

political wholes, how they are composed, created and maintained.

These questions about the political whole or regime were not prompted by mere curiosity, but by concern for what is possible and best given human beings as they are. And so it is with political economy. At its core is not only an attempt to understand the character of contemporary regimes (in the present discussion, liberal democracies) but also to consider what measure of justice is possible in them.

Now, not too much should be claimed here. Between Aristotle and Schumpeter there are large enough differences to make us hesitate about easy comparisons. The political economy perspective does share with the oldest tradition of political thought a concern for a good way of life. It is, nevertheless, true that for many advocates of political economy such a way of life cannot be achieved through politics. It is the productive arrangements of the society that are central to any such enterprise. Still, discussion of the types of regimes and their connection to what is valuable, whatever the disagreements, is surely a

more promising path for political study to take than any narrowly construed interest-driven or social psychological theory of politics. ■

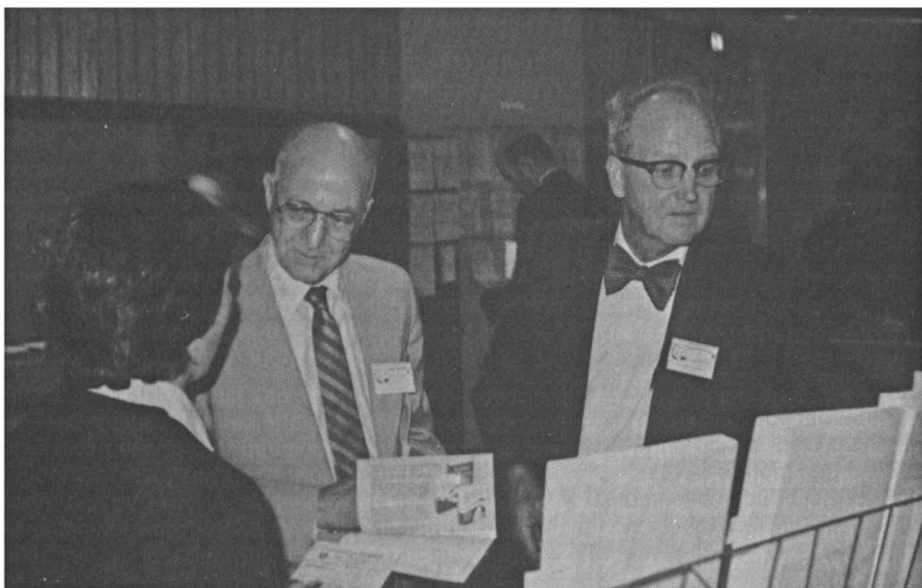
Reports

Southern Meeting Features Presidency Panel and Lipset

Lawrence D. Longley
Lawrence University

The 1981 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association (SPSA) was marked by panels on a wide variety of topics, including The Political Theory of Eric Voegelin, Organizing the Presidency, Book Publishing in the 1980s, Minority Politics and the Influence of Public Policy, The 1980 Presidential Election, and The Politics of Race in the Modern South.

More than 500 political scientists from throughout the South and nation came to Memphis to enjoy the opportunity to see



Abraham Holtzman, North Carolina State, and Clifton McCleskey, University of Virginia, discuss new publications with Susan Sullivan, Congressional Quarterly Press, at the Southern meeting.

Photo by Lawrence Longley

friends and colleagues from other schools, examine new publications, and attend events such as a special three-hour panel on Organizing the Presidency: The Carter and Reagan Lessons. Discussing this topic in the Special Roundtable were Stephen Wayne, George Washington; Charles W. Dunn, Clemson; John Kessel, Ohio State; Eugene Eidenberg, Executive Director of the Democratic National Committee and former assistant to President Carter; and Roger Porter, assistant to President Reagan.

The SPSA General Business Meeting featured the announcement of a number of prizes and honors. The V. O. Key Book Award for the best book on Southern politics published in 1980 went to John Gavanta of the Highland Center, Tennessee, for his study of Appalachian poverty, *Power and Powerlessness*. The committee deciding this prize was chaired by Charles D. Hadley of the University of New Orleans.

