

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, San Francisco State University*; SHLOMO AVINERI, *The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*; LUCIUS BARKER, *Washington University*; BRIAN BARRY, *University of British Columbia*; RICHARD A. BRODY, *Stanford University*; SAMUEL D. COOK, *Dillard University*; ELMER E. CORNWELL, *Brown University*; S. RUFUS DAVIS, *Monash University*; ROBERT J. JACKSON, *Carleton University*; ROBERT JERVIS, *University of California, Los Angeles*; DALE ROGERS MARSHALL, *University of California, Davis*; RUSSELL D. MURPHY, *Wesleyan University*; JOAN M. NELSON, *Washington, D.C.*; J. ROLAND PENNOCK, *Swarthmore College*; SAMUEL L. POPKIN, *University of California, San Diego*; ROBERT D. PUTNAM, *University of Michigan*; DOUGLAS W. RAE, *Yale University*; AUSTIN RANNEY, *University of Wisconsin*; GIOVANNI STARTORI, *University of Florence*; MICHAEL J. SHAPIRO, *University of Hawaii*; JAY STARLING, *Southern Methodist University*; STEPHEN V. STEPHENS, *Baltimore, Maryland*; 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:** BETSEY COBB, RITA WILLIAMS. **EDITORIAL INTERNS:** ROBERT ARSENEAU, CHARLES BANN, JONATHAN BENDOR, KENNETTE BENEDICT, BETH CAPELL, DON CHISHOLM, PETER COWHEY, DAVID G. DALIN, SHAI FELDMAN, STEPHEN GENECO, RICHARD GUNTHER, EVELYN DEBORAH JAY, JOHN Q. JOHNSON, YVONNE JONES, ELAINE KAMARCK, PAUL D. KARPS, JAMES I. LENGLE, IAN LUSTICK, DAVID B. MAGLEBY, DAVID M. RICHMAN, STEVEN ROSENSTONE, STUART A. ROSS, SERGE TAYLOR, STEVE VAN EVERA, PHILIP J. WILSON.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Changing the Guard. Starting January 1, 1976, all new manuscripts should go to the managing editor elect, Professor Charles O. Jones, Department of Political Science, Mervis Hall, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260.

Current management will receive complaints and correspondence about all issues up to and including the issue of September, 1977. After January 1, Professor Jones will be making all decisions about the contents of forthcoming issues of the *APSR*.

Charles O. Jones. The process prescribed by the Association's Constitution and by-laws is now complete, and the choice of the Council for Managing Editor of the Review 1977-1980 has fallen upon Charles O. Jones, Maurice Falk Professor of Political Science at the University of Pittsburgh. Professor Jones was born in 1931 in Worthing, South Dakota, and is a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of South Dakota, where he learned political science from an extraordinary teacher, William O. Farber. Professor Farber sent Jones on to graduate work at the University of Wisconsin, where he earned master's and doctoral degrees. His work at Madison was punctuated by a year's study at the London School of Economics and Political Science. At Wisconsin, Jones studied

with Leon Epstein and Henry Hart, among others, and he wrote a distinguished doctoral dissertation under the supervision of Ralph K. Huitt, describing the patterns of interest group access to the Agriculture Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, and showing how these patterns of access influenced the organizational structure of the committee.

Professor Jones's teaching career has provided him with an unusually wide range of experiences, including service at Wellesley, a small liberal arts college in New England, at the University of Arizona in Tucson, a middle-sized Western public university, and at Wisconsin, one of the great institutions of the Middle West. The University of Pittsburgh, his present academic home, is a semi-public institution which draws its character from its unmistakably urban milieu. The Department of Political Science is one of the larger and better known departments of the University, and houses a number of scholars having national reputations in several subfields of the discipline.

