Clio

Newsletter of Politics & History
an organized section of
The American Political Science Association

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from the President

Redbud Warriors, Executive Power and Moral Hazard in Institutions

by Elizabeth Sanders

For the past three months I have spent most of my waking hours in a dynamic local social movement to save the small but treasured walnut, redbud, and oak woodland at the edge of campus from the ax of unchecked executive power wielded by the Cornell administration. That touches, it seems to me, the crux of many historic social movements—to save, or achieve, something vital to a broad community from the arbitrary disposition of elites.

Social movements have given us most of what we value in our democratic institutions. I can immediately hear Dan Carpenter objecting, "Oh, no! Enlightened bureaucrats have given us wonderful reforms that have made our lives better; and it is THEY, in fact, who have mobilized the community you talk about to enact those reforms against private, obstructive power-holders." Ok, Dan. I'll give you the first Food and Drug law, the core services and organization of the Post Office, and many other progressive (we use that term today as a synonym for "good") reforms.

BUT, I would argue, MOST progressive reform over the years has been instigated from below, by ordinary people, banding together and bearing enormous costs (WAY higher than what those FDA, postal, and other bureaucrats bore for working out of nice offices and hotels on their own paid time). Having sacrificed my summer research and writing to endless meetings and the collective drafting of voluminous reports on the ecological significance of green spaces and alternatives to parking lots, AND having slept on the ground under walnut trees, focusing on the leafy canopy to distract myself from the bites of red ants and mosquitoes, I am very

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POLITICS & HISTORY

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Website: http://www.h-net.msu.edu/~apsaph/

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APSA Membership Office
1527 New Hampshire Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Telephone: (202) 483-2512

We welcome and encourage letters and submissions, especially for Book Notes and Work in Progress.

The deadline for Spring/Summer issue submissions is March 1. The deadline for submissions for the Fall/Winter issue is October 15. Please send all correspondence to:

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One University Blvd, St. Louis, MO 63121-4499

From the Editor

Concerns about the relevance of political science continue to bubble in our profession. Under the direction of founding editor Jennifer Hochschild, *Perspectives in Politics* has provided welcome discussions of contemporary issues and the state of the profession. Building on a tradition of scholars such as Theda Skocpol and many others, our section has provided considerable leadership in connecting scholarship to the public debate in recent months. Of course many section members provided comments about political developments last year. Dante Scala became a go-to scholar for the New Hampshire primary. The media turned to Howard Reiter to interpret the resignation of Connecticut's governor. There are many other examples.

I hope the members have noticed two particularly important contributions to our public discourse on issues that are not as directly tied to electoral competition. Sarah Binder has been one of the most visible section members in the first half of 2005. Sarah has provide remarkably lucid and concise explanations of the complexities of the Senate filibuster in many forums, including the PBS *Newshour* on May 16. She and her co-author, Steven S. Smith, provided excellent op-ed pieces in such newspapers as the Atlanta *Journal-Constitution* and the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* (some of the Binder and Smith discussions are online at the Brookings Institution website). The filibuster controversy had brought more attention to their book, *Politics or Principle? Filibustering in the United States Senate*, published by Brookings in 1996. Because it has important things to say about the comparative development of the House and Senate, this book should continue to be of broad interest to scholars of American Political Development.

Jacob Hacker has made an equally important contribution to the debate on economic security in the United States. Hacker, who is heading a Social Science Research Council project on the "privatization of risk," is the author of the forthcoming book *The Great Risk Shift: The*

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Andrew Polsky Assumes Editorship of *Polity*

After more that three decades at the University of Massachusetts, *Polity*, the journal of the Northeastern Political Science Association, will be moving to a new home during summer 2005. Andrew J. Polsky, professor of political science at Hunter College and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, will become the journal's new editor this July. It will be housed within the doctoral program in Political Science at the CUNY Graduate Center. Palgrave Macmillan recently began to publish the journal.

Professor Polsky, a member of the Politics and History section, notes that *Polity* has always welcomed contributions from scholars engaged in historically-oriented research and pieces that challenges conventional divisions within the discipline. "It is a privilege to take on the responsibility of editing one of the most recognized and respected journals in political science. I hope that members of the Politics and History section will continue to think of *Polity* as a place to publish both cutting-edge research and the kind of synthesizing overviews that we typically assign students to read at the end of our advanced undergraduate and graduate courses. Scholars doing work on American political development have often published in the pages of the journal. I hope we can add work by historically-minded scholars in comparative politics and international relations."

Manuscripts should be submitted as a Word or Word Perfect attachment to <polity@gc.cuny.edu>, with "New Submission" as the subject heading. For further details, please see the "Instructions for Authors" site, http://www.palgrave-journals.com/Polity/instructions.html.

Polity

The Journal of the Northeastern Political Science Association

Journal of Politics invites submissions

- John Geer, Editor

As of January 3, 2005, I became editor of The Journal of Politics. A central goal of my 4 year term is to build on the efforts of my predecessors and reach out across our broad discipline in an effort to get the best possible submissions. JOP is a general journal and I want the submissions to reflect the rich array of work in our field. So I urge all of you to not only consider sending us high quality essays, but to make sure you are in our data base as possible reviewers. To make good decisions, I need to secure the advice of appropriate reviewers. Please check out our website, www.journalofpolitics.org, for information about how to become a reviewer and to submit manuscripts for review. Our turnaround time on manuscripts averages 45 work days, which means you will get useful and timely feedback. In the meantime, please do not hesitate to contact me with any questions about JOP.

Call for Paper Proposals

POLICY HISTORY CONFERENCE,
June 1—June 4, 2006
University of Virginia - Charlottesville

The *Journal of Policy History* issues a call for papers for a Conference on Policy History to be held at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, June 1—June 4, 2006. Program chairs are Meg Jacobs and Eric Patashnik. All topics concerning the history, development and implementation of public policy, as well as American political development, broadly conceived will be considered. Complete sessions are encouraged, but individual paper proposals are welcome. The deadline for proposals is **November 15, 2005**. Please send two (2) copies of proposals, including a one-page summary of each paper(s) and a C.V. of each panelist to Policy Conference, Journal of Policy History, Saint Louis University, 3800 Lindell Blvd. P. O. Box 56907, St. Louis, MO 63156-0907.

(*For the program of the 2004 conference, please visit* http://www.slu.edu/departments/jph/ *and click on 2004 Policy History Conference Program*)

Politics and History Panels
(and Selected Theme Panels)
at the 2005 American Political Science Association Meetings

Co-Chairs:
Hendrik Spruyt, Northwestern University
Elisabeth Clemens, University of Chicago

Business Meeting: **Blue Room, Saturday, September 3, 6:00 PM**
Reception: **Hampton, Saturday, September 3, 7:00 PM**

Thursday, September 1, 8:00 am
Panel 7-9 Democracy at War: The Effects of Armed Conflict in Comparative Perspective

Chair: Suzanne B. Mettler, Syracuse University

"Limited Wars and the Attenuation of the State: A Reassessment"
Bartholomew H. Sparrow and Donald S. Inbody, University of Texas, Austin

"The Presidential Rhetoric of Democracy and War"
Philip A. Klinkner, Hamilton College

"The Reciprocal Relationship Between Military Conflict and Political Development"
David L. Rousseau, University of Pennsylvania

"Hypotheses on War and Democracy: Clearing Away the Underbrush"
Ronald R. Krebs, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

Discussants: Suzanne B. Mettler, Syracuse University
Arthur A Stein, University of California-Los Angeles

Thursday, September 1, 8:00 am
Panel 7-10 The Politics of U.S. Territorial Expansion

