

# VOX POP Newsletter of Political Organizations and Parties

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

## THEME – PARTY POLITICS

### THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, VOLUMES 1 AND 2 THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, VOLUMES 1 AND 2

George Thomas Kurian, editor. 1997. (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe).

Where does one go for answers to pesky factual questions related to party politics? For example, when was Newt Gingrich born? Who was Clark Champ? What percentage of the popular vote did William Jennings Bryan receive in the critical election of 1896? And which GOP presidential candidate received the lowest percentage of the presidential vote? These are things party scholars often need to know, but rarely have at their finger tips.

Good answers to these and related questions can be found in *The Encyclopedia of the Republican Party* and *The Encyclopedia of the Democratic Party*, edited by George Kurian and published by M.E. Sharpe. This four volume work (two for each of the major parties) takes place among the best reference works on American party politics. These volumes are well-written and researched, drawing on the talents of numerous political scientists and historians, including some well-known scholars and some scholars that will be well-known some day. Most importantly, the material is well-organized and indexed, so that the broad collection of information included can be used efficiently and effectively.

The initial volumes (volume one of the Republicans; volume three for the Democrats) begin with a brief history of the party, and are then followed by a series of articles under the heading of "issues and ideology." Here issues are defined rather broadly. The topics covered include policy issues such as abortion, crime, health care, school prayer, tort reform, trade policy, and welfare, among others. But the topics also include what might be called "organizational" (issues campaign finance and campaign finance reform, congressional party leadership, party discipline, public perceptions of parties and candi-

dates, and voting behavior) and "partisan" issues (for the GOP: the Contract with America, modern Republicanism, and Reaganomics; for Democrats: the Democratic Leadership Council, the McGovern-Fraser Commission, and State's rights). Often the same authors have written parallel pieces for each party, making the material especially useful. Each piece lists the connections between the topic and the party in question, and includes a basic bibliography of sources. The essay on the Democratic and Republican National Committees, by Paul Herrnson and John White, respectively, are jewels. And David Gillespie contributes two fine essays on "third" parties.

The volumes then move on to biographies. First, there are brief and well-done biographies of each party's presidents, vice-presidents, losing presiden-

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tial candidates, speakers of the House of Representatives, "other notables," which include especially prominent federal, state and party leaders, a complete list of members of Congress and state governors. The second volumes for each major party (volume 2 for the Republicans and volume 4 for the Democrats) contain a variety of data on parties. Each of these volumes begins with accounts of all the national nominating conventions, followed by the party platforms adopted at each convention. Next is a summary of presidential elections, including a brief description of the campaigns and a summary of the results. Then, each volume contains nine useful appendices: GOP rules and Democratic Party Charter/Bylaws; party leaders in the House and Senate; party defections in Congress; party convention dates and sites; national committees chairs; addresses of state party headquarters; House election victories; and the party affiliations in Congress. These volumes end with four excellent indices which are especially useful: a general index; a biographical index, a geographic index, and an index of minorities and women.

Overall, *The Encyclopedia of the Republican Party* and *The Encyclopedia of the Democratic Party* are excellent reference works: well-written, comprehensive, and easy to use. There are few basic facts about the major party system that are not covered in these volumes. One can only hope the editors will update the work on a regular basis.

Now for the answers to those pesky questions: Newt Gingrich was born in 1943, one of the darkest years for Western Civilization, which may explain Speaker Gingrich's fascination with the topic; Clark Champ was a Democratic Speaker elected in 1911, ousting the legendary Joe Cannon, perhaps serving as role model for Gingrich; William Jennings Bryan received 47% of the popular vote in 1896, a result that may surprise many observers used to thinking of 1896 as a decisive defeat for the Democrats and Populism; and William Howard Taft produced the worst performance for the Republican ever with his 23.2% of the popular vote in 1912, largely because of the Bull Moose Party. The worst performance without a significant "third" party effort was Barry Goldwater in 1964 with 38.5%.

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## FROM HEADQUARTERS

Dear Colleagues:

Many thanks to those who have agreed to serve on the several POP committees for the upcoming year. These committees do a large portion of the work of the organization and we all owe them a debt of gratitude for their time and effort.

There are two items of business I would like POP members to think about. The Committee is engaged in planning the recognition and celebration of the anniversary of the publication of *Toward A More Responsible Two Party System*. Toward that end, we have set three things in motion. First, we are trying to identify individuals who might have been students or colleagues of any committee member who might have useful and interesting information to share about the development of the Report and/or recollections of the member's spin on it. Second, we are trying to work with Wesleyan to obtain access to the Schattschneider papers. It is unclear at this point how much material related to the report might be included in the papers. If anyone knows of another archive of papers of any other member, please contact Paul Herrnson, John Green or me. Finally, we are trying to identify funding sources so that the event will be a special contribution to the scholarship and dialogue of all who are interested in political parties.

