

LITERATURE REVIEWS

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A Comments

This issue inaugurates our new format for the book notes section. Instead of listing new titles in alphabetical order, the book notes section is organized around specific policy topics. We hope this helps our readers who are writing or working in specific policy areas to identify books of special interest. We also hope this new arrangement encourages our readers to propose a book review essay on one of the policy areas in which they have expertise.

Proposals for a book review essay should be sent to the following address:

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B Book Review Essay

IDEOLOGY, POLITICAL BEHAVIOR AND PUBLIC POLICY
IN FRANCE: INTERPRETATIONS OF PERSISTENT PATTERNS
AND CHANGES

William Safran

Philip E. Converse and Roy Pierce *Political Representation in France* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1986). 996 pp.

Daniel Gaxie, ed., *Explication du Vote* (Paris Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1985), 450 pp

Jack Hayward, *The State and the Market Economy Industrial Patriotism and Economic Intervention in France* (New York New York University Press, 1985), 267 pp

Howard Machin and Vincent Wright, eds., *Economic Policy-Making Under the Mitterrand Presidency, 1981-1984* (New York St Martin's Press, 1985), 293 pp

The theme of persistence modified by instability runs like a thread through French politics. Some have viewed French political life as a movement from crisis to crisis and have attempted to find a pattern in apparent chaos, others have seen radical demands tempered by immobility. There has been a vague agreement on the following: the disjunction between rhetoric and behavior, an ever more severe constriction of policy choices, and a narrowing gap between Right and Left. Although there may be considerable agreement on basic institutional features and other political facts (e.g., raw electoral data and the content of legislation on economic policy), the selective perception of the facts and the relative weights assigned to them vary widely. This is illustrated in four excellent books that have appeared recently, two on electoral behavior, and two on economic policy, one written by Americans, two written or edited by Britons and one written by French scholars. The four books show a great diversity of styles, methodologies, convictions and analytic approaches.

The most ambitious of the works discussed here--in fact, one of the most ample political science tomes to have appeared in English in recent memory--is the book by Converse and Pierce, which is certain to become a widely cited source book on the French politics of the 1960s. All the heavy machinery of survey research and the most up-to-date processing techniques seem to have been utilized in this monumental study of the French electoral process and voting behavior during the brief period of 1967 to 1973. It shows what can be done with masses of data, computer time, research assistance, generous funding and, apparently, an absence of deadlines from publishers.

Congruence and Representativity

If there is a central theme, it is perhaps that in 1967-68 the French electorate was relatively well represented, i.e., that there was a higher degree of congruence between the voters' and deputies' orientations than had been assumed. There is an interesting excursus (Chapter 16) on theories of representation, more exactly, a "revisiting" of a number of well-known views on the subject, such as the geographic and functional, the "mandate" and "independent judgment" approaches of the deputy, on the degree to which he should mirror specific programs or general values, and on the question of what is expected of him. There is also a discussion of the "responsible party" model, which has, historically, applied more to France than to the United States. In the empirical analysis, this model is combined with--and sometimes eclipsed by--the Miller-Stokes model, which for many years has been influential in the study of American elections. That model is based on a number of assumptions: 1) the relative stability of the electorate--and of their relationship to parties--over time, 2) the saliency of parties as foci of political identification and vehicles of political action, 3) the (implicit) assumption of one or another kind of rationality in electoral behavior, 4) the positing of a bipolar pattern of identification, in which the American Democratic/Republican cleavage--highly correlated with Protestant/Catholic and regional-ethnic cleavages--is transposed, in France, to a right/left Catholic/anticlerical one, and 5) the assumption of a high degree of intergenerational continuity. Such assumptions are qualified if not undermined, by some of the findings of the authors themselves, as when they acknowledge (p. 48) that voters' choices in France are complicated by the existence of a multiparty system, and when they assert (p. 57) that "the French party system [is] something of a comfort and indulgence for the elite." (Indeed the utility of the Miller-Stokes model for explaining American voting behavior has been challenged, too, notably by Nie, Verba and Petrocik, but their book, *The Changing American Voter*, is not listed in the extensive bibliography furnished by Converse and Pierce.) The fact that French voters do not behave like American voters and that the party systems of the two countries are different does not detract from the importance of the American model "on the theoretical level" (p. 54). On the practical level, however, we may see a dramatic transfer of votes, e.g., between 1981 and 1986, from right to left and vice versa--in part due to dissatisfaction over policies. The comparisons of France and the USA are

