

Book Reviews

The Politics of National Party Conventions. Paul T. David, Ralph M. Goldman, and Richard C. Bain. Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1960. 592 pp. \$10.

It is not surprising that many people are puzzled regarding what to think of our national party conventions. On the television screen we witness a scene of zany confusion. From the political gossips we learn that behind this confusion powerful bosses make deals in smoke-filled rooms. Perhaps we also remember being taught that these gatherings are the highest representative assemblies of our two great parties, where the voice of the people somehow prevails, choosing the best candidates available for our highest office.

If we are puzzled, one excuse is that little systematic study has been made of the nominating process. That excuse is removed by this massive study. (Incidentally, there is also available a paperback edition, condensed to about half the length of the original work.)

The focus of the book is on the conventions as a means of selecting nominees for President. But the authors are also concerned with the broad historical development of American politics and with how it has affected and been affected by the changing process of nomination. Two trends are given particular attention. One is the "nationalizing" of American politics—or to put it negatively, the decline of sectionalism and localism. The great era of sectional politics ran from the first election of McKinley in 1896 to the Al Smith–Herbert Hoover campaign in 1928. Opposed to the solidly Democratic South was a block of states, which, especially in the Northeast, were almost as solidly Republican: in the election of 1896, for instance, the Republicans carried every *county* in the six New England States. This was the heyday of powerful state bosses—Platt, Quay, Hanna—who provided "the main centers of organization and maneuver within the contesting factions" at the conventions. Beginning in 1928 a massive realignment of the

party electorate took place, the Republicans becoming more clearly identified with the white collar, professional, and well-to-do classes, and the Democrats with organized labor, ethnic and religious minorities, and the poor.

This shift in the social bases of the parties has been reflected in the background of convention delegates. Far fewer Catholics and Jews take part in the Republican convention. In 1952 the labor caucus at the Democratic convention included about 100 votes, while the labor vote at the Republican convention was probably not over 10. Outstanding businessmen can still be found among Democratic delegates, but they are about twice as numerous at Republican conventions, which also include a much higher number of the very rich.

This electoral realignment and the rise of new economic and social issues also had consequences for the power structure of the parties and their conventions. The decline of the state boss was hastened, as power moved toward national leaders better able to organize and compete on a nation-wide scale. Moreover, this national leadership has become less dispersed and more closely knit. Unlike most political parties in other countries, American parties have often done without any single continuing "inner circle" of leaders. But today the American party, at least when in power, has developed a fairly tightly organized presidential wing. And even in the out party, the position of titular leader has been strengthened. A shadow, however, is still cast on his position by the fact, except for Cleveland, no man who has been once defeated as his party's candidate has been able to go on from renomination to victory in the ensuing election.

Along with the nationalizing of American politics has gone a second major development, an increasing public participation in the nominating process. This has been brought about, in the first place, through the presidential primary, in which party members directly elect delegates or give them some sort

of instruction concerning their presidential preference. In 1956 half the delegates to the conventions were elected or instructed in this way. Yet during the interwar years, presidential aspirants did not attach much importance to the primaries, and the hectic preconvention campaign based on a wide use of primaries is the product of very recent times, and especially of two men, Harold Stassen in 1948 and Estes Kefauver in 1956.

Public opinion polls, widely reported in the press and over the air, have also enhanced public influence, identifying the front runners and concentrating attention on them. At the same time, close reporting of the sentiments of political leaders and potential delegates, by suggesting which aspirants have a real chance of nomination, tend to eliminate the hopeless cases. One result of these changes has been to narrow the field of aspirants to those who have established their positions in the preconvention campaign, which has come to perform much of the selection process before the convention meets. The position of front-runner has become increasingly desirable; conversely, the chance of a "dark horse" coming forward in a stalemated convention has become less likely.

In the states, the direct primary for state-wide office has tended to weaken party leadership. Yet in the national parties, the integration of top leadership does not seem to have been impeded by a limited use of the primary. In both conventions, however, the old conflict between the congressional and the presidential wings of the party still flares up often. Conceivably, the greater prominence of senators and congressmen as presidential aspirants and convention leaders may in time throw some bridges across this gap.

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Chemical Analysis of Air Pollutants.

Morris B. Jacobs. Interscience, New York, 1960. 430 pp. Illus. \$13.50.

Public awareness of the extent and hazard of air pollution has grown considerably during the past few years, and as a direct result many industrial organizations and government agencies have been faced with the problem of providing adequate analytical service for measuring the degree of pollution

and controlling it. The nature of air pollution chemistry requires an almost unique analytical approach that differs in both concept and execution from classical techniques. As a result, many techniques have been evolved, but this latest contribution by Morris Jacobs is the first single, comprehensive volume treating only the analytical aspects of air pollution chemistry.

