

The American Political Science Review

Vol. LXVII

September 1973

No. 3

CONTENTS

- 799 Caste and the Decline of Political Homogeneity A. H. Somjee
- 817 The Attribution of Variance in Electoral Returns: An Alternative Measurement Technique Richard S. Katz
- 829 Comment Donald E. Stokes
- 832 Rejoinder Richard S. Katz
- 835 Electoral Choice in the American States: Incumbency Effects, Partisan Forces, and Divergent Partisan Majorities Andrew T. Cowart
- 854 The Impact of Party on Voting Behavior in a Nonpartisan Legislature Susan Welch and Eric H. Carlson
- 868 Foreign Aid and United Nations Votes: A Comparative Study Eugene R. Wittkopf
- 889 Democratic Committee Assignments in the House of Representatives: Strategic Aspects of a Social Choice Process David W. Rohde and Kenneth A. Shepsle
- 906 Candidates' Perception of Voter Competence: A Comparison of Winning and Losing Candidates Chong Lim Kim and Donald P. Racherer
- 914 Residential Location and Electoral Cohesion: The Pattern of Urban Political Conflict Timothy A. Almy
- 924 The Politics of Redistribution: A Reformulation Bernard H. Booms and James R. Halldorson
- 934 Voting Systems, Honest Preferences and Pareto Optimality Richard Zeckhauser
- 947 A New Shape Measure for Evaluating Electoral District Patterns Peter J. Taylor
- 951 Policy and Priority in the Budgetary Process Peter B. Natchez and Irvin C. Bupp
- 964 Communications
- 970 Editorial Comment
- 973 Book Reviews and Essays
Man's Tools and Man's Choices: The Confrontation of Technology and Political Science Victor C. Ferkiss
-

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, 1973, by The American Political Science Association

ARTICLES

- 799 Caste and the Decline of Political Homogeneity.** The relationship between the traditional social organization of India, based on the principle of hierarchy, and the newly introduced democratic institutions and procedures, based on the principle of equality, has been a subject of diverse interpretations. The more significant of these interpretations are that the social organization has subsumed the new political system, and that the various units of social organization, namely, castes, have developed voluntary bodies or caste associations of their own in order to enter into an operative relationship with the new political system. The latter interpretation also implies that the democratic political socialization in India has been taking place by means of the caste associations. This study takes a hard look at such interpretations and points out that the internal cohesion of the social organization materially alters when it moves away from its primary social concerns—ritual, pollution, and endogamy—to nontraditional concerns. This change is reflected in the fact that highly fragmented decision-making processes of castes in nontraditional matters often lead to their substantial vote against candidates of their own castes. Such political differentiation within castes has occurred before the advent of certain caste associations, and in some cases despite them. These and other assertions are substantiated through data collected in a rural and an urban community where fieldwork designed to understand their political dynamics extended over a number of years.

By A. H. SOMJEE, Professor of Political Science, Simon Fraser University.

- 817 The Attribution of Variance in Electoral Returns: An Alternative Measurement Technique.** Swings in district vote for Congress are conditioned by many factors. An attempt is made here to apportion the variance in the partisan distribution of votes for U. S. representative among three levels of influence—national, state, and district—measuring the degree of nationalization, regionalization, and localization of voting. Previous attempts have defined “nationalization” of voting as the degree to which district interelection differences are numerically identical. Here this concept is defined in a two-stage regression model as the degree to which districts behave as if these differences were caused by the same factors. In contrast to previous research, national factors are found to be responsible for more than 50 per cent of the variance in local vote, with state and district forces accounting for 19 per cent and 26 per cent, respectively. Several analytic uses for this measure are suggested and illustrated.

By RICHARD S. KATZ, Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science, Yale University.

Comment. By DONALD E. STOKES, Professor of Political Science and Dean of the Graduate School, University of Michigan.

Rejoinder. By RICHARD S. KATZ.

