POLITICS & GOVERNMENT

Publicity vs. Performance

"Show Horses and Work Horses in the United States House of Representatives" by James L. Payne, in *Polity* (Spring 1980), Northwestern Political Science Association, Whitmore Hall, Amherst, Mass.

In Congress, there are "show horses" who neglect their legislative duties in their quest for publicity and "work horses" who quietly but effectively pass bills and attend committee meetings. That is the conclusion of Payne, a Texas A & M political scientist.

Taking 55 members of the House Banking and Public Works Committees who did not hold committee leadership positions, Payne compared the number of minutes each Representative spent at hearings in 1971–72 with the amount of news coverage he received during 1972 in five major newspapers across the country.

He found 10 members who garnered great publicity but attended few hearings (1,343 minutes worth, on the average). They included Manhattan Democrat Edward I. Koch, now mayor of New York City; former New York Democrat Bella Abzug; Henry Reuss (D-Wisconsin), who has chaired the Banking Committee since 1975; and Philip M. Crane of Illinois, a one-time candidate for the 1980 Republican presidential nomination. On the other hand, 17 congressional work horses logged an average of 4,060 minutes at hearings but were rarely mentioned in the press. Twenty-eight legislators ranked low in both respects.

Democrats, writes Payne, are more likely to be show horses and Republicans work horses. Show horses hold more extreme political views, as well. The eight Democratic show horses were more liberal than the four Democratic work horses (based on ratings by Americans for Democratic Action); the two Republican show horses were more conservative than the 13 Republican work horses.

Voters seem to like congressional publicity hounds. The typical show horse recorded 9.5 percent more votes in 1972 than he won in 1970, versus only a 2.5 percent gain for the typical work horse. The electorate was cruelest to Republican Fred M. Schwengel of Iowa. His district rewarded his record 7,314 minutes in committee hearings by voting him out of office.

Partisan Technologies

"Do Artifacts Have Politics?" by Langdon Winner, in *Daedalus* (Winter 1980), American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 165 Allandale St., Jamaica Plain Station, Boston, Mass. 02130.

Nuclear power is inherently authoritarian; solar power is democratic. So argue some U.S. environmentalists, who contend that the production of plutonium waste may require suffocating security measures (wiretapping, informer networks) extending outside the nuclear power plant to prevent theft. They are not the first to suggest a link between