

PS Appendix

APSA Awards Presented at the 1984 Annual Meeting

Dissertation Awards

(Each award includes a cash prize of \$250.)

Gabriel A. Almond Award, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1982 or 1983 in the field of comparative politics.

Recipient: Kaare Strom, Michigan University. *Minority Government and Majority Rule*, submitted by Stanford University.

Selection Committee: Edward Muller, University of Arizona, Chair; Barbara Farah, University of Michigan; Peter Gourevitch, University of California, San Diego.

Dissertation Chair: **Gabriel Almond**.

Citation: The winner of the 1984 Gabriel Almond Award for the best dissertation during 1982-83 in the field of comparative politics is *Minority Government and Majority Rule* by Kaare Strom of Stanford University.

Minority Government and Majority Rule is a theoretically imaginative and empirically rigorous investigation of the causes and consequences of rule by minority cabinets in post-1945 parliamentary democracies. It is distinguished by an innovative research design that combines macro-quantitative statistical testing of hypotheses with detailed case-study comparisons.

The literature of comparative politics has commonly assumed that minority government formation is a symptom of crisis in the political system and that its consequence is immobilism and ineffective performance. The analysis of *Minority Government and Majority Rule* refutes this conventional wisdom convincingly. Instead of being a result of party system fragmentation and polarization, minority cabinets are shown to be a rational choice of party leaders under particular structural conditions; moreover, minority governments do not perform more poorly while in office than majority governments. In demonstrating that minority governments are "expressions of hope rather than despair," this dissertation

significantly advances knowledge in the field of comparative politics about the performance of modern democratic systems.

William Anderson Award, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1982 and 1983 in the field of inter-governmental relations.

Recipient: Stephen C. Godek, California State University, Long Beach. *Determinants of Public Interest Cable Communication Policies*, submitted by the University of Illinois at Chicago.

Selection Committee: Rita Mae Kelly, Arizona State University, Chair; Nolan Jones, National Governors Association; Richard Winters, Dartmouth College.

Dissertation Chair: Doris Graber.

Citation: The winner is Stephen C. Godek for "Determinants of Public Interest Cable Communication Policies," a dissertation completed at the University of Illinois at Chicago in 1983. Dr. Godek's work deals with a complex and timely policy issue of direct concern to local and state governments across the nation. It also has implications for intergovernmental relations.

By means of thoroughly documenting developments to date and articulating the range of choices available, Dr. Godek provides a needed conceptual framework for analyzing cable communication policies. His sophisticated strategies for comparing explanatory models and skilled use of statistics enhance policy analysis in general.

In sum, the totality of Dr. Godek's work provides a fine example of scholarship and its applicability to topical issues. His dissertation identifies ways of sorting out issues in a developing policy area. His work contributes a strong rational component to policy making concerning cable communications.

Edward S. Corwin Award, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1982 or 1983 in the field of public law.

Recipient: Donald A. Downs, University of Notre Dame. *Freedom, Community and the First Amendment: Skokie and the Limits of*

PS Appendix

Speech, submitted by the University of California, Berkeley.

Selection Committee: Bradley C. Canon, University of Kentucky, Chair; Judith Baer, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Gregory A. Caldeira, University of Iowa.

Dissertation Chair: Robert A. Kagan.

Citation: Donald Downs' *Freedom, Community and the First Amendment: Skokie and the Limits of Speech* tackles one of the most explosive issues in the history of the First Amendment's freedom of speech guarantee: the planned Nazi demonstration in Skokie, Illinois, in 1976. Downs has done a masterful job of generating light where heat predominated. He uses a fascinatingly diverse mix of sources—cases, doctrinal jurisprudence, political philosophy, social psychology, and personal interviews—to explore the origins, development, implications and ramifications of the controversy. This is a courageous dissertation, both for its vast, eclectic scope and for carefully crafting a firm position as to the limits of free speech and defending it against powerful arguments.

Downs argues that in narrow circumstances the First Amendment should not protect what he terms "targeted, abusive" speech. Because, as Downs admits, any proposal for limits on the First Amendment is fraught with danger, it is important to take into account all potential problems. Downs surveys and responds to all major objections to his proposed modification of the scope of freedom of speech. He is not interested in making wholesale incursions into personal freedoms, but he sees the need for tradeoffs between values and he makes a genuine effort to weigh considerations closely.

