



Republicans Need Not Apply: An Investigation of the American Economic Association Using Voter Registration and Political Contributions

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[LINK TO ABSTRACT](#)

The American Economic Association (AEA) is the most influential professional association of economists in the United States, and by extension the world. It publishes eight journals, which place highly in standard rankings. For example, in the RePEc ranking ([link](#)), AEA journals are three of the top 10 and five of the top 20. Publication in highly ranked journals is a prerequisite to tenure. The AEA runs the Allied Social Science Associations Annual Meeting, which for professional economics is both the premier conference for researchers to show their work and the centerpiece of the academic job market. Those who oversee the AEA have a profound impact on the profession. Publication in AEA journals and executive roles in the AEA are coveted and important stepping stones in economists' careers.

In this paper I collect data on voter registration and political contributions of AEA members. I focus on how these differ across levels of the AEA hierarchy. I find that the political skew increases up the AEA hierarchy (Figures 3 and 4). While the AEA membership has a 4:1 ratio of Democratic:Republican voter registrations and a 13:1 ratio of political contributors, the officers, editors, authors, book

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reviewers, and acknowledgees (those thanked in published acknowledgments) skew 13:1 in voter registration and 81:1 in political contributors. The AEA Boards of Editors, who oversee the journals, are 29:1 Democratic:Republican in voter registrations and 47:1 in political contributors. The AEA officers and editors are 8:1 in voter registrations and 67:1 in political contributors, while the authors they publish are 10:1 in registrations and 49:1 in political contributions.

The upper echelons of the AEA control the organization. They construct slates of candidates for AEA offices, appoint journal editors, organize the conference program, and so on. Mere members have little power.

In this paper I draw an essential distinction between AEA members and AEA ‘players.’ There is no selection in mere membership apart from self-selection. Anyone can join, and some Republican voters do join. The players, however, are elevated in one way or another by the organization. The player categories are officers, editors, authors, book reviewers, and acknowledgees (those thanked in published acknowledgments). The AEA is its players.

The players are largely devoid of Republicans. For AEA players, the Democratic:Republican ratio is, as stated above, 13:1 in voter registration and 81:1 in political contributions. The dominant professional association of economists in the United States is dominated by people on the political left.

Fourteen years ago, William McEachern (2006) published a study of AEA economists’ federal political contributions, finding a D:R contributor ratio of 5:1 among the AEA membership and 18:1 for AEA players.² McEachern’s careful study revealed a hierarchical effect. For editors of *American Economic Review*, *Journal of Economic Literature*, and *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, the contributor ratios were 9:0, 5:0, and 2:0 respectively. For authors, the ratios were 9.5:1, 24:0, and 20:1 respectively. For authors in the conference journal *Papers and Proceedings* the ratio was 32:1. It is well established that the more highly ranked a university is, the more leftist its professors are (see Langbert et al. 2016, 441–442).

One question mark hung over McEachern’s findings: Are political contributions really telling? It is only a minority who make political contributions. It is known that the D:R ratio for federal political contributors is more skewed³

2. I computed the ratio for players in McEachern’s (2006) paper by summing the following numerators and denominators of the ratios he describes: editors, 9:0; authors, 19:2; *Papers and Proceedings* leadership, 7:1; *Papers and Proceedings* authors, 32:1; *JEL* editors, 5:0; *JEL* referees, 16:0; *JEL* authors, 24:0; *JEP* editors, 2:0; *JEP* advisory board members, 12:0; *JEP* authors, 20:1; acknowledgees, 11:0; search committee members, 7:1; nominating committee members, 4:0; presidents, 5:2; top editors, 5:0; EC members, 4:2.

3. The reason for the discrepancy between registration and contribution ratios is unclear. One possibility is that contributions information is easily accessible online, and Republican economists are apprehensive about being canceled and excluded (including from the AEA journals and programs). Another is that academic Democrats are more enthusiastic than are academic Republicans. Another is the recent inclusion of contributions below \$200 in the FEC database. Perhaps Democrats are more likely to contribute small

than that for voter registrations (e.g., Langbert and Stevens 2020).⁴ I update McEachern's work but also provide data on an indicator that was not available when McEachern did his study and that largely removes any uncertainty: voter registration. McEachern's results showed left domination of the AEA, but my results show that it has pretty much topped out, and the voter-registration data leaves little real doubt.

