

# History and Politics Section Newsletter

An Organized Section of the American Political Science Association

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## From the Editors

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Thanks to contributions and suggestions from our readers, we have been able to significantly expand the offerings in the *History and Politics Section Newsletter*. Like our inaugural issue, this second issue includes as regular features communications from section officers, Journal Scan, Work in Progress, New Books, and Fellowships, as well as two new features, Queries and Syllabi. In communications from section officers, Jeffrey Tulis provides his second report as Section President, followed by preliminary listings for the strong slate of section panels for the 1991 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, put together by Vicki Hattam.

Journal Scan now includes many additional periodicals recommended by readers who sent back the questionnaire, which appears again at the back of this issue. Because we could not include every journal suggested, we have limited the Scan to those likely to be of interest to the most members. This unfortunately means that we had to exclude some periodicals that are of high quality, but devoted to more specialized topics. We have also had to exclude suggested journals that were not available at libraries at Rutgers or Princeton. We are especially sorry that we were unable for this reason to scan a periodical that several of you suggested, the *Journal of Policy History*, which contains many articles on History and Politics.

Queries are brief, specific requests for information related to research or teaching in History and Politics. This issue's Syllabi section contains plans for three well-designed and varied courses on American Political Development, which you might use to develop or revise your own course or as a research bibliography.

We are sending this newsletter to all members of

the History and Politics Section and also to some potentially interested scholars who are not yet members of the section. If you are not a paid section member, an asterisk (\*) appears next to your name on the mailing label. Please note that we will not be able to send future issues to non-members. If you belong to the APSA, but are not yet a member of the History and Politics Section, you may again use the form at the end of the newsletter to join. Dues are a bargain at \$5.00! However, you must belong to the APSA to belong to the section. If you are not an APSA member, you may use the form to join the APSA and the Section. Note that AHA members are eligible for a special rate on APSA membership, which includes conference and

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## Fellowships

The Division of Fellowships and Seminars of the National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C. 20506, announces the following application deadlines:

June 1, 1991      Fellowships for University Teachers  
                            Fellowships for College Teachers and  
                            Independent Scholars

These fellowships enable individual scholars to devote an extended period of uninterrupted time to investigation, reflection, and writing. University Teachers Fellowships are for faculty members of departments and programs in universities that grant the Ph.D. and for faculty members of postgraduate professional schools. Contact Mabel Herring (Tel. 202-786-0466). Fellowships for College Teachers and Independent Scholars are for faculty members of programs that do not grant the Ph.D.; individuals affiliated with institutions other than colleges and universities; and scholars and writers working independently. Contact Karen Fuglie (Tel. 202-786-0466).

July 15, 1991      Travel to Collections  
Grants of \$750 enable individual scholars to travel to use the research collections of libraries, archives, museums, or other repositories. Awards help defray such research expenses as transportation, food, lodging, photoduplication, and other reproduction costs. Contact Kathleen Mitchell (Tel. 202-786-0463).

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publication discounts as well as subscriptions to the *American Political Science Review* and *PS*. Please be sure to send APSA and/or section dues to the APSA, at the address on the form, rather than to us.

We look forward to seeing you at the business meeting discussed by Jeffrey Tulis in his Section President's Report. We hope the meeting will provide us with further suggestions for the *Newsletter* and feedback on this year's issues. We also hope to discuss plans for a section membership directory, which many of you suggested. In the meantime, we encourage you to send us your suggestions and contributions by using the questionnaire at the back of the newsletter. Before June 1, you can contact us both at:

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After June 1, you can contact us both at the following address:

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We plan to publish three issues in academic year 1991/1992: Fall, Winter, and Spring. The deadline for the Fall issue is September 20. Before sending your contributions, please see the Guidelines for Newsletter Contributors on page 16. We hope that these Guidelines clarify the information we need to publish your submissions. We welcome graduate student submissions. Graduate students, we expect, will benefit even more than faculty members from the benefits of contributing to the *Newsletter*: exposure for your ideas and communication with others who share your interests.

## Section President's Report

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

All members of the section are cordially invited to the annual business meeting to be held at 5 p.m., Friday, August 30th, at the 1991 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. It will be particularly helpful to have the whole membership congregate this year because the meeting will be an occasion to define the purposes and direction of a new section, most importantly by discussing and voting upon proposed section by-laws. We will also nominate and elect new officers.