Paul Beck, Florida State University, presented the Pi Sigma Alpha Award for the best paper presented at the 1980 annual meeting to Dale Kramer of Mississippi State. The Brooks/Cole Award for the best paper presented by a graduate student at the 1980 annual meeting was awarded to L. Gary Zuk and Robert D. Duval, both of Florida State University, by Charles Johnson, Texas A&M. Finally, Scarlett Graham of Vanderbilt University, presented the Women and Politics Award for the best paper presented on the subject of women in politics at the 1980 annual meeting to Liane C. Kosaki of the University of Michigan.

Following the awards ceremony, Malcolm Jewell, University of Kentucky and president of the Southern Political Science Association, introduced the president of the American Political Science Association, Seymour Martin Lipset of Stanford University, for his first speech to a regional political science meeting as APSA president. Lipset spoke on "The Limits of Social Science," exploring the predictive weakness of the social sciences which have proven better at explaining than anticipating political and social phenomena. In his remarks, Professor Lipset also explored the political values and activism of social scientists,

which have been traditionally in the liberal direction, and contrasted this liberal tendency with the growth of neo-conservatism in the social sciences since the mid-1970s. ■

Budget and Tax Cuts Have Real Impact

LeRoy Graymer

University of California, Los Angeles, Extension

The recently enacted federal tax reform and budget cuts go well beyond political rhetoric. Public officials at the state and local levels, scholars, private sector managers and community leaders are attempting to assess the impact of these changes on state and local governments in different regions of the country.

Will the reductions in federal taxes eventually increase the revenue base for state and local governments? Will increases in military spending improve the economies of recipient regions? Is "Reagonomics" depressing the economy and thereby reducing local and state governments' capacities to meet existing—and potentially expanding—demands? Will cutbacks in federal programs transfer costs to state and local governments in excess of any potential revenue gains? Will federal cutbacks in social service programs be picked up at the state and local levels, or lead to deterioration in the level of services?

These are a few of the critical questions addressed by federal, state and local government experts and independent analysts at a conference held in Los Angeles on October 13, 1981. The conference, organized by LeRoy Graymer, head of the Public Policy Program at UCLA Extension, focused on federal tax and budget cut impacts on the state of California.

Alice M. Rivlin, Director of the Congressional Budget Office, began the day-long program with a "view from Washington." She stated that the passage of both funding and tax cuts resulted from congressional consensus that Americans want a policy shift in four directions: a cut in the size of government (i.e., cuts in

both government spending and activity), an increase in real defense spending, a relief from the tax burden, and a move toward a balanced budget. The consequences of the new politics, Rivlin believes, will force a serious, even agonizing, rethinking of what the American people want the federal government to do, how they want to pay for it, and how that is going to affect the relative responsibilities of federal, state and local governments.

Federal spending has consumed 23 percent of the national product, but the tax cuts already enacted are designed to lower federal revenues to 19 percent of the GNP by 1984. Serious dilemmas exist as to how this reduction will be apportioned. The political crunch occurs when legislators attempt to move from a general agreement on the overall need to cut to actually deciding on whose benefits or services should be curtailed.

Examining the federal actions as they affect California specifically, Fred Silva, consultant to the California State Senate Local Government Committee, characterized the new policies as part of a third revolutionary period in California history. This "revolution" began three years ago with the passage of Proposition 13, the "property tax revolt," and has led to a new governmental structure in the state. Local governments, Silva said, have become increasingly dependent on state-allocated funds. He predicted that the new federal actions, including block grants, will increase local reliance on state actions.

Also addressing the new local-state relationship, Jeffrey I. Chapman, associate professor at the University of Southern California's School of Public Administration, predicted that if the state continues to centralize, local governments may become less able to govern. This is occurring at a time when popular opinion reveals a greater distrust of federal, state and larger local governments.