There are also imbalances for AEA members who work outside academia, in industry or government, but there is more ideological diversity among those who are interested enough in economics to join the AEA than among players such as those who publish in the AEA journals, a mostly one-party domain since McEachern's study.

Data and methods

In 2006, in response to the Help America Vote Act, states began to publish voter registration data. Now, 30 states plus the District of Columbia have published registration information. I have obtained the registration data from the proprietary Voter Lists Online database of Aristotle, Inc. ([link](#)). As for political contributions, the Federal Election Commission (FEC) makes available federal contributions on its publicly available online database.⁵ It has broadened its reporting so that contributions below \$200 are now available; in 2006, when McEachern published his study, the FEC listed only contributions above \$200.

From late 2019 through August 2020, I collected data on the voter registration and federal political contributions of 6,066 person-roles: members, officers-editors, authors, acknowledgees, or editorial board members of the American Economic Association. There are, of course, accuracy issues. First, there are recording errors within the databases. Second, with respect to federal contributions, individuals' names and employers may not be spelled accurately, so they are difficult to find, and nicknames like 'Bob' for 'Robert' or abbreviations like 'univ' for 'university' also make identification difficult. Third, with respect to registration data, multiple individuals with the same name in a given state can make identification difficult as can changes of address. The inclusion of employer and

amounts. However, limiting my data to those who donate to either party in excess of \$200, I checked the ratio of Democratic to Republican contributions: The resulting D:R ratio is 9.7:1, 80 percent greater than the ratio that McEachern found.

4. In their sample of 12,372 professors in eight disciplines in leading colleges in 30 states plus D.C., Langbert and Stevens (2020) find a voter registration ratio for economists of 3:1 but a contributor ratio of 17:1. There are almost no Republican contributions.

5. See the FEC website ([link](#)).

place-of-residence information in the FEC database and of place of residence, middle initials, and date of birth in the Voter Lists Online database facilitate identification and help to minimize the error rates.

Approximately 74 percent (16,000) of the AEA's active members are listed in the association's online directory while 26 percent (5,700) are not.⁶ Of those listed, however, many are students who are temporary U.S. residents. I limited my sample to the 30 states, plus Washington, D.C., for which there is registration data (see, e.g., Langbert, Quain, and Klein 2016, 423 n.4), and I excluded visiting students. Following McEachern's research strategy I randomly sampled approximately 2,000 members (2,028, to be exact) or about one-eighth of those listed in the AEA directory. I used an online random number table to select an initial name in the directory for each state and then took every eighth name thereafter, discarding visiting students. As well, I determined whether the member is an academic, works in industry, works for government, or is a student.⁷ It is unclear whether the exclusion of those AEA members who elect not to be listed in the directory biases the sample.

In developing my data, I counted a human being multiple times for multiple roles. Thus, if someone is an editor in two journals, the person counts twice as an editor, or if a person publishes three articles, he or she counts three times as an author. As I explain below, I examined the effect of repeating individuals, and it is negligible. Hence, I look at person-roles rather than individuals. The method is fair because it shows accurately who has influence in the AEA.

AEA members

For voter registration, the Democratic-to-Republican ratio is 807:214 or 3.8:1 while for federal political contributors it is 336:26 or 12.9:1. The latter is more than double the contributor rate that McEachern found 14 years ago.

By type of employment, the registration ratios are 4.1:1 for academics (466:113),⁸ 6.1:1 for government workers, 2.5:1 for economists who work in

6. Email from Linda Hardin, accounting assistant, American Economic Association, July 16, 2019.

7. I included in 'industry' those who work for not-for-profits, and I included in 'government' those who work for quasi-governmental organizations such as the World Bank and the Federal Reserve Bank.

8. A voter-registration study of professors in the social sciences in leading research universities (Langbert, Quain, and Klein 2016) found a Democratic to Republican ratio among economists of 4.5:1; a study of professors in leading liberal arts colleges (Langbert 2018) found a ratio of 5.5:1; a study of professors in field of industrial relations (Langbert 2016) found a ratio of 10:1. Using a broader sample of economics professors in leading colleges in each of the 30 states that publish registration information, Langbert and Stevens (2020) found a ratio of about 3:1.

industry, and 8.7:1 for students.⁹ For federal political contributors, the ratios are 17.8:1 for academics, 7.3:1 for government workers, 7.1:1 for economists who work in industry, and 20:0 for students.

