



from the President

Reflections on a Polarized America: Partisan Rancor and Development in the United States

by Sidney M. Milkis

*White Burkett Miller Professor and Chair,
Department of Politics, University of Virginia*

Although they debate its depth and severity, political scientists, historians, sociologists, public intellectuals and pundits tend to agree that American politics and government have become more polarized over the past twenty five years. Partisan rancor has increased; what’s more, Republicans and Democrats have become anchored in distinct regions, states, and communities: the Republicans in the Southern, Border, and Mountain states, especially in small towns and “exurban” enclaves; the Democrats along the two coasts, especially in the major metropolitan areas. These regional, state, and community differences have been reinforced by changes in government, which have led to intense partisan differences within Congress as well as between the legislature and White House. Notably, as former Supreme Court Justice, Sandra Day O’Connor lamented in a recent speech, “hyperpartisanship” has also deeply implicated the courts; arguably,

no issue in contemporary American politics so arouses conflict between Democrats and Republicans as judicial politics.¹

On most accounts, the division between “Red” and “Blue” America is a blight on America’s tradition of constitutional government. Partisan rancor, several experts argue, threatens the division and separation of powers by subordinating the institutional integrity of the three branches of government, as well as the system of federalism, to partisan discipline. Moreover, those pundits and scholars who see party polarization resting in fundamental principles fear that the popular consensus necessary to sustain responsible constitutional government, requiring a citizenry that celebrates individual rights and the separation of church and state, has been eroded by “culture wars”; the “two Americas,” they claim, have been divided on

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POLITICS & HISTORY

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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:

Dave Robertson
Department of Political Science
University of Missouri - St. Louis
One University Blvd, St. Louis, MO 63121-4499

From the Editor

At the recent policy history conference in Charlottesville, Virginia, I was very fortunate to have the chance to chat about the historical analysis of politics with a number of historians and political scientists. I had the clear impression that historians are more confident that political topics have regained traction in their discipline in the last decade or so. Clearly politics and history have become more accepted in American political science in the same period. There is no doubt less resistance to historical institutionalism in political science journals. How will this affect the quality of our work in the future? In no small measure, the very resistance to historical analysis in political science required us to address important questions and produce work of very high quality. As that resistance erodes, we will need to remain vigilant about the high quality of the questions we research and the work we produce.

Section members owe a debt of gratitude this year to Kathleen Thelen and Daniel Tichenor, co-chairs of the Politics and History division at the 2006 APSA. Thanks to Brian Glenn for putting together a short course for the 2006 APSA. Our section president, Sid Milkis, deserves many thanks for his dedication to the section's health, and to politics and history more generally. Our section owes a debt to Linda Davis at the APSA headquarters in Washington, who for many years has facilitated our mailings and section business.

Once again we thank the Department of Political Science at UM - St. Louis for supporting the production of Clio again this year. Richard Ehui served as Managing Editor, and we thank him. Thanks also to Lana Stein, our department chair, and to Lana Vierdag and Raphael Hopkins, without whom we faculty would have to solve our dilemmas for ourselves - a prospect I could only contemplate with foreboding.

In this unusually jam-packed issue, we lack the space to include announcements about two opportunities. The Fulbright Scholar Program is online at www.cies.org; the deadline for Fulbright applications is August 1. The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars offers Fellowships in the Social Sciences and Humanities for 2007-2008. Information about these fellowships is available at <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/fellowships>. The Wilson Center deadline is October 2.

B is for Byrnes and Business: An Untold Story about Medicare

Peter A. Swenson, *Yale University*

(We invited Professor Swenson to comment about his work. His article, "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] received the 2005 Mary Parker Follett award from the Politics and History section).

Before and since researching "Varieties" I have also been involved in a new project – the comparative history and political economy of health care. A distinct and intriguing aspect of health insurance is the controversy it generates not just about quantities – costs and distribution – but also about qualities. How much can or should be rationed for health services of different kinds, from competing providers, and for different people depends in part how *good* it is. Resources squandered on unnecessary and often injurious clinical and surgical practice are resources diverted from other social needs. Because the quality of much medical care is contestable even within the medical profession — and what to do about it even more so — complex power and distributional struggles between providers and purchasers are central to the progress of medicine.

This current research is in a way only a stone's throw from my earlier work on the role of capital and labor in the shaping of welfare regimes. Big business and big labor – organized purchasers — share a compelling interest in influencing the behavior of providers, especially if they believe that much of everyday clinical practice is fraudulent, wasteful, harmful, and even fatal. Today, evidence about untested, ineffective, and bad medicine is good and plentiful; much of the most influential exposes of bad medicine, including the pharmaceutical kind, comes from top-flight medical scientists at elite institutions like the Institute of Medicine and in influential forums like the *New England Journal of Medicine*.¹ Even if medical technology and clinical practice improve over time, it also gets more expensive. So the motive to root out waste grows. And conflict remains a constant.

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Politics and History Nominations for Section Officers, 2006-2007

The Nominating Committee for section officers for 2006-2007 was chaired by Sid Milkis and included Desmond King, David Vogel, Suzanne Mettler, and Victoria Hattam. Professor Hattam was chosen last year as President-Elect, and under the section bylaws, she automatically assumes the presidency at the 2006 section Business Meeting.

President-Elect:

Kathleen Thelen, Northwestern University

New Council Members, full 2-year term:

Daniel Tichnor, Rutgers University

Dorian Warren, Columbia University

Adam Sheingate, Johns Hopkins University

Eric Patashnik, University of Virginia

Section by-laws provide for challenges by petition prior to the section meeting. The Nominating Committee should receive any petitions prior to August 10, 2006. The by-laws do not permit challenges from the floor to be entertained during the business meeting, which will be held at the Philadelphia APSA meetings on Friday at 6:00, followed by a reception at 7:00 pm.



APSA 2006 ANNUAL MEETING SHORT COURSE SC 13

Studying Public Opinion Before Polling

Co-Sponsors: Politics & History Section
Elections, Public Opinion, & Voting Behavior Section

Time: 1:00 pm to 5:00 pm, Wednesday, August 30

Location: On the premises of the APSA Annual Meeting

Presenters: John G. Geer, Vanderbilt University
Susan Herbst, Albany University
Rogan Kersh, Syracuse University
Brian J. Glenn, Hamilton College
David Karol, University of California - Berkeley
Eileen McDonagh, Northeastern University

James Madison himself noted that the House of Representatives was, “so constituted as to support in the members a habitual recollection of their dependence on the people” (Federalist 57). Those who did not represent the interests and desires of their constituents would find themselves voted out of office at the next election. The belief was that representatives would thus spend a great deal of time traveling across their districts, listening and learning—something the contemporary political scientist can only do remotely—in order to understand what their constituents desired. Given that we today lack that opportunity, how do political scientists today go about studying public opinion in a time before polling? Whether we are focusing on the seventeenth century or the early part of the twentieth, there are significant hurdles to overcome.

We have collected a talented group of individuals who have employed a broad range of methods to crack this nut. Our panelists will explain their methods and how they were employed to address a particular question. We have left ample after our two rounds of presentations for dialogue. Can methods be combined in innovative and powerful ways, and can qualitative and quantitative scholars work together to develop even more robust inquiries? How far back in time can one go? How can a method used to study one subgroup be translated to focus robustly on another?

After the panel discussions we will break into small working groups where we will address the research interests of the attendees, who are encouraged to discuss their own work and the hurdles they face. We hope that attendees will come out of this workshop with an awareness of the range of methods open to them, and also that they will have had ample opportunity to talk with others about their own research.

Contact: Brian J. Glenn,
Department of Government,
Hamilton College,
Clinton, NY, 13327
Email: bjglenn@hamilton.edu Phone: 215.837.6059

Registration: \$10 fee for Faculty; \$5 fee for Graduate Students, payable to: APSA Politics & History Section and sent to: Dave Robertson, Department of Political Science, University of Missouri – St. Louis, One University Boulevard, St. Louis, MO, 63121-4499

Politics and History Panels
(and Selected Theme Panels)
at the 2006 American Political Science Association Meetings

Co-Chairs:
Kathleen Thelen, Northwestern University
Daniel Tichenor, Rutgers University

Business Meeting: Friday, September 1, 6:00 PM
Reception: Friday, September 1, 7:00 PM

Thursday, August 31, 8:00 AM

Panel 7-9: **The Role of Conservatism in the Evolution of American Environmental Policy**

Chair: Brian J. Glenn, Hamilton College

“Conservatives and Federal Environmental Policy from the New Deal to the Great Society”

Marc Allen Eisner, Wesleyan University

“Conservatives and Federal Environmental Policy from the Great Society to the 1980s”

Richard A. Harris, Rutgers University, Camden

“Conservatives and Federal Environmental Policy from the 1980s to Present”

Judith A. Layzer, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Discussant: Marc Landy, Boston College

Thursday, August 31, 10:15 AM

Panel 7-4: **The National Security State and American Political Development**

(Co-sponsored by 20-12)

Chair: Peter Trubowitz, University of Texas, Austin

“APD and the Historical Roots of Contemporary U.S. Foreign Policy”

Daniel J. Wirls & Ronnie D. Lipschutz, University of California-Santa Cruz

“The Presidential Temptation to War: Institutional Basis and Evidence”

Elizabeth Sanders, Cornell University

“Collective Action, Economic Development, and the Early National Security State”

Andrew J. Polsky, Hunter College, CUNY

William Adler, CUNY - Graduate Center

“The Paradoxes of Civilian Defense: Political Development and the Fate of Homeland Security in the United States”

Andrew D. Grossman, Albion College

Discussant: David R. Mayhew, Yale University

Thursday, August 31, 10:15 AM

**Panel T-6: Theme Panel: The Separation of Powers and
the Rise of Executive Power in a Divided Nation**

Chair: Kathleen Hall Jamieson, University of Pennsylvania
Participants: Joel D. Aberbach, University of California, Los Angeles
Kevin T. McGuire, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Mary E. McIntosh, Princeton Survey Research Associates
Mark A. Peterson, University of California, Los Angeles
Paul J. Quirk, University of British Columbia

Thursday, August 31, 10:15 AM

Panel 7-18: Race and US Political Development

(Co-sponsored by 27-13)

Chair: Julie L. Novkov, University of Oregon
“Internal Colonialism: The Silent Structure of American Politics”
Kevin M. Bruyneel, Babson College
“Racial Orders in US Politics”
Desmond King, Oxford University
“Reforming the Jim Crow State: Race, Region and American Political Development”
Kimberley S. Johnson, Barnard College
“Law, Order, and Race: Rehnquist Writes Nixon’s Doctrine”
Kevin J. McMahon, Trinity College
“Race and US Political Development”
Joseph E. Lowndes & Julie L. Novkov, University of Oregon
Discussants: Joseph E. Lowndes, University of Oregon
Julie L. Novkov, University of Oregon

Thursday, August 31, 2:00 PM

**Panel 7-21: Pragmatist and Constructivist Perspectives on
Institutional Change in US and Comparative Politics**

Chair: Gerald Berk, University of Oregon
“Syncretism and Institutional Change Across Time, Space and Hierarchies”
Gerald Berk & Dennis C. Galvan, University of Oregon
“Associative Chains: Condaleeza Rice, Iraq and the Language of Civil Rights”
Victoria Hattam, New School University
Joseph E. Lowndes, University of Oregon
“Artful Politics and the Origins of Political Consulting”
Adam Sheingate, Johns Hopkins University
Discussant: Gary Herrigel, University of Chicago

Thursday, August 31, 2:00 PM

**Panel 7-10: How Policies Shape Citizens:
Roundtable on Suzanne Mettler’s
*Soldiers to Citizens: The GI Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation***

Chair: Andrea Louise Campbell, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Participants: John Mark Hansen, University of Chicago
Robert D. Putnam, Harvard University
Sidney Verba, Harvard University
Discussant: Suzanne B. Mettler, Syracuse University

Thursday, August 31, 2:00 PM

Panel T-13 Theme Panel: Roundtable: Power and Historical Institutionalism

Chair: Robert C. Lieberman, Columbia University
Participants: Jane Mansbridge, Harvard University
Paul Pierson, University of California, Berkeley
Matthew A. Crenson, Johns Hopkins University