- 835 Electoral Choice in the American States: Incumbency Effects, Partisan Forces, and Divergent Partisan Majorities.** It is a relatively common occurrence in American politics for state electorates to divide their partisan majorities between different parties, depending on the office contest. Observations concerning these divergent aggregate patterns are usually accompanied by speculation that the theoretical propositions on individual voting behavior, developed and tested in the context of presidential voting, hold less relevance for voting in statewide contests. Evidence presented in this paper does not bear out that view of state elections. The candidate incumbency context of state elections is introduced as an aid in predicting the partisan direction of split-ticket voting at the state level. Setting respondents in various conflict situations with respect to (1) basic party loyalties, (2) net assessments of presidential candidates, and (3) incumbent partisanship yields reasonably accurate specification of split-ticket voting patterns in gubernatorial, senatorial, and presidential contests; it also suggests at least one source of disparate partisan majorities among state electorates.

By ANDREW T. COWART, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Oslo.

- 854 The Impact of Party on Voting Behavior in a Nonpartisan Legislature.** The Nebraska nonpartisan legislature serves as a control setting for testing several hypotheses about the impact of party and constituency on voting behavior in legislative bodies. Specifically, in light of the data obtained from a setting where party identification is present but party leadership and organization are absent, the following hypotheses are examined: that political parties are important in structuring voting behavior because of the influence of party leaders and organization; that party is important because party identification is a surrogate for sets of beliefs and attitudes that distinguish members of one party from another; or that party is important because party differences reflect different constituency bases of the party. In a roll-call analysis of five sessions utilizing Guttman-scaling and regression techniques, it was found that in the absence of party leadership and organization, voting is highly unstructured. Further, dimensions of voting that were found are largely unexplainable in terms of standard party and constituency variables. Thus, party identification and constituency influence appear to be insufficient cues for the organization of legislative voting behavior, in the absence of party leadership.

By SUSAN WELCH, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Nebraska, with the assistance of ERIC H. CARLSON, Law Student, University of Oregon.

- 868 Foreign Aid and United Nations Votes: A Comparative Study.** This study examines in a comparative foreign policy framework the relationship between bilateral foreign aid allocations and pairwise voting agreements between developed and developing nations in the UN General Assembly. The foreign aid donors considered include the United States, the Soviet "bloc," and the twelve other UN members of the OECD's Development Assistance Committee. Two different measures of aid allocations in two three-year periods (1962-1964 and 1965-1967) are correlated with two different measures of the percentage of agreements in the UN between each aid donor and its aid recipients, with both indices calculated on the basis of all roll calls taken in the 1963 and 1966 General Assemblies.

In general, the results of the analysis were found to be consistent with the hypothesized positive association between aid and votes only in the case of the United States. For many of the remaining donors the association was found to be negative rather than positive, suggesting either that enemies are rewarded more than friends, or, alternatively, that there is little relationship of substantive interest between aid and votes for most donor countries. Even in the case of the U.S., however, which of the two variables should be considered a cause and which a consequence remains unresolved.

By EUGENE R. WITKOPF, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Florida.

- 889 Democratic Committee Assignments in the House of Representatives: Strategic Aspects of a Social Choice Process.** This paper examines the committee assignment process for Democratic members of the House of Representatives. Unlike previous studies of committee assignments, this paper employs data on the requests for assignments submitted by members to the Committee on Committees. The theoretical perspective employed is one in which all the participants in the process are rational actors who have goals they want to achieve and who choose among alternative courses of action on the basis of which alternative is most likely to lead to the achievement of those goals. We argue that the allocation of committee assignments affects the goals of all the participants in the process, and thus we consider the choices of actors in the process in terms of their goals; specifically the goals of re-election, influence within the House, and good public policy.

After first considering the process from the point of view of the member making requests, we show that the member's requests are related to the type of district he represents, and that the number of requests he makes is related to such considerations as whether he is a freshman, whether he faces competition from a member from his state, and whether there is a vacancy from his state on his most preferred committee.

