

VOX POP Newsletter of Political Organizations and Parties

An official section of the American Political Science Association
Produced by the Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics, The University of Akron

THEME — NEW LITERATURE

PARTIES AND THE 1994 ELECTIONS: A VIEW FROM THE LITERATURE

The 1994 general elections raise numerous questions for American party scholars. On the surface at least, the major political parties played an unusually prominent role, most noticed in the Republican takeover of the U.S. House of Representatives after forty years of Democratic rule, and the role that the Republican "Contract with America" played in the campaign and in the initial behavior of the new Republican majority. But the Republican gains extended beyond the House to the U.S. Senate, governorships, state legislative chambers, local offices, and even to party identification in the mass public. Ironically, this surge in party politics comes just two years after the Perot campaign caused many analysts to predict the rapid decline of the major parties.

Were the Republican gains in 1994 more illusion than reality? Was 1994 a short-term aberration that will quickly dissipate as politics-as-usual returns? While answers to these and other questions will require the passage of time, but it is not too early to begin such assessments in earnest. As luck would have it, several excellent books have been published recently that together present a good picture of what might be called the "old order," which can be used as a yard stick against which to measure the "new situation," whatever that may ultimately turn out to be.

Paul S. Herrnson's new book *Congressional Elections: Campaigning at Home and in Washington* (Washington DC: CQ Press, 1995) is a must read for understanding the congressional "situation." In effect, this book is a comprehensive description of the "old order" of candidate-centered politics. Using a vast array of data, including a survey of campaign officials, interviews, case studies, and public records, Herrnson covers nearly every aspect of the "electoral connection" at least through the 1992 general elec-

tion. In many cases, the book confirms common scholarly conclusions, such as the role of money in campaigns, but in other cases, new information is forthcoming, such as the powerful impact of grassroots efforts. Chapter 9 provides a useful summary what does and doesn't work in congressional campaigns; Chapter 3 on candidate organizations and Chapter 6 on campaigning for resources also represent particularly useful summaries. And, of course, Herrnson covers the party and political organizations surrounding congressional campaigns with the skill and insight that the professional has come to expect of him.

Herrnson concludes that the major political parties are "centralizing agents" that generate bonds between members of Congress. Although these centralizing effects are often quite weak, they routinely provide some check on the many
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decentralizing elements of candidate-centered politics. From this perspective, assessments of the 1994 election might well begin by asking what factors may have strengthened the parties in 1994, and/or weakened the candidates, and whether or not these factors will persist beyond 1994. On this last count, Herrnson's careful analysis leads one to the conclusion that any party strengthening factors will have to be strong indeed to permanently overcome candidate-centered politics.

Of course, in 1994 the relative balance of centralizing and decentralizing forces were in flux outside of the beltway as well. Daniel M. Shea's new book *Transforming Democracy: Legislative Campaign Committees and Political Parties* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995) looks at the development of the counterparts of the party congressional campaign committees in state legislatures. *Transforming Democracy* is the first book in a new series entitled "Political Party Development" jointly sponsored by SUNY Press and the Center for Party Development under the general editorship of Susan J. Tolchin, George Washington University. Inquiries about the series as well as manuscripts and book proposals should be sent along with a curriculum vita to Clay Morgan, Editor, State University of New York Press, State University Plaza, Albany NY 12246-0001.

Like Herrnson, Shea uses a number of data sources to describe the activities and significance of state legislative campaign committees (LCCs). These data include surveys of state and local party leaders and a case study of LCC development in New York. The growth of LCCs has been widely heralded as an example of party renewal, but Shea concludes that the reality may fall far short of these expectations. Drawing explicitly on the responsible party model, Shea argues that LCCs tend to be narrowly focused on electing legislators with little concern for other functions of parties and quite different from the traditional geographic parties, particularly the state and county committees. And Shea finds evidence of extensive friction between traditional party leaders and the new campaign organizations arising from the state legislatures. Ironically, one of the major factors found to be associated with rise of LCCs is increased legislative professionalism: "professional" legislators apparently don't mix all that well with "professional" party leaders. In this sense, Shea's work suggests that the congressional candidate-centered politics so lucidly described by Herrnson is coming to state legislatures as well.

