

He defended this position by citing electoral and public opinion data and noted three facts: First, in Senate races three million more people voted Democratic than Republican (not counting the Louisiana race in which Russell Long ran unopposed). Second, public opinion has not shown much change on issues such as gun control, the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion on which public opinion runs counter to Reagan's positions. Third, people voted against Carter rather than for Reagan. Fourth, party identification has not changed very much. And fifth, a plurality of new voters in 1980 favored the Democrats.

Not only does this not smack of realignment, but it also means that "Ronald Reagan's resources in public opinion are slender." Polsby outlined a "Washington against the country" theme, arguing that while Washington thinks Reagan has tremendous public support, in actuality he does not.

### **Success with Congress**

Taking a different tack Hunt attributed Reagan's success with Congress to (1) the congressional reforms of 10 years ago, (2) the unpopularity of the Carter administration, and (3) the appointment of more capable people compared to Carter.

Hunt especially emphasized that congressional reforms had made it easier for a strong president like Reagan to govern. As an example, he offered the 1981 and 1982 budget cuts and suggested that "powerful committee chairs would never have stood for it." He also noted that the Republicans owed their success largely to the disarray of the Democrats and that they are "blowing their opportunity to broaden their base and become a truly national party."

Yet another factor contributing to Reagan's success with Congress, according to Hunt, has been Reagan's ability—in contrast to that of Carter—to set priorities and avoid "juggling 77 issues at one time."

Regarding the 1982 Congressional elections, Mann raised the question of whether they represent a referendum on

Reagan's presidency. He asserted that Congressional elections are "fundamentally and predominantly local elections," with national conditions and the President's standing having only a marginal effect on electoral outcomes.

National conditions can, however, translate into local voting decisions. Mann offered the example of presidential partisans being discouraged from recruiting candidates and raising funds. Another possibility involves voter turnout, an area that has received insufficient attention from students of congressional elections, according to Mann.

In response to Polsby's presentation, Mann asserted that even if changes in public opinion and party identification were marginal in 1980, the policy consequences were nonetheless substantial. In terms of an overall assessment, Mann described the Reagan administration as having "gotten everything right except its program." The flaws of the Reagan program were: too much of a tax cut, too much defense spending and a failure to grapple with entitlement programs.

A lively debate over several issues ensued, with the audience as well as the panelists participating. Did something unusual happen in 1980? General agreement emerged that the perception of sweeping change rested more on the defeat of seven moderate-to-liberal Democratic senators than on the presidential contest. There was less agreement over whether Reagan had received a mandate, and if so, whether the content of that mandate involved something more than "do something different."

In sum, the plenary sessions provided the audience with an excellent arena for the serious discussion of topics of interest to the profession. Fresh and often contending perspectives were presented. Those looking for a stimulating evening did not go away disappointed. □

### **McWilliams Prize Goes to Strout; Twelve Other Awards Given**

*(Editor's Note: At a plenary session held on the first full day of the 1982 Annual Meeting,*

an audience of 340 gathered to applaud the winners of APSA's awards. A total of 13 awards were made for doctoral dissertations in various fields of political science, book authorship, public service and journalistic contribution to the understanding of politics. A complete listing of the 1982 award recipients and the accompanying citations may be found in the PS Appendix of this issue.)

Richard Strout, 83, veteran writer for the *Christian Science Monitor* and, for the last 37 years, the man behind "TRB" at the *New Republic*, was the recipient of the APSA's first Carey McWilliams Award. The Award honors a major journalistic contribution to our understanding of politics.

As Irving Louis Horowitz said when he presented the prize to Mr. Strout, it is accorded to "... an individual who, in his or her own right, embodies the highest qualities of honest and courageous political analysis and opinion; and in so doing lends distinction to the vocation of journalism and the art of political science." Mr. Strout's distinguished list of other honors includes the George Polk Prize for Journalism and a Pulitzer citation.

