The American Political Science Review

Published Quarterly by The American Political Science Association

All new!

Anderson/Murray/Farley TEXAS POLITICS

An Introduction, Fourth Edition

355 pages. Instructor's Manual.

Gray/Michalak AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY SINCE DETENTE

228 pages.

Nigro/Nigro MODERN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Sixth Edition

416 pages. Instructor's Manual.

Elazar

AMERICAN FEDERALISM

A View from the States, *Third Edition* 288 pages/tent.

Jones

CONDUCTING POLITICAL RESEARCH

Second Edition

288 pages/tent.

To request examination copies, write to Suite 3D, Harper & Row, 10 East 53d Street, New York, N.Y. 10022. Please include course title, enrollment, and present text.



Harper & Row

The American Political Science Review

Vol. 78 March 1984 No. 1

CONTENTS

The Heresthetics of Constitution-Making: The Presidency in 1787, with Comments on Determinism and Rational Choice William H. Riker	1
Changes in the Vote Margins for Congressional Candidates: A Specification of Historical Trends James C. Garand & Donald A. Gross	17
Free Association and the Theory of Proportional Representation	31
Advocacy, Interpretation, and Influence in the U.S. Congress Richard A. Smith	44
Interest Representation: The Dominance of Institutions Robert H. Salisbury	64
Nationalization of the American Electorate William Claggett, William Flanigan, & Nancy Zingale	77
In Search of the Center of European Party Systems Hans Daalder	92
The Constituency Service Basis of the Personal Vote for U.S. Representatives and British Members of Parliament	110
Bureaucrats and Politicians in Policymaking: The Case of Japan Michio Muramatsu & Ellis S. Krauss	126
Do Cooperators Exit More Readily than Defectors? John M. Orbell, Peregrine Schwartz-Shea, & Randy T. Simmons	147
A Method of Estimating the Personal Ideology of Political Representatives	163
The Particulars of a Universal Politics: Hegel's Adaptation of Montesquieu's Typology Michael Mosher	179
The Relative Influence of European Writers on Late Eighteenth-Century American Political Thought Donald S. Lutz	189
Communications	198
Book Reviews American Government and Politics Comparative and Other Area Studies International Relations Normative Theory	207 245 263 277
Empirical Theory and Methodology	291

The American Political Science Review appears in March, June, September, and December of each year. It is published by the American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, and sent to all members. Dues: Regular members with income: under \$20,000, \$40; \$20,000-\$29,999, \$50; \$30,000-\$39,999, \$65; \$40,000 and over, \$75; Student Members (limited to 5 years), \$15; Retired Members, \$20; Life Members, \$1,000; Institutional Members, \$75. Dues allocated for a subscription to the APSR: \$10. Changes of address sent to the Membership Secretary of the APSA. Postmaster: Please send notification regarding undelivered journals to address above. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional mailing offices. Copyright © 1984 by The American Political Science Association (ISSN-003-0554).

BOOK REVIEWS

American Government and Politics

Abramson, Paul R. Political Attitudes in America:	
Formation and Change Norman R. Luttbeg	207
Adams, William C., ed. Television Coverage of the	
1980 Presidential Campaign	207
Alston, Richard M. The Individual vs. the Public Interest:	
Political Ideology and National Forest Policy	208
Barber, Bernard. The Logic and Limits of Trust	209
Barfield, Claude E. Science Policy from Ford to Reagan:	
Change and Continuity Richard P. Hiskes	210
Beyle, Thad L., & Lynn R. Muchmore. Being Governor:	
The View from the Office	211
Bowles, Samuel, David M. Gordon, & Thomas E. Weisskopf.	
Beyond the Wasteland: A Democratic Alternative to	
	211
Brenner, Philip. The Limits and Possibilities of Congress Steven A. Shull	212
Brown, Lawrence D. Politics and Health Care Organization:	
HMOs as Federal Policy Richard D. Willis	213
Buss, Terry F., & F. Stevens Redburn. Shutdown in Youngstown:	
Public Policy for Mass Unemployment	214
Carp, Robert A., & C. K. Rowland. Policymaking and Politics	
in the Federal District Courts	215
Cigler, Allan J., & Burdett A. Loomis, eds. Interest Group Politics	
Interest Group Politics	216
Clarke, Peter, & Susan H. Evans. Covering Campaigns:	
Journalism in Congressional Elections	216
Conover, Pamela Johnston, & Virginia Gray. Feminism and	
the New Right: Conflict over the American Family Janet K. Boles	217
Davis, James W. National Conventions in an Age of	210
Party Reform	218
D'Emilio, John. Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United	
States, 1940-1970 David C. Colby	219
de Sola Pool, Ithiel. Technologies of Freedom	220
Fainstein, Susan S. et al., eds. Restructuring the City:	220
The Political Economy of Urban Redevelopment	221
Falik, Marilyn. Ideology and Abortion Policy Politics.	
Steiner, Gilbert Y., ed. The Abortion Dispute and the	
American System	222
Gormley, William T., Jr. The Politics of Public Utility	
Regulation Michael D. Reagan	223
Graber, Doris A., ed. The President and the Public	224
Grenzke, Janet Miller. Influence, Change, and the	
Legislative Process T. Wayne Parent	225
Heinz, Anne, Herbert Jacob, & Robet L. Lineberry, eds.	
Crime in City Politics	226
Kaplan, John. The Hardest Drug: Heroin and Public Policy	227
Kline, John M. State Government Influence in	
U.S. International Economic Policy James E. Jarrett	228
Lake, Laura M. Environmental Regulation: The Political	
Effects of Implementation Henry B. Sirgo	228
Larson, Gary O. The Reluctant Patron: The United States	
Government and the Arts, 1943-1965	229
Lefcoe, George, ed. Urban Land Policy for the 1980s:	
The Message for State and Local Government Duane Windsor	230

