



# The Key Reporter

VOLUME XLVIII □ NUMBER FOUR □ SUMMER 1983

## ALUMNI ASSOCIATIONS REPORT ACTIVE YEAR

A group of Phi Beta Kappa alumni in upstate New York gathered recently to hear a discussion of the ethical problems technology is creating for the medical profession. In Scarsdale another such group participated in a discussion of the economy and energy problems. A poet was honored by a group in Chicago, and in Texas two college professors were given cash awards by another group in recognition of their excellent teaching.

These are some of the programs and activities sponsored by ΦBK alumni who have formed groups to promote the society's ideals. Since the first alumni association was formed in New York in 1877, ΦBK alumni have provided intellectual and social opportunities for their members and their communities. Over the years, associations have come and gone, and their activities have changed with the needs of the times. There have been groups in China, Japan, the United Kingdom, the Philippine Islands, Iran, and Constantinople. There are now about 50 alumni associations, all in the continental United States. Most groups meet several times a year to hear distinguished speakers and recognize the achievements of local high school and college students with prizes ranging from books to scholarships. Reports of the associations' activities are sent to the national office every summer, and this year's reports reveal that the associations are thriving.

Drawing on contributions from members and private enterprise, the Southern California Association sponsors an International and Undergraduate Scholarship Program providing awards totaling \$25,000 annually. The Greater Houston Association awards 55 scholarships annually with a combined value of nearly \$30,000.

The Chicago Association sponsors an annual essay contest for students of area colleges, to "foster intellectual inquiry and literary excellence." The winner, chosen by a committee of association members, receives a \$500 prize. The essay topic for 1983 was "The

Computer Revolution and the Future of American Society." The Wake County Association (North Carolina) sponsors an annual essay program for high school students. The Pitt County Association (North Carolina) presents engraved Jefferson cups to outstanding arts and science graduates of the local university.

Since 1969, the Southwest Louisiana Association has honored a graduating senior of the local university who has a distinguished record of academic attainment and university service. Students who have been nominated for the honor are interviewed, and the winner's name is engraved on a plaque hanging in the University of Southwestern Louisiana library.

The North Texas Association created a \$1000 cash award for excellence in teaching. The recipient is chosen from ΦBK faculty members in local universities who have been nominated by the presidents of their institutions.

In 1946 the Chicago Association established a "Distinguished Service Award" to honor a person who has "rendered outstanding service to all humanity." This year's winner was Professor John Frederick Nims, editor of *Poetry* magazine. Previous winners have included Eleanor Roosevelt and Carl Sandburg.

The wide-ranging interests of ΦBK alumni are evidenced by the variety of speakers and topics for their meetings. The newly formed Oneonta Association (New York) learned about "The Upstate Character" in a speech by Professor David Ellis of Hamilton College. The Wabash Valley Association (Indiana) invited Professor Darrell Hammer to speak on "The USSR After Brezhnev." Ambassador L. Bruce Laingen, former Iranian hostage, spoke to the Washington, D.C., Association on U.S. interests in Iran and the Persian Gulf.

One of the most ambitious and successful speaker programs is the Open Forum Series organized by the Chicago Association. A recent forum addressed "New Federalism and Its Impact on Cities and States." Speakers were Kenneth Howard, executive director of the Advi-

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## 1983 SIBLEY AWARD

The Sibley Fellowship Committee of Phi Beta Kappa, which is chaired by Professor Helen Hazard Bacon of Barnard College, has announced that this year's winner is Ellen Elizabeth Rice. Rice (above) is a research fellow at Wolfson College, Oxford University, and a member of the editorial staff of *The Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. She is a graduate of Mount Holyoke College (B.A.), where she was elected to membership in Phi Beta Kappa, Cambridge University (B.A. and M.A.), and Oxford University (D.Phil. and M.A.).

The new Sibley winner plans to study the social history of the island of Rhodes and its Peraea on the basis of extant epigraphical evidence and to compile the first full prosopography of all known Rhodians in antiquity from a computerized onomasticon that she has already edited. Her project is intended to present hitherto unavailable information to complement the political history of one of the major Hellenistic powers.

In 1984 the Sibley Fellowship, which carries a \$7000 stipend, will be offered for studies in French language and literature. Candidates must be unmarried women between 25 and 35 years of age who hold the doctorate or who have fulfilled all the requirements for the doctorate except the dissertation. They must be planning to devote full-time work to research during the fellowship year that begins September 1, 1984. Further information and application forms may be obtained by writing to the Sibley Fellowship Committee, Phi Beta Kappa, 1811 Q Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

## ASSOCIATIONS (continued)

sory Committee on Intergovernment Relations, Washington, D.C.; the Honorable Jay Lytle, mayor of Evanston; and Professor Paul Friesma, Northwestern University Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research. Another forum will address "The Economics of the Schools and School Children." This meeting will be chaired by one of the association's members, William G. Caples, former president of both the Chicago Board of Education and Kenyon College.

Speakers are drawn from the membership, the local community, and the Associates Lectureship program. The Scarsdale Association (New York) is fortunate in having a pool of outstanding personalities within its range. Their speakers for last year included Marshall Loeb, economics editor of *Time* magazine; Robert L. Bernstein, chairman of the board of Random House; Henry Graff, distinguished professor of history, Columbia University; and Robert Moskin, author of *Battle for Jerusalem*.

Historian Jerome H. Wood, Swarthmore College, addressed the Philadelphia Association on "Tea and Constancy: Media Hype and the Quest for Unity in the American Revolution." Last spring, their members were invited to hear Sol Schoenback, emeritus director of the Settlement Music School and solo bassoonist of the Philadelphia Orchestra, whose topic was "The Beta Blockers and the Bassoon."