In addition, we will discuss ways to secure a greater number of panels at future Annual Meetings. For this year's Meeting, the History and Politics Section received over 100 proposals, but was allotted only five and a half panels, which program chair Vicki Hattam was able to increase to eight by co-sponsoring some panels with other sections. With a membership now at 437 and growing, the section warrants greater representation on the convention program.

I would also like to invite everyone to a reception tentatively scheduled for Friday, August 30th, at 10:30 p.m. This event will be co-sponsored by the Department of Government of the University of Texas at Austin.

Please see the 1991 Annual Meeting Program for details on both the business meeting and the reception.

Finally, I would like to thank Vicki Hattam for the superb job she did putting together this year's program for the section. It looks to be an unusually stimulating set of sessions.

## Query

Richard Sobel (Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ 08544; BITNET D1992@PUCC.BITNET) is interested in hearing from anyone who is researching the topic of the influence of public opinion and protest on U.S. policy during the Vietnam War and the Nicaraguan contra funding controversy. He is especially eager to discover existing interviews with decision makers (e.g. Johnson, Nixon and Reagan administration officials) and would welcome information about published interviews; archived interviews (either on tape or in transcript); and interviews that other scholars have done, but that are not available elsewhere.

## APSA Annual Meeting History and Politics Section Panels

August 29-September 1, 1991  
The Washington Hilton and Towers, Washington, D.C.

**PANEL 1:** "Institutions and Conflict: New Perspectives on Key Transformations of American Politics"  
(Co-Sponsored by Formal Theory Section)

**CHAIR:** Richard M. Valelly, MIT

**PAPERS:** "Congressional Republicans and State-Building"  
Charles Stewart, MIT

"When Does Democratization Succeed? The Two Reconstructions of the South's Electoral Politics"  
Richard M. Valelly, MIT

"Micro Causes of the Civil War"  
Barry Weingast, Hoover Institution

**DISC.:** William Riker, University of Rochester  
Theda Skocpol, Harvard

**PANEL 2:** "Historical Turning Points in the Development of Social Democracy" (Co-Sponsored by Political Economy Section)

**CHAIR:** Steve Lewis, University of Wisconsin-Madison

**PAPERS:** "Institutional Choices and Labor Market Policy: A British-Swedish Comparison"  
Desmond King, London School of Economics  
Bo Rothstein, University of Uppsala

"Policy Legacies in Theory and Practice"  
Paul Pierson, Harvard

"Historical 'Turning Points' That Didn't Turn: Reformism and Radicalism"  
Steve Lewis, University of Wisconsin-Madison

"The Turn to Reformism: Social Democratic Parties Before World War I"  
Gary Marks, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill

**DISC:** Victoria Hattam, Yale

**PANEL 3:** "The Uses and Abuses of History: An Interdisciplinary Roundtable"

**CHAIR:** H. Douglas Price, Harvard

**DISC:** Walter Dean Burnham, University of Texas-Austin  
Ronald Formisano, University of Florida  
Aaron Friedberg, Princeton  
William E. Leuchtenburg, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill  
Robyn Muncy, University of Maryland  
Martin Shefter, Cornell  
Joel Silbey, Cornell  
Elaine K. Swift, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill

**PANEL 4:** "Sequestered Histories, Contested Identities" (Co-Sponsored by Political Thought and Philosophy Section)

**CHAIR:** Anne Norton, University of Texas-Austin

**PAPERS:** Paper TBA  
Aristide Zolberg, New School

"Nationhood and Democracy: Conceived and Unconceived Births"  
Uday Singh Mehta, MIT

"Ruling Memory: The Postcolonial Nation and the History of Subjection"  
Anne Norton, University of Texas-Austin

**DISC:** TBA

**PANEL 5:** "Reflections on the New Institutionalism"

**CHAIR:** Mark Petracca, University of California-Irvine

**PAPERS:** "What's New (and Old) about the New Institutionalism"  
Mark Petracca, University of California-Irvine  
David Easton, University of California-Irvine

"Beyond the Iconography of Order: The New Institutionalism in Political Analysis"  
Karen Orren, UCLA  
Stephen Skowronek, Yale

"If Politics Matters: Assumptions and Methods in Political Science"  
Rogers Smith, Yale