But what about the partisans who challenged the "old order" and may or may not have brought it to an end? William F. Connelly and John J. Pitney's *Congress' Permanent Minority?: Republicans in the U.S. House* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1994) provides some invaluable insights. Readers should not be put off by the apparent bad luck the authors experienced with their title: events showed that the House GOP was not destined to minority status forever and the book helps explain why. Indeed, the accounts of Newt Gingrich, his allies and opponents, and

the behavior of House Democrats reads like background material for today's headlines. The chapter on Republican factionalism is an excellent summary of a much neglected subject.

The authors adopt "Rubik's cube" as a metaphor for the puzzle facing the House Republicans, with each of the cube's physical dimensions representing institutions, interests and ideas respectively, while the actions of individual politicians are captured by the twisting and turning of these dimensions into an alignment that would produce majority status. As Connelly and Pitney demonstrate, the puzzle was a daunting one. Indeed, much of their description of the institutions, interests, ideas, and individuals in the House Republican Conference reflects Herrnson and Shea's description of the "old order" and the forces that sustained it. But one can also see the sources of the puzzle's successful solution in 1994. One important factor was the leadership of Newt Gingrich and his associates, who were able to overcome the decentralizing tendencies of institutions and interests, at least for a short while. Of equal importance were the ideas pushed by the leadership, particularly the "Contract with America," which at the very least allowed House Republican to campaign for something, instead of as simply opponents of President Clinton and the Democrats. And finally, the Democrats gave the GOP both an opening and strong incentives to hang together. These points suggest that leadership and ideas can, under the right circumstances, give parties the strength to overcome the "old order."

What about the Democrats? Two recent books shed light on the party defeated in 1994 as well. The first is Nicol C. Rae's *Southern Democrats* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), which is a companion piece to the author's previous book on the liberal Republicans. Rae takes an in-depth look at the once dominant faction in the Democratic Party that appears to be going the way of the liberal wing of the GOP. Using historical documents and extensive interviews, Rae provides a good description of the traditional Southern Democrats and their travails. This book also deals well with the much neglected subject of party factionalism.

Like Connelly and Pitney, this book has direct relevance for to today's headlines. The chapter on Southern Democrats in Congress reads like a "whose who" among the founders of the "Coalition," a quasi-party caucus founded in the wake of the 1994 election. One of the leading lights of the Coalition has defected to the GOP and more are rumored to follow. Thus, the continued decline of the Southern Democrats could have important implications for the "new situation." As Connelly and Pitney point out, the replacement of liberal and moderate Republicans by Southern and Western conservatives set the stage for Newt Gingrich and the Contract with America, while the "old order" described by Herrnson and Shea gave these new ideologues strong incentives to ban together against the system. Indeed, Rae himself points out the frailty of the forces that brought the Democratic Leadership Council

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and the Clinton/Gore ticket to the head of the National Democratic Party, thus foretelling many of the problems the Democrats would have in 1994.

The American Prospect Reader in American Politics, edited by Walter Dean Burnham (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1995) provides some important information on the dominant wing of the Democratic Party, in Congress and elsewhere. This is a different kind of book that the previous four, being a collection of essays from a consciously left-of-center magazine and meant primarily for classroom use. But many of these essays represent excellent assessments of both the "old order" and the "new situation." Burnham's own contributions are gems, while the middle section of the book on contemporary politics is brimming with insight. The debate between Jeff Faux and Will Marshall on the meaning of the "new Democrat" label is a good summary of tensions within the Democratic Party, while Karen Paget's essay on political movements and John Judis chapter on advocacy groups are well worth the read. In light of the work of Herrnson and Shea, Robert Kuttner's chapter on the congressional Democrats and the "old order" shows the down side of candidate-centered politics.

Like the other books discussed here, the Burnham reader did not predict the 1994 elections, and yet, like the other works, it anticipates the "new situation" to an extraordinary degree. These pages, written for the left by the left, drip with pessimism. One gets the sense on a new political order slouching towards Harvard — or Kennesaw College, take your pick — to be born. And yet there are enough good ideas in these pages to reinvigorate the Democratic Party: the possibility of a Democratic alternative to the "Contract with America" and the leadership to propose it are clearly evident in many of these essays. The House Republicans had to struggle with their Rubik's cube for forty years before they found a solution. One wonders how quickly the Democrats can respond in kind. Of course, if the "old order" reasserts itself soon, the Democrats may face a equally long sojourn in the political wilderness.