Chair: Charles A. Kromkowski, University of Virginia

"All States Were Not Created Equal: Control of the Public Lands in the Early American Republic and the Rise of Western Sectionalism"
Bruce G. Bunke, College of the Holy Cross

"Writing Constitutions for the Western States"
Amy B. Bridges, University of California, San Diego

"Building States: Political Leaders and Entrepreneurs in American Statehood Movements, 1790-1912"
Matthew Glassman, Yale University

"The Insular Cases and American Federalism"
Bartholomew H. Sparrow, University of Texas, Austin

Discussant: Charles A. Kromkowski, University of Virginia

Thursday, September 1, 10:15 am
Panel 7-1 That '70s Decade and the Politics of Paradigm Change

Chair: Jonathan B. Oberlander, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill

"The 1970s as Watershed"
Edward Berkowitz, George Washington University

"Abandoning the Draft"
Julian E. Zelizer, Boston University

"DSM-III and the Political Revolution in the Classification of Mental Illness"
Rick Mayes, University of Richmond and Allan V. Horwitz, Rutgers University

"After Airline Deregulation: Institutions, Policy Feedbacks, and the Political Sustainability of Reform"
Eric M. Patashnik, University of Virginia

"The 1970s: Minimum Wage, Meet your Replacement—The EITC"
Daniel Gitterman and Aaron McKethan, University of North Carolina

Discussants:
Marc Landy, Boston College
Bruce J. Schulman, Boston University

Thursday, September 1, 10:15 am
Panel 7-11 State and Non-State Formations

Chair: Jason Sharman, University of Sydney

"Historical Trajectories, Path Dependency and Democracy-The Case for the Role of the Normans"
Gretchen MacMillan, University of Calgary

"Cities, Trade, and the Emergence of the Constitutional State"
Deborah A. Boucoyannis, Harvard University

"Structural Implications of Modern Semi-Sovereign Entities:
The Emergence of Federacy in International Politics"
David A. Rezvani, Harvard University

"Development, Democracy, and the Two-tiered World: Lessons from the West on the Rest"
Tin-bor Victoria Hui, University of Notre Dame

Discussant: Jason Sharman, University of Sydney

Thursday, September 1, 10:15 am
Panel 7-17 The Politics of Social Policy (Co-sponsored by 25-1)

Chair: Stephen Pimpare, Yeshiva University

"Domestic Conflicts in a Dangerous Neighbourhood:
The School Wars of Western Europe, 1870-1914"
Jan G. Erk, Central European University

"The Politics of Race and Territorial Integration:
The Historical Development of Public Health Insurance in the United States and Canada, 1910-2005"
Gerard Boychuk, University of Waterloo

"Diminished Opportunities: The Politics of Federal Higher Education Policy, 1975-2005"
Suzanne B. Mettler, Syracuse University

"Political Conflict and Policy Convergence: AFDC and EITC in the 1980s and 1990s"
Eva Bertram, University of California, Santa Cruz

Discussants:
Stephen Pimpare, Yeshiva University
S. Suzan J. Harkness, University of the District of Columbia

Thursday, September 1, 10:15 am
Panel 7-21 Author Meets Critics: Roundtable on Richard Vallely's The Two Reconstructions

Chair: Jennifer L. Hochschild, Harvard University

Participants:
Pei-te Lien, University of Utah
Julie Fernandes, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
Rogers M. Smith, University of Pennsylvania

Discussants:
Robert C. Lieberman, Columbia University
Jennifer L. Hochschild, Harvard University

Thursday, September 1, 10:15 am
Theme Panel T-1 The 1965 Voting Rights Act at Forty (I): The Voting Rights Act and the American Federal System

Chair: Lucius J. Barker, Stanford University

Participants:
Katherine Tate, University of California, Irvine
Christine Marie Sierra, University of New Mexico
Susan Welch, Pennsylvania State University
Ronald W. Walters, University of Maryland

2006 Politics and History Panels at the American Political Science Association Meetings
Call for Panel Participants

Organizers: Kathleen Thelen, Northwestern University (thelen@northwestern.edu)
Daniel Tichenor, Rutgers University (tichenor@polisci.rutgers.edu)

Consistent with the conference theme, "Power Reconsidered," this section welcomes proposals that draw on historical methods or materials, or that employ theoretical perspectives attuned to the role of history and temporality to reinvigorate the study of power in political life. How do historical or developmental approaches to political inquiry enrich our understanding of the political, institutional, cultural, and social bases of power and their empirical effects? We are especially interested in proposals that offer fresh insights about how to conceptualize power and analyze its use and abuse in light of historical patterns, sequences, contingencies, and trajectories. Proposals might focus on how the acquisition, use, and control of power shapes and is shaped by political culture and ideas over time; by the genesis, development, interaction, and breakdown of institutions; by political leaders and entrepreneurs operating in distinctive historical contexts; and by the mobilization and decline of social movements and organized interests. We encourage submissions that employ longitudinal research and cross-case analyses, as well as those that advance innovative theoretical or methodological approaches to the study of history and politics.

Thursday, September 1, 2:00 pm
Panel 7-18 Polity and Policy in the U.S., 1900-1940

Chair: Ann V. Collins, Washington University

"The Politics of Suffrage Extension in the American States:
Party, Race, and the Pursuit of Women's Voting Rights"
Corrine M. McConnaughy, University of Texas at Austin

"The Lessons and Legacies of State Old Age Pensions"
Brian J. Glenn, University of Pennsylvania

"Self-Help Cooperatives and the Failure of Decentralism During the Great Depression"
Loren Gatch, University of Central Oklahoma

"A Unified State, a Divided Nation: New Deal Policy-making and Protestant Political Organizations"
Michael Janson, University of Pennsylvania

Discussant: Ann V. Collins, Washington University

Thursday, September 1, 4:15 pm
Panel 7-15 The Politics of Collective Memory

Chair: Patrick Thaddeus Jackson, American University

"The Politics of Managing the Past: Democratic Norms,
Democratization and the Collective Self-Concept in the Face of Unpalatable Revelations"
Martin O. Heisler, University of Maryland

"Collective Memory and Democratization in Germany, Spain, Argentina and Chile"
Eric Langenbacher, Georgetown University

"Agents of Change: The Role of Teachers and Schools
in Creating Hegemony and Consolidating Identity in Postrevolutionary Mexico and Iran"
Shervin Malekzadeh, Georgetown University

"Truth, Reconciliation and Democratization: The Case of West Germany"
Mark Allen Wolfgram, Carleton University

Discussant: Patrick Thaddeus Jackson, American University

Thursday, September 1, 4:15 pm

Panel 7-22 Author Meets Critics Roundtable on
Paul Pierson's Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis (Co-sponsored by 46-6)
Chair: Kathleen Thelen, Northwestern University

Participants:
David R. Mayhew, Yale University
Bo Rothstein, Göteborg University
James Mahoney, Brown University
Kathleen Thelen, Northwestern University
Paul Pierson, Harvard University

Friday, September 2, 8:00 am
Panel 7-3 Ideas and Institutions in Policymaking

Chairs: Mark Blyth, Johns Hopkins University
Brian T. Hanson, Northwestern University

"The Politics of Ownership: Ideas, Institutions, and Conservative Social Policy"
Daniel Beland, University of Calgary

"The Market Model and the Politics of Privatization"
Elisabeth S. Clemens, University of Chicago

"Institutionalizing Ideas: Liberalism and the History of Welfare States"
Robert H. Cox, University of Oklahoma

"Configurations of Race and State: Ideas and Institutions in the Politics of Racial Incorporation"
Robert C. Lieberman, Columbia University