I also want to thank everyone who has expressed an interest in the POP portion of the APSA meeting next year in Boston. In the middle of the most horrendous ice storm of the century, Tony Corrado was

receiving, sorting, reading and responding to paper proposals and negotiating with other section chairs in the usual back and forth of program development. He had far more proposals than our allotted 10 panels could accommodate and I regret that some members are disappointed not to have the opportunity to present their research.

We expect to have a Wednesday afternoon workshop which will get POP off to another fast start. The panels that are scheduled have expanded a bit on our traditional ways of looking at things and I think that we'll be enriched by them.

In addition, I want to ask POP members to reflect on the present position (and status) of doctoral education and scholarly research activities related to political parties and interest groups. Are we recruiting and supporting enough new scholars? Is their work getting published and is it making an impact? What about funding and grant opportunities? Do graduate curricula reflect the interdisciplinary thrusts that are evident in the changing environment in which we all work? Finally, is there something POP can/should do to energize future research agendas in parties and political organizations?

If you have suggestions or comments about any of these topics, please discuss them with any Executive Council member or send them to me: [Ruth.Jones@asu.edu](mailto:Ruth.Jones@asu.edu).

Sincerely,  
Ruth S. Jones  
*Chair*



## 1998 Political Organizations and Parties Committees

### Program Chair

Anthony Corrado, Colby College 1998  
Candice Nelson, American University 1999  
Paul Beck, Ohio State 2000

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Paul Beck, Ohio State  
Jerry Mileur, University of Massachusetts, Amherst  
John White, Catholic University

## Political Organizations and Parties By-Laws

1. Executive Authority of the APSA Section on Political Organizations and Parties (POP) shall reside in the office of Chair, elected at the annual business meeting for a two-year term in odd-numbered years, beginning in 1983.
  1. The Chair and the Secretary-Treasurer shall be responsible for submitting an Annual Report to the APSA on POP's activities.
  2. The chair appoints: By-Laws committees, when needed to propose new by-laws for membership approval at the Annual Business Meeting, and Nominating committees to propose candidates for Chair, Secretary-Treasurer, and the POP Council. These nominations shall be forwarded to the Chair who will in turn send them to be published in the POP newsletter.
2. The Secretary-Treasurer is elected at the Annual Business Meeting for a two-year term in even years.
3. Governing authority of POP shall reside in a council of eight persons.
  1. Four persons shall be elected at the Annual Business Meeting every year to two-year terms on the POP Council.
  2. The major responsibility of the council is to advise the POP Chair.
4. The Council shall meet annually in conjunction with the Business Meeting.

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**Papers of Interest**  
**1997 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting**

