

# History and Politics Section Newsletter

An Organized Section of the American Political Science Association

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## From the Editors

Kenneth Finegold (Department of Political Science, Rutgers University) and Elaine K. Swift (Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

Welcome to the first edition of the History and Politics Newsletter. As Jeffrey K. Tulis stresses in his President's Report, members of the History and Politics Section are concerned with a variety of theoretical and historiographical perspectives, historical eras, and research topics. We hope that this newsletter will allow scholars with similar interests to keep in touch between conferences and form new links between scholars who might not otherwise have been aware of the relevance of each others' work.

The Section President's Report and the Call for Papers will appear annually. Other features in this edition of the newsletter—Work in Progress, Recent Books, and Journal Scan—will appear regularly. We welcome your suggestions for additional features; either complete the questionnaire on the back page of this newsletter or contact us both at:

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As you'll notice on the questionnaire, we are also soliciting newsletter contributions. For this first year of the newsletter, we'll be producing two editions, with the next one scheduled for Spring 1991. Thereafter, we'll be producing newsletter editions three times a year: fall, winter, and spring. Please send us a summary of your work in progress, a description of your new

book, a syllabus from a historically oriented course, an announcement of a conference, fellowship, or research collection, or comments on books and articles (or movies and TV programs). Don't be afraid to send us a piece that doesn't fit any of these categories, but that you think will be of interest to other section members.

Many of the people who have been active in the History and Politics section (including both of us) study American politics. To increase our breadth, we are especially eager for contributions from political scientists who study comparative politics and international relations. We are also eager for contributions from historians and hope that one of the functions of the newsletter and the section will be to increase communication between our two disciplines.

As with other APSA organized sections, we depend on section dues to finance this newsletter. Our current paid membership is 371; this is a great figure for a new section. We are also sending this newsletter to scholars who are not yet paid members, but have expressed interest in the section or are on the mailing list of the Social Science History Association's Politics Network. If you are not a paid section member, an asterisk (\*) appears next to your name on the mailing label. To continue receiving the newsletter, please use the coupon on the back page to join the section if you already belong to the APSA, or to join the APSA if you are not already a member.

## Section President's Report

Jeffrey K. Tulis (Department of Government, University of Texas, Austin, TX 78712)

As you know, the History and Politics Organized Section of the APSA is relatively new. David Brady and Amy Bridges organized the group informally nearly three years ago, and we became an official group within the APSA last year. I will give

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you a précis of our history and of the group's purposes, but I write principally to invite you to help refine and develop the organization's identity.

The original impetus for the group was shared perceptions among the many political scientists who formed the organization that much of the most interesting work in the discipline embodied a turn to history and that many of these historical concerns either transcended or fell in the interstices between existing political science subfields. With the decision of the APSA to turn over the construction of its annual program to organized sections, an initial intellectual camaraderie developed into a more formal group designed to ensure that its varied intellectual interests are well represented on the Association's annual program.

And the interests of the group are indeed various. Among us are social scientists who turned to history to expand the number of cases of phenomena of interest. For others, long-standing historical puzzles are appropriate foils for demonstrating the explanatory power of particular theories. Still others seek the deep structure or contours of contemporary political problems. **Our** group embraces—perhaps better than any other organized section—competing epistemological attitudes. Some scholars use history to further scientific objectives while others see it as the fit locus for interpretive approaches to the study of politics. These plural interests and perspectives were well represented in our Program last fall and were the focus of spirited but civil debate at a roundtable specially designed to explore the meaning of the turn to history.

In addition to the program, our other principal function is to serve as a network for scholars whose interests overlap, but who would be unlikely to share ideas given the traditional divisions of fields within political science. To this end, Elaine K. Swift and Kenneth Finegold are editing this newsletter and maintaining our membership roster.

Turning to some bureaucratic details:

To become a member or maintain membership, it is necessary that you subscribe to the History and Politics Section when you pay your annual **APSA** dues. Last year, many of us mailed checks to David Brady. They were not, and according to APSA rules,

could not be cashed so you may balance your checkbooks with that in mind. Unfortunately, many more people have expressed interest to Brady or Bridges than have designated their interest to the **APSA**. In order for us to remain an organized section, it is important that you pay the nominal \$5.00 dues through the **APSA**. You can use the coupon on the back page of this newsletter to do so.