Discussants:
Mark Blyth, Johns Hopkins University
Brian T. Hanson, Northwestern University

Friday, September 2, 8:00 am

Panel 7-20 The Bush Presidency in Historical Perspective

Chair: Sean J. Savage, Saint Mary's College

"Turn of the Century Politics and Party Realignment:
The Case of William McKinley and George W. Bush"
Daniel Peter Klinghard, College of the Holy Cross

"Considering the Cabinet: Executive Authority and American Political Development"
Marc Janssen, University of Califonia

"George W. Bush, the Republican Party, and the New American Party System"
Jesse H. Rhodes and Sidney M. Milkis, University of Virginia

Discussant: Sean J. Savage, Saint Mary's College

Friday, September 2, 10:15 am

Panel 7-12 Organizational Learning and Expertise

Chair: Thomas H. Hammond, Michigan State University

"Careers and Professionalism in American State Legislatures, 1880-2000"
Gerald Gamm, University of Rochester and Nancy Burns, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

"Constructing an Agenda of Restriction:
Activists, Institutions and the Issue of Immigration Restriction in the Progressive Era and 1920s"
Carol Nackenoff, Swarthmore College

"When Does a Democracy Turn to Policy Expertise?
Explaining the Creation and the Weakness of the U.S. Interstate Commerce Commission"
Hiroshi Okayama, University of Tokyo

"Reputation, Learning and Regulatory Power:
The Cementation of Gatekeeping Authority at the FDA, 1950-1963"
Daniel P. Carpenter, Harvard University

Discussant: Thomas H. Hammond, Michigan State University

Friday, September 2, 2:00 pm

Panel 7-2 The Sequence and Consequences of Empire in Pre-Communist Europe

Chair: Michael Bernhard, Pennsylvania State University

"The Great Divide: Pre-Communist Culture and Post-Communist Trajectories"
Anna M. Grzymala-Busse, University of Michigan
Keith A. Darden, Yale University

"Reversal of Fortune: Status Change and Ethnic Voting in Interwar Poland and Czechoslovakia"
Jason Wittenberg, University of Wisconsin

Jeffrey Kopstein, University of Toronto

"Is Breaking Up Hard to Do?
Security, Nationalism and the Emergence of 2003-2005 Sovereign States in the Balkans"
Ellen Comisso, University of California-San Diego

"National Identity Inside-Out: External Actors and Nationalist Contention in Slovakia and the Czech Republic"
Nicole Hala, Columbia University

Discussant: Michael Bernhard, Pennsylvania State University

Friday, September 2, 2:00 pm
Panel 7-4 Contracting and Commitment in Times of Uncertainty

Chair: David P. Auerswald, National War College

"Contracting and Commitment Among Democracies"
Charles H. Lipson, University of Chicago

"Taking American Empire Seriously"
Daniel H. Nexon, Georgetown University

"Dividing the Spoils During Territorial Partition"
Hendrik Spruyt, Northwestern University

"Contracting Sovereignty: Integration and Disintegration in International Politics"
Alexander Cooley, Barnard College, Columbia University

Discussant: David P. Auerswald, National War College

Friday, September 2, 2:00 pm
**Theme Panel T-2: The 1965 Voting Rights Act at Forty (II):
Changes in the American Political Context**

Chair: Dianne M. Pinderhughes, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Participants:
Lorn S. Foster, Pomona College
Pei-te Lien, University of Utah
Melvin Oliver, University of California, Santa Barbara
Alex W. Willingham, Williams College
Linda Faye Williams, University of Maryland

Friday, September 2, 4:15 pm
Panel 7-19 Democratic Change and Political History in the Twentieth Century
(Co-sponsored by Miller Center of Public Affairs, Panel 1)

Chair: R. Shep Melnick, Boston College

"Theorizing from the Bottom Up: Democracy and the Minimum Voting Age"
Jenny Diamond Cheng, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

"Habeas Corpus and the History of the Warren Court"
Justin J. Wert, University of Pennsylvania

"Creating a Welfare Crisis: Property Rights and Welfare Rights in the Postwar United States"
Molly Christina Michelmore, University of Michigan

"Between Passion and Deliberation: The Democratic Dilemmas of Christian Right Activism"
Jon A. Shields, University of Virginia

"Higher Education and American Citizenship"
Christopher Loss, University of Virginia

Discussant: R. Shep Melnick, Boston College

Friday, September 2, 4:15 pm

Panel 7-7 Multiculturalism and the Development of American Democracy: Desmond King's *The Liberty of Strangers: Making the American Nation* (Oxford University Press, 2004)

Chair: Daniel Kryder, Brandeis University

Participants:
Desmond King, Oxford University
Sven Steinmo, University of Colorado-Boulder
Melissa Nobles, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Bernard Yack, Brandeis University
Paul Frymer, Princeton University

Discussant: Victoria Hattam, New School University

Saturday, September 3, 8:00 am

Panel 7-13 Policing, Surveillance, and the State

Chair: Char Roone Miller, George Mason University

"The Origins of Felon Disenfranchisement Provisions in the U.S.:
An Examination of the State Constitutional Debates"
John J. Dinan, Wake Forest University

"From Private Policing to Administrative Regulation:
The Shift from Regulation without Bureaucracies to Centralized Agencies in the United States, 1890-1930"
Ann-Marie E. Szymanski, University of Oklahoma

"War, Revolution/Counter-Revolution and the Militarized Repression of Labor Movements:
A Comparison of the United States and Czarist/Soviet Russia 1900-1925"
Christian W. Erickson, Roosevelt University

"From Rights to Revolution:
The Prisoners' Movement and the Construction of the Carceral State in the U.S."
Marie Gottschalk, University of Pennsylvania

Discussant: Char Roone Miller, George Mason University

Saturday, September 3, 10:15 am

Panel 7-6 Reassessing the American Democratic Party: Secular Decline or Transient Failure?

Chair: Sidney M. Milkis, University of Virginia

"Wither the Democratic Party: Origins of the Current Crisis"
Victoria Hattam, New School University, and Joseph E. Lowndes, University of Oregon

"More than Spoilers: Insurgency Campaigns and the Transformation of American Partisan & Electoral Politics"
Daniel J. Tichenor, Rutgers University, and Daniel Fuerstman, University of Wisconsin

"Rethinking the Class versus Identity Dichotomy in American Politics:
Organizational Change and Multiple Identities in the US Labor Movement"
Dorian T. Warren, University of Chicago

Discussants: David Plotke, New School University and Adam Sheingate, Johns Hopkins University

Saturday, September 3, 10:15 am

Panel 7-14 American Business and Party Politics

Chair: David M. Hart, George Mason University

"The Development of Financial Policies In the United States, 1789-1860"
Rose Razaghian, Yale University

"Sectional Parties, Divided Business"
Cathie Jo Martin, Boston University

"Corporate Governance and Restraint by the State: the Failure of State Regulation in America, 1865-1900"
Jonathan Chausovsky, University of Texas at Austin

"Politics, Pressures, and the Tariff: Revisiting Schattschneider in the Age of the WTO"
McGee W. Young, Marquette University

Discussant: David M. Hart, George Mason University

Saturday, September 3, 2:00 pm

Panel 7-8 Durability and Adaptation in Institutional Development

Chair: Eric M. Patashnik, University of Virginia

"The Dynamics of Public Principal and Private Agents:
Institutional Persistence and Change in Setting U.S. Accounting Standards"
Tim Buthe, Duke University and Walter Mattli, Oxford University

"Legislative Life: The Durability and Adaptability of the Law"
Forrest Maltzman, George Washington University, and Charles R. Shipan, University of Iowa