- "Value Structures and Issue Attitudes in American Public Opinion." William G. Jacoby, University of South Carolina and Paul M. Sniderman, Stanford University.
- "New Issues and Political Choices: Do "Preferences" Depend on Framing or Linkages?" Michael C. Munger and Scott de Marchi, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- "Progress in Modeling Attitudes and Opinion Formation." Dennis Chong, Northwestern University.
- "Accessibility of Social Identification and Political Participation." Joe TenBerge, University of Texas, Austin and Robert C. Luskin, University of Texas.
- "The Long Campaigns of George Bush and Bill Clinton: Electoral Politics Between Elections." Charles H. Franklin, University of Wisconsin.
- "Cue Taking Among Big Givers." Wesley Joe, Georgetown University.
- "Decision Rules of Major Individual Contributors to Congress: The Importance of Incumbent Committee and Ideology." Paul S. Herrnson, University of Maryland and Lynda W. Powell, University of Rochester.
- "A Profile of Large Contributors Over Time." John C. Green, University of Akron.
- "Counting the Cash: Organized Giving and Campaign Finance." Thomas R. Marshall, University of Texas, Arlington.
- "Contentious Politics in America After the Second World War." David Meyer, CUNY.
- "The Impact of Institutions on Left Party Change in Italy, the UK and Germany." William Garber, Northwestern University.
- "Personal Vote, Party Vote and Electoral Institutions: Explaining Different Electioneering Practices of Japanese, French, British, German and Austrian Conservatives." Marcus Kreuzer, Columbia University.
- "Linking Structural Adjustment Policies to Re-Election Strategies: The Case of the Spanish Socialist Party." Kerstin Hamann, University of Central Florida.
- "From Reconstruction to Godesberg: Organization and Change in the Social Democratic Party of Germany, 1945-1959." John Leslie, University of California.
- "The Legislative Connection in Campaign Finance." Stephen Ansolabehere and James M. Snyder, Jr., Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- "Committee Theories and Committee Institutions." David C. King, Harvard University.
- "Racial Polarization and Realignment in the New South." David I. Lublin, University of South Carolina and D. Stephen Voss, Harvard University.
- "Beyond Old and New Social Movements." Kim Geron and Ralph Armbruster, University of California, Riverside.
- "The Phenomenology of Social Movements." Joseph Kling, St. Lawrence University.
- "Theories and Practices of Transformation." Diana Coole, QMW University of London.
- "Toward A Postmodern Left: Identity, Difference, and the Radical-Democratic Imaginary." Thomas C. Conte, University of Maryland, College Park.
- "Continuing Realignment in American Politics: Evidence from the 1996 American National Election Study." Alan I. Abramowitz and Kyle Saunders, Emory University.
- "Assessing Realignment in Real Time: The Contemporary American Party System in Historical Context." Thomas E. Cavanaugh.
- "The Changing Dynamics of Party Choice: Assessing the Impact of Socialization, Ideology and Political Pragmatism on American partisanship, 1972-1994." Franklyn C. Niles, University of Houston.
- "Realignment from the 1996 Election and a Look Ahead to 1998." Alfred J. Tuchfarber, Eric W. Rademacher and Kim Downing, University of Cincinnati and Andrew E. Smith, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
- "Conflictual and Cooperative Lobbying Strategies." Beth L. Leech, Texas A&M University.
- "Interest Learning: Explaining the Political Behavior of Business." Sandra Suarez, Temple University.
- "Interest Groups, Committee Agendas, and Partisan Changes in Congress." Gary J. McKissick, Emory University.
- "Interest Group Lobbying: Differences Between the Legislative and Executive Branches." Scott R. Furlong, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay.
- "Christian Right Candidates Wins Again: The 1996 Congressional Elections in Oklahoma." Nancy L. Bednar, University of Oklahoma.
- "The Vital Evangelical in Presidential Politics." Daniel Hofrenning, St. Olaf College.
- "Values, Social and Economic Ideology, and the Christian Coalition in the 1996 Presidential Election." Stephen D. Johnson, Ball State University.
- "American Two-Party Systems: Religious Competition and Political Outcomes." Paul A. Djupe and Timothy Johnson, Washington University; Christopher P. Gilvert, Gustavus Adolphus College;