The fact that political innovation tends to occur mostly

with the party out of power is a pattern well-known to scholars. Philip A. Klinkner's new book *The Losing Parties: Out-Party National Committees, 1956-1993* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994) is a good description of this phenomenon, albeit largely at the presidential level. Ironically, the book covers exactly the period of time during which the Republicans were a minority in the House of Representatives, but when they won the White House six times. During this period, candidate-centered politics flourished largely at the expense of parties, both at the presidential and congressional levels. Somehow both parties managed to cope with the candidate-centered politics in the quest for the White House, while the GOP lagged behind in congressional politics.

Klinkner provides useful descriptions of each turn-of-the-screw in presidential politics, from the Kennedy to Clinton. In this review of recent party history, Klinkner discovers an important reason why parties do not always innovate successfully when faced with defeat: party leaders and activists have other motivations besides simply winning elections, the very sorts of things that Dan Shea points to in his review of traditional party organizations. This pattern leads Klinkner to focus on party culture as a potent variable in accounting for innovation. For example, he finds that the Republican emphasis on the "culture of business" has lead them to adopt organizational responses to defeat in every case. On the other hand, the Democratic emphasis on "democracy" has generated procedural responses most of the time.

This insight about the impact of party culture was implications for both the "old order" and the "new situation." It may be, for example, the culture of House Republicans ante-Gingrich, and indeed, the culture of the decentralized Congress, strongly mitigated against innovations that could have made the GOP more competitive. And the similar factors may hamper the return of the Democrats to power. Struggles between various kinds of party "professionals" as well as party factions may thus be as important as the quest for office in explaining the ability of parties to serve as centralizing agents in the political process.

SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS

Recent Papers of Interest

Presented at the 1995 Southern Conference

"Pennsylvania Business and the Dilemmas of Pluralism" William DeSoto, Southwest Texas State University

Interest Groups and Legislative Bargaining in Georgia" Eric E. Grier, Georgia State University

"Political Culture, Registration Laws, and Voter Turnout among the American States" James D. King, University of Wyoming

"Patrons, Choices, and Public Interest Groups" Anthony J. Nownes, University of Tennessee, Knoxville

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SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS

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"Decision Making Processes of Professional Staff in Low-and Moderate Income Organizing: The Case of the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now" Daniel M. Russell, Springfield College

"PAC Contributions by the American Dental Association: Do Dollars Follow Policy Positions?" Jay D. Shulman, Baylor College of Medicine, and Susan L. Wiley, George Washington University

"Factionalism Among Southern Republicans" Paige Schneider, Emory University

"The Federalism of Campaign Finance: Political Contributions in Georgia" John A. Clark, University of Georgia, and John M. Bruce, Georgetown University

"Elites and Modernization: British Labour MPs and Party Reform" Michael H. Levy, University of Kentucky

"Political Parties and the Circulation of Political Elites: Evidence from the Southern Grassroots Party Activist Project" David M. Brodsky, University of Tennessee, Chattanooga, and Simeon J. Brodsky, University of Pittsburgh

"Party Elites in Pennsylvania" Sharon A. Sykora, Slippery Rock University

"A Theory of Party Development in the United States, 1776-1787" Michael D. Layton, Duke University

"The Democratic Leadership Council and a New Democratic Coalition" Douglas B. Harris, John Hopkins University

"Party Campaign Efforts and Party Unity in the House: The Great Disconnect in Party Politics" Paul S. Herrnson, University of Maryland, and David M. Canton, University of Maryland

"The Party Coalitions and the Clinton Presidency" Harold W. Stanley, University of Rochester

"Passing the President's Policy Agenda: Political Party as Presidential Lobbyist" Kathryn Dunn Tenpas, University of South Florida

"Political Transformation and Rising Party Unity Among U.S. Senators" Clyde Brown, Miami University, and Gary D. Wekkin, University of Central Arkansas

"The Unity of House Republicans, 1983-1992" Scott W. Fischer, Mary Washington College

"The King Caucus Revisited: A Proposal to Strengthen the Role of Political Parties in the Presidential Nomination Process" John W. Cavanaugh, University of South Carolina

"Fundraising in Presidential Nomination Campaigns" David F. Damore, University of Georgia