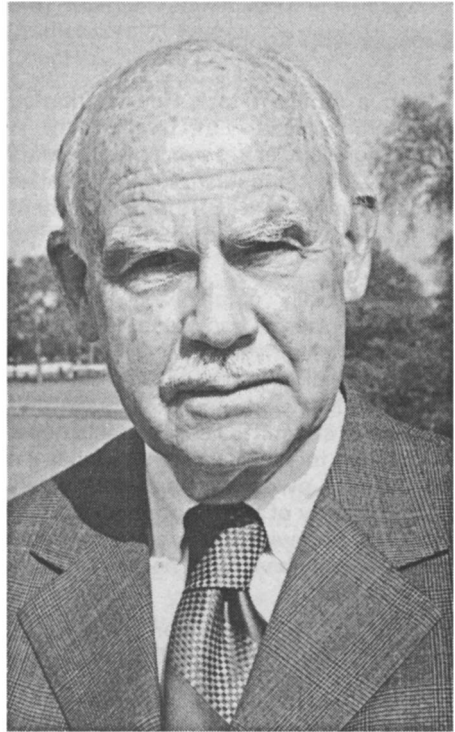
Paul Peterson of the University of Chicago was the winner of the 1982 Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award for the best book published in the United States on government, politics, or international affairs. *City Limits* (University of Chicago Press, 1981), Mr. Peterson's winning book, "... radically reinterprets urban politics by deriving its dominant forces from the logic of the American federal structure [and] will lastingly alter our understanding of urban affairs in America," award presenter Donald Stokes said.

Mr. Peterson's 1976 book, *School Politics Chicago Style* (University of Chicago Press), gained him the APSA's Gladys M. Kammerer Award in 1977 for the best political science publication in the field of U.S. national policy. This year's honor makes Mr. Peterson the only person ever to have received more than one book award from the APSA.

Richard E. Neustadt of Harvard University received the Charles E. Merriam Award for a significant contribution to the art of government through the ap-

plication of social science research. Founding Director of the Institute of Politics at the Kennedy School of Government, former professor at Cornell and Columbia and author of books on politics and policy, Neustadt "... has devotedly pursued the study of the politics of governing as an art and craft. No one has observed politics at the highest levels more carefully than Richard Neustadt, and written more shrewdly of the inner grammar, the tacit rules, of the behavior of political leaders trying to exercise their constitutional responsibilities," Nelson W. Polsby commented on presenting the award to Neustadt.

The Benjamin E. Lippincott Award for a lasting contribution to political theory was given this year to Michael Oakeshott, Professor Emeritus at the London School of Economics. The three of Professor Oakeshott's works which were cited for the award are *Experience and Its*



Richard Strout of the *Christian Science Monitor* and *The New Republic* is the first recipient of APSA's Carey McWilliams Award for a major contribution by a journalist.

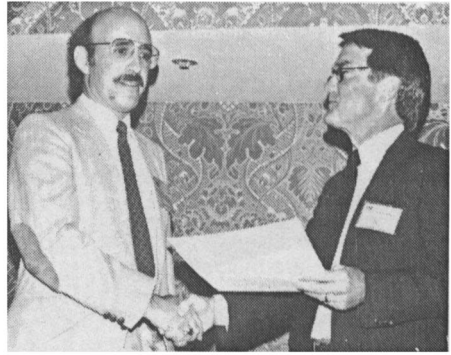
*Modes*, his "Introduction" to Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* and his essay, "The Voice of Poetry in the Conversations of Mankind" (reprinted in *Rationalism and Politics*).

In his presentation of the award, Dante Germino pointed to Oakeshott's "luminous prose" and his characterization of political life as a ". . . 'conversation.' However heated it may be at times, the conversation is of many voices; it is inclusive rather than exclusive. Such is the Oakeshottian conceptualization of political theory, a conception which is miles removed from unthinking fanaticism of whatever variety. . . . [I]t is certain that Professor Oakeshott's work will be important to political theorists for a long time to come."