Too seldom do we see a scholar who combines a strong set of normative concerns with a keen eye for relevant evidence and the desire and ability to analyze the data. Downs sets out the normative issues, but he also grapples ably with the nitty-gritty of evidence and inference.

Freedom, Community and the First Amendment: Skokie and the Limits of Speech is a creative and impressive addition to our understanding of the First Amendment. We have no doubt it—or a book based upon it—will be cited extensively in future discussions of the limits of freedom of speech. For this reason, we are proud to present the 1984 Corwin Award for the best doctoral dissertation in the field of public law to Donald Alexander Downs.

Harold D. Lasswell Award, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted

during 1982 or 1983 in the field of policy studies.

Recipient: No award given this year.

Selection Committee: Arthur Stein, University of California, Los Angeles, Chair; Susan J. Carroll, Rutgers University; George Greenberg, Department of Health and Human Services.

Helen Dwight Reid Award, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1982 or 1983 in the field of international relations, law and politics.

Recipient: Scott Sagan, Joint Staff, Pentagon, *Deterrence and Decision: An Historical Critique of Modern Deterrence Theory*, submitted by Harvard University.

Selection Committee: John Odell, University of Southern California, Chair; Sophia Peterson, University of West Virginia; Sharon Wolchik, George Washington University.

Dissertation Chair: Stanley Hoffmann.

Citation: The American Political Science Association is pleased to present its annual award for the best doctoral dissertation in the field of international relations, law, and politics to Scott D. Sagan, graduate of the Harvard University Department of Government, for his dissertation entitled "Deterrence and Decision: An Historical Critique of Modern Deterrence Theory."

Sagan argues that contemporary deterrence strategists and theorists can benefit from studying pre-nuclear writings and experience. He draws in particular on Clausewitz's emphasis on the "moral" elements of war—i.e., social and political conditions—as opposed to the material elements that determine outcomes. He investigates the case of America's failure to deter Japan in 1941, since this case is comparable to nuclear crises in the sense that the potential aggressor perceived that the costs of war would be high. The author contends that deterrence efforts failed, even so, for reasons that are relevant today. The analysis emphasizes the interactive process through which perceptions and decisions are formed. Public opinion in the deterring state, if comparable to that of interwar America, can undermine deterrence. The target may hope to achieve counter-deterrence. Leaders, furthermore, can stumble into war, even if they have forces adequate for deterrence, if they fail to exercise precise control over their own states. Both President Roosevelt and Japan's Imperial Conference issued orders that were loose enough to permit subordinates to take crucial actions that were contrary to the leaders' strategies. Deterrence, finally, can fail if the target decides that the costs of

peace will exceed the costs of war, as was the case in Tokyo after the U.S. oil embargo of 1941. This move had crossed the line between deterrence and provocation.

This dissertation is ambitious, and it reflects both an impressive command over a wide range of scholarship, and fascinating archival evidence gathered through an extensive research effort. It documents Japanese perceptions, for instance, by using translated Japanese materials and even reports by the German Ambassador sent from Tokyo to Berlin. The work is written with clarity, force and polish. The result is a genuinely fresh and stimulating interpretation of the 1941 case in terms of contemporary deterrence theory.

E. E. Schattschneider Award, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1982 or 1983 in the field of American government.

Recipient: Larry M. Bartels, University of Rochester. *Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice*, submitted by the University of California, Berkeley.

Selection Committee: Richard Boyd, Wesleyan University, Chair; John Aldrich, University of Minnesota; David Brady, Rice University.

Dissertation Chair: Christopher H. Achen.

Citation: On behalf of my fellow committee members—John H. Aldrich of the University of Minnesota and David Brady of Rice University—I am pleased to present to Larry M. Bartels, the E. E. Schattschneider Award for the best dissertation completed and accepted in 1982 or 1983 in the field of American politics. Bartels' thesis, which culminated his doctoral work at the University of California, Berkeley, is entitled "Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice."