sometimes forced, a situation that is unavoidable, given the incommensurability of the two countries, with their different electoral systems, ideological spectra and center-periphery relations. This dilemma appears, for example, in a discussion of "true" party identification (p. 331), which in the USA is evinced by those who lean strongly toward the Democrats or Republicans.

The discussion of methodology and the stress on its appropriateness and sophistication are sometimes so detailed and so interwoven with substantive discussions that they tend to obscure the facts. In fairness, however, it must be said that the authors are not so preoccupied with methodology that they are unaware of the living reality of France. Indeed, the book is replete with discussions of institutions, historical backgrounds, and miscellaneous "anecdotal" matter. These discussions, which form parts of several chapters, do not always connect coherently with, or follow from, the statistical-empirical analyses in the chapters in question, e.g., the treatment of the end of the Fourth and the installation of the Fifth Republics, the place of de Gaulle in history, the events of May 1968 (to which an entire section is devoted), the rules governing the legislative process, the overall importance of parliament, the evolution of certain political parties from 1959 to 1968, and the modalities of the electoral system. (Here it would have been interesting to reach back "longitudinally" to determine [or at least to speculate] what, if any, differences—in representational patterns, voter-politician congruence, party discipline, and voting on issues—there would have been if, during the elections of 1967 and 1968, the system of proportional representation had been in effect.) These discussions, apart from contributing to the size of the volume, are lucid summaries of well-known aspects of the French political system and, presented separately, could almost constitute a mini-text of that system.

The authors provide useful data on the characteristics of those who demonstrated actively in 1968, and on the shift from left to right during the backlash elections of that year. Overall, however, the explanation of the causes and consequences of the revolt—the "dialectic of reaction"—tends to be impressionistic, despite the *SOFRES* and other survey data on left-to-right self-placement and on policy attitudes. The discussion of the impact of the events on the system is, in fact, somewhat evasive, perhaps because it cannot be more than that.

Left-Right Positioning and Party Identification

Nonetheless, the survey methods help us clarify a number of important issues about the ideological positioning of the electorate, its issue orientations, and its shifts of party allegiance. The left-right scoring of candidates and the sampling of voters on the basis of self-perceptions for 1967-68 tell us a great deal about the congruence between mass and elite, and hence, appear to support the thesis that the French deputy was, *grosso modo*, "representative" of his electorate. But there are problems: 1) there is no satisfactory longitudinal comparison that would enable us to determine how the degree of representativity during this period of charismatic presidential rule differed from that of earlier or later, i.e., more "normal," periods, and 2) there is no adequate discussion of how this representativity is related to policy responsiveness. The book finds (pp. 591f) "a manifest degree of congruence from constituency to constituency in France, between the variations in policy *sentiments* [reviewer's emphasis] and the roll-call votes that are ultimately cast in their behalf by their deputies to the National Assembly"--in short, that there is a strong bond between voters' attitudes and deputies' views and those of constituents is particularly strong on issues defined in clear ideological (left-right) terms, e.g., union rights, religion, and income distribution. Still, party remains important, for in a conflict between the deputy's conscience (or his voters' desires) and the party the latter most often wins (pp. 666ff). This, of course, raises the question among political scientists--and has, in recent years, raised the question among the French electorate--to what extent specific *parties* are responsive to the electorate's policy demands, such that policy changes actually result. Alain Duhaemel's *Le Complexe d'Asterix*, a recent best-seller (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), argues that interparty differences and squabbles are increasingly viewed as "wars of religion" having little to do with pressing issues and that faith in, and identification with, the traditional mass parties and their ideologies (if indeed, these can still be clearly delineated) have declined dramatically.