"Divisive Nominating Campaigns and Party Success: A Further Refinement" James I. Lingle, Georgetown University; Diana M. Owen, Georgetown University; and Molly W. Sonner, Georgetown University

"Ross Perot of the Grass Roots: A County Level Analysis of Where He Ran Strongest in 1992" David L. Martin, Auburn University

"Survey of County Party Chairperson in North Carolina and Kentucky" Donald Jonas, University of Kentucky, and Michael Baranowski, University of Kentucky

Presented at the 1995 Southwest Conference

"Ethnic Political Parties: Explaining Performance" Sahar Shafqat, Texas A&M University

"Pressure Groups in the California Trade Policy Toward Mexico under NAFTA" Jose Ramos, El Colegio De la Frontera Norte

"Political Parties and Interest Groups in the Transition Towards Democracy in Russia: Origins and Paradoxes of Development (1991-1994)" Andrei Nikitchenko, Florida International University

"Challenge on the Right: The Traditional Right and the National Front" Mel Cohen, Miami University-Middletown

"State Political Party Platform Statements Regarding 'The Law'" Paul Parker, Northeast Missouri State University

"The Role of Party Caucuses in the Virginia General Assembly" Clifton McCleskey, University of Virginia

"When Parties and Social Movements Merge: The Christian Right and the Oklahoma Republican Party" Nancy Bednar, University of Oklahoma

"Toward a General Theory in Interest Group Activity: Conflict, Benefits, and Threat in the Defense Domain" Jeffrey S. Peake, Texas A&M University

"The Snake Doctors of Politics: The Power and Influence of Interest Groups in America" Eric Tiritilli, University of Texas-Arlington

"Political Action Committees and the Drive for Campaign Finance Reform" April C. Emmert, University of Texas-Dallas

"Campaign Financing: Its Importance and Implications for Party Strength in the United States" Joanne Conner Green, Texas Christian University

"No Place to Go: African American Voters and the 1992 Presidential Campaign" Thomas A. Calazzo, Clark Atlanta University

"Is a Picture Worth 1000 Words? A Qualitative Analysis of Political Cartoons" Jeraine Root, University of Houston

"Multiple Motives in Political Action Committee Contributions" David Dodenhoff, University of Michigan

"Take Us to Your Leader: Anchors vs. Middlemen in the U.S. House" Brian D. Posler and Carl M. Rhodes, Rice University

Presented at the 1995 Midwest Conference

"The 1994 Congressional Elections in Perspective" Gary C. Jacobson, University of California, San Diego

"Midterm Loss in the U.S. Senate: 1922-1994" Thomas L. Brunnell and William Koetzle, University of California

"The Election of Discontent: The 1994 U.S. Senate Race in Virginia" Richard J. Semiatin and Ronald G. Shaiko, American University

"Winners, Losers, and Money in U.S. Senate Elections 1974-1994" Glen W. Richardson, Jr., Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, and Ross E. Burkhart, University of Iowa

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"Think Tanks and Patronage: Interest Representation in the Policy Process" Michael Bath, University of Kansas

"It's All in the Mix: Socioeconomic Diversity and Interest Group Activity in the American States" William J. Benfanti, University of Maryland

"Public Interest Group Entrepreneurship: Disturbances, Patronage, and Personal Sacrifice" Anthony J. Nownes and Grant Neely, University of Tennessee

"Understanding Interest Group Power: Lessons from Developments in the American States Since the Mid-1980's" Clive S. Thomas, University of Alaska, Southeast, and Ronald J. Hrebenar, University of Utah

"Political Parties and Problems of Democratic Consolidation: The Turkish Case in Comparative Perspective" Sabri Sayari, Institute of Turkish Studies

"Liberal Democracy Without Liberal Parties: India's Political Paradox and the Politics of Economic Reform" John Echeverri-Gent, University of Virginia

"Party Development and Political Realignment: The Case of Argentina" Christopher Sabatini, University of Virginia

"The Process of Democratic Transition in South Asia—The Cases of Pakistan and Nepal" Pramod Kantha, University of Missouri, Columbia

"Words and Deeds: Not-So-Cheap Talk in U.S. Senate Campaigns, 1988-1992" Charles H. Franklin, University of Wisconsin, Madison