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- and David A.M. Peterson, University of Minnesota.
- "Ideology and Congressional Elections: Testing a Model." David A. Scocca, University of North Carolina.
- "Modeling Legislator Ideology Using Surveys of Elites." Benjamin Bishin, University of California, Los Angeles.
- "PAC Sensitivity to Candidate Ideology." Charles H. Franklin, University of Wisconsin.
- "The Effects of Party Competition, Party Control and Partisan Change on State Policymaking: Evidence from Welfare Spending in the American States." Charles Barrileaux and Laura Langer, Florida State University and Thomas Holbrook, University of Wisconsin.
- "Regimes and Institutions." Karen Orren, University of California, Los Angeles and Stephen Skowronek, Yale University.
- "Was the Democratic Order the Last American Regime? National Politics After the 1960s." David Plotke, New School for Social Research.
- "Institutions of Party Control in Congress." Kathleen Bawn, University of California, Los Angeles.
- "Testing an Institutional Theory of Party/Interest Group Coalitions." Michael J. Gilligan, New York University.
- "The Breakdown of One Party Domination: A Comparative Analysis of Voting Behavior in the South of the United States and Mexico." Caroline C. Beer, University of New Mexico.
- "Over-Time Opposition to Immigration and Support for Nativist Political Parties in the United States, France and Germany." Joel S. Fetzer, University of Southern California.
- "Regionalism and Successful Party Formation: The Reform Party of Canada and the Northern League of Italy." Christina Grabarkiewicz, Ohio State University.
- "Coping with Mass Politics: Electoral Institutions, Party Development and Liberals in France and Germany, 1870's-1930's." Marcus Kreuzer, Columbia University.
- "Party, Environment, and Institutional Change: the Politics of Strategy, Tactics and Organization within the Social Democratic Party in Germany 1890-1966." John Leslie, University of California.
- "Generational Politics: The Effect of the Welfare State and Party Organization on Political Outcomes." Anthony J. McGann, Duke University.
- "Equivalent 'Bang for the Buck? A District Level Test for Differential Returns for Campaign Expenditures." Joanne Connor Green, Texas Christian University.
- "When Women Run: Congressional Districts and Female Candidates." Nicole R. Krassas, Eastern Connecticut State University and Dena Levy, SUNY, Brockport.
- "A Woman's Seat in Congress? The Role of Gender and Race in the Battle to Succeed Pat Schroeder." Monica Bauer, Metro State College of Denver.
- "Money Matters: Women's PACs and Individual Contributions' Impact on Unique Senate Elections." Kelly J. Barnes, University of California, Riverside.
- "Campaign Quality: Standards for Evaluation, Benchmarks for Reform." Larry M. Bartels and Stanley Kelley, Jr., Princeton University; Shanto Iyengar, University of California-Los Angeles; and Thomas E. Mann, The Brookings Institution.
- "To Lobby Alone or In a Flock: Foraging Behavior Among Organized Interests." Virginia Gray, University of Minnesota and David Lowery, University of North Carolina.
- "Interest Groups, Parties and Policies in the American States." Sarah M. Morehouse, University of Connecticut.
- "Ethnic/Racial Diversity and Political Process in the States of the U.S." Rodney E. Hero, University of Colorado.
- "Minor Party Candidates in the 1996 U.S. Elections." John C. Berg, Suffolk University.
- "Between Purists and Pragmatists: Presidents and Social Reform Movements." Daniel J. Tichenor, Rutgers University.
- "Presidential Leadership and Partisan Realignment." David K. Nichols, Montclair State University.
- "Democratic Presidential Leadership: an Oxymoron?" Sidney Milkis, Brandeis University and Marc Landy, Boston College.
- "Parties and Participatory Linkage: What Do We Do With Non-Participation?" Andrew M. Appleton, Washington State University.
- "Expanding Participation Opportunities in Parties: Who Benefits?" Susan E. Scarrow, University of Houston.
- "From Collective to Selective Linkage?" Piero Ignzai, University of Bologna.
- "Campaign Finance and Linkage in U.S. and German Parties." Andrea Rommele, University of Mannheim.
- "Do U.S. Parties Serve as Linking Mechanisms for Women in Achieving Political Influence and Leadership." Barbara C. Burrell, University of Wisconsin.
- "Political Parties and Informative Representation." Roger Larocca, University of Chicago.
- "Is There a Culture War? Religion and the 1996 Election." Lyman A. Kellstedt, Wheaton College and Corwin Smidt, Calvin College.

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- "The Candidates' Wives." Anthony Mjghan and Berry C. Burden, Ohio State University.
- "The Partisan Choice: Bill Clinton or Bob Dole." Chalres E. Smith, Jr., University of Mississippi; John H. Kessel and Peter M. Radcliffe, Ohio State University.
- "Attitudinal Correlates of the 1996 Presidential Vote." Herbert Weisberg and Stephen Mockabee, Ohio State University.
- "Early Voting: How does it Help." Robert Bernstein and David Martin, Auburn University.
- "Candidate Campaign Organizations in General Elections." Jonathan H. Bernstein, University of California, Berkeley.
- "Campaign Contributions: Narrowing the Field of Candidates." Alexandra Cooper, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- "Local Battlefields: the Christian Right and School Board Politics." Melissa Deckman-Fallon, American University.
- "Coalition Behavior in State Legislatures? Universalism, Minimalism, and Parties." James Endersby, University of Missouri.
- "Campaign Finance Reform and the 1996 House Elections." Robert Kirby Goidel, Indiana State University; Donald A. Gross, University of Kentucky and Todd Shields, University of Arkansas.
- "More Bucks for the Bang: Estimating the Impact of Party Campaign Expenditures on PAC Decision Making." Sanford C. Gordon, Priceton University.
- "The Majority Vote Rule and Campaign Contributions." Stacy Gordon, University of California, Davis.
- "Can a "Dream Team" Make a Difference: The Influence of Political Consultants on the 1996 US House Elections." Mark J. Guerrieri, University of Michigan, Dearborn.
- "Campaign Finance in New York City: The Limits of Reform." Jeffrey Kraus, Wagner College.
- "The Impact of Declining Union Membership on Voter Participation Among Democrats." Oren M. Levin-Waldman, Bard College.
- "The Origins of Committee Autonomy, 1910-1946: The Conditional Party Government Alternative." Robert R. Lopez, University of Colorado.
- "Third Parties Candidates: Money, Media and TV Ads." Michael Magoon, Stonehill College.
- "The Politicization of the AARP: Is it an 800 Gorilla or a Paper Tiger?" Thomas Schlesinger, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
- "Special Interests and the Initiative Process in Colorado: The Case of the Parental Rights Amendment." Daniel A. Smith, University of Denver and Robert Herrington.
- "Old Parties and New Democracies: Do They Bring Out the Best in One Another?" Michelle Taylor, Texas A&M University.
- "In God We (Now) Trust: The Changing Interaction Between Religious Convictions and Economic Conservatism Among Voters in U.S. Presidential Elections, 1980-1996." Douglas Usher, Cornell University.
- "The Check is in the Mail: Small Money Contributions and Major and Minor Party Activism in 1996." Lori M. Weber and Walt Stone, University of Colorado, Boulder; Patricia Jaramillo and Randall W. Partin, University of Colorado.
- "Secular Voters, Social Issues and Voting Behavior." Douglas H. Weber, American University.
- "Did the Campaign Matter? First Evidence from the 1997 British Election Campaign Study." Anthony Heath, Oxford University; Roger Jowell, Social and Community Planning Research; John Curtice, Strathclyde University; and Pippa Norris, Harvard University.
- "The 1997 British General Election: The Role of Television." David Sanders, University of Essex and Pippa Norris, Harvard University.
- "The 1997 British General Election: The Role of Newspapers." Colin Seymour-Ure, University of Kent.
- "Party Strategies, Post-Electoral Mobilization, and Political Opening in Mexico's Municipalities, 1988-1996." Todd Eisenstadt, University of California, San Diego.
- "The Role of Electoral Institutions in South Africa's Democratization." Steven Friedman, Center for Policy Stueis.
- "Voting for Democracy in the Republic of China on Taiwan." Shelley Rigger, Davidson College.
- "Vox Ceasaris? Vox Populi! A Comparative Large-in Analysis of How Referendums Affect and Reflect the Democratization of the Post-Soviet States." Mark Clarence Walker, American University.
- "Pathways to Political Professionalism: Institutional Context and the Emergence of a Political Class in the U.S. and Germany." Jens Borchert, University of Goettingen.
- "Competitive Dynamics of Opposition Party Strategies." Kenneth Finegold, Eastern Washington University.
- "Political Parties and the Opportunity Costs of Patronage." Carolyn M. Warner, Arizona State University.
- "Minor Party Performance in Plurality Electoral Systems: The American Experience in Historical and Comparative Perspective." John Gerring, Boston University.