One of the findings is that class is a relatively weak force, and religion a strong one, in shaping political outlooks in France (p. 174). However, the data on class and religion and the conclusions derived from them are far from clear; moreover, one may question to what extent they applied to the 1970s and early 1980s. After the resignation of de Gaulle, the temporary deformation of political outlooks by the impact of charisma was partly

reversed and class reasserted itself more strongly, during the same period, the weakened impact of religion could be seen in the rapprochement between the Radical Socialists and the Democratic Center and in the growing attractiveness of the new *parti socialiste* to practicing Catholics (On p 176, the authors themselves raise doubts about the role of clericalism and mention the absence of reliable data)

The factor of de Gaulle is a disturbing one for Converse and Pierce, as it is for most students of French politics. The authors argue that the orientation for or against the General was "on par with"--i.e., parallel to--the right-left orientation (p 177), though not everyone will accept their contention that "support for de Gaulle [was] not class-based "

Several of the findings serve to confirm conventional wisdom, such as people in cities are more likely to participate in mass demonstrations than those in rural areas (p 423) and that men are more likely to do so than women, that in the 1968 elections, party labels were less important than in 1967, that rightist and centrist candidates were more favorably inclined to de Gaulle than were leftist ones (pp 470-472), that the more important the party in terms of electoral support, the greater its recognition, or its "visibility index" (pp 61-62), that the more leftist a voter, the greater his recognition of leftist parties, and that the intergenerational transmission of party loyalties is stronger among the elite than the mass, and stronger among the Left than the Right. This last finding would seem to be a matter of common sense, for the political orientation of conservative fathers was often discredited in the eyes of their children, and Gaullism did not yet exist when the former were active in politics. The research attests to other phenomena of French political behavior: the wanderings of politician, the essential pragmatism of deputies, and the fact that the electorate's self-location on the political spectrum in France has been more leftist than in the USA. Finally, there is statistical proof (tables, pp 552-562) of the well-known fact that party discipline was highest among Communists and Socialists (SFIO), increasingly high among Gaullists, and lowest in the center.

The authors are right in recalling that the left-right schema has been a "cognitive yardstick" for identifying both voters and politicians (p 234) and for determining the congruence between the two groups. At various times, the authors seem to interpret "representativity" in terms of the efficacy of the translation of the will of the voters into authoritative decision-making. But the

major focus of the book is on the "input" side. Its discussion of representation and of mass-elite relationships, while elaborating on the political behavior of deputies in the Assembly, pays relatively little attention to the *content* of decisions beyond providing bivariate correlations (consensus scores) indicating candidate-issue and party-issue linkages--the former weaker than the latter (pp 286ff).

The book attempts to correlate class membership with religious observance, but it provides inadequate explanations regarding other factors: the importance of union membership for party identification and/or electoral choice, the impact of campaigns, including the role of the mass media, and the variables of region and locality, which are dealt with cursorily (possibly because "electoral geography" has been done thoroughly enough in France by others). It is curious that there is no discussion of the role of the *cumul des mandats* in identifying candidates to electors and, indeed, in shaping "affective" orientations toward the candidates. Moreover, although there is an extensive discussion of de Gaulle's involvement in the institutions of the Fifth Republic, it is not made clear to what extent a positive or negative orientation toward him is to be correlated with partisanship or transpartisan factors such as peer pressure, sex, age, or class. Similarly, the relationship between the 1968 events and policy issues is not adequately explained. If the events were only vaguely related to issues and outcomes (except for repressive measures and some reforms of university structures [see pp 445-446, 480-483, and 566-691]) then we may consider the events as little more than a political party raid.

The book pays only superficial attention to the evolution of the ideologies of parties. This is not surprising, since during the period on which the book concentrates party ideologies were still viewed as rather rigid if not sclerotic, and the authors, when they began their research, could not yet foresee the ideological *decrispation* that was later to occur.