**DISC:** Gabriel Almond, Stanford  
Suzanne Berger, MIT

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**PANEL 6: "Building the Modern American State"**  
(Co-Sponsored by Political Economy Section)

**CHAIR:** Morton Keller, Brandeis

**PAPERS:** "Institutional and Participatory Bases of American Political Development"  
Eileen McDonagh, Northeastern

"Administrative Reform and the Displacement of Partisan Politics: Reflections on the Third New Deal"  
Sidney Milkis, Brandeis

"The Political Economy of Modern Liberalism"  
Richard Harris, Rutgers

"Government Institutions, Women's Associations, and the Enactment of Mothers' Pensions in the United States, 1910-1930"  
Theda Skocpol, Harvard  
Christopher Howard, MIT  
Susan Lehman, Harvard  
Marjorie Abend-Wein, Harvard

**DISC:** Morton Keller, Brandeis  
Martin Shefter, Cornell

**PANEL 7: "Identity and Citizenship"**

**CHAIR:** Charles Noble, California State University at Long Beach

**PAPERS:** "Comparative Social Movements of Enfranchisement: Black, Women, and Indian Suffrage from Seneca Falls to the Indian Citizenship Act"  
Barbara Nelson, University of Minnesota

"Race and Gender in the Construction of the American Welfare State"  
Charles Noble, California State University at Long Beach

"Creating Citizens: Americanization and the Transformation of National Identity"  
Noah Pickus, Princeton

"The Transition from War to Peace: Women's Citizenship, World War I, and a Feminist Welfare State"  
Wendy Sarvasy, San Jose State University

**DISC:** Philip Green, Smith College

**PANEL 8: "Locating Political Culture: Language, Ideology, and Structure in Comparative Perspective"**

**CHAIR:** Jeffrey Tulis, University of Texas-Austin

**PAPERS:** "Creating Cultures of Reform, 1850-1920"  
Amy Bridges, University of California-San Diego

"The Practical and Normative Culture of Clientage: Documentary Evidence from Renaissance Florence"  
Paul D. McLean, University of Chicago

"Prophetic Narrative and American Political Culture"  
George Shulman, New School

**DISC:** Richard Slotkin, Wesleyan University

## New Books

Bronner, Stephen Eric. *Socialism Unbound*. New York: Routledge, 1990. 241 pp. Hardback, \$49.95. Paperback, \$16.95.

Bronner presents a critical reexamination of socialist thought from Marx to the American New Left. He offers a reevaluation of the tradition of working-class politics and at the same time provides the framework for a new interpretation of socialism. Bronner also addresses issues of contemporary relevance, such as reform versus revolution and the new social movements.

The book is organized around major thinkers and turning points in the history of socialism, including separate chapters on Kautsky, Bernstein, and Lenin. It centers on how theoretical developments within socialist theory confront political problems deriving from specific historical contexts as well as the relevance of their insights for contemporary analysis. Issues of theory and practice, organizations and policy, and nationalism and internationalism are also included.

Bronner seeks to comprehend the socialist project in terms of a political theory predicated on ethical principles and positive aims. His book thus functions not only as a critical framework for the historical tradition of socialism, but also as a foundation for a new approach to socialism that speaks to the needs of the modern era.

Dworetz, Steven M. *The Unvarnished Doctrine: Locke, Liberalism, and the American Revolution*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1990. 248 pp. \$37.50.

The historiography of the American Revolution has itself experienced a revolutionary upheaval over the past twenty years. The liberal political thought of John Locke, once deemed the sum and substance of Revolutionary ideology, no longer figures prominently, or even favorably, as a source of the American founding doctrine. Historians have reinterpreted Revolutionary ideology and political thought in terms of a virtue-oriented “civic republican” tradition, in relation to which Locke’s liberalism, which the revisionists generally understand as “possessive individualism” and the “spirit of capitalism,” appears as an irrelevant or hostile political theory.

