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ARTICLES

- 11 **Thucydides' View of Athenian Imperialism.** The paper attempts, through an examination of Thucydides' treatment of a significant problem, to illustrate the character of an older approach to the understanding of politics and to argue, implicitly, for the validity of that approach. The approach in question is shaped by the thoughts that the barriers standing in the way of a "scientific" approach to politics are much greater than today is sometimes assumed and that there is no more direct path to the removal of those barriers than the painstaking elaboration and subsequent refinement of the assumptions which shape and frame our view of the issues of politics. Thucydides' "history" is seen as intended to facilitate such an elaboration and refinement; his treatment of Athenian imperialism is accordingly presented in various stages, which first appeal to the prejudices with which the reader is likely to approach the work and then lead him gradually, through an examination of these, to Thucydides' own understanding, which is much more heterodox than is ordinarily supposed.

By CHRISTOPHER BRUELL, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Boston College.

- 18 **Politics and the Career Mobility of Bureaucrats.** Career mobility is conceptualized in terms of the *amount* and *bias* of organizational, occupational, vertical and geographical movement. An operational measure is offered for the amount of mobility (not the bias) which permits comparative generalizations to be made about officials based on simple sampling procedures. For illustrative purposes, the amount of organizational mobility is measured for two samples of federal officials: David T. Stanley's sample ($N = 557$) of higher civil servants and a sample ($N = 300$) of foreign affairs officials. Several dichotomous background variables are included for both samples of officials including: age, rank, and education. Varying background characteristics is found to make only a small mobility difference for higher civil servants and a much greater difference for foreign affairs officials. Several speculations are offered to explain the political significance of the empirical findings, and a comparative typology of career mobility is developed.

By EUGENE B. MCGREGOR, JR., Associate Professor of Public and Environmental Affairs, Indiana University.

- 27 **Changing the Rules Changes the Game: Party Reform and the 1972 California Delegation to the Democratic National Convention.** Rules changes in the Democratic party have substantially altered one of the fundamental institutions of American politics. This article is an effort to assess some of the effects of the new rules on the selection of delegates to the Democratic National Convention on the strategic environment faced by presidential candidates. The article outlines the basic aspects of those rule changes, describes the problems involved in the implementation of the rules, and attempts to evaluate some of the consequences faced by the presidential campaign of Senator George McGovern in the context of the California primary of 1972.

By WILLIAM CAVALA, Acting Instructor in Political Science, University of California, Berkeley.

Comment. By AUSTIN RANNEY, Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

- 45 **Social Mobilization and the Russification of Soviet Nationalities.** This paper examines certain major demographic bases of ethnic identity change among the mass populations of the non-Russian nationalities of the USSR. Ethnic identity is defined here as an individual's affective attachment to certain core symbols of his nationality group: the group name and its historic language. The hypotheses tested concern the impact of social mobilization, contact with Russians, and traditional religion on ethnic identity change. The levels of Russification of 46 indigenous nationalities whose official national homelands have Autonomous Oblast status or higher are examined on the basis of 1959 Soviet census materials. By use of regression analysis it is shown that: (a) social mobilization is strongly conducive to the Russification of non-Russian nationalities residing in their official areas; (b) exposure to Russians is conducive to the Russification of both mobilized and unmobilized local populations, but the Russification effect of exposure to Russians is much smaller for the unmobilized than for the mobilized populations; (c) even where exposure to Russians is extensive and enduring, both socially mobilized and unmobilized Muslim ethnic groups are much less likely to be Russified than non-Muslims; it is proposed that a Muslim ethnic ideology mediates between the dynamic demographic influences on Russification and the actual manifestation of Russification.

By BRIAN SILVER, Assistant Professor of Government, Florida State University.

- 67 **The Divisive Primary Revisited: Party Activists in Iowa.** This study was conducted to test the frequently made assertion that primary elections are divisive among party activists who participate

in primary and subsequent general election campaigns. Analysis of data collected from 209 campaign workers personally identified by five candidates in two vigorously contested races for Congress in Iowa's First District indicated that the activists were an elite group on whom the primary had a divisive impact that was particularly notable among those who supported candidates who lost the primary. The alienation felt by many respondents who worked for losers in both parties adversely affected their general party support, voting, and the willingness to perform the many conventional activities necessary to a general election campaign, but it did not appear to have a substantial influence on the general election. Generally, those who defected were less experienced and less strongly identified with their parties than those who remained active. Moreover, most of the antagonism may be limited to the single general election; eighty per cent of all participants in the study expected to be as active or more active in future campaigns.

By DONALD BRUCE JOHNSON, Professor of Political Science and JAMES R. GIBSON, Graduate Assistant in Political Science, University of Iowa.

- 78 Virtue, Obligation and Politics.** This paper presents a conceptual analysis of the terms "virtue," "obligation," and "politics," a project suggested by similar analyses currently underway in the field of ethics. The essence of the study is the contrast between politics understood in terms of virtue (as by Plato, Aristotle, and, in a way, Rousseau) and politics understood in terms of obligation (as by Hobbes, Locke, John Rawls and, in a way, Rousseau). The paper argues that obligation and virtue form the center of two separate languages or paradigms for the formulation and discussion of basic political questions, and discusses the theoretical grounds for the neglect of the language of virtue by the greater part of modern political thought. This discussion, while pointing to the possible weaknesses of the language of virtue, also serves to indicate (directly and by contrast) the limitations of the language of obligation as a way of understanding politics.