Thursday, August 31, 4:15 PM

Panel 7-3: States and Social Coalitions in Social Policy Development

Chair: Monica Prasad, Northwestern University
“Capital, Labor, and Medicine: Power Politics and Medical Care Quality in German and American History”
Peter A. Swenson, Yale University
“Health Insurance as National Defense:
How Did WWII Impact the Health Insurance System in Japan and the United States?”
Takakazu Yamagishi, Johns Hopkins University
“Workers and welfare in Latin America”
Michelle L. Dion, Georgia Institute of Technology
“Social Policy as Population Policy: State Interests, Demography, and Welfare Policies Across Time”
Margitta Maetzke, Georg-August-University Goettingen
“The Institutional Origins of “Workfarist” Social Policy (1971-1975)”
Eva Bertram, University of California, Santa Cruz
Discussant: Monica Prasad, Northwestern University

Thursday, August 31, 4:15 PM

Panel 7-20: Power Games in the Politics of Memory and Memorialization

Chair: Robert M. Eisinger, Lewis & Clark College
“Remembering Which Victims: Disputed Memorials and their Process in Post-WWII Italy”
Victoria Belco, Portland State University
“The battles for memorization: How can the term genocide be still relevant in Political Science?”
Jacques Semelin, CERI and Institut d’Etudes Politiques
“Power Games in the Politics of Memorials and Memorialization”
Jenny Rosanna Wustenberg, University of Maryland, College Park
Martin O. Heisler, University of Maryland
“Cognitive and Philological Bases of Power in the Politics of Memory”
Martin O. Heisler, University of Maryland

Friday, September 1, 8:00 AM

Panel 7-5: Explaining Institutional Change in Different Varieties of Capitalism

Chair: David R. Cameron, Yale University
“Varieties of State Strategies for Economic Reform: Divergence AND Convergence”
Vivien A. Schmidt, Boston University
“Change and Path Continuity of Dutch Corporatist Capitalism”
Uwe Becker, University of Amsterdam
“A New Phase of European Integration: How the EU threatens Organized Capitalism”
Martin Hoepner & Armin Schaefer, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies
“The Politics of Institutional Change in Under-Organized Economies”
Sofia A. Perez, Boston University
Discussant: Christa van Wijnbergen, Ohio State University

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

Organizers: Kevin Bruyneel, Babson College (kbruyneel@babson.edu)
Janice Fine, Rutgers University (fine@smlr.rutgers.edu)

In keeping with the conference theme of “Political Science and Beyond” this section invites proposals that work across disciplinary boundaries in order to bring historical, theoretical and/or empirical approaches into the study of politics and political life. We are especially interested in understanding the ways in which location in a particular discipline shapes our ways of seeing politics and political history and how those understandings shift when we alter our frames of reference. Taking the theme a step further, we encourage submissions that bring fresh insight into the study of political boundaries themselves. How does attention to boundaries, be they disciplinary or political, inform our understanding of contestations over citizenship, political identity, the terms of federal-state-tribal governmental relations, and the interaction between American foreign and domestic policy, to name just a few issues? The imposition and persistence of boundaries in politics necessitate practices of inclusion and exclusion, notably along lines of race, ethnicity, gender, class, and sexuality, and are productive of communities, at the transnational, national, and sub-national level. Boundaries can be marked in many ways; temporally, geographically, institutionally, legally, and discursively. Contemporary issues such as immigration and the debate over who has rights and who does not as a consequence of the ‘War on Terror’ open up questions about what US political boundaries signify, how they are defined, defended, and challenged, whether they can be reclaimed or rewritten, and what that would mean. This section seeks to promote interdisciplinary analyses – across academic disciplines as a whole and across the sub-fields of political science – into studies of political discourse, social movements, public policy, political development and the role of institutions in political life, and encourages the presentation of innovative and challenging methods and cases. We welcome proposals that utilize historical methods and materials, comparative studies, longitudinal research, and cultural analysis in the study of history and politics.

Friday, September 1, 10:15 AM

**Panel 7-11: Bringing Urbanization into American Political Development:
Institutions, Power Structures, and Identities**

Chair: Steven P. Erie, University of California, San Diego

“Rethinking Power and Organization in Black Politics: 250 Years in Baltimore”

Matthew A. Crenson, Johns Hopkins University

“Town and Country in the Redefinition of State-Federal Power: Canada and the United States, 1630-2005”

Jason Kaufman, Harvard University

“Power, Money, Respect: Urban Immigration and the Origins of the US Postal Savings Bank”

Alethia Jones, SUNY-Albany

“The Perils of (Intellectual) Path Dependence: Revisiting Who Governs?”

Clarence N. Stone, George Washington University

Discussant: Richardson Dilworth, Drexel University

Friday, September 1, 10:15 AM

Panel 7-17: Meet the Author: Robert Lieberman, ‘Shaping Race Panel Policy’

(Co-sponsored by 11-47)

Chair: Richard M. Valelly, Swarthmore College
Erik J. Bleich, Middlebury College
Richard M. Valelly, Swarthmore College
Gretchen Ritter, University of Texas, Austin
Ange-Marie Hancock, Yale University

Friday, September 1, 10:15 AM

Panel T-27 Theme Panel: The Nature of Presidential Leadership

Chair: Stephen J. Wayne, Georgetown University
Participants: Bert A. Rockman, Purdue University
Stephen Skowronek, Yale University
Barbara Kellerman, Harvard University
Bruce Miroff, SUNY, Albany
George C. Edwards, Texas A&M University, College Station

Friday, September 1, 2:00 PM (Co-sponsored by 23-5)

Panel 7-2: Foreign Affairs and the American Presidency: Development and Political Change

Chair: Theodore J. Lowi, Cornell University
“Partisan Worldviews and Foreign Policy in the Bush (I+II) and Clinton Administrations”
Paul T. McCartney, Princeton University
“Presidents, Parties, and the Specter of Foreign Influence, 1789-1828”
Jeffrey Selinger, Cornell University
“Presidential Prerogatives: Liberty and Leadership in Wartime”
Daniel J. Tichenor, Rutgers University, New Brunswick
Discussant: Marc Landy, Boston College

Friday, September 1, 2:00 PM

7-8 Roundtable on Aristide Zolberg’s “A Nation by Design?” (Co-sponsored by 11-46)

Chair: Jytte Klausen, Brandeis University
Panelists: John H. Mollenkopf, CUNY, Graduate Center
Desmond King, Oxford University
Aristide R. Zolberg, New School University
Mae M. Ngai, Columbia University

Friday, September 1, 2:00 PM

Panel 7-13: Democrats, Republicans, and Movements in APD

Chair: Andrew J. Polsky, Hunter College, CUNY
“Movement Activists and Partisan Insurgents: Collaboration or Conflict?”
Bruce Miroff, SUNY, Albany
“Coalitions, Alliances, and Political Blocs in U.S. National Politics – Explaining Joint Political Action”
David Plotke, New School University
“Starve the Democrats: The Long Shadow of Deficit Politics”
Mark A. Smith, University of Washington
“Parties and Anchoring Interest Groups: Organized Labor and Evangelicals Enter U.S. Electoral Politics”
Daniel Schlozman, Harvard University
Theda Skocpol, Harvard University
Discussant: John J. Coleman, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Friday, September 1, 2:00 PM

Panel 7-19: Roundtable on Ira Katznelson's *When Affirmative Action was White*

(Co-sponsored by 32-16)

Chair: Daniel Kryder, Brandeis University

Participants: Lani Guinier, Harvard University

Jane Mansbridge, Harvard University

Kim M. Williams, Harvard University

Richard F. Bense, Cornell University

Fredrick C. Harris, University of Rochester

Friday, September 1, 4:15 PM

Panel 7-14 Dynamics of American Legislative Politics (Co-sponsored by 22-25)

Chair: Ross K. Baker, Rutgers University-New Brunswick

“Incivility, Polarization and the Cycles of Congressional Change, 1852-2000”

Lawrence C. Dodd, University of Florida

Scot Schraufnagel, University of Central Florida-Daytona Beach

“Amateurs, Professionals, and Policymaking in American State Legislatures:

What Shapes the Supply of Legislative Demands”

Gerald Gamm, University of Rochester

Thad Kousser, University of California, San Diego

“Congress and the Party System”

Liam Schwartz, Harvard University

“Theories of Congressional Reform: Path Dependence, Cyclical Episodes, or Rational Action?”

Jens Borchert, University of Potsdam

Discussants: Jeffery A. Jenkins, Northwestern University

Ross K. Baker, Rutgers University-New Brunswick

Saturday, September 2, 8:00 AM

Panel 7-7: Historical Change and Evolutionary Theory

Chair: Sven Steinmo, University of Colorado, Boulder

“Locating Histories: Exploiting Evolution, Complexity, and Computers to Solve the Problem of Counterfactual Reasoning that Plagues Historical Institutionalism”

Ian S. Lustick, University of Pennsylvania

“How Deep are the Ruts in Path Dependency?”

Britt Ashton Cartrite, Alma College

“Stability, Change and Evolution”

Nadav G. Shelef, University of Wisconsin, Madison

“History as an Evolutionary Process?”

Sven Steinmo, University of Colorado, Boulder

Discussant: Daniel Deudney, Johns Hopkins University

Saturday, September 2, 10:15 AM

Panel 7-6: Institutions, Identities and Cognition:

New Directions in Historical Institutional Research

Chair: Victoria Hattam, New School University

“Cognitive Framing and Constitutional Choice”

Ellen M. Immergut, Humboldt University Berlin

“Labor Movement Visions and Welfare State Restructuring in Sweden, the Netherlands and Germany”

Karen M. Anderson, Radboud University Nijmegen

“The Mechanisms of Corruption. Interest vs. Cognition”

Bo Rothstein, Göteborg University & Markus Tegnhammar

“The Construction of Global Regions”

Margaret Weir, University of California, Berkeley

Discussant: Victoria Hattam, New School University

Saturday, September 2, 10:15 AM (Co-sponsored by 22-2)

Panel 7-1 Partisanship, Elections, and Legislative Decision Making in Historical Context

Chair: Wendy J. Schiller, Brown University

“Senators’ Coattails: State Legislative Elections Before the Seventeenth Amendment (1834-1913)”

Nathan W. Monroe and Gregory Robinson, Michigan State University

“The Impact of the Cannon Revolt on House Decision Making”

Chris Den Hartog, Northwestern University

“Legislative Activity and Electoral Success in the United States Senate, 1913-2003”

Craig Goodman, Texas Tech University

“Partisanship and Agenda Construction in Lame Duck Sessions of Congress, 1869 to 1933”

Jeffery A. Jenkins, Northwestern University

Timothy P. Nokken, University of Houston

Discussants: Scott Adler, University of Colorado, Boulder

Charles Stewart, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Saturday, September 2, 4:15 PM

Panel 7-15: Law and American Political Development (Co-sponsored by 27-11)

Chair: Ken I. Kersch, Princeton University

Participants: Karen Orren, UCLA

Ronald Kahn, Oberlin College

Richard F. Bense, Cornell University

Ken I. Kersch, Princeton University

Carol Nackenoff, Swarthmore College

Sunday, September 3, 8:00 AM

Panel 7-12: Education, Citizenship, and American Political Development

Chair: Richard A. Harris, Rutgers University, Camden

“Citizenship Schools and Voter Leagues: Limits of Political Reform in the pre-Brown South”

Kimberley S. Johnson, Barnard College

“The Meaning of the Education Clauses in American State Constitutions”

John J. Dinan, Wake Forest University

“Diminished Opportunities: The Politics of Federal Higher Education Policy in the United States, 1975-2005”

Suzanne B. Mettler, Syracuse University

“Vouchers, Desegregation and the Segregationist Academies: A Geo-Spatial Examination of the Racial Effects of School Vouchers in Alexandria, Virginia, 1960-1964”

Douglas S. Reed, Georgetown University

Discussants: Richard A. Harris, Rutgers University, Camden

Christine A. Kelly, William Paterson University

Sunday, September 3, 10:15 AM

Panel 7-16: Constitutional Dynamics of American Political Development

(Co-sponsored by 27-12)

Chair: Keith E. Whittington, Princeton University

“Constitution as Clockwork: The Temporal Foundations of American Politics”

Daniel Kryder & Sarah L Staszak, Brandeis University

“Police Powers and the Legacy of Slavery in Constitutional Development”

Kathleen S. Sullivan, Ohio University

“Constitutional Drift: The Progressive Reconstruction of Constitutional Authority”

George Thomas, Williams College

“The Constitutional Dimension of American Indian Policy Under the Federalists and Jefferson: Acceleration of Tragedy, or a Durable Shift in Governing Authority?”