The block grant concept was examined by William G. Hamm, California Legislative Analyst, who characterized it as "a tremendous opportunity to use the public dollar more efficiently and effectively in

providing services to the people of California," while he noted some of the obstacles to doing so. Eric Thor, vice president and senior economist of the Bank of America, discussed the economic impact of increased defense spending in California and pointed out the state's economically advantaged position in this respect. David Shulman, a member of the UCLA Business Forecasting Project and assistant professor at the University of California, Riverside, predicted that the tax cuts would be fiscally stimulative to the California economy, as well as at the national level, but that these effects will not be felt until the second half of 1982.

There was a strong consensus among speakers at the conference that local governments, particularly counties, will preside over substantial curtailment of social services and a decline in the areas of public employment and programs supported by categorical federal aid such as community development, transportation and capital infrastructure. In California, following on the heels of Proposition 13 and the exhaustion of state surpluses (used to bail out local governments in the immediate post-Prop 13 period), serious financial problems are anticipated, at least in the short run.

Mary Ann Graves, director of the state's Department of Finance, detailed the rate at which state revenue shortfalls have already led to deficits (\$300,000,000 during the first quarter), necessitating a special session of the legislature to bring California welfare payments into line with new federal law. The Governor has instituted a two percent across-the-board cut and is discussing prospects of further emergency reductions. This state revenue decline reflects the current recession in the economy as a whole, and could be alleviated by the economic recovery being forecast for mid-1982.

Other conference speakers were Keith Comrie, City Administrative Officer for the City of Los Angeles; Richard V. Eastin, associate professor, University of Southern California; Werner Z. Hirsch, professor of economics, UCLA; Mark Pisano, Executive Director, Southern California Association of Governments;

and Arthur G. Will, Executive Director, Institute of Local Self-Government (Berkeley).

The conference was presented by the newly established Public Policy Program at UCLA Extension. The program draws on scholarly work to help policy makers and administrators better understand the context of current and emerging public policy issues.

A transcript of the proceedings of this conference is available from the Public Policy Program, UCLA Extension 711, 10995 LeConte Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90024 (\$6.75; 55 pp.). Orders should be accompanied by a check payable to "The Regents of the University of California." ■

Former Members of Congress Visit College Campuses

Over 200 former members of Congress are available to speak in college classrooms throughout the country through the Congressional Alumni Campus Fellows Program.

This program was started with funds from the Ford Foundation, the Florence and William Hewlett Foundation, and the Dr. Scholl Foundation. It has expanded under grants from the Claude Worthington Benedum Foundation, the Florence and John Schumann Foundation, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, the Louise Taft Semple Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities and several corporate sponsors.

For more information on the Campus Fellows Program, contact the Association of Former Members of Congress, 1800 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. ■

Academic Women Still Paid Less

Women on university and college faculty are paid substantially less than men, according to a study conducted for *The*

Chronical of Higher Education. In general, women faculty receive 85 percent of the salaries of their male colleagues. In 1981-82, the average salary of men in the social sciences was \$25,626, whereas the average salary of women was \$21,494. ■

Policy Studies Organization News: New Periodicals Mark First Year

The Policy Studies Organization (PSO) is nearing completion of the first volume for each of its two new periodicals. The 1981-82 issues of the *Policy Studies Review* include symposia on the following topics with the following issue editors:

1. "Anthropology and Public Policy," Akira Yamamoto, Donald Stull, and Felix Moos
2. "State Government Policy," Dennis Judd, Jack Brizius, and Fred Teitelbaum
3. "Regulatory Policy," Mel Dubnick and Alan Gitelson
4. "Public Policy Toward Risk," Susan Hadden and Jared Hazelton
5. "Corrections and Public Policy," Jameson Doig
6. "Rural Policy Problems," Don Hadwiger and William Browne

The 1981-82 issues of the *Policy Studies Journal* include the following symposia:

1. "Social Values in Public Policy," William Dunn
2. "Reapportionment Policy," Bernard Grofman, Arend Lijphart, and Howard Scarrow
3. "Urban Services Distribution," Richard Rich
4. "Administrative Reform," Gerald Caiden
5. "Higher Education Policy," Samuel Gove and Thomas Stauffer
6. "Communities in Economic Crisis," Steve Redburn and Terry Buss
7. "Applied Poverty Policy," Richard Goldstein and Steven Sachs
8. "Judicial Reform," Philip Dubois

9. "Personnel Policy," David Rosenbloom
10. "Interest Groups and Public Policy," Harmon Zeigler and David Linowes

The editor-in-chief of the *Policy Studies Review* is Dennis Palumbo, the director of the Center for Public Affairs at the University of Kansas. The editor-in-chief of the new *Policy Studies Journal* is Thomas Dye, the director of the Policy Sciences Program at Florida State University.