This dissertation is exceptionally ambitious. Empirically, it attempts the devilishly difficult—to estimate the impact of a presidential primary victory on the outcomes of subsequent primaries. He finds momentum to have been particularly important in 1976. In the closely contested Republican nomination battle of that year, momentum at critical junctures made the difference in Ford's victory over Reagan. In the 1976 Democratic primaries, 40 percent of the Carter vote was attributable to momentum.

By establishing that a primary victory in one state influences citizens in other states, Bartels also contributes to an important reformulation of social choice theory. Voters' preferences are not fixed outside the model but dynamically change within it. We are permitted to see not only how voters' utility

preferences affect their voting decisions but how these preferences change in the political environment as well.

Bartels quite consciously grounds his theory in Schattschneider's classic book, *Party Government*. Although that fact was not relevant to our decision to make this award to him, it is pleasing nonetheless that he confirms Schattschneider's enduring influence on our best research.

Leo Strauss Award, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1982 or 1983 in the field of political philosophy.

Recipient: Asher Horowitz, Trent University. *Nature and History in the Social and Political Thought of Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, submitted by the University of Toronto.

Selection Committee: Eldon J. Eisenach, University of Arkansas, Chair; Peter Euben, University of California, Santa Cruz; Nancy Hartsock, Johns Hopkins University.

Dissertation Chair: Alkis Kontos.

Citation: When the three members of the committee independently ranked the dissertations submitted for the Leo Strauss Award, Asher Horowitz's "Nature and History in the Social and Political Thought of Jean-Jacques Rousseau" was at the top of each list. The obvious virtues of his study are easily recounted: the mastery of original and secondary sources, the command of intellectual context, the subtle understanding of interpretive possibilities, the coherence and grace of its writing. The core argument which these virtues adorn is viewing the second *Discourse* as a "negative ontology" grounded in a new philosophical anthropology as an alternative to the Enlightenment standard of nature. This form of anthropology becomes both a history and critique of primitive, ancient, and modern societies and provides the setting within which Rousseau's other writings are discussed.

In seeing the *Discourse* in this new light, Dr. Horowitz deepens our understanding of Rousseau first by relating the pathologies of society to the pathologies of the modern conscience, evidenced by the character Julie in *La Nouvelle Heloise*, and then in his discussion of the *Social Contract* as an incomplete resolution to the problem of public and private virtue. The conclusion of the study considers the education of Emile as Rousseau's more complete attempt to discover paths of transcendence to overcome modern alienation born of excessive denaturation. In each of these contexts, the blending of psychoanalytic, moral and political concerns yields a

PS Appendix

Rousseau whose teachings are vital in our time and condition. The intelligence and sensitivity which mark this study are informed throughout by a moral seriousness providing coherence and depth. In honoring Asher Horowitz with the Leo Strauss Award we also honor the vocation whose purposes this dissertation so admirably embraces.

Leonard D. White Award, for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted during 1982 and 1983 in the field of public administration, including broadly related problems of policy formation and administrative theory.

Recipient: Ronald B. Hoskins, State University of New York, Albany. *Within-Year Appropriations Changes in Georgia State Government: The Implications for Budget Theory*, submitted by the University of Georgia.

Selection Committee: Charles H. Levine, University of Kansas, Chair; David Leonard, University of California, Berkeley; Jeffrey A. Miller, Lawrence University.

Dissertation Chair: Thomas Lauth.

Citation: The 1984 Leonard D. White Award for the best doctoral dissertation in the field of public administration is awarded to Ronald B. Hoskins of the University of Georgia for his dissertation "Within-Year Appropriations Changes in Georgia State Government: The Implications for Budget Theory." The Award Committee consisted of Charles H. Levine, the University of Kansas and The Brookings Institution, Chair; David Leonard, University of California, Berkeley; and Jeffrey A. Miller, Lawrence University.

Hoskins' study carefully explores an important but generally neglected practice in public budgeting, within-year appropriations changes. By examining Georgia's state budget for fiscal years 1978-1982, his work challenges the notion that within-year appropriations changes tend to be insubstantial and theoretically unimportant. Instead, through sophisticated data analysis and detailed examination of budget documents, he found substantial within-year appropriations adjustments made during the budget execution phase and showed how they alter ultimate budgetary outcomes and influence behavior in other phases of the budget process.

Book and Paper Awards

Franklin L. Burdette Pi Sigma Alpha Award (\$250) for the best paper presented at the 1983 Annual Meeting.