Stephen G. Bragaw, Sweet Briar College

Discussant: Keith E. Whittington, Princeton University

**Call for Papers
2007 Western Political Science
Association**

The 2007 Western Political Science Association meetings will be held in Las Vegas, Nevada (La Riviera Hotel), March 8 - 10, 2007. As usual, there are a number of panels allocated to the Section on Politics and History.

The organizers especially invite proposals that consider the implications of contingency, chance, uncertainty, and luck for the practice of political science. It is a theme quite appropriate given the conference location. Yet all paper and panel proposals relating to the general study of Politics and History are most welcome.

The online proposal deadline is September 11. The WPSA website is: <http://www.csus.edu/ORG/WPSA/mtgs.stm>

All questions and requests for further information should be directed to:

Ron King
(serving as this year's Section Program Chair)
rking@mail.sdsu.edu
619/ 594-1094

The Midwest Political Science Association meets at the Palmer House in Chicago April 12-15, 2007. Details and a call for papers are forthcoming. The Midwest website URL is <http://www.indiana.edu/~mpsa/index.html>

**Abstracts of Papers Presented at
Politics and History Panels at the
2006 Midwest Political Science
Association Meetings**

“A Reversal of Fortunes: Elite Agency and the Decline in Working Class Power”

Amel F. Ahmed, University of Pennsylvania

I examine movements for voting system reform at the time of suffrage expansion in France, the UK and the US. I argue that elites used these reforms to undermine popular participation. Outcomes vary with the degree of working class mobilization.

“Persistence of the Institutions of Ethnicity in Russia, Turkey, and Austria”

Sener Akturk, University of California, Berkeley

The elites in post-imperial Russia, Turkey, and Austria chose radically different approaches in institutionalizing ethnicity in the 1920s. This paper investigates the reasons for the persistence of these institutions of ethnicity until today.

“Jefferson and the Impeachment Power: Constitutionalism and Political Change”

Jeremy D. Bailey, Duquesne University

This paper considers Thomas Jefferson's understanding of the impeachment power in the context of his larger project to institutionalize political change while preserving a written constitution.

“Corporate Prosecutions and the Decline of State Capacities, 1865-1900”

Jonathan Chausovsky, Marquette University

This paper examines causes of the decline of state economic regulatory authority in the United States from 1865-1900 by an analysis of state prosecutions of corporations for violations of their charter authority.

“From Commerce to Mission: The Impact of the Spanish-American War on Republican Party Ideology”

John W. Compton, University of California, Los Angeles

This paper examines a shift in Republican Party ideology during the period of America's “rise to world power” in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Previous scholars working in this area have largely focused on cultural change, arguing that industrialization and the subsequent domestic upheaval of the 1880s and 1890s produced an American “identity

crisis,” in which the nation’s identity as an exceptional state was reconceived to require an active, transformative role in world affairs. I argue that an inordinate focus on culture has obscured the inherently political nature of ideological change. Using evidence from Republican party rhetoric, I demonstrate that the Spanish-American War brought about a profound shift in the party’s ideology—namely, a three-decade-old emphasis on the commercial and strategic benefits of foreign involvement was replaced by the notion of an American “mission” to uplift foreign peoples. The origins of this ideological shift are attributed to the influence of the nation’s Protestant establishment in combination with the policy goals and electoral strategy of the Republican Party.

“The Defenders:
Virginia’s Neo-Bourbons And Massive Resistance”
Tom Cox, San Houston State University

The paper examines the role that the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties played in the Massive Resistance movement in Norfolk, Virginia. The Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties (DSSIL) formed shortly after *Brown v. Board of Education*. As is well known, the organization was devoted to the maintenance of segregation in Virginia and the greater South. Although the DSSIL was founded in Farmville, Virginia, the group soon drew much of its strength and leadership from the Tidewater region of the state. This paper examines the role that the Defenders played in the Massive Resistance effort in Norfolk. It focuses particular attention on the methods and arguments of the DSSIL, which eschewed the violence of the Ku Klux Klan for a more moderate, Constitutional defense of segregation. Still, the organization faced the overwhelming problem that plagued its sister groups — the Tidewater Educational Foundation and the Virginia Educational Fund - it was on the wrong side of the debate.

“On the American Origins of the Democratic Regulatory State”
Samuel J. DeCanio, The Ohio State University

We examine why agrarians reversed their Jacksonian commitments to *laissez faire* to support countercyclical federal regulatory operations. We argue this reversal was caused by elected officials’ manipulation of public opinion.

“Prelude to Populism: Third Party Voting Behavior in the Nineteenth Century”
Samuel J. DeCanio & Corwin D. Smidt, The Ohio State University

Using individual-level data from the 1870’s, we examine who voted for agrarian third parties. We find these

voters lacked ethnic or religious identification with a major party, were employed in non-agrarian jobs, and owned considerable wealth.

“The Agrarian Reform Faction and the Democratic Party, 1893-1914”
Daniel DiSalvo, University of Virginia

This paper offers a systematic analysis national intraparty “factions” within the Democratic Party from 1890 to 1914. It explains how factions shaped the Democratic Party’s reputation, policymaking and presidential-congressional relations

“Thomas Jefferson’s Ward Republics and a Defense of Classical Republicanism”
Brian W. Dotts, Indiana University, Bloomington

In 1816, Jefferson asked disparagingly, “Where then is our republicanism to be found?” His remark reveals an emptiness and loss of agency brought about by the mechanics of constitutionalism and the administration of state. This paper analyzes Thomas Jefferson’s democratic wards or “hundreds” as representing his best effort to put into practice his classical republican ideals. More radical than most of the American Founders, Jefferson sought to recreate a polity structured on the classical republican institutions he believed existed in the ancient and pre-feudal Saxon Constitution. I examine Jefferson’s positive view of citizenship and his educational philosophy as pillars of republican government. While the 1787 Constitution weakened support for republican convictions, Jefferson’s ward system represents an historical attempt to maintain the revolutionary impulses generated by the war with Britain, what has recently been referred to by Hannah Arendt as the lost treasure of revolutionary politics. It is my intention to explore and clarify to students interested in Jefferson’s political and educational thought what a ward system would look like, how it would have been structured and utilized so as to fulfill Jefferson’s republican ideals. If Jefferson won the normative battle, for example, and achieved his republican ideals, how and in what way would citizens act, live, and govern themselves in his “little republics,” and how would they be shaped and informed with republican virtue, are questions I intend to answer. To reach a full appreciation for and understanding of Jefferson’s intentions, it is important to analyze his view of classical republicanism as he understood it, including the tradition of English dissent, not to mention a close reading of his writings and legislative proposals, which were intended to maintain an egalitarian civic virtue among a broader popular base. Jefferson’s positive conceptions of human nature will also be highlighted against the more negative notions held by many of his contemporaries.

“Mitigation of Risk”

Catherine S. M. Duggan, Stanford University

What accounts for the remarkable success of moneylenders from minority groups? I argue that the dynamics of these groups allowed them to lend at low risk, and test this using evidence from the Jews in Medieval England and the Indians in Uganda.

“Slave Society, Weak State?”

David F. Ericson, Wichita State University

The Politics and History literature has generally argued that the American central state during the 1791-1861 period remained relatively weak because the United States was a slave society (Bensel 1990; Formisano 2001; John 2003). My paper explores the reverse relationship: the ways that slavery promoted the development of the American central state. For example, the slave-trade ban eventually led the Department of Navy to engage in state-building activities to interdict illegal slave trading off the African coast (Howard 1976). Similarly, federal fugitive-slave law eventually led the Attorney General’s office to engage in state-building activities to facilitate the rendition of fugitive slaves (Campbell 1968). I, of course, do not claim that slavery was the only reason that the American central state engaged in state-building activities at the time (any more than other scholars claim slavery was the only reason it did not). Nor, do I deny that slavery had inhibitive effects on American central-state development in some policy areas, such as internal taxation and internal improvements (Einhorn 2000; Baker 2002). Nonetheless, the reverse relationship has been critically under-explored in the Politics and History literature.

“The Construction of an Extra-Constitutional U.S. Citizen in Puerto Rico: A Reconsideration of the Jones Act of 1917”

Carlos Figueroa, New School for Social Research

This paper reconsiders the extra-constitutional US citizenship that took shape with the passage of the Jones Act (1917) and explores the Act in light of the larger historical context of American immigration and nationality discourse in the 1900-1920’s.

“The Ecumenical Moment: Religious Support for Integrated Schools in Norfolk”

Charles Ford, Norfolk State University

This paper assesses the crucial roles of religious leaders of various denominations in ending segregation de jure in Norfolk, Virginia. “The Ecumenical Moment” argues that the failure of “Massive Resistance” to integrated schools in Norfolk, Virginia stemmed in part from the local clergy’s unwillingness to defend the Jim Crow

status quo in reference to public education. Many historians have credited district judges, business leaders, Navy officers, outraged parents, and local editors for the sudden defeat of segregationists in Norfolk. Yet the significance of local religious leaders, both white and black, in achieving this political and civil rights victory has been overlooked. Alarmed by prospects of social disorder and inspired by Scriptural passages, a diverse array of white and black ministers of various denominations there went beyond simply opposing the overreaction of closing all public schools to advocating change and ultimately gradual integration. Accordingly, this paper documents an ecumenical moment during the civil rights era in Norfolk that other historians have missed.

“De-Restricting Democracy in the United States and South Africa”

Shamira M. Gelbman, University of Virginia

Based on a paired comparison of the United States and South Africa, I argue that a coalition between suffragist social movements and working class organizations induces political elites to remove barriers to non-racially restricted democracy.

“Why Are the Western States So Big? Interests, Institutions, and Entrepreneurship in American Political Expansion, 1860-1900”

Matthew Glassman, Yale University

This paper examines the politics of constructing new states in the western United States in the 19th century. It is animated by a simple question: why are the western states so big?

“Solemn and Authoritative Acts: Historical Analysis of the Founder’s Ideas on Constitutional Amendment”

Darren P. Guerra, Vanguard University of Southern California

This paper explores the historical record to uncover the Founder’s ideas regarding Constitutional Amendment ideas which culminated in the design and ratification of Article V of the United States Constitution. Their ideas were rooted in an experiential and philosophical commitment to written constitutionalism grounded in popular authority as the basis for all governments. This study will argue that the Founder’s ideas regarding Constitutional amendment are best viewed as a set of ordered criteria. The paper will show that the criteria are rooted in the proper understanding of the Founder’s conceptions of written constitutionalism and the role of popular sovereignty in sustaining the constitutional system. Today these ordered criteria may also serve as a tool by which to judge (from the Founder’s perspective) the efficacy and legitimacy of any alternative proposals

for an amending process. By establishing this criteria this paper builds upon and extends the work of John Vile and Lester Orfield who both sought to outline and explain various elements of Constitutional amendment. Both Vile and Orfield analyzed and articulated their respective “dimensions” or “policy factors” of the amending process but their work implies that no one element is more important than another. This paper argues that rather than being equally important dimensions or elements of an amending process, such elements are more properly seen as a set of criteria that can be rank ordered in terms of importance to maintaining the health of the Constitutional system. By viewing the criteria in this way we can better observe the important role that Article V was meant to play in the minds of those who created the amending process. In Sanford Levinson’s edited work entitled *Responding to Imperfection* a number of scholars question the exclusivity of Article V amending process as the sole legitimate means of Constitutional amendment and this study also seeks to contribute to this dialogue. Certainly the American people are not absolutely bound to the designs of the Founders on such constitutional matters, for the current polity is free to pursue whatever Constitutional structure they wish. However, certainly a solid understanding of Article V’s design and the philosophical commitments that led to its creation are a crucial starting point for any discussion of alternative modes of Constitutional amendment.

“Liberalism, Lynching and Constitutional Anarchy: Building a New Racialized State, 1883-1938.”
Daniel Kato, *The New School*

How could something so inimical to basic human decency as lynching have occurred so publicly in a country proclaiming itself to be liberal? Contra the traditional accounts of lynching that depicts the United States as either a weak state or as a regime akin to apartheid, I will contend that the political configuration in the United States between 1883 and 1938 was one of constitutional anarchy. Drawing from Ernst Fraenkel’s model of the dual state and Gerald Neuman’s concept of anomalous zones, I intend to demonstrate how the United States carved out a legally bounded region of lawlessness. This notion of constitutional anarchy not only provides a way of understanding how the enduring legacy of liberalism can be imbricated with the enduring legacy of racism, but it also illustrates how the law can be suspended during ‘normal’ times.