"How a Law Stays a Law: Durability, Modification and Repeal of U.S. Tax Breaks, 1967-2003"
Alison Elizabeth Post, Harvard University

"Constitutional Liberalism in Political Time: The Case of Justices Brandeis, Brennan, and Breyer"
Ken I. Kersch, Princeton University

Discussant: Eric M. Patashnik, University of Virginia

Business Meeting: Blue Room, Saturday, September 3, 6:00 PM - 7:00 PM
Reception Hampton, Saturday, September 3, 7:00 PM - 8:30 PM

Sunday, September 4, 8:00 am
7-16 After Empire, Post-Colony

Chair: G. Eduardo Silva, University of Missouri-St. Louis

"Trajectories of Secularization After Empire: The Cases of Syria and Turkey"
Ed Webb, University of Pennsylvania

"Republicanism vs Monarchy: Why did Turkey and Iran Choose Different Political Regimes in the 1920s?"
Birol Baskan, Northwestern University

"Democratic Memory, Amnesty and Amnesia:
Nietzschean Forgetting and South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission"
P.J. Brendese, Duke University

"Citizenship, Political Culture and the Post-colony: Civil and Political Society in South Africa"
Thomas A. Koelble, University of Cape Town
Edward LiPuma, University of Miami

Discussant: G. Eduardo Silva, University of Missouri-St. Louis

Sunday, September 4, 10:15 am
Panel 7-5 Anglo-Protestants and America: Perspectives on the Work of John Higham and Samuel Huntington

Chair: Eric P. Kaufmann, Birkbeck College, University of London

"The Empire Strikes Back: WASPs, Whites, and the Evolution of Racial-Ethnic Dominance"
Ashley W. Doane, University of Hartford

"American Ethno-Civic Nationalism"
Don H. Doyle, University of South Carolina

"The Identity and Changing Status of Former Elite Minorities:
The Contrasting Cases of North Indian Muslims and American WASPs"
Theodore P. Wright, SUNY-University at Albany

"The Decline of the WASP?: Anglo-Protestant Ethnicity and the American Nation-State"
Eric P. Kaufmann, Birkbeck College, University of London

Discussant: Gary Gerstle, University of Maryland, College Park

Woodrow Wilson International Center For Scholars Fellowships In The Social Sciences And Humanities, 2006-2007

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars announces the opening of its 2006-2007 fellowship competition. The application deadline is October 1, 2005.The Center offers residential fellowships for the entire U.S. academic year (September through May), or for a minimum of four months during the academic year, to individuals in the social sciences and humanities who submit outstanding project proposals on a broad range of national and/or international issues. Fellows are selected through a multi-level peer review process. Proposed topics should relate to key public policy challenges or provide the historical and/or cultural framework to illumine policy issues of contemporary importance. Fellows are provided with a stipend (includes a round-trip transportation allowance), part-time research assistance, and, through the assistance of professional librarians, access to the Library of Congress. Fellows work from private offices at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC. Eligibility: For academic applicants, eligibility is limited to the postdoctoral level and, normally, to applicants with publications beyond the Ph.D. dissertation. For other applicants, an equivalent level of professional achievement is expected. Applications from any country are welcome. All applicants should have a very good command of spoken English. The Center seeks a diverse group of Fellows and encourages applications from women and minorities. For additional information and for application materials, please visit our website at: http://www.wilsoncenter.org/fellowships, or write to: Scholar Selection and Services Office, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, One Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 1300 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20004-3027; e-mail: fellowships@wwic.si.edu; telephone: 202/691-4170; fax: 202/691-4001.

Abstracts of Papers Presented at Politics and History Panels at the 2005 Midwest Political Science Association Meetings

"Politics as Property: The Undemocratic Peace and the Origins of Modern Europe"

George Downs and Vivek Sharma, New York University

The democratic peace may be the most salient institutionally-driven peace, but it is not the first. This paper examines how dynasticism brought about a process of peaceful territorial aggregation in the midst of a world that was as violent as the twentieth century by changing the rules that governed inheritance and succession via the introduction of primogeniture and female inheritance. These innovations eliminated the problems created by partible inheritance by restricting the number of legitimate claimants upon property (which included political offices) and in the process dramatically reduced the uncertainty and potential for conflict that had surrounded the disposition of property upon the death of a feudal lord. As a result, the fragmentation of landholdings and political power that was on the verge of destroying the economic viability and security of Latin Europe was reversed in only a few decades and a process of nonviolent consolidation took place that was not to be rivaled until the creation of the EU in the late twentieth century.

"Death from the Air"

Martin Gruberg, University of Wisconsin - Oshkosh

Sudden and unexpected, airplane crashes sometimes cause considerable changes in history. Had John Heinz III not been killed in a plane crach, whould John Kerry have become the Democratic presidential candidate in 2004? Had Me Carnahan not died in an aerial accident, would John Ashcroft not have lost to his widow yet go on to become U.S. Attorney General? And had Paul Wellstone not also been the

victim of an air disaster, would the Democrats have been able to regain the U.S. Senate? There have been many more such episodes over time than these few of recent memory. This paper explores the consequences in the government arena.

"Purposes + Unintended Consequences = Unforeseen Future: The 1965 Hart-Cellar Act, the 2000 Census, and the Possible Disruption of the US Racial Order"

Jennifer L. Hochschild, Harvard University

The combination of two federal policies may transform the American racial and ethnic hierarchy more than anything has done since the civil rights movement. They are the Hart-Celler immigration law of 1965 and the racial and ethnic categories on the 2000 census, especially the instruction to "mark one or more" races. Unlike the civil rights activities of the 1950s and 1960s, the first change was not intended to overturn the racial order and the second was a reaction to a process of overturning already underway. Both were, and are, highly dependent on the isolated and contingent choices of many people around the world. The immigration law has already had a significant impact on the politics and society of the United States, and the census instructions might also. This paper examines the genesis of each policy change, and the purposes and expectations of the people who promulgated and opposed each policy. We analyze the public records surrounding each case, such as Congressional hearings and reports in the Federal Register, as well as media or other nonofficial publications. Our goal is to examine the relationships between intent and outcome, especially when policies interact with each other and especially when their consequences depend largely on the small private choices of millions of individuals.

"Sexual Desire and Punishment in the Early Republic"

Mark E. Kann, University of Southern California

The American Revolution ushered in a "sexual revolution" that lowered restraints on individual sexual desires and heightened elite fears that the new generation would fail to exhibit republican virtue. An indicator of failed virtue was the perceived growth of criminal activity, especially in cities such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. From the 1790s through the 1830s, a generation of penal reformers developed an argument that a primary means for preventing crime was to encourage people to discipline sexual desire and a preferred method for curing criminality was to force felons to endure incarceration, emasculation, and sexual abstinence.

"Human Rights Overlooked: An Untold Story of 19th Century Rights Discourse"

Martin Kifer, University of Minnesota

This paper is a preliminary attempt at setting the record straight on the content of the human rights concept in 19th century American political thought. A reasonably coherent concept of human rights has existed in American rights talk for at least 150 years. The project begins by performing a relatively simple analysis of the frequency of mentions of particular types of rights in a subset of 19th century documents, concluding that there is sufficient evidence of a relatively consistent use of a "human rights" term in the 19th century. It continues by examining the use of the term by prominent 19th century activists and politicians, arguing that there was a relatively coherent concept to accompany the term "human rights".