Referenda are mentioned briefly, but there is no discussion of differences between these and legislative elections as modes of issue articulation. In this connection, one might also question the assertion (p 30) that the Independent Republicans "remained allied with the UNR (and its successors) on virtually all critical occasions"--unless one considered the disagreement between the two parties on the 1969 referendum (and the resignation of de Gaulle as a consequence of it) as an unimportant event. Finally, insufficient attention is paid to the "floating vote," especially

among young people, to a clear delineation between expressive and instrumental leftism, and to the behavioral meaning of electoral abstentionism. These omissions are in part reflected in the bibliography which, impressive as it is, omits important sources that do not go along comfortably with the authors' theses. Thus, it does not contain the discussions by Frederic Bon on the uses and limits of pre-election surveys, the studies by Philippe Braud on the psychological aspects of voting, the studies of Alain Lancelot, Colette Ysmal and others of electoral behavior of women.

In some senses, the Converse-Pierce work is a *livre d'occasion*, because it confines itself to 1967-73 (and more narrowly, 1967-68) an admittedly unique period marked by the towering presence of de Gaulle and the events of May 1968. Today, both the General and the events are nostalgic memories, moreover, the ideological spectrum and the shape of right-left self-classification have evolved considerably since the late 1970s. Gaullism has been banalized, Marxism has been discredited, rightwing extremism has partially revived, and the political vocabulary has changed. The dichotomy between *dirigisme* and new-liberalism is hardly dealt with in this volume, and there is no discussion of policy issues that figure heavily in today's debates: unemployment, immigration, "reindustrialization," public liberties, ethnicity, and cultural pluralism. In the past ten years France has experienced so many changes in its economic system, its external relations, its political culture and, indeed, the very makeup of its society that many of its citizens have become disoriented and traumatized.

Sociological and Longitudinal Approaches

Some of these themes are taken up in the Gaxie volume. Consisting of contributions by various hands and produced over a much shorter time, it lacks the methodological rigor and unity of the Converse-Pierce work, but it is contextually richer and more diverse, more up-to-date, and less categorical about approaches to the study of politics. In a chapter on "Methodologies of electoral analysis" (Denni and Brechon) we are reminded that "the presentation of a [statistical] correlation does not permit us to infer the existence of a causality" (p. 56). This chapter points to gaps in French electoral-behavior analysis, deplores the scarcity of "ethnographic" studies and the frequent absence of theoretical perspectives, and suggests that French scholars have much to learn from American colleagues. At the same time, it evokes the

danger of relying too smugly on surveys and hesitates to call for the kinds of data manipulation increasingly common in the USA. In fact, there are no regression or time-series analyses in the entire volume, instead, there is a frequent resort to straight-forward descriptive statistics.

A chapter on "Instability of voting behavior" (Gerard Grunberg) goes much further. It criticizes what it calls the "Michigan model," whose utility is questioned because some of its assumptions (discussed above) may not be appropriate for France. In "class, social position, and voting" (Nonna Mayer and Etienne Schweisgut), the problem of correlating class and electoral behavior is approached with due caution, born of an awareness that empirical methods have been colored by differing schools of thought--and therefore different definitions of class--such as those of Marxism (associated with *sociologie du travail*) in France (especially in the 1950s) and those of Weberian sociology, as in the USA. And in America empirical investigation has surely been influenced by the fact that there has existed neither a clearly articulated distinction between working class and bourgeoisie (or, for that matter, between *proletariat* and *salariat*) nor between Right and Left.

The Gaxie volume brings us back to the tradition of Andre Siegfried and his mix of electoral sociology and historical-institutional interpretation, and it reminds us that the "relations of forces" between voter on the one hand and party and candidate on the other is a complex one that cannot be stated or interpreted with precision on the basis of an intensive study of two or three elections. There is preoccupation with the development of the suffrage and of voting patterns over time, all illustrating the gradual process of politicization of French society, a process which, as Rene Remond argues in a persuasive chapter, cannot be studied without the help of historians. Thus, there are separate chapters on the limited electorate of the *Ancien Regime*, on the voting restrictions during the July Monarchy, on the Second Empire, and on the mobilization of a mass electorate under the Third Republic.