The scholarly work for which Professor Jones is best known falls approximately into three clusters of articles and books. One cluster concerns the organization and functioning of Congress, with special attention to the constraints upon and opportunities for policy leadership that

exist for party leaders and committee leaders. A second cluster is concerned with the prospects for the vitality of the American two-party system in light of the evolving character of the Republican party as a semi-permanent minority party. A third cluster explores diverse public policies and political reforms—including the four year congressional term, the revision of the Hatch act, and alternative solutions to the problem of air pollution. This last work, which has most recently engaged his interest, has carried Jones into an examination of the functioning of American federalism, and into the appraisal of economic and technological trade-offs in the formation and execution of public policy.

Professor Jones's organizational skills were developed in the course of a sojourn as Associate Director of the National Center for Education in Politics, and the American Political Science Association has at various times called upon his services as member of the Council, Treasurer, Chairman of the Association's Trust Fund, and twice as member of the Program Committee for the Annual Meeting.

The foregoing description can properly be characterized as a portrait of an indecently full, distinguished, and well-rounded curriculum vitae, but, of course, it fails utterly to capture the human qualities that make Charles O. Jones such a felicitous choice as managing editor. A number of these qualities have impressed Jones's colleagues as they have come across him in a variety of settings. That he is energetic and efficient in the use of his time can of course be ascertained by a glance at the enormous variety of things he has accomplished in his career so far. Nobody who participates in the selection process can fail to attend to the presence or absence of the gift of sheer working capacity in a prospective *APSR* managing editor.

Those who know Charles O. Jones best, however, pass over this gift lightly in order to call attention to other, subtler qualities. He is a man of the most exquisite sensitivity about other human beings, and the predicaments, large and small, of human existence on this planet. This sensitivity leads him to restraint and moderation in the expectations he entertains about others, to a gentle pessimism about large and pretentious enterprises, and to a thoroughgoing toleration of all sorts and conditions of people and their works.

To be even superficially acquainted with Charles Jones is to realize he has an ample fund of common sense. To know him a little better is to see that behind this fund there stands a veritable Fort Knox of human insight that can only have arisen from a capacity to observe his fellow creatures with a steady and sympathetic eye, and to think long and hard about what he sees.

An active manifestation of this quality is his scrupulous sense of responsibility—toward family, friends, colleagues and profession. The fair-mindedness and balance that inform his intellectual judgments arise not out of indifference but out of careful attentiveness to the essential task of playing by rules of the game that give a just weight to the needs and expectations of others.

Best of all, however, Charles O. Jones is that precious rarity, a joyful man, someone to sit next to while a dull meeting drones on, someone who can perceive the music as well as the words in the messages we send. He brings the solace of laughter with him, reducing tension, lightening the load.

With the future of our common enterprise in the hands of Charles O. Jones, we could rest easy if we wanted to. But of course under his leadership it will be far more fun to join in than to hang back.

Another Tribute. We are always on the prowl for unobtrusive measures of the impact of the *APSR*. One of the best such measures is the appearance of the *APSR* in a starring role in foolish statements by political scientists, especially in carelessly drawn indictments of the discipline at large. Here is one recent example (readers are invited to send in others):

In one of the recent issues of the *American Political Science Review*, 162 pages were devoted to articles; about two-thirds of this space dealt with voting, elections, and Congressional representation, even though the profession as a whole is well aware that there are many more significant phenomena.*

Typically, statements such as these are embedded in arguments deploring the marshalling of quantitative evidence in the course of political inquiry. And no wonder, since the talisman of the *APSR* can be so readily invoked to ward off charges of sampling error. We can hardly imagine a higher or more ingenuous tribute:

Articles Accepted For Future Publication

Joel D. Aberbach, University of Michigan and Bert A. Rockman, University of Pittsburgh, "Clashing Beliefs Within the Executive Branch: The Nixon Administration Bureaucracy"

Paul R. Abramson, Michigan State University, "Generational Change and the Decline of Party Identification"

C. Arnold Anderson, University of Chicago, "Conceptual Framework for Political Socialization in Developing Societies"

John A. Armstrong, University of Wisconsin, "Mobilized and Proletarian Diasporas"

John M. Bacheller, Kirkland College, "Lobbyists

* Citation cheerfully furnished on request.