There may still be room for additional articles in some of the above issues that are scheduled for later in 1982 or possibly in the expanded book-length versions which will be published as part of the Policy Studies Organization Series with Lexington Books of D.C. Heath. The editors-in-chief also welcome non-symposium articles and literature reviews, as well as ideas for future symposia.

Copies of single issues can be obtained at \$3 a piece for personal use or classroom adoption. Subscriptions covering at least eight issues per year can be obtained for only \$12 from the Policy Studies Organization, 361 Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois 61801.

PSO books are also published by Sage Publications, Praeger Publishers, Marcel Dekker, Transaction Books, Southern Illinois University Press, and Duke University Press. The Sage volumes include the best public policy papers presented at each year's APSA-PSO meeting. Alan Stone will be editing a volume on *Political Economy* for the PSO-Sage Yearbooks in Politics and Public Policy based on the 1981 meeting.

The 1981-82 officers of the Policy Studies Organization include Aaron Wildavsky as president-elect, Robert Lineberry as president, Charles Jones as immediate past president, and Stuart Nagel as secretary-treasurer and publications coordinator. Members of the governing council include Walter Beach, Vaughn Blankenship, Yehezkel Dror, Joyce Mitchell, Marian Palley, Austin Ranney, Allan Sandler, and Susan Welch. Those interested in joining the Policy Studies Organization can do so by sending a \$12 check for one-year's dues to the above-mentioned PSO address. ■

Community College Meeting Features Teaching Techniques

Jerry Baydo

Community College Social Science Association (CCSSA)

On October 22-24, 1981, the Community College Social Science Association (CCSSA) held its 11th annual fall meeting at the Sheraton Convention Center Hotel in Memphis, Tennessee. Social science instructors throughout the nation attended the meeting.

The convention featured panel discussions, demonstrations, informal papers and film preview sessions, which highlighted the newest research and teaching techniques in all the social sciences. More than 75 college instructors participated in the program.

Highlights of the political science sessions included the general session which featured Karen A. Bowyer, interim president of Shelby State Community College, who discussed *International Programs*, and John W. Spence, Jr., Democratic representative from Tennessee, who discussed *The Legislative Perspective on Higher Education*.

Other sessions included a discussion of *An Independent Study Format for International Relations* led by Mary McWhirt, Sinclair Community College in Ohio, and papers dealing with *Teaching American Government to International Students* presented by Ronald Reinighaus of Valencia Community College in Florida and a paper dealing with *A Model for a Mock Constitutional Convention* given by James Russell of Albany Junior College in Georgia.

Other general sessions which proved of interest to instructors of social science included such topics as *How to Transform Old Courses to Create New Enrollment, Community Based Education, Computer Assisted Education, Test Anxiety and an Interdisciplinary Approach to Using Multi-Learning Techniques*.

Copies of many of the presentations can be acquired by writing: CCSSA Memphis Meeting, 8800 Grossmont College Drive, El Cajon, California 92020.

