUTORS

Address correspondence about contributions to the *Review* to Nelson W. Polsby, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, California 94720. Each manuscript should be accompanied by an abstract of up to 150 words briefly describing the article's contents. All manuscripts and abstracts should be submitted **IN DUPLICATE**. They should be double-spaced and may be in typed, mimeographed, hectographed, or other legible form. Footnotes should appear at the end of the manuscript, not at the bottom of the page, and should also be double-spaced. Manuscripts that do not follow this format will be returned to the authors for retyping.

Since manuscripts are sent out anonymously for editorial evaluation, the author's name and affiliations should appear only on a separate covering page. All footnotes identifying the author should also appear on a separate page.

Address books intended for review to Philip Siegelman, *American Political Science Review*, 210 Barrows Hall, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, California 94720. Information, including News and Notes, for the Association's newsjournal, *PS*, should be sent to 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; advertising, reprint and circulation correspondence should be sent to the Executive Director at the Washington office. Domestic claims for non-receipt of issues must be made within six months of the month of publication; overseas claims, one year. Advertising information and rates are available from Nancy Edgerton, Adv. Manager, APSA, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Articles and notes appearing in the *Review* before the June, 1953 issues were indexed in *The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*. Current issues are indexed by *The International Political Science Abstracts* and the *Social Sciences and Humanities Index*. Microfilm of the *Review*, beginning with Volume 1, may be obtained from University Microfilms, 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106. A *Cumulative Index of the Review*, Volumes 1–62: 1906–1968, may also be obtained from University Microfilms. Articles appearing in the *Review* are listed regularly in *ABC Pol Sci* and *Current Contents: Behavioral, Social & Management Sciences*. Book reviews are indexed in *Book Review Index*.