One final item of business: our group lacks rudimentary by-laws. During the year, I will circulate a **draft** of procedures for election of officers and other matters to the interim council appointed last year, whose members are Lisa Anderson (Columbia University), David Brady (Stanford University), Amy Bridges (University of California, San Diego), Peter Hall (Harvard University), Gwendolyn Mirk (University of California, Santa Cruz), H. Douglas Price (Harvard University), and Michael Smith (University of Virginia). We will then present a proposal to the membership at large for your consideration at next fall's **APSA** convention in Washington. In the meantime, if anyone has suggestions regarding the structure of the organization, I would be delighted to have them. In particular, I welcome suggestions to institutionally ensure that we continue to represent a membership of such considerable scholarly scope and diversity.

### Call for Papers

1991 Annual Meeting

American Political Science Association

Washington, D.C., August 29 - September 1

Political Science and History

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Proposals are invited for panels, papers, and roundtables which explore or reflect on the intersection of history and political science. The section is broadly conceived to include the "turn to history" in any subfield, however papers from scholars working in American politics, political theory, and comparative politics are especially welcome. Panels which use history to integrate work across traditional subfields might prove particularly interesting. In 1991, special attention will be given to proposals which address the following concerns: 1. questions of ideology and political culture, 2. the "new institutionalism" from an historical perspective, 3. the methodological implications of the historical turn. These three areas of special interest are by no means exhaustive and should not discourage submissions on other aspects of history and politics.

## Work in Progress

### **Policy Innovation the Progressive Era: Bringing the Legislature Back into a Study of State Building\***

Eileen Lorenzi McDonagh (Department of Political Science, Northeastern University, 360 Huntington Ave., Boston, MA 02115)

My project studies representative processes in the Progressive Era decades of 1900-1920 as a source of national policy innovation that significantly contributed to the development of the modern state in the twentieth century. I am using referenda votes on a wide range of issues to measure district issue positions as an influence on roll call voting in the House of Representatives on the same or similar issues.

Findings to date argue for the vital role of Congress in our federal system as the one institution particularly effective in linking decentralized policies first established at the state level with the formation of centralized national policies. Thus, bringing the legislature back in to a study of state building in the Progressive Era demonstrates how policy innovations backed by the grass-root electorate in these nonrealignment decades have a developmental payoff as they are transferred to the federal level via policy congruency processes linking House members with their constituents.

An original data base is being established to assess congruency linkages between grass-root issue positions and roll call voting in the House of Representatives on a wide range of legislation, including labor, tax, welfare, and civil rights policies. County level referenda votes held in a geographic cross section of states have been located and recoded to congressional district levels. In addition, county level census data, also recoded to district level, is merged with referenda votes and electoral competition data. The resulting data base is an invaluable resource for investigating policy congruence processes, enabling multivariate modeling of constituency issue position, district demographic characteristics, electoral competition, and partisanship as determinants of House roll call voting behavior.

Up to this point, analysis has focused on Woodrow Wilson's first two congresses, the Sixty-third (1913-1915) and Sixty-fourth (1915-1917). Policy congruence on such key labor and civil rights legislation

as the Clayton Anti-Trust Act and women's suffrage is analyzed in conjunction with the effects of partisanship, electoral competition, and demographic district characteristics. The results illustrate and confirm the impact of constituency issue positions upon the nationalization of labor and civil rights policies. Additional research is in progress, expanding the analysis to consider issue areas dealing with taxation and fiscal policies in, at the least, the Fifty-eighth (1903-1905), Fifty-ninth (1905-1907), Sixtieth (1907-1909), Sixty-sixth (1919-1921), and Sixty-seventh (1921-1923) Congresses.

However, this project's analysis of a wide range of issues reveals the problematic side of policy congruence. The same representative processes, for example, responsible for the transfer of progressive labor policies from the state to the national level also transferred decidedly negative sentiment on such fundamental civil rights issues as women's right to vote. Thus, this research points to the continued necessity of taking stock of the distinction between democratic processes and democratic policy outcomes as well as the multidimensionality of issue areas.

\* This project is funded by National Science Foundation grant RI I-880499.

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### **Historical Analogies and American Foreign Policy**

Yuen Foong Khong (Department of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138)

My research focuses on the role that history or the 'lessons of history' play in foreign policy decision making. Using American decision making during the Vietnam War as a case study, I examine four of the most important historical analogies—Malaya, Korea, Dien Bien Phu, and Munich—invoked by policy makers during the period 1961 to 1966. I use these analogies to help arrive at answers to the following questions: How do policy makers use history in their foreign policy decision making? Why and when do policy makers resort to historical analogies and what are the implications of this behavior?