More than half of the volume is devoted to specialized "topical" discussions: the factor of age, the role of religion, the spatial-geographical dimension, the meaning of electoral abstention, and finally the role and methods of electoral campaigns. Almost all of these discussions help to remind the student of French politics of the volatility of the French voter and the incomplete 'rationality' of his choices and of the "internalized

dispositions" (to use Gaxie's phrase) and variable cognitions that are the sum total of social pressures, habits, cultural inheritances, and specific events. We are, finally, reminded of the importance of evolving patterns of alliances, the factor of personalities--including the (unforeseen) appearance of men on horseback, the importance of crucial economic and symbolic issues, and the success or failure attributed to previously elected parties and politicians in resolving these issues.

Politics and the Policy-Making Community

The political party is reduced, so to speak, to its proper place in the two studies that concentrate on economic policy. This is particularly apparent in the book by Hayward, who asserts (p. 54) that "party government has never been fully accepted" and that the policy agenda tends to be set in France not so much by party program as by the successful presidential candidate (an assertion that can now be modified in light of the "cohabitation" pattern that was inaugurated after the March 1986 election).

The two policy-oriented books are quite different in substance and orientation from the first two books and form a complement to them--and to one another. Both books are "correct" in their assessments, though they differ in detail and interpretation. Both studies show that France is at once more pluralist and more etatist than American observers have tended to argue. Its economy has continued, and is likely to continue, to be heavily dependent for credit and guidance on the government despite recently fashionable slogans about "degovernmentalization" (*desetatisation*). At the same time, economic policy-making has been marked by a rather underdeveloped "corporatism," i.e., has been the outcome of a multiplicity of socioeconomic pressures and complex bargaining relations between interest groups and the public authorities.

Hayward is particularly perceptive in his exposition of the *dirigiste*-pluralist tensions. While he accords a proper role to the state (an entity recently rediscovered by American political scientists) he portrays the "policy community" as a complex one characterized by a medley of activities: government guidance, *concertation* between state and market, the registration of interest-group pressures, market decisions and official preferences, conflict, competition, and convergence. The "domestic hexagon of pluralist power" (pp. 47-49) is a complicated polyarchy: it comprises the political executive, the higher civil service (or techno-bureaucracy), the instances of democratic

legitimation, communication, and mobilization (which include not only political parties but also the legislatures and the media), the managers of public corporations and credit institutions, the leaders of large private firms, and finally, trade unions and professional (or occupational) associations. This interpretation modifies the widely accepted institutional model according to which governments in unitary countries can define and act on policy choices more efficiently than in fragmented (i.e., federal) systems. To be sure, this polyarchy is both fluid and unequal; thus, the Ministry of Industry is relatively weak, and the Finance Ministry is strong, the Employers' Confederation (CNPF)--and the big business sector within it--is strong, while the unions are weak links in this hexagon. The "outsider" position of the unions is due not only to their historic ideological fragmentation but also to "postindustrial" developments such as structural unemployment. Curiously, Hayward does not discuss the "scab" factor, aggravated by immigration, nor does he refer to the weakening of the Communist party, the "patron" of the CGT, France's largest union. He argues that although the unions have maintained their autonomy, they have lost much of their power, a loss that, however, does not mean that they have been totally without influence; on the contrary, redistributive policies embraced by governments (especially before elections) often reflect the "social justice" orientation of organized labor.

Parallel to the horizontal pluralism (reflected in an issue-related state-market relationship) there exists a kind of vertical pluralism, which involves not only the private sector but also local-regional public authorities and supranational and international actors. Thus, over the past two or three decades the French multiannual plan has been periodically adjusted--and sometimes subverted--by international price movements, and competition has been strengthened at the expense of internal public-private negotiation as a consequence of the French economy's exposure to the international market and the influence of the European Community.