“Hotspots in a Cold War: The NAACP, Labor, and the Law-Politics Distinction”
Sophia Z. Lee, *Yale University*

“Hotspots” uses the NAACP’s postwar constitutional litigation in front of the National Labor Relations Board

to question the boundary traditionally drawn between law and politics and to revise the narrative of postwar civil rights.

“Greece and Turkey: Two Modernization Paths in Civil-Military Relations”
Evangelos Liaras, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

The central question that the paper tries to address is why some military regimes tend to be independent while others rely heavily on civilian support. Using Greece and Turkey as a focused comparison, the paper briefly retraces their modern history of civil-military relations, pointing to a critical divergence: although the military has a long record of intervention in both countries, it emerged as a roughly unitary, independent political actor in Turkey whereas in Greece it remained divided into factions aligned with civilian political parties through clientelism. This empirical observation is then used as a basis for an attempt at theory-building. Several countries exhibit a pattern of military interventions more similar to those found in Turkey and others to those found in Greece. Those societies which developed a strong parliamentary tradition early in the modernization process also acquired organized civilian political groups with clientelist networks extending into the armed forces. On the contrary, in countries with limited or weak parliamentary development and strong security pressures, political activism was often channeled through the military, which emerged as a hotbed of political thinking predating and pre-empting any civilian party tradition. The former is what happened in Greece, the latter what happened in Turkey. The telltale difference was one of institutional timing: the earlier maturation of competitive civilian political elites in Greece coupled with the late development of a professional military. The rise of representative institutions played a major role in this direction. Greek revolutionary congresses met in the 1820s before a regular army or even a state existed; rudimentary political parties arose when the state’s military was just a palace guard; and by the time the military was expanding, allowing young men of humble origins to enter this profession, a two-party system had taken shape. In the Ottoman Empire, the timing was reverse: the military opened its professional gates at a time when civilian political activity was very restricted; political agitation in the army began before there was any representative government; and the first Turkish political party was created from the army’s ranks. The paper concludes by proposing a typology of civil-military relations patterns for modernizing states. The former (politicized militaries) is found in Latin American and Southern European countries; the latter (political militaries) is common in Afro-asiatic empires (Turkey, Japan, Thailand, Egypt, Ethiopia) that modernized under authoritarian rule while facing significant security pressures.

“The School-Closing Crisis of 1958-59: The Battle to Integrate Norfolk Schools”

Jeff L. Littlejohn, Sam Houston State University

This paper examines Norfolk’s school-closing crisis of 1958-59, which pitted Mayor W. F. Duckworth, local segregationists, and Governor J. Lindsay Almond, Jr. against local African American families, the NAACP, and the Committee for Public Schools. My paper — on Massive Resistance and the Fight for Integrated Schools in Norfolk, Virginia — centers on the school-closing crisis of 1958-59. At that time, Norfolk was the center of national attention. With almost 50,000 students in thirty-six white schools and twenty black schools, Norfolk’s leaders oversaw the largest public school district in the state of Virginia. White segregationists throughout the state insisted that Norfolk’s leaders resist *Brown v. Board of Education* and the federal mandate to integrate public schools. African Americans and civil rights advocates, on the other hand, insisted that the city’s leaders meet their obligations under the *Brown* decree. My paper examines the hard-fought 3 year legal battle that pitted Mayor W. F. Duckworth, local segregationists, and Governor J. Lindsay Almond, Jr. against local African American families, the NAACP, and the Norfolk Committee for Public Schools. Although the tides turned many times during the struggle, the greatest battle began in the summer of 1958, when District Court Judge Walter E. Hoffman ordered that Norfolk begin integrating its previously all-white schools. In response, Governor Almond shut down the schools that were to be integrated, displacing almost 10,000 students. It took two further judicial decisions — one by the Virginia Supreme Court and the other by the Federal District Court in Norfolk — to re-open the schools on an “integrated” basis in February 1959. Although Norfolk’s school-closing crisis is often overlooked today, it was important for three reasons. First, the closings in Norfolk affected the largest school district in the state of Virginia, and resulted in the largest school-closing crisis in U.S. history. Second, when Norfolk’s schools reopened in 1959, it seemed that a peaceful and legal resolution to the integration crisis might be possible, for Massive Resistance had been bested in the courts. And, yet — third — the school-closing crisis represented how difficult the road ahead would be for supporters of integration and equality.

“American Political Inequality in Historical and Comparative Perspective”

Joseph E. Luders, Yeshiva University

In the paper, I present a set of analytical tools for the historical and comparative analysis of American political inequality. This research is meant to broaden the academic conversation about these larger aspects of inequality research.

“Agents of Change: The Role of Teachers and Schools in Creating Hegemony and Consolidating Identity in Postrevolutionary Mexico and Iran”

Shervin Malekzadeh, Georgetown University

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 revolutionary members of society are not made, they are negotiated.

“The Factories of Fiscal Reform: American State Governments and Institutional Innovations in the Progressive Era

Ajay K. Mehrotra, Indiana University, Bloomington

Throughout the twentieth century taxation has played a pivotal role in the formation of the modern American administrative and regulatory social-welfare state. Indeed, tax laws, and the revenues that they generated, underwrote the emergence of a new liberal vision of governance in the early decades of the twentieth century. During the height of the Progressive Era, state governments, in particular, used their taxing powers to transform the social, political, and economic relations between state and society. Reformers in states such as Wisconsin were able to overcome several institutional obstacles in their attempts to create a more equalitarian form of public finance. As a consequence, subnational governments were not simply laggards in the evolution of a modern federal fiscal polity. Rather, they were incubators of significant policy and administrative reforms. In anticipating many national changes in the structure of American public finance, states like Wisconsin were not only “laboratories of democracy,” but also “factories of reform,” creating laws, policies and processes that others could follow. This paper explores how reformers in the Badger State, given the existing institutional and social arrangements, implemented tax reform in a variety of ways. More specifically, this paper analyzes how political activists and government actors in Wisconsin were able to create the centralized and administrative apparatus necessary to manage an effective graduated income tax. Although such levies had long been a part of the laws of many states, they remained feeble or at least subordinate to a general property tax that was embedded in the local politics emblematic of a “state of courts and parties.” During the height of progressivism, when existing political arrangements were disrupted, reformers were able to create new tax laws and enforce existing legislation more rigorously. By decoupling the fiscal system from local politics, Wisconsin was able to build the administrative capacity necessary to supplement dysfunctional property tax regime with a centralized and effective progressive income tax system.

“American State building: Lipset’s Thesis of a State-less America and the Reality of a Predatory State”
Jeffrey W. Meiser, Johns Hopkins University & Richard P. Young, Seattle University

During his long and influential career, Seymour Martin Lipset has given persistent attention to two interrelated questions: (1) What are the prerequisites for a successful democratic policy? (2) Why has the United States always been “qualitatively different” from other societies? In this paper, we examine Lipset’s most recent answers to these questions in *The Democratic Century*, co-authored with Jason Lakin, and present a critique of their work. We argue: (1) Lipset and Lakin have underestimated the developmental role—and have ignored the predatory role—of the Anglo-American state during the period when the Anglo-American state was institutionalized; (2) their enumeration of the core values explaining American political development should be expanded to include ethnocentrism and racism; (3) methodologically, Lipset and Lakin’s analytical approach is premised on an a historical and ethnocentric theoretical tradition that has led them to ignore crucial factors that help explain American political and economic development; and (4) the application of plural society theory and a variant of state theory, derived from the writings of Douglass North, leads to a more realistic understanding of early American political development. In order to provide empirical support for our contentions, our essay concludes with a historical narrative explaining our understanding of the processes that led to the institutionalization of the Anglo-American state during its first half-century.

“Processes of Democratization and Their Legacies for Economic Development: America’s Deep South Since 1970”
Robert Mickey, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

This paper traces the legacies for economic development generated by different processes of democratization in the authoritarian enclaves of Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

“Slavery, Internal Improvements, and the Development of Police Powers”
Daniel Mulcare, Temple University

In this paper, I explore the Antebellum debates concerning federal powers over property, slavery, and internal improvements, examining how they influenced the development of eminent domain and state police powers.

“Regulating Layoffs: The Case of U.S. Plant-Closing Legislation.”
June Park, University of Pittsburgh

This research project seeks to enrich the political science literature about the development of American labor policy after the postwar economic boom ended by highlighting the role of political institutions. It provides an alternative perspective on the extent to which the government regulation of layoff can be established in a political system where the strong judiciary has traditionally defended the managerial right to layoff and where states and municipalities are forced to compete with each other for business and jobs. The long-standing judicial view of managerial prerogatives restricted the scope of intrusion by the government and labor unions in the decision to close plants or implement a large-scale layoff. The notice requirement was a judicially viable option but a majority of states opposed this measure because they thought it would straitjacket the economic development of their states. To alleviate this concern, proponents of plant-closing legislation were forced to significantly water down their bills.

“Massive Resistance In Print: The Battle for the News in Norfolk, Virginia”
Gwen Pharr, Norfolk State University

This paper compares and contrasts the presentation of Massive Resistance in Norfolk’s local newspapers: the Ledger-Dispatch, the Virginian-Pilot, and the Journal and Guide. Three local newspapers covered the Massive Resistance battle in Norfolk, Virginia: the Ledger-Dispatch, the Virginian-Pilot, and the Journal and Guide. The Ledger-Dispatch and the Virginian-Pilot were co-owned, yet the editorial staffs took different positions on the school-closing crisis. At the Ledger-Dispatch, Joseph Leslie took a hard-line, segregationist position, blaming the “NAACP’s recklessness” for the school-closings. At the Virginian-Pilot, on the other hand, Lenoir Chambers won a Pulitzer Prize for his moderate advocacy for integration. What has, to this point, however, been left out of the historical narrative, is the coverage provided by the Journal and Guide, one of the largest, and most well-respected black newspapers of the period. At the Guide, editors and correspondents advocated an immediate end to segregation and a peaceful transition to integrated schools. This paper examines the Guide’s position in detail.

“The Capture of American Liberalism, 1877-2003: How Law Displaced Politics and the Consequences for Both”
Howard Schweber, University of Wisconsin, Madison

From 1877 to 2005, American courts increasingly became sites for generating policy and discourse. In the process,

courts “captured” the language of liberal politics, and in particular the meaning of “public” and “private.”

“The Long Shadow of Jim Crow: U.S. Social Policy and the Racial Gap in Education.”

Alvin Tillery, University of Notre Dame

Many recent studies in the fields of economics, history and political science have demonstrated that both formal and *de facto* segregation policies denied black Americans access to many of the social policy benefits that accrued to most white Americans the middle of the twentieth century. This paper examines the intergenerational effects of this history of exclusion. The central finding is that the racial gaps that exist today between the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores of white and black college students is partly a historical legacy of discrimination against their ancestors in the distribution of benefits from the GI Bill.

“Monopolistic Government in American Cities.”

Jessica L. Trunstin, Princeton University

In approximately 30% of the largest cities in the United States a single coalition has controlled government for more than a decade, some as machines and some as reformers. In this paper I argue that these government monopolies are maintained by coalitions biasing the system in their favor. I propose a theory that explains the implementation of bias and the kinds of biasing mechanisms that politicians choose. Through a historical analysis of American cities I show that politicians turn to bias when their core coalition is threatened by demographic and economic changes. I find that the political environment determines whether a coalition will implement machine as opposed to reform style bias.

“Deterring Resistance in Occupation: Winning the Peace in Germany and Japan”

Melissa M. Willard, University of California, Los Angeles

In seeking to explain how democracies attempt to win the peace, this study examines the policies designed for the occupations of Germany and Japan, specifically examining how democracies balanced carrots and sticks.

“The Racial Politics of New Deal Americanism: Black Subordination in the UAW”

Charles Williams, The Ohio State University

Against current views of civic nationalism as a wholly democratizing ideology, this paper explores how the discourse both advanced formal racial equality and opposed more radical challenges to racism in the context of New Deal politics and the UAW.