Next year's fall meeting will be held in St. Louis, October 28-31, 1982, while the spring meeting will be held March 28-31, 1982 in Las Vegas, Nevada. ■

Presidency Research Group Elects New Officers

The Presidency Research Group (PRG) elected new officers and steering committee members in the fall. Elected were Thomas E. Cronin, President; Stephen J. Wayne, Vice President; Martha Kumar, Secretary-Treasurer; George Edwards, Newsletter Editor; Norman C. Thomas, Program Director; and five Steering Committee members elected were James David Barber, Louis Fisher, Bruce Miroff, Philippa Strum and Aaron Wildavsky. Individuals wishing to join the PRG can do so by sending \$3 to Dr. Martha Kumar, Department of Political Science, Towson State University, Towson, Maryland 21204. Members receive PRG newsletters and are invited to participate in our annual meetings and panels at the annual APSA meeting. ■

Missouri Political Scientists Consider State Issues

Richard J. Collings
Southeast Missouri State University

At the annual meeting of the Missouri Political Science Association in Kansas City, Missouri on October 16-17, 1981, roundtables were conducted on the topics of: Less Governmental Spending in Missouri, Reapportionment Issues, Lobbying, and Teaching State Politics.

The lobbying panel included both academics and practitioners. The lobbyists agreed that "sociability" was the most important tool of the lobbyist in state government because of the access it provided to legislators. Other crucial factors were generating constituent pressures, trading assistance for each others' bills, fund raising, and information dissemination. Lobbyists said the lack of leadership in the state legislature made lobbying

more difficult because it complicated coalition building. All agreed that government agencies were the most numerous and persistent lobbying groups in the state capitol.

The keynote address was given by Louis H. Masotti, professor of political science, urban affairs, and policy research at Northwestern University. His topic was "Transformations in American Federalism," and concentrated on the efforts of the Reagan administration to change the nature of the relationships now existing among local, state, and national governments in the United States. He noted that politicians, government officials, and political scientists were slowly coming to realize that massive changes were being made in the federal system in regard to who pays for and who benefits from public services. He thought it premature to say whether this "new federalism" would lead to changes in the locus of governmental power and responsibility or simply a reduction in government programs and spending. Masotti pointed out that little serious research had been done on American federalism since the 1950s and urged academics to seize the opportunity to reaffirm the importance of the topic.

E. Terrence Jones of the University of Missouri at St. Louis was elected the Association's new president and Steven Puro of St. Louis University was elected vice president. Richard Collings of Southeast Missouri State University was re-elected secretary-treasurer. Councilors on the executive committee will be Annetta St. Clair of Missouri Southern State College and Dale Neuman of the University of Missouri at Kansas City. ■

Pennsylvanians Convene

The 1981 Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Political Science Association was held on March 27-28, 1981, at Pennsylvania State University.

The panel on *Recruitment of Political Elites* included papers on political recruitment and system maintenance, political succession in Hungary since 1945, and Soviet perspectives on Eurocommunism

News of the Profession

and its elites. A panel on *International Politics* focused on *The Reagan Administration and the Problems of the 1980s*. Within this general theme, the panel dealt with the SALT treaties, detente, the Middle East, and North-South negotiations.

The theme of the panel on political philosophy was *Political Philosophers on War and Peace*, and featured relevant papers on Burke, Descartes and Kant, as well as one on political philosophy and the preparation for war.

Another panel, on *Political Socialization and Psychology*, included papers on the moral majority, socialization in Iran, and student attitudes toward the Holocaust. The panel on *American Government and Politics* had papers on ethnic voting patterns in a local referendum, money in Pennsylvania political campaigns, and legislative retrenchment.

Additional activities included a pre-conference workshop on the use of SETUPS, a photography exhibit on international politics, and a roundtable discussion on career development in political science.

A complete list of the titles of papers presented and participants are available on request by writing: Donald G. Tannenbaum, Department of Political Science, Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania 17325. ■

Pacific Northwest Meeting Held in Tacoma

The 1981-82 Annual Conference of the Pacific Northwest Political Science Association was held at the University of Puget Sound in Tacoma, Washington, October 29-31, 1981. The Conference was hosted by the outgoing President of the Association, Professor Paul Heppel of the University of Puget Sound. The Program Chairman was Professor David Smeltzer of Portland State University.