The process is also considered from the point of view of the members making the assignments. Decisions on assignments are found to be affected by seniority (where success in getting requested committees is inversely related to seniority), margin of election (where members from marginal districts are more successful), and region (where southerners are less successful than members from other regions).

By DAVID W. ROHDE, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Michigan State University and KENNETH A. SHEPSLE, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Washington University, St. Louis.

- 906 Candidates' Perception of Voter Competence: A Comparison of Winning and Losing Candidates.** This study, based on the two-wave questionnaire data collected from legislative candidates in Iowa, attempts to test the "congratulation-rationalization effect," a highly provocative hypothesis that John Kingdon formulated regarding politicians' beliefs about voters. The hypothesis asserts that winning candidates tend to develop complimentary beliefs about voters while losing candidates tend to develop beliefs deprecating to voters. The results of analysis indicate, however, no significant difference between winners and losers in terms of the direction and magnitude of changes in their beliefs about voters, suggesting that the hypothesis is invalid. When the hypothesis is reformulated in terms of "dissonance states" rather than "election outcomes," the evidence is strongly supportive. Among winners, those who perceive a high degree of dissonance more than those who perceive little dissonance tend to change their beliefs about voters in a favorable direction. Conversely, among losers, those who perceive a high degree of dissonance more than those who perceive little dissonance tend to change their beliefs in an unfavorable direction. Therefore, the "congratulation-rationalization" hypothesis can be sustained only if cast in direct dissonance terms.

By CHONG LIM KIM, Associate Professor of Political Science and DONALD P. RACHETER, Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science, University of Iowa.

- 914 Residential Location and Electoral Cohesion: The Pattern of Urban Political Conflict.** This study examines the assertions of urban scholars that the spatial arrangement of urban populations is important in determining the amount of conflict displayed within American cities. The article analyzes the spatial distribution of class groups within 18 cities and the degree of voting solidarity and conflict displayed within segregated and integrated sections of each community. Data were gathered from precinct voting returns for several local referenda in each city to test the following hypotheses: (1)

The residential distribution of social-class groups will significantly influence the degree of electoral cohesion these groups display; (2) The spatial distribution of class groups will significantly influence the amount of electoral disagreement between class groups. The study found that communities that displayed segregated class groups had a high degree of class electoral solidarity. Within cities that manifested spatially integrated class groups, however, the electoral cohesion of each class was low. A social-class group located in an area of a city possessing wide class dissimilarity was not likely to vote in agreement with other groups of the same class located elsewhere in the city. The findings of this article suggest that location may be one of the sources of urban political conflicts.

By TIMOTHY A. ALMY, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Georgia.

- 924 The Politics of Redistribution: A Reformulation.** This paper offers a critique and a reformulation of Brian Fry and Richard Winters's policy output study published in this *Review* June, 1970. Fry and Winters focused on the redistributive impact of public policy in the states. After devising a "redistribution ratio" that involves allocating state revenue burdens and expenditure benefits to families across income classes, they developed a model to explain the variance of this ratio from state to state. In contrast to the findings of many earlier policy output studies, they hypothesized that political variables would have more explanatory power than socioeconomic variables.

Unfortunately some methodological shortcomings detract from the potential value of the Fry and Winters study. In this paper, alternative methodologies are used to reformulate a redistribution ratio for each state, and the recalculated ratios are found to vary significantly from those obtained by Fry and Winters.

The shortcomings of the Fry and Winters explanatory model are discussed. Despite these shortcomings, however, the regression analysis employed by Fry and Winters is repeated using the reformulated redistribution ratios in order to test the impact of this reformulation. Again the results obtained in this paper vary substantially from those of Fry and Winters.

By BERNARD H. BOOMS, Associate Professor of Economics, The Pennsylvania State University and JAMES R. HALLDORSON, Accounting Management Trainee, Tax Department, F. W. Woolworth Company.