Marling, Karal Ann. Wall-to-Wall America: A Cultural	
History of Post-Office Murals in the Great Depression	231
McAdam, Doug. Political Process and the Development of	
Black Insurgency 1930-1970	232
McLure, Charles E., Jr., & Peter Mieszkowski, eds. Fiscal	252
	233
Musolf, Lloyd. Undle Sam's Private, Profitseeking	455
Corporations	233
Neiman, Max, & Barbara J. Burt, eds. The Social Constraints	233
on Energy-Policy Implementation	234
Palmer, John L., & Isabel V. Sawhill, eds. The Reagan	234
	225
Experiment	233
eds. Energy and the Western United States:	
Politics and Development	236
Rosenbloom, David H. Public Administration and Law:	230
Rosenbiooni, David H. Fubic Administration and Law:	226
Bench v. Bureau in the United States	236
Schuck, Peter H. Suing Government: Citizen Remedies	227
	237
Sinclair, Barbara. Congressional Realignment, 1925-1978 Darrell M. West	238
Stone, Alan, & Edward J. Harpham, eds. The Political	220
	239
Thomas, Ann Van Wynen, & A. J. Thomas, Jr. The	
War-Making Powers of the President: Constitutional and	220
International Law Aspects	239
Tucker, Robert W., & David C. Hendrickson. The Fall of the	
First British Empire: Origins of the War of	• 40
American Independence John S. Vanderoef	240
Turner, Michael. The Vice President as Policy Maker:	
Rockefeller in the Ford White House	241
Whalen, Charles W., Jr. The House and Foreign Policy Jerel A. Rosati	242
Woody, Bette. Managing Crisis Cities: The New Black	
Leadership and the Politics of Resource Allocation Luther F. Carter	243
Zeisel, Hans. The Limits of Law Enforcement James E. Robertson	243
Zimmerman, Joseph F. State-Local Relations:	
A Partnership Approach Robert K. Whelan	244
Comparative and Other Area Studies	
•	
Bahl, Roy, & Barbara D. Miller, eds. Local Government	
Finance in the Third World: A Case Study of the	
Philippines	245
Bodganor, Vernon, ed. Liberal Party Politics.	
Kavanagh, Dennis, ed. The Politics of the Labour Party Peter Mair	246
Breslauer, Geroge W. Khrushchev and Brezhnev as Leaders:	
Building Authority in Soviet Politics	247
Cartwright, John. Political Leadership in Africa	248
Dwivedi, O. P., ed. The Administrative State in Canada:	
Essays for J. E. Hodgetts	249
Johnston, R. J. Geography and the State:	
An Essay in Political Geography Ladis K. D. Kristof	250
Logue, John. Socialism and Abundance: Radical	
Socialism in the Danish Welfare State	250
Madgwick, Peter, & Richard Rose, eds. The Territorial	
Dimension in United Kingdom Politics John Kurt Jacobsen	251
McClintock, Cynthia, & Abraham F. Lowenthal, eds.	
The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered Jonathan Hartlyn	252
Okimoto, Daniel I., ed. Japan's Economy: Coping with	
Change in the International Environment	252