- and the Legislative Process: The Impact of Environmental Constraints"
- Richard M. Bank, University of California, Santa Barbara and Steven R. McCarl, University of Denver, "Virtue, Obligation and Politics: Revisited"
- Robert A. Bernstein, Texas A and M University, "Divisive Primaries Do Hurt: U. S. Senate Races, 1956-1972"
- Steven R. Brown, Kent State University, "Toward An Experimental Analysis of Political Literature"
- Charles D. Cary, University of Iowa, "A Technique of Computer Content Analysis of Transliterated Russian Language Textual Materials: A Research Note"
- Jonathan D. Casper, Stanford University, "The Supreme Court and National Policy Making"
- Roger Cobb, Brown University, Jennie-Keith Ross, Swarthmore College, and Marc Howard Ross, Bryn Mawr College, "Agenda Building as a Comparative Political Process"
- Clarke E. Cochran, Texas Tech University, "Authority and Community: The Contributions of Carl Friedrich, Yves Simon, and Michael Polanyi"
- Richard K. Dagger, University of Minnesota, "What is Political Obligation?"
- Fred R. Dallmayr, Purdue University, "Beyond Dogma and Despair: Toward a Critical Theory of Politics"
- John P. Diggins, University of California, Irvine, "Four Theories in Search of a Reality: James Burnham, Soviet Communism, and the Cold War"
- Shaheen F. Dil, Princeton University, "The Cabal in Kabul: Great Power Interaction in Afghanistan"
- Lowell Dittmer, State University of New York, Buffalo, "Thought Reform and the Cultural Revolution: An Analysis of the Symbolism of Chinese Polemics"
- George Edwards, Tulane University, "Presidential Influence in the House: Presidential Prestige as a Source of Presidential Power"
- Robert Eyestone, University of Minnesota, "Confusion, Diffusion and Innovation"
- Norman I. Fainstein, Columbia University and Susan S. Fainstein, Rutgers University, "The Future of Community Control"
- John A. Ferejohn, California Institute of Technology, "On the Decline of Competition in Congressional Elections"
- Robert C. Fried, University of California, Los Angeles, "Party and Policy in West German Cities"
- John V. Gillespie, Dina A. Zinnes, Philip A. Schrodt, G. S. Tahim and Richard Rubison, Indiana University, "An Optimal Control Model of Arms Races"
- Benjamin Ginsberg, Cornell University, "Elections and Public Policy"
- R. Kenneth Godwin and W. Bruce Shepard, Oregon State University, "Political Processes and Public Expenditures: A Re-examination Based on Theories of Representative Government"
- Robert W. Jackman, Michigan State University, "Politicians in Uniform: Military Governments and Social Change in the Third World"
- Bryan D. Jones, Wayne State University, "Bureaucratic Response to Citizen-Initiated Contacts: Environmental Enforcement in Detroit"
- Russell Hardin, University of Pennsylvania, "Hollow Victory: The Minimum Winning Coalition"
- Fred M. Hayward, University of Wisconsin, Madison, "A Reassessment of Conventional Wisdom About the Informed Public: National Political Information in Ghana"
- Douglas A. Hibbs, Jr., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, "Industrial Conflict in Advanced Industrial Societies"
- David K. Hildebrand, University of Pennsylvania, James D. Laing and Howard Rosenthal, Carnegie-Mellon University, "Prediction Analysis in Political Research"
- M. Kent Jennings and Gregory B. Markus, University of Michigan, "The Effect of Military Service on Political Attitudes: A Panel Study"
- Sam Kernell, University of Minnesota, "Presidential Popularity and Negative Voting: An Alternative Explanation of the Mid-Term Congressional Decline of the President's Party"
- David G. Lawrence, Fordham University, "Procedural Norms and Tolerance: A Reassessment"
- James I. Lengle and Byron Shafer, University of California, Berkeley, "Primary Rules, Political Power and Social Change"
- Michael S. Lewis-Beck, University of Iowa, "The Relative Importance of Socioeconomic and Political Variables for Public Policy"
- Michael Margolis, University of Pittsburgh, "From Confusion to Confusion—Issues and the American Voter (1956-1972)"
- Richard D. McKelvey, Carnegie-Mellon University and John H. Aldrich, Michigan State University, "A Method of Scaling, With Applications to the 1968 and 1972 Presidential Elections"
- Richard D. McKelvey and Peter C. Ordeshook, Carnegie-Mellon University, "Symmetric Spatial Games Without Majority Rule Equilibria"
- R. D. McKinlay and A. S. Cohan, University of Lancaster, "The Relationship of Performance Attributes to Military Coups and Military Regimes"
- J. Miller McPherson, Susan Welch, University of