- 934 Voting Systems, Honest Preference and Pareto Optimality.** The market is a decentralized system that can bring about efficient economic decisions. This paper examines whether social choice mechanisms can duplicate this success in the political arena. The famed Arrow result tells us centralized systems cannot achieve efficient, nondictatorial outcomes unless they rely on cardinal preferences. With decentralization, efficiency comes to require something more: the truthful revelation of preferences. Schemes that elicit honest preferences are derived here. By their very structure they are shown to lead to inefficient outcomes. This negative result leads to the question whether the validity of the initial analogy continues. Market-based standards of performance may be inappropriate for investigations of political phenomena.

By RICHARD ZECKHAUSER, Professor of Political Economy, Harvard University.

- 947 A New Shape Measure for Evaluating Electoral District Patterns.** The concept of shape is considered in abstract terms drawing on approaches outside the electoral districting literature. The concept is broken down into a series of four divergences from "compactness" relating to "elongation," "indentation," "separation," and "puncturedness." Given this conceptual framework, the use of shape measures in electoral districting is reconsidered and a new shape measure is proposed. This assesses the indentation of a district shape and is based on the internal angles within the shape. It is suggested that this measure may be particularly relevant to the evaluation of proposed new districting patterns. The technique is illustrated using proposed new Congressional Districts for Iowa.

By PETER J. TAYLOR, Lecturer in Geography, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, England.

- 951 Policy and Priority in the Budgetary Process.** Recent quantitative studies vastly understate the political conflicts and policy choices that are embedded in the budgetary process. The reason for this lies in the way these quantitative studies have organized budgetary data. Thus far the units of analysis have been federal agencies, the administrative categories of government. The "striking regularities" that have been reported reflect—quite accurately—the great stability of the administrative structure of government. However, these categories do not describe the intense competition between programs and policies that takes place within the framework. We argue, further, that the entire metaphor of an inert bureaucratic machine doing this year essentially what it did last year is erroneous. Rather, priority setting in the federal bureaucracy more resembles the market situation of nineteenth century capitalism where aggressive "policy entrepreneurs," unequal in talent and resources, struggle to build and sustain support for their programs. The competition between policies is both reflected in and promoted by the budgetary process. By shifting the units of analysis to programs and trans-

- Roger Cobb and Charles Elder, *Participation in American Politics: The Dynamics of Agenda-Building*. Ronald O. Loveridge, p. 1009
- Richard C. Cortner, *The Apportionment Cases*. Karl A. Lamb, p. 1010
- Richard C. Cortner, *The Arizona Train Limit Case, Southern Pacific vs. Arizona*. Jeffrey B. Morris, p. 1012
- Richard C. Cortner and Clifford M. Lytle, *Constitutional Law and Politics, Three Arizona Cases*. Jeffrey B. Morris, p. 1012
- Robert Eyestone, *The Threads of Public Policy: A Study in Policy Leadership*. Earl M. Baker, p. 1013
- Louis Fisher, *President and Congress: Power and Policy*. John F. Manley, p. 1014
- Fred R. Harris and John V. Lindsay, co-chairmen, *The State of the Cities: Report of the Commission on the Cities in the '70's*. Richard D. Feld, p. 1016
- Richard J. Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflict, 1888–1896*. James A. Meldrum, p. 1016
- James E. Krier, *Environmental Law and Policy: Readings, Materials and Notes on Air Pollution and Related Problems*. J. Clarence Davies, III, p. 1018
- Robert J. Lampman, *Ends and Means of Reducing Income Poverty*. William Niskanen, p. 1018
- General Thomas A. Lane, *America on Trial: The War for Vietnam*. Dennis J. Duncanson, p. 1020
- Leonard Lederman and Margaret Windus, *Federal Funding and National Priorities: An Analysis of Programs, Expenditures, and Research and Development*. Frank C. Colcord, Jr., p. 1020
- Ronald O. Loveridge, *City Managers in Legislative Politics*. Jeffrey L. Pressman, p. 1021
- John H. McCord, ed., *With All Deliberate Speed*. Robert S. Gerstein, p. 1022
- Paul C. Nagel, *This Sacred Trust: American Nationality, 1798–1898*. Richard P. McCormick, p. 1023
- Terry B. O'Rourke, *Reapportionment: Law, Politics, Computers*. Karl A. Lamb, p. 1010
- James T. Patterson, *Mr. Republican: A Biography of Robert A. Taft*. Nelson W. Polsby, p. 1024
- Edward Peeks, *The Long Struggle for Black Power*. Robert E. Martin, p. 1025
- Randall B. Ripley, *The Politics of Economic and Human Resource Development*. Eugene Bardach, p. 1026
- David H. Rosenbloom, *Federal Service and the Constitution*. Harry H. Wellington, p. 1027
- Edward L. Schapsmeier and Frederick H. Schapsmeier, *Prophet in Politics: Henry A. Wallace and the War Years, 1940–1965*. Donald Bruce Johnson, p. 1028
- Allen Schick, *Budget Innovation in the States*. Ira Sharkansky, p. 1029
- June Sochen, ed., *The Black Man and the American Dream: Negro Aspirations in America, 1900–1930*. Robert E. Martin, p. 1025
- Joseph R. Starobin, *American Communism in Crisis, 1943–1957*. Theodore Draper, p. 1030
- Norman C. Thomas and Hans W. Baade, eds., *The Institutionalized Presidency*. Philippa Strum, p. 1031
- Sterling Tucker, *For Blacks Only: Black Strategies for Change in America*. Robert E. Martin, p. 1025
- David J. Vogler, *The Third House: Conference Committees in the United States Congress*. Robert L. Peabody, p. 1033
- Richard E. Wagner, *The Fiscal Organization of American Federalism*. Lyle C. Fitch, p. 1006