Powell, G. Bingnam, Jr. Contemporary Democracies:	
Participation, Stability and Violence	254
Randall, Vicky. Women and Politics Eileen L. McDonagh	255
Rigsby, T. H., & Ferenc Feher, eds. Political	
	156
Legitimation in Communist States	230
Ritter, Archibald R. M., & David H. Pollock, eds.	
Latin American Prospects for the 1980s: Equity,	
Democratization, and Development Elisha Greifer	257
Rose, Richard, & Edward Page, eds. Fiscal Stress in Cities	258
Sandford, Gregory W. From Hitler to Ulbricht:	~50
	260
The Communist Reconstruction of East Germany 1945-46	258
Stanbury, W. T., & Fred Thompson, eds. Managing Public	
Enterprises James E. Swiss	259
Stookey, Robert W. South Yemen: A Marxist Republic	
in Arabia	260
Tummala, Krishna K., ed. Administrative Systems Abroad	
	261
Yeager, Rodger. Tanzania: An African Experiment	261
Zartman, I. William, ed. The Political Economy of Nigeria	262
International Relations	
Barnaby, Frank, & Geoffrey Thomas, eds. The Nuclear	
Arms Race: Control or Catastrophe?	
Kincade, William H., & Christoph Bertram, eds.	
Nuclear Proliferation in the 1980s: Perspectives and	
Proposals Philip W. Dyer	263
Beres, Louis Rene. Mimicking Sisyphus: America's	
Countervailing Nuclear Strategy	265
Christol, Carl Q. The Modern International Law of	203
Christol, Carl Q. The Modern International Law of	~~=
Outer Space Eric J. Novotny	265
Cohen, Stephen D., & Ronald I. Meltzer. United States	
International Economic Policy in Action: Diversity of	
Decision Making John S. Odell	266
Crabb, Cecil V., Jr. The Doctrines of American Foreign	-00
Policy: Their Meaning, Role and Future	267
	207
Feldman, Shai. Israeli Nuclear Deterrence:	
A Strategy for the 1980s Paul F. Power	268
Hagan, Lawrence S., ed. The Crisis in Western Security William K. Domke	269
Holloway, David. The Soviet Union and the Arms Race John M. Carfora	270
Hopple, Gerald W., ed. Biopolitics, Political Psychology and	
International Politics: Towards a New Discipline William D. Richardson	271
Hosmer, Stephen T., & Thomas W. Wolfe. Soviet Policy and	2/1
	271
Practice toward Third-World Conflicts Harry Ododa	2/1
Murphy, John F. The United Nations and the Control of	
International Violence: A Legal and Political Analysis	272
O'Connell, D. P.; ed. by I. A. Shearer. The International	
Law of the Sea, vol. 1	273
Towle, Philip. Arms Control and East-West Relations	274
Vernon, Raymond. Two Hungry Giants: The United States	217
vernon, Raymond. I wo Hungry Guants: The United States	076
and Japan in the Quest for Oil and Ores	275
Zartman, I. William, & Maureen R. Berman. The	
Practical Negotiator Linda P. Brady	276
-	
Normative Theory	
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
Arendt, Hannah; ed. by Ronald Beiner. Lectures on	
Kant's Political Philosophy.	
	277
Riley, Patrick. Kant's Political Philosophy	411