My research shows that analogies matter. They are not just rhetorical or justificatory devices, but cognitive structures that policy makers often use to make sense of their environment. More specifically, I argue that historical analogies perform one or more

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functions related to information processing: defining the nature of the situation or problem; evaluating the political and moral stakes; predicting the likelihood of success; and warning about the dangers of policy alternatives. When analogies are put to such diagnostic uses—as cognitive psychologists suggest they are likely to be and as the empirical record shows that they are—they predispose the user-policy maker toward certain options and turn him or her away from others. In so doing, historical analogies can play a critical role in influencing the decision outcome. Applying this framework to American decision making during the Vietnam War, I find that it helps explain (i) why the Johnson administration decided to intervene with military force in 1965 and (ii) why the intervention took the form that it did (for example, sending troops, but not calling up the reserves despite strong pressure to do the latter).

In using the framework to explain the Vietnam decisions, I rely on Alexander George's congruence and process tracing procedures, methods he developed specifically to assess "goodness of fit" between imputed (cognitive) causes and (behavioral) effects (in single or small N case studies). The empirical research is based on interviews with many of the Vietnam policy makers and on archival work in the Johnson and Kennedy libraries. My arguments and results will appear as *Analogical Decision-making and Foreign Policy: Explaining America's Vietnam Options*, to be published by Princeton University Press in 1991.

## New Books

Bensel, Richard Franklin. *Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in American, 1859-1877*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. 456 pp. Hardback, \$52.50. Paperback, \$15.95.

This book contends that the Civil War profoundly influenced the development of the American central state in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most immediately, the war prevented secession of the South and set precedents for the exercise of federal power that paved the way for the growth of the national government. Over a longer term, the separatist tendencies of the post-war South

anted the emergence and expansion of social welfare policies within the central state during the industrializing era between the Civil War and World War II.

This book also suggests the political and economic imperatives of their respective war efforts determined the course and shape of the Union and Confederate mobilizations. Emphasizing the remarkable growth of central authority in both the Union and Confederacy, the "market-oriented" state that took shape in the North is sharply contrasted with the highly centralized state created in the South. By describing the financial system developed in the North, the economic policies of the Union government during the war are shown to have strengthened a financial class that subsequently opposed Republican-led Reconstruction of the defeated South. This opposition contributed significantly to the demise of Reconstruction, which allowed the return of former Confederate to political power and brought American state expansion to a halt in the late nineteenth century.

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Crystal, Jill. *Oil and Politics in the Gulf: Rulers and Merchants in Kuwait and Qatar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. 209 pp. \$37.50.

Crystal examines the impact of oil and external revenue sources on the formation and destruction of political coalitions and state institutions in the Persian Gulf. By providing external and extensive revenues directly to the ruler, oil radically restructured economic and political life. Freed from the need to depend on internal revenue, rulers also found themselves freed of the historical need to depend on local elites to generate internal rents and the alliances that this dependence had fostered. Focusing on key transformations in the interwar and postwar period, the book analyzes the ways that political leaders and economic elites, rulers and merchants, acted to restructure the relationships, between those with money and those with power. It also analyzes how that restructuring promoted both the creation and destruction of state institutions.

In Kuwait and Qatar, oil also intervened in an ongoing process of state formation. Crystal uses the two cases to demonstrate the extent to which other variables and preexisting structures affect political change within the broad constraints set by oil. Oil had

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the same general impact in both states. However, different economic, social, and political resources that existed in each state on the eve of oil tempered oil's impact, producing slightly different outcomes.

Based on fieldwork in the Gulf and research of Arabic, Gulf, British, and Indian archival sources, *Oil and Politics* contributes to the new distributive or rentier state literature as well as to the scholarship on state formation. In addition, it is the only book-length published analysis of contemporary politics in Kuwait and Qatar.

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Sarasohn, David. *The Party of Reform: Democrats in the Progressive Era*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1989. 288 pages. \$30.00.

The first book-length study of the Democratic Party in the Progressive Era argues that progressive reforms often came with a party label. Long before Woodrow Wilson emerged and led the party to power, as Sarasohn shows, reform programs and priorities had been ingrained in Democratic thinking. If their economic vision was sometimes limited, especially in modern terms, the Democrats of the Progressive Era could still claim a more coherent and effective reform role than many who have crowded them out of the historiographical limelight. The party commitment to reform, and most Republicans' suspicion of it, fueled the party's victories in 1912 and 1916, and only the bitterness of World War I destroyed the party's potent outsiders' coalition.