1034 Comparative Government and Politics

- T. W. Adams, *Akel: The Communist Party of Cyprus*. Stanley Kyriakides, p. 1034
- G. Adhikari, ed., *Documents of the History of the Communist Party of India, Vol. I, 1917–1922*. Marcus F. Franda, p. 1035
- Robert F. Arnove, *Student Alienation: A Venezuelan Case Study*. Robert E. Scott, p. 1037
- G. Pope Atkins and Larman C. Wilson, *The United States and the Trujillo Regime*. N. Joseph Cayer, p. 1037
- C. P. Bambhri, *Bureaucracy and Politics in India*. Benjamin N. Schoenfeld, p. 1038
- Rodney Barker, *Education and Politics, 1900–1951: A Study of the Labour Party*. F. M. Leventhal, p. 1039
- Robert H. Bates, *Unions, Parties and Political Development: A Study of Mineworkers in Zambia*. Robert Melson, p. 1040
- John Beattie, *The Nyoro State*. S. R. Charsley, p. 1041
- Lucien Bianco, *Origins of the Chinese Revolution, 1915–1949*. Harold Z. Schiffrin, p. 1042
- Albert P. Blaustein and Gisbert Flanz, eds., *Constitutions of the Countries of the World*. Francis H. Heller, p. 1044
- Gerard Braunthal, *The West German Legislative Process: A Case Study of Two Transportation Bills*. Arthur Bruce Boenau, p. 1044
- Brian Chapman, *Police State*. Samuel G. Chapman, p. 1045
- Richard Clogg and George Yannopoulos, eds., *Greece Under Military Rule*. Keith R. Legg, p. 1094
- Stephen P. Cohen, *The Indian Army; Its Contribution to the Development of a Nation*. Wayne Wilcox, p. 1046
- William B. Cohen, *Rulers of Empire: The French Colonial Service in Africa*. Edouard Bustin, p. 1047
- Jean Claude Colliard, *Les Républicains indépendants: Valérie Giscard d'Estaing*. William G. Andrews, p. 1048
- R. Hrair Dekmejian, *Egypt Under Nasir: A Study in Political Dynamics*. Malcolm H. Kerr, p. 1049
- Horst Duhnke, *Die KPD von 1933 bis 1945*. Henry Krisch, p. 1050
- Howard L. Erdman, *Political Attitudes of Indian Industry: A Case Study of the Baroda Industrial Elite*. Richard D. Lambert, p. 1052
- Herbert Feldman, *From Crisis to Crisis: Pakistan 1962–1969*. Lawrence Ziring, p. 1052
- P. Ford and G. Ford, *A Guide to Parliamentary Papers, 3rd. ed.* James B. Christoph, p. 1054
- Meyer Galler and Harlan E. Marquess, *Soviet Prison Camp Speech: A Survivor's Glossary*. Gayle Durham Hollander, p. 1054

