Clio

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From the President

George W. Bush and the "New" American Party System

Sidney M. Milkis, *University of Virginia*

What is George W. Bush's place in history likely to be? In a recent *Perspectives* article, Stephen Skowronek offers a persuasive account of Bush as an "orthodox innovator" who has been building on a political order born of Ronald Reagan's presidency.[1] Viewing Bush's relationship to Reagan in partisan terms, James Ceaser and Andrew Busch argue that the president's re-election marked a critical stage in an ongoing partisan realignment that has given Republicans a small but decisive edge in its struggle with Democrats to control power.[2] Whereas these accounts place Bush, to use Skowronek's phrase, in "political time," and view his presidency in terms of enduring patterns of American political development, others emphasize secular changes that defy the persistence of traditional forms. For example, according to presidential scholars such as Jeffrey Tulis and David Lewis, Bush's leadership is representative of a modern executive office that defies collective political order. Especially in the wake of 9-11, Bush has emphasized rhetoric (Tulis) and administration (Lewis) to establish a personal influence over public opinion and the bureaucracy, thus advancing a development in which regime affiliation and partisan loyalty are subordinated to executive aggrandizement.[3]

One of the most compelling reasons to attempt to place Bush in history is that his leadership style marks a fascinating blend of old forms and bold innovation. As is well known, Karl Rove, the "architect" of the Bush presidency, is intrigued by Mark Hanna and William McKinley. Like Hanna, he views Bush as a useful aegis to his objective of building an enduring governing party and partisan coalition. Indeed, since the consolidation of the modern presidency during the 1930s, no White House has been so attentive to party building as the current one. At the same time, as the recent controversy over spying on terrorist suspects

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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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Suzanne Mettler, *Soldiers to Citizens: The G.I. Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation* (Oxford University Press, 2005)

(*We invited Suzanne Mettler to discuss her recent research on the GI Bill*).

American political development scholarship routinely suggests that governance in one period may affect the politics of a subsequent period, but to we have known little about how such dynamics operate at the individual level of mass politics. Typically, data constraints limit our ability to examine how citizens' experiences of public policies might affect their later political involvement. I chose to examine the participatory impact of the G.I. Bill's education and training benefits for World War II veterans not only because it is a landmark social policy about which we have known surprisingly little, but also because I could circumvent such data limitations. When I began the research in the late 1990s, sufficient numbers of nonblack veterans were still living for me to survey a representative sample. *Soldiers to Citizens* is based on surveys of over 1500 members of the World War II generation, in-depth interviews with 30 veterans across the country, and government documents and archival research.

While research by Robert Putnam and Theda Skocpol has highlighted the high levels of civic and political involvement in the United States during the post-World War II era, *Soldiers to Citizens* shows that government itself—at least to some degree—helped foster such outcomes. The G.I. Bill's education and training provisions, by granting resources for social opportunity to 7.8 million beneficiaries and treating them as first-class citizens, both expanded the middle class and broadened the scope of the active citizenry. As a result, American society became in some ways more democratic.

I found that all else equal, veterans who benefited from the G.I. Bill's education and training benefits took part in significantly more civic organizations and political activities in the postwar era than veteran non-beneficiaries. These results emanated from veterans' experience of bill, which communicated to them that government was for and about people like them, and then responded in turn. The bill's inclusive coverage spanned divisions of class, religion and ethnicity. Veterans experienced program implementation as fair and efficient. Usage of the bill had transformative effects on recipients' educational level, income, and occupational status. As a result, beneficiaries who had grown up in lower and middle class backgrounds developed greater capacity and inclination to participate in civic and political life, and they became more active citizens.

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Politics and History Section Business Meeting

The Hampton Room, Omni Shoreham Hotel, Washington D.C. Saturday, September 4, 2005

Section President Elizabeth Sanders Paul Pierson called the Politics and History Business meeting to order at 6:11 pm. She reported that the section has 686 members, up 17 from last year. The section is in the top quintile of APSA sections. She noted that we could do a better of job of recruiting students as members of the section. She noted that the section has held its membership while two new sections, International History and Qualitative Methods, have started up. Secretary/Treasurer Dave Robertson, reported that the section is slightly drawing down its reserves and may consider a dues increase in the near future. He also mentioned that distributing *Clio* electronically would save printing and postage costs, but there would be some drawbacks to doing so. These issues should be further discussed for by the new President and Council.

Elisabeth Clemens and Hendrik Spruyt, the organizers of the 2005 Politics and History program at the APSA, reported on this year's panels. They accepted twelve of twenty-three panel submissions. They received 123 paper proposals and accepted sixty-four. The section is co-sponsoring four panels, including two with the Miller Center at the University of Virginia. Section President Elizabeth Sanders thanked Elisabeth and Hendrik and said that the entire section is indebted to them.

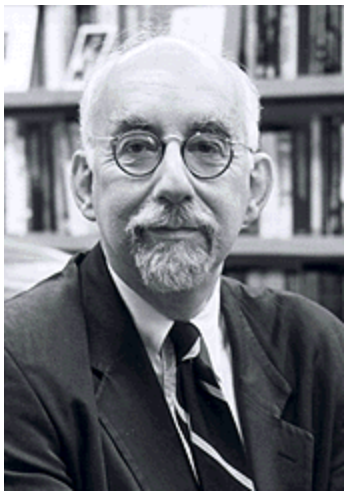
President Elizabeth Sanders thanked the four Council members who have completed their two year terms: Jytte Klausen, Uday Mehta, Carol Nackenoff, and Jason Wittenberg. She also thanked the four members who have served the first year of their term and are continuing on the Council: Stephen Amberg, Kimberley Johnson, Richard Ned Lebow, and Deborah Yashar.

The awards committees reported next. Alberta Sbragia reported for the J. David Greenstone Award Committee; Howard Gillman chaired the committee, and Eric Schickler served as the third member. The award is presented for the best book in Politics and History in the preceding two years. The committee reported that there was a strong field of submissions. The award was presented to Richard Valelly for *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement* (University of Chicago Press, 2004). This book also received the American Political Science Association's Ralph J. Bunche Award. Rick Valelly spoke, saying he was thrilled to receive the award; he had met David Greenstone and had enormous admiration for him. The Committee also gave an Honorable Mention to Kathleen Thelen for *How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of Skills in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan* (Cambridge University Press, 2004). This book also received the American Political Science Association's Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award. The report of the Committee on Mary Parker Follett award for the best article or chapter on Politics and History in the preceding year was read; the members of the committee included Sarah Binder, chair, Mabel Berezin, and Herman Schwartz. The award went to Peter Swenson "Varieties of Capitalist Interests: Power, Institutions, and the Regulatory Welfare State in the United States and Sweden," published in 2004 in *Studies in American Political Development.*

Elizabeth Sanders introduced the slate of new section officers for the coming year. The committee nominated Victoria Hattam for President-Elect, succeeding incoming President Sid Milkis. For the four two-year terms on the council, the nominees were Andrea Campbell, Jacob Hacker, David Hart, and Sven Steinmo. The members resoundingly and unanimously approved the slate.

Elizabeth Sanders gave the floor to the new section president, Sid Milkis. He introduced Daniel Tichenor, Rutgers University, and Kathleen Thelen, Northwestern University as the program chairs for the 2006 Politics and History section at the APSA. Rick Valelly is the co-organizer of the overall APSA program for 2006. The deadline for proposals is November 15.

Sid Milkis spoke about his priorities as section president. First, he aims to move the business meeting back to Friday if possible. Second, he will try to keep the membership numbers up to ensure that the section remains strong. He is disturbed by the under representation of students, and will reach out to comparative politics scholars. He also said that he has had conversations with Victoria Hattam about trying to ensure that a conference for Politics and History scholarship would be held annually. Currently, the *Journal of Policy History* holds a Policy History Conference every other year (this year it will be at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, in cooperation with the Miller Center). In the odd numbered years, there could be a Politics and History conference. Sid and Vicki will begin planning for such a conference for 2007 right away, to look at topics such as all the substantial changes in the field over time. Howard Reiter put in a plug for the Social Science History conference in Portland, Oregon in November. There also was a discussion of a dissertation award.



Ira Katznelson Ruggles Professor of Political Science and History at Columbia University, became President of the American Political Science Association at the 2005 meetings in Washington.

The Edward S. Corwin Award for the best doctoral dissertation in the field of public law was presented to Martin J. Sweet of Florida Atlantic University. Professor Sweet received the award for his dissertation, "Supreme Policy-Making: Coping with the Supreme Court's Affirmative Action Policies," completed at the University of Wisconsin, Madison

Richard M. Valelly, Swarthmore College, received the APSA's Ralph J. Bunche Award for the best scholarly work in political science published in the previous calendar year which explores the phenomenon of ethnic and cultural pluralism. Professor Valelly won for his book, *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement* (University of Chicago Press, 2004). *The Two Reconstructions* also received the Southern Political Science Association's V.O. Key Book award for the best book on Southern in 2004.

The APSA presented the Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award to Kathleen Thelen, Northwestern University, for her book, *How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of Skills in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan* (Cambridge University Press, 2004)

The APSA's Law and Courts section presented the American Judicature Society Award to **Gregory A. Caldeira**, Ohio State University, coauthor of "A Spatial Model of Supreme Court Voting" with Kevin T. McGuire and Charles E. Smith. The award is given annually for the best paper on law and courts presented at the previous year's annual meetings of the American, Midwest, Northeastern, Southern, Southwestern, or Western Political Science Associations.

Sarah A. Binder, George Washington University, received the APSA's Legislative Studies Section's Jewell-Loewenberg Paper Award for the best article in the Legislative Studies Quarterly in the previous year. The article, "The Limits of Senatorial Courtesy," was co-authored with Forrest Maltzman**.**

The APSA's Presidency Research Section presented its Founders Paper Award, for the best paper presented at the previous year's annual APSA meeting, to **Lawrence R. Jacobs**, University of Minnesota for "Lumpers and Splitters: The Public Opinion Information that Politicians Collect and Use," co-authored with James N. Druckman.

The APSA's Presidency Research Section's Neustadt Award for the Best Book on the Presidency to **Kevin J. McMahon**, Trinity College, for *Reconsidering Roosevelt on Race: How the Presidency Paved the Road to Brown* (University of Chicago Press, 2003). The award is given to the best book published during the year that contributed to research and scholarship in the field of American presidency.

Martin Shefter, Cornell University, received the Norton Long Lifetime Achievement Award from the Urban Politics Section.

Ira Katznelson, Columbia University, received the David Easton Award from the Foundations of Political Thought Section for his book, *Desolation and Enlightenment: Political Knowledge After Total War, Totalitarianism and the Holocaust* (Columbia University Press, 2003). The award recognizes a book that broadens the horizons of contemporary political science by engaging issues of philosophical significance in political life through any of a variety of approaches in the social sciences and humanities.

The Section for a New Political Science presented the Michael Harrington Book Award to **Katherine Van Wezel Stone**, University of California - Los Angeles, for *From Widgets to Digits: Employment Regulation for the Changing Workplace* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

The Best Article Award from the Comparative Democratization Section was presented to **Lisa Baldez**, Dartmouth College, for "Elected Bodies: The Gender Quota Law for Legislative Candidates in Mexico," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29:2. (May 2004), pp. 231-258.