Phi Beta Kappa alumni put a great deal of time and energy into their educational programs, but they have also been known to have a little fun. The Northern California Association has sponsored discussion groups on films, theater, music, books, bridge, travel, and investments. They also buy blocks of tickets for the theater and opera. The Washington, D.C., Association enjoys the productions of local theater groups. This year they held their winter meeting in a German restaurant, decorated for the season, and for their spring activity arranged a special tour of the world-famous gardens and Byzantine Museum at Dumbarton Oaks.

If you would like to get in touch with the association nearest you, see the list of names and addresses of officers below. If there is no association near you and you would like to organize a group of alumni in your area, write to the United Chapters offices for information.

### ALABAMA

Northeast Alabama—Dr. George Whitesel, Houston Cole Library, Jacksonville State University, Jacksonville, 36265

Southeast Alabama—Mr. James Sherry, English and Foreign Languages Dept., Troy State University, Troy, 36082

### ARIZONA

Phoenix Area—Joseph Stocker, 1609 Keim Dr., Phoenix, 85015

### CALIFORNIA

Northern California—Mrs. Julia Antoniadis, 2615 Sonoma Street, El Cerrito, 94530

Southern California—Mr. Howard C. Lockwood, Lockheed Corp., P.O. Box 551, Burbank, 91520

San Diego—Mrs. Joan Callahan Bigge, 1224 Catalina Blvd., San Diego, 92107



### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mrs. Edith S. Greer, 730 24th St., N.W., Apt. 606, Washington, D.C. 20037

### FLORIDA

Sarasota-Manatee—Mrs. Lynne M. Todd, 1209 Estremadura Dr., Bradenton, 33529

South Florida—Mrs. Fay Aronson, 595 Solano Prado, Coral Gables, 33156

### GEORGIA

Coastal Georgia—Carolina—Mrs. Laura B. Arrial, 190 Simmons Road, Statesboro, 31313

### ILLINOIS

Chicago—Mr. Thomas L. Reid, 175 W. Jackson, #1321, Chicago, 60604

Peoria—Mr. Ted J. Fleming (pres.), 1028 S.W. Adams St., Peoria, 61602

Southern Illinois—Professor Ronald Mason, Political Science Department, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Carbondale, 62901

### INDIANA

Indianapolis—Mrs. Fimie Richie, 5657 Lieber Rd., Indianapolis, 46208

Wabash Valley—Dr. Robert H. Puckett, Political Science Dept., Indiana State University, Terre Haute, 47809

### IOWA

Sioux City—Mrs. Marjorie C. Meyer, 2412 Allan St., Sioux City, 51103

### LOUISIANA

Southwestern Louisiana—R. G. Neiheisel, University of Southwestern Louisiana, Box 41932, Lafayette, 70504

### MARYLAND

Frederick County—Prof. Phyllida M. Willis, Hood College, Frederick, 21701

### MASSACHUSETTS

Newton—Dr. James T. Barrs, 166 Chestnut St., W. Newton, 02165

### MICHIGAN

Detroit—Dr. Jane D. Eberwein, 379 W. Frank, Birmingham, 48009

Southwestern Michigan—Prof. Henry Cohen, Art Dept., Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, 49007

### MISSISSIPPI

Northeast Mississippi—Mrs. J. C. Perkins, 1427 Mohawk Rd., Columbus, 39701

### MISSOURI

Greater Kansas City—Mrs. Julie Esrey, 2302

W. 69th Terrace, Shawnee Mission, 66208

### NEBRASKA

Omaha—Mrs. Dean Vogel, 667 North 66th St., Omaha, 68132

### NEW JERSEY

Northern New Jersey—Prof. Katherine Malanga, Upsala College, 345 Prospect St., East Orange, 07019

### NEW MEXICO

Los Alamos—Ms. Judith Machen, 1110 First St., Los Alamos, 87544

### NEW YORK

Long Island—Miss Marie Mulgannon, 180 Hilton Ave., Hempstead, 11550

New York—Dr. Arline L. Bronzaft, 505 E. 79th St., New York 10021

Oneonta Region—Mrs. Harriett Johnson, 2 Walling Blvd., Oneonta, 13820

Scarsdale—Mr. Stanley Frankel (pres.), 109 Brewster Rd., Scarsdale, 10583

Upper Hudson—Charles H. Foster, 395 Wellington Rd., Dalmar, 12054

### NORTH CAROLINA

Pitt County—Dr. T. Eugene Yarbrough (pres.), Political Science Dept., East Carolina University, Greenville, 27834

Wake County—Dr. Anne T. Moore, Box 175, Coats, 27521

### OHIO

Cleveland—Mr. Zachary T. Paris, 3706 Strandhill Rd., Shaker Heights, 44122

Toledo Area—Mrs. Beneth Morrow, 576 E. Front St., Perrysburg, 43551

### OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City—Mrs. Carol S. Soule (pres.), 1614 Westminster Place, Oklahoma City, 73120

### PENNSYLVANIA

Gamma of Pennsylvania—Dr. L. Ruth Murray Klein, 6645 Lincoln Dr., Philadelphia, 19119

Philadelphia Assn.—Mr. Robert F. Maxwell, 555 E. Lancaster Ave., St. Davids, 19087

### SOUTH CAROLINA

Piedmont Area—Prof. John W. Stevenson, Dept. of English, Converse College, Spartanburg, 29301

### TENNESSEE

Chattanooga—Dr. Robert Hagood, 4428 Murray Hills Dr., Chattanooga, 37416

### TEXAS

Houston—Eleanor Dong, 14627 River Forest, Houston, 77079

North Texas—Mrs. Pat Rosenthal, 4338 Woodfin Drive, Dallas, 75220

San Antonio—Mr. Donald E. Redmond, 607 E. Mandalay, San Antonio, 78212

### VIRGINIA

Richmond—Mr. G. Edmond Massie, 3rd, RFD 1, Box 155, Hanover, 23069

Roanoke Area—V. Diane Kelly, Route 1, Box 103, Fincastle, 24090

Shenandoah—Dr. Peter T. Nielsen, Burruss 309, Biology Department, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, 22807