The Gladys M. Kammerer Award for the best publication in the field of U.S. national policy was given to M. Elizabeth Sanders of Rice University for her book *The Regulation of Natural Gas* (Temple University Press, 1981). The book traces the regulation of natural gas from 1938 through the passage of the Natural Gas Policy Act in 1978 and, in the words of Virginia Gray who presented the award, "enriches our understanding of the politics of regulation in general. [Sanders] makes it clear that political considerations are inextricably interwoven with . . . policymaking."

Sylvia Snowiss of the University of California, Northridge, received the Franklin L. Burdette Pi Sigma Alpha Award for the best paper presented at the 1981 Annual Meeting. Her winning paper, "From Fundamental Law to the Supreme Law of the Land: A Reinterpretation of the Origins of Judicial Review in the United States," traces the evolution of judicial review of the constitutionality of legislation. James Sundquist, who presented the award, called the article "a paper of exhaustive and exemplary historical depth," and "likely to win acceptance as the definitive interpretation" of the historical development of judicial review.

The Association's Ralph J. Bunche Award, formerly called the Ethnic and Cultural Pluralism Award, will be given in 1983 as will the Hubert H. Humphrey Award, activated this year. The James



Samuel Barnes (right) of the University of Michigan presents the Gabriel A. Almond Award for the best doctoral dissertation in comparative politics to UCLA graduate David Becker.

Madison Award, given triennially to an American political scientist who has made a distinguished scholarly contribution to the discipline, will be given again in 1984. The previous winners have been Robert A. Dahl in 1978 and Gabriel A. Almond in 1981.

### APSA Dissertation Prizes

The Helen Dwight Reid Award for the best doctoral dissertation in international relations, law, and politics went to Timothy John Lomperis for his thesis, "A Conceptual Framework for Deriving the 'Lessons of History': The U.S. Involvement in Viet Nam (1960-1975) as a Case Study," completed at Duke Uni-



APSA Congressional Fellow Paul Light (left) accepts the E. E. Schattschneider Award for the best dissertation in American government from Herbert Asher of Ohio State University.



Elizabeth Sanders (left) of Rice University receives the Gladys M. Kammerer Award for the best publication in the field of U.S. national policy from Virginia Gray of the University of Minnesota.

versity. In presenting the award, Edward Kolodziej cited the importance of the dissertation's subject, its challenge to the conventional wisdom about the Viet Nam experience, and Lomperis' "clear thinking, plain expression, methodological precision, sound and comprehensive scholarship, and subtle treatment of politically volatile and morally contested issues. . . ."

The selection committee broke tradition by citing three other dissertations for honorable mention in this award category. They were: "Soviet Threats to Intervene in the Middle East, 1956-1973," Frank Fukuyama, Harvard; "The Theory and Practice of Conventional Deterrence," John J. Mearsheimer, Cornell; and "Interdependence, Regimes, and International Cooperation," Duncan Snidal, Yale.

The Gabriel A. Almond Award for the best doctoral dissertation in comparative politics was given this year to David G. Becker. His dissertation, completed at UCLA, was entitled "The New Bourgeoisie and the Limits of Dependency: The Social and Political Impact of the Mining Industry in Peru since 1968." Samuel Barnes, who presented the award, called the paper "an excellent blend of theory, empirical research and imaginative analysis."

Andrew Dunham received the William Anderson Award for the best dissertation on intergovernmental relations in the U.S. for his work, "Cost Control and State Certificate of Need Regulation," completed at the University of Chicago. This study, in the words of award presenter Frank Thompson, "demonstrates how well crafted research can simultaneously address the concerns of the substantive policy specialist and the more general student of intergovernmental relations, regulatory policy and American politics."