The Qualitative Methods Section gave the Alexander L. George Article Award to **James Mahoney**, Northwestern University, for "The Possibility Principle: Choosing Negative Cases in Comparative Research," *American Political Science Review* 98:4 (November 2004), pp. 653-669, co-authored with Gary Goertz.

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Member Awards, continued from *preceding page*

The Qualitative Methods Section presented the Giovanni Sartori Book Award to **David Collier**, University of California, Berkeley, for *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), co-authored with Henry E. Brady.

Nancy E. Burns and **Richard J. Samuels** were elected to the American Academy of Arts & Sciences.

Kristi Anderson, Syracuse University, received the Excellence in Graduate Education Faculty Recognition Award. The award honors faculty members whose dedication to graduate students and commitment to excellence in graduate mentoring have made a significant contribution to the university.

Daniel Deudney, Johns Hopkins University, was presented the Excellence in Teaching Award, given annually to one member of the Arts and Science faculty

Victoria Farrar-Myers, University of Texas - Arlington, was given the Star-Telegram Service-Learning Faculty Award, which honors an outstanding faculty member engaged in integrating service learning into the curriculum

The Faculty Member of the Year Award was presented to **Paul Frymer**, University of California, San Diego, from the Marshall College (UCSD) graduating class.

Joseph Luders, Yeshiva University, was recognized as Senior Class Professor. This award is presented by the senior class in recognition of his outstanding achievements as teacher, scholar, and mentor.

Sean Theriault, the University of Texas, Austin, received the Eyes of Texas Excellence Award. This award is given to ten deserving university faculty, administration, or staff members each semester; student members of the organization select honorees who have made an outstanding contribution to student life at the university.

Alvin Tillery, Jr., University of Notre Dame, received the Frank O'Malley Undergraduate Teaching Award, given annually by the Student Union Senate to a member of the faculty for outstanding service and commitment to the students of the university's community.

Cyrus Zirakzadeh, University of Connecticut, was named a Teaching Fellow. Four faculty members were selected from all faculty at the university for this award, which honors distinguished teaching. The recipients are to serve as teaching mentors to other faculty and graduate students.

The 2005 Mary Parker Follett Award

for the best article or chapter on Politics and History

To ***Peter Swenson,*** *Yale University*

for "Varieties of Capitalist Interests: Power, Institutions, and the Regulatory Welfare State in the United States and Sweden," in *Studies in American Political Development*, *18:1* (Spring 2004): 1-29

(*Sarah Binder, chair of the 2005 Follett Award Committee, read these comments in presenting the award. Mabel Berezin and Herman Schwartz also served on the Follett Award committee*).

The winner of the 2005 Mary Parker Follette Award is Peter Swenson of Yale University for his article published in 2004 in *Studies in American Political Development*, "Varieties of Capitalist Interests: Power, Institutions, and the Regulatory Welfare State in the United States and Sweden." His piece was chosen from amongst the several dozen articles published in 2004 that embrace the study of politics and history.

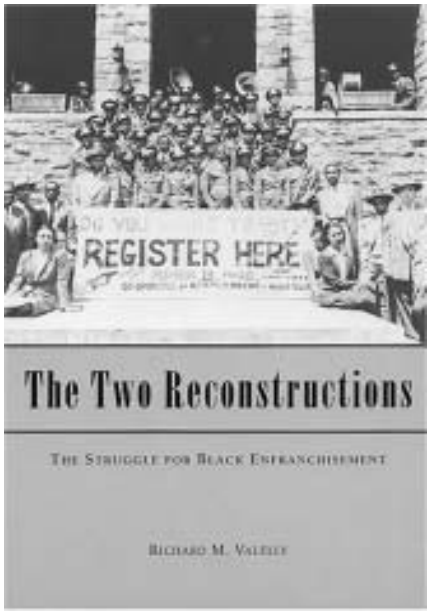
Peter's article constitutes a major contribution to an on-going debate— offering a substantial and revisionist account of the origins and development of the welfare state in the U.S. and Sweden. Peter's intervention in this long-standing debate offers a new theoretical perspective on the influence of business interests on the shape of the welfare state, and he offers significant archival research to bolster his claims. Peter's revisionist account stresses "varieties" of business interests and puts those interests to work to explain both the timing and shape of social welfare policy development during the New Deal in the U.S. and in Sweden in the mid-20th Century. His provocative thesis that a cross-class alignment of interest— rather than a new balance of power against capital—will undoubtedly continue to stir considerable debate over theory, methodology and history in the years to come. For its application of comparative institutional analysis and its provocative reinterpretation of a substantial debate at the intersection of history and politics, the committee selects Peter's piece for the annual Mary Parker Follette award.

The 2005 J. David Greenstone Award

for the Best Book on Politics and History

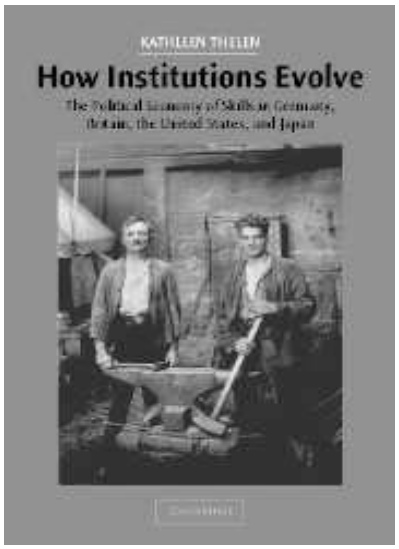
to **Richard M. Valelly** for
The Two Reconstructions: *The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement*
(University of Chicago Press, 2004).

(*Here are Howard Gillman's comments on the J. David Greenstone Award. He chaired the committee, and Alberta Sbragia and Eric Schickler also served on the committee*)



Valelly's book (a) addresses an extremely important question (the politics of black enfranchisement/disenfranchisement), (b) develops an original and theoretically compelling argument, (c) blends rational choice, comparative, and historical methods, resulting in a happy marriage of explanatory rigor and driving narrative, (d) manages to say something new and insightful about two crucial eras in American political history, and (e) links the theoretical analysis to a relevant normative argument about our contemporary obligations.

The Two Reconstructions also received the American Political Science Assocation's Ralph J. Bunche Award for the best scholarly work in political science published in the previous calendar year which explores the phenomenon of ethnic and cultural pluralism. It also received the Southern Political Science Association's V.O. Key Book award for the best book on Southern in 2004.



Honorable Mention:
Kathleen Thelen for *How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of Skills in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan*
(Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Thelen's How Institutions Evolve is, at first glance, a story of worker training systems in comparative perspective, but it soon evolves into an innovative and compelling argument about the politics of institutional transformation and reconversion. Her extraordinary research also makes an important contribution to the "varieties of capitalism" debate.

How Institutions Evolve also received the American Political Science Association's Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award. The Wilson prize is awarded annually for the best book on government, politics, or international affairs.

Abstracts of Politics & History Papers from the 2005 APSA Meetings

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

This paper is an attempt to explain the following empirical puzzle: why did the form of government change in Turkey (from constitutional monarchy to republicanism) while it remained same in Iran? We do this through a comparative historical analysis of key historical periods that both countries passed through. In this vein, we first look at the historical periods in question, which provide important informational clues, about the state, society and strategic context, to be used in the analysis. Then, we discuss these informational clues in more detail. Finally, the paper gives an answer to the question by showing how republicanism and monarchy helped the state rulers to consolidate their rules.

Daniel Beland. "Framing the Ownership Society: Ideas, Institutions, and Neo-Liberal Social Policy"

This paper provides a comparative and long-term historical analysis of the relationship between the idea of personal ownership and social policy reform in the United Kingdom and the United States. The paper has two main parts. The first part discusses recent theories of institutional change prior to formulating a theoretical framework that stresses the impact of ideas and frames on policymaking. Such framework is compatible with the basic assumptions of historical institutionalism, an approach that has done much to shed light on institutional development. The second part reconstructs the old liberal idea of personal ownership before exploring the current debates over ownership and social policy in 1980s UK and 2000s US societies. Focusing on the relationship between ideas and institutional legacies, this part analyzes the privatization of public housing and the development of private savings accounts within and outside existing public pension systems. This analysis underlines the striking similarities between Thatcher's and Bush's neo-liberal discourse regarding personal ownership and social policy reform.

Edward Berkowitz. "The 1970s as Watershed"

This paper considers the seventies as a policy watershed. It argues that the expansive post war policy making system ended in 1974. At the same time, certain policy commitments, such as to an expanding social security program, were locked in by previous commitments and regulatory agencies and the courts continued to expand civil rights and social welfare programs.

Gerard Boychuk.
"Medicare and the Politics of Race, 1957-1965"

The dynamics generated by the politics of race were crucial in shaping the political struggles over the adoption of Medicare in the 1957-1965 period. These dynamics were critical in shaping the key characteristics of the programs.

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

What politics of memory lends itself to democratic possibilities? Since ancient Athens, democracy has required an enigmatic blend of forgetting and remembering. On the one hand, amnesty (with its root word amnesia) appears as a condition of possibility for democratic engagement free of violent retribution and division. On the other hand, inclusive public commemoration is integral to the very identity and continuity of the polis as a community of memory and shared potentiality. Through a critical encounter with Nietzsche's essay "On the Uses and Disadvantages for Life," I explore various practices of remembrance and forgetting in terms of their usefulness for the life of democracy in South Africa and abroad. In the aftermath of apartheid, South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission represents a remarkable effort to achieve a democratic polity by refiguring public remembrance. Though there is much to be admired about the TRC, I argue against an unqualified celebration and exportation of the commission as a model for democratizing memory. By examining the power relations that shaped South Africa's commissioned remembrance of the past, I show how the amnesia of amnesty forgets core elements of apartheid that, left unaddressed, will likely return to haunt its democracy. Finally, I develop Nietzsche's suspicion of dominant practices of memory to theorize a relationship with the past that invigorates democratic potentiality.

Bruce Bunke. "Federal Ownership of Public Land and Western Sectionalism"

National land policy from the late eighteenth century up to the Civil War played a crucial, yet largely unappreciated, role in shaping America's federal democracy. It would produce a profound political consequence; antebellum land policy generated a widely perceived grievance in the new states that was central to the rise of Western sectionalism. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 detailed the mechanism for entry of new states into the union. Although it declares that new states were to be admitted "on an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatever," the document failed to establish a system for the incorporation of new states which duplicated the intergovernmental relations that the original thirteen states enjoyed with the federal government. The Ordinance created what would become, in effect, a second class of

states. The original states retained ownership of their public lands. However, in the "public land states," while some land would be turned over to the state governments, most of the land was owned, and disposed of, by the federal government. This inconsistency was widely debated in the first half of the nineteenth century and emerged as an unresolved Western grievance. While political scientists have examined how American federalism has changed temporally, this paper contends that federalism also varies spatially. It is this "differential federalism" which provides the theoretical foundation of this analysis. The problematic addressed here is why national land policy came to be applied on a differential basis across groups of states.