**Abstracts of Papers Presented at
Politics and History Panels at the
2006 Western Political Science
Association Meetings**

“The Performance of the White House Chiefs of Staff in the Reagan through Clinton Administrations”

David B. Cohen, University of Akron &

Charles E. Walcott, Virginia Tech.

Utilizing a mix of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies, we delve into the inner workings of the Reagan, G.H.W. Bush, and Clinton administrations by examining the performance of the White House chiefs of staff. The paper begins with a brief overview of the position of chief of staff. The paper then utilizes a unique mail survey of elites who served during the Reagan, G.H.W. Bush, and Clinton years to analyze the performance of the White House chiefs of staff during that period. A hierarchical White House & a strong chief of staff seem to be essential to the organizational success of the presidency, but do not guarantee it.

“Friends & Enemies, Slaves and Masters: Carl Schmitt, Wendell Phillips, and the Radical Critique of Liberal Discussion”

Joel Olson, Northern Arizona University.

The German political theorist Carl Schmitt argues that liberal democracy is caught in an impossible tension. Liberalism promises universal equality but it is unable to create a concrete political community that could give such equality meaning. Democracy provides such a community but it is necessarily exclusive, reserved for “members only.” Schmitt asks how is it possible to bring pluralism, equality, & democracy together? Through an interpretation of the speeches and writings of the great abolitionist orator Wendell Phillips, I argue that Schmitt’s crisis does not present a fatal flaw to democratic theory. The main weakness of Schmitt’s argument is that he accepts an idealistic, liberal view of discussion as the free exchange of ideas among disinterested persons in a non-coercive setting. I use Phillips to construct a different theory of political talk that can resolve the tension between pluralism and democracy. For Phillips, the function of discussion is not for non-partisan individuals to come to a collective consensus but to transform public opinion according to a new moral or political framework. Public discussion reflects a struggle for hegemony between competing frameworks (such as abolitionism versus pro-slavery or “Unionist” positions in the antebellum era). Public talk for Phillips takes place in an arena dominated more by combat than consensus. Its function is not so much to arrive at the truth as it is to forge a (new) hegemonic public opinion. From Phillips we can see that the essence of modern political conflict is not so much between liberal heterogeneity and democratic homogeneity, but between competing notions of the political itself.

“Party Politics and the Popular Franchise: Removal of the Property Qualification & the Democratization of America”
Ronald F. King and Justin Moeller,
San Diego State University

The removal of the property qualification for voting during the mid-19th Century was a critical episode in the development of American democracy, essential to the transformation of the franchise from a possession by stakeholders into a right inherent to citizenship. Nevertheless, the topic has received virtually no rigorous and systematic study. There were 47 years difference in property qualification removal between South Carolina (1810) and North Carolina (1857); there were 24 years difference between Connecticut (1818) and Rhode Island (1842). The paper consists of a pair of matched comparisons using evidence from these four states, two from the plantation South & two from New England. It explores the importance of economic development, class conflict, and party consolidation upon the politics of property qualification removal. The question is why an entrenched political class would ever voluntarily accede to the expansion of voting participation, especially where the interests of currently disenfranchised potential voters do not match the interests of the dominant faction. Party provided a critical mechanism for the incorporation or non-incorporation of excluded citizens, although the research indicates three very different trajectories. There appears to be a contrast between states where pressure for expanded popular franchise was a consequence of mass party consolidation (South Carolina), where it was a mechanism of mass party consolidation (North Carolina & Connecticut), and where it developed independently in the absence of a consolidated mass party system (Rhode Island).

“Democratic Theory and the Dynamics of Conceptual Change”
Elisabeth Ellis, Texas A&M University.

Democratic theory in recent years has concentrated on the conditions surrounding political argument at the level of individual short-term opinion change. Rawls, Gutmann and Thompson, Fishkin, Ackerman, and others are interested in explaining the conditions of democratic deliberation that might be conducted by more or less real individual citizens among themselves. While this body of work sheds light on hypothetical models of citizen interaction, it fails in application to the actual processes of deliberation in the public sphere. I argue that the history of concepts approach, epitomized by the work of Melvin Richter and others, though originally conceived as a methodology of intellectual history, actually does a better job at conceptualizing democratic deliberation in practice than any of the currently available models do. Democratic theorists interested in the role of reason in political life should shift their focus from individual-level opinion change to the dynamics of the public sphere. I demonstrate the usefulness of the history-of-concepts approach applied to democratic theory.

“Mobilizing Liberalism in Defense of Racism”
Julie Novkov, University of Oregon

This paper shows how reliance on liberalism has not historically and is unlikely in the future to provide the necessary normative edge for a progressive politics of race. Reading the history of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a progression from an initial rejection of idealized liberal equality to a simple liberal triumph to a final backlash fails to see racialized mobilizations of the process of legal dynamism. The paper uses three examples — equality in the late nineteenth century, neutrality in the early twentieth century, and color blindness in the 1960s — to illustrate the racialized mobilization of the legal process. It ends with a comparison of *Perez v. Sharp* and *Loving v. Virginia* to suggest an alternative model for legal change.

“The Spanish-American War’s Influence on American Political Development”
Robert P. Saldin, University of Virginia

This paper argues that the conflict with Spain altered the course of American political history in five important and unexpected ways. First, the war had a demonstrable impact on state building in the United States. The war exposed and highlighted national security problems that required an overhaul of the armed services and the establishment of a professional army to replace the decentralized, state-run militia system. This form of state development was a key indication that the United States had emerged as a world power. Second, the Spanish-American War fundamentally changed the political landscape for decades by propelling the United States into the realm of international politics. Third, the war led directly to the U.S. occupation of the Philippines for over a decade—a difficult and costly experience that has similarities to the current U.S. involvement in Iraq. Fourth, imperialism was elevated from a non-issue to a pivotal matter of constant dispute in the political realm. At the same time, the major issue cleavages that realignment theory claims emanated from the supposedly pivotal 1896 election (such as monetary policy or “free silver”), and allegedly invested American politics for a generation, largely disappeared from the political agenda in the face of more compelling international concerns. Finally, and contrary to the realignment and APD argument that Republican dominance was inevitable after the 1896 election, it was Republican success in prosecuting the war that clearly accounted for their ensuing electoral triumphs.

“Untangling the ‘Tangle of Pathology’”:
Daniel P. Moynihan and the Shifting Politics of Race and Welfare in the 1960s.”
Scott J. Spitzer, California State University, Fullerton

While recent theoretic work on American political development has addressed the difficult challenges in conceptualizing change processes (Pierson, 2004; Lieberman, 2002), scholars of race within the context of American political development have been more intent on describing the stable institutional arrangements that have effectively contained

racial divisions in different periods (King and Smith, 2005; Smith, 1997; Lieberman, 1998). While there are no inherent conflicts between these two areas of historical-institutional scholarship, a bridge between these two important areas of scholarship can provide new insights into ways that racial politics can limit the choices available to political innovators during times of rapid social and political change. This paper shows how such a bridge might be constructed through a study of the forces involved in producing the political controversy surrounding Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel P. Moynihan's Report on the Negro Family and President Johnson's address at Howard University, co-authored by Moynihan. I argue that these two important documents were at the center of national politics surrounding the intersection of race and welfare in 1965. Their power to arouse so much controversy is best understood as a product of their connections with a growing tendency to link federal programs aimed at addressing poverty with racial politics. In part one, I review the history of these two important documents/statements with fresh insights from Moynihan's private papers. This review reveals the importance of a destabilized and shifting politics of race in the mid-1960s for federal anti-poverty policy. In part two, I illustrate the growing connection between race and federal policy toward the poor during this period through a content analysis of President Johnson's public statements on his War on Poverty. This analysis highlights the pivotal character of the president's address at Howard University for the transformation of racial politics from a politics focused on rights to a politics focused on resources. In the third section, I illustrate the impact of the Moynihan report for federal efforts to reform welfare up through 1996, and for scholarship on racial inequality through the 1980s and 1990s. In the conclusion, I contrast the long shadow that the Moynihan report cast over federal social welfare policymaking with the short-lived power of the agenda laid out in President Johnson's Howard University address. I argue that this contrast can only be understood in seeing these two public documents as refractions of rapid changes in the politics of race and federal social policy, and that the contrast results from the limits that an increasingly strong connection between race and federal welfare placed on the potential for the federal government to address the broader forces producing racial inequality.

“Beyond the Welfare State”

Patricia Strach, Albany University & Kathleen Sullivan, Ohio University.

We question the measure of the state as the determinant of political development. State institutions do matter, but if we look only to these we miss the ways that other important social institutions and relationships make state action possible. That is, state capacity is better defined not by evaluating state agents, but by the resources the state is able to marshal. Much of the state's capacity lies not merely in the ability of formal institutions to provide direct services, but in the state's ability to coerce, induce, or persuade actors to behave in ways that mitigate the need for state services or that provide goods and services in an alternative form. Thus, successful welfare provision maybe accomplished in “hidden” or “subterranean” ways that little

resemble what scholars think of as welfare programs. In this paper, we develop a theoretical lens that shifts the focus from state actors and formal policy programs to the relationships states cultivate and maintain. By focusing on relationships, rather than actors or programs, we find that the state has been engaged in the provision of welfare for its citizens and residents from the founding to the present day.

“Procedural Polarization in the U.S. Congress”

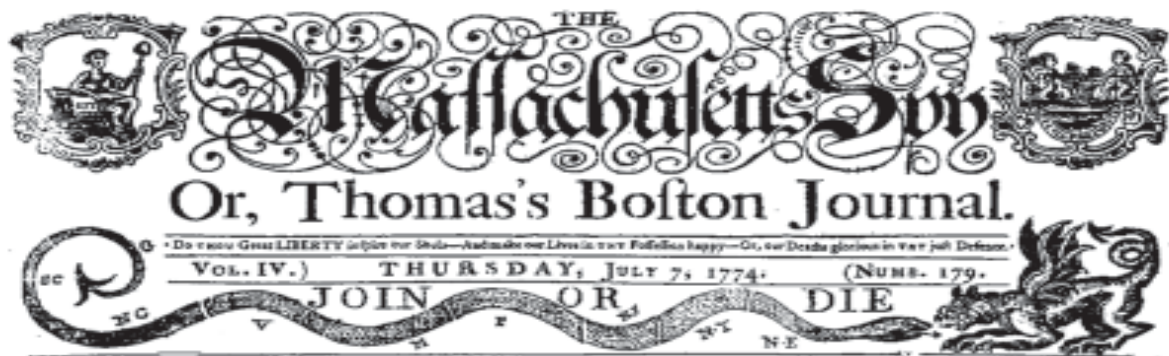
Sean M. Theriault, University of Texas - Austin

This article examines party polarization in Congress. It finds that almost the entire growth in party polarization since the early 1970s can be explained by the increased frequency of and polarization on procedural votes in the both the House and the Senate. This finding answers several questions about party polarization, but asks one new questions that it only begins to answer: what are procedural votes? Preliminary analysis suggests that members of Congress view procedural votes as separate and distinct from substantive votes. On the former, their party has a substantial influence on their behavior and on the latter, their constituency has a substantial influence.

“APD Meets IR?: Integrating the Study of the U.S. National Security State”

Daniel Wirls, University of California, Santa Cruz.

This paper brings the literature from American Political Development (APD) into conversation with the security literature from International Relations (IR). This might appear at first to be a strange enterprise. IR, at least in the realm of “security,” has a long history of systemic theory that does little to probe the state or its development. APD is, if nothing else, about the state and its development, with nearly exclusive attention to domestic politics and policies. And yet, at least in recent years, this distinction, despite the inherent policing of disciplinary boundaries, has diminished and there is more in common here than first meets the eye. APD has recently begun to think about the nature and development of the national security state. IR, while still attentive to systemic theories and variations on realism, has become more open to approaches that emphasize domestic causes and consequences, with a distinct emphasis on politics within states. What we will see is that despite different labels APD and IR overlap with regard to issues of theory and substance. On the theoretical side, APD came to the fore riding on the wave *historical institutionalism*, and as the Cold War ended IR was being transformed by *constructivism*. One goal of this paper is to show the fairly close relationship between the two theoretical turns. Recognition of this commonality might erode some of the disciplinary boundaries that still keep mutually beneficial ideas and research from making contact with one another.