### WASHINGTON

Inland Empire—Mrs. Merle Emry, West 3006 Excell Ave., Spokane, 99208

Puget Sound—Mrs. Vivian Chun, 3405 15th Ave. S., Seattle, 98144

### WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston—Mrs. Elizabeth Harris, 1515 Bedford Rd., Charleston, 25314

### WISCONSIN

Greater Milwaukee—Mrs. Loraine D. Van Eerden, 4094 N. 78th St., Milwaukee, 53222

# RECENT CHANGES IN THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING PROCESS

by Austin Ranney

Of all the changes that have taken place in American political and governmental institutions in the past twenty years, perhaps the most far-reaching has been the change in the process by which the two major political parties' presidential candidates are chosen. Before the change, presidential aspirants in both parties were screened mainly by national, state, and local party organization leaders and chosen mainly by bargaining and "deals" among those leaders. Today the aspirants are screened mainly by the mass communications media, particularly the national networks' news programs, and chosen mainly by voters in presidential preference primaries.

## Sources of the Change

Most of the change in the nominating process was initiated by a series of new rules adopted by the Democratic party between 1969 and 1971 to implement the recommendations of its McGovern-Fraser Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection. The new rules, which governed the selection of delegates to national party conventions, had three main thrusts: (1) to end the party leaders' traditional domination of the selection of delegates (and therefore the choosing of presidential candidates) by giving any enthusiast for a political cause or presidential aspirant an equal chance to become a delegate and by abolishing all guaranteed delegate slots for party leaders; (2) to make sure that certain groups in the population that had previously been discriminated against in the selection of delegates— notably women, blacks, and young people—would be chosen in rough proportion to their presence in the population (for example, a rule adopted in 1977 required that henceforth at least half of the delegates must be women); and (3) to provide for "fair reflection" of the voters' presidential preferences in the composition of each state's delegation: today if candidate X gets 30 percent of the popular vote in a state's primary, he or she will also be guaranteed 30 percent of the votes cast by the state's delegation at the national convention. The

Republicans changed their delegate selection rules less drastically than the Democrats, but to a degree they also weakened their party leaders' powers, tried harder to represent formerly disadvantaged groups, and widely installed proportional representation of the voters' presidential preferences in the composition of state delegations.

In response to changes initiated by the political parties, a number of states also revised their laws governing the selection of delegates to the national conventions. By far the most widespread change was the replacement of selection by state conventions, state central committees, state caucuses, and the like with selection by direct primaries. The figures are dramatic: in 1968, the last of the "pre-reform" conventions, only sixteen states and the District of Columbia held presidential primaries, and only about 36 percent of the delegates at both parties' conventions were chosen by primaries. In 1980, the most recent of the "post-reform" conventions, thirty-six states held presidential primaries, and about 75 percent of all convention delegates were chosen by primaries.

The principal change in the relevant federal laws came with the 1974 amendments to the Federal Election Campaign Act. They provided for public financing not only of the general election contest between the Democratic and Republican nominees but also of the prenomination contests among the aspirants for the nominations in both parties. The 1974 laws also put low limits on the amount of money persons and groups could contribute to the presidential aspirants and on the amounts that could be spent on campaigns for nomination and election.

Taken together, these changes in party rules and state and federal laws add up to a truly radical revision of the circumstances in which presidential nominations and elections take place, and, on the well-known principle that "changing the rules changes the game," it was inevitable that the process by which presidential candidates are chosen in the 1980s would be very different from the process that operated in the 1960s and before.

## Characteristics of the New Selection Process

The main characteristics of the new process appear to be the following.

First, the conventions now register choices that have already been made. As was noted above, about three-quarters of the delegates to both parties' conventions hold their positions not because of their own fame or service to the party or the patronage of party leaders but because they were chosen by presidential aspirants who received sufficient proportions of the popular vote in the states' presidential preference primaries. They are bound, by party rule, state law, or, most important, political custom to vote for the aspirant who got them there, and they are expected to remain faithful as long as their aspirant remains in the contest. The result is that the national conventions have become to the nominating process what the Electoral College is to the electing process.

Second, the mass communications media play a critical role in screening the choices. Over 30 million people now vote in the presidential primaries and thus choose the parties' nominees. Obviously, only a tiny handful of those people can ever know anything about the candidates except what they learn from the mass communications media, especially the television networks' newscasts. If the media make the news judgment that a particular aspirant (such as Philip Crane or Robert Dole in the 1980 Republican contest) has no realistic chance of being nominated, they will give him little or no coverage, his name recognition will remain low, and few people will vote for him because they simply have not heard of him. On the other hand, if the media determine that a particular candidate is doing "better than expected" (that is, better than expected by the media analysts, as was the case with McGovern in 1972, Carter in 1976, and Bush and Anderson in 1980), then that candidate will get considerable coverage, his name recognition will go up, and his ability to raise money will improve. In short, the more he is treated as a serious candidate, the more he actually becomes a serious candidate. Thus whom the media cover and whom they ignore is the main factor in deciding which aspirants drop out early and which stay in.

Third, primary scheduling and media interpretation "frontload" the process. Presidential primaries are not held on one day; they are strung out from early March to mid-June. A number of studies have shown that the media pay much more attention to the early primaries, when the true "front runners" and "apparent winners" are still being established, than to the late primaries, when a particular candidate is thought to have the nomination all locked up.

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Consequently, two clear winners usually have emerged by late March or early April, when less than one-third of the delegates have been selected.

Clearly, then, the voters who vote in the New Hampshire primary in March have a great deal more impact on who wins the nominations than those who vote in California and Ohio in June.