By STEPHEN G. SALKEVER, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Bryn Mawr College.

- 93 Generational Change in American Electoral Behavior.** The relationship of social class to partisan choice in the United States has declined during the postwar years. Through an analysis of presidential election surveys conducted by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan from 1948 through 1968, it is demonstrated that this decline is largely a result of generational change. Strong relationships between class and partisan choice persist among older voters, but among younger voters these relationships are weak. A time-series cohort analysis provides considerable support for an historically based generational explanation for age-group differences and permits examination of one process through which partisan realignments may occur.

By PAUL R. ABRAMSON, Associate Professor of Political Science, Michigan State University.

- 106 Membership Stability in Three State Legislatures: 1893-1969.** It is often asserted that state legislatures are characterized by low membership stability, attributed to low career commitment on the part of individual legislators. Such assertions are usually based on the high proportion of first-term members in most legislatures, even though the available data on this subject are limited and contradictory. Two better measures of career commitment and membership stability are: (a) the number of incumbents seeking re-election, and (b) average prior legislative service. Data for these variables are presented for 20 sessions of the Connecticut, Michigan, and Wisconsin legislatures. The data show a gradual but substantial decline in the number of first-term legislators and a gradual but substantial increase in membership stability. The computation of such data is an essential first step in documenting the causes and consequences of membership stability.

By DAVID RAY, Teaching Assistant in Political Science, Stanford University.

- 113 The 3/2's Rule in Presidential Campaigning.** The purpose of this article is to assess the effect of the winner-take-all feature of the Electoral College on the allocation of resources by candidates to the states in a presidential campaign. Conceptualizing the campaign as a two-person zero-sum infinite game, it is found that the main effect of this feature is to induce candidates to allocate campaign resources roughly in proportion to the 3/2's power of the electoral votes of each state, which creates a peculiar bias that makes voters living in the largest states as much as three times as attractive campaign targets as voters living in the smallest states. Empirically, it is shown that the 3/2's rule explains quite well the time allocations of presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the 1960, 1964, 1968, and 1972 campaigns; for presidential campaigns in 1976 and 1980, optimal allocations are indicated for all fifty states and the District of Columbia. A comparison with optimal allocations under a system of direct popular-vote election of the president reveals that

such a system would be less susceptible to manipulative strategies than the Electoral College as well as being compatible with the egalitarian principle of "one man, one vote."

By STEVEN J. BRAMS, Associate Professor of Politics, New York University and MORTON D. DAVIS, Associate Professor of Mathematics, City College of New York.

- 135 **Election Goals and Strategies: Equivalent and Nonequivalent Candidate Objectives.** This essay ascertains some general conditions for equivalence and nonequivalence among six election objectives: O_1 , maximizing expected plurality; O_2 , maximizing proportion of expected vote; O_3 , maximizing expected vote; O_4 , maximizing probability that plurality exceeds some level; O_5 , maximizing probability that proportion of vote exceeds some level; O_6 , maximizing probability that vote exceeds some level. The major findings are these: (1) O_1 , O_2 , and O_3 are equivalent if the election is zero-sum-like in expected vote; (2) O_1 and O_2 are equivalent if competition is strongly symmetric. A necessary condition for this equivalence is also presented for 2-candidate elections: (3) O_1 and O_4 are equivalent, as are O_2 and O_5 , if the candidate's forecasting error is independent of all strategies; (4) O_1 and O_4 are equivalent for two-candidate elections, and for n -candidate elections O_2 and O_5 are equivalent, as are O_3 and O_6 , if the distribution of a candidate's forecasting error is multivariate normal, and if the level of plurality, proportion, or vote to be exceeded is the minimax value of the election game under O_1 , O_2 , or O_3 ; (5) findings of equivalence and nonequivalence depend upon the definition of equivalence (findings 1 and 2 rely upon an election with all candidates at equilibrium strategies, while findings 3 and 4 do not); (6) equivalence and nonequivalence among election objectives may be sensitive to the candidate's attitude toward risk, i.e., to the functional form of his utility function in plurality, vote proportion, or vote; election objectives depend on information, competitive environment, and constitutional arrangements. Hence, statements of preference for alternative election systems, laws, and reforms perforce entail reasonable theoretical expectations about the way in which these systems, laws, and reforms affect the candidates' campaign objectives, as well as about equivalence and nonequivalence among these objectives.

By PETER H. ARANSON, Associate Professor of Industrial Management, Georgia Institute of Technology, MELVIN J. HINICH, Professor of Statistics and Political Economy, Carnegie-Mellon University, and PETER C. ORDESHOOK, Associate Professor of Political Science, Carnegie-Mellon University.