Nancy Burns, Laura Evans, Gerald Gamm and Corrine McConnaughy. "Pockets of Expertise: Careers and Professionalism in 20th-Century State Legislatures"

It is commonplace in work on state legislatures to say that professionalization is a recent phenomenon, a product of the legislative reforms of the '60s and '70s. Given the constraints on legislatures and legislators before that era, one wonders where members turned to make their way through the legislative process. In this paper, we look back at this history, trying to understand just where legislators turned for information and expertise in a world filled with too many bills, too little staff, and too little time. We analyze the relationship between the growth of careerist legislatures and the emergence of professionalism. In the end, we see three key results. The first result is the powerful impact of careerism on professionalization. Second, our analysis of careerism reveals that even non-careerist legislators could still draw on various career experiences as basic sources of expertise, such as some previous time in office, some previous occupations. The third tendency, seen in our analysis of professionalism, is imperfect routinization—so a paucity of impersonal and automatic arrangements—coupled with institutional designs that take special advantage of what little expertise is available. What we find is, perhaps, surprising: in some respects, some of the most institutionally impoverished legislatures were relatively rich in the expertise necessary to enable decent legislation to make its way through the legislative process. We find pockets of expertise and pockets of professionalism in these legislatures.

Tim Buthe. "The Dynamics of Principal and Agents: Institutional Persistence and Change in Setting U.S. Accounting Standards"

This paper examines institutional persistence & change by introducing a dynamic element into principal-agent theory. Empirically, I focus on the evolution of the principal-agent relationships between the SEC (sometimes behind it Congress) and the private agents to whom authority to set accounting standards has been delegated since 1938 (CAP, 1938-1959; APB, 1959-1973; FASB since 1973)

Ellen Comisso. "Is Breaking Up Hard to Do? Nationalism, Security and State Creation in the Balkans"

I begin with a discussion of states and empires to clarify the differences between them as governing structures, commenting on their respective comparative advantages for providing external and internal security for inhabitants. I then proceed to show how security considerations drove state creation in the Balkans, using (for reasons of time and space) Serbia and Greece as empirical cases. If we can get a handle of why "Turkey-in-Europe" dissolved into nation-states, we can also understand why the other major empires to the north—Habsburg and Romanov—did not—at least, not until they found themselves in a similar situation in 1917-8.

Robert Cox. "Institutionalizing Ideas: Liberalism and the History of Welfare States"

Theories of the development of welfare states suffer from short time frames. They tend to focus on the era of expansion, or the recent era of reform, but not both. This paper employs an institutionalist approach to outline a grand history of the welfare state, emphasizing the way ideas and institutions reinforce each other over time. The argument is that the existence of liberal political institutions shaped the early history of the welfare adoption and that these institutions gave an advantage to political forces that adopted liberal ideas to justify their proposals. This forced socialist and conservative advocates of welfare expansion to incorporate liberal notions, such as rights, in the defense of their proposals. The result was an embourgeoisement of politics, and fertile ground for the neo-liberal ideas that characterize the era of retrenchment.

Don Doyle. "American Ethno-Civic Nationalism"

My paper this morning represents an early inquiry into what will be a broad-ranging book-length study of the "elements of American nationalism" that will explore various components of U. S. nationalism and how they fit into the still larger pattern of American and world nationalisms. One of the central problems of U. S. nationalism, one it shares with other immigrant nations and one therefore becoming more global in its manifestation, is its character as a multi-ethnic nation. Though my remarks this morning may have little direct bearing on the works of John Higham and Samuel Huntington, it is very much about the subject these two scholars focused on: the role of ethnicity in American society.

Jan Erk. "Domestic Conflicts in a Dangerous Neighborhood: Explaining National Unity vs. Political Plurality in Europe, 1870-1914"

This paper seeks to explain how international factors influence the outcomes of political conflicts at the national

level. The particular focus is on the religious/ideological division over education in Austria, Belgium, Germany, France, the Netherlands and Switzerland around the turn of the 19th century. The interstate rivalry that dominated European politics at the time had a direct impact on domestic politics. For countries participating in the interstate power struggle, domestic uniformity was seen as a precondition for strength. Germany, Austria and France needed internal solidarity to project state power. These countries could not afford the perceived international weakness of internal divisions and domestic plurality. Thus, the conflict became a zero-sum one over the hegemonic control of the state. Neutral countries without similar pressures, on the other hand, were able to reach compromises between opposing camps. Belgian, Dutch and Swiss neutrality was either recognised or imposed by the Great Powers and by international law. So when there was less pressure to speak with one voice in international relations, the attainment of a compromise between feuding sides became more likely.

Loren Gatch. "Self-Help Cooperatives and the Failure of Decentralism During the Great Depression"

The early years of the Great Depression were marked by a spectacular proliferation of private groups broadly devoted to the practices and principles of self-help. Yet, despite its intuitive appeal to those wary of federal expansion of relief activities, the movement remained marginal in the repertory of policy responses to the depression. This paper argues that despite its ideological appeal, the self-help movement was frustrated by federal and state relief policies which, even when sympathetic to self-help ideals, had the cumulative effect of assimilating self-help activities to dominate policy categories and responses. The characteristic tensions within the New Deal experience between work relief and direct relief (welfare); the structural limitations imposed upon policy coordination by federalism; and the antagonism of organized private interests all contributed to limiting the scope and promise of organized self-help.

Matthew Glassman. "Origins, Structcure, and Alternatives: Art. 4, sect. 3 of the Constitution, the Statehood Clause"

The goal of this paper is threefold. First I ask why new states were even adopted at all at the Constitutional convention, given their apportionment ramifications for the existing states. I develop a historical institutionalism argument based on the sequence of events in the 1780's that led to the cession of western territory by the landed states prior to the centralization of national authority. The second portion of the chapter is an analysis of the textual structure of the statehood process. I argue that Art. 4, sect. 3 of the Constitution is best characterized by three attributes: irreversibility, under-specification, and low threshold. Finally, I use counterfactual analysis to examine three alternative structures that were proposed at various time between 1776 and 1861 as methods of political expansion: the original Jefferson system of 1784, the proposal of the Hartford convention in 1815, and the proposal of the Crittenden and Douglas compromises on the eve of war in 1861.

Brian Glenn.
"The Lessons and Legacies of State Old Age Pensions"

In 1921 the Fraternal Order of Eagles began a campaign for state provided old age pensions. In just ten years thirteen states adopted them, with thirty having laws on the books by 1935. The Eagles succeeded by constructing a new narrative about the nature of risk and responsibility in an industrialized nation. Studies of the origins and development of the Social Security Act of 1935 typically focus on elite policy actors. This one shifts to mass politics, looking at the messages the average citizen was told by political entrepreneurs. If the story of Social Security is one of policy elites, it is only because the public—and common law—had already swung behind social insurance. That happened not due to studies written by academics and social theorists, but rather by how they were used to reconstruct new narratives of risk and responsibility that were brought to the average American voters, door-to-door, through retail politics.

Victoria Tin-bor Hui. "Development, Constitutionalism, & the Two-tiered World: Lessons from the West on the Rest"

There is an emerging reality of a two-tiered world, with Western countries enjoying economic prosperity and democratic empowerment while many Third World countries suffering from abject poverty and political repression. In analyzing the problem, we should refrain from thinking that the Third World is somehow inherently inferior and incapable of development. The West experienced a two-tiered order in the early modern period as well. Old-regime France and Spain once followed a "Third World" trajectory before they caught up with the Dutch Republic and England/Britain. Many scholars and policymakers argue that trade promotion is the key to economic development and that economic growth is the foundation for democratic transition. This view can be traced to the Enlightenment belief that trade is the source of prosperity, liberty, and power. I argue that whether or not trade is conducive to development and constitutionalism is shaped by two interacting factors: the nature of ruler-trader alliance and the degree of state-capacity. In this paper, I first outline trade expansion and alternative paths in the West. I then draw lessons from the West on the Rest.

Marc Janssen. "Considering the Cabinet: Executive Authority and American Political Development"

This paper lays out a framework to study the cabinet from a different perspective, inspired by the growing

scholarship in the field of American Political Development. While integrating basic features of historical background, it concentrates on identifying and exploring the patterns and conditions that can explain, throughout history, important dynamics of the cabinet's makeup, role, and tenure. It show that the composition, functions, and performance of the cabinets in any given presidential administration are caused by the patterned interplay of surrounding political institutions and by their competition for political authority. My argument rests on what I see as the essential institutional position of the cabinet: it is frequently the nexus where the prerogatives and purposes of the president in power and those of his party meet and often collide. Every president has personal as well as political incentives to control the executive branch and shape its operations. A party in power shares the same objective: the cabinet, like other sites of political power, needs to be filled by individuals who further the interests of the party as a whole. The cabinet as such captures to a large extent the existing balance of power between the institution of the party and that of the presidency. Schematically, the cabinet will be shown to be shaped by the intersection of two "paths." The first dimension will capture the nature of the relationship of the president to his party, the degree of his autonomy or indebtedness. It also reflects the type and degree of factionalism in the president's party, both when the president is nominated and during his incumbency. It gauges the authority of the president vis a vis his party and the scope of the constraints the latter is able to exercise on him. The second dimension integrates the changing features of the US two-party system itself. It captures the parties' structure of authority and organization and distinguishes the features most relevant to the understanding of the cabinet. Although secular trends are observable along both dimensions, neither proceeds in a straight path, and it is at the moments of interruption, backtracking, and collision that the importance of the cabinet as a political institution is most clearly evident. The purpose of this paper is to lay out this framework, to support its relevance, and to first explore its analytical potential. Specifically, it examines quantitative evidence drawn from an original biographical dataset of all cabinet members, more than 575, from 1789 to the recent Bush reshuffling. It comprises biographical data, appointment, tenure, circumstances of departure, the career they had before and after their tenure, the existence of conflict with the president or with congress, etc. The theoretical focus on the cabinet as an institution set among other institutions, can highlight recurring patterns of process and authority (moving "across time"), rather than merely lining up political episodes chronologically (moving "through" time). It provides a tableau rich in parallels and contrasts and in turn opens a window on the political development of the American executive branch, at a level of explanation and nuance not otherwise available.

Eric Kaufmann. "The Decline of the WASP?: Anglo-Protestant Ethnicity and the American Nation-State"

This paper argues that the United States possessed a dominant ethnic group or 'core ethnie' (Smith 1986; 1991) like most European and Asian nations. This ethnie was intimately linked to the nation's identity. This WASP (or Anglo-Protestant) ethnic group went into decline largely because it failed to continue processes of Anglo-conformity and immigration restriction which were integral to the maintenance of its hegemony. Reform originated largely within the WASP community among religious and secular liberals in the first half of the 20th c., which facilitated external challenges from subaltern groups.

Ken Kersch. "Time and the Supreme Court: Justices Brandeis, Brennan, and Breyer, and Consitutional Liberalism"

This paper offers some preliminary reflections on ways we might situate the Supreme Court in time as a distinctive political institution. To date, American politics scholars have worked to fold the Court into models of politics and development designed with other institutions in mind. I survey these efforts, and cite some prominent developments in the work of Baumgartner and Jones (public policy model) and David Mayhew (against electoral realignments) that may help us to think more effectively in the future about the Court. The paper marks the beginning of my theoretical thinking about a broader book project whose topic is the nature and development of constitutional liberalism in the twentieth century as seen through the prism of the thought of three seminal liberal Supreme Court justices who span the century, from its ascendency, to its peak, and it current decline: Brandeis, Brennan, and Breyer. Some reflections on each of these justices, independently, and in relation to one another, and in relation to political liberalism more generally, is included.