During the business meeting the following officers were elected for the 1982-83 term: President, David Smeltzer, Portland State University; President-elect and Program Chairman, Ralph Miner, Western Washington University; Secretary-Treasurer, Douglas F. Morgan, Lewis &

Clark College. Members of the Executive Council: Elliot Tenofsky, Linfield College; Steve Johnson, University of Alaska at Anchorage. ■

Korean Group Convene Elect New Officers

Sung Chul Yang

The 4th Joint Conference of the Korean Political Science Association and the Association of Korean Political Scientists in North America was held at Lotte Hotel in Seoul, Korea, August 10-13, 1981, with the participation of 32 members of the North American group in the conference. A total of 34 papers, 16 of which were by the North American participants, were presented under three major themes: Man and Politics, System Capability of Korea, and Security and Unification.

Also, new officers of the Association of Korean Political Scientists in North America have been elected: Chae-jin Lee, Chairman; Roy Shin, Vice-Chairman; Sung Chul Yang, Executive Secretary-Treasurer. Board of Directors: Marn Jæ Cha, Joong Gun Chung, Chong Han Kim, Tae-hwan Kwak, Jong O Ra. ■

New Jersey Scholars Meet

The New Jersey Political Science Association held its annual meeting on April 4, 1981, at Jersey City State College, Jersey City, New Jersey. Papers were presented by distinguished scholars in the following areas: Religion and Politics in American Culture, Contemporary Issues in International Law, and Discrimination and Equality.

At the plenary session the following were elected to the executive council: Cliff Landers, President; William Sensiba, 1st Vice President; Steven Shalom, 2nd Vice President; Frank J. Coppa, Secretary-Treasurer. ■

Canadians Discuss Nationalism

The Atlantic Provinces Political Studies Association held its annual conference in Moncton, New Brunswick on October 23 and 24, 1981. The papers presented dealt with the themes of nationalism and integration. Anyone interested in receiving a copy of the conference program or any information about the association should write to Bill McGrath, Department of Political Science, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland, A1B 3X9. ■

Why Ill-Advised Arms Race Continues

Lord Zuckerman's question remains unanswered. The question was, "Why, despite scientific advice against continuing the arms race, military expenditure especially on nuclear devices, has continued?" A special issue of *Science and Public Policy*, October 1981, on the arms race, seeks to answer that basic question.

In his editorial, Brett-Crowther suggests that "The arms race is perhaps the most obvious example of the complex, the neurosis, of fears and failures which prevent new life and free action from re-directing evolution."

Adam Roberts examines options for an "alternative defence" to that based upon nuclear weapons. He outlines strategies based upon conventional forces, territorial forces, and defense by civil resistance, highlighting some important questions that these give rise to.

Adam Curle poses the poignant question, "Do our nuclear weapons protect us more than they imperil us?" In doing so, he examines the very concept of "deterrence," its effectiveness and its relevance, in the light of new nuclear strategies that have to be adopted.

A proposal that each superpower site a colony of 10,000 of its own people in the capital city of its rival is made by K. Bullough, and seen by him as providing a deterrent against nuclear attack, as well as a medium through which the disarmament process can be pursued.

Philip Gummett examines the dynamic behind the adoption of the latest nuclear weapons systems, MX, Cruise and Trident missiles. He highlights the problems posed by their excessive accuracy and quantity.

F. H. Brookman and A. J. C. Vierling review the experience of Dutch involvement in nuclear armament and how varying political and nuclear strategies have influenced Dutch conceptions of nuclear weaponry on their soil.

In a final paper, the Rev. Martin Jerrett-Kerr sets nuclear proliferation in the context of the theological and ethical response to human reality.

Science and Public Policy is edited by Maurice Goldsmith and is published by IPC Science and Technology Press Limited, P.O. Box 63, Westbury House, Bury Street, Guildford, Surrey, GU2 5BH, UK. Subscriptions are available by writing IPC Science & Technology Press Limited, 205 East 42nd Street, New York, New York 10017. ■

Calls for Papers

American Enterprise Institute Begins Series on Latin America

The Center for Hemispheric Studies of the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research has announced the inauguration of its new Occasional Paper Series on Latin America and Latin American affairs. This series is part of a broader research, conference, and publication launched by the Center designed to address important issues of public policy and to enhance our understanding of Latin America.