

Articles and Essays by Andrew T. Cowart, Tore Hansen and Karl-Erik Brofoss, Claude S. Fischer, George McT. Kahin, H. Bradford Westerfield, Stanley Lebergott, Seymour Mandelbaum

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Justice: A Spectrum of Responses to John Rawls's Theory

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ARTICLES

- 481 Party Identification and the Floating Vote: Some Dynamics.** Several authors have now addressed themselves to the dynamics of party identification. The meaning of such dynamics has, however, been left in some doubt. In particular, it is unclear whether changes in party attachments are best described as completely random phenomena or as phenomena exhibiting patterned time variation. This paper argues that the answer to the question depends in part on the observable consequences of changes in partisan ties. The analysis utilizes SRC panel data to describe patterns of variation in party identification and to attempt to assess their consequences for our understanding of the floating vote.

By DOUGLAS DOBSON, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Northern Illinois University, and DOUGLAS ST. ANGELO, Associate Professor of Political Science, Florida State University.

- 491 Voting Behavior on the U.S. Courts of Appeals Revisited.** In an earlier study of voting behavior of U.S. appeals courts judges, attitudinal patterns were investigated along with an analysis of the relationship of judges' backgrounds to their decisions. In this revisit, the earlier findings were treated as hypotheses and tested with a new case population covering a subsequent and longer time period. In all, 2,115 cases decided nonunanimously were coded on one or more issues. Most cases could be classified under ten broad issue categories which were then utilized for most of the analyses. Although the research design was similar to that of the earlier study, a wider variety of methods was employed including nonparametric and parametric intercorrelations of voting behavior on the ten issues and stepwise multiple regression and partial correlation analyses of seven background variables and their relationships to voting behavior on the issues. The principal findings were similar to those found earlier but it was possible to map voting behavior with somewhat more precision and to uncover some unexpected relationships such as those concerning the potency of the age variable particularly for voting on political liberalism issues.

SHELDON GOLDMAN, Professor of Political Science, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

- 507 Development Policy and the Possibility of a "Livable" Future for Latin America.** The legacy of problems associated with Latin American development policy in the postwar era necessitates the asking of some fundamental questions about the future of development in that region. Economic growth rates have been insufficient, and the employment and distributional problems have been worsening. This situation is in large measure attributable to specific policies pursued by Latin American governments, especially the array of policies included under the rubric of "import-substituting industrialization." Such policies are critically analyzed as a prelude to the discussion of a suggested reorientation of Latin American development policy. The goal of such a redirected, poverty-oriented development policy is the creation of "livable" (if not "developed") societies. The effort to fashion development policies aiming at "livability" entails, at the most general level, distributional and short-run emphases. But it also involves the need for major innovations in such diverse areas as technological, agricultural, regional, and educational development. Reorientations of international development lending would also be required. The economic problems of the livability approach are formidable, but recent findings indicate that poverty-oriented development strategies may be economically viable. The political problems are equally if not more formidable, and it is likely that their confrontation will involve new ways of thinking about "political development" and about the relationship of political regime types to economic development.

By ROBERT L. AYRES, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley.

- 526 Representative Bureaucracy: An Empirical Analysis.** Past theories of representative bureaucracy have four weaknesses: they assume that traditional controls are ineffective without empirical evidence, rely on secondary variables, omit the effects of lifetime socialization, and do not consider the role of individual bureaus. Because of these weaknesses, a representative bureaucracy need not be a responsive bureaucracy. Although restricted by secondary analysis, this paper seeks to eliminate these failings and empirically demonstrate the unrepresentative nature of the United States federal bureaucracy. The representativeness of various grade classifications, special services, and bureaus is also measured; and the United States upper civil service is compared to that of five other nations. After an attempt to measure the values of bureaucrats, the future concerns of the theory of representative bureaucracy are outlined.

By KENNETH JOHN MEIER, Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science, Syracuse University.

- 543 Budgetary Strategies and Success at Multiple Decision Levels in the Norwegian Urban Setting.** The purpose of this article is to test a series of propositions about budgetary decision making, in the form of linear decision models, for the municipal government of Oslo, Norway, and to assess the consequences of such

strategic choices for the long-term growth of agency activities. Budgetary decisions for forty-seven agencies at each of the four principal decision-making levels over a nineteen-year period serve as the basis for analysis. Results indicate that while the complexity of strategic choice is not related to long-term agency growth, the acquisitiveness of the agency strategy is an important determinant of growth. Intermediate budgetary reviewers are only partially successful in reducing the relationship between acquisitiveness and growth. Reference to a set of systematic interview materials in these same agencies, relevant to the cognitive assumptions of the models, suggests some reservations about model validity, at least in a minority of cases.