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A first installment in my long-term project is an article in *Health Care Politics, Policy and Law* arguing that the momentum in Congress behind the Clinton plan in the 1990s flagged when and because big employers began losing interest. At the outset many employers thought the Clinton plan would help cut costs and slow their increases by imposing managed competition over purchasers and patients on a quality as well cost basis. Resources saved could help pay for expanding access. Quality, economy, and equality would all be served.

But during the course of the debate, inflation in employer health costs fell precipitously. Because of “managed care” – or at least aggressive purchasing – employers concluded they were fixing things on their own without government help. So the Clinton plan stalled in Congress.² Then came the counterrevolution — the patients’ rights movement and retaliatory organization of providers — and revived inflation. Even organized labor, once allied with managed care (pre-paid, non-profit group practice of the Kaiser Permanente variety), turned against it. Doctors credibly blasted “mangled care” in its new, and flawed, profit-based incarnation. The press — and as Aetna CEO Jack Rowe often points out, Hollywood — helped spread the bad news (remember *As Good as it Gets* with Jack Nicholson and Helen Hunt and *John Q.* with Denzel Washington). Employers and insurance companies had relied more on blunt instruments of cost control (discounts, pre-approvals, and restrictions) and not on *cost-effectiveness through quality control*. Thus they betrayed the promise of earlier non-profit group health plans around the country that delivered good care at low cost.

I have also been back and forth to Germany to research the same issues, with the plan of developing two comparative-historical accounts (the first, on America, to be entitled *The Political Transformation of American Medicine*). Recent legislation is moving Germany toward regulated competition among managed caregivers. Organized labor and capital are collaboratively driving the transformation, much to the chagrin of organized medicine.

Historically health care has been more even more polarizing in Germany than here. Not long after the passage of the Bismarckian health insurance legislation in 1883, relations between doctors and the two main health fund systems (separately controlled

by big employers and unions) suffered recurrent inflammation. Deep conflicts over professional autonomy and fees help explain why physicians (the non-Jewish ones) were, by a clear stretch, the occupational group most likely to vote for and join the Nazi party. Politically orphaned, they saw all the core parties of Weimar democracy, including the Catholic Center Party (whose allied unions controlled some of the funds), as collaboratively hostile to the medical profession. Even the German National People’s Party, doctors’ traditional political home, served an enemy: big industry’s health funds, the most important, of course, being Krupp, the colossal steel and armaments company, which dominated the association of company funds.³

Dramatic changes in Weimar health policy show that that cross-class alliances between capital and labor influence health care just as they do other aspects of welfare state development.⁴ Another place I have recently found them is in the American system of health insurance for retirees, passed in 1965. Here the class interests partly concerned quality, which is sometimes forgotten. Capital and especially labor – given unions’ wartime and growing postwar experience insurance in general and prepaid group practice in particular — were largely unmoved by the various disingenuous, paranoid, and demented claims of the medical profession that compulsory health insurance would enslave doctors, ruin our health, and kick us down the slippery slope from socialism to communism.

As I began to study the U.S. case it puzzled me that the story of Medicare’s “Part B” and the man behind it, Wisconsin Representative John W. Byrnes, has never been adequately told. (Part B pays for doctors’ services out of general revenues, Part A pays for hospitalization out of payroll taxes.) As a Republican and the ranking minority member of the House Ways and Means Committee (W&M), Byrnes held standard conservative views. Early in 1965, he submitted a bill endorsed by the Republican leadership as a comprehensive substitute for the King-Anderson Medicare bill coming out of W&M. Within months, part of his bill became Part B of Medicare.

What is puzzling is that the Byrnes bill was, on the whole, from a liberal standpoint, superior. While King-Anderson covered only hospitalization, the Byrnes bill covered hospitalization *and a lot more*: outpatient medical services (including

pharmaceuticals) and unskilled nursing care. Byrnes's bill, supported by the rest of the House Republicans, differed significantly from the Democrats' because of its semi-voluntary element, and only in this sense it was less "liberal." The elderly retired could opt out of coverage and therefore skip paying the modest premiums proposed. But because the standard premiums were heavily (two-thirds) subsidized, experts counted on participation to be around ninety per cent. One would be either very rich, very poor, or a fool not to sign up.

The Byrnes bill was at least as liberal as King-Anderson, if not more so, because of its financing. The compulsory King-Anderson plan called for semi-regressive payroll taxes. Byrnes vehemently criticized the King-Anderson bill for relying on "the most regressive tax we have" and unfairly forcing low-pay employees to pay for hospitalization of wealthy patients who either paid nothing into the system or paid a smaller share of their income.⁵ In Byrnes's plan, many low-pay workers would pay none of the income taxes required for its financing. And their premiums were to be progressive, starting at a modest \$4.00 per month.

There are no historical treatments of Medicare that penetrate the Byrnes mystery. Accounts by Harris, Marmor, and Zelizer are essential, but do not dwell on the very attractive features of the Byrnes bill. A book by the HEW's chief actuary Robert J. Myers, who along with Aetna actuary Dan Pettingill and Congressional Research Service staff member Fred Arner assisted Byrnes with his bill, is tight-lipped about what he knew, which is probably a lot. Recent books by Oberlander and Quadagno only glancingly mention Byrnes. Sometimes he is forgotten entirely, for example in otherwise valuable books by Starr, Jacobs, Hacker, and Gordon.⁶

Accompanying my puzzlement about this liberal and comprehensive Republican initiative was the suspicion that there might be an interesting business back-story. To be sure, I didn't expect to find business pressure on Byrnes. My earlier research indicated that progressive initiatives do not as a rule come directly from businessmen and their organizations. But I did think I might find something. My suspicion about the interests of business and puzzlement about the historiographical silence were related. Most accounts of Medicare's history are written, I believe, by people who start with the

presumption that the American welfare state was built with good liberal intentions for mass electoral constituencies, and opposed at every step by conservatives and their core constituency, business. For this reason, perhaps, they didn't look around for other possibilities.

One place they couldn't have looked until recently was John Byrnes's papers because they were just opened to the public in January 2005. What I found there was eye opening. In a letter to Byrnes dated 22 February 1965, M. E. Feary, chairman of the Sub-Committee on Public and Private Benefits of the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), thanked Byrnes for presenting his proposal to the committee and listening to their reactions. He summed up, praising various features of Byrnes's plan, including its pay-as-you-go financing out of general revenues, which were superior to King-Anderson and which "I personally believe can be strongly supported by industry."⁷

But there was already related evidence available. In a 1967 interview, Byrnes said that big employers like GM, Ford, and GE were unconcerned about Medicare, even the King-Anderson version. "They didn't get excited one way or the other," Byrnes said. "They weren't opposed . . . because they were already [paying retiree health costs], and it would have relieved them." The employers even thought they "might come out better in the long run."⁸

Because Byrnes's "Bettercare" would be paid for out of general revenue, it would actually have eased the burden on these big employers (and their workers) even more than the administration bill. It would spread the burden onto others and cushion the remaining burden by making it vary with productivity and profits. To almost everyone's surprise, Wilbur Mills – who we know was no enemy of business – jumped on Byrnes's idea, taking the medical services piece of it and adding it to the administration bill, calling it Part B. He also added the old Kerr-Mills idea of means-tested medical and hospital assistance to the poor, turning Medicare into the fancy "three-layer cake" that it came to be called.

Mills wanted, as Marmor quotes him saying, "to build a fence around the Medicare program" with Part B. That was exactly what Byrnes had wanted to do with his bill – to protect Social Security from politically uncontrollable and economically damaging pressures to raise payroll taxes coming out of a medical sector eager for more income and fiercely

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resistant to any third-party efforts to control its growth. The alternative was just as bad — cut Social Security’s cash benefits. Thus getting his ideas incorporated into Part B (“They should have named it the Byrnes portion, I guess,” Byrnes said⁹) was at least a partial victory, both for Byrnes and for big business, measured against doing nothing and even against the King-Anderson bill.

Mills’s move in response to Byrnes, everyone agrees, was a stroke of genius. To John Manly he claimed that if W&M had gone ahead and reported King-Anderson, “which is what they would have done if I hadn’t stepped in, Byrnes motion [to recommit King-Anderson back to W&M] would have passed.” He would then have had two choices: block Medicare yet again or report something like the Byrnes bill to the floor. In the first case, the Democratic Party would suffer at the polls for rejecting a bill that was more comprehensive and probably fairer than King-Anderson. In the second, Republicans would get credit for Medicare if it passed the House and the Senate, and Democrats would suffer if it didn’t.¹⁰

Mills was modest about his brilliance in public, but certainly not in private. On the floor of the House he claimed Part B was a product of Byrnes’s “fertile brain”; privately he claimed he had been exploring similar ideas with the same people as Byrnes. But supposedly he wanted Byrnes to move first. In an interview with John Manley at the time, he said he had asked Byrnes “Look, you don’t like this plan [King-Anderson] so why don’t you see if you can come up with another one?” In the end: “Actually John and all the others played right into my hands.”¹¹

What do these new facts tell us about the role of big business in Medicare? At a minimum we can conclude that if very liberal legislation like the Byrnes bill could meet with business praise, the passage of health insurance for retirees in America was hardly a victory of labor and liberals over big business. There is no evidence for anything like a shift in a “balance of power” against capital, despite the oft-cited Congressional testimony of organizations like the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the NAM. In fact, these organizations did not show up in Congress to testify against the Mills bill as they had against King-Anderson. Thus there is at least

suggestive evidence of an *interest shift* and thus cross-class realignment of interests in favor of something like Medicare.

If a Byrnes-like bill had been crafted and passed by Democrats, which is easily imaginable, it would now show up in history books as yet another liberal victory against the usual reactionary suspects. Indeed, William Quealy, W&M minority counsel and a main progenitor of the Byrnes bill, claimed to know that LBJ thought the Byrnes bill was so good that he rather wished that HEW’s Wilbur Cohen had thought of it first. It was just too late to derail the King-Anderson train without Republicans getting credit. It delighted Quealy to see the Democrats squirm.¹²

There is, to be sure, no evidence that American capitalists were dictating to Byrnes or driving Medicare. This is not an “instrumentalist” story in which big business pulls the strings, or even a pressure group story in which business pushes harder than the rest. The key instrumental actors were presidents and Congressmen. The drivers of legislation were growing popular pressures in response to increasing life expectancy and rising medical costs, not business demands. But a decisive constituency for the politicians was also big business. In general, according to Byrnes, W&M had a lot of people to consider, among them “sophisticated business and finance men who follow W&M closely.”¹³

Interestingly Byrnes did almost nothing, he said, to bring organized business around to support his plan officially. Not because they were beyond persuasion, but because they couldn’t be turned around fast enough. Their official meetings for approving major policy shifts were too few and far between. (There are also other reasons for taking business organizations’ pronouncements with a grain of salt.¹⁴) Thus most of his persuasive efforts were directed toward fellow Republicans. One way he did this was to arrange the above-mentioned meeting with the NAM subcommittee, which then generated the letter of approval that Byrnes distributed to fellow Republicans on W&M.

What is important to note is that Byrnes first assured himself and then fellow Republicans that what they were doing was good for business, and would be considered as such *after the fact*, even as

he rushed to satisfy an immensely popular cause when its time had clearly come. (Byrnes had other good reasons for abandoning his old views and accepting strong and expensive federal action: Quealy persuaded him that the private insurance industry would never come up with affordable individual policies for the elderly.¹⁵)

Thus two of Congress's most powerful politicians took major capitalist interests into account in designing and passing Medicare. In that sense capitalist power was at work simply because politicians like Mills and Byrnes, who got their way first in resisting reform and then turning it in both a more employer-friendly and a more progressive direction, felt they needed to please capitalists. Politicians bend to capitalist power even in the absence of immediate lobbying or pressure. Consider their incentive to keep business money flowing into next election year's campaign treasuries.

I want to repeat and emphasize the nature of my claims because criticism of my earlier work misses the mark by implicitly or even explicitly construing my argument as crudely instrumentalist: Capitalists "drive" welfare reform, I allegedly argue, and so, despite emphasizing cross-class alliances, leave out labor, liberals, Social Democrats and everyone else. To repeat: My argument only relies on decisive reform politicians' prior efforts to establish in their own minds some reasonable assurance that what they are up to is not bad for capitalists, or even good for them, and will be accepted as such. That is to say they want, as a rule, to avoid a costly backlash from powerful capitalist interests. The initiative-taking instrumental actors are politicians who want to serve a broad alliance of interests, including those of business.