"The Dynamics of Issue Emphasis: Campaign Strategy and Media Coverage in Statewide Races" R. Michael Alvarez, California Institute of Technology

"Reconciling Equality, Impartiality, and Legitimacy in Interest Groups" Thomas Gais, Rockefeller Institute of Government

"What is Membership?" Robert H. Salisbury, Washington University

"What are Interests?" Jane Mansbridge, Northwestern University

"Are Groups the Only Interests?" William P. Browne, Central Michigan University

"The Role of Parties and Ideology in a Democracy-Inequality Relationship: A State by State Examination" Laura Langer, Florida State University

"Agenda Setting in the 1992 Campaign: Studying the Flow of Information" Russell Dalton, University of California, Irvine, Paul A. Beck, Ohio State University, and Robert Huckfeldt, State University of New York, Stony Brook

"Grassroots in Cyberspace: Recruiting Members on the Internet" Mark S. Bonchek, Harvard University

"Who's Moving Whom: Social Movement Theory and the Founding of NARAL" Ann Springer, Northwestern University and Jon B. Gould, University of Chicago

"How Environmental Groups Recruit Members: Does the Logic Still Hold Up?" Paul E. Johnson, University of Kansas

"Politics, Purposes, and the Incentive Theory of Groups" Nathan Teske, Reed College

"Onward Christian Lawyers: The Religious Right in Court" Gregg Ivers, American University

"Congress and the Supreme Court: Reevaluating the Interest-Group Perspective" Christopher J. Zorn, Ohio State University

"Interest groups, the Right to Die, and the U.S. Supreme Court" Suzane U. Samuels, Seton Hall University

"Group Representation and the Supreme Court: Back to the Future" David K. Ryden, Hope College

"Changing Campaign Agendas: It's as Easy as One, Two, Three" Diane Lowenthal, Carnegie Mellon University

"Campaigns and the Incumbency Advantage in the Modern House" Eric Lawrence and Steven S. Smith, University of Minnesota

"The Marginal Returns to Spending: A Microeconomic Analysis" Alan Gerber, Yale University, and Steven Ansolabehere, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

"Republican Women in Oregon: Diversity Among Conservatives" Debrah Bokowski, Portland State University

"Gender Differences Among Southern Party Elites: Presidential Candidate Choices and Evaluations" Christine L. Day and Charles D. Hadley, University of New Orleans

"Wives in the White House: Alternative Routes to Political Power" Karen O'Connor, Emory University, and Laura van Assendelft, Mary Baldwin College

"Consensus, Conflict, and the Domain of Partisanship in House Committees" David W. Rhode, Michigan State University

"Power in House Committees: The Conflict between Party and Ideology" Matthew M. Schoesen, Franklin & Marshall College

"Partisanship and Health Agendas in Congressional Committees" Jeffrey C. Talbert, Texas A&M University

"The Determinants of Success of Special Interests in Redistributive Politics" Avinash Dixit and John Londregan, Princeton University

"The Voting Rights Act, Majority-Minority Districts, and the Representation of Minority Interests in Congress" David Epstein, Columbia University

"A Structural Determinant of Partisan Bias in Congressional Elections" Thomas Gilligan and John Matsusaka, University of Southern California

"Of Time and Political Action Committees: Stability and change in the PAC Universe, 1978-1992" Ted J. Eismeier, Hamilton College, and Philip H. Pollock, III, University of Central Florida

"What are Party Endorsements Worth? A Study of Pre-Primary Gubernatorial endorsements in Ten State Parties in 1994" Malcolm E. Jewell, University of Kentucky, and Sarah M. Morehouse, University of Connecticut

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SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS

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"Still the Land of 10,000 Endorsements? Party Endorsements in Minnesota in the Wake of the Wake of the 1994 Elections" James Melcher, University of Minnesota

"Securing the Revolution: Structural change and Local Democracy in Post-Communist States" Samuel J. Eldersveld, University of Michigan, and Judith S. Kullberg, Ohio State University

"From Revolution to Routine Politics: Elite-Building and Democratization in the Former German Democratic Republic" Jennifer Yoder, University of Pittsburgh

"Professional Associations: A Different Breed of Cat" Bette S. Hill and Katherine A. Hinckley, University of Akron