Fourth, the process has become almost continuous. Prior to the 1970s, most presidential aspirants did not start intensive campaigning for their parties' nominations until a year or eighteen months before the time of the convention, but that is no longer the case. Jimmy Carter began full-time campaigning for the 1976 Democratic nomination in early 1974. Ronald Reagan began his campaign for the Republican nomination in the same year, and while he failed (narrowly) in 1976, he won handsomely in 1980. Recognizing these facts of life, Walter Mondale openly started seeking the Democratic nomination for 1984 soon after he had left the vice presidency in early 1981. He has been actively campaigning ever since. Other Democratic candidates for 1984, such as John Glenn, Alan Cranston, and Gary Hart, did not start their campaigns until late 1982, but their late starts (twenty years ago they would have been regarded as very early starts) are widely believed to be serious handicaps in their contests with Mondale.

Fifth, campaigns are dominated by professional consultants. Presidential campaigns used to be dominated by "old pols," such as Jim Farley (for Franklin Roosevelt), John Hamilton (for Alfred Landon), Herbert Brownell (for Thomas Dewey), and Robert Kennedy (for John Kennedy and then for himself). More and more, however, modern presidential campaigns require direction by well-paid professional "campaign consultants" who have mastered such specialized operations as preparing television advertisements, getting the best free exposure on network newscasts, raising money from small donations by large numbers of people through the use of computerized direct mail, measuring the impact of the campaign by the use of privately commissioned public opinion polls, and so on. Among the best-known names in this new profession are John Deardourff, David Garth, Joseph Napolitan, Gerald Rafshoon, Matt Reese, and Richard Viquerie. Some will work only for candidates of a particular party or ideology, and some are available to any aspirant who will pay their fees. But they all come from backgrounds in advertising rather than party politics, and they have largely displaced party politicians

in the planning and execution of campaign strategy.

### Consequences of the New Process

There is now greater participation in the process than ever before. In 1968 and before, all the party and candidate activists and primary voters taken together added up to not much more than 5 million people. But more recently, an estimated 32 million people took part in choosing between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan in 1980, and the number of participants will probably increase in 1984. It is also true that the proportion of the voting age population voting in the general elections for president has declined steadily since 1960 and in 1980 it was barely over half. But the proportion of the adult population participating in the selection of the party nominees has become thousands of times greater than it is in any other democratic country.

Labels aside, we have something very close to a no-party system in modern presidential politics. It is just as true in the 1980s as it has ever been that only a candidate labeled "Democrat" or "Republican" can have a serious chance of being elected to the presidency. But those labels are no longer bestowed by powerful groups of party leaders; rather they are won in a competition among personalities and organizations formed by and on behalf of particular aspirants. The national conventions, as we have seen, no longer "choose" the candidates; they merely register the choices already made by the primary voters. The national party chairmen and committees no longer play significant roles in raising campaign money or directing the campaigns. The money is provided by the federal government and by the nonparty PACs (political action committees) representing particular interests, and the campaigns are directed by professional campaign consultants.

Peer review has been eliminated. As was noted above, in the pre-reformed presidential selection process the candidates were effectively screened by their peers—that is, by other politicians who knew most of the aspirants personally, worked with them, observed them under conditions of stress, and had some first-hand knowledge of their weaknesses and strengths as candidates and as potential presidents. This kind of peer review did not, of course, guarantee that excellent candidates were always chosen by both parties: after all, Warren G. Harding and Barry Goldwater as well as Franklin Roosevelt and Dwight Eisenhower were nominated under the old system. It is also true, however, that public opinion studies of

the 1972, 1976, and 1980 elections have shown substantially higher levels of public dissatisfaction with the candidates chosen by both parties than earlier studies showed about the candidates chosen in the 1950s and 1960s. Perhaps we are participating more but enjoying the results less.

In the past, nominating politics, electing politics, and governing politics were intertwined and reinforcing. Since the pre-reformed nominating process required an aspirant to secure the approval of as many of his party's leaders as possible, he had to meet with them and try to work out accommodations with them. In the course of those meetings, the successful aspirants built the networks of acquaintance, accommodation, and communication that played important roles in their postnomination election campaigns and in their conduct of the presidency after they were elected. Thus no president assumed office as a stranger to most of the congressmen and other party leaders with whom he had to do business.

The two most recent successful candidates under the new presidential selection process, Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan, had never served in any federal office before assuming the presidency. Both of them directed much of their campaigns against the "mess in Washington," and made a good deal of the fact that, never having served in Washington, they were not responsible for the mess and were therefore especially qualified to clean it up. Carter went even further than Reagan: he often proclaimed that he was proud of the fact that he had won his party's nomination and the presidency without making any deals with his party's leaders and with the "Washington establishment." He was correct, and as a consequence during his entire tenure in office he remained more of an outsider than any other president in history. Many analysts believe that his unfamiliarity and unease with the leaders of Congress and the major interest groups was a significant factor in his inability to accomplish many of his legislative and administrative goals. Reagan campaigned against Washington almost as strenuously as Carter did, but, unlike Carter, he has tried hard to know and to work with the Capitol's leaders in Congress and elsewhere.

### More Reforms?

Since the 1980 presidential nominations and election, a number of political scientists, politicians, journalists, and other citizens have formed various organizations to consider the new nominating process and to recommend fur-

ther reforms. One group was headed by former governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina, another was sponsored by the Miller Center for the Study of the Presidency at the University of Virginia, and a third is now being conducted under the leadership of Alexander Heard, the former chancellor of Vanderbilt University. These groups generally agree that the post-1968 reforms have had a number of unforeseen and undesirable consequences that should be corrected as soon as possible. They recommend various reforms of the reforms, including such measures as giving *ex officio* delegate positions in the national conventions to each party's governors, senators, representatives, state chairs, and other party leaders; substantially raising the limits on the amounts individuals can contribute to presidential campaigns; requiring that all states within a particular region that choose to hold presidential primaries hold them on the same date; and trying in other ways to reintroduce some element of peer review into the process. On the other hand, public opinion polls show consistently that about 70 percent of the American people would like to see the national nominating conventions abolished altogether and both parties' nominees chosen by one-day national presidential primaries.