- 153 **Helvétius and the Roots of the "Closed" Society.** The argument of this essay is that Talmon and Popper are mistaken in their suggestion that speculation about human affairs is governed by an inexorable logic of political consequences: that there exist certain broad perspectives or 'paradigms' that impel men willy-nilly to pathological extremes in their political views, apart from intention or historical circumstance.

I seek to demonstrate that the general perspective which informed the thought of Helvétius—unquestionably one of the most manipulative of thinkers in his conception of politics—was simply the framework of early-modern science, as it was understood in France. It was the same philosophy which served his unequivocally libertarian contemporaries, such as Voltaire and Diderot, as well as their predecessors. Helvétius' political conclusions resulted, not from pathological attitudes or doctrines, but rather from his attempt to resolve a problem engendered within the new science, a fundamental dilemma in French thinking concerning the relationship of the individual to society and the state.

By BLAIR CAMPBELL, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles.

- 169 **Political Parties and the Porkbarrel: Party Conflict and Cooperation in House Public Works Committee Decision Making.** This study of the House Public Works committee examines the relationship between membership goals and the degree of party conflict, identifies conditions of party conflict and cooperation, and links party conflict and cooperation to policies adopted by the House.

Party conflict is the Public Works committee's most striking behavioral characteristic. This party conflict stems from (a) the issues processed by the committee and (b) the partisan program orientations of committee members. Beyond these initial sources of party conflict on Public Works, there is a norm of partisanship adopted by each of the parties on the committee in order to achieve an extra measure of party cohesion. Public Works committee party conflict is, to be sure, often modified by shared interests cutting across party lines. Committee party cooperation stems, however, not from widespread shared interests but, instead, from a fundamental distrust between the parties respecting the allocation of federal largesse. To preclude porkbarreling, Congress has adopted fixed allocation formulas for distributing the boodle on programs likely to involve a majority in each party, thereby constraining the parties on the committee to cooperate on such proposals.

Whether Public Works is united or divided when reporting legislation, the House of Representatives will typically adopt its proposals. This success of the Public Works committee is attributable to a mixture of anticipation and influence.

By JAMES T. MURPHY, Assistant Professor of Government, Wesleyan University.

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Introduction

By LUCIAN W. PYE, Professor of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Culture and the Comparative Study of Politics, or The Constipated Dialectic. This presidential address delivered at the Association's September 1973 Annual Meeting at New Orleans treats the origins, growth, and consequences of the professional tensions that have developed between proponents of the so-called "area" and "behavioral" approaches to the comparative study of politics. It attributes such tensions to intra- and extramural competition for status and funds, to unrevised and ill-informed stereotypes based on early misapprehensions of actual practice and intent, and to misplaced scholarly zeal found largely on the behavioral side. The author sees the remedies as lying in a broader recognition of the critical and differing influence of cultural variations on the comparative study of politics, in a more widespread and systematic incorporation of sound area as well as behavioral preparation into our graduate training programs, and in a degree of planned internationalization of our basic social science endeavors abroad that is as yet uncommon.

By ROBERT E. WARD, Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for Research in International Studies, Stanford University.

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217 BOOK REVIEWS AND ESSAYS

217 The Study of International Politics Makes Strange Bedfellows: Theories of the Radical Right and the Radical Left. The political spectrum has often been viewed as a linear continuum on which the extremes of the right and left occupy the most antithetical positions. The alternative hypothesis is that there are some dimensions on which the extremes resemble each other. This essay examines the theories of international politics and foreign policy espoused by scholars of the radical right and left. Two dozen points of convergence are grouped under five headings: *Understanding history and politics, the causes of war, the nature of the enemy, the conditions of peace, and ends and means in politics.* Because the essay is focused on studies of international politics since the outbreak of World War II, considerable attention is devoted to the parallels between rightwing theories of the USSR and Soviet foreign policy, and leftwing explanations of the United States and American foreign policy. The conclusion suggests that both theories are fundamentally flawed in two respects: (1) As employed by their proponents, the theories appear incapable of being falsified; and (2) studies employing them are marred by serious methodological flaws that violate the canons of systematic inquiry.

By OLE R. HOLSTI, Professor of Political Science, University of British Columbia.

243 The Neo-Alexandrians: A Review Essay on Data Handbooks in Political Science. Four major new compilations of macropolitical data are compared and evaluated. Each summarizes a large-scale research effort to code or to collect data suitable for theoretically relevant, cross-national comparisons. As a group the new handbooks incorporate many improvements and innovations on earlier handbooks, which concentrated mainly on cross-sectional, aggregate data or simplistically coded judgments about nation-states. About a third of their measures consist of "made" data, derived by coding journalistic and historical sources. All provide some measures for cross-time comparisons; one is devoted exclusively to time-series data. Many of their measures denote properties of internal and international conflict and of international transactions. All but one are painfully self-conscious about problems of reliability and comparability of data. One criticism is the reliance of several of the handbooks on "counts" of conflict events rather than assessment of more theoretically relevant properties of conflict. A second is the paucity of indicators of inequality and, more generally, of measures which give a "view from the bottom" of political systems.

By TED ROBERT GURR, Professor of Political Science, Northwestern University.

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