The economic polyarchy Hayward explores is characterized by a collusion facilitated by an old-boy network (once explored in detail in Henry Ehrmann's classic *Organized Business in France* [1957]) that includes higher civil servants, technocrats, bankers, academicians, and industrial managers who, as often as not, are graduates of the prestigious National School of Administration (ENA).

Dirigisme, Neo-Liberalism, and Policy Choices

In such a situation, it does not seem to matter much which party is in power. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing was more *dirigiste* than his "neo-liberal" rhetoric suggested, and François Mitterrand more market-oriented (especially after 1983) than the official Socialist party polemics had led many to believe. The Socialist government could not achieve its long-heralded rupture with capitalism; conversely, it is doubtful whether the present Gaullist-Giscardist government will promote "privatization" beyond a certain (perhaps symbolic) measure. The nationalization of steel, which Hayward discusses in detail, is a case in point. For many years, the government, by means of subsidies, loans, contracts, and marketing and labor legislation, had controlled the steel industry while it was nominally in private hands; nationalization was thus the culmination of a policy drift. Today, economic policy has become what Hayward calls "the management of collective impoverishment," which if it is to be fair, must be a pluralistic enterprise.

The focus of the Machin-Wright book, the first four years of the Mitterrand presidency, is much narrower than that of Hayward, but as a collection of essays written by several hands, it is much less coherent. The assessment of policy changes is generally reserved and sometimes negative, particularly insofar as the changes are measured against some ideal-type of policy or, more concretely, against the pre-election ambitions and promises of the Socialists. This is apparent in the argument (expressed with variable emphases in Chapters 5-7) that the extension of the public sector between 1981 and 1983 was half-hearted and not a new departure, did not amount to a significant expansion of that sector, and did not contribute meaningfully to the modernization of the industrial structure as a whole. In similarly reserved tones it is contended (Chapter 4) that under the Socialists planning did not become much more than it had been earlier: a great deal of forecasting and some *concertation*--although the mix of choices of the 9th Plan differed from that of earlier plans.

It is also argued (Chapter 9) that despite changes in the labor code, the Auroux laws did not dramatically increase the power of unions, that the obligation to bargain collectively at the plant level was "not an obligation to produce results," but that on the contrary, the formal increase in the representation and power of workers at the plant had the effect of weakening the unions, especially on the national level, and that most of the innovative features contained in the Auroux law could be

attributed more to a convergence between the *patronat* (the employers) and the unions than to Socialist ideology. Furthermore, it is asserted (Chapter 10) that under the Socialists the tactical position of the *patronat* increased, because it was liberated from the obligation of good behavior to which it had been subjected under Giscard, and that nationalization did not fundamentally alter the relationship between the state and business. Conversely, it is suggested (Chapter 11) that the trade unions, while celebrating a Socialist victory, were pressured into a more pragmatic (and less demanding) stance vis-a-vis the government as it faced the problems of unemployment, global competition, and pressures on the budget. All chapters seem to share this conviction that public policy is a complex matter in which institutional and resource constraints, *dirigiste* traditions, and external influences play a more prominent role than electoral expectations or party programs.

C Book Notes

Compiled by Jerry Mitchell

AGRICULTURE POLICY

Beldon, Joseph N. *Dirt Rich, Dirt Poor: America's Food and Farm Crisis* (Routledge & Kegan Paul 1986). 188 pp. ISBN 0-7102-0378-0, hardcover

This book attempts to answer two paradoxical questions. First, why is there hunger in the midst of plenty? And second, why doesn't the American food system benefit food system producers, food industry workers or consumers? The authors find the answers in current public policy approaches to agricultural production, food marketing, world hunger, and environmental problems.

Brown, William P. and Don F. Hadwiger (eds) *World Food Policies Toward Agricultural Interdependence* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1986) 220 pp., ISBN 0-931477-79-4, \$26.95 hardcover

This volume is a comparative analysis of food policies in developed and undeveloped nations. Extensive analysis is presented about the interdependence of food policies across national units. Food policies are considered in the U.S., Soviet Union, and many developing nations.