Thomas Koelble and Edward LiPuma. "The Measure of Democracy: Notes From the Periphery"

This paper argues that the presuppositions that ground conventional pluralist and institutional theories of democracy are inappropriate for the study of postcolonial democracy, and, co-relatively, that the habitus of governance across the postcolony calls for an expansion of the theoretical horizon of political analysis. We seek to show that the paradigm, precisely because it is so well-attuned to EuroAmerican realities, fails to adequately capture the differences that are shaping the character of postcolonial democracy. To begin with, what we will call the measuring paradigm tends to narrow governance to presentist and political phenomena. The key notion that underwrites this narrowing is a Europeanist history of 'nationhood' tied to a mechanical account of the processes by which nations achieve unity. According to

this viewpoint, what the modern state does is create equality through a sequence of events that initiates with the emergence of civic rights, followed on by the flowering of a broad ensemble of political, social, and economic rights. However, it turns out that the state of modern state formation in the west and in the postcolony could hardly be more different, in great measure because this difference was constitutive of the formation of the Western state. The paper explores the different genesis of the modern state and its implications for theories of democracy in the post-colonial context.

Eric Langenbacher and Kyle Dandelet.
"Collective Memory and Democratization in Germany, Argentina and Chile"

Many authors have asserted that collective memory and efforts to come to terms with a difficult past are essential components of democratization processes and the overall quality and stability of a consolidated system (Garton Ash, Herf, Lustick, Sa'adah). However, such hypotheses have not been rigorously specified, nor systematically and comparatively tested. This paper attempts to conceptualize and test these potentially important relationships. First, we conceptualize the impact of memory on democratization processes. We show how open and public discussions of memory and efforts to work through the past indeed positively affect democracy in a variety of ways: by invigorating civil society and re-building societal trust, by promoting vigilance against anti-democratic groups and weakening "authoritarian enclaves," and, most importantly, by increasing the legitimacy of the democratic regime through an emphasis on human rights and transparency. However, we also show how a delicate balance must be struck between working through the past and letting part of it be, given that the danger of alienating the former regime supporters and power holders is acute. The specificities of this balance depends on the nature and severity of the traumatic past in question—whether there was substantial domestic support for the authoritarian coalition, how far in the past the traumatic events were and whether the victims were "foreign." The second section provides a comparative empirical treatment of four cases, postwar Germany, Chile and Argentina, based on media analyses, secondary sources (Jelin, Huyssen) and substantial original research, employing both qualitative and quantitative data, conducted in 2000 and 2004. These analyses strongly support the thesis that collective memory and open discussions about a past are strongly related to democratization, while simultaneously revealing that different balances, measures and types of public discussions characterize each country. Each case becomes exemplary in its own right and can serve as analytical and normative models for many other countries.

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

The history of race policy in the United States poses a profound puzzle: why have some policies been so successful at incorporation minorities into American life while others have been utter failures? Neither ideas nor institutions - the standard approaches to the question of the evolution and success of race policy - can resolve this paradox. This paper offers a new explanatory approach to this puzzle that combines ideas and institutions in theory of coalitions in race politics. Coalition building entails the convergence of purposive and strategic political actors operating under common rules on particular courses of action that are collectively decided on and implemented. The process of forming coalitions necessarily involves both ideas (actors' goals) and institutions (the rules that bind them). The paper lays out this theoretical approach and suggests its applicability in a comparative historical study of race policies in the United States, Great Britain, and France in the twentieth century

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

This paper examines the impact of the Norman invasions on Sicily, England and Ireland in the 11th and 12th centuries in the context of the following points: First, the decision to adapt to the existing political institutions in Sicily and England meant that the invasion had less impact on the path dependent process than might have first indicated; the decision in Ireland to ignore the institutions of the existing tribes had an equal effect on the continual survival of the institutions until the seventeenth century. Second, the primary goal of the invaders was to gain control over and to maximize the productivity of human and natural resources through the control of land the major economic commodity of the time; their ability to carry this out within the path dependent land use system they inherited helped determined longer term political capacity for survival; Third, the ability to make adjustments in the system determined the longer term capacity of political actors to make decisions at critical junctures that ensured the establishment and continuity of legitimate political authority, the creation and survival of viable political communities and the ability to make the necessary inter-group bargains to carry out change; Fourth, the response of the political actors to the external shocks from the geopolitical system was strongly influenced by the existing path dependent process and the degree to which it could successfully adapt.

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

Through a comparative study of the role of education in the (re)construction of identities and nation-building in postrevolutionary Iran and Mexico, this paper argues that the classroom is the most important "contact point" at which the new state encounters the historical and cultural remnants of the ancien regime. While postrevolutionary societies may represent a dramatic break with the cultural politics of the past, historical legacies—many of which are in direct conflict with the stated goals of the revolutionary agenda—remain. These legacies must be reconciled with the new state if the revolution, much less a future transition to democracy, has any hope of succeeding. Schools, and in particular teachers, serve as intermediaries between the state and society in the process of reconciliation. However, this use of education by the new leaders does not automatically ensure success, for as the state encounters local actors on the ground it is eroded, attacked, repackaged, beats a tactical retreat, and mounts offensive attacks against those who would subvert its agenda. Ultimately, the revolutionary member of society is not created, he or she is negotiated. The goal here is to lay out the groundwork for a top-down and bottom-up understanding of the ways in which revolutions are negotiated in rural classrooms. In applying the Gramscian theoretical framework, this essay demonstrates that while new elites met tremendous resistance on the ground to their revolutionary project, they were ultimately able to take advantage of this contestation to establish hegemonic rule in Mexico and Iran.

Forrest Maltzman and Charles Shipan. "Continuity and Change: The Evolution of the Law"

Congress regularly passes significant laws. Some of these laws continue in their initial form, with the original bargains untouched by any future laws; others are changed soon after passage. What accounts for the variation in the longevity of original legislative bargains? Why do some remain intact for long periods of time, while others are revisited and revised soon after passage? In this paper we explore a variety of explanations for the variance in the stability of laws. We contend that political conditions at the time of enactment—namely, the level of ideological disagreement between the House and Senate and the existence of divided government—influence the likelihood that a bill will be amended. We demonstrate that laws originally crafted by fragile political coalitions are less durable than those crafted by strong coalitions that are in a position to entrench their preferred policies from future change. We also show that the probability of a law's amendment is affected by the interplay that occurs between the Courts and Congress and by factors specific to the law.

Cathie Jo Martin. "Sectional Parties, Divided Business"

American business organization is marked by fragmentation and employers lack a solitary, hegemonic peak association to represent their collective political concerns. Thus one wonders why multiple umbrella employers organizations developed in the United States at the beginning of the Twentieth-Century when other countries were beginning to consolidate their business representation into a single, all-encompassing national organization. I argue that this early pattern of business fragmentation reflects the limits of the American party system. The pattern of major two-party competition, early suffrage, and the single-member-district plurality system all worked against the development of a dedicated business party in the United States. The absence of a dedicated business party created a representational gap. The first US peak association (the National Association of Manufacturers) was initially created to fill this gap, to develop support for national economic development, to overcome limitations of the boss-dominated party system, and to support the electoral campaign of William McKinley. Yet, NAM ultimately faltered for the same reasons that gave rise to its existence, and the Chamber of Commerce was later organized to compensate for NAM's failures. With this research I seek to further our understanding of America from a comparative perspective. The manufacturers of late Nineteenth-Century America sought government protections similar to those requested by their counterparts elsewhere, but lacked a platform from which to press their claims. Employers later came to resist government as an intrusive foe rather than a developmental friend, and the NAM story offers us a snapshot of this critical juncture.

Rick Mayes. "DSM-III and the Political Revolution in the Classification of Mental Illness"

A revolution occurred within the psychiatric profession in the early 1980s, which rapidly transformed the theory and practice of mental health in the United States. In a very short period of time, mental illnesses were transformed from broad, etiologically defined entities that were continuous with normality to symptom-based, categorical diseases. The third edition of the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-III) was responsible for this change. The paradigm shift in mental health diagnosis in the DSM-III was neither a product of growing scientific knowledge nor of increasing medicalization. Instead, its symptom-based diagnoses reflect a growing standardization of psychiatric diagnoses. This standardization was the product of many factors including: (1) professional politics within the mental health community, (2) increased government involvement in mental health research and policymaking, (3) mounting pressure on psychiatrists from health insurers to demonstrate the effectiveness of their practices, and (4) the necessity of pharmaceutical

companies to market their products to treat specific diseases. This paper endeavors to explain the origins of DSM-III, the political struggles that generated it, and its long-term consequences for clinical diagnosis and treatment of mental disorders in the U.S.

Molly Michelmore. "New American Majority' and the Politics of Welfare in the Nixon Era"

In an August 8, 1969 public address, President Richard M. Nixon unveiled a "new and drastically different approach to the way in which the government cares for those in need." The Nixon welfare plan, known as the Family Assistance Plan, proposed that the federal government take responsibility for ensuring that every American family – including those in which both parents worked – received at least a minimum income every year. Using the papers of President Nixon and his staff, this paper re-examines the policy history and the political legacy of the FAP, paying close attention to discussions within the Nixon Administration about the political implications of the proposed welfare reforms. I argue that the FAP was one part of President Nixon's effort to construct a "New American Majority" by attracting working-class voters to the Republican Party. Influenced by Kevin Phillip's work on the "emerging Republican majority," Pete Hamill's study of the "rage" of the white lower middle class, and a host of anthropological studies of the "frustrated," "disillusioned" and "angry" white majority, the Nixon administration hoped to use the FAP to integrate these blue-collar workers into a new and lasting political coalition. This explicitly working-class strategy, however, soon proved politically bankrupt. The president's difficulty in drumming up support for the Family Assistance Plan – which redirected benefits toward the working poor and toward the South in general – suggests the limits of an explicitly blue-collar strategy. In 1971, President Nixon recognized the FAP as a "political loser" and turned against his own proposals, shifting his attention instead to welfare reform and his rhetoric to the protection of the individual rights of the middle-class taxpayer. The political history of the FAP suggests the reorientation of American politics and American political culture around the politics of "middle-class consciousness." The Family Assistance Plan, the house of liberal alternatives it spawned, and its ultimate defeat, helped to strengthen the political power of the taxpayer/citizen and to reinforce a bipartisan politics dedicated above all to the protection of middle-class entitlement and individual taxpayer rights.

