

lower, untenured ranks in non-Ph.D.-granting departments (Tables 6 and 7).

### **Race and Ethnic Background**

The placement performance of blacks and Hispanics shows no immediate end to the decline of both groups in the profession. The proportion of blacks and Hispanics in the placement class remains small, four percent and two percent respectively. Though the proportion of the placement class represented by blacks declined from the previous year, the placement success of black political scientists increased (63 percent) over the previous year. The success rate of blacks is below the placement rate for the entire placement class (72 percent).

Only 10 Hispanic Ph.D.s and ABDs were firm candidates in 1984; 79 percent of this small group had their Ph.D. degree in hand. Three-quarters of the Hispanic Ph.D.s were placed in jobs; data on the placement success of ABDs are unavailable. □

## **Principles of Strong Party Organization\***

### **Committee for Party Renewal**

A political party is the instrument of the people's will. It exists not just to win elections but to move a country. Its purpose is not to placate a cacophony of strident voices, but to attract diverse groups to a common purpose. It is built not on television, but on a national vision. And when that party is out of power, its charge is to provide an alternative.

Senator Ernest F. Hollings\*\*

\*This position paper was prepared by Jerome Mileur, Executive Director of the Committee for Party Renewal, reviewed by the Committee's executive committee, submitted to the full membership for comment, and approved at the Committee's annual business meeting, September 1, 1984.

Political parties are an American invention. Jefferson and Madison devised them as means of changing the policy directions of government; Jackson and Van Buren revised them as means of expanding popular participation in government. Since the 1830s, they have, albeit imperfectly, continued to serve these ends. Parties are the only broad-based, multi-interested organizations we have that can nominate candidates for office, mobilize popular support behind them, and organize those elected into a government. Unlike special-interest groups, parties must appeal to pluralities in the electorate if they are to win; and unlike single-candidate organizations, they must win many races if they are to govern. Parties, moreover, give coherence to American politics. We have a constitutional system and a political culture dominated by disunifying forces: separated powers, federalism, pluralism, individualism. Parties have been a unifying force in this system, cutting across the branches and levels of government as well as across voting blocs to aggregate interests, build coalitions, and make mass democracy possible.

Political parties have always had a difficult time in our constitutional system and will always have to compete for influence here. Historically, their influence has waxed and waned. But strong parties and a strong party system remain the best hope for representative and responsible democracy in an extended and diverse republic like ours. They are the only institutions in our electoral system that can be held accountable for what government does. Those elected to public office in their name must make policy, not just advocate it, and are answerable for their actions to the electorate as a whole, not to a narrow constituency of limited and special interest.

Strengthening our political parties ultimately means making them more representative and accountable institutions that link elections to government, so that

\*\* *The Washington Post* (National Weekly Edition), July 23, 1984, p. 23.

voters can influence the direction of public policy. A strong party system, therefore, should be both competitive and participatory, and should structure electoral choice as to the direction of government. A strong party should have the organization and resources to formulate a coherent set of public policy principles, to nominate and elect candidates for public office consistent with these principles, to withhold party support from candidates who do not support its principles, and to advance these principles in government. A strong party should be open to all party members, should have active committees at all levels, should support candidates for all public offices, should be professionally staffed, and should have clear lines of internal authority. We believe the following principles of strong party organization are a guide to these ends.

(1) *Political parties should govern themselves.* As private associations with public responsibilities, parties should be as free as possible from state and federal regulation to determine their own structure and functions. The public interest requires that parties operate in an open, honest, fair, and accountable way, but these goals may be achieved through reporting and disclosure requirements and not by detailed regulation of party organization and activities. Parties should define their organization and powers formally and publicly through party constitutions or charters and by-laws, so that all who affiliate with them may know the rules of party governance. In our political system, parties differ organizationally and functionally from political action committees and other special interest groups, and they should not be treated the same in law. Indeed, state and federal courts have regularly recognized this distinction. The public interest is best served by law that complements party self-regulation, not by statutes that substitute for it.

(2) *Political parties should use caucuses and conventions to draft platforms and endorse candidates.* Caucuses and conventions are avenues of general participation in party affairs that encourage dialogue and peer review of party programs and candidates. The quantity of

participation in them may not be as large as in primaries, but the quality of participation is much higher. Local caucuses open to all registered party members are useful checks on both the programmatic direction of a party and the ambition of individuals seeking party endorsement for public office. Party conventions, representative of local caucuses and committees, should devise platforms and endorse candidates for public office. Party primaries closed to all but party registrants can be an effective rank-and-file check on party endorsements and should therefore follow party conventions.

(3) *Political party organization should be open and broadly based at the local level.* Local politics is a basic testing ground for candidates and the principal arena of direct citizen participation in politics. Strong local party committees should be the foundation upon which state and national party structures are built. They should be the principal party instrument for defining membership, registering voters, recruiting candidates, and conducting campaigns. They should also be central to the development of a party platform and to public education with respect to party programs for government.

(4) *Political parties should advance a public agenda.* Parties are the most broadly-based organizations in our democratic system and thus best able to define priorities for government and to develop programs that serve general interests. They serve the public interest best by developing and defining a broad philosophy of governance that differentiates one party from another and by giving voters a reasonable choice in the direction of government. Parties should develop platforms at all levels of government through open and representative procedures that begin with caucuses at the local level in which all registered party members may participate. They should publicize their platforms in order both to inform members and to educate the public, and should develop procedures through which to hold party nominees and office holders accountable to party platforms.