In the field of public law, the selection committee for the Edwin S. Corwin Award named as the best doctoral dissertation "The Politics of Equality: Democratic Theory and Litigation Politics in Bakke," completed by Timothy O'Neill at Berkeley. The committee cited O'Neill's "systematic and well-written integration of the material and his skillful creation of new categories for the analysis of organizational dynamics."

Paul Light's dissertation, "The President's Agenda: Domestic Policy Choice from Kennedy to Carter," completed at the University of Michigan, was accorded the E. E. Schattschneider Award as the best dissertation in the field of American government. Herbert Asher, who made the presentation, cited Light's use of many and various sources of data and his "thoughtful and effective weaving together of evidence to fashion a compelling description and explanation of presidential administration behavior."

The best doctoral dissertation in the field of political philosophy is honored each year with the Leo Strauss Award. This year's winner was "Hegel, Heidegger, and the Ontological Ground of History," completed at the University of Chicago by Michael A. Gillespie. The selection committee praised Gillespie's work for its "maturity of thought and comprehensiveness of vision that are rare in a dissertation."

The Leonard D. White Award for the best dissertation in the general field of public administration went to Judith Gruber for her "Democracy versus Bureaucracy: The Problem of Democratic Control," completed at Yale University. Frederic

Bergerson, who chaired the selection committee, noted that the dissertation "adeptly melds public management expertise with an understanding of modern democracy."

Gruber's award stretches Yale's lead in the number of APSA dissertation prizes by institution over time. Of the 82 awards given over the years, 13 have gone to Yale Ph.Ds. The next most honored institutions have been Berkeley with eight, Chicago and Harvard with seven each, MIT with five, and Columbia and Michigan with four apiece. □

### **APSR Invites Authors to Critique Referees, But Many Do Not Respond**

In a new procedure established by *APSR* managing editor Dina Zinnes, authors who have submitted manuscripts for the *Review* can now evaluate the referees of their manuscripts. When authors receive the evaluations of the referees, the authors are invited to send Zinnes their own assessment of the quality of the criticisms they have received.

Many authors choose not to respond, according to Zinnes. The responses, however, have helped her "identify truly exceptional referees" and sometimes have led to a reevaluation of a rejected manuscript, Zinnes reports.

Zinnes officially assumed the position of managing editor this past year, and the March 1982 issue was the first issue completed under her editorship. Charles O. Jones preceded Zinnes as managing editor.

In her first year report, which is reprinted in full in this issue's Fall Features, Zinnes said the rejection rate for manuscripts submitted to the *APSR* from July 1981 to June 30 was 14.9 percent, a rate consistent with that reported by Jones during the last two years of his editorship. The acceptance rate by subject matter also follows the pattern of recent years. □

### **Hauck Joins APSA Staff**

Robert J-P. Hauck has joined the APSA staff as a Staff Associate. Hauck's responsibilities will include staffing the Committee on Non-Academic Political Scientists and the Departmental Services Committee.

Much of Hauck's time will be spent in assisting political scientists who are seeking jobs outside of colleges and universities. He will also work on enhancing the role of APSA members working in applied fields.

A 1982 Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, Hauck was a research associate at the Vanderbilt Institute for Public Policy Studies prior to joining APSA's staff. He was also the assistant director of the Center for the Study of Families and Children at the Vanderbilt Institute. □

### **Project '87 Expands Activities**

Anticipating the constitutional bicentennial in 1987, Project '87 has expanded its activities in the area of public and educational programs. Development and planning for these activities is being supported by a three-year grant from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, which has also enabled the Project to hire a deputy director.

The new position was assumed in August by Cynthia Harrison, who received her Ph.D. in American History from Columbia University. She will be working with Sheila Mann, APSA's Director of Educational Affairs, who has been devoting half of her time to directing Project '87 in the past year.

### **Background**

Project '87, a joint effort of the American Political Science Association and the American Historical Association, was inaugurated in 1978 to support scholar-