Sidney Milkis and Jesse Rhodes. "George W. Bush, the Republican Party, and the New American Party System"

Historically, political parties served as "schools of democracy" by educating citizens in the responsibilities of republican government. They also strove to bind the presidency to the people, serving as bulwarks of local self-rule and thwarting attempts at executive aggrandizement. By the end of the 19th century, however, the localized, highly mobilized party system posed a formidable obstacle to progressive reformers who considered the expansion of national administrative power essential to economic and political reform. Progressive and New Deal reformers looked to a "modern" presidency, emancipated from the suffocating grip of the decentralized parties, to become the principal agent of this reform. The institutionalization of the presidency and the establishment of extensive national administrative capacity during the New Deal ruptured the limited but critical bond that linked presidents and parties and pointed toward a more centralized and bureaucratic form of democracy that focused American political life on the president and administrative agencies. These developments have resulted in a more active and better equipped national state, but one that has troubling consequences. Most damagingly, they have encouraged presidents to pursue their programmatic aspirations through executive administration rather than through collaboration with Congress and the parties and thus have devalued collective responsibility for public policy. As a consequence, the parties – the critical link between the government and the citizenry – have experienced a period of decline, while the presidency, isolated from the stable basis of popular support once provided by the parties, has become dependant on a demanding constellation of interest groups and volatile public opinion for its political sustenance. These outcomes have in turn contributed to declining public satisfaction with government and waning participation in the political process. The rise of the modern presidency has not meant the end of party politics. Beginning with the New Deal realignment, and culminating with the presidency of Ronald Reagan, the erosion of old style partisan politics allowed for the development of a more national and issue-based party system. Reagan and George H.W. Bush supported efforts by Republicans in the national committee and congressional organizations to restore some of the importance of political parties by refashioning them into highly untraditional but politically potent national organizations. Nonetheless, the more national and issue-based party system that emerged by the 1980s served more as vehicles of presidential ambition than as organs of collective responsibility. At the same time, the national, issue-based parties failed to stir the passions and allegiance of the public, as declining partisan identification and voting rates seemed to attest. Thus the national issue-based parties failed to restore the link between the people and the presidency and foster a more collaborative political process.

In this context, it is desirable to consider the meaning and institutional consequences of the party leadership of President George W. Bush. Bush has further advanced and benefited from the more national programmatic organizations that arose with the resurgence and transformation of conservatism during the Reagan

presidency. No president since FDR has tended so carefully to the health of his party. Bush's historic intervention in the 2002 midterm congressional elections, his cultivation of Republican candidates for office, and his exertions to attract record numbers of new donors to the Republican Party illustrate a commitment to strengthening party seldom observed among modern executives. Equally important, with his campaign's unprecedented efforts to mobilize grassroots Republicans for the 2004 election, Bush has sought to infuse the mass electorate with the partisanship that had, in the past, primarily animated only Republican activists within the national party. Finally, Bush's public expressions of religiosity and steadfast use of moral language, his shrewd exploitation of morally divisive issues like gay marriage, and his efforts to firm up support among social and religious conservatives have served to consolidate a Republican identity of moral and religious conservatism that has strongly differentiated Republicans from Democrats and energized Republicans.

Relying on interviews with officials from the Republican and Democratic parties, discussions with officers from both presidential campaigns, and contemporary news coverage, we trace the development of the new Republican Party machine, focusing on important innovations during George W. Bush's tenure as president and placing them in historical context. We contrast the Republican Party apparatus with the equally massive, but far more decentralized and fragmented mobilization efforts undertaken by Senator John Kerry's campaign, the Democratic National Committee, and sympathetic "527" organizations. Secondly, we evaluate the importance of the Republican national machine in the 2004 election. Contrasting the strengths of the Republicans' mobilization strategy with the weaknesses of the Democrats' more fragmented efforts, we find that the revitalized Republican Party apparatus played a critical role in identifying, organizing, and mobilizing support for the president and Republican candidates. Bush's surprisingly easy victory in the 2004 presidential election, the consolidation of Republican control of both houses of Congress, and the highest voter turnout since 1968 were in part due to the strength of the new national Republican Party organization. The Democrats' impressive, but ultimately disappointing showing, on the other hand, can be understood as a function in part of the relative weakness and fragmentation of their campaign organization. We intend to press beyond description of the new Republican Party and appraisal of its impact in the 2004 election toward an assessment of the historical importance of the development of a nationalized and programmatic party in the era of the institutionalized presidency. First, given its critical role in the 2004 campaign, will this revitalized party apparatus endure beyond the 2004 election to play a role in future electoral competition? Secondly, will the Democrats adopt the more centralized, hierarchical campaign techniques embraced by Republicans? If the answer to both of these questions is "yes," are we witnessing the birth of a new party system? If so, it remains to be seen whether this nascent party system can fulfill the crucial democratic functions performed by its predecessors. Can these new parties reestablish the critical link between the presidency and the public and serve as organs for collective resolution of national problems? Or will they merely serve, as Bush's top advisor Karl Rove suggested to us in a personal interview, as a critical "means to the president's ends"? Drawing heavily on our discussions with Democratic and Republican party officers and officials from both presidential campaigns, and on our analysis of the structure and scope of the new party organizations, we attempt to reach preliminary conclusions about the capacity of the reinvigorated parties to serve as a means for mass participation, collaborative decision-making, and collective responsibility in the 21st century.

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

The Court played an important role in nationalizing the battle over immigration restriction, in defining whiteness, and considering who could be a citizen. While the "state of courts and parties" was yielding to the rise of the administrative state, the Court was paying attention to "social facts" and popular discourse about race and citizenship. The agendas of organized labor, suffrage activists, Progressive reformers, and nativists intersected in a virtue or merit-based discourse that supported efforts to add literacy qualifications for new U.S. entrants and later more severe restrictive measures. Strategies and decisions made by each of these groups had an impact on federalism and on the institutional arenas in which battles would be fought.

Hiroshi Okayama. "Paving the Way for Policy Experts: Historical Constraints on Institutional Choice and the Making of the U.S. Interstate Commerce Commission"

This paper seeks to demonstrate that the shape of a new expertise-related institution will be constrained by two factors, the organizational repertoire available to the lawmakers (principals) and the stock (or lack thereof) of relevant expertise. The analysis of the political struggle that led to the creation of the U.S. Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) would highlight some of the historical constraints under which principals, in this case the members of Congress in the mid-1880s, operate when shaping new institutions. The paper shows that these constraints led the lawmakers to give birth not to a regulatory commission of experts, as has been widely assumed by earlier works, but to a court-like agency primarily staffed by lawyers. Faced with the reality of the absence of railroad experts fit for the task of executing the regulatory policy, the legislators came to envision lawyers

as members of the Commission, although most of them in fact strongly acknowledged the need for policy expertise in solving the "railroad problem." Lacking expertise in railroad regulation, the established Commission was expected to cultivate it from scratch through the gathering and analysis of information. Finally, by placing this historical incident in the larger context of American political development, I argue that such a gradual promotion of expertise facilitated its penetration into the American state towards the twentieth century.

Alison Post and Paul Pierson. "How a Law Stays a Law: The Durability of U.S. Tax Breaks, 1967-2003"

Scholars of the politics of public policy mostly focus on identifying the conditions under which new policies are enacted and how these initial conditions influence the character of policies adopted. Recently, however, interest is turning to questions of policy persistence. This shift to the examination of policy outcomes over the long term is overdue. The structure of public policy is determined not only by enactments, but by patterns of amendment, repeal, and implementation. Moreover, durability is likely to influence the efficacy of policies introduced. In this paper, we investigate how initial political conditions surrounding the passage of new policies affect their subsequent durability using a new data set of tax expenditures—or loopholes and special preferences in the federal income tax code. We also examine the extent to which a loophole's positioning vis a vis beneficiary groups influences its ability to withstand pressures for tax reform. Our initial analyses present strong evidence that amongst tax expenditures of similar ages, those targeting more narrow beneficiary groups are less likely to be repealed. We also find preliminary evidence suggesting that, controlling for a few key characteristics, provisions enacted under unified governments are more vulnerable to repeal. Finally, we find that older provisions have proven to be, on average, less vulnerable to repeal.

Rose Razaghian. "Parties, Preferences, and Policy-Making: Financial Institutions in the Antebellum United States"

Legislators can under some circumstances produce substantial policy shifts, while at other times policy change is impossible and gridlock prevails. Although numerous studies have investigated the general conditions under which policy-making is more likely, here I focus on one policy in order to identify the key mechanisms that underpin policy change, the development of financial institutions during the antebellum period, specifically the first bank, second bank, and Independent Treasury. I argue that as long as the franchise was restricted and political parties had not yet fully developed, policy change was difficult as winning coalitions had to be built from scratch. As a result, financial institutions once established tended to continue even when a majority of legislators opposed the policy. Once the franchise expanded and parties began building brand names, gridlock no longer hampered legislative productivity and financial policies reflected the preferences of the dominant party.

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

A universal category and organizational form comparable with, though distinct from, the nation-state itself is now systematically discernable within the international system. These entities have their own national populations, territories, and governments. Their leaders have their own measures of domestic sovereignty. Their populations are animated by the forces of nationalism. And their existence and fate frequently have pivotal importance with widespread international implications. These entities are referred to here as "federacies". This paper will argue that the incremental and pervasive appearance of federacy arrangements since the late nineteenth century constitutes the emergence of a new constitutive unit in the international system in addition to the state. I will first address some of the general conditions that provide for the genesis of federacy arrangements based on the meta processes that are at work within states and outside of them in the international system. Second, the paper will argue that states with federacies are now in some sense like the "multiperspectival polities" of the medieval age before the modern state system. Lastly, I will show how federacies are "like-units" with similar functional, capacity, and hierarchical characteristics.

David Rousseau and Hyung Min Kim. "The Reciprocal Relationship Between Military Conflict and Democracy"

Does democracy cause peace, or is democracy a consequence of peace? The burgeoning democratic peace literature has provided strong empirical evidence for the claim that democracies are a cause of peace. However, several skeptics of the democratic peace have suggested that the statistical findings are spurious. They contend that democracy is a consequence of peace. That is, democratic institutions and norms grow more rapidly in a peaceful environment. In this case, some other factor (e.g., geographic isolation) is the root cause of peace among democratic sates. We test these competing claims using a simultaneous equation model. Using a unique data set of all international disputes from 1960-1988, we find strong support for reciprocal causation. As the democratic peace Conversely, peace in the region appears to encourage the development of democratic polities.

Jon Shields.
"Orthodox Christians in the Liberal Imagination"

The anxiety liberal intellectuals harbor toward theologically orthodox Christian believers, whether

Protestant or Catholic, is not simply the inevitable reaction to militant fundamentalists. Instead, it is shaped and informed by over a century of conflict with political movements driven by orthodox Christianity. Ever since the Progressive era, in fact, it has been an article of faith among much of the intellectual class to believe that orthodox Protestants and Catholic are a grave danger to American democracy. According to many Progressives, such believers routinely pushed religious dogma over science, reason, and social progress. Ignorance and primal bigotries were assumed to shape the political opinions of orthodox Christians. After World War II this view only became more entrenched. Many intellectuals, in fact, argued that Christians were not merely retrograde bigots; they suffered from psychological pathologies as well, making them irrational and dangerous political animals. New social science lent further credibility to this diagnosis by positing a world in which all citizens who labored for causes other than those that served their own material interest were pathologically irrational. All of these various streams of thought eventually informed contemporary assessments of the Christian Right. And partly because the inherited worldview of liberal intellectuals seemed to fit some radical fundamentalists in particular, it foreclosed another, more textured look at Christian conservatives or a reexamination of their paradigm's own troubled history. After tracing this intellectual history, this paper offers a better framework for understanding the behavior of orthodox Christians in public life.

