

Allen D. Hertzke, *Echoes of Discontent: Jesse Jackson, Pat Robertson, and the Resurgence of Populism* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1993) pp. 293. \$29.95 ISBN 0871877449.

In this engaging and informative book, Allen Hertzke examines the protestations of Reverend Jesse Jackson and Reverend Pat Robertson over the existing state of affairs. Hertzke's thesis is that both ministers, despite many obvious differences, propound a very similar populist message in the tradition of William Jennings Bryan – a combination of “political progressivism and moral traditionalism” (p.45).

Both men attack societal elites for practicing economic exploitation and for fostering moral degeneracy, albeit aim at different targets: Jackson concentrates his fire on the way that the rich treat the poor, and on social issues like drug abuse, while Robertson focuses on bankers and financiers, along with cultural issues like abortion and pornography. Those few examples oversimplify the author's sophisticated rendition, which plausibly sets many issues in the context of a populist framework.

The author brings many sources of information to bear. He conducted personal interviews with Jackson and Robertson, traveled to national and state party meetings where he interviewed their aides and supporters, and analyzed 1988 National Election Study and Super Tuesday data. He weaves those materials together nicely, stepping in to make detailed observations about presidential and party politics, and stepping back to theorize about philosophical issues, such as the degree of communitarianism versus individualism in modern life. The result is an enjoyable read, especially for those who seek a book that treats the concerns of Jackson and Robertson seriously.

The information of greatest interest to political scientists is found in chapters 4-6. Earlier chapters mostly lay out the book's theme, provide an historical overview of populism, and trace its message up to Jackson and Robertson. Chapter 4 focuses on the role of black and evangelical churches in mobilizing voters for their chosen candidate during the 1988 presidential campaign. The chapter is full of information that will interest scholars of religion and politics; those studying political parties will learn from its detailed discussion of the controversial Michigan caucuses, and from its examination of the church rather than the party as the focal point for organizing precincts. Chapter 5 focuses on the assimilation of Jackson and Robertson activists into respectively, the Democratic and Republican parties. A particularly interesting dimension is the awkward relationship that existed between the national Democratic Party and Jesse Jackson, but the relatively harmonious interaction at state and local levels, which was opposite for Robertson and the GOP. Chapter 6 compares the characteris

tics and opinions of Jackson and Robertson supporters, principally through percentage differences in 1988 NES data. It reports some striking findings: the deep suspicion of Jackson and Robertson supporters toward elites; the relatively positive view that each minister and his supporters hold toward the other; the overwhelmingly female composition of each minister's constituency. Hertzke also reports differences, which are pronounced, on issues such as abortion and feminism. Some of these findings warrant a rethinking of propositions that journalists report as fact, and require examination by students of voting behavior and public opinion.

As with any book, there is cause to quibble over some things. Chapter 3, for instance, treats the spiritual and political development of Jackson and Robertson. It offers psychological explanations that are plausible, but that may strike political scientists as rather interpretive. Chapter 7 contains almost all of the criticism of both ministers, thereby preventing the reader from receiving a different perspective on their message and conduct until the waning pages of the book. There are also instances where further discussion is probably warranted. What are the implications for the populist thesis, given Robertson's resistance to the label (p. 80)? How can Jackson and Robertson arrive at such different positions on most public policy issues, if they share a common populist heritage?

Those criticisms and questions are at the periphery; at the core is a solid contribution to the literature. Hertzke provides a framework for understanding the message and political campaigns of Jesse Jackson and Pat Robertson in 1988, and a means for assessing the candidates and issues of the early 1990s. The book went to press before Ross Perot's candidacy fully blossomed, but given Hertzke's comments in the final chapter, he had to be among the least surprised observers about its contours. He demonstrates a depth of understanding about the intersection of politics and culture that few can match, and this book shows it.

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