TABLE 1. Partisan affiliation of AEA members

Party	Voter registrations	Contributors
Democratic	807	336
Republican	214	26
D:R ratio	3.8:1	12.9:1
Registered, not affiliated/Contributed to both parties	469	3
Not registered/No contribution	502	1,650
Minor parties/Nonpartisan PACs	35	13
Moved from disclosure to nondisclosure state	1	-
Total	2,028	2,028

Notes: Minor-party registration among AEA members is as follows: American Independent, 2; Conservative, 2; Green, 2; Independence, 4; Independent, 2; Libertarian, 22; Working Families, 1. If Libertarians and Conservatives were added to the Republican total and Greens and Working Families to the Democratic total, the 'left:right' ratio of voter registrations would be 810:238 or 3.4:1. For AEA players, minor-party registration is limited to 17 Libertarian voters (12 of which are acknowledgees) and five Independent voters.

Of the 2,028 members, 469 or 23 percent are registered but unaffiliated and 502 of 2,028 or 25 percent are unregistered. Let's call the unaffiliated and unregistered the 'Uns.' The Uns rate is higher for players because while I sampled members only from the 30 states plus D.C. that provide registration information and excluded foreign students I included all players, who are based globally, in the players' samples. For instance, of 1,795 author person-roles, 391 (21.8 percent) are based in the U.S. but unregistered while 860 (47.9 percent) are in states that do not collect registration information or are not based in the United States.

One might imagine that among the Uns there are sizable pockets of economists who vote Republican (or Libertarian). I admit that possibility, to some extent: The high rates of Uns lend some uncertainty to my findings. However, the various studies, including studies that ask respondents *how they vote*, lead us to conclude that the Uns cannot much alter the picture, because the various investigations seem to confirm similar results (see the discussion in Langbert, Quain, and Klein 2016, 433–435). For example, the contributions data of the present study suggest virtually no Republicans.

9. I could not identify the employers of 115 of the 2,208 members whom I sampled.

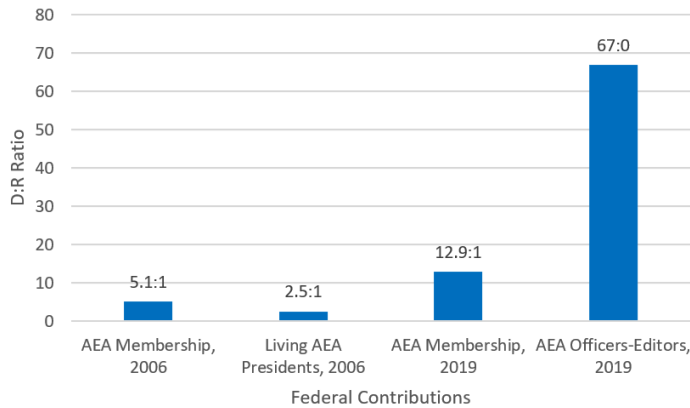
TABLE 2. Partisan affiliation of AEA members by employment (VR = voter registration; Con = political contributors)

Party/ Employment	Academic		Government		Industry		Student		No employment information		Total	
	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con
Democratic	466	196	79	29	170	78	61	20	31	13	807	336
Republican	113	11	13	4	68	11	7	0	13	0	214	26
D:R ratio	4.1:1	17.8:1	6.1:1	7.3:1	2.5:1	7.1:1	8.7:1	20:0	2.4:1	13:0	3.8:1	12.9:1
Minor party/ Nonpartisan PACs	20	1	3	0	8	12	1	0	3	0	35	13
Registered, not affiliated; Donor to both parties	273	1	29	0	98	2	33	0	36	0	469	3
Not registered; Not a donor	232	895	74	166	88	329	76	158	32	102	502	1650
Not in disclosure state or not in U.S.	0	-	1	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	-
Total	1104	1104	199	199	432	432	178	178	115	115	2028	2028
<i>Note:</i> The numbers in the “Not in disclosure state or not in U.S.” row are minimal because I preemptively excluded members whose 2019–2020 membership information indicated residence in a nondisclosure state or outside the United States. In the analogous tables that follow in this paper, (current) residence information does not accompany the person’s name, and I report findings in the analogous row of those tables.												