- J. Gérard-Libois and José Gotovitch, *L'An 40: La Belgique occupée*. Howard Bliss, p. 1055
- Eli Ginzberg, *Manpower for Development: Perspectives on Five Continents*. John C. Shearer, p. 1056
- Maurice A. Glele, *Naissance d'un Etat Noir: L'évolution politique et constitutionnelle du Dahomey, de la colonisation à nos jours*. Samuel Decalo, p. 1057
- Richard Grunberger, *The Twelve-Year Reich. A Social History of Nazi Germany*. Peter Pulzer, p. 1058
- John Patrick Haithcox, *Communism and Nationalism in India: M. N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920–1939*. Marcus F. Franda, p. 1035
- Theodore S. Hamerow, *The Social Foundations of German Unification, 1858–1871: Struggles and Accomplishments*. Glenn N. Schram, p. 1059
- H. J. Hanham, *Scottish Nationalism*. Richard W. Mansbach, p. 1060
- James J. Heaphey, ed., *Spatial Dimensions of Development Administration*. Alfred Diamant, p. 1061
- Barbara Wolfe Jancar, *Czechoslovakia and the Absolute Monopoly of Power: A Study of Political Power in a Communist System*. Ivo D. Duchacek, p. 1063
- G. Wesley Johnson, Jr., *The Emergence of Black Politics in Senegal: The Struggle for Power in the Four Communes, 1900–1920*. Irving Leonard Markovitz, p. 1064
- Roger E. Kanet, ed., *The Behavioral Revolution and Communist Studies*. Donald V. Schwartz, p. 1066
- Thomas Kanza, *Conflict in the Congo*. M. Crawford Young, p. 1068
- Stefan Kieniewicz, *The Emancipation of the Polish Peasantry*. Thomas W. Simons, Jr., p. 1069
- Paul F. Langer, *Communism in Japan: A Case of Political Naturalization*. George O. Totten, III, p. 1070
- Herman Lebovics, *Social Conservatism and the Middle Classes in Germany, 1914–1933*. Annelise Thimme, p. 1071
- Antonín J. Liehm, ed., *The Politics of Culture*. Ivan Sviták, p. 1073
- Edward E. Malefakis, *Agrarian Reform and Peasant Revolution in Spain: Origins of the Civil War*. John F. Coverdale, p. 1074
- Howard D. Mehlinger and John M. Thompson, *Count Witte and the Tsarist Government in the 1905 Revolution*. Theodore H. Von Laue, p. 1076
- Richard R. Nelson, T. Paul Schultz, and Robert L. Slighton, *Structural Change in a Developing Economy: Colombia's Problems and Prospects*. R. A. Berry, p. 1076
- S. J. R. Noel, *Politics in Newfoundland*. Steven B. Wolinetz, p. 1078
- Erwin Oberlander, ed., *Russia Enters the 20th Century*. Alfred Levin, p. 1079
- Robert J. O'Neill, *The Army in Papua-New Guinea*. Peta Colebatch, p. 1080
- Nissan Oren, *Bulgarian Communism: The Road to Power, 1934–1944*. J. F. Brown, p. 1081
- J. Gregory Oswald, *Soviet Image of Contemporary Latin America: A Documentary History, 1960–1968*. George I. Blanksten, p. 1082
- Frederick B. Pike, *Hispanismo, 1898–1936: Spanish Conservatives and Liberals and Their Relations with Spanish America*. William B. Bristol, p. 1083
- Antony Polonsky, *Politics in Independent Poland, 1921–1939: The Crisis of Constitutional Government*. Edward D. Wynot, Jr., p. 1084
- John P. Powelson, *Institutions of Economic Growth: A Theory of Conflict Management in Developing Countries*. David Nachmias, p. 1085
- Peter Reddaway, ed., *Uncensored Russia: Protest and Dissent in the Soviet Union*. Frederick C. Barghoorn, p. 1086
- G. K. Roberts, *West German Politics*. Timothy A. Tilton, p. 1088
- H. Jon Rosenbaum and William G. Tyler, eds., *Contemporary Brazil: Issues in Economic and Political Development*. Susan Kaufman Purcell, p. 1089
- Robert C. Stuart, *The Collective Farm in Soviet Agriculture*. James R. Millar, p. 1090
- Tamas Szentes, *The Political Economy of Underdevelopment*. W. W. Rostow, p. 1091
- Kotaro Tawara, *Hadaka no Nihon Kyosanto (The Japanese Communist Party Bared)*. George O. Totten, III, p. 1070
- Goh Cheng Teik, *The May Thirteenth Incident and Democracy in Malaysia*. B. Simandjuntak, p. 1093
- Constantine Tsoucalas, *The Greek Tragedy*. Keith R. Legg, 1094
- R. K. Vasil, *Politics in a Plural Society: A Study of Non-Communal Political Parties in West Malaysia*. Fred R. von der Mehden, p. 1096
- Jean-Claude Willame, *Patrimonialism and Political Change in the Congo*. René Lemarchand, p. 1096
- Dick Wilson, *The Long March: The Epic of Chinese Communism's Survival, 1935*. John E. Rue, p. 1098
- Eugene Zaleski, *Planning for Economic Growth in the Soviet Union, 1918–1932*. Holland Hunter, p. 1099