Bartholomew Sparrow. "Limited Wars and the Attenuation of the State: A Reassessment"

Our paper, "Supporting Our Troops: U.S. Civil-Military Relations in the Twenty-first Century sees if Sparrow argument of 2002, that a stronger state over the course of the Cold War led, at the same time, to an attenuation of the state in terms of weaker ties of affect between individuals and the US government, still holds after the end of the Cold War and with 9/11. The paper reviews several indicators of civil military ties: the greater role of women in the U.S. military, homosexual policy, the attitudinal gap between military personnel and civilians, budget policies, and military-media relations. We conclude that while in some respects the military has strengthened the ties to the public (more women, more favorable media coverage, more of a presence in popular culture through Hollywood and video war games), in others the ties have weakened. There is a growing gap between what military officers and civilians see the military's political role, fewer persons than ever serve in the military (active and reserve forces combined), and Americans don't otherwise financially or behaviorally contribute to the war effort—despite the fact that the United States is waging more of a non-limited war, in the global war against terror in conjunction with the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, than it has at any time since WWII.

Bartholomew Sparrow. "The Insular Cases and American Federalism"

"Federalism, the Territories, and the Insular Cases" explores how the United States, assumed to be a nation of states formed by a compact among states, exerts sovereignty over territories and citizens excluded from political membership. The paper refers to the founding documents to explain the principles of federalism. It then argues that the history of U.S. geopolitical expansion, first westward and then into the Caribbean and the Pacific, is largely inconsistent with the principles of federalism. And this history of the United States' overseas territories, beginning after the Spanish-American War, is almost entirely inconsistent with federalism thanks to the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in the Insular Cases, and in Downes v. Bidwell, in particular.

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

What was private policing? Why did it flourish in the years before World War II, and what was its ultimate impact on public regulation? This paper contends that private policing needs to be understood as a distinct form of delegated governance in which private associations sought to monitor, arrest, and to prosecute those suspected of violating regulatory policies in "frontier zones," or areas where the government was viewed as ineffective. To be sure, this phenomenon sometimes served as an expedient alternative to public enforcement regimes, which was to be abandoned once associations gained the opportunity to "build" rather than to merely "borrow" state capacity. However, private regulators often made no contributions to the creation of modern bureaucracies. Instead, the impact of private policing on administrative regulation varied. In cases where private regulators secured the support of powerful political allies, they did collaborate to establish some new government agencies. In many cases, however, private regulators failed to shape administrative regulation because their approaches to solving social problems had been superceded by technological advances or, more significantly, by new paradigms for understanding and addressing these problems.

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

In this paper I argue that the dichotomous framing of identity vs. class politics in American labor politics is inadequate, particularly in a context where issues of class, race, and gender are often embedded simultaneously in systems of complex inequality. Through examining a case study of union change, my research shows that the

assumed divisions around class and identity can be transformed into a basis for the mobilization of previously excluded groups within unions, and that political organizations under certain conditions do change to incorporate multiple identities and groups.

Ed Webb. "Trajectories of Secularization After Empire: The Cases of Syria and Turkey"

While universalizing theories of secularization miss too much by eliding important historical and cultural factors, we can still see potentially important commonalities among some trajectories of secularization. Here I examine two examples of state-led secularization processes in states emerging from the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, and compare them to certain elements of the earlier secularization of republican France, arguing that all of them can be usefully thought of as exemplars of what I term the Jacobin mode of secularization, but that as with other processes associated with modernity, the specific strategies chosen and their outcomes are crucially affected by institutional and ideological factors, as well as historical sequence.

Justin Wert.
"Habeas Corpus and the History of the Warren Court"

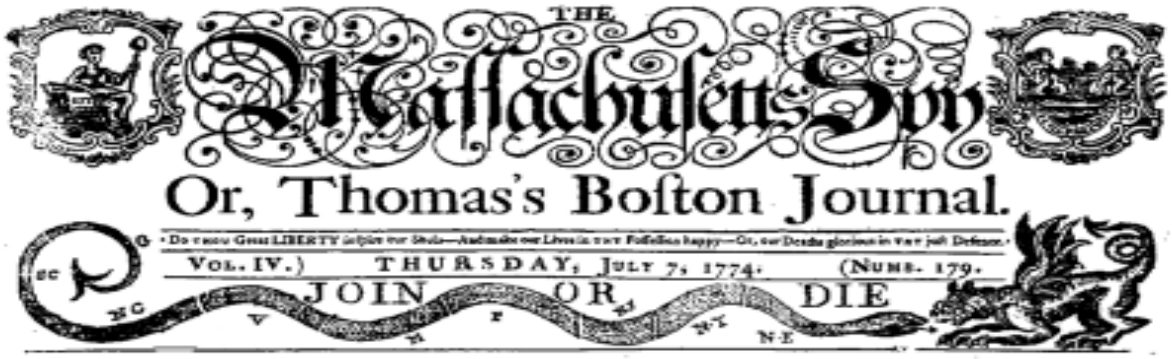
This paper examines the "historiography" of the Warren Court through its interpretation of the development of the "Great Writ of Liberty" – habeas corpus. It looks particularly at the court's decisions in Fay v. Noia (1963) and Townsend v. Sain (1963), two cases issued to aid in the implementation of its incorporation decisions such as Gideon v. Wainright (1963), announced the same day. Scholars such as Owen Fiss (19xx) have examined the court's implementation of injunctive penalties in the Warren court's earlier cases, specifically Brown v. Board of Education (1954). However, no sustained discussion or analysis of habeas corpus as the court's choice of enforcement mechanism for selective incorporation has appeared. Less than a decade after these new habeas decisions are announced, they are severely limited by the Burger Court in Stone v. Powell (1974) and have consistently been limited since. I argue that the Warren Court's overly progressive reading of the "history" and development of habeas corpus in Fay and Townsend ultimately leads it to assume incorrectly that this version of habeas development is shared by a majority of judicial and non-judicial actors. Moreover, the Warren court's linkage of habeas corpus to its selective incorporation agenda implicates a particular understanding of federalism that is challenged ever since the Burger Court began to reinterpret parts of the incorporationist jurisprudence.

Mark Wolfgram. "Nuremberg's Legacy and Mythology: Lessons for the Future of International Tribunals"

The International Military Tribunal for Major War Criminals at Nuremberg has largely entered the collective memory outside of Germany as a success. In its mythological form, the trial is remembered for not only having handed out justice, but also for educating the German population and aiding postwar reconciliation. In reality, while the Nuremberg trial did deliver justice, it largely failed in its educational goal. It also did little to aid postwar reconciliation. For many, if not most Germans, the Nuremberg trial came to represent "victor's justice" and led to bitter resentment against the allies. This paper looks at the history of Nuremberg and its representation across time. It looks at German attitudes toward the trials and their corresponding resistance to dealing with the Nazi regime. The paper combines data from public opinion polls as well as representations and discussions of the trials in the popular culture. Finally, the paper also looks at how Nuremberg is used to justify the creation of new international tribunals today. I argue that the mythology of Nuremberg has led to a counterproductive reliance upon tribunals to deal with major war criminals. Rather than continuing to rely upon tribunals, which often generate bitterness and resentment in the affected populations such as with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, the international community should move toward using the newly created International Criminal Court. This would perhaps better help alleviate the perceptions of "victor's justice" and maybe also aid the process of local reconciliation.

Theodore Wright. "The Identity and Changing Status of Former Elite Minorities: the Contrasting cases of North Indian Muslims and American WASPS"

My paper, unlike the others on this panel, approaches the subject of "core ethnic groups" comparatively. My research focus for forty-five years has been not on my own ascribed identity group, the so-called White Anglo Saxon Protestants (WASPs) of North America, but on the 12% of the post-independence population of India who are Muslims by religion, whom I have categorized as a "former elite minority". (1) The comparison occurred to me at the time of the publication of Peter Schrag's "Decline of the WASP" (2) and several other popular books with the same theme. It explained why I found attractive a group generally viewed unsympathetically by upwardly mobile academics as "oppressors" of minorities. Other examples of this type are the Manchus of China, the Tatars in Russia, former European colonists in Kenya and Algeria, the Afrikaners of South Africa since 1994, the Watutsi of Rwanda and the Arabs of Zanzibar; Fijians and Maoris in Oceania, in Latin America possibly one could count the Spanish-descended Creoles after the Mestizos seized power from them; in North America the French-Canadians; and in Europe the Anglo-Irish and the various German, Hungarian and Turkish communities which were left outside of their former homelands by defeat and boundary changes after the two world wars, most notably including the Sudeten Germans until their expulsion from Czechoslovakia in 1945.



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The Carl Albert Center's Visiting Scholars Program

The Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center at the University of Oklahoma seeks applicants for its Visiting Scholars Program, which provides financial assistance to researchers working at the Center's archives. Awards of $500-$1000 are normally granted as reimbursement for travel and lodging. The Center's holdings include the papers of many former members of Congress, such as Robert S. Kerr, Fred Harris, and Speaker Carl Albert of Oklahoma; Helen Gahagan Douglas and Jeffery Cohelan of California; Sidney Clarke of Kansas; and Neil Gallagher of New Jersey. Besides the history of Congress, congressional leadership, national and Oklahoma politics, and election campaigns, the collections also document government policy affecting agriculture, Native Americans, energy, foreign affairs, the environment, the economy, and other areas. Topics that can be studied include the Great Depression, flood control, soil conservation, and tribal affairs. At least one collection provides insight on women in American politics. Most materials date from the 1920s to the 1970s, although there is one nineteenth century collection. The Center's collections are described on the World Wide Web at http://www.ou.edu/special/albertctr/archives/ and in the publication titled *A Guide to the Carl Albert Center Congressional Archives* (Norman, Okla.: The Carl Albert Center, 1995) by Judy Day, et al., available at many U. S. academic libraries. Additional information can be obtained from the Center. The Visiting Scholars Program is open to any applicant. Emphasis is given to those pursuing postdoctoral research in history, political science, and other fields. Graduate students involved in research for publication, thesis, or dissertation are encouraged to apply. Interested undergraduates and lay researchers are also invited to apply. The Center evaluates each research proposal based upon its merits, and funding for a variety of topics is expected. No standardized form is needed for application. Instead, a series of documents should be sent to the Center, including: (1) a description of the research proposal in fewer than 1000 words; (2) a personal vita; (3) an explanation of how the Center's resources will assist the researcher; (4) a budget proposal; and (5) a letter of reference from an established scholar in the discipline attesting to the significance of the research. Applications are accepted at any time. For more information, please contact Archivist, Carl Albert Center, 630 Parrington Oval, Room 101, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK 73019. Telephone: (405) 325-5835. FAX: (405) 325-6419. E-mail: channeman@ou.edu.

Booknotes

Lawrence Jacobs and Theda Skocpol, eds. 2005. *Inequality and American Democracy: What We Know and What We Need to Learn*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

In the twentieth century, the United States ended some of its most flagrant inequalities. The "rights revolution" ended statutory prohibitions against women's suffrage and opened the doors of voting booths to African Americans. Yet a more insidious form of inequality has emerged since the 1970s—economic inequality—which appears to have stalled and, in some arenas, reversed progress toward realizing American ideals of democracy. In Inequality and American Democracy, editors Lawrence Jacobs and Theda Skocpol headline a distinguished group of political scientists in assessing whether rising economic inequality now threatens hard-won victories in the long struggle to achieve political equality in the United States.