The range of subjects discussed is quite extensive and could cover almost any conceivable situation likely to be encountered by an industrial or municipal air pollution control officer. The detailed treatment of each subject will allow those unfamiliar with chemical analysis to apply the individual methods. The book will be of value to chemists already familiar with the field, but to them the details may seem overpowering at times. This excessive detail is relieved at frequent intervals by discussions of other aspects of the problem such as sampling, data treatment, and physical laws. In addition, there is sufficient theoretical material to allow an easy understanding of the methods involved. This combination of theory and detail is the book's greatest value and will be the feature with the widest appeal. Unfortunately the air pollution problem has grown faster than our inclination to measure and control it. The methods for measurement and control are available, but with the exception of a few of the more enlightened or harassed communities, there has been little application of this knowledge to the actual problem. Most control is still supervised by agencies which have had little experience except in smoke inspection. These agencies are often understaffed with personnel untrained in the pertinent fields; a single volume such as this one can be an invaluable reference source for use in planning and executing control programs.

The materials covered are, with one exception, the usual types of pollutants produced in urban areas. The exception is an excellent chapter on radiochemical determinations. Radioactive air contaminants are a disputed component of the atmosphere, but there is little chance that the increased use of nuclear processes will decrease the amounts present in the atmosphere. It is reassuring to find that this contamination is now considered by an authority such as Jacobs to be as significant as soot, dust, and noxious vapors. To discuss analytical radiochemistry in a single chapter without some omissions is impossible, but his treatment is a more than

adequate summary of most of the present techniques.

One chapter detracts from the book's excellent coverage; compared with the other material, the treatment afforded the analysis of the exhaust gas from automobiles seems out of place. Without doubt the exhaust from motor vehicles is an extremely important source of pollution, and for this reason great emphasis should be placed on the detection and determination of this substance or its reaction products as they appear in the atmosphere. Unfortunately, Jacobs emphasizes the analysis of the gases *before* emission into the atmosphere. Unless some radical change occurs in the internal combustion engine, there is little need for pursuing this aspect of the problem.

In general, the book is well arranged. The development of the material proceeds logically from an initial chapter concerning sampling to a final, brief chapter that gives practical discussion of monitoring instruments. Jacobs is perhaps quite familiar with the budgetary problems of most air pollution control agencies and has kindly omitted mention of most of the more exotic and expensive instrumental techniques.

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Medical Physics. vol. 3. Otto Glasser, Ed. Year Book Publishers, Chicago, Ill., 1960 lx + 754 pp. Illus. \$25.

Volumes 1 and 2 of *Medical Physics* have well established their value as outstanding standard works in the fields of medicophysics and biophysics. Volume 3, with contributions by 181 experts and pioneers in the various fields, carries on this reputation in an impressive way. Volume 3 does not purely augment earlier topics; it presents recent developments and progress, but it also covers many new subjects which have become of importance and interest in recent years: aviation medicine, the biological hazards of space radiation, fluorescence microscopy, fluorescent image amplification, grid therapy and grid protection, the ultraviolet color-translating microscope, and modern microradiography, to mention a few.

The presentation throughout makes clear, stimulating reading. The references are well selected, the volume is arranged alphabetically by title of the topics, and a compendious name index

provides a quick reference index for the three volumes. It is impossible to review in detail the 177 chapters of the volume and it is not possible to select the one or the other contribution for detailed comment since every chapter holds its *niveau*. Otto Glasser has to be congratulated for being able to assure the collaboration of so many recognized experts in the different fields. There is no doubt that the new volume will be a welcome addition to the existing medicophysical literature.

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Encyclopaedia Zoologica Illustrata in Colours. vol. 4, *Arthropoda to Protozoa Exclusive of Insecta, Echinodermata, and Mollusca*. Y. K. Okada et al. Hokuryu-kan Publishing Co., Tokyo, Japan, 1960. 308 pp. \$25.

This handsome volume, although written entirely in the Japanese language except for the scientific names of the animals, will be of widespread interest to naturalists because it portrays in color a significant representation of the Japanese species of the animal groups covered: the Arthropoda (exclusive of insects), Annelida, Nemathelminthes, Trochelminthes, Nemertini, Platyhelminthes, Ctenaria, Coelenterata, Porifera, Mesozoa, and Protozoa. The first 45 pages, devoted to brief accounts of the morphology and classification of the phyla included, are well illustrated with black-and-white diagrams. This section is followed by 123 plates of representative Japanese species of each phylum; mostly in color, and including marine, fresh-water, terrestrial, and parasitic examples.

The color reproduction is excellent on the whole and makes the American reader wish that a comparable guide to our invertebrate fauna were available. Especially noteworthy are the illustrations of arachnids and crustaceans. Also of interest are the colored plates showing some of the more remarkable members of the Japanese fauna: the platyctenid ctenophores; the peculiar genera of stauromedusans; the giant hydroid, *Branchiocerianthus imperator*; the ascothoracican cirripedes; the myzostomids; and the garishly colored polyclads and nemertines.

This volume will be of value to professional zoologists who wish to become acquainted with Japanese invertebrates