Confidence that Medicare supports these conclusions is heightened by what we know from earlier periods of welfare state development. As I argue in my book and in "Varieties," the Old Age Insurance portion of the SSA bailed out many employers who had made unfunded and therefore unaffordable promises to their workers. The New Dealers knew that what employers could buy in the 1930s on the private insurance market to back up their promises would cost more than the anticipated social security taxes. So did personnel executives of major corporations in the American Management Association. They knew because FDR's experts,

closely tied to the business community, made sure of it.

Events after Medicare also bolster these conclusions. Absorption of health costs for retirees, not just managed competition, was a key element in Bill Clinton's plan to build a cross-class coalition in the 1990s. Because of early retirement and gaps in Medicare coverage, many employers across the country had gotten themselves into deep trouble with supplementary retiree health benefits. For this reason, much of Clinton's early, explicit support came from rust-belt industries like steel and autos.

Enter George W. Bush and Medicare Part D. The biggest expansion of the American welfare state in decades — Medicare's new prescription drug benefit — will bring vast new profits for drug companies. It will also be, according to Clifford Levy of the *New York Times*, "a boon to companies eager to trim soaring drug costs for retirees." A big supporter of the legislation, which promises \$41 billion in subsidies over ten years for employers with retiree drug coverage, was the Employers' Coalition on Medicare, including the National Association of Manufacturers and individual corporate members like Caterpillar and Goodyear. Big business support for expansion of the welfare state has roiled relations in the Republican Party. One faction supported front-runner Roy Blunt of Missouri for the House leadership, a leader in the fight for the Medicare reform and a supporter of a "more free-spending party in line with the demands of business."¹⁶

It is a common misconception that welfare reform passes only against the interests of corporate America. But social welfare is often corporate welfare. Strange bedfellows can give birth to strange reforms. To switch metaphors: It was Bismarck who compared the legislative process to the nightmare-inducing sight of sausage making. That was how he experienced the redesign of his health insurance legislation (supported by big business) before it came through the Reichstag in 1883. From then it took eighty-two years before passage of the first piece of national health insurance in America. A strange "three-layer cake" maybe, with Part B in the middle, but not an unappetizing one. But Part D, the new layer on top, is more like sausage.¹⁷

*ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND NOTES
ARE ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE*

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Endnotes

1. See for example, *To Err is Human: Building A Safer Health System* (Washington DC: Institute of Medicine, 2000), which broke the stunning news that up to 98,000 Americans die annually from medical errors, and the Rand Corporation study, "The Quality of Health Care Delivered to Adults in the United States," *New England Journal of Medicine* 348: 26 (June 26, 2003), which found that 36% of elderly patients sampled did not receive pneumonia vaccine, resulting in 10,000 deaths annually, and less than 65% received indicated care for hypertension, resulting in 68,000 deaths. Overall, physicians follow best practices only about 50% of the time.
2. Peter Swenson and Scott Greer, "Foul Weather Friends: Big Business and Health Care Reform in the 1990s in Historical Perspective," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law* 27:4 (August 2002).
3. See my "Capital, Labor, and Medicine in Germany," in Ian Shapiro, Peter Swenson, and Daniela Donno, eds., *Divide and Rule: The Politics of Distribution in Democracies* (manuscript).
4. In *Capitalists against Markets: The Making of Labor Markets and Welfare States in the United States and Sweden* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), and "Arranged Alliance: Business Interests in the New Deal," *Politics and Society* 25:1 (March 1997), I argue on the basis of historical evidence from the U.S. and Sweden that successful reform politicians strategically shape and time policies so as to anchor them in broad based supportive alliances after passage. Politicians, not cross-class alliances, are the agents of passage.
5. *Congressional Record*, April 7, 1965, 7223.
6. Richard Harris, *A Sacred Trust* (New York: New American Library, 1966); Theodore Marmor, *The Politics of Medicare* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 2000), Julian E. Zelizer, *Taxing America: Wilbur D. Mills, Congress, and the State, 1945-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Robert J. Myers, *Medicare* (Homewood IL: Irwin, 1970); Jonathan Oberlander, *The Political Life of Medicare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Jill Quadagno, *One Nation Uninsured* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine* (New York: Basic, 1982); Lawrence R. Jacobs, *The Health of Nations* Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1993); Jacob S. Hacker, *The Divided Welfare State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); and Colin Gordon, *Dead on Arrival* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).
7. Feary to Byrnes, 22 February 1965. John W. Byrnes papers, University of Wisconsin/Wisconsin Historical Society, Green Bay, Wisconsin.
8. Peter Corning, Interview with John W. Byrnes, 1967. Social Security Administration Project, Columbia University Oral History Research Office. Many employers had started unilaterally offering retiree hospitalization and medical benefits in the 1950s for their own managerial reasons but with little regard for costs down the road; in 1961 the UAW negotiated one of the first major contractual arrangements with GM.
9. Charles Morrissey, Interview with John W. Byrnes, 1979. Manuscript Division, U.S. Library of Congress.
10. Manley, Interview with Wilbur Mills, 20 September 1965, one of many interviews conducted for his book, *The Politics of Finance: The House Committee on Ways and Means* (Boston: Little Brown, 1970). Southern Democrats would have made it possible to defeat King-Anderson. Even the Mills bill lost 60 southern Democrats and 3 northern Democrats, who joined 128 Republicans, for a total of 191, in the vote to recommit (for Byrnes). Against recommitting were 188 northern Democrats, 38 southern Democrats, and 10 Republicans, for a total of 236. After the recommit motion was defeated, a majority of southern Democrats and almost half of Republicans voted for the Mills bill, which passed by 313 to 115. The House Republican Policy Committee had endorsed Byrnes, but had not taken a position against Mills. Eugene Feingold, *Medicare: Policy and Politics* (San Francisco: Chandler, 1964), 143.
11. Manley, Interview with Mills, 20 September 1965.
12. Manley, Interview with William Quealy, 5 February 1965.
13. Manley, Interview with John W. Byrnes, 29 January 1968.
14. Corning, Interview with Byrnes, 1967. On business pronouncements, see Swenson, *Capitalists against Markets*, 223-26, and "Varieties," 19-22.
15. Manley, Interview with Quealy, 2 April 1965.
16. "The New Corporate Outsourcing," *New York Times*, 29 January 2006. Blunt is now majority whip.
17. Bismarck used the birth analogy on the 1883 health insurance legislation. What was handed to him by the Reichstag was not really his baby; it was a changeling (*ein untergeschobenes Kind*).

From the President, continued from page 1

issues such as abortion, “intelligent design,” and gay marriage that defy any meaningful sense of national community.

Nor has partisan rancor stopped at the proverbial “water’s edge.” In the aftermath of 9-11 and the War on Terrorism, extended with such controversy in Iraq, party polarization has even become central to foreign affairs. Foreign policy has never really been free of party conflict, but the current imbrication of partisanship and national security signifies a novel chapter in the development of the National Security State, born of World War II and the Cold War. The growing party conflict over national security policy appears to have diminished significantly the ability of presidents to pursue foreign policy independently of partisan warfare.

Scholarly and popular wisdom suggests, therefore, that the American polity, once governed by constitutional forms that facilitated compromise and a civic culture that privileged the “vital center,” has been roiled by party confrontations over issues that have scarred the political landscape with deep schisms.

Although polarization among Democrats and Republicans has been the source of much concern and occasional public outcry, a considerable amount of disputation continues about its sources and severity. To scholars such as Morris Fiorina, polarization, although a real and pernicious phenomenon, is limited to a small circle of political activists and members of Congress.² The distinguished APD scholars, Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson, attribute polarization to a relatively small, but powerful circle of conservative “power brokers,” whose combative posture on social issues has disguised their “off center policy making” with respect to bread and butter policies such as taxes, healthcare, and social security.³ In contrast, James Q. Wilson has argued that polarization on and foreign policy is real and has spread beyond political elites to influence the opinions and attitudes of ordinary Americans.⁴ Similarly, Alan Abramowitz and Kyle Sanders view the 2004 election, which was, when compared to recent presidential contests, partisan, polarized, and participatory, as the capstone of developments more than two decades in the making that have resulted in deep divisions between Democrats and Republicans, red and blue states, and religious and secular voters. Americans are hardly storming the barricades over abortion, gay marriage, and other emotionally charged issues, they acknowledge, but the bitter conflict between Bush and Kerry was symptomatic of a nation that is deeply

divided along partisan, geographic, and cultural lines.⁵

Surprisingly, amid all this debate, there has been little systematic attention paid to the history of partisan differences in the country – even APD scholars have not investigated systematically whether the current divide is a new, episodic, or chronic problem.⁶ Every major transformation in American politics, beginning with the Jeffersonian Republicans’ vanquishing of the ruling Federalists, has witnessed intense partisan conflict, fundamental constitutional struggles that have politicized the Judiciary. Cast against the polarizing episodes to expand popular sovereignty during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, the conflagration over slavery, the disruptive conflicts aroused by industrial capitalism during the turn of the twentieth century, the divisive struggles to come to terms with the Great Depression, and the explosive battles waged over civil rights and Vietnam during the Sixties, the present political rancor seems pretty tame. Indeed, the very fact that sophisticated social scientists, equipped with reams of survey data and methodological sophistication, have, if you will, the luxury to debate whether America is fighting a culture war, casts doubt on the severity of current political schisms in American politics.

Nonetheless, contemporary battles between Republicans and Democrats violate expectations that informed the rise of the administrative state over the course of the twentieth century. The expansion of national administrative power, arguably the most critical development of modern American politics, rested in the premise that social welfare and national security presupposed emancipating the government from the gravitational pull of partisanship as practiced in the United States: after all, partisanship in America was intractably localized and patronage-based and thus posed an obstacle to the development of a modern state that could grapple with the domestic and international problems that plagued the country. Executive dominion, anchored by the modern presidency, a leading feature of twentieth century American politics, presumes that the national government must become, in Theodore Roosevelt’s beguiling description, the “steward of the public welfare” – a responsibility which requires the president and other “power brokers” to stand apart from, indeed scorn partisan conflicts. Forged during the Progressive and New Deal eras, the liberal administrative state was embraced by both Democrats and Republicans in the aftermath of World War II. The displacement of partisanship by administration, which spanned the presidencies of Franklin Roosevelt and Jimmy Carter, was further prompted by the

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programmatic commitments of New Deal Liberalism: the New Deal commitments to two new rights — Freedom from Want and Freedom from Fear — embodied, respectively, in the Welfare and National Security states, called for “enlightened administration,” which militant partisanship appeared to denigrate.