By ANDREW T. COWART, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Iowa; TORE HANSEN, Research Associate in Political Science, University of Oslo, and KARL-ERIK BROFOSS, Research Associate in Political Science, University of Oslo.

- 559** **The City and Political Psychology.** Alternative theories—"social mobilization" and "urban anomie"—predict different relationships between urbanism and political involvement, i.e., that urbanism stimulates, or that urbanism alienates individuals. (Dahl has predicted a curvilinear association.) This study examines these theories using the 1968 Michigan S.R.C. election survey. Three methodological tools are employed—formulating a causal model among political psychological variables, distinguishing size of polity from size of urban area, and using path analysis—to answer three questions: the effect of urbanism, the effect of polity size, and the effect of their interaction. Overall, the results show little independent association between the urban variables and involvement. Trends indicate that largeness may have slight mobilizing effects even though it also slightly reduces sense of political efficacy, and that the mobilization is a shift in involvement from local to national politics. A partial replication is obtained in the Almond and Verba data.

By CLAUDE S. FISCHER, Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley.

572 COMMUNICATIONS

From Lewis Anthony Dexter, Joel Kassiola, Stephen Salkever, Gerald M. Pomper, Philip Dawson, Duff Spafford, Ernest van den Haag, Jeffrie G. Murphy, David J. Schnall, Donald B. Johnson, Frederick C. Thayer, Larry B. Hill, Thomas O. Schlesinger, Konrad Ginther

585 EDITORIAL COMMENT

588 BOOK REVIEWS AND ESSAYS

- 588** **Rawls's Theory of Justice.** John Rawls's theory of justice is best understood as an attempt to adapt Rousseau's theory of the general will to the modern liberal democratic state. Central to the theory is a belief in the rationality of human nature and dynamics. In a well-ordered society men's natural sentiments will prove to be both unified and stable, and they will not permit morally arbitrary advantages to influence their social arrangements. Rawls's theory offers a rational accommodation of freedom and equality. His philosophical perspective opens him to the charge that his theory slights the historical dimension of human justice. His conception of human personality is somewhat ambiguous. There is incongruity between his ethical theory and the realities of democratic politics. Nevertheless, Rawls's formulation of the moral and political principles of liberalism is a major achievement and entirely worthy of his intellectual ancestry.

By JOHN W. CHAPMAN, Professor of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh.

- 594** **Can the Maximin Principle Serve as a Basis for Morality? A Critique of John Rawls's Theory.** It is argued that Rawls does not offer a viable alternative to utilitarian morality. It is shown that the maximin principle would lead to absurd decisions. Thus, it is unfortunate that Rawls bases his theory on the assumption that the maximin principle would serve as decision rule in the original position. The present writer has shown (prior to Rawls's first paper on this subject) that we can obtain a highly satisfactory theory of morality, one in the utilitarian tradition, if we assume that in the original position expected-utility maximization would be used as a decision rule. Rawls's theory is unacceptable because it would force us to discriminate against the legitimate human needs of all individuals enjoying good fortune in any way—whether by being relatively well-to-do, or by being in reasonably good health, or by having good intellectual ability or artistic talent, etc.

By JOHN C. HARSANYI, Professor of Economics and of Business Administration, University of California, Berkeley.

607 Justice as Fairness: For Groups? In *A Theory of Justice*, John Rawls assumes that the principles of justice are for individuals in a society, and in general he assumes that the society is an ethnically homogeneous state. He thus follows the tradition associated with the dominant form of the social contract theory, which focuses on the individual and the state. His assumptions neglect the fact that almost all states are ethnically plural or heterogeneous, and that many of them confer special status and rights on ethnic groups as collective entities; for example, many of them confer special status and rights on indigenous groups, on groups disadvantaged by prior discrimination, and on minorities and other groups conceded a right to survive as distinct cultural entities. Status and rights for groups necessarily mean differentiation among individuals depending on their membership; and this in turn means that a theory of justice that focuses on the individual and neglects the group both fails to account for existing practices and fails to give guidance where the practices are at issue.

By VERNON VAN DYKE, Professor of Political Science, University of Iowa.

