
ture sign pledges to vote for the winner of the primary. Progressives in other states followed suit. By 1910, 27 state legislatures had been pushed to petition Congress for a constitutional amendment. Two years later, the Senate finally gave in, and in 1913 the 17th Amendment became law after it was ratified by three-fourths of the states. A 28th Amendment, the authors say, could be only a few years away.

Court Costs

"Dwarfing the Political Capacity of the People? The Relationship Between Judicial Activism & Voter Turnout, 1840–1988" by Philip A. Klinkner, in *Polity* (Summer 1993), Thompson Hall, Univ. of Massachusetts, Amherst, Mass. 01003.

Legal scholars have long debated whether or not Supreme Court activism discourages public participation in electoral politics. Klinkner, of Loyola Marymount University, sides with the critics of activism. Comparing voter turnout in congressional and presidential elections between 1840 and 1988 with the number of federal, state, and local laws overturned by the Supreme Court during the two years before each election, he finds a troubling pattern.

Until the 1890s, turnout relative to the aver-

ages for the entire 148-year period was very high and "judicial activism" very low. (Usually fewer than a dozen laws were overturned in each two-year period.) From the 1890s to the 1930s, his index of activism rose to an average of 30 and voter turnout dropped. From the 1930s until 1960, the opposite pattern prevailed; and between 1960 and 1988, the pattern reversed itself again.

Since most people have only a very limited knowledge of what the Supreme Court is doing, a question arises: *How* does judicial activism depress turnout? Klinkner suggests that activism by the Court has its most direct impact on labor unions and other organizations that get out the vote. The activist Warren and Burger courts of 1953–86, for example, often let liberal interest groups achieve their goals without having to win popular support; hence, such groups put their money and energy into litigation rather than voter mobilization.

The possibility that judicial activism may result in more voters staying home on Election Day does not mean, in Klinkner's view, that the high court should always sit on its hands. In *Brown v. Board of Education*, the 1954 ruling outlawing school segregation, the requirements of justice were clear. The lesson, Klinkner asserts, is rather "that judicial activism may not be cost-free."

FOREIGN POLICY & DEFENSE

Filling a Vacuum

"The Emerging Structure of International Politics" by Kenneth N. Waltz, in *International Security* (Fall 1993), Center for Science and International Affairs, 79 John F. Kennedy St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States stands supreme, its power virtually unchecked. This will not last, promises Waltz, a prominent political scientist at the University of California at Berkeley. Within the next 10 to 20 years, he predicts, Germany (or perhaps a "United States of Europe"), Japan, and China may well become great powers—probably joined by Russia—all armed with nuclear weapons.

Waltz does not find the nuclear prospect trou-

bling. "China and other countries have become nuclear powers without making the world a more dangerous one," he argues. "Why should nuclear weapons in German and Japanese hands be especially worrisome? Nuclear weapons have encouraged cautious behavior by their possessors and deterred any of them from threatening others' vital interests."

Will Japan or Germany, already economic powerhouses, *want* to become great powers? Probably, Waltz believes. As memories of World War II fade, so will Japanese and German nuclear inhibitions. "Countries have always competed for wealth and security, and the competition has often led to conflict. Why should the future be different from the past? Given the ex-