Timmer, C. Peter. *Getting Prices Right: The Scope and Limits of Agricultural Price Policy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986) 160 pp., ISBN 0-8014-1960-3, softcover

This work describes the essential elements of agricultural price policy. The author describes price control mechanisms, the implementation of price policy, and the dynamics of price changes.

DEFENSE POLICY

Peterson, J.E. *Defending Arabia* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986) 275 pp., ISBN 0-312-19114-6, \$29.95 hardcover

This book surveys strategic issues surrounding the defense of the Arabian Gulf from the era of British involvement to the current Iran-Iraq war. The author looks at regional defense of the Gulf in light of international involvement by the superpowers.

Rallo, Joseph C. *Defending Europe in the 1990s: The New Divide of High Technology* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986) 136 pp., ISBN 0-312-19112-X, \$29.95 hardcover

The impact of new technologies in the defense of Europe is explored in this volume. The authors examine both instruments and objectives in assessing the relationship between technology and European defense arrangements.

DIPLOMACY AND PUBLIC POLICY

Combs, Jerald A. *American Diplomatic History: Two Centuries of Changing Interpretations* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986) 413 pp., ISBN 0-520-05893-3, \$11.95 softcover

This book is a comprehensive historical treatise on diplomacy from revolutionary war times to the age of Vietnam. The author focuses on changing diplomatic philosophies, the relationship between diplomacy and foreign policy objectives, and the specter of diplomatic arrangements during times of war.

Weiss, Thomas G. *Multilateral Development Diplomacy in UNCTAD* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986) 187 pp. ISBN 0-312-55244-0. \$30.00 hardcover

The "nuts and bolts" of international diplomacy is the subject matter of this work. The author addresses the nature of diplomatic bargaining over economic matters by international organizations.

MACROECONOMIC POLICY

Schultze, Charles L. *Other Times, Other Places: Macroeconomic Lessons From U.S. and European History* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1986) 88 pp. ISBN 0-8157-7766-2, softcover

This book contains a series of lectures delivered by Charles L. Schultze on macroeconomic policy. The first lecture deals with U.S. responses to inflation. The second lecture analyzes the behavior of real wages in Europe and the U.S. The third lecture examines the relative stability of the U.S. economy.

POLICY ANALYSIS

Collingridge, David and Colin Reeve. *Science Speaks to Power: The Role of Experts in Policymaking* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986) 175 pp. ISBN 0-312-70274-4. \$27.50 hardcover

The relationship between professional expertise and policymaking is tenuous according to the author of this work. In analyzing case studies of policymaking in which experts have played a major role, the authors conclude that when science attempts to influence policy, the result is endless debate, rather than technical consensus.

Feller, Irwin *Universities and State Governments A Study in Policy Analysis* (New York Praeger, 1986) 170 pp. ISBN 0-275-92094-1, hardcover

Irwin Feller's book is about the role universities play in shaping public policy in state governments. Professor Feller explores the historical dimensions of university relationships with state governments and the way universities supply policy-relevant information to state officials. The difficulties in developing cooperative efforts between universities and state governments are specifically examined.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND PUBLIC POLICY

Cawson, Alan *Corporatism and Political Theory* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986) 174 pp. ISBN 0-631-13279-1, \$45.00 hardcover

This book defines and summarizes the essentials of corporatist theory. Professor Cawson argues that contemporary western political systems include both pluralist and corporatist elements. This argument is supported by specific examples of "dual politics" in various public policy arrangements.

Lefort, Claude *The Political Forms of Modern Society: Bureaucracy, Democracy, Totalitarianism* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1986) 342 pp., ISBN 0-262-12117-4, \$14.50 softcover

Through an analysis of contemporary political events, this book explores the development of bureaucracy and totalitarianism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Lefort develops his critique of many traditional assumptions and doctrines in a reappraisal of the ideas of human rights and democracy.