AEA officers and editors

I compiled a list from the AEA website of 206 current and former AEA officers and editors going back to 2009. These include past and present presidents, vice presidents, executive committee members, committee members, and editors. For voter registrations among this group, I found a Democratic to Republican ratio of 73:9 or 8.1:1, with 57 residing in the 20 states that do not tabulate registration, 35 not registered, 3 in minor parties, and 29 registered but not affiliated with a party. For contributors to PACs and candidates, the D:R ratio is 67:0, with 139 not making political contributions. There are no Republican, neutral, or minor-party donors among the AEA’s current and recently past officers and editors. With respect to voter registration, the ratio for the officers and editors is more than double the ratio for the membership (8.1:1 versus 3.8:1). In light of McEachern (2006), the contribution data suggest that there has been movement toward the Democratic Party among both members and the officers-editors of the AEA relative to 15 years ago.

Figure 1. D:R ratios for federal political contributions among members of the AEA and officers and editors of the AEA, 2006 and 2019



Source of 2006 data: McEachern 2006.

AEA authors

I compiled the names of authors in the eight American Economic Association journals for 2018 and 2019. That includes the inaugural issue of *AER: Insights*. I took all of the authors for *American Economic Review* for issues 108:1 to 109:8; *Papers and Proceedings* for volumes 108 and 109; *AEJ: Macroeconomics* for issues 10:1 to 11:3; *AEJ: Microeconomics* for issues 10:1 to 11:4; *AEJ: Applied* for issues 11:1 to 11:4; *AEJ: Policy* for issues 10:1 to 11:3; *Journal of Economic Literature* for issues 56:1 to 57:2; the inaugural issue of *AER: Insights*; and *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 32:1 to 33:3.

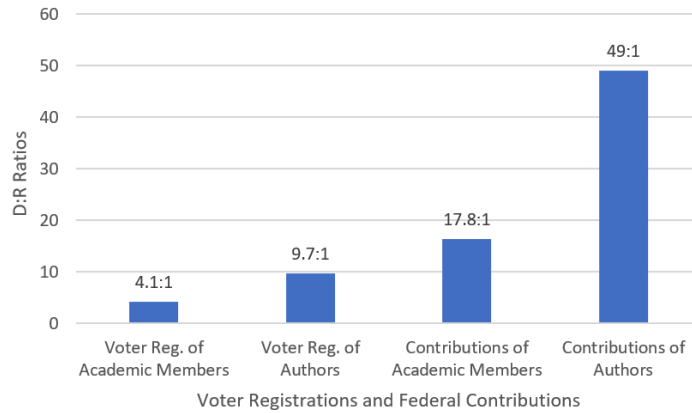
Papers and Proceedings has the lowest D:R ratio for voter registration—104:14 or 7.4:1—but for political contributors it is 76:2 or 38:1. For *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, it is 7.6:1 for registration and 21:0 for contributors. For *American Economic Review*, it is 73:6 or 12.2:1 for registration and 45:0 for contributors.

Overall, the ratio among AEA authors is 9.7:1 for voter registration and 49:1 for political contributors. The 9.7:1 ratio is not far from the 11:1 ratio that I found for members of the Labor and Employment Relations Association (Langbert 2016).

The inaugural issue of *AER: Insights* is likely to have inchoate standards that early contributors will define. I find no Republican authors or editors associated with the inaugural issue.

Figure 2 compares D:R ratios for registration and contributions of academic AER members (see Table 2) and authors.

Figure 2. Party affiliation of authors in AEA journals and of academic members of the AEA



Effects of person-role duplication among officers, editors, and authors

Part of the explanation for the imbalance in partisan affiliation may be supposed to be the presence of a few highly motivated and productive academics who skew the rolls of officers and authors. To check, I used SAS’s Nodupkey option to remove the extra observations resulting from a person having multiple roles or multiple publications. There are 142 unique officer or editor individuals and 1,433 unique authors. The resulting D:R ratios for unique officer or editor individuals are 8.7:1 for voter registration and 42:0 for political contributors (versus 8.1:1 and 67:0). The D:R ratios for unique authors are 10.1:1 for registration and 48:1 for contributors (versus 9.7:1 and 49:1).

Acknowledges and the informal organization

Organizational influence is often informal (Barnard 1968), and academic scholars recognize informal group dynamics by naming or acknowledging individuals who assist them in preparing a publication. The acknowledgees are often more senior academics who have guided the author, but they can also be students who labored on the scholar’s behalf or colleagues who read the paper during its preparation phase. Characteristics of acknowledgees may give hints as to the nature of influence networks and organizational politics.