Recipients: Gary Miller, Michigan State University, and *Terry Moe*, Stanford University.

The Positive Theory of Hierarchies.

Selection Committee: Donald McCrone, University of Washington, Chair; Russell Dalton, Florida State University; Manus Midlarsky, University of Colorado, Boulder.

Citation: "The Positive Theory of Hierarchies" by Gary Miller (Michigan State University) and Terry Moe (Stanford University) was selected for the Franklin L. Burdette Pi Sigma Alpha Award for the best paper presented at the 1983 Annual Meeting because it demonstrated the greatest theoretical richness, empirical relevance, and interdisciplinary breadth. The theoretical richness stems from their explication of the 'new economics of organization.' This discussion outlines the key concepts and theoretical arguments of this perspective. The empirical relevance of this approach is revealed through the application of these theoretical notions to the problem of understanding public bureaucracies. Interdisciplinary breadth is achieved through the imaginative use of contrasting and complementary models drawn from political science, economics, and the behavioral sciences. Their paper is a model, itself, of what a conference paper can, and ought to, achieve.

Ralph J. Bunche Award (\$500) for the best scholarly work in political science published in 1982 or 1983 which explores the phenomenon of ethnic and cultural pluralism.

Recipient: Mark Naison, Fordham University. *Communists in Harlem During the Depression*, University of Illinois Press.

Selection Committee: Joyce Gelb, City University of New York, Chair; Peter Eisinger, University of Wisconsin; Huey Perry, Southern University and A&M College.

Citation: Naison's book considers a subject fascinating to students of ethnic and cultural pluralism; the relationship between radical politics and ethnic concerns. His analysis of the role of the Communist Party is also a political history of Harlem in the Depression; exploring the significance of protest activity and relations with other black organizations, including the church, and key leaders such as Adam Clayton Powell. In his rich and comprehensive examination, Naison assesses issues of continuing relevance. Among these are the importance of interracial efforts as well as ensuing tensions between nationalism and integration and the failure to translate success in protest politics into support in the electoral arena. This objective, yet informed study, based on painstaking primary research and interviews, demonstrates the contributions of the Communist Party in helping to create an indigenous Afro-American outpouring in the dramatic and musical arts and literature as

well as politics. Finally, Naison traces the party's decline as a force in black politics as competing protest organizations and leaders emerged in wake of the Nazi-Soviet pact.

The book contributes significantly to the literature on ethnic and cultural pluralism by exploring a heretofore unexamined aspect of black politics; the role of the Communist Party in civil rights activity.

Gladys M. Kammerer Award (\$1,000) for the best political science publication in 1983 in the field of U.S. national policy.

Recipient: Ithiel de Sola Pool, Technologies of Freedom, Harvard University Press. (The award, presented posthumously, was accepted by Jonathan Pool.)

Selection Committee: Beryl Radin, University of Southern California, Chair; Gary Jacobson, University of California, San Diego; Richard Nathan, Princeton University.

Citation: For much of his life, Ithiel de Sola Pool was concerned with the ways that personal freedom and technologies interact. As one of his former students commented, "Ithiel saw possibilities in technological development where the rest of us saw only problems."

The 1983 Gladys M. Kammerer Committee is honored to be able to present its award for the best political science publication in the field of U.S. national policy to *Technologies of Freedom*, Ithiel de Sola Pool's last book. This work continues Professor Pool's quest to link communication processes and liberty and to seek an understanding of the ways that technological development has affected the practice of free speech in the contemporary setting.

Pool's work is exemplary in the way that he has used the literatures of law, history and technology to flesh out an extremely complex problem. But this book is most important in the way that it has conceptualized the problem at hand. This is an era in which technology is treated as one of two polar opposites. On one hand, it is viewed as the contemporary Messiah, saving the society from all of its problems. On the other, it is the villain of a story written by latter day Luddites who distrust the introduction of machines of any sort.

Technologies of Freedom helps us to pull the problem out of its polar extremes and understand the opportunities as well as constraints that occur from the introduction of new communication media into a society that values free speech. Pool allows us to reject the simple approach to "technological determinism" and to appreciate the intricate ways in which the past has bound our perceptions of possi-

bilities for the future. The work looks at print, carrier and broadcasting modes of communication and reviews the public response to each of these developments.