In 1982, the Democratic party, on the recommendation of yet another reform commission, this one chaired by Governor James Hunt of North Carolina, made some changes in delegate selection rules governing the 1984 convention and nomination. They include requiring that up to 14 percent of each state's delegation be set aside for governors, congressmen, and other party leaders; shortening the period in which the states may hold presidential primaries; and repealing the requirement (upheld in the 1980 convention) that a delegate must vote for the presidential aspirant who selected him or her. Whether or not these changes will make any significant difference in the presidential selection process for 1984 is hard to say, but it seems likely that the smoke-filled rooms and leader-controlled delegations of the past have permanently disappeared from the nominating conventions and that both parties' presidential nominating procedures will remain essentially what they have been since the early 1970s: wide-open contests among candidate-centered organizations led by professional political consultants in campaigns centered mainly on the mass media. Whether this process will eventually produce pairs of candidates with as much popular approval as those in the 1950s and 1960s remains to be seen.

# reading *recommended by the book committee*

*humanities*  
*social sciences*  
*natural sciences*

ROBERT B. HEILMAN, LAWRENCE WILLSON,  
FREDERICK J. CROSSON  
EARL W. COUNT, LEONARD W. DOOB,  
ANDREW GYORGY, MADELINE R. ROBINTON,  
VICTORIA SCHUCK  
RUSSELL B. STEVENS, RONALD GEBALLE

## ANDREW GYORGY

**Soviet Foreign Policy and East-West Relations.** Ed. by Roger E. Kanet. Pergamon. 1982. \$18.

A very well edited, comprehensive study of an important aspect of East-West relations. Ambassador George F. Kennan's chapter is particularly interesting. Recommended to the general reading public.

**Khrushchev.** Roy Medvedev. Doubleday. 1983. \$20.

The first full-fledged political biography of Nikita Khrushchev. Unfortunately, this generally excellent biography is marred by a number of factual errors; still it is eminently readable and full of dramatic details relating to the exciting life of the USSR's first post-Stalinist leader. Highly recommended to the general reader, who does not need specialized knowledge to appreciate the ups and downs of Khrushchev's life.

**Challenges to Communism.** John G. Gurley. Freeman. 1983. \$18.

A comprehensive account of the successes and failures of world Communism, with emphasis on Third World countries and various Socialist strategies. Very well suited for both the general reader and a more specialized audience.

**Liberation Theology and Distinctiveness of Christianity.** James V. Schall, S.J. Ignatius Press. 1982.

Two immensely valuable theological essays presenting modern Catholicism from a number of vital and viable perspectives. The concept of "liberation theology" is especially important and is traced by the author through the centuries of Catholic thought. Path-breaking and exciting studies, aimed at the layman and the clerical specialist alike.

**China's Economic Reforms.** Ed. by Lin Wei and Arnold Chao. Pennsylvania. 1983. \$25. This superbly edited book combines basic economic (Socialist) principles with the more modern political phenomena of the ideological development of the People's Republic of China. Lucidly written and well organized, the book is especially valuable in its review of the "urban areas" of the PRC.

**Policy Choices: Critical Issues in American Foreign Policy.** John Stack. Dushkin Publishing Group, Guilford, Conn. 1983. \$6.95. A well-written and well-edited study of the truly critical current issues in U.S. foreign policy. For this reviewer, the most important chapters were the ones dealing with the "role of secrecy" in a democratic society, and the "continuing legacies" of the Cold War. Recommended for advanced graduate students and specialists in the complex field of U.S. foreign policy developments.

**Comparative Politics: An Introduction to the Politics of the U.K., France, Germany, and the Soviet Union.** Dan Jacobs, David P. Conradt, et al. Chatham House. 1983. \$15.

A lucid and truly "across-the-board" summary of the ideological and political highlights of four major world powers. A clear, concise, and exceptionally well informed advanced text that will be useful simultaneously on many levels of knowledge and expertise. Jacobs should be particularly congratulated for his outstanding chapter on "The Context of Soviet Politics." A most successful collective venture.

## RONALD GEBALLE

**Albert Einstein: Historical and Cultural Perspectives.** Ed. by Gerald Holton and Yehuda Elkana. Princeton. 1982. \$35.

Each of the many volumes that commemorate the Einstein centennial year, 1979, has a unique quality. This one makes available the talks delivered at a symposium in Jerusalem during the birthday week. They extend from analyses of Einstein's contributions to the basic principles of physical theory to his impact on humanistic studies and from accounts of his connections with the Jewish world to those with movements for world peace. In quite another dimension, they range from the erudite to the personal reminiscence. One of the editors quotes him: "All religions, arts, and sciences are branches of the same tree." As the papers suggest, that tree has been nourished more completely by the accomplishments of Einstein than by those of any other single being.

**A World on Paper: Studies on the Second Scientific Revolution.** Enrico Bellone. Trans. by Mirella and Riccardo Giacconi. MIT. 1980. \$7.95 (paper).

In a sense, this book concerns the meaning of words used by scientists, but it is really a study in the history of ideas. During the nineteenth century, fierce debates raged between those (such as Kelvin and Tait) for whom a word such as "mechanistic" has a fixed meaning (i.e., what it meant to Newton) and others (Boltzmann almost alone) who wrote that the task of physics is not to "summon (empirical) data to the judgment throne of our laws of thought" but "to adapt our thoughts, ideas and concepts to what is given." The role of theory vis-à-vis direct sensation was a heated topic; Boltzmann's statistical mechanics was derided as the speculation of a "mathematical terrorist." Kelvin, near the end of his life and of Boltzmann's, accepted the latter's atoms only after Poincaré had shown the difference between the stability of vortices and perma-

nence. Another theme is whether philosophy constrains physics or vice versa. Bellone's work has much to offer as a model and for its content.