Of course, no matter how well entrenched, the administrative state has had an uneasy place in American politics. Indeed, the very term “vital center,” the title of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.’s 1949 landmark book, was coined to express the fragility of New Deal pragmatism at its height. On the one hand, Schlesinger argued, mid-twentieth century liberalism had demonstrated, against the conceit of both industrial capitalism and communism, that national administration could be reconciled with democratic individualism. The New Deal filled a “vacuum of faith,” he insisted, which it had inherited from the “cynicism and complacency of the twenties and from the breadlines of the early thirties.” Tempered by depression, total war, and the Soviet Union’s betrayal of socialism, America underwent an awakening that justified faith in the administrative practices that governed the welfare and national security states. On the other hand, Schlesinger warned, “this faith has been and will continue to be under attack from the far right and the far left.” He lamented, especially, leftist idealists who used “liberalism as an outlet for private grievances and frustrations,” as compared with the “doers,” who committed themselves to the “tedious study of detail” in order “to assume the burden of civic responsibility.” Schlesinger reserved special scorn for liberals such as Henry Wallace who resisted liberal internationalism: he tarred them as “doughfaces,” a term originally used during the Civil War to excoriate Northern men of Southern principles, but which the progressive historian now applied to “democratic men with totalitarian principles.”⁷

Schlesinger’s fear that the vital center would be sorely tested, not only by conservatives but also by disaffected liberals, proved prescient. Pace Hacker and Pierson, it was the left, especially the leaders of the civil rights and anti-war movements, that first threw American politics “off center.” As Barry Goldwater’s candidacy showed, a strong conservative movement began to emerge during the 1950s and 1960s. But Johnson’s landslide victory, and the institutional and policy succor of the Great Society, shifted momentum during the late 1960s to movements on the left, which rejected the New Deal State, for its compromises with racism and for the imperialism it pursued under the banner of protecting freedom in the world. Malcolm X gave dramatic expression to the “new” Left’s disdain

for the liberal consensus when asked which candidate he favored in the 1964 election, a critical juncture in the polarization of America:

I felt that it was for the black man only a question of Johnson, the fox, or Goldwater, the wolf. “Conservatism” in American politics means “Let’s keep the niggers in their place.” And “liberalism” means “Let’s keep the *knee-grows* in their place –but tell them we’ll treat them a little better; let’s fool them more, with more promises.” With these choices, I felt that the American black man only needed to choose which one to be eaten by, the “liberal” fox or the “conservative” wolf – because both of them would eat him. I didn’t go for Goldwater any more than for Johnson – except that in a wolf’s den, I’d always know exactly where I stood; I’d watch the dangerous wolf closer than I would the smooth, sly fox. The wolf’s very growling would keep me alert and fighting him to survive, whereas I *might* be lulled and fooled by the tricky fox.⁸

To be sure, Malcolm X’s complete disdain for LBJ and the Great Society was not representative of most sixties activists who challenged the liberal consensus. Nonetheless, when the Johnson White House imposed a compromise solution on the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the 1964 national convention, the alienation of Black Power advocates spread to a wider circle of civil rights activists and stirred the embers that ultimately conflagrated into the antiwar crusade that forced Johnson from office. As Hugh Heclo has argued, the attack on the “vital center” during the 1960s displayed many of the historic lineaments of a “great awakening,” the expression of an adversarial civic culture that decried “intolerable gaps between the espoused norms and the lived realities of the [American] system.”⁹ Although social activists’ estrangement from the “establishment” would be tempered during the 1970s, their distrust of centralized administration was institutionalized by public interest groups. Remaking the presidential selection process, Congressional institutions, and administrative law, former activists extended liberalism to causes and programs in the areas of civil rights, environmental and consumer protection, and education. In the course of doing so, public lobbyists recast political associations and governing arrangements in a form that did not so much buttress as call to account the working arrangements of the entrenched liberal administrative state.¹⁰

Of course, the Great Awakening of the Sixties changed not only liberalism but conservatism as well. By the end of the 1960s, Democrats and Republicans,

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conservatives and liberals, had all become, as Hecl puts it, “policy minded,” and so they have remained committed to finding public solutions to economic and social problems.¹¹ Put simply, conservatives have embraced the national security state while liberals have devoted more exclusive attention to the welfare state. Nonetheless, just as contemporary liberals have sought to renew their faith in internationalism by emphasizing, as John Kerry stressed during his presidential campaign, multilateral diplomacy, so conservatives have attempted to come to terms with the welfare state through think tank vetted provisions, such as health security accounts and social security “privatization,” that have aspired to recast entitlements programs in a conservative image. More to the point, however, both liberal and conservative activism has been allied to a distrust of centralized power that has encouraged aggressive oversight of executive administration and insurgent assaults on the “Washington establishment.” Rather than pursuing solutions to the nation’s problems with New Deal style executive-centered and pragmatic policy measures, contemporary political activists engage in ideological and institutional confrontation that defies consensus and diminishes public trust in government. By the mid-1990s, the now-adult, polarized Sixties generation had created an incipient national, polarized party system that roiled and, if 2004 is any indication, diminished the so-called vital center of American politics.

As the work of Fiorina, as well as Hacker and Pierson show, the fraying of the center and polarization of conservative and liberal activists present the country with a situation that is ripe for demagoguery and for citizens mounting disaffection from government. Still, we should be careful not to condemn out of hand partisan struggles that stir the welfare and national security states. After all, during the 1970s, leading scholars such as Theodore Lowi and Walter Dean Burnham were lamenting the death of political parties, supplanted by administrative tribunals that sucked much of the meaning out of representative government.¹² Their fears had deep cultural roots. As Alexis de Tocqueville saw very early in the game, the great threat to American constitutional government was not revolution – a culture war – but an obsession with security, the lodestar of liberal administration. The infatuation with property, Tocqueville warned, would allow Americans to be “so much possessed by a relaxed love of present enjoyments” that they would lose all interest in political affairs and become indifferent, if not

avowedly hostile to new ideas and necessary reforms. “If citizens continue to confine themselves more and more narrowly in the circle of domestic interests,” he observed, “one can apprehend that in the end they will become almost inaccessible to those great and powerful emotions that trouble peoples, but develop and renew them.” In contrast, party polarization was the most effective antidote to such a moral implosion, for though “the longing to be elected can momentarily bring certain men to make war on each other, . . . in the long term this same desire brings all men to lend each other a mutual support; and if it happens that an election accidentally divides two friends, the electoral system brings together in a permanent manner a multitude of citizens who would have always remained strangers to one another. Freedom creates particular hatreds, but despotism gives birth to general indifference.”¹³

It remains to be seen how much contemporary liberal and conservative activists will engage the American people, but, as Abramowitz and Saunders’ data suggest, nationalized parties, for better and worse, have begun to penetrate society. Both parties, in fact, developed sophisticated, effective methods of mobilization in the last presidential campaign that contributed to a significant increase in voter turnout. There has been much speculation that partisan mobilization exploited an emerging religious dimension of conflict and relied on such issues as gay marriage. But considerable evidence points to homeland and national security as being the most critical factors in 2004; indeed, the White House’s foreign policy confirmed the support of social conservatives for Bush and the Republican Party. As Mark Peterson has noted, the administration and the Christian right have been particularly unified when working in concert on foreign policy issues, including blocking funding for international family-planning programs, supporting the hard-line stance of Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon, and fighting the War in Iraq.¹⁴ Nevertheless, an aggressive foreign policy cultivated support beyond the Republican base: during his first term, Bush’s response to 9/11 contributed to across-the-board Republican gains in partisan identification (except among African-Americans), in particular among important Democratic constituencies such as white Catholics and Hispanics. In turn, popular disaffection with the war, which has led to a dramatic decline in support for Bush among independents and moderate Republicans, has reenergized Democrats and given them a realistic chance to capture the House and Senate in the congressional elections to be held this coming November.

The prospect for a full blown partisan debate over foreign policy is not eagerly anticipated by many scholars. “Sharpened debate is arguably helpful with respect to domestic issues,” Wilson has acknowledged, “but not for the management of important foreign and military matters. . . . Denmark or Luxembourg can afford to exhibit domestic anguish and uncertainty over military policy; the United States cannot. A divided America encourages our enemies, disheartens our allies, and saps our resolve—potentially to fatal effect.”¹⁵ But as the astounding influence that Vietnam talk had on the last presidential election reveals, Schlesinger’s vital center, above all, has not held with respect to America’s place in the world. A March 2006 Pew Survey showed that Republicans, Democrats, and Independents were all less likely to say that the United States would definitely succeed in establishing a stable government in Iraq than they had been a year earlier. But the partisan divide remains very wide; more than twice as many Republicans as Democrats think the United States will succeed in Iraq (74% to 34%). It is possible that the heated controversy over immigration policy that is currently in play might be settled by leaders brokering a compromise between border security and immigration rights. But the existing partisan dispute over Iraq cannot be managed ex cathedra; like previous conflicts in foreign affairs that have divided the country, nation building in Iraq and, more broadly, the viability of the Bush doctrine cannot be resolved, save by public debate and resolution.

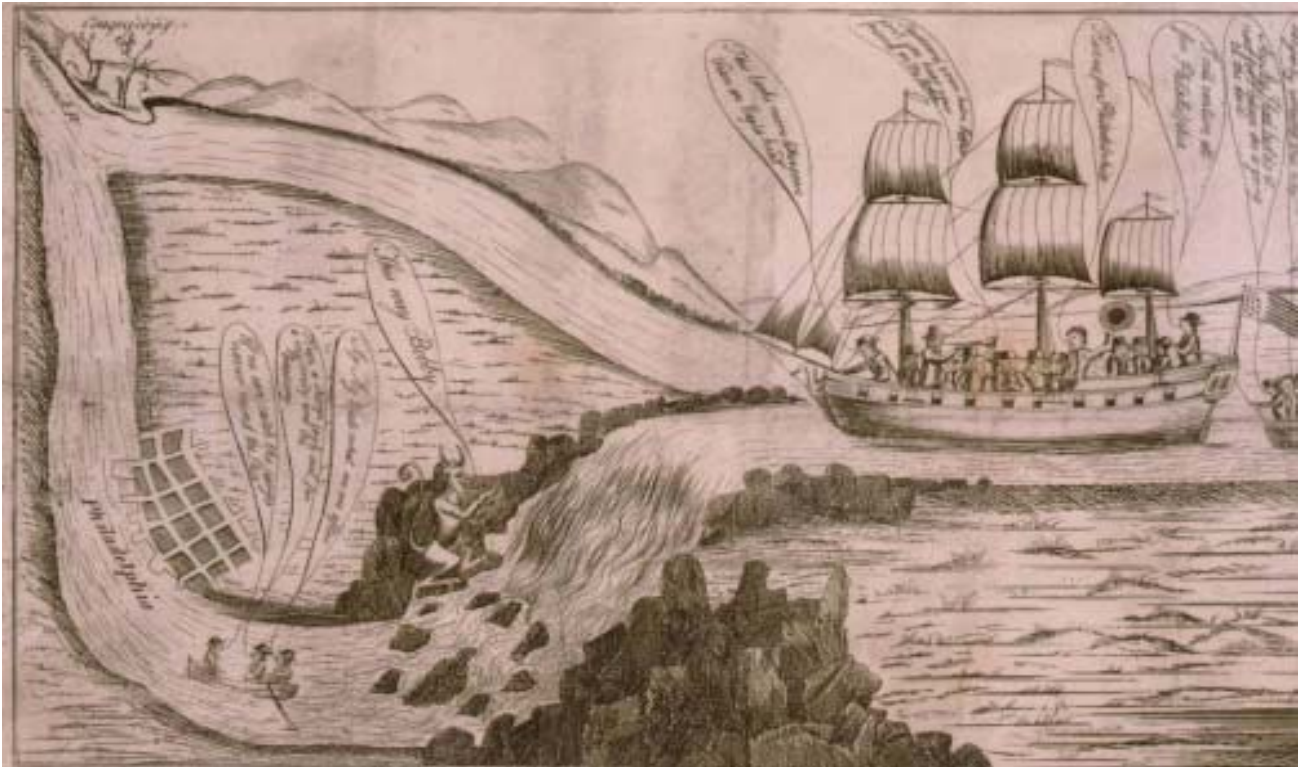
Significantly, partisan debate and resolution about America’s role in the world divided the Founders, indeed, afflicted Publius with schizophrenia. During the 1790s, in response to President George Washington’s Proclamation of Neutrality, in the war against France and Great Britain, James Madison decried Alexander Hamilton’s claim that foreign policy was naturally the province of executive power and thus should be removed from the normal irrationalities of democratic politics. In the final analysis, Madison believed that democracy, even a refined and enlarged constitutional republic, required public debate and judgment that could only take place in the legislature and other public forums. The tasks of foreign policy – to declare war, to conclude peace and to form alliances – were among “the highest acts of sovereignty”; to relegate such decisions to executive decree was to destroy the meaning of self-government.¹⁶

The unprecedented insulation of world politics from partisan disputation during the Cold War era, therefore, should not lead us to view the current conflicts that have been aroused by 9-11 and its aftermath as incompatible with constitutional forms or America’s

responsibilities abroad. Rather, we should have the courage to recognize that such disputes have long been central to democracy in America, to the ongoing contestation for the soul of the Constitution. Appealing to a mythic “vital center” will not diminish these and other conflicts that now divide the nation; seeking to diffuse them risks embracing the alluring false hope that politics can be reduced to administration.

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"Con-g-ss Embark'd on board the Ship Constitution of America bound to Conogochique by way of Philadelphia." This 1790 cartoon addresses the politics of the federal government's move to its temporary location in Philadelphia. A devil calls "this way Bobby" to Robert Morris, presumed author of the move. It lures the U.S. ship of state toward Philadelphia and dangerous falls, and away from the Potomack river. Provided courtesy HarpWeek, LLC *please visit their website at:* <http://harpweek.com/Default.asp>



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Department of Political Science
University of Missouri-St. Louis
St. Louis, MO 63121-4499