The volume concludes with a penetrating discussion of the electronic media. As he looked to the future, Pool challenged the reader: "The easy access, low cost, and distributed intelligence of modern means of communication are a prime reason for hope. . . . Lack of technical grasp by policy makers and their propensity to solve problems of conflict, privacy, intellectual property, and monopoly by accustomed bureaucratic routines are the main reason for concern. . . . The commitment of American culture to pluralism and individual rights is reason for optimism, as is the pliancy and profusion of electronic technology.

Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award (\$2,000) for the best book published in the U.S. during 1983 on government, politics or international affairs.

Recipient: George Th. Mavrogordatos, Stillborn Republic: Social Coalitions and Party Strategies in Greece, 1922-1936, University of California Press.

Selection Committee: Betty Glad, University of Illinois, Chair; Donald Searing, University of North Carolina; John Sprague, Washington University, St. Louis.

Citation: It is with pleasure that the Woodrow Wilson committee announces that its award for the best book published in the U.S. in 1983 in the field of government, politics or international affairs will go to George Th. Mavrogordatos of the University of Athens. His book, *Stillborn Republic* (University of California Press), provides an unusually sophisticated analysis of the struggle for power between two major political coalitions in Greece between 1922 and 1936, and the concomitant crises of legitimacy which eventually destroyed the Greek Republic. Going beyond earlier studies which have focused on elite interactions, he shows how the strategies of the various party leaders were tied to cleavages within the mass public. One coalition formed around the core of the Liberal Party and led by Eleftherios Venizelos promoted economic development and national integration—reflecting the interests of the entrepreneur bourgeois, smallholders, and immigrants from the deprived areas and newly captured Greek territories. The anti-Venizelos coalition, organized around the People's Party, was in essence a traditional and romantic reaction of those elements in the bourgeois, petty bourgeois, worker and peasant classes most threatened by economic, social and political change. The extent to which these

coalitions reflected over-lapping, geographically based social and economic cleavages made civil war an ever present potential during this period and reinforced the ties of each to supporting factions within the Army Officer Corps.

Eventually, when faced with a choice between a common front with the Communists on the left to preserve the Republic, or a common front with the anti-Venizelos bourgeois around the crown, Venizelos opted for the latter—a choice which led to a collapse of his own coalition and ultimately to the establishment of the dictatorship in 1936.

Using a diverse set of concepts and investigative techniques, each usually employed in isolation, Mavrogordatos proves that a multifaceted approach can provide deeper understanding of the political process. Traditional historical explanation is combined with regression analysis. Concepts are borrowed from theorists dealing with charisma, clientelism, social cleavages. He shows, for example, how the charismatic leadership of Venizelos helped to integrate new lands and immigrants into the Greek polity, promoted the legitimacy of the new Greek republic, and covered over potential conflicts within his coalition. But charisma has its limits, as Mavrogordatos also demonstrates. Without a strong party organization or ideology, Venizelos' charisma was not sufficient to hold his coalition together in the long run. Moreover, Venizelos' tactical errors towards the end of the new period under study suggest that the arrogance which often accompanies charisma can be a source of political vulnerability.

In addition to shedding new light on the Greek political process, George Mavrogordatos has provided a model for exploring the relationship between charismatic leadership, clientelism and social cleavages to party organization and strategies in other settings. This is an excellent work which well deserves the recognition it receives today.

Benjamin E. Lippincott Award (\$1,500) for a work of exceptional quality by a living political theorist that is still considered significant after a time span of at least 15 years since the original publication.

Recipient: **Sir Isaiah Berlin**, All Souls College, Oxford University.

Selection Committee: John Gunnell, SUNY, Albany, Chair; John Chapman, University of Pittsburgh; Charles Plott, California Institute of Technology.

Citation: The Benjamin Evans Lippincott Award was established to recognize work of exceptional quality by a living political theorist

that is still considered significant after at least fifteen years from the original date of publication. In the past, the award has been given to such outstanding theorists as Hannah Arendt and Michael Oakeshott, and this year the committee is pleased to announce that the award has been made to Sir Isaiah Berlin.