"Coalitions of Organized Interests: Groups' Decisions to Join Alliances or Work Alone" Marie Hojnacki, Penn State University

"Saddling up the Posse: Rounding up Coalitions in the Washington Corral" Kevin W. Hula, Loyola College in Maryland

"Voter Neutrality Toward the Major Parties and Support for Independent Presidential Candidates" Stephen M. Nichols, Ohio State University

"The Role of Issues and Ideology in the Formation of Partisanship in the United States, 1972-1992" Jeffrey Levin, State University of New York, Stony Brook, and Edward G. Carmines, Indiana University

"Are Parties Responsive to Public Opinion? A Study of the 1992 Presidential Election" Emile Sheng, Northwestern University

"Checkbooks and Grassroots: Comparing Attitudes in Elite Populations" John A. Clark, University of Georgia, and John M. Bruce, Georgetown University

"Party Money and Party Loyalty in the Minnesota Legislature" Patrick Donnay, Bemidji State University

"Local Organizations, Local Races: A Systematic Examination of Resource and effort Expenditures by County Party Organizations on County-Level Races" Harold Gregory, Ohio State University

"Variation in Party Integration: 1988-1992" Barbara Trish, Grinnell College

"Reexamining the Pocketbook Voting Thesis in congressional Elections: An Individual-Level Analysis, 1980-1990" David Romero and Stephen J. Stambough, University of California, Riverside

"War Chests and Challenger Quality" Jay Goodliffe, University of Rochester

"Campaign Fund-Raising During the Pre-Primary

Period of the Presidential Nomination Process" Philip Paolino, Georgetown University

"The Effects of External Political Factors on Minority Party House Leadership" Christina Fastnow, University of Iowa

"Legislative Leviathan and the U.S. Senate, 1873-1933" Richard Forgette, Miami University, and Brian R. Sala, University of Illinois

"Explaining Policy Stability in the United States: Divided government or Partisanship in the House?" David Jones, University of California, Los Angeles

"Partisanship and Procedural Choice: Institutional Change in the Early Congress, 1789-1823" Sarah Binder, Brookings Institution and University of Minnesota

"Democratic Party Leadership in the Senate: Responses and Strategies in an Era of Uncertainty" Sean Q. Kelly, East Carolina University

"Structural Weaknesses in the Democratic Political Parties of the Russian Federation" Richard Franklin, University of Akron

"Political Parties and Interest Groups in the Transition toward Democracy in Russia: Origins and Paradoxes of Development, 1991-1994" Andrei N. Nikitchenko, Florida International University

"Coalition Politics in Post-Communist Europe: A Survey of Romanian Opposition Party Elites" Steven D. Roper, University of Missouri

"Organized Interests in State Courts: Group Responses to the New Judicial Federalism" Donald J. Farole, Jr. Indiana University

"The Intersection of Law, Politics, and Policy: Legal Services for the Poor in the American Courts, 1965-1994" John C. Kilwein, West Virginia University

"Information, Political Predispositions, and Changing Attitudes During the 1992 Presidential Election" Lynn Vavreck, University of Rochester

"Constituent Change as an Explanation of Republican Policy on Civil Rights, 1888-1990" Thomas F. Bayer, University of Notre Dame

"Political Parties and Political Preferences Under the First State Constitutions, 1776-1788" Michael Layton, Duke University

"Are the Parties Getting Smarter?" Geoffrey D. Peterson, University of Iowa

"Triple Play: Consistency, Elite and Public Opinions and Senate Role Call Voting" Eric M. Uslaner, University of Maryland

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ANNOUNCING

Perspectives in Comparative Politics

Edited by

Kay Lawson and Stephen Padgett

Longman of England will soon be bringing out the first books in its new series, *Perspectives in Comparative Politics*, edited by Kay Lawson of San Francisco State University and the University of Paris and Stephen Padgett of the University of Exeter. Each book in the series studies a single topic, offering a general introduction followed by three case studies and a conclusion. The texts are written for use at

the upper division level, and will be marketed widely in Europe and the United States. Five books are presently under contract (*Comparative Health Care* by Paul Godt, *Immigration and Citizenship* by Miriam Feldblum, *Social Movements* by Cyrus Zirakzadeh, *Ethnicity and Politics* by Joseph Rudolph and Robert Thompson, and *Public Deficits* by Roland Sturm).



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