

ference for sugar subsidies to food stamps in its negotiations with Congress over budget cuts. As Piven put it, "Nowhere is it [the Reagan Administration] proposing to reduce state intervention on behalf of capital."

Not End of World

In contrast Wildavsky emphasized that the Reagan Administration is intellectually committed to the original welfare state—the social insurance state—but is opposed to regulations and subsidies. Wildavsky raised the issue of whether the regulatory, subsidizing, and social insurance state are all necessary to one another.

Nowhere is it [the Reagan Administration] proposing to reduce state intervention on behalf of capital.

Noting that welfare spending is being reduced to 1979 levels and that one-twenty-fifth of the social insurance state was being taken away, Wildavsky downplayed the Administration's budget cuts. These reductions do not, in Wildavsky's view, mean "the end of the world," and can best be understood in the light of current economic conditions, including the principle that "when people's incomes are going down they are less disposed to give it away." Wildavsky defended the Reagan Administration against charges that its policies are "mean" by asserting that what has happened to social security is too much of a good thing and that it is unfair for social security to rise faster than the incomes of wage earners.

Silk took the position that the Reagan Administration was intensifying trends initiated earlier, since a marked slowdown in the growth of non-defense spending had occurred prior to Reagan's election. He characterized the Reagan Administration as both radical and intellectual, pointing to the presence of White House aide Martin Anderson, author of *Welfare: The Political Economy of Welfare Reform in the United States*, as an

example of conservative thinking on welfare issues. Silk took issue with Anderson's thesis that the War on Poverty had been won and wondered if the people in Bedford Stuyvesant had been so informed.

According to Silk, Anderson used programs like food stamps to demonstrate that poverty had been reduced but is unwilling to continue the programs that allegedly have won the war. In addition to discussing arguments advancing or attacking the welfare state, Silk raised questions concerning alternative definitions of the welfare state and the role of the state in an advanced, industrial society.

Too Many Subsidies?

With respect to the nature of the welfare state, Lowi called attention to its "inherent contradictions," to the contradictory demands or purposes of welfare. These include providing for economic security, buying loyalty or political support, reinforcing the work ethic, and others. According to Silk, there may be a built-in tendency for welfare to be too extensive in a democracy, for efforts to help the less fortunate to turn into efforts to provide subsidies for all.

Similarly, Wildavsky asserted that "Those who pay and those who receive look more and more alike"; while Lowi stated that "We may be going broke by trying to help everyone in order to help the poor." In light of the present fiscal crisis, Lowi concluded by suggesting that the contradictions inherent in the welfare state cannot be solved by reform and that the question is, "Which set of contradictions are you prepared to live with?"

Caucus for a New Political Science: Plenary Session Report

Feminist Strategies for the Eighties

The condition of women in society in recent years has worsened, yet women are

increasingly perceived as an interest group, Charlotte Bunch asserted at the Plenary Session of the Caucus for a New Political Science.

Bunch, a feminist and political activist, dealt with this paradox as she recounted her experiences at the United Nations conference on women held in Copenhagen. She reported that there had been a "cynical manipulation of women by almost every government there."

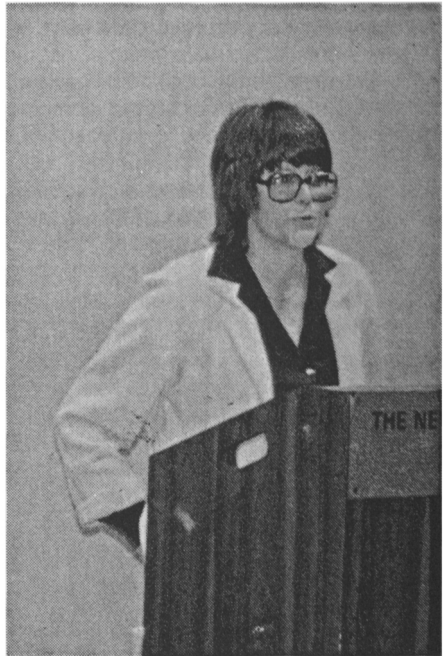
(Feminist themes ran through a majority of the 27 Caucus panels at the 1981 National Meeting as well as the Caucus' Plenary Session.)

The key to feminist strategy for the 1980s, in part to prevent the manipulation of women, is for feminists not to see themselves or to allow themselves to be seen as an interest group constituency, Bunch said. "The potential of the feminist movement depends on its definition of politics," she added. That definition, she argued, should recognize feminist politics as "a political perspective that grew out of a women's movement and a women's struggle.

"Feminism is not just women's issues," Bunch stressed. Instead, it is a "transformational politics," which changes the way people consider social, economic, and political issues and which must include men. "Men can and must be feminists" and should not be "let off the hook," according to Bunch.

Noting that the right wing has "seized the ideological initiative" in the United States, Bunch said feminists must regain that initiative. She contended that the right wing is "creating a kind of fear and terrorism in the U.S." and added that "we can't let it immobilize us."

Although saying that "most of the news



Charlotte Bunch delivers address on Feminist Strategies for the Eighties at the Plenary Session of the Caucus for a New Political Science.

for feminists in the 1980s has been bad news," Bunch expressed confidence that feminism is "a force whose time is coming."

APSR Moves to Illinois

Moving the editorial functions of the *American Political Science Review* (APSR) from the University of Pittsburgh to the University of Illinois began in June.

Managing editor Dina Zinnes and book review editor Steven Seitz have reported that the Illinois APSR office had received, as of late August, 127 manuscripts and 626 books since June. "With only very few exceptions it has been possible to maintain turn around time on manuscripts at three months or less," the editors said in their report to the APSA Council.

PANEL PROPOSALS WELCOME

To participate in the 1982 Annual Program to be held in Denver, September 2-5, see the 1982 Annual Meeting Program Committee report in this issue of *PS*.