Kay Lehman Scholzman, Benjamin Page, Sidney Verba, and Morris Fiorina demonstrate that political participation is highly unequal and strongly related to social class. They show that while economic inequality and the decreasing reliance on volunteers in political campaigns serve to diminish their voice, middle class and working Americans lag behind the rich even in protest activity, long considered the political weapon of the disadvantaged. Larry Bartels, Hugh Heclo, Rodney Hero, and Lawrence Jacobs marshal evidence that the U.S. political system may be disproportionately responsive to the opinions of wealthy constituents and business. They argue that the rapid growth of interest groups and the increasingly strict party-line voting in Congress imperils efforts at enacting policies that are responsive to the preferences of broad publics and to their interests in legislation that extends economic and social opportunity. Jacob Hacker, Suzanne Mettler, and Dianne Pinderhughes demonstrate the feedbacks of government policy on political participation and inequality. In short supply today are inclusive public policies like the G.I. Bill, Social Security legislation, the War on Poverty, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that changed the American political climate, mobilized interest groups, and altered the prospect for initiatives to stem inequality in the last 50 years.

from the Russell Sage Website

Suzanne Mettler. 2005. *Soldiers to Citizens: The G.I. Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Contents: Introduction: Civic Generation * Creating the G.I. Bill * Citizen Soldiers * Beyond All Expectations * Conveying Messages * Fostering Social Opportunity * Creating Active Citizens * Making Democracy * Mobilizing for Equal Rights * Created with the Men in Mind * The Unfinished Work

Ira Katznelson and Barry R. Weingast, eds. 2005. *Preferences and Situations: Points of Intersection Between Historical and Rational Choice Institutionalism*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

A scholarly gulf has tended to divide historians, political scientists, and social movement theorists on how people develop and act on their preferences. Rational choice scholars assumed that people — regardless of the time and place in which they live — try to achieve certain goals, like maximizing their personal wealth or power. In contrast, comparative historical scholars have emphasized historical context in explaining people's behavior. Recently, a common emphasis on how institutions — such as unions or governments — influence people's preferences in particular situations has emerged, promising to narrow the divide between the two intellectual camps. In Preferences and Situations, editors Ira Katnelson and Barry Weingast seek to expand that common ground by bringing together an esteemed group of contributors to address the ways in which institutions, in their wider historical setting, induce people to behave in certain ways and steer the course of history.

The contributors examine a diverse group of topics to assess the role that institutions play in shaping people's preferences and decision-making. For example, Margaret Levi studies two labor unions to determine how organizational preferences are established. She discusses how the individual preferences of leaders crystallize and become cemented into an institutional culture through formal rules and informal communication. To explore how preferences alter with time, David Brady, John Ferejohn, and Jeremy Pope examine why civil rights legislation that failed to garner sufficient support in previous decades came to pass Congress in 1964. Ira Katznelson reaches back to the 13th century to discuss how the institutional development of Parliament after the signing of the Magna Carta led King Edward I to reframe the view of the British crown toward Jews and expel them in 1290. The essays in this book focus on preference formation and change, revealing a great deal of overlap between two schools of thought that were previously considered mutually exclusive. Though the scholarly debate over the merits of historical versus rational choice institutionalism will surely rage on, Preferences and Situations reveals how each field can be enriched by the other.

from the Russell Sage Website

Sidney M. Milkis and Jerome M. Mileur, eds. 2005. *The Great Society and the High Tide of Liberalism*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

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Matthew Lange and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds. 2005. *States and Development: Historical Antecedents of Stagnation and Advance.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Contents: Matthew Lange and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, "States and Development" * Peter Evans, "Harnessing the State: Rebalancing Strategies for Monitoring and Motivation" * Matthew Lange, "The Rule of Law and Development: A Weberian Framework of States and State-Society Relations" * Areendam Chanda and Louis Putterman, "State Effectiveness, Economic Growth, and the Age of States" * James Mahoney and Matthias vom Hau, "Colonial States and Economic Development in

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Kevin R. Kosar. 2005. *Failing Grades: The Federal Politics of Education Standards*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner

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Providing an exception to the rule in the postwar era, the G.I. Bill's education and training provisions proved accessible to black veterans, who used them at high rates even amidst the segregated institutions in the South as well as in other regions of the nation. Yet once they returned to the labor market, black beneficiaries often landed the same jobs they would have attained had they not obtained extra education or training. At that point, they became politically active at high rates, channeling their involvement toward the civil rights movement. Then, once the Civil Rights Act and Voting Rights Act were enacted, these same veterans took part in formal politics at high levels.

At the same time, however, the G.I. Bill exacerbated the gender divide in American social and participatory citizenship. Female veterans used the G.I. Bill at lower rates than men because they tended to pursue further education after they had raised their children, at which point their eligibility for the program had expired. More problematic, women had constituted only 2 percent of the Armed Forces, and thus the vast majority did not qualify for the provisions at all. As a result, the gender gap in the attainment of college degrees, which had been narrowing for decades, widened sharply, and in turn exacerbated the overrepresentation of men in graduate schools and in the professions. As well, women were largely deprived of the powerful resource and interpretive effects of the G.I. Bill that had stimulated men to become more active citizens. This case suggests that the enduring gender gap in political activity may emanate not only from what Nancy Burns, Kay Schlozman, and Sidney Verba have called the "private roots of public action," but also from the way the state itself is constituted.

Today, as economic inequality is on the rise and civic engagement is declining, the voices of nonaffluent citizens are not well heard or represented by the political system. As a policy that fostered both social mobility and civic engagement, the G.I. Bill holds important lessons about how public programs can make a difference.

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From the President (continued from front cover)

in the United States confirms, the Bush Administration has guarded, indeed sought to enhance the powers of the modern executive office. Bush's presidency, in fact, shows how a militant partisan in the modern executive office makes possible a blending of partisanship and administration, one in which party organization has become a vehicle for the White House's objectives.

This blending of partisanship and executive dominion sheds light on the development of a new party system in the United States. The localized, patronage based parties forged on the anvil of Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy tended to constrain executive power, especially when dedicated to the expansion of national administration; the "new" American party system, characterized by nationalized organization and programmatic objectives, seems better suited to serving the political and policy ambitions of the modern presidency. Although most political scientists and historians trace the nationalized, often rancorous partisanship to developments that grew out of the Great Society and the conservative opposition it aroused, the new party system had its start in the 1930s. In truth, George W. Bush's party leadership highlights a long-standing paradox growing out of the New Deal political realignment, which spawned a new form of partisanship that was inextricably tied to the expansion of national administrative power.

On the on hand, Franklin D. Roosevelt and militant New Dealers, anticipating the critics of the party system of the 1940s and 1950s, advocated a more "responsible" party system, composed of national policy-oriented organizations capable of carrying out platforms or proposals presented to the people during the course of an election They sought to overcome the state and local orientation of the party system, which privileged localities, states and Congress, and was poorly organized for progressive action on the part of the national government, and to establish a national, executive oriented party, which would be more suitably organized for the expression of national purposes. Unless such a development took place, Roosevelt argued in defending his efforts to diminish the influence of the conservative southern Democrats who opposed the New Deal, the Democratic and Republican parties would be merely "Tweedledum and Tweedledee to each other." The system of party responsibility, he argued, "required one of its parties be the liberal party and the other the conservative party." Through a massive partisan effort, which included the elimination of the 2/3rds rule and the 1938 purge campaign (reducing conservative southern Democrats to a powerful, but dissident wing of the party), FDR and his New Deal political allies began the process of transforming the parties from local and patronage to national and programmatic organizations. The partisan realignment in the South, the mainspring of the transformation of parties, is often attributed to the civil rights revolution of the 1960s and its aftermath; in fact, however, the remaking of southern politics was born of FDR's struggles with southern Democracy during his second term.

On the other hand, Roosevelt's dominance of Democratic politics and the New Deal commitment to "enlightened administration" required presidents to stand apart from partisan conflicts. Believing that a strong, independent executive had a more secure place in the American tradition than "responsible party government," Roosevelt sought to build a more progressive form of government within a reconstituted executive office rather than through a vital connection between the president and Congress. This required extending the personal and nonpartisan presidency to the detriment of collective partisan responsibility. The 1939 Executive Reorganization Act, enacted after a bitter two-year struggle with Congress, was the organic statute of the Modern Executive Office. It led to the creation of the Executive Office of the President and the White House Office – the "West Wing" – and codified a development in which the president, rather than the parties and Congress, was the principal agent of popular government in the United States.

The displacement of party politics by executive administration was particularly likely to happen when programs or benefits were defended as rights or new freedoms. The New Deal emphasis on entitlements and liberal internationalism – the rhetorical and programmatic commitments to uphold "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear" – reinforced this development: the expanded notion of rights exalted national administrative power into a new creed – New Deal Liberalism – that presupposed the transcendence rather than the transformation of partisanship.

The New Deal political order, then, gave impetus to both the transformation and diminishing importance of political parties. Democratic presidents have tended to emphasize the non-partisan side of the New Deal. Lyndon Johnson, FDR's great legatee, albeit one who put more emphasis on innovation than orthodoxy, and the Great Society program he championed reinforced

the tendency for liberals to look to the executive and, eventually, the courts, rather than parties, Congress, and states for political satisfaction. Indeed, by the 1970s, political scientists and historians kept a death watch over the party system. At the same time, however, the playing out of the New Deal made possible the transformation of parties: the erosion of old-style partisan politics allowed a more national and issue-oriented party system to develop, making possible the forging on new links between presidents and parties. Republican presidents, such as Ronald Reagan and G.W. Bush, have been critical agents in the development of a "new" party system; they have rallied conservatives to a National Republican party that proclaims to be against national administration, a claim expressed most loudly in conservative activists' militant opposition to new taxes.

George W. Bush's presidency, especially, has been dedicated to exploiting and further advancing the more national programmatic GOP that arose with the resurgence and transformation of conservatism during the Reagan presidency. Bush's active recruitment of Republican candidates and diligent fundraising have considerably strengthened the party organization; and his public displays of religiosity and ostentatious use of moral language have served to consolidate a Republican identity of moral and religious conservatism that has energized Republican partisans. These efforts have yielded handsome political benefits. The president's dramatic intervention in the 2002 midterm elections helped Republicans achieve historic victories in the House and Senate. Building on the successes in the 2002 elections, Bush and his advisors designed and implemented the most ambitious grassroots campaign in the party's history for the 2004 elections. Indeed, one could argue that they built the first "national party machine" in American history, an elaborate network of almost a million and a half campaign volunteers concentrated in the sixteen most competitive states, which was credited as a key to Bush's narrow but decisive victory over his opponent, Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts, in the presidential election, and with helping to increase Republicans' command of the Senate and House. Bush thus surpassed Reagan, whose party leadership never led to Republican majorities in both the House of Representatives and Senate.

The Bush White House has been especially successful in significantly increasing the Republican Party's "base" – that is, loyal Republicans who participate actively in politics, and tend to stay with you through think and thin. Significantly, the GOP grass roots drive, which was first used in the 2002 election and fully deployed for the 2004 Bush-Cheney re-election campaign, targeted not "swing voters" but "lazy Republicans" – those who White House and RNC strategists identified as likely to support the GOP at all levels, but who were unreliable in their voting habits. Although Bush's poll numbers have dropped considerably during his troubled second term, the travails of Katrina and nation building in Iraq would have led to a much more serious political debacle, where it not for the expanded, fiercely loyal Republican base that he and his political strategists have so assiduously cultivated: Bush's favorable ratings, which had dropped to 39% in early November, rebounded to 47% by the end of 2005, buttressed by 87% of Republican loyalists who still express support for the president.