100 International Politics, Law and Organization

- Coral Bell, *The Conventions of Crisis: A Study in Diplomatic Management*. Steven L. Spiegel, p. 1100
- Michael Barratt Brown, *After Imperialism*. James R. Kurth, p. 1101
- Martin Carnoy, *Industrialization in a Latin American Common Market*. Roger D. Hansen, p. 1111
- Colin Cherry, *World Communication: Threat or Promise? A Sociotechnical Approach*. Ithiel de Sola Pool, p. 1102
- Hungdah Chiu, *The People's Republic of China and the Law of Treaties*. James C. Hsiung, p. 1103
- E. J. Czerwinski and Jaroslaw Piekalkiewicz, eds., *The Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia: Its Effects on Eastern Europe*. Jan F. Triska, p. 1104
- Frank Dawson and Ivan L. Head, *International Law, National Tribunals, and the Rights of Aliens*. Robert R. Wilson, p. 1105

- Jane Degras, ed., *The Communist International: 1919–1943, 3 Vols.* Alvin Z. Rubinstein, p. 1106
- I. M. Destler, *Presidents, Bureaucrats, and Foreign Policy: The Politics of Organizational Reform.* Burton M. Sapin, p. 1106
- Larry L. Fabian, *Soldiers Without Enemies: Preparing The United Nations for Peacekeeping.* Daniel S. Cheever, p. 1108
- Louise Fitzsimons, *The Kennedy Doctrine.* Simon Serfaty, p. 1117
- Andre Fontaine, *History of the Cold War, Vol. I: From the October Revolution to the Korean War, 1917–1950; Vol. II: From the Korean War to the Present.* Paul Dukes, p. 1109
- Ross Gregory, *Origins of American Intervention in the First World War.* David F. Trask, p. 1110
- Joseph Grunwald, Miguel S. Wionczek, and Martin Carnoy, *Latin American Economic Integration and U. S. Policy.* Roger D. Hansen, p. 1111
- Michael Howard, *Studies in War and Peace.* Gordon A. Craig, p. 1113
- Kiroshi Kitamura, *Psychological Dimensions of U. S.-Japanese Relations.* Donald C. Hellmann, p. 1114
- Walter F. Kuehl, *Seeking World Order: The United States and International Organization to 1920.* James S. Magee, p. 1114
- Leonid N. Kutakov, *Japanese Foreign Policy on the Eve of the Pacific War: A Soviet View.* Hans H. Baerwald, p. 1114
- Joyce C. Lebra, *Jungle Alliance: Japan and the Indian National Army.* Willard H. Elsbree, p. 1116
- James E. McSherry, *Khrushchev and Kennedy in Retrospect.* Simon Serfaty, p. 1117
- Mark Mancall, *Russia and China: Their Diplomatic Relations to 1728.* Donald W. Treadgold, p. 1119
- John R. Niland, *The Asian Engineering Brain Drain.* Edwin P. Reubens, p. 1120
- Riordan Roett, *The Politics of Foreign Aid in the Brazilian Northeast.* Kenneth D. Frederick, p. 1121
- Fuad Rouhani, *A History of O.P.E.C.* Stephen D. Krasner, p. 1122
- Arthur G. Rubinoff, *India's Use of Force in Goa.* Mukund G. Untawale, p. 1123
- George Schwarzenberger, *International Law and Order.* Thomas M. Franck, p. 1124