**Earthfire: The Eruption of Mount St. Helens.** Charles Rosenfeld and Robert Cooke. MIT. 1982. \$25.

This is a handsome, informative description, not only of the event of May 18, 1980, but of worldwide volcanism and the precedents of the event and developments up to the spring of 1982. It is interspersed with brief "technical vignettes" that provide useful background. Spectacular photographs abound.

**Charles Babbage: Pioneer of the Computer.** Anthony Hyman. Princeton. 1982. \$25.

Starting his career as a pure mathematician with a predilection for reform movements, Babbage moved to advocacy for the systematic use of science in industry and demonstrated many times over the gain from its use. He was a pioneer of much more than the computer: operations research, machine tools (driven by the demands of the computing engine he had designed), the organization of scientific societies, even stage lighting. His personal life included cordial relations extending from the heights of British society and European royalty to workers in his shops. British industry suffered immensely by ignoring him. Throughout most of his life he worked on the design of his difference and analytical engines, even when it became apparent that government support was failing. This great intellectual achievement, anticipating what now is called the "architecture" of computers, obscures for us the fully rounded figure of a nineteenth-century giant.

**John Von Neumann and Norbert Wiener: From Mathematics to the Technologies of Life and Death.** Steve J. Heims. MIT. 1980. Before World War II, these two men were professional mathematicians, leading the lives that went with the characterization of "mathematical genius." With the war, they willingly put their enormous talents to use and thereby entered a different world. The course of their careers was permanently bent, and afterward they coped, for the most part, with applied problems. Von Neumann maintained a role as adviser to the military and as an early promoter of large computers; Wiener wrote the famous book, *Cybernetics*, and dealt with social problems. Obviously, they were quite different, even contrasting personalities, and it is this contrast that lends interest to the dual treatment. The author terms his book "quasi-biographical," as it follows their lives in roughly chronological order. He compares their origins and educations, working styles, and philosophical outlooks. Their mathematical work is treated, although not with the thoroughness of a contribution to the history of mathematics. The book is not easy reading because it is long and replete with notes, and also because of the author's bias in favor of Wiener, his resort to conjecture with little to support it, and his sweeping judgments about science and civilization.

#### LEONARD W. DOOB

**On Learning to Read.** Bruno Bettelheim and Karen Zelan. Knopf. 1982. \$13.95.

A devastating, repetitious critique of children's reactions to many American commercially oriented primers, which, the authors suggest after observing 300 children in eight schools located in Massachusetts and California, simply bore their young readers. Concentrating as they tend to do on rote learning rather than on meaning, these books fail to stimulate either the imagination or the urge to become truly literate in a society permeated by television. Extremely impressive anecdotal evidence documents the view that many of the reading errors of children stem not from stupidity, ignorance, or physiological disabilities but from deep-seated impulses and desires: they can and should be interpreted as Freudian slips in the best psychoanalytic tradition. A few European primers are offered as models that have been adapted for children without handicapping or insulting them.

**The Perception of Odors.** Trygg Engen. Academic. 1982. \$24.

An encyclopedic, scholarly summary of what is and particularly what is not known concerning the somewhat neglected, underprivileged human modality, which, usually less dramatically than the other senses, may affect one's perception of the world and which has become more recently the object of challenging research. No easy generalizations emerge except perhaps that "odor is to emotion what vision is to cognition" and that it is "shaped by experience." Fascinating topics are reviewed, such as adaptation to odors ("exaggerated"), body odors (e.g., their role in sexual activity), memory for odors (imperfect), and, of course, perfumes and modern pollution.

**The Limits of Obligation.** James S. Fishkin. Yale. 1982. \$18.50.

A stimulating, brilliant, unfoggy discussion not by a philosopher but surprisingly by a political scientist of the moral and psychological issues that should arise—yes, the auxiliary is *should* and not *do*—as decisions are normally and inevitably made concerning the responsibilities one individual has toward other persons and toward the globe on which we all try to survive. In the great tradition and with telling workaday illustrations, the author conducts a provocative dialogue with us, with Kant and a few modern philosophers, and notably with himself. He leaves us not happier but less egocentric and ethnocentric, unquestionably necessary steps in the direction of increased wisdom.

**Toward Transformation in Social Knowledge.** Kenneth J. Gergen. Springer-Verlag. 1982. \$22.50.

A much-needed, erudite, sweeping, searching, somewhat nihilistic dissection of the basic epistemological, ontological, and existential issues of social psychology, which social scientists in general tend to avoid, concerned as many of them must be with the rat-race resulting from the "publish or perish" urge now intensified by the downward swoop of the economy. The "common assumptions" of social science are thus examined and presumably exposed. Whether the author has succeeded in establishing "the rationale for a new way of thinking about scientific activity" cannot be decided; perhaps his compelling and impressive voice arguing in behalf of a *Geisteswissen-*

*schaft* is crying in our wilderness. No doubt most of us are reluctant to listen.

**Slavery and Social Death.** Orlando Patterson. Harvard. 1982. \$30.

A definitive, opinionated analysis of the "re-lation of domination" or "human parasitism" both historically from ancient times to the present century as well as in 66 slaveholding societies. Every aspect of the relation is highlighted—the range extends from the mode of enslavement to the reasons for manumission—by means of shrewd sociological speculation, historical reconstruction, and quantitatively based generalizations. One begins almost to comprehend, the author states, "why there is nothing in the least anomalous about the fact that an Aristotle or a Jefferson owned slaves."

**The Ethics of Social Research: Surveys and Experiments; Fieldwork, Regulation, and Publication.** Ed. by Joan E. Sieber. Springer-Verlag. 1982. Two vols., each \$23.50.