Shaped by William Jennings Bryan, powerful party newspapers, and the party's emerging alliance with organized labor, the Democrats of the early century consistently supported efforts to limit corporate power and influence. Strong Democratic support for change gave congressional credibility to the sporadic reform efforts of Theodore Roosevelt, propped up the position of insurgent Republicans in Congress and created Democratic administrations in most two-party states. **Thus** when Wilson came to the White House, his challenge was less to spur the reform impulses of his followers than to restrain them.

Valelly, Richard M. *Radicalism in the States: The Minnesota Fanner-Labor Party and the American Political Economy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989. 287 pp. \$29.95.

Valelly places the politics of America's most successful example of state level, third party politics in a national context. In doing *so* he **shows** how new policies create new forms of politics, focusing on how New Deal programs created structures that in turn induced reorganization of group and electoral politics at the state and local level. Such reorganization closed off the future of a previously successful type of politics—state level radicalism. This book's findings are tested in the final chapter through comparison with other cases in the U.S. and Canada. In vivid contrast to the fate of American movements, 'province level' radicalism flourished in Canada, helping to recast the party system and to engender more generous social policies. While part of the new scholarship on American political development, *Radicalism in the States* also contributes to a number of other American and comparative literatures, including social and political movements, federalism, and policy making.

## Fellowships

### American Antiquarian Society

Visiting Research Fellowships of from one to three and six to twelve months' duration will be available at the American Antiquarian Society during the period June 1, 1991-May 31, 1992. All awards are for research and writing in American history and culture through the year 1876, in which field the Society holds preeminent collections offering broad research opportunities. The National Endowment for the Humanities-funded long-term awards are intended for scholars beyond the doctorate, including senior scholars. Among the short-term fellowship categories offered are several special ones that support scholars working in the American eighteenth century, and those at work on doctoral dissertations. Applications may be made jointly for short-term fellowships at both AAS and The Newberry Library. The application deadline is January 15, 1991. For more information, contact the American Antiquarian Society, 185 Salisbury St., Worcester, MA 01609-1634. Phone (508) 755-5221.

## Journal Scan

Each newsletter issue, we will provide a scan of history and politics articles in the following journals: *American Historical Review*; *American Journal of Political Science*; *American Political Science Review*; *American Sociological Review*; *Comparative Studies in Society and History*; *International Organization*; *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*; *Journal of Politics*; *Political Science Quarterly*; *Politics & Society*; *Polity*; *Social Science History*; *Studies in American Political Development*; *Western Political Quarterly*; and *World Politics*. For this issue of the newsletter, we scanned issues of those journals published between January and August 1990.

### **American Historical Review:**

Steven Hahn, "Class and State in Postemancipation Societies: Southern Planters in Comparative Perspective," 95 (Feb. 1990):75-98.

Charles Van Onselen, "Race and Class in the South African Countryside: Cultural Osmosis and Social Relations in the Share-cropping Economy of the South-western Transvaal, 1900-1950," 95 (Feb. 1990):99-123.

Thomas Childers, "The Social Language of Politics in Germany: The Sociology of Political Discourse in the Weimar Republic," 95 (April 1990):331-358.

Walter L. Adamson, "Modernism and Fascism: The Politics of Culture in Italy, 1903-1922," 95 (April 1990):359-390.

Fred Matthews, "The Attack on 'Historicism': Allan Bloom's Indictment of Contemporary Historical Scholarship," 95 (April 1990):406-428.

Borden W. Painter, Jr., "Renzo De Felice and the Historiography of Italian Fascism," 95 (April 1990):429-447.

### **American Journal of Political Science:**

Michael D. Martinez, "Partisan Reinforcement in Context and Cognition: Canadian Federal Partisanship, 1974-1979," 34 (Aug. 1990):822-845.

### **American Political Science Review:**

Arend Lijphart, "The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws, 1945-85," 84 (June 1990):481-496.

### **American Sociological Review:**

Jill Quadagno, "Race, Class, and Gender in the U.S. Welfare State: Nixon's Failed Family Assistance Plan," 55 (Feb. 1990):11-28.

Gregory Hooks, "From an Autonomous to a Captured State Agency: The Decline of the New Deal in Agriculture," 55 (Feb. 1990):29-43.

Nicola Beisel, "Class, Culture, and Campaigns Against Vice in Three American Cities, 1872-1892," 55 (Feb. 1990):44-62.

Carol Conell and Kim Voss, "Craft Association and Class Alliance in the Knights of Labor," 55 (April 1990):255-269.

E.M. Beck and Stewart E. Tolnay, "The Market for Cotton and the Lynching of Blacks, 1882-1930," 55 (Aug. 1990):526-539.