Isaiah Berlin was enthusiastically nominated by several individuals for his outstanding achievement in advancing the concerns of political theory. This award was intended by its founder to celebrate work in political theory written in a spirit of open humanistic inquiry, and Berlin's cumulative essays exemplify this criterion. These essays have had profound impact on our ways of thinking about and perceiving politics, and they have creatively and effectively addressed and engaged the critical issues of our time.

The essays that were especially singled out from the broad corpus of Berlin's work in philosophy, political theory, and the history of ideas include: "Verification" (1939); "Empirical Propositions and Hypothetical Statements" (1950); "The Hedgehog and the Fox" (1953); "Historical Inevitability" (1954); "Equality" (1956); "Two Concepts of Liberty" (1958); and "Does Political Theory Still Exist?" (1961). His total bibliography, as listed in a recent *Festschrift* (1979), consisted of 17 pages of citations. Much of his work has been translated into several languages, and a four-volume collection of his selected writings has been recently published.

One nomination states that Isaiah Berlin is "the most distinguished normative theorist now eligible for this award," and Arthur Schlesinger has said that he is "possibly the most brilliant and engaging intellect of our time." The committee is honored to present this award in the name of the American Political Science Association.

Career Awards

Charles E. Merriam Award (\$500), presented to the person whose published work and career represents a significant contribution to the art of government through the application of social science research.

Recipient: **George F. Kennan**, Institute for Advanced Study.

Selection Committee: Jack W. Peltason, American Council on Education, Chair; J. David Barber, Duke University; Marjorie Lansing, Eastern Michigan University.

Citation: The Charles E. Merriam Award is given annually by the American Political Science Association to a person whose published

works and career represent a significant contribution to the art of government through the application of social science research. Those who so described this highly regarded award must have had George Kennan in mind. He has had distinguished careers as both a diplomat and a scholar.

Following graduation from Princeton University in 1925, he joined the Foreign Service and was among the first Americans to be stationed in the Soviet Union after the reestablishment of diplomatic relations in 1933 between our two countries. He served there during much of the 1930s, and wartime assignments took him to Berlin, Lisbon, and London.

He returned to Moscow in 1945 as Minister-Counsel. His long telegram to Washington in 1946, later published anonymously, as: "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," provided the intellectual foundations for the American policy of "containment" during the years following World War II. This essay reflected the best tradition of the intellectual in politics who brings scholarship, reason, and civility to public debate. This approach has been characteristic of his speeches and writings during a long career as diplomat and scholar.

For half a century he has been among the most articulate critics of those who would adopt a simplified approach to our relations with the Russians. He has provided an informed call for realism, equally critical of those who are insensitive to the built-in hostility of the Russians to the outside world and of those who believe that the only response is constant hostile confrontation.

On his return from Moscow he held the important position of Director of the State Department Policy Planning Staff, and then returned to Moscow as our Ambassador. He was declared *persona non grata* by the Soviet government during the final months of the Stalin regime. That honor was somewhat balanced when he was also forced into retirement by our own government in 1953, but he returned to diplomatic service in 1962 as Ambassador to Yugoslavia.

For two decades he was a professor at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University. His numerous and important writings made him a thoughtful analyst of American foreign policy and Soviet-American relations. He has served as George Eastman Visiting Professor at Oxford University, as a University Fellow at Harvard University, as President of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, and as President of the American Academy of Arts and Letters. His scholarship has garnered for him, among many other awards, the Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Award. He holds many honorary degrees.

He honors us in accepting this award and it is my great pleasure to confer it on him in behalf of the Association. I speak for my colleagues on the Award's committee, Professors James David Barber and Marjorie Lansing.

Carey McWilliams Award (\$500), presented each year to honor a major journalistic contribution to our understanding of politics.

Recipient: **Murray Kempton, Newsday.**

Selection Committee: Tom Patterson, Syracuse University, Chair; David Paletz, Duke University; Susan Tolchin, George Washington University.

Citation: Murray Kempton is the recipient of our third annual Carey McWilliams Award for journalistic contributions to the political science discipline's understanding of politics. His selection continues the high standard established by its two previous recipients, Richard L. Strout and David S. Broder.

Mr. Kempton since 1981 has written a syndicated column for *Newsday*. Before this, he was a commentator for CBS Radio's *Spectrum*, a writer for the *New York Review*, and an editor and columnist-at-large for the *New Republic*. Most of his 40-year career in journalism, however, was spent writing a daily column for the *New York Post*.