"Comparing Military Performance In World War II: An Application of Public Administration Theory"

Michael J. Licari, University of Northern Iowa

This paper uses elements of theories from public administration to assess the comparative performance of two armies (American and British) in World War II. Many authors, both historians and political scientists examining security studies, have tried to explain the performance of individual armies in that war. Very few, however, have examined the issue from the perspective of public administration. This is curious, as militaries are public organizations (bureaucracies), and their performance should be explainable with public administration theories. "Military performance" is defined as organizational learning. Organizational learning will be measured by

comparing the results of specific battles fought by each army early in the war with battles fought late in the war. This method of measurement is supported by the enormous military history literature that provides thorough autopsies of most key battles of the war, and has been used successfully previously in a similar project by Eric Heginbotham. The literature on learning organizations suggests that attributes such as "shared vision," "consistent values," and "competence" need to be fostered. Further, success can best be gained if there are few or no turf battles and if political leaders leave day-to-day activities to organizational managers. Finally, other issues, such as organizational structure, communication, and political support can influence an organization's ability to foster those attributes that promote organizational learning. This paper therefore uses a set of determinants of organizational improvement, based on a theoretical framework from Public Administration: (1) infrastructure; (2) communication; (3) rules and procedures; and (4) politics. The four main assertions that stem from these are: (1) armies that are more centralized will learn more; (2) armies that have fewer barriers to communication will learn more; (3) armies with consistent internal rules and procedures and that foster the development of personnel will learn more; and (4), armies that have less political "micromanagement" of battlefield operations will learn more. My findings support these expectations. Problems with infrastructure, communication, internal rules, and politics in the British army (as compared to the army of the United States) meant that the U.S. army learned more, and learned more rapidly, during World War II.

"Asia First and American Conservatism: The Career of Senator William F. Knowland, 1945-1958"

Joyce Mao, University of California-Berkeley

The postwar American Right was never isolationist in the traditional sense of the word. More than any other single issue, the China Question inspired unity among conservatives. They constructed an orientalism that met their tactical and ideological needs by combining Republican practicality, neo-nostalgia for an idiosyncratic Sino-American relationship, and anti-communism. This paper examines conservatism and its connections to the Far East, demonstrating the impact of foreign relations upon a movement long accused of isolationism and unoriginality. The course of William F. Knowland's senatorial tenure (1945-1958) was in many ways reflective of rightwing ideology and action during that period. He single-handedly transformed the cause of anti-communist China into a watershed issue within American politics. His efforts earned him the derisive nickname of "The Senator from Formosa," but Knowland equipped the GOP with means to condemn the Truman administration and conservative elites an opening to recover their party from consensus. As Sen. Robert A. Taft's handpicked successor, Knowland changed the face of the Republican Right. Because of him, virulent anti-communism, Pacific internationalism, and defense-oriented state expansion became hallmarks of GOP conservatism. An examination of the senator's stance on the Far East reveals the making of a national career, as well as the critical, relatively early connections Knowland forged between the Right's divided elite and grassroots branches. Correspondingly, political mistakes he made during the late 1950s exposed the obstacles both factions needed to overcome in order to accomplish their goals.

"Waiting for Policy Expertise: Institutional Choice and the Shaping of the U.S. Interstate Commerce Commission"

Hiroshi Okayama, University of Tokyo

This paper seeks to shed a new light on the shaping of the Interstate Commerce Commission by situating the event in the context of policy experts' penetration into the U.S. federal policymaking process. In discussing the legislative history of the Interstate Commerce Act, which was enacted in 1887, the existing works have associated a certain type of personnel with a particular form of organization and assumed that the institutional choice to be made in the creation of the ICC was a dichotomous one between the courts run by lawyers and the commission staffed by railroad experts. The main argument of this paper is that the established ICC took an institutional form that has come largely unnoticed: a commission largely occupied by lawyers, not experts. This is demonstrated through the analysis of the legislative process in the Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Congresses in which two bills, respectively proposing the judiciary and the commission as the regulatory device, were

introduced. It is first shown that, contrary to the prevailing view, the lawmakers were not necessarily against experts' involvement in railroad regulation. Many of them acknowledged the complexity of the problem and their incapacity for developing a decent regulatory policy. If this was the case, why did most of the commissioners of the early ICC turned out to be lawyers? The promoters of the commission initially had in mind two conditions to be fulfilled by the commissioners, expertise in railroad management and neutrality from all parties that were involved, but few experts at that time satisfied both of them. For instance, most leading authorities were railroad managers and could not pass the neutrality test. The commission's supporters came to envision a commission with non-experts accumulating its own expertise in railroads from scratch. Now that expertise was not a prerequisite for a commissioner, it was only natural that the lawmakers turned to lawyers, the primary source of governing elite at that time.To those in Congress who had been against the commission, a commission of lawyers must have been much more acceptable than the one staffed by experts. But at the same time, by appointing lawyers who were then already taking part in railroad regulation through the judiciary, Congress made the ICC institutionally redundant and prevented it from being taken seriously by the courts. What was at work here was a "time lag" between supply and demand of policy expertise that characterized the late-nineteenth century.

"Explaining the At-Will Employment Law of the United States: A Political Economic Perspective"

June Park, University of Pittsburgh

American employers have legally fired workers without advance notice for a good reason, a bad reason, or no reason at all, unless the dismissal violates labor contracts or provisions of specific statutes such as the National Labor Relations Act and the Civil Rights Act. This employment-at-will law and the ease of layoff that this law made possible have been a distinctive feature of American business-labor relationship. This paper seeks to answer how the United States has established the most laissez-faire system of employment protection among industrial countries by examining the American history from the 1870s through the 1930s. The origin and continuity of the employment-at-will doctrine can be best accounted for by the interplay between employers hostile to employment protection and the strong judiciary promoting free-market capitalism. Although few employers over the world welcomed labor's control over work, the peculiar hostility of American employers toward employment protection can be seen as a result of the preeminence of securities in the American corporate finance. While large firms in Germany and Japan had close relationships with banks guaranteeing long-term finance and protecting the firms against mergers, large American firms raised funds through securities markets lacking financiers' long-term commitment. The result was that while managers faced pressures from investors to maintain dividend and interest payments, the manager's right to run business in terms of employment and production was treated as sacrosanct so that they could maximize short-term profits. The constitutional division of power placed labor at a further disadvantage compared to employers. The American federalism has been underpinned by a written constitution and politically independent judiciary claiming the authority of reviewing the constitutionality of legislation. This unique political structure provided opportunities for employers to make void federal and state legislation limiting their freedom to dismiss workers through litigation. In response to employers' litigation, the judges of federal and state courts favoring business interests consistently busted government intervention in labor markets. The role of courts as the defender of freedom of contract and freedom of enterprise narrowed the policy agenda for labor law reform in the New Deal period, forestalling the Roosevelt government from challenging the core of employment-at-will doctrine.

"Race, Labor & the State: Fair Employment Policy in Postwar North America"

Margaret C. Rung, Roosevelt University

This paper explores the parallel rights revolutions in Canada and the United States, particularly as they relate to the implementation of federal fair employment policies during the 1940s and 1950s. By focusing on fair employment legislation as a form of labor regulation, this paper illustrates the ways in which the state sought to control the contested terrain of labor and racial politics. In the United States, the

government established fair employment policies during World War Two, abolished them immediately afterward, and then reconstituted them in 1948, but only for the federal civil service. As demonstrated through a multi-year complaint of race discrimination in the Treasury Department's Bureau of Engraving and Printing, the Fair Employment Board created in 1948 had difficulty remedying discrimination due to an ideological contradiction between group and individual conceptions of rights, institutional deficiencies and the political power of southern Democrats eager to thwart its mandate.
In Canada, movement toward fair employment followed two seemingly distinct paths. On one path, French Canadians engaged in a vigorous debate over their representation in the civil service. On the other path, black and Jewish Canadians, among other minority groups, pushed for fair employment legislation largely modeled on that of the United States. During parliamentary debate on the fair employment measure, which passed in 1953, virtually no mention was made of French Canadians. Moreover, the law, while forbidding discrimination on the basis of race, national origin, color or religion, did not address bilingualism, often the basis for the exclusion of French Canadians from the civil service. On both sides of the border, a tension between group and individual rights, along with party politics, the configuration of administrative relationships, the relative power of labor, and racial conceptions of power affected the development and implementation of fair employment policy. In each case, the negotiation of fair employment policies in the immediate postwar period served to establish the foundation from which the rights-based legislation of the 1960s emerged.