A truly conclusive, exhaustive collection of illustrated warnings concerning the ethical problems arising in connection with virtually all research involving human subjects. The range is from the methodologies suggested in the subtitles of the two volumes to the publication of the ensuing data. Both the producer and the consumer of research should do more than flip through these skillfully edited, rarely preaching pages in order to increase their sensitivity to what they are trying to accomplish, comprehend, or evaluate.

#### VICTORIA SCHUCK

**Consequences of Party Reform.** Nelson W. Polsby. Oxford. 1983. \$24.95, \$8.95.

Polsby brilliantly explicates the unforeseen effects of reforms in the process of selecting presidential nominees: the nominees may represent factions rather than broad coalitions of American interest groups; they become presidents unable to govern. Reforms in the Democratic party's delegate selection procedures, beginning in 1969–1970, were in response to the turmoil of the 1964 and 1968 conventions; reforms in the federal campaign finance law of 1974 giving subsidies to candidates were in response to Watergate. Together, these measures have brought institutional change: proliferating primaries that candidates dominate; national conventions that are merely ratifying spectacles; state parties that languish with atrophied functions as the news media co-opt intermediation. A stalemated president adrift in Washington without party or interest group bases attempts to appeal over Congress's head to outside publics as Carter did. Most threatening to majority rule are advantages for the minority party—the ideologically homogeneous Republicans—when a broad-based majority party lacks solid institutional structures. Polsby examines a range of possible solutions, but his real issue is how to revitalize party structures and state parties.

**What Kinds of Guns Are They Buying for Your Butter? A Beginner's Guide to Defense, Weaponry, and Military Spending.** Sheila Tobias, Peter Goudinoff, Stefan Leader, and Shelah Leader. Morrow. 1982. \$15.95. Two feminist scholars and two defense spe-

cialists write in lively, easy-to-read definitions and descriptions of the gamut of American (and some Soviet) weaponry both past and present. They penetrate colossal defense budgets, new technologies, the intricate procurement process, the organization of the Pentagon, and the sprawling defense community. They explain nuclear deterrence, controlling the arms race, and so on. A glossary and list of major defense industries are included. Taking no position, they provide readers sufficient information to enter the arms debate.

**Hannah Arendt: For Love of the World.** Elisabeth Young-Bruehl. Yale. 1982. \$25. An excellent philosophical and personal biography of one of the twentieth century's most influential and controversial political theorists. Arendt (1906–1975), a convert from German Romanticism to theory, returned to philosophy at the end. She fled Hitler in 1933 and reached New York in 1941 to begin 25 years of writing and teaching. Young-Bruehl's careful research adds detail to the manner in which Arendt sought to understand the issues of her time, whether the origins of totalitarianism, revolution, McCarthyism, or the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem. She describes Arendt's collaboration with her husband. She translates her poetry. How posterity will judge Arendt's work the author does not predict.

**Dearest Friend: A Life of Abigail Adams.** Lynne Withey. Free Press. 1981. \$17.95.  
**Abigail Adams: An American Woman.** Charles W. Akers. Little, Brown. 1980. \$9.95. These are the first biographies of America's second First Lady and mother of the sixth President since the opening of the Adams family manuscripts containing her more than 2000 letters. Withey's lengthier treatment cloaks Adams in a modern vernacular, seeing her as "maddeningly contradictory": a meddling and overbearing woman who became reactionary in later years. Akers gives a different image, recognizing a conservative context for her familiar revolutionary letter to "Remember the Ladies," her stand against slavery, her call for more education for women and equal status with men. Akers presents an engaging portrait of an unusual, high-spirited, and resolute woman in partnership with her husband.

**The Current Crisis in American Politics.** Walter Dean Burnham. Oxford. 1982. \$29.95. Collected essays of the last 17 years responding to phenomena of electoral politics of that period. Burnham, a political scientist and specifically a psephologist, uses historical data and comparative analysis to study critical realignments in the political system and the evolution of the electorate. He views the 1980 election as anticollectivist and conservative, but not a realignment (Reagan won by 29.0 percent of the established potential electorate). The longer the administration's ideological program remains in place, he contends, the more probably will class issues be the center of politics in the 1980s. Further, the "silent rider" in the tax-cut budget package repealing the policies that created social harmony and that both parties have accepted for the last 50 years could bring about "the most momentous change in American politics since the Civil War."

**Roots of American Bureaucracy, 1830–1900.** William E. Nelson. Harvard. 1982. \$22.50. From the Founding Fathers on, the American polity has rested upon the ideals of majority rule and protection of individual minority rights. A legal scholar examines the evolving response to these ideals of institutions of the federal government. Nelson argues convincingly that the majoritarian rule with a system of Jackson party government and undifferentiated leadership roles was ascendant until the Civil War. After the war, claiming that they wanted to protect minority rights, reformers fashioned new governmental structures to ensure neutralism and professionalism, to create the civil service and independent regulatory commissions in the executive, to establish independent committees in the Congress, and to utilize a new legal formalism developed in the courts. The book explains how and why.

**LAWRENCE WILLSON**

**Books Speaking to Books: A Contextual Approach to American Fiction.** William T. Stafford. North Carolina. 1981. \$16.50. Stafford has gathered into a slim book a series of essays, published or delivered as lectures during the past thirty years, emergent from the provocative notion that certain books, of common theme and method, shed reciprocal illuminations and therefore become richer in their appeal to the imagination. Huckleberry Finn and Nigger Jim speak to Natty Bumppo and Chingachgook, Huckleberry speaks again to Holden Caulfield, Rip Van Winkle's twenty years of slumber bear upon Thoreau's "retreat" to Walden, and a profounder comment on America is to be derived from placing in one group *Moby Dick*, *The Wings of the Dove*, and *Absalom, Absalom!* where "the clinching tie" that binds the whiteness of the whale and the whiteness of Milly's gown "is the white snow Shreve envisions" on that cold night in Cambridge. It may or may not be instructive that the author declares himself "Never able . . . to sustain high seriousness for very long."