Mr. Kempton also is one of our own. He studied government as an undergraduate at Johns Hopkins, and now is a part-time instructor in political journalism at Hunter College and Rutgers's Eagleton Institute.

Mr. Kempton is best known for his strong support of civil rights and liberties. During the McCarthy period, he was one of a few journalists who publicly defended the rights of Communist Party members. In 1961, when the civil rights movement was in its early days, he traveled the South with black leaders, writing a series of articles on the dangers they faced, and the justness of their cause. For both his McCarthy era and civil rights reporting, he received the Page One Award of the Newspaper Guild of New York.

Mr. Kempton has had a continuing concern for what he calls America's "internal exiles"—those who have lost their jobs, reputations, or been jailed for their political beliefs. He developed this theme in his 1955 book, *Part of Our Time*, which the *New Yorker* described as "easily the best essay on American Communism . . . that anyone has done." His 1973 book, *The Briar Patch*, applied the same idea to the Black Panther movement and was awarded the National Book Award in Contemporary Affairs. (Mr. Kempton also received the National Academy of Arts and Letters' 1978 Citation for Literary Achievement.)

PS Appendix

Mr. Kempton's work has a scholarly quality that is rare in daily journalism. He addresses fundamental questions of justice and the uses of political power in a critical and self-correcting way. To contemporary problems he brings a broad historical perspective and a deep knowledge of political theory. In 1967, Mr. Kempton received the George Polk Memorial Award for writing that is "intellectually sensitive, morally responsive, and powerfully instructive." It is largely for these same reasons that we honor Mr. Kempton.

Murray Kempton clearly exemplifies those qualities the APSA wished to commemorate in establishing the Carey McWilliams Award, and he has our admiration and congratulations.

Hubert H. Humphrey Award (\$500), presented each year in recognition of notable public service by a political scientist.

Recipient: **John Brademas**, New York University.

Selection Committee: Robert Peabody, Johns Hopkins University, Chair; Richard Brody, Stanford University; Laurily Epstein, NBC News.

Citation: This is the second time the Association has presented the Hubert H. Humphrey Award. The award was established to honor "notable public service by a political scientist." Last year's recipient was Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D., N.Y.). This year's selection committee, in addition to myself, was composed of Richard A. Brody, Stanford University, and Laurily K. Epstein, NBC News.

We are pleased and honored to present this year's Humphrey Award to John Brademas, President of New York University and former Democratic member and leader of the U.S. House of Representatives. His distinguished career represents, in our judgment, a unique combination of outstanding public service and unusual academic distinction.

As a member of the House, as a Democratic leader and as the president of a major university, John Brademas has effectively blended strong commitments to democratic principles, great intellectual independence, and accomplished skills at political negotiation and compromise. He has also brought both to the Congress and the campus a contagious enthusiasm, a keen sense of humor, and a persuasive eloquence on behalf of his programs.

Born in Mishawaka, Indiana, March 2, 1927, John Brademas graduated from South Bend Central High School before he left to serve in the U.S. Navy during World War II. A magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa graduate from Harvard University in 1949, he was selected

as a Rhodes Scholar, and earned a Doctor of Philosophy degree in Social Studies from Oxford University in 1954.

For a brief time he taught political science at Saint Mary's College in Notre Dame, Indiana, but he quickly succumbed to the lure of practical politics. During the 1950s he gained valuable experience, first as executive assistant to Adlai Stevenson, and later as legislative assistant to Senator Pat McNamara of Michigan and executive assistant to Rep. Thomas Ashley of Ohio.

Perseverance has long been a Brademas trademark. In his first attempt at seeking public office, running from his home town, South Bend, Indiana, he came within 2,000 votes of upsetting the incumbent Republican congressman. In 1956, he ran another close race, but lost. Finally, in 1958, he won the first of 11 consecutive terms in the House of Representatives. He capably served the 3rd District of Indiana from 1958 to 1980.