"Women's Rite? Gendered Nationalism and Palestinian Female Suicide Bombers"

Maya Sabatello, University of Southern California

The paper places Palestinian female suicide bombers within the political and social discourse on gendered-nationalist and statehood. Drawing on the personal stories of Palestinian women who "martyred" themselves "for the cause", it analyzes the phenomena via three main recently raised justifications for the suicidal attacks: a general principle of equality, a challenge to the patriarchal familial structure and the preservation of the Palestinian authentic ("Oriental") culture and its Islamic fundamentalism. The paper questions the compatibility of these arguments with the gendered-national discourse in both the Western and the Palestinians' national narratives, yet finds neither convincing. Finally, the inquires the construct of the "national identity (self)" and "the Other" in the cleavage society and concludes that the political actors' manipulation of religious terminology combined with a devastating occupation in order to gain political power plays a destructive role in the eventual construction of the Palestinian nationhood.

"Racial Politics and Welfare Retrenchment during the Reagan Presidency"

Scott J. Spitzer, Chapman University

How do conservative Presidents use welfare state retrenchment to make political appeals, and in particular to reach conservative whites on the basis of the sensitive subject of race? This paper examines claims that the Reagan administration's welfare retrenchment efforts were organized around a political agenda that sought to take advantage of the racial animosities of southern whites and northern white ethnics. Applying Pierson's (1994) approach to the politics of welfare state retrenchment, I focus on the administration's most successful effort to cut the federal welfare state: the 1981 Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act, examining the retrenchment strategies of obfuscation, division and compensation. Pierson's approach to welfare retrenchment is modified by the recognition that the racialized nature of welfare politics in the 1980s was integral to the administration's political successes in this area. For each of these strategies, race was of great importance in shaping retrenchment. While I find that the Reagan administration maintained a racially neutral public presentation in their public and private discussions of these budget cuts, I also find a somewhat consciously articulated but fragmented political agenda focused on conservative white southern democrats and northern working- and lower-middle-class whites. This is contrasted with an almost complete absence of concern over the disproportionate harm that African Americans faced as a result of their agenda. Most telling, the administration responded to the criticisms of their budget cuts by African-American leaders through a combination of silences and symbols, offering very little in the way of direct material or procedural

rewards for African Americans. Taken as a whole, the pattern of welfare state retrenchment, political appeals to whites, silence on racial implications, and symbolic appeals provide a compelling portrait of the racialized quality of the Reagan administration's welfare cuts in 1981.

"The Legacy of Jim Crow: Analyzing Electoral Reform and Political Participation in the South, 1920-2000"

Melanie Jean Springer, Columbia University

The struggle over voting rights in the South presents a dynamic process that is fundamental to understanding the history and practice of political participation in the United States. The prevalence of Jim Crow dramatically affected electoral politics and voting in this region. While the 1964 Civil Rights Act and subsequent 1965 Voting Rights Act created a federal leveling of state voting laws specifically targeted at curbing racial disenfranchisement practices, the legacy of Jim Crow persists today. Despite cost-reducing and equalizing electoral reforms throughout the century, there is a lingering suffrage problem in the Southern states. Throughout the twentieth century this region has garnered the lowest voter participation rates in the nation. Voter turnout in the Southern states falls significantly below the national average – 20-30% below in some cases. Departing from the usual behavioral framework, this paper examines the changing electoral institutions that have governed voting in the South from 1920-2000 and assesses the impact these laws have had on state-level voter turnout rates. In order to stimulate political participation and inclusion in the South, we must first understand the role that electoral institutions have played in shaping Southern voting practices both presently and historically. Perhaps the institutional solution to improve low voting rates in Southern states is markedly different from working solutions in other regions. Using extensive time-series cross-sectional data, I evaluate the effect of various electoral institutions pertaining to voter qualifications, voter registration, and voting procedures on turnout rates in the Southern states throughout the twentieth century. Findings suggest that electoral legal-institutions pertaining to voting qualifications and voting procedures impact voter turnout over and above demographic and electoral calendar indicators.

"Variations on a Theme: A Comparison between the Development of the United Nations and the United States"

Lenora Stiles, American University

This paper compares the development of the United States and the United Nations, both entities that were originally intended as unifying governing bodies, to determine whether the United Nations is following a similar developmental path to the United States. By analyzing the political environments in which the two organizations were created, and the documents that established their frameworks, the author finds evidence to indicate that the United Nations is markedly similar to the Confederation of the United States. An examination of the governing periods of the Confederation and the first 50 years of the United Nations provides further support to the conclusion that the two supranational institutions are on similar development paths. The implications of this conclusion for the possibility, and types, of reform are then discussed.

"The Strategic Politics of Memory in Contemporary Germany: Comparing Activism for Holocaust and Expulsion Memorials in Berlin"

Jenny R. Wüstenberg, University of Maryland, College Park

This paper aims to contribute to a more sophisticated theoretical understanding of the politics of memory and history by analyzing key actors and sites of contention through a social movements lens. I examine what I call 'memory-activists' - those individuals and organizations which promote the recognition, commemoration, and institutionalization of particular readings of history and thereby continually test the boundaries of collective identity and state authority. I ask precisely how and through whom particular memories surface in the public sphere. Illustrating with case studies of different memory-campaigns in Germany, I contend that by studying the strategic politics of memory, we can more systematically study how debates about the past matter in the context of democratization and changing collective identities.

Abstracts of Papers Presented at Politics and History Panels at the 2004 Western Political Science Association Meetings

"Litigating the Meaning of Emancipation: Reconstruction and Post Reconstruction Era Dilemmas of Freed People and Property"

Julie Novkov, University of Oregon

The legal transfer of property by bequest smoothes over and manages uncertainty and crisis, providing a system within which intent can be discerned or inferred from familial relationships. The law of estates rewards long-term contingency planners by enforcing their desires against a backdrop of limits based in public policy, rendering the disorderly and often unanticipated changes of death into an orderly system of legal rights and obligations. But how would this system of providing for orderly management of the crisis of individual death respond to the unanticipated death of an entire regime? And how would the potential for transforming citizenship arising from the recreation of the state affect the intergenerational transfer of property? This paper situates these questions in the context of wills cases in the post-Civil War era in the southern United States. In doing so, it interrogates the intersections of property and citizenship for white property holders and their black, mostly formerly enslaved, legatees. As appellate cases reviewed these questions on the state level, they had to confront tensions between white property owners' desire to provide for faithful servants and interracial children on the one hand and the individual states' efforts to configure black citizenship on the other. What these cases show is that the transformation of the state wrought by war and national constitutional amendment did make a difference for black legatees. Bequests to blacks by whites challenged in court provided a site for working out the meaning of freedom and citizenship for blacks as well as a location for understanding the power of whites to devise their property freely. In many instances, despite the fact that white family members challenged bequests to former slaves, southern courts in the Reconstruction and early Jim Crow years upheld such bequests. These opinions provide a window into the process of recreating the legal order in the south and the elite power structure's efforts to constitute race through the laws.