- Bernard Semmel, *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism.* Kirk R. Emmert, p. 1125
- Anthony C. Sutton, *Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development: 1917 to 1930.* Howard J. Sherman, p. 1126
- Francis O. Wilcox, *Congress, The Executive, and Foreign Policy.* Inis L. Claude, Jr., p. 1128

The American Political Science Association

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

President: ROBERT E. WARD, Stanford University; *President-Elect:* AVERY LEISERSON, Vanderbilt University; *Vice Presidents:* CHARLES V. HAMILTON, Columbia University; RALPH K. HUITT, National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges; RUTH C. SILVA, Pennsylvania State University; *Secretary:* SAMUEL H. BARNES, University of Michigan; *Treasurer:* CHARLES O. JONES, University of Pittsburgh; *Program Chairman:* LUCIAN PYE, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; *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*), 1972–1973: CHRISTIAN BAY, University of Toronto; SAMUEL DUBOIS COOK, Duke University; VALERIE A. EARLE, Georgetown University; RICHARD F. FENNO, University of Rochester; ROBERT O. KEOHANE, Stanford University; SAMUEL KRISLOV, University of Minnesota; GERHARD LOEWENBERG, University of Iowa; KENNETH PREWITT, University of Chicago. 1973–1974: PAUL Y. HAMMOND, Rand Corporation; DONALD G. HERZBERG, Georgetown University; MATTHEW HOLDEN, JR., University of Wisconsin, Madison; ROBERT HORWITZ, Kenyon College; H. MARK ROELOFS, New York University; ROBERTA S. SIGEL, State University of New York, Buffalo; SIDNEY WISE, Franklin and Marshall College.

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.

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*; 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*; ARTHUR S. GOLDBERG, *University of Rochester*; NANNERL O. KEOHANE, *Swarthmore College*; PETER LASLETT, *Trinity College, Cambridge University*; DALE ROGERS MARSHALL, *University of California, Davis*; RUSSELL D. MURPHY, *Wesleyan University*; JOAN M. NELSON, *The Urban Institute*; H. DOUGLAS PRICE, *Harvard University*; 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*; 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, BARBARA KELLY. **EDITORIAL INTERNS:** PETER COWHEY, CRAIG GARRETT, YVONNE JONES, SAM KERNELL, DAVID LAITIN, WILLIAM M. LUNCH, IAN LUSTICK, DAN METLAY, MATTHEW PINKUS, ALEX RADIAN, BRINTON ROWDYBUSH, BYRON SHAFER, ROBERT STUMPF, STEPHEN VAN EVERA, ARTHUR TRUEGER, HARRY WILLIAMS.

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:

<i>Membership Category</i>	<i>Dues</i>
Regular	
<i>Annual income</i>	
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>)	\$35

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 \$7.50 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*.