REGULATORY POLICY

Lehne, Richard *Casino Policy* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986) 268 pp., ISBN 0-8135-1153-4, \$30.00 hardcover

The regulation of casinos is the policy focus of this work. The case for this analysis is the regulation of Atlantic City casinos. The author examines the administrative structure of casino regulation, the methods of regulatory implementation, and the impact of regulation on casino operations.

Moorhouse, John C. *Electric Power Deregulation and the Public Interest* (San Francisco: Pacific Institute for Public Policy, 1986) 516 pp. ISBN 0-936488-02-6, \$14.95 softcover.

The regulation of electricity rates is the policy focus of this edited work. The authors examine the nature of electric utility regulation, different economic effects of regulating public utilities, and the prospects for regulatory reform. Some of the writers in this volume include Claire Holton Hammond, Thomas G. Grennes, Peter Navarro, and Walter J. Primeau, Jr.

Wright, James D. and Peter H. Rossi. *Armed and Considered Dangerous: A Survey of Felons and their Firearms* (Hawthorne, NY: Aldine, 1986) 246 pp. ISBN 0-202-30330-6, \$36.94 hardcover.

The legal and regulatory implications of criminal behavior (in regard to the use of firearms) is the focus of this work. Using data collected from 2,000 convicted felons, this book touches on both theoretical issues and the policy implications of gun control.

BELIEF SYSTEMS IN SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY

Kluegel, James R. *Beliefs About Inequality: America's Views of What is and What Ought to Be* (Hawthorne, NY: Aldine De Gruyter, 1986) 332 pp. ISBN 0-202-30326-8, hardcover.

This authors of this volume use national survey data to show what Americans believe about various social welfare policies. Using the survey data, the authors are able to describe what inequality means to Americans and how citizens evaluate inequality-related policies. Opinions are specifically gathered about public policy toward affirmative action and equal opportunity.

Raskin, Marcus G. *The Common Good Its Politics, Policies, and Philosophy* (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986) 369 pp., ISBN 0-7102-0690-9, hardcover

This book offers a new public philosophy based not on theories of socialism and capitalism, but rather on the original theory of social reconstruction. The author develops new conceptions of democracy and the rule of law in relation to the common good. Concrete alternatives are presented on how public policy can be improved in the areas of education, health, economics, and national security.

Schorr, Alvin L. *Common Decency Domestic Policies After Reagan* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986) ISBN 0-300-03603-5, hardcover

This work focuses on the objectives that must be met to achieve a national sense of community. Schorr's objectives include fair shares, integration with respect to race and ethnicity, full employment, selective decentralization of authority, and mainstreaming rather than means testing in the distribution of benefits. From the perspective of these objectives, Schorr examines existing programs in the areas of income distribution, housing, and health.

TAX POLICY

Davies, David G. *United States Tax and Tax Policy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 316 pp., ISBN 0-521-30169-6, \$34.50 hardcover

This work focuses on recent developments and ideas about U.S. taxes and tax policy in theory and practice. The author specifically examines the economic foundations and economic effects of income, corporation, social security, value added, sales, and local government taxes.

Lee, Dwight R. (ed.) *Taxation and the Deficit Economy Fiscal Policy and Capital Formation in the United States* (San Francisco: Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy, 1986) ISBN 0-936488-13-1, \$14.95 softcover

This edited volume analyzes various economic and political factors that explain why the rates of saving and capital formation are persistently low in the United States. The central theme is that rates of saving and capital formation are closely related to American values, institutions, and economic opportunities. Some of the authors include James M. Buchanan, Edgar K. Browning, Paul Craig Roberts, Morgan O. Reynolds, Gordon Tullock, Richard E. Wagner, Lloyd J. Dumas, and Israel M. Kirzner.

Teplitz, Paul V. and Stephen H. Brooks. *Alternative Tax Proposals: How the Numbers Add Up* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1986). ISBN 0-669-11616-5. hardcover.

In this work, the impacts of taxes are assessed in relation to proposed changes in tax laws and current patterns of consumption. The authors use quantitative methods to examine the incidence of particular taxes and the overall effect of taxes on the American economy.

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