"The Difference between Legal and Political Time: The Supreme Court (and the Presidency) in American Political Development"

Ronald Kahn, Oberlin College

In this paper, I argue that the "legal time" of the Supreme Court is different from what Stephen Skowronek has called the "political time" of the presidency, and that this difference has important implications for how we study the place of the Supreme Court in American political development. I use as evidence in support of this argument my findings in "Social Constructions, Supreme Court Reversals, and Path Dependence: Lochner, Plessy, Bowers, But Not Roe," a chapter I wrote for Ronald Kahn and Ken Kersch, eds., The Supreme Court and American Political Development, a book which will be published in late 2005 or early 2006 by the University Press of Kansas. I also refer to some of the findings of other scholars who have contributed to this volume. These include Pam Brandwein, Howard Gillman, Mark Graber, Tom Keck, Wayne Moore, Carol Nackenoff, Julie Novkov, Mark Tushnet, and co-editor Ken Kersch. The findings suggest that the decision-making process in the Supreme Court and how that institution interacts with the political and social world outside differ in significant ways than found in more directly politically accountable institutions, which are the institutions on which much political development theory is modeled. The distinctiveness of the Court does not mean that institutional comparison is not possible or desired, or that general theories of political development are not applicable to the study of the place of law and the Supreme Court in American political development. It does mean that the legal construction process which is bi-directional with the world outside the Court requires us to question some of the basic premises of APD theory, such as path dependence viewed as a situation of increasing returns and that the thickening of political institutions necessarily causes the waning of "legal time, although it causes the waning of "political time," for directly politically accountable institutions. These findings about the Court's reliance

(at least among non-originalist justices) on the interpretive turn, a mutual construction process which links polity and rights principles with prior constructions of rights and their application by analogy in the new case before the Court, and institutional norms that the Court is not simply to follow majoritarian politics, explains why the contemporary conservative/moderate Rehnquist Court in a conservative political age, has expanded rights of privacy, personhood, and sexual intimacy for gays.

"The Rise and Demise of Democratic Supply-Side Economics"

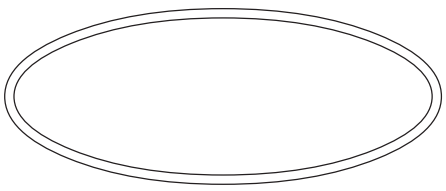
James Shoch,
California State University-Sacramento

In the late 1960s, the New Deal or Democratic political order that had dominated American political life since the Great Depression began to unravel. A major factor in the Democratic decline was the crisis of "Fordism"-the prevailing system of mass production and consumption-and the accompanying crisis of "Keynesianism"-the demand management strategy that the Democrats had relied on since World War II to bind together their electoral and governing coalitions. This dual crisis significantly contributed to President Jimmy Carter's defeat in 1980, paved the way for the ascent of Ronald Reagan's conservative "supply-side" economic strategy, and more generally helped the Republicans to secure control of the White House for the next dozen years. Since 1980 the Democrats have struggled to rebuild their coalition and regain power. During part of this period, from 1980 through the early 1990s, a key element of this effort was their attempt to fashion a politically viable, liberal supply-side strategy of their own. But none of these Democratic efforts found any lasting success. In this paper, I examine the Democrats' fruitless pursuit of a liberal supply-side strategy by focusing on two episodes: 1) the "industrial policy" debate of the early 1980s, and 2) the battle a decade later over Bill Clinton's "public investment" strategy. In my paper I explore both the sources of the Democrats' ideas during these episodes and the reasons for their failure. Many analysts have offered what are largely structural answers to these questions. Some writers see the rise of Democratic supply-side thinking as merely a functional response to the crises of Fordism and Keynesianism. More attribute the failure of these strategies to structural factors of various kinds. I argue, however, that although explained in part by structural influences, the rise and decline of the Democrats' liberal supply-side strategies was also due to politics, that is, these strategies had party-political origins, and their failure was in part due to the success of their various opponents in mobilizing and deploying the resources at their command.

"The Insular Cases and American Federalism"

Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas at Austin

"The Insular Cases and American Federalism" examines the significance of the Insular Cases (1901-1922) for the United States as a federal republic. In particular, the paper draws attention to three features of U.S. territorial expansion. (1) The history of the geographic expansion of the United States as one that fundamentally challenges the principles of federalism as applied to the United States, especially given the fact that persons of the territories were under the plenary power of the federal government and not also the (dual) citizens. (2) The fact that the U.S. Supreme Court, with its several decisions constituting the Insular Cases, formalized and made permanent the fact of the U.S. government's authority over territories of the United States. Such territories, with the innovation of the "incorporation doctrine," could now be held indefinitely as territories ("unincorporated" territories), without the expectation of statehood and, futhermore, territories could ultimately be divested from the United States (per Cuba and, later, the Philippines). (3) The Supreme Court, as a result of its Insular Cases decisions, made a lasting tear in the idea of the United States as federal republic since the United States has become a nation of states and territories, and since the territories and states of the Union are on fundamentally unequal footing—contra federalist principles.



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President Warren G. Harding at the ballpark with Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty (right) and Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover (left) (Library of Congress)

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In Ending Empire, Hendrik Spruyt argues that the answer lies in the domestic institutional structures of the central governments. Fragmented polities provide more opportunities for hard-liners to veto concessions to nationalist and secessionist demands, thus making violent conflict more likely. Spruyt examines these dynamics in the democratic colonial empires of Britain, France, and the Netherlands. He then turns to the authoritarian Portuguese empire and the break-up of the Soviet Union. Finally, the author submits that this theory, which speaks to the political dynamics of partition, can be applied to other contested territories, including those at the heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

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From the Editor, continued from page 2

New Economic Insecurity — and What Can Be Done About It. The fruits of his research already have helped shaped very influential newspaper series, "The New Deal," written Peter G. Gosselin and published in the *Los Angeles Times*. "The New Deal" examines the increasing volatility of incomes and insecurity of working Americans. This important series won wide recognition, including a episode of the PBS program *NOW*. It won the Sidney Hilman Foundation Newspaper award for its contribution generating better understanding and compassion for low-income workers and families. This series is online at: http://www.latimes.com/business/specials/la-newdeal-cover.special

Thanks to Margaret Levi, outgoing President of the American Political Science Association. Congratulations to Ira Katznelson, who will become the fourth consecutive section member to assume the presidency of the American Political Science Association at the APSA meetings in Washington in September. He follows Theda Skocpol, Susan Hoeber Rudolph, and Margaret Levi in that position.

Section members owe a debt of gratitude this year to Elisabeth Clemens and to Hendrik Spruyt, co-chairs of the Politics and History division at the 2005 APSA. Elizabeth Sanders, the current section president, also deserves thanks for her role in helping the section's activities at the 2005 APSA run smoothly.

We thank Department of Political Science at the University of Missouri - St. Louis for providing Clio with substantial support again this year. Duk Kim served a second year as Managing Editor, and again, the members cannot appreciate his great dedication and effectiveness.

aware of social movement costs just now. So hats off, please, for the grassroots social movements that gave us whatever protection we have from marauding corporations and unbending elites. They instigated the enactment of railroad, labor, banking, securities, suffrage, and environmental legislation. And social movement scholars are heartened to observe that uprisings against toxic pollution by companies in league with the administrative state are now almost as likely to blossom in China as in upstate New York or northern Ohio.

