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PRIMARY ELECTIONS IN THE SOUTH: A STUDY IN UNIPARTY POLITICS, by Cortez A. M. Ewing. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1953. Pp. xii, 112. \$2.75.

Walter F. Berns Jr.

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Walter F. Berns Jr., *PRIMARY ELECTIONS IN THE SOUTH: A STUDY IN UNIPARTY POLITICS*, by Cortez A. M. Ewing. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1953. Pp. xii, 112. \$2.75., 14 La. L. Rev. (1954)

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and final lecture in which he makes proposals for the achievement of the end argued for in the lecture as a whole, namely, the strengthening of the relative position of the states in the federal system in the next quarter century. These are the author's prescriptions in summary: "The states might recover some functions, once held by them, that have gone to Washington; they might recover somewhat greater freedom of action in joint programs; they might cooperate among themselves more effectively, using the interstate compact as a means of agreement and action; and they might use their own powers of government more freely to meet the needs of their citizens."

Finally, it is clear that Mr. White has no simple, easy panacea for the restoration of a "proper balance" between the states and the federal government. Much will depend on what the states themselves do in meeting their responsibilities to their citizens. Moreover, not all federal centralization is bad, but it will be vastly better if it is rationally directed toward a desired end, as White believes it can be. To the extent that federal centralization represents an effort to adjust to new conditions demanding uniformity of treatment it is surely not to be condemned. To the extent, however, that it represents a disposition on the part of the states to abdicate their natural and normal responsibilities, it is to be deplored, for here it strikes at the vitals of the democratic process.

The book deserves a wide reading. One is even tempted to suggest that the members of the National Commission on Intergovernmental Relations would find in it many helpful leads.

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Since the publication of the December, 1952, issue of the *American Political Science Review*, and particularly an article in that issue entitled "Research in Political Behavior," it has been the occasional whim of this reviewer to write an article dealing with the insights provided by quantitative research in politics. The particular stimulus was provided by the straight-faced

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presentation in this article of the following proposition as a researchable hypothesis: "Women adjust to their husbands' political orientation to the degree that there is strong cohesion and male dominance."<sup>1</sup> It was the intention of the reviewer to discuss the subject of quantitative research under two headings: (1) What every woman knows, and (2) So what? An example of the insights appropriate to the first category may be found in the June, 1953, issue of the same periodical, in an article entitled "Political Issues and the Vote: November, 1952."<sup>2</sup> As a result of intensive data collection and analysis by trained researchers, the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan was able to provide an eager public with this conclusion:

"It is also clear that 'regular' party followers were as a group more partisan in their views on these issues than were people who do not vote regularly or who switch from one party to the other. The irregular voters as a group held attitude positions midway between the attitudes of regular Democrats and Republicans."<sup>3</sup>

If every woman does not know this, she may now be authoritatively apprised of it. Professor Ewing's book, the subject of this review, must be considered under the second heading.

The author's intention "is to examine the primary systems of the South and to determine, if possible, whether the intra-party struggle produces results that are not at variance with the demands of democratic procedure." (p. 7) To answer this question he spent six years collecting data dealing with primary elections in the South, which he presents in seven chapters and thirty-six tables. In Chapter Four, for example, entitled "Effect of Incumbency on Primary Elections," he sets out to measure the extent to which potential candidates are deterred from entering a primary by the filing of the incumbent; he finds by analyzing his data that the effect varies according to several factors. Now what does one do with this information? What have we learned by being told that "an average of seven candidates would enter a non-incumbent judicial race, whereas only five candidates would enter the same race if an incumbent were running"? (p. 59) And what is the relation of this information (information surely available before the publication of this book) to the

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1. Eldersveld, Heard, Huntington, Janowitz, Leiserson, McKean & Truman, *Research in Political Behavior*, 46 AM. POL. SCI. REV. 1003, 1019 (1952).

2. Campbell, Gurin & Miller, *Political Issues and the Vote: November, 1952*, 47 AM. POL. SCI. REV. 359 (1953).

3. *Id.* at 377.

author's intention? In the last chapter he marks the fulfillment of his intention by noting that fewer voters participate in primaries in the South than in other sections of the country and that "these figures refute better than rhetoric the Southern apologists who maintain that the South is as democratic as other sections and that its democratic participation comes in the primaries rather than in the general election." (p. 103) If the extent to which a political system is democratic is determined by the number of people who bother to participate in elections, Professor Ewing could have fulfilled his intention on one page with one simple table and one line of text. In view of this, the thousands of statistics presented seem adventitious to the intention, or the intention is adventitiously imposed on the statistics. If it is important to know how many candidates enter Democratic primary contests for state auditor, or which office attracts the most candidates throughout the South, it would be more convenient to be informed by a handbook of election statistics, or an election almanac, and be spared a commentary which does nothing to illuminate the statistics.

On the last two pages Professor Ewing deals with questions of interest to anyone concerned with southern politics, and here, venturing opinions as to the future, he has been proved wrong by subsequent events. But this failure to predict correctly, it should be pointed out, in no way invalidates the conclusions reached by his study, since the prediction has nothing to do with the study.

Walter F. Berns, Jr.\*

DEMOKRATIE UND RECHTSSTAAT, FESTGABE ZUM 60. Geburtstag von  
Zaccaria Giacometti. Polygraphischer Verlag, Zürich, 1953.  
Pp. 262.

Corresponding to the lifelong interest of Professor Giacometti, the accent of the *Festgabe* centers around the relation between the political process and the *Rechtsstaat* concept. A number of contributions are on specific problems of Swiss law and legal history by Maurice Batelli, André Grisel, Jakob Wackernagel and one by Hans Peters on German post-war constitutional developments. The other articles are more or less focused on the

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