Because many authors in the AEA journals give long lists of acknowledgees, I attempted to sample just enough articles in each issue so that the number of acknowledgees I collected roughly equaled the number of authors. I did this by picking articles from each issue using a random number generator until the number of acknowledgees approximated the number of authors.

With respect to registration, the D:R ratios for acknowledgees are 8.5:1 for *AEJ: Macro*, 39:1 for *AEJ Micro*, 25:0 for *AEJ: Policy*, 11.9:1 for *AER*, 1:0 for the inaugural issue of *Insights*, 20:0 for *JEL*, 18.6:1 for *Papers and Proceedings*, and 17.3:1 on average. I could not find acknowledgees in the issues of *Journal of Economic Perspectives* that I reviewed.

Book reviewers and boards of editors

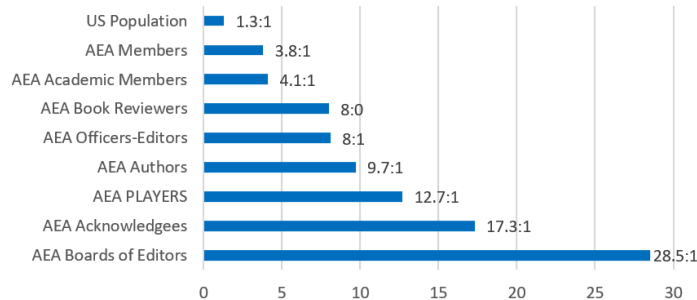
The *Journal of Economic Literature* publishes book reviews. While book reviews garner reviewers at most a modest amount of publication credit toward tenure and other personnel decisions, reviews can impact the recognition the book author receives. The characteristics of book reviewers and boards of editors, who review papers, are likely to bias the kind of findings that are deemed worthy of publication (Langbert 2016). Of 37 book reviews in the *Journal of Economic Literature*, eight were written by registered Democrats; two were written by contributors to Democratic Party PACs and candidates; none were written by registered Republicans or contributors to Republican Party PACs and candidates.

The sample of book reviewers is small, but editorial boards, who serve as parallel gatekeepers for publication of articles in the journals, present a similar pattern.

AEJ: Macro has two registered Republicans and one Republican contributor ratio on its board of editors so that the registration and contributor ratios are 3:2 and 2:1 respectively. There are no registered Republicans or Republican donors on any of the other editorial boards, so the mean ratios are 28.5:1 for registration and 47:1 for contributors.

Figure 3 summarizes my voter-registration findings. There are 6,066 person-roles in the study. The D:R ratios for the political registration of the different categories are 73:9 for the AEA's officers and editors, 363:21 for acknowledgees, 301:31 for journal authors, 8:0 for book reviewers, 57:2 for members of the editorial boards, 466:113 for academic members, and 807:214 for members. For players overall, it is 12.7:1. The left-leaning culture of the AEA is not much moderated by Libertarians or other third-party voters. For AEA players, minor-party registration is limited to 17 Libertarian Party members (12 of whom are acknowledgees) and five Independents.

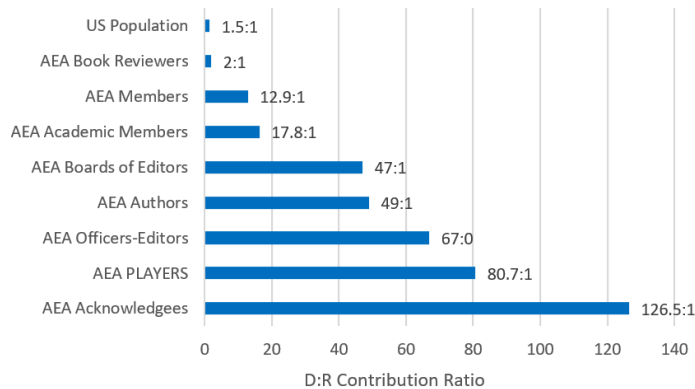
Figure 3. D:R voter-registration ratios



Source of U.S. population ratio: Gallup, June 4, 2020 ([link](#)).

Figure 4 summarizes my party-contributions findings. The D:R ratios for political contributors in the different categories are 67:0 for the AEA’s officers-editors, 126.5:1 for acknowledgees, 49:1 for journal authors, 2:0 for book reviewers, 47:1 for members of the editorial boards, 17.8:1 for academic members, and 336:26 for members. For players overall, it is 80.7:1.