Writing a book on the pathologies of executive power in American national government, and participating in a movement directed against arrogant and irresponsible executive power in a university have been reinforcing exercises. In both the White House and university administration, there is enormous concentration of decision-making power, the sensitivity of its exercise dependent on individual personality. The inner circle of the president's advisors are appointed by, and dependent on him for their jobs and advancement. If he is strong willed, driven by personal compulsion or ideology, they tell him what he wants to hear. Cornell's president made a decision years ago that the parking lot was absolutely necessary for the well-being of a new dorm complex he saw as his legacy. Mounting objections from the university's leading scientists, a wide array of other faculty from across the university, a group of highly intelligent and idealistic students, dedicated local environmentalists, and the city government of Ithaca (which fought Cornell in court for three years to stop the bulldozing of this hilly greenbelt that formed a pleasant, water-absorbing boundary between campus and town)—nothing could derail the university president's determination to destroy the woods. When opponents detailed the ecological significance of a greenbelt on a steep hill, the university countered that the trees in the woods were worthless, "invasive," "just an overgrown lawn." It was, apparently, Cornell's duty to wipe out these terrorists and spread liberating concrete around the campus. The administration "consulted" city officials, faculty, and students like President Bush "consulted" with allies and the UN, never wavering from its determination to destroy the woods. Cornell's web site put out pages of misinformation about the trees and plants there, while trumpeting its self-conferred status as an international leader in environmental protection. The city newspaper served essentially as a house organ for the administration, publishing mostly the president's side of the issue, and ignoring most of the protesters' arguments.

If a university president answers to anyone in my university (and probably in most), it is to the Board of Trustees, full of well-to-do CEOs whose concerns are mainly financial. As long as the university is financially sound, they don't interfere with his policy-making decisions, no matter how strong the local opposition.

This is the pathology of executive power, and it may well be the greatest danger to democracy today. With highly personalized power, compromise and reversals of potentially disastrous courses of action become impossible when bound up with assertions of ego and dominance compulsions, ideology, or religious zeal. Policy is defended and implemented by presidentially-appointed subordinates who become yea-saying sycophants willing to twist the facts and purvey misinformation in paroxysms of groupthink. Executive power, and its potential for devastating consequences, are magnified by the elaboration of executive staff, the size and mission of communications offices, the decline of independent, investigative media, and the capacity of executive institutions to marginalize, demean, and punish critics and opponents.

Executive power today, in nations as well as universities, overflows with what economists call moral hazard. Its incentives to personal and short-term political uses of power, bolstered by its enormous resources, lead to actions against

the public interest, as exemplified by the war in Iraq, all the way down to the bulldozing of Ithaca's Redbud Woods. We have made much use of the economists' conception of "increasing returns to scale" in the concept of path dependence popularized by Paul Pierson. I propose that we also pay attention to consequential, normative concerns embodied in our sister discipline's concept of moral hazard. Like the serendipitous events important to path dependence, moral hazards are often unexpected consequences. We don't realize they have materialized until they slap us in the face. And when they do, it is time to rethink the design of institutional structures. Accretions to a path of institutional development are not always benign. We may begin with a reasonable, valuable institutional structure but see it evolve into something monstrous.

Historical institutionalism (HI) has been more attentive to the rise of the administrative state than to courts and legislatures, and least attentive to the social forces that (I claim) have been the ultimate check on hazardous uses of executive power. Our perspective is most often from the top down, and we often discount the bad effects of executive power on society, while imagining that if only the right person could inhabit those powerful structures, we would all benefit. Better to hope for the best than accentuate the worst aspects of executive power and work to restrain it. I think HI would benefit from more attention to the interactive nature of state building, analyzing the pulling and hauling of grassroots movements and elite officials in the construction of democratic states, and analyzing, more often, the perspectives and strategies of the grassroots.

"First they [the kings, presidents, prime ministers, soldiers] ignore you, then they laugh at you, then they fight you, and then you win," Ghandi said. The Redbud Warriors have experienced all but the last phase, sad to say. We'd like to think we've lost the battle, but will win the war, since it is hard to imagine that any Cornell president in the near future will push to pave a significant green space. What appeared to the president to be the cheapest way to build a conveniently-located parking lot where wealthy students in the posh new single-bedroom dorms could park their SUV's became, instead, a very long and expensive battle that has embittered town and faculty and cost far more than some of the proposed alternatives (for example, to abate the demand for parking with free bus passes and a ban on freshman parking, and to build multi-level parking structures on existing pavement).

But the movement-generated deterrent to future executive arrogance may or may not balance the loss of magnificent walnut, oak and hickory trees, some older than Cornell itself. The welcoming vista as one drives up from the city to the campus is now a parking lot, rather than a canopy of hard wood trees shading purple blossomed redbuds.

I have always told my students that no social movement worthy of the name ever really fails. But this year, I'll be more reluctant to repeat that adage.

Elizabeth Sanders

If you are interested in the development of this, and other campus-based movements to force universities to practice what they so often preach and tread lightly on their local environments, visit the web site, www.redbudwoods.org. *Cornell environmental activists hope to forge links with other campus sustainability movements and share ideas and strategies in the struggle with university administrations. Faculty members who had a similar experience at the University of Vancouver, BC, have written a book on campus sustainability movements entitled "Planet You."*

"Double Unfortunate,"
by William Allen Rogers

House and Senate Republicans divided over tariff policy in the runup to the 1888 election

From *Harper's Weekly,* August 25, 1888 provided courtesy HarpWeek, LLC

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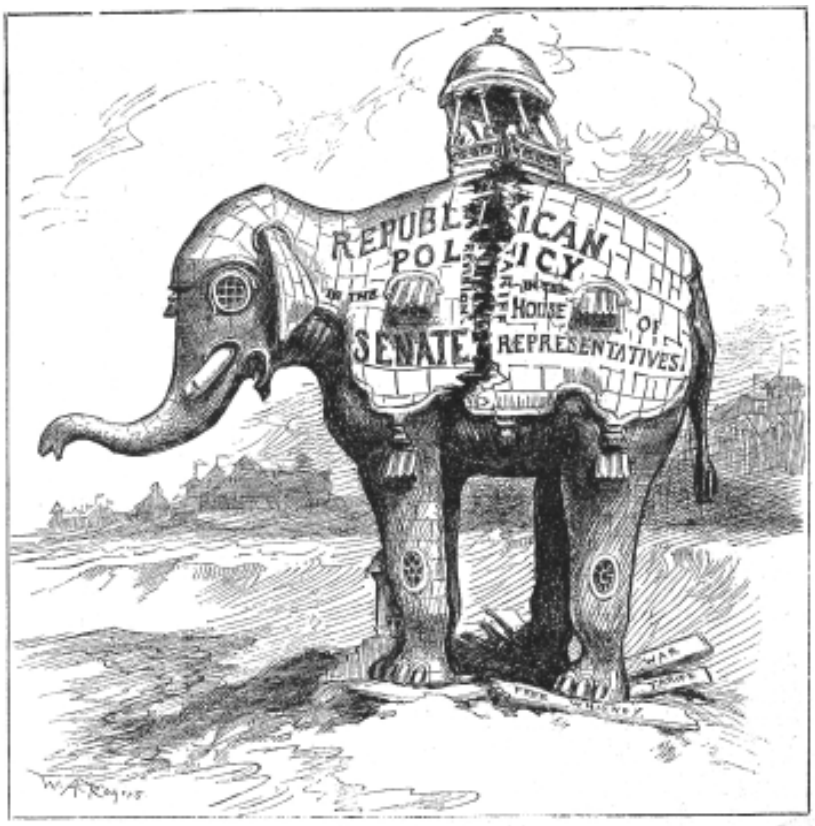

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