### **Comparative Studies in Society and History:**

Kathleen Biddick, "People and Things: Power in Early English Development," 32 (Jan. 1990):3-23.

Richard Ellis and Aaron Wildavsky, "A Cultural Analysis of the Role of Abolitionists in the Coming of the Civil War," 32 (Jan. 1990):89-116.

Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley, "Terror and Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America, 1956-1970," 32 (April 1990):201-237.

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Nathan Brown, "Brigands and State Building: The Invention on Banditry in Modern Egypt," 32 (April 1990):258-281.

VincenteL. Rafael, "Patronage and Pornography: Ideology and Spectatorship in the Early Marcos Years," 32 (April 1990):282-304.

GyanPrakash, "Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography," 32 (April 1990):383-408.

John Markoff, "Peasants Protest: The Claims of Lord, Church, and State in the Cahiers de doléances of 1789," 32 (July 1990):413-454.

Todd A. Diacon, "Peasants, Prophets, and the Powers of a Millenarian Vision in Twentieth-Century Brazil," 32 (July 1990):488-514.

Liah Greenfield, "The Formation of the Russian National Identity: The Role of Status Insecurity and Ressentiment," 32 (July 1990):549-591.

Hitomi Tonomura, "Women and Inheritance in Japan's Early Warrior Society," 32 (July 1990):592-623.

### **International Organization:**

G. John Ikenberry and Charles A. Kupchan, "Socialization and Hegemonic Power," 44 (Summer 1990):283-316.

### **Journal of Interdisciplinary History:**

J. Morgan Kousser, "Toward 'Total Political History': A Rational-Choice Program," 20 (Spring 1990):521-560.

Seymour Drescher, "People and Parliament: The Rhetoric of the British Slave Trade," 20 (Spring 1990):561-580.

Allan G. Bogue, "The Quest for Numeracy: Data and Methods in American Political History," 21 (Summer 1990):89-116.

### **Journal of Politics:**

Lee Epstein and Charles D. Hadley, "On the Treatment of Political Parties in the U.S. Supreme Court, 1900-1986," 52 (May 1990):413-432.

Deborah J. Barrow and Gary Zuk, "An Institutional Analysis of Turnover in the Lower Federal Courts; 1900-1987," 52 (May 1990):457-476.

### **Political Science Quarterly:**

Gil Merom, "Democracy, Dependency, and Destabilization: The Shaking of Allende's Regime," 105 (Spring 1990):75-96.

John Gimbel, "The American Exploitation of German Technical Know-How after World War II," 105 (Summer 1990):295-310.

### **Politics & Society:**

Ian S. Lustick, "Becoming Problematic: Breakdown of a Hegemonic Conception of Ireland in Nineteenth-Century Britain," 18 (March 1990):39-74.

### **Polity:**

Everett C. Ladd, "Like Waiting for Godot: The Uselessness of Realignment for Understanding Change in Contemporary American Politics," 22 (Spring 1990):511-526.

### **Social Science History:**

Gerald Friedman, "Capitalism, Republicanism, Socialism, and the State: France, 1871-1914," 14 (Summer 1990):151-174.

Gary Marks and Matthew Burbank, "Immigrant Support for the American Socialist Party, 1912 and 1920," 14 (Summer 1990):175-202.

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Howard Gillette, Jr., "Rethinking American Urban History: New Directions for the Posturban Era," 14 (Summer 1990): 203-228.

### **Western Political Quarterly:**

Mark Peffley and Lee Sigelman, "Intolerance of Communists During the McCarthy Era: A General Model," 43 (March 1990):93-112.

Joel Paddock, "Beyond the New Deal: Ideological Differences Between Eleven State Democratic Parties, 1956-1980," 43 (March 1990):181-190.

Donald R. Songer and Sue Davis, "The Impact of ~~Party~~ and Region on Voting Decisions in the United States Courts of Appeals, 1955-1986," 43 (June 1990):317-334.

### **World Politics:**

Raj Desai and Harry Eckstein, "Insurgency: The Transformation of Peasant Rebellion," 42 (July 1990):441-465.

Paul Huth and Bruce Russett, "Testing Deterrence Theory: Rigor Does Make a Difference," 42 (July 1990):466-501.

Matthew Evangelista, "Cooperation Theory and Disarmament Negotiations in the 1950s," 42 (July 1990):502-528.

Michael Barnett, "High Politics is Low Politics: The Domestic and Systemic Sources of Israeli Security Policy, 1967-1977," 42 (July 1990):529-562.