615 Justice and Rationality: Some Objections to the Central Argument in Rawls's Theory. The argument is made that Rawls's proposed principles of justice would not rationally be chosen in his proposed version of the "original position." First of all, Rawls's own account of the information available in the original position provides no basis for the conclusions about "primary goods" which he believes would imply his proposed principles. Second, even if those conclusions about primary goods were to be accepted, they would not imply the proposed principles (the "general" and the "special" conceptions of justice) because the claims which Rawls cites in support of "maximin" actually imply a different conception. Lastly, an alternative version of the original position is suggested which would avoid these difficulties and which would, in addition, successfully support a maximin conception of justice. This is not meant, however, as a conclusive argument for maximin, but only as an indication that the objections advanced here do not apply to "social contract theory" as such, but only to the particular version of it which Rawls has proposed.

By JAMES FISHKIN, Lecturer in Political Science and the Institution for Social and Policy Studies, Yale University.

630 Maximin Justice and an Alternative Principle of General Advantage. John Rawls's theory of justice tries to resolve the question of fair allocation: When, if ever, may some members of society claim rightful privilege over their fellows? Rawls's answer is maximin justice: inequalities are just if, by permitting them, society treats best those whom she treats worst. Rawls attempts to show that this rule binds us all under the terms of a social contract. The present paper tries to show that Rawls's theory will not stand scrutiny. The social contract, as he gives it, disfranchises all but a single social stratum: Why are others bound by it? The maximin principle, allegedly agreed to under this social contract, requires that we judge allocations by ignoring all but one of society's many strata. This leads in turn to arbitrary judgments including ones which at once increase inequality and decrease the total shared by society. An alternative argument is offered, beginning with a social contract requiring agreement on all inequalities among agents for a series of hypothetical social strata. This device is meant to bind all strata, and leads to a principle of general advantage: Inequalities are just if but only if they serve the advantage of some strata and the disadvantage of none. This seemingly paradoxical rule has a clear interpretation and avoids the main difficulties attributed to maximin justice. Like maximin, however, the new doctrine would evidently require a radical redistribution of income in a society like our own.

By DOUGLAS RAE, Professor of Political Science, Yale University.

648 Justice: John Rawls Vs. The Tradition of Political Philosophy. A critical review essay of *A Theory of Justice* by John Rawls, focusing on his attempt to ground radical egalitarian democracy on a social contract. Rawls tries to construct a new theory of justice with the help of the old state of nature theorists. The reviewer investigates whether this effort is successful and whether Rawls possesses an adequate understanding of the philosophers from whom he draws his inspiration.

By ALLAN BLOOM, Professor of Political Science, University of Toronto.

663 Justifying Justice: Problems of Psychology, Measurement, and Politics in Rawls. The intention of this essay is to raise certain questions about *A Theory of Justice* in Rawls's own terms—accepting his premises but examining his reasoning by his own stated criteria. I believe that such an examination will show that the abstract justificatory appeal to an "original position" is unsatisfactory in certain vital psychological and philosophical ways; that the Rawlsian analysis raises problems of comparison and measurement not adequately disposed of by the doctrine of justice as fairness and its corollary strategy of "maximin"; and that the appeal to congruence on which the latter part of Rawls's argument depends is founded on an inadequate political and historical sociology—which in turn creates further problems for the argument from

the original position. In sum, I wish to show that while Rawls has lit his candle at both ends, he has got neither end to burn.

By BENJAMIN R. BARBER, Associate Professor of Political Science, Rutgers University.

- 675 **The Pentagon Papers: A Critical Evaluation.** *The Pentagon Papers: The Defense Department History of United States Decisionmaking on Vietnam: The Senator Gravel Edition; United States-Vietnam Relations, 1945–1967: Study Prepared by the Department of Defense*; Neil Sheehan, Hedrick Smith, E. W. Kenworthy and Fox Butterfield, *The Pentagon Papers as Published by The New York Times*.

By GEORGE MCT. KAHIN, Professor of Government, Cornell University.

- 685 **What Use Are Three Versions of the Pentagon Papers?** Neil Sheehan, Hedrick Smith, E. W. Kenworthy, and Fox Butterfield, *The Pentagon Papers as Published by the New York Times: The Pentagon Papers: The Defense Department History of United States Decisionmaking on Vietnam: The Senator Gravel Edition; United States-Vietnam Relations, 1945–1967: Study Prepared by the Department of Defense*.

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