In fact, the 2004 campaign may have marked a culmination of sorts in the development of a "new" party system – the national Republican and Democratic parties appeared to instigate a serious partisan dispute that captured the attention of the American people and mobilized a large turnout. Prior to 2004, the "new" national party system had strengthened partisan discipline in Washington, D.C., most notably in Congress, and had been a valuable source of campaign services – especially campaign funds – for candidates. But it had failed to stir the passions and allegiance of the American people, attested to by declining partisan identification and anemic voting rates. In contrast, the 2004 campaign seemed passionate, polarized, and participatory. Thus the Republican "Grass roots mobilization" – and earnest Democratic efforts to compete with it— represent the best evidence that a "new" party system has come of age. Significantly, both the Republican grass roots organization and the Get-Out-the-Vote campaign of Americans Coming Together (ACT), the 527 ("shadow party") group that assumed principal responsibility for the Kerry campaign's voter mobilization effort, were organized outside of the regular state and local party organizations. Both camps sought to recruit new insurgent leadership in the states and localities, as the new foot soldiers of a nationalized party system. Beyond its immediate electoral effectiveness, then, Republican mobilization efforts in 2004 may provide a plausible blueprint for a revitalized party politics that draws more people into the political process and renews linkages between citizens and elected officials.[4]

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Although Bush's partisan leadership marks the most systematic effort by a modern president to create a strong national party, the question remains whether a national political machine can be created ex-cathedra. At this point, it must be said, that the prospects for "a new party system" that can hold the modern presidency to account are very uncertain. In fact, there is a real sense in which the "new" party system may be a creature of, and dependent on, the modern presidency. As Rove put it, the national parties that have emerged since the 1980s are "of great importance in the tactical and mechanical aspects of electing a president." But they are "less important in developing a political and policy strategy for the White House." In effect, he said, parties served as a critical "means to the president's end." The emergence of the modern executive office presupposed that "the White House had to determine the administration's objectives" and by implication the party's.

On some accounts, the Bush White House's obsession with executive power – illustrated nicely by the recent spying controversy – resembles the implosion of Richard Nixon's presidency. Like Nixon, Bush has emphasized the administrative presidency, consolidating influence in a small circle of advisors in the White House Office during his first term and attempting to expand this circle through the appointment of loyalists to head departments and agencies in the second. But whereas Nixon focused on creating a personal machine that marginalized and weakened the Republican Party, Bush has doggedly pursued policies and campaign strategies with a view to strengthening the GOP. Nixon's Committee for the Re-Election of the President (CREEP) operated with complete autonomy from the Republican National Committee (RNC) and set its sights on a *personal* landslide; the Bush-Cheney Re-Election effort worked hand-in-glove with the Republican National Committee and the entire campaign was built on the premise of gaining a *party* victory. The reward for this militant partisanship is that for most of his presidency, Bush has been accorded considerable deference from Congress – most important, he has gained the complicity of the GOP controlled House and Senate, so that political strategy and policy making has been consolidated in a small circle of Republicans, albeit one linked to an expanded base.

Bush, in fact, with the steadfast support of Republican leaders in Congress, has exploited party beliefs and organization to advance a conservative executive centered administrative state. This started with Reagan, but Bush has trumped Reagan in his commitment to big government conservatism. The most dramatic example is the Bush administration's foreign policy, especially its "preemption doctrine," pursued with such controversy in Iraq. But the Bush White House has also shown ambition to use national administrative power in domestic affairs, far beyond the exigencies of homeland security. Rather than eliminate the Department of Education, as the Reagan administration proposed to do, the Bush administration has pushed for reform that holds the national schools accountable to standards set by the federal government. Equally important, rather than curtain New Deal and Great Society entitlements, such and Medicare and Social Security, Bush and his political allies have sought to recast them in a conservative image. Lamenting the accelerated growth of domestic spending during the Bush years, Christopher DeMuth, the president of the American Enterprise Institute has written, "The 2001-2005 period marks the transformation of the Republican Party from its traditional role as a win-or-lose guardian of limited government, to that of a majority governing party just as comfortable with big government as Democrats, only with different spending priorities."[5]

The efforts to consolidate a conservative administrative state on Bush's watch may represent, to use E.E. Schattschneider's phrase, a "displacement of conflict," in which the struggle between champions and opponents of the administrative state has given way to a battle between liberals and conservatives for its services.[6] But the extricable connection between the new party system and executive dominion provides some support for a possibility Skowronek raises, in considering secular caveats to the general argument that Bush in an heir of Reagainism: the nationalized party might "in effect become whatever the president needs it to be, and whatever capacity it had to hold its leaders to account would accordingly be lost."[7] The traditional decentralized parties, nourished by the patronage system, acted as a gravitational pull on presidential ambition; the new national parties, sustained not only by the national party committees, but also by advocacy groups, think tanks, and the mass media, encourage presidents to advance bold programs and policies.

The Bush-Cheney 2004 campaign highlighted Republicans' dedication to executive aggrandizement. It was "framed" not so much as a choice between

Republican and Democratic principles as a choice between George Bush and John Kerry, as a critical but practical decision about which individual, in the aftermath of 9/11, was most likely to manage the imposing tasks of economic and homeland security. This is not to deny that the Bush campaign's emphasis on wartime leadership was skillfully tied to national security and traditional values that appealed to Republican partisans; but the centrality of presidential leadership tended to emphasize loyalty to Bush, rather than to a collective party organization with a past and a future. As Matthew Dowd, the top strategist for the 2004 Bush-Cheney campaign, suggested, "Leadership is a window into the soul – people want someone they can count on in tough times, and [after 9-11] Bush filled this paternalistic role." Given the president's campaign message, the impressive grassroots operation may have been less a means for mobilizing support for shared values and partisan goals than for mobilizing public approval for the president's personal leadership in the War on Terrorism.

The Democratic campaign, too, emphasized personal administrative competence. As a prominent figure in the Kerry campaign admitted, in explaining the National Democratic Convention's emphasis on Kerry's military service – defined by the candidate's acceptance of the nomination with the emphatic pronouncement that he was, "Reporting for Duty! — the Democratic campaign did not emphasize party principles, but focused instead on presenting the Democratic senator as a "plausible alternative" to the incumbent president, one who displayed the "strength required of a leader in post–9-11 America." Kerry's "flip-flopping" appeared to defy this campaign theme; but the Democratic candidate's inability to effectively engage Bush in a debate over the War on Terrorism was less a matter of indecisiveness than it was his and the Democrats' embrace of modern presidential prerogative. Like many Democrats in the Congress, Kerry justified his vote for the Iraqi resolution in 2002 by claiming that it did not declare war, but, instead, delegated to the president authority to go to war and determine its scope and duration. Kerry raised substantial arguments against going to war with Iraq, but he voted for the Iraqi resolution because he accepted presidential superiority over Congress, and presidential independence from party politics, in foreign affairs. As he argued at the time of his vote, "We are affirming a president's right and responsibility to keep the American people safe, and the president must take that grant of responsibility seriously." This acceptance of executive aggrandizement badly hamstrung Kerry's effort to challenge Bush on the central issue of the 2004 presidential election.

Consequently, although both the Republicans and Democrats engaged in innovative and effective practices in raising campaign funds, getting their message out, and mobilizing voters during the 2004 elections, it remains unclear that these proto- national machines (or popular allegiance to them) will endure beyond the election. Ultimately, as Dowd acknowledged, "both parties organizing force has focused on President Bush—the Republicans in defense of his leadership; the Democrats in opposition—hostility—to it. After the election, both parties will be challenged to sustain a collective commitment independently of their devotion to, or hatred of Bush." As is already evident, both the Democrats and Republicans will be hard pressed to meet this challenge in the 2006 and 2008 elections.

Endnotes

[1] Stephen Skowronek, "Leadership by Definition: First Term Reflections on George W. Bush's Stance," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (December 2005): 817-831.

[2] James W. Ceaser and Andrew E. Busch, *Red Over Blue: The 2004 Elections and American Politics* (Boulder: Roman and Littlefield, 2005).

[3] Jeffrey Tulis, "The Two Constitutional Presidencies"; David E.Lewis, "Presidents and Bureaucracy: Management Imperatives in a Separation of Powers System"; both in Michael Nelson, ed., *The Presidency and the Political System*, 8th edition (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2005).

[4] For a detailed account of the Bush-Cheney get out the vote campaign and its relationship to the development of a new party system, see Sidney M. Milkis and Jesse Rhodes, "George W. Bush, the Republican Party, and the New Party System," paper prepared for the 2005 Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1-4. The quotes from Bush and Kerry campaign officials in this essay are drawn from the interviews we did for this paper.

[5] Christopher DeMuth, "Unlimited Government," *The American Enterprise Online*. www.taemag.com.

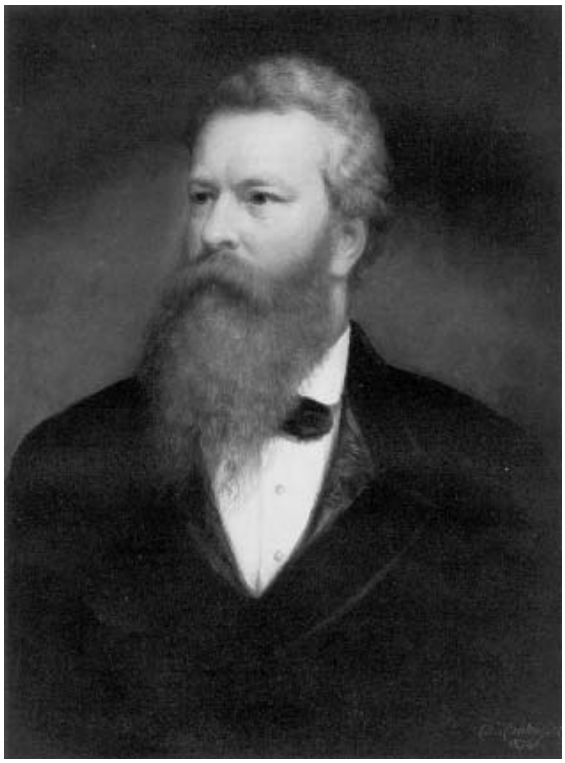
[6] E.E. Schattschneider, *A Realist's View of Democracy in America* (Hinsdale, Illinois: Dryden Press, 1960).

[7] Skowronek, "Leadership by Definition," 827.

WILLIAM WORTH BELKNAP
Secretary of the Army, 1869-1876

The Grant Administration, already rocked by the Crédit Mobilier, Whiskey Ring, southern reconstruction and other scandals, found its Secreatary of the Army impeached by the House in 1876. Secretary Belknap was charged with accepting bribes for access to Indian posts. Though he resigned, the Senate held an impeachment trial. A majority of Senators voted for conviction (35 to 25) but the vote fell short of the necessary 2/3 majority to convict.

Portrait by Daniel Huntington at http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/books/sw-sa/Belknap.htm



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