Blumenberg, Hans; trans. by Robert Wallace.	
The Legitimacy of the Modern Age Stephen Holmes	278
Bok, Sissela. Secrets: On the Ethics of Concealment	
and Revelation John P. Burke	279
Calvert, Peter. The Concept of Class: An Historical	
Introduction Kenneth R. Hoover	280
Canavan, Francis, ed. The Ethical Dimension of Political	
Life: Essays in Honor of John H. Hallowell Steven D. Ealy	281
Charvet, John. Feminism	281
Darby, Tom. The Feast: Meditations on Politics and Time Steven B. Smith	282
Fishkin, James S. Justice, Equal Opportunity, and	202
the Family	283
Kiss, Arthur; trans. by Peter Tamasi & Ivan Sellei.	203
Marxism and Democracy	284
Leigh, R. A., ed. Rousseau after Two Hundred Years:	204
Proceedings of the Cambridge Bicentennial Colloquium	205
(1978) Patrick Riley	285
Lloyd, Christopher, ed. Social Theory and Political	200
Practice	286
Nisbet, Robert. Prejudices: A Philosophical Dictionary W: Wesley McDonald	286
Summers, Robert Samuel. Instrumentalism and	
American Legal Theory	287
Vedung, Evert. Political Reasoning	288
Walzer, Michael. Spheres of Justice: A Defense of	
Pluralism and Equality	289
Weinstein, Michael A. The Wilderness and the City:	
American Classical Philosophy as a Moral Quest	290
Empirical Theory and Methodology	
Empirical Theory and Internouology	
Apostle, Richard A., et al. The Anatomy of	
Racial Attitudes	201
Brewer, Garry D., & Peter deLeon. The Foundations	2)1
of Policy Analysis.	
Paris, David C., & James F. Reynolds. The Logic of	
Policy Inquiry Francis W. Hoole	292
Roemer, John E. A General Theory of Exploitation and Class	293
Schwarz, Brita, Uno Svedin, & Bjorn Wittrock. Methods in	273
Futures Studies: Problems and Applications	204
	294
Weinstein, Brian. The Civic Tongue: Political	204
Consequences of Language Choices	294

The American Political Science Association

1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

PRESIDENT: Philip E. Converse, University of Michigan; PRESIDENT-ELECT: Richard F. Fenno, Jr., University of Rochester; VICE PRESIDENTS: Ada W. Finifter, Michigan State University; James G. March, Stanford University; James W. Prothro, University of North Carolina; SECRETARY: Arend Lijphart, University of California, San Diego; TREASURER: Susan Welch, University of Nebraska, Lincoln; EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Thomas E. Mann; PROGRAM CHAIRPERSON: Doris A. Graber, University of Illinois at Chicago; MANAGING EDITOR, APSR: Dina A. Zinnes, University of Illinois.

COUNCIL (Above-named officers ex officiis), 1982-84: Twiley Barker, University of Illinois at Chicago; Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, University of Rochester; Walter Dean Burnham, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Suzanne Garment, Wall Street Journal; Ole R. Holsti, Duke University; Gerald H. Kramer, California Institute of Technology; Michael Walzer, Institute for Advanced Study; Philip Williams, Nuffield College, Oxford University. 1983-85: Charles W. Anderson, University of Wisconsin at Madison; Morris P. Fiorina, Harvard University; Helen Ingram, University of Arizona; Nannerl Keohane, Wellesley College; Michael B. Preston, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Arlene W. Saxonhouse, University of Michigan; W. Phillips Shiveley, University of Minnesota; Gerald Wright, Indiana University.

The American Political Science Review

Department of Political Science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, Illinois 61801

EDITORIAL BOARD: Dina A. Zinnes, Managing Editor, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; John H. Aldrich, University of Minnesota; G. Robert Boynton, University of Iowa; Naomi Caiden, California State College; David Cameron, Yale University; John Ferejohn, Center for Advanced Studies; John R. Freeman, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Sheldon Goldman, University of Massachusetts; Russell L. Hanson, Indiana University; Ruth Jones, Arizona State University; James H. Kuklinski, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Mary P. Nichols, Catholic University of America; Jerrold Rusk, University of Arizona; Barbara Salert, Washington University.

BOOK REVIEW EDITORIAL BOARD: Steven Thomas Seitz, Book Review Editor, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Ina A. Jeffery, Florida A&M University; William C. Mitchell, University of Oregon; Lawrence B. Mohr, University of Michigan; W. Phillips Shively, University of Minnesota.

MANUSCRIPT EDITORS: Mary L. Giles, Merle L. Levy.

EDITORIAL INTERN: Bradley Gitz.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANTS: John C. Sandry, Cory H. Goldberg.

INDEXING: Articles and notes appearing in the Review before the June 1953 issue were indexed in The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature. Current issues are indexed by The International Political Science Abstracts, the United States Political Science Documents, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Index. Microfilm of the Review, beginning with Volume 1, may be obtained from University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106. A Cumulative Index of the Review, Volumes 1-62, 1906-1968, may also be obtained from University Microfilms. Articles appearing in the Review are listed regularly in ABC Pol Sci and Current Contents: Behavioral, Social & Management Sciences. Book reviews are indexed in Book Review Index.