As a member of the House Education and Labor Committee, and later, the House Administration Committee in Congress, John Brademas played a key role in drafting and implementing many of the major acts concerning elementary and secondary education, higher education, vocational training, campaign financing, and federal support for the arts and humanities. He was the chief architect of the law establishing the National Institute of Education, the principal federal agency supporting research in education. He has long played a key role in the drafting and implementing of legislation concerned with the public support of the nation's arts and humanities.

Democratic floor whip in the 92nd Congress, he became chief deputy whip in the 93rd and 94th Congresses. In 1977, he was appointed the Democratic majority whip by Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., and performed with great distinction in that capacity in the 95th and 96th Congresses.

Throughout his legislative career, but especially in his capacity as a House Democratic leader, he was especially adept at collecting disparate facts, distilling the appropriate principles and then transforming that knowledge into informed and effective public policy.

In 1981 Dr. Brademas was named the thirteenth President of New York University. As the leader of the largest and one of the most distinguished private universities in the land, Dr. Brademas had helped to create an environment in which teaching and research can flourish. Under his imaginative leadership and prudent management the traditional strengths of the institution have been enhanced, new

funds have been tapped, and new programs, especially in the humanities and international studies, launched.

All during his professional career John Brademas has taken the time to share his knowledge of educational policy-making through service on numerous advisory boards of institutions of higher learning, including Harvard University, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and the University of Notre Dame. His congressional offices were always open to students of the legislative process. As a university president he has constantly encouraged the free exchange of ideas.

Dr. Brademas is the author of numerous articles and essays on Congress, politics, education and the arts, as well as a study of the anarchist movement in Spain, *Anarchosindicalismo y Revolucion en Espana, 1930-1937* (1974).

Long recognized for his contributions to education and the arts, Dr. Brademas has been the recipient of a number of outstanding honors and awards. For example, in 1978 he received the annual Award for Distinguished Service to the Arts of the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters. In 1980, he was with Leonard Bernstein and Eubie Blake, one of the first three recipients of the George Foster Peabody award for Outstanding Contribution to Music in America by the Peabody Conservatory of Music in Baltimore, Maryland.

In 1983 he was chosen to inaugurate the Julian J. Rothbaum Lecture series at the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center. These lectures, entitled *Politics, Education and the National Interest*, are to be published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

We are pleased that this second award, like the first, goes to a colleague who shares a number of the qualities that Senator Humphrey represented—wit, warmth and eloquence, deeply-felt social and educational concerns, a commitment to make representative government work in practice, and a breadth of legislative and administrative leadership experience.

When we make this award tonight we honor a notable public servant who by training and belief is one of our own. John Brademas, you exemplify these qualities that the American Political Science Association wished to com-

memorate in establishing the Hubert H. Humphrey Award. We are delighted to present this award to you on behalf of a grateful Association and in memory of a great American.

James Madison Award (\$2,000), presented every three years to an American political scientist who has made a distinguished scholarly contribution to political science.

Recipient: **Herbert Simon**, Carnegie-Mellon University.

Selection Criteria: Martin Landau, University of California, Berkeley, Chair; Nazli Choucri, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Donald Stokes, Princeton University.

Citation: To contemplate the work of Herbert Simon is to say, in paraphrase of Whitehead, that social science is not a fairy tale. Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science, his creativity has ranged from his natal discipline to economics, psychology, sociology, organization theory, decision theory, management science, information theory and, if we can believe James March, to tetherball. One cannot but marvel at a scholar who traverses the social sciences with such power and distinction as to have earned the Nobel Prize in Economics, the Gold Medal of the American Psychological Association, the Turing Award in Information Science and, now, the James Madison Award in Political Science.

If we understand that scholarly and scientific research are, in their first estate, the highest form of instruction, then we are, all of us, his students. For four decades he has illuminated the concepts of power and causation, the structure of complexity, the process of decision, the behavior of organizations, the nature of problem-solving, the character of thought, the application of mathematics to social science, and the theory of rationality. Disciplinary boundaries have not contained him as his probes took him to the most fundamental theoretical problems of our time, and his contributions are, in every discipline, legion. In our field there are few scholars who have been untouched if we observe only the effects of his work on the study of decision-making in such domains as budgeting, foreign policy, comparative bureaucracy, the courts, the executive, and the legislative.

For a lifetime of singular contributions to the development of a systematic body of knowledge, we honor Herbert Simon with the Madison Award.