**Foreigners: The Making of American Literature, 1900–1940.** Marcus Klein. Chicago. 1981. \$25. Klein's account of the "making" of the national literature during the first forty years of the twentieth century is as convincing as any, and surely worth contemplation. He contends that our literature was created by "marginal" Americans, whose tradition (like the world of Henry Adams) was by 1900 dead, or who were Roosevelt's "forgotten men," isolated in the ghettos of urban Jews, Irish Catholics, blacks, or other minorities. "The underlying truth of America . . . was its cultural dissolution" or its cultural pluralism brought into being by tides of immigration and migration so vast that "between 40 and 50 percent of the entire population of the United States consisted of persons who had at best an ambivalent relationship to any . . . mainstream American tradition as anybody might propose." "An abruptly urbanized, industrialized, radicalized, and ghettoized society" did the rest, so that each writer must perforce follow the admonition

(continued on back cover)

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## KEY PEOPLE

This spring saw the induction into Phi Beta Kappa of a 100-year-old distinguished educator and researcher. **Bessie Lee Gambrill**, who entered Western Maryland College at 15 and received her B.A. degree *summa cum laude* in 1902, was made an alumna member of that institution's Delta of Maryland chapter of  $\Phi\text{BK}$ .

The daughter of a country doctor, Gambrill entered college with the goal of medicine as a career. But at that time such a goal was considered almost unattainable for a woman, and so she was advised to embark upon a career in education, which she did. In 1916 she received her M.A. from Columbia University, and in 1922 she received her Ph.D. in education and psychology, also from Columbia. She joined the faculty of Yale University the following year, and in 1926 she became the first woman to attain the rank of associate professor in a field other than nursing. She later became director of research at Yale and was the first woman to advise both men and women graduate students.

During the course of her career, Gambrill taught at several other universities and wrote a number of journal articles. Since her retirement from Yale in 1953, she has served as a consultant and author. Of her career, she says, "People were the most important thing. Teaching is simply something you do for people."

**Mina Rees**, a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Senate since 1970 and chairman since 1979 of the  $\Phi\text{BK}$  Committee on the Visiting Scholars, has been awarded the prestigious Public Welfare Medal by the National Academy of Sciences. The award was given in recognition of her

contribution to the scientific enterprise, especially in mathematics and computer sciences.

When **Linda Hsiao**, a junior information systems major at the University of Maryland, was initiated into Phi Beta Kappa this spring, her parents, William and Vivian Hsiao, had even more reason to be proud than one might expect. For Linda, the youngest of their four children, was the fourth to become a member of  $\Phi\text{BK}$ . Her brothers **Robert** (who graduated in 1980), **Paul** (1982), and **Tony** (1983) are all graduates of the University of Maryland and students at the University of Maryland School of Medicine.

## READING (continued)

of Emerson to build his own world. Most instructive it is to be reminded of some of the marginal writers (some at last not so marginal), the "new barbarians," and the worlds they built: Abraham Cahan, Anzia Yezierska, Fielding Burke, Grace Lumpkin, Albert Halper, Henry Roth, Daniel Fuchs, Meyer Levin, and so on.

**Rappaccini's Children: American Writers in a Calvinist World.** William H. Shurr. Kentucky. 1981. \$13.

"We are all Rappaccini's children," says Shurr, "and must deal with this heritage as we can," generally and historically by rebelling against it, even in the face of a persistent assurance that "the probabilities are in favor of Satan in his war with Christ for domination of the world." The tender-minded may tell us that Calvinism died with the collapse of the one-hoss shay, but Calvinism (the myth as distinguished from the body of Calvin's actual teaching) did not and has not yet. Holmes uttered an unchanging truth when he wrote to Mrs. Stowe, "I do not believe you or I can ever get the iron of Calvinism out of our souls." Neither could Hawthorne or Melville or Frost or Eliot or Faulkner or, it may be, most of the 463,133

initiates into Phi Beta Kappa between 1776 and 1982. It is a dark tradition, a tragic and violent tradition, fearful of a diabolized deity: "Abraham's God, the Wrathful One/Intolerant of error—/Not God the Father or the Son/But God the Holy Terror." It is, moreover, a curious tradition for Americans, involving as it does the "paradox of a libertarian political constitution imposed on a religious culture which denies free will and fears that every spontaneous human act is corrupt." Like it or not, deny it or not, however, from the "generalized stimulus" of Calvin come the powerfully controlling myths, the stories of our gods, the symbolic tales that express our cultural values. It becomes immediately obvious—and here is a trenchant warning of this fine and seminal book—that Calvin's "influence has not been a totally baneful one. Some of our best productions are given frameworks of steel by his harsh presence."

**A Countryman's Journal: Views of Life and Nature from a Maine Coastal Farm.** Roy Barrette. Rand-McNally. 1981. \$11.95.

It is no longer necessary to try to imagine an urbane and good-natured Thoreau, a Thoreau without bristling hostility—in case you have been engaged in such gymnastics of the imagination. Barrette is the very man. Having escaped from the city to a town of roughly five or six hundred down-easters a few years ago, he has now paused to collect and publish a sheaf of vignettes of his surroundings and his neighbors. Some of his sketches are little more than *pensées*; all of them are relaxed and amiable, despite such a title as "Three Below Zero with Wind." Some of his other titles are not only reminiscent of Thoreau; they convey an air of nostalgia to those of us who grew up in small New England towns a hundred years behind the times: "Attic Rooms," "Cellar Holes and Cinnamon Roses," "Hunter's Moon," "Domed Over by a Mouse," and "Winter Neighbors." "It is refreshing," he says, with a hint of the smug proselytizer, "to live where people have pride in themselves and their heritage, where the children wave to you unafraid, and the drivers of passing cars salute you on the theory that if they don't recognize you, they should." *Eheu, fugaces!*



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