Figure 4. D:R contribution ratios



Source of U.S. population ratio: Open Secrets, “Donor Demographics, What Party Did Donors Giving More than \$200 Favor in the 2020 Cycle?” ([link](#)).

Conclusion

What are the implications and ramifications of my findings? I leave that to the reader and future discourse, except to say that my findings should put to rest any myth that professional economics in the United States does not lean to the left. It is like the rest of academe, just somewhat less extreme.

TABLE 3. Partisan affiliations of authors in AEA journals

	<i>AEJ Macro Journal</i>		<i>AEJ Micro Journal</i>		<i>AEJ Policy Journal</i>		<i>American Economic Rev.</i>		<i>AER Econ. Insights</i>		<i>Journal Econ. Literature</i>		<i>Journal Econ. Perspectives</i>		<i>Papers & Proceedings</i>		Totals	
	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con
Democratic	12	13	11	9	46	20	73	45	2	0	15	12	38	21	104	76	301	196
Republican	0	1	1	1	3	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	5	0	14	2	31	4
D:R ratio	12:0	13:1	11:1	9:1	15.3:1	20:0	12.2:1	45:0	2:0	0:0	7.5:1	12:0	7.6:1	21:0	7.4:1	38:1	9.7:1	49.0:1
Minor party	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	1
Registered, not affiliated; Donor to both parties	12	0	8	0	15	0	54	0	3	0	15	0	28	1	74	0	209	1
Not registered; Not a donor	31	131	31	151	27	172	118	440	1	17	12	57	27	135	144	490	391	1593
Not in disclosure state or not in U.S.	89	-	110	-	101	-	233	-	11	-	25	-	59	-	232	-	860	-
Total	145	145	161	161	192	192	485	485	17	17	69	69	157	157	569	569	1795	1795

TABLE 4. Partisan affiliations of acknowledgees in seven AEA journals

	<i>AEJ Macro Journal</i>		<i>AEJ Micro Journal</i>		<i>AEJ Policy Journal</i>		<i>American Economic Rev.</i>		<i>AER Econ. Insights</i>		<i>Journal Econ. Literature</i>		<i>Papers & Proceedings</i>		Totals	
	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con
Democratic	34	26	39	18	25	25	95	59	1	0	20	15	149	110	363	253
Republican	4	0	1	0	0	0	8	1	0	0	0	0	8	1	21	2
D:R ratio	8.5:1	26:0	39:1	18:0	25:0	25:0	11.9:1	59:1	1:0	0:0	20:0	15:0	18.6:1	110:1	17.3:1	126.5:1
Minor party	2	0	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	13	1
Registered, not affiliated; Donor to both parties	22	0	14	1	8	0	69	0	0	0	7	0	70	1	190	2
Not registered; Not a donor	47	179	39	179	21	94	153	442	3	12	23	69	169	540	455	1515
Not in disclosure state or not in U.S.	96	-	104	-	65	-	172	-	8	-	34	-	252	-	731	-
Total	205	205	198	198	119	119	502	502	12	12	84	84	653	653	1773	1773

AEA VOTER REGISTRATION AND POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

TABLE 5. Partisan affiliations of AEA editorial boards

	<i>AEJ Macro Journal</i>		<i>AEJ Micro Journal</i>		<i>AEJ Policy Journal</i>		<i>American Economic Rev.</i>		<i>AER Econ. Insights</i>		<i>Journal Econ. Literature</i>		<i>Journal Econ. Perspectives</i>		<i>Papers & Proceedings</i>		Totals	
	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con	VR	Con
Democratic	3	2	6	3	13	8	13	14	7	5	8	10	5	5	2	0	57	47
Republican	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
D:R ratio	1.5:1	2:1	6:0	3:0	13:0	8:0	13:0	14:0	7:0	5:0	8:0	10:0	5:0	5:0	2:0	0:0	28.5:0	47:1
Minor party	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	3	0
Registered, not affiliated; Donor to both parties	1	0	5	0	8	0	12	1	6	0	8	0	2	0	0	0	42	1
Not registered; Not a donor	5	16	6	21	8	28	31	63	5	15	4	23	0	8	0	4	59	178
Not in disclosure state or not in U.S.	8	-	6	-	7	-	22	-	2	-	12	-	5	-	2	-	64	-
Total	19	19	24	24	36	36	78	78	20	20	33	33	13	13	4	4	227	227

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About the Author



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