The American Political Science Review

Instructions to Contributors

Address correspondence about contributions to the Review to Dina A. Zinnes, American Political Science Review, Department of Political Science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, Illinois 61801. Please submit five copies of a manuscript to be considered for publication. Unfortunately, due to increased postage costs, we can no longer return manuscripts to the author. Manuscripts must be typed on one side of the paper only and mimeographed or photocopies, with all written material double-spaced (including quotations, references, and footnotes). Use standard typewriter paper—avoid colored and light-weight stock. The typewritten lines should not exceed 5½ or 6 inches in length. Since manuscripts are sent out anonymously for evaluation, the author's name and affiliation should appear only on a separate covering sheet. An abstract of less than 150 words should accompany the manuscript. APSR will not consider articles submitted to other publications.

Beginning with the June 1983 issue, the reference form is that prescribed by the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, 2nd ed.; brief parenthetical references are included in the text and all sources are listed alphabetically at the end of the article. The work of classical authors such as Aristotle or Plato may be cited by the standardized code familiar to scholars in the field and passing allusions to such authors do not require mention in the list of references. Conventional foot-of-column notes are used only for explanatory comments or in unusual cases to avoid lengthy in-text references.

Articles that draw on survey data not documented through the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research should include the following information in an appendix: (1) a description of the population sampled, including definition of the geographical area covered, and details about how the sample was drawn sufficient to permit fairly exact replication; (2) response rate (for quota designs, the number of refusals); (3) exact question wordings; and (4) interviewer characteristics.

Manuscripts over 30 pages will be reviewed with particular care to determine if such length is warranted. Those over 50 pages will be returned to the author. Resubmission may follow compliance with the page limit. Tables, charts, footnotes, and references will be included in the page count.

Figures should be professionally presented: use high-quality white paper and India ink for maximum sharpness and clarity of line. Copies only should accompany the submitted manuscript, original art work being retained until requested by the editorial office. Tables should be typed on separate pages, with guides, e.g., "Table 1 about here" at the proper places in the manuscript.

Communications must follow the form of regular manuscripts, including reference listings where appropriate. They must not exceed five double-spaced pages, including references, footnotes, and tables. All but the briefest letters will be refereed.

Book Reviews

Books intended for review and all book review correspondence should be sent to Seven Thomas Seitz, Book Review Editor, American Political Science Review, Department of Political Science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, Illinois 61801. Authors are urged to call their books to the attention of the Book Review Editor to insure that the books will be considered for review. Those interested in reviewing books should submit a current vita.

Other Correspondence

Information, including News and Notes, for the Association's news-journal, PS, should be sent to 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Advertising, reprint, and circulation correspondence should be sent to the Executive Director and the Washington office. Domestic claims for nonreceipt of issues must be made within four months of the month of publication; overseas claims, eight months. Advertising information and rates are available from Eloise French, Advertising Manager, APSA, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

The American Political Science Association why



ed 1775 From the collection of The American Political Science Association

Why Join The APSA?

To become an active member of the profession.

The Association is the major professional organization for people engaged in the study of politics, with over 12,000 members.

To contribute to the advancement of the discipline and the profession.

The APSA lobbies for government support of political science research, promotes academic freedom, sponsors awards for scholarly excellence, develops teaching materials like SETUPS, and much more.

■ To receive these benefits:

- Subscriptions to:
 - -The American Political Science Review
 - -NEWS for Teachers of
- Political Science
 Discounts on subscriptions to
- over 50 other periodicalsLower Annual Meeting rates
- Group insurance plans
- Eligibility for employment services, including Personnel Service Newsletter, confidential credential referrals, and more
- Membership in subfield Sections

y.13Katherum. APSA ME

APSA MEMBERSHIP

To join APSA, please fill in and return the form below:

MAIL TO: The American Political Science Association
1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20036 (202) 483-2512
Name
Address
CityStateZip
APSA DUES ARE TAX-DEDUCTIBLE
Please check appropriate dues box and remit accordingly:
Regular members with gross professional income:
Under \$20,000\$40.00 □
\$20,000 to \$29,999\$50.00 \(\square\$
\$30,000 to \$39,999\$65.00 \(\square\$
\$40,000 and over\$75.00

Life Members	\$1000.00 L
Retired Members (who have been members for 25 years)	\$20.00
Family Members (does not include subscriptions)	\$5.00
Section Memberships (Check as many as desi	ired)
1. Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations	\$\$3.00
2. Legislative Studies	
3. Policy Studies	
4. Political Organizations & Parties	
5. Law, Courts, and Judicial Process	
6. Public Administration, Organizations and	
Executives	\$3.00
\$4.00 Additional for Foreign Postage.	

Student Members (limit 5 years).....\$15.00