- Nebraska, and Cal Clark, New Mexico State University, "The Stability and Reliability of Political Efficacy: Using Path Analysis to Test Alternative Models"
- Paul E. Meehl, University of Minnesota, "The Selfish Voter Paradox and the Thrown-Away Vote Argument"
- Arthur H. Miller, Warren E. Miller, Alden S. Raine and Thad A. Brown, University of Michigan, "A Majority Party in Disarray: Policy Polarization in the 1972 Election"
- Edward N. Muller, State University of New York at Stony Brook, "Behavioral Correlates of Political Support"
- Helmut Norpoth, University of Cologne, "Explaining Party Cohesion in Congress: The Case of Shared Policy Attitudes"
- Fritz Nova, Villanova University, "Political Innovation of the West German Federal Constitutional Court: The State of Discussion on Judicial Review"
- Thomas C. Nowak, Waynesburg College and Kay A. Snyder, Michigan State University, "Politics and Administration: The Philippines Before Martial Law"
- Karen Orren, University of California, Los Angeles, "Standing to Sue: Interest Group Conflict in the Federal Courts"
- Benjamin I. Page, University of Chicago, "The Theory of Political Ambiguity"
- Thomas L. Pangle, Yale University, "The Political Psychology of Religion in Plato's *Laws*"
- James L. Perry, University of California, Irvine and Charles H. Levine, Syracuse University, "An Interorganizational Analysis of Power, Conflict, and Settlements in Public Sector Collective Bargaining"
- James H. Qualls, The Johns Hopkins University, "Barber's Typological Analysis of Political Leaders"
- David Resnick, Cornell University, "Crude Communism and Revolution"
- Neil R. Richardson, University of Texas at Austin, "Political Compliance and U. S. Trade Dominance"
- Michael J. Robinson, The Catholic University of America, "Public Affairs Television and the Growth of Political Malaise: The Case of *The Selling of the Pentagon*"
- Barry S. Rundquist, University of Illinois, Urbana, Gerald S. Strom, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, and John G. Peters, University of Nebraska, "Corrupt Politicians and their Electoral Support: Some Theoretical and Experimental Observations"
- Peter J. Steinberger, University of California, Riverside, "Hegel as a Social Scientist"
- Gerald S. Strom, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, and Barry S. Rundquist, University of Illinois, Urbana, "A Revised Theory of Winning in House-Senate Conferences"
- J. Weinberger, Michigan State University, "Science and Rule in Bacon's Utopia: An Introduction to the Reading of *The New Atlantis*"
- Lynn T. White III, Princeton University, "Local Autonomy in China During the Cultural Revolution: The Theoretical Uses of an Atypical Case"
- Fred H. Willhoite, Jr., Coe College, "Primates and Political Authority: A Biobehavioral Perspective"
- Gerald C. Wright, Jr., Florida Atlantic University, "Contextual Models of Electoral Behavior: The Southern Wallace Vote"