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- "Measuring and Explaining Third Party Support in American States." Scott J. Lasley, University of Iowa.
- "From Third Parties to Individual Candidates in the United States: The Gradual Transformation and Its Consequences." Julie M. Walsh, St. Joseph's College.
- "JFK and the DNC, 1958-1963." Sean J. Savage, Saint Mary's College.
- "Party Disappearance as Competitive Strategy: the Failure of the Federalists and the Success of the Whigs." Elaine K. Swift, Eastern Washington University.
- "A Dynamic Model of Campaign Fundraising." Brett A. Saranti, Northwestern University.
- "Formal Models of War Chests." Jay M. Goodliffe, University of Rochester.
- "Reconsidering Buckley vs. Valeo: How Should We Regulate Spending By Wealthy Candidates?" Alan Gerber, Yale University.
- "Germany's Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) in comparative Perspective." David F. Patton, Connecticut College.
- "Administrative Devolution, Party Formation, and the Consolidation of Democracy in Poland." Tomek Grabowski, University of California.
- "Political Party Development and Candidates Recruitment in Post-Soviet Russian Politics, 1993-1996." John T. Ishiyama, Truman State University.
- "The Stabilization of Party Systems in East Central

Europe, 1989-1994." Hubert Tworzecki, Emory University.

"A History of Social Capital." Richard A. Couto, University of Richmond.

"Labor Neotraditionalism: The Key to Understanding Union Politics." Taylor Dark, III, Doshisha University.

"Organizing Opportunities: Opportunity Structures in the Anti-Evolution Movement." Michael Lienesch, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

"Business Roots of an Urban Agrarian Credit Reform, 1900-1916." Stuart Shulman, University of Oregon.

"The Suffrage Kindergartens: Converting the Women Who Has "All the Rights She Need." Cheryl Logan Sparks, Ohio State University.

"Electoral Laws and the Formation of Political Party Systems in the Eastern Europe Democracies." Katarzyna Stanclik, Columbia University.

"The PDS and the "New States' of Germany: Finding a Niche in German Political Science." Scott D. Erb, University of Maine, Farmington.

"Issues, Identities and Programmatic Parties: The Emerging Russian Party System in Comparative Perspective." Herbert Kitschelt, Duke University and Regina Smyth, Pennsylvania State University.

"Adaptation and Decline in Chinese Basic Level Party Organizations: Responses to Economic Change." Nina Halpern, University of British Columbia.



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