(5) *Political parties should endorse candidates for public office.* If parties are to present voters with a choice of policy

alternatives and if they are to be accountable for governance, they must have a measure of control over who runs for office in their name. At the very least, parties should be able to establish threshold tests for candidate access to primary ballots of 15-20 percent of the vote at endorsing conventions, thereby assuring that all candidates for nomination represent significant factions within the party. Checks may be legislated on party endorsement processes to ensure full and fair participation of party members, but the ultimate check will and should be whether a party's program for and performance in government merit the support of the general electorate.

(6) *Political parties should be effective campaign organizations.* Parties will be strong insofar as candidates depend upon them for election and insofar as they are key to the success of those who seek election in their name. To this end, parties should recruit candidates who share their philosophy and should provide them with training and expert advice and direction in the organization and conduct of their campaigns, with research on the district and the opponent, and with polling, media, and other state-of-the-art campaign services. Parties should also endeavor to coordinate campaigns of all party candidates in a given election to minimize conflicts and to maximize resources.

(7) *Political parties should be a major financier of candidate campaigns.* No service to candidates is more important than the provision of money, and there should be few restraints on the ability of parties to raise and spend money in campaigns. Limits on individual contributions to parties should be removed, and limits on annual individual contributions to parties that qualify for a full tax deduction or credit should be raised significantly. Statutory limits on group contributions to candidates and parties should be retained. Parties themselves should be able to make unlimited contributions to the campaigns of their candidates for offices at all levels of government. If a system of public financing of elections is adopted, it should use the parties as channels through which to distribute these funds as they see fit.

(8) *Political parties should be the principal instruments of governance.* Parties should be instruments of collegial governance which broaden and unite leadership in the different branches and levels of government and by means of which specific programs may be developed to implement party platforms. State central and national party committees should work closely with party leaders in the legislative and executive branches of government to advance the party platform. Party leaders in Congress and state legislatures should make maximum use of caucuses in setting a party agenda and developing strategy. Presidents and governors should make maximum use of party platforms and committees to develop their programs and to educate voters. Equally important, the opposition party(s) should be institutionalized, through question periods or in other ways, so as to provide a more effective check on specific policy decisions of the government. Between elections, the opposition is the key to accountability, and the quality of democratic government depends as much on its performance as it does on that of the party in power.

(9) *Political parties should maintain regular internal communications.* Parties at all levels should keep members informed of activities, decisions, and plans through newsletters or other house organs. This is another avenue of accountability and also one of participation, for it facilitates an exchange of ideas, positions, and analyses about the party and politics of the moment. Organizationally, a good house organ can build support for party positions and programs and also lance sores before they become cancers. It also makes for "news" about the party.

(10) *Election law should encourage strong political parties.* More than other forms of political organization, parties have served egalitarian and majoritarian values and encouraged widespread citizen participation in American politics. They are our most democratic institutions and should be sustained and encouraged by public policy. This can be done in many ways, including requiring voter registration by party, adopting the party column ballot, and restoring par-

tisan local elections. Public policy should also recognize the difference between parties and other political groups in the regulation of campaign finance, the making of endorsements, and access to both the ballot and the news media. By law, parties should have a privileged position in our political system. They should be given advantages over special interest groups and over individual candidates.

In recent years, there have been widespread reports that our political parties are dying. These obituaries are premature. Indeed, party organization at the state and national levels may never have been healthier than it is today, as the number and professionalism of staff has grown along with the financial resources and activities of parties at these levels. Rather than on their deathbed, our parties have been in a long transitional period from an old politics of patronage and machine organization to a new politics of issues and high technology. Since the 1960s, both national parties have sought to renew themselves by adapting organizationally to the changed realities of American politics. The two parties, however, have not taken the same approach to renewal: the Democrats have concentrated on internal reform, while the Republicans have focused on candidate services. But a truly strong party should travel both these paths: it should be both internally democratic and electorally effective. We believe that the principles outlined above will produce the kind of party organization that can realize these goals and strengthen American democracy as a result.

### **New Orleans Hosts Visitors from Election Observation Project**

Twelve foreign dignitaries were guests of the Department of Political Science, University of New Orleans, from October 28 to November 7, 1984, as a part of the 1984 U.S. Election Observation Project sponsored by the Office of Private Sector Programs, United States Information Agency.

While in New Orleans the visitors observed first hand the 1984 presidential

election as well as local and state contests. The program blended academic expertise with the perspective of political practitioners. Presentations were provided by active political candidates, political ad agencies, working members of the press, labor and business representatives, and political pollsters. In addition, University of New Orleans political science faculty, including Werner Feld, Richard Engstrom, Steven Shull, Michael McDonald, Charles Hadley, and Susan Howell provided guest lectures. The group also journeyed to Baton Rouge and spent a morning on the campus of Southern University. Jewel Prestage, dean of the School of Public Policy and Urban Affairs, served as hostess.

After ten days in New Orleans the group traveled to Washington, D.C., where the participants had the opportunity to share views with the foreign visitors from the other two participating universities—Arizona State University and the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. While in D.C. the combined groups toured the U.S. Supreme Court and talked with Justice Sandra Day O'Connor. Meridian House International hosted a reception for the diplomatic corps.

David Neubauer, departmental chair, served as project director and Richard Engstrom functioned as assistant director. □

## **Announcements**

### **Applications Invited for College Faculty Seminars on Constitutional Issues**

#### **Application Information**

*Who is eligible:* College faculty who teach American history or American government and politics.

*Support:* Faculty selected to participate in the program will receive up to \$250 to cover their travel costs. (Funds left over from faculty who do not need to draw upon this allowance will be reallocated to contribute to travel costs of participants having larger expenses.) In addition to