*The Unvarnished Doctrine* critically examines the historiographic deliberalization of American Revolutionary thought from the standpoint of political theory. First, it surveys the writings from the Revolutionary period—pamphlets, broadsides, newspapers, sermons, etc.—and shows that the Revolutionists themselves framed their arguments and justifications concerning the most crucial issues in the language and theory of Locke’s Second Treatise (actually citing, quoting, closely paraphrasing, or plagiarizing this text more frequently than any other non-Biblical source). The book also offers an interpretation of Locke’s thought which stresses the theistic roots of his liberal politics, and it examines the philosophical ties between this Locke and the influential New England clergy. The ministers knew and admired Locke’s writings on politics, epistemology, toleration, religion and Scripture; and their propensity to cite “Locke on Government” in their sermons is explained not merely by the circumstantial utility of Locke’s argument, but also by their sympathy for the underlying theistic liberalism that emerges from a study of those texts. The clergy’s strategic role in the ideological preparation of the people for revolution, moreover, testifies to the vital significance of the Lockean connection in American Revolutionary thought.

Formisano, Ronald P. *Boston Against Busing: Race, Class and Ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991. 340 pp. Hardback, \$34.95. Paperback, \$12.95.

This book puts white Bostonians’ resistance in historical perspective as an example of “reactionary populism,” a social movement mixing together both populist and illiberal elements. Antibusing was not genuinely reformist, but was egalitarian, anti-elitist, and charged with class resentments. While racism was present—as well as vigilantism and terrorism, conducted as much against moderate whites as blacks—and a minority was motivated by racial prejudice, racism is too simple an explanation. Class, ethnicity, and “turf,” or place, also played important roles in eliciting a variety of reactions from working-class as well as middle-class neighborhoods.

Although primarily about whites, *Boston Against Busing* recounts the main story of the 1960s civil rights movement in Boston, the central thrust of which was the African-American struggle for better schools for African-American children. In many ways the events of the 1970s cannot be understood without examining the “School Wars” of the 1960s, and the intimate connection that prevailed (through the vehicle of the Boston School Committee) between democracy and school segregation.

“The ‘Sixties” also shaped the protests of the 1970s in other ways. The enormous cultural and social upheavals of the period from the assassination of President Kennedy to Watergate, above all the loosening of standards of public conduct and the decline of authority, powerfully influenced organized antibusing. The numerous dissident groups of the 1960s, as well as the rise of new permissiveness in public behavior, all contributed to a climate of civil disobedience and disrespect for the law.

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Johansen, Elaine R. *Political Corruption: Scope and Resources: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1990. 241 pp. \$35.00.

The breadth of the political corruption literature is vast, covering the full range of the social sciences and the humanities, history, law and philosophy. The divergence in points of view, theoretical approaches,

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definitions and range of subject areas is striking. Researchers will find this annotated bibliography of more than 800 entries comprehensive in scope, offering sources on every conceivable manifestation of corruption in public life: elections and public office, the nexus of business-government corruption, academic studies of public opinion, policies, and reform eras, statutes, administrative laws, hearings, state and municipal corruption, comparative studies, and information on detection, control, and correction practices. The book draws on an extended time frame from the turn of the century's urban bosses to more recent articles, reviews, dissertations, and journals.

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Martis, Kenneth. *The Historical Atlas of Political Parties in the United States Congress: 1789-1989*. New York: Macmillan, 1989. 518 pp. \$190.00.

This is the first work to publish political affiliation/party maps for the United States Congress for each chamber and Congress in American history. The accomplishment of this geographic objective required the first systematic research project in American history to identify from a wide variety of sources the political affiliation or party membership at each election of every individual who ever served in the United States Congress. Through the elections to the 100th Congress (1986), there have been 11,175 individuals elected to the Senate and House since 1788. For the House of Representatives alone, this encompasses 31,302 initial elections. This work is not only the first specifically to identify each member and election with respect to political party affiliation, but it also supplies the particular reference sources used in the identification. The accumulated political party affiliation data was combined with the congressional district maps contained in *The Historical Atlas of United States Congressional Districts: 1789-1983*, resulting in two hundred multicolored political affiliation/party maps (one for both the House and Senate) for each of the first one hundred Congresses in American history.

Melanson, Richard A. *Reconstructing Consensus: American Foreign Policy since the Vietnam War*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991. 248 pp. Hardback, \$35.00. Paperback, \$18.00.

This book employs the method of structured, focused comparison to describe and evaluate the grand designs, strategic objectives, and foreign policy tactics of presidents from Nixon to Bush. It pays systematic attention to the legitimation techniques, rhetorical and otherwise, that these presidents have employed to rebuild domestic elite and public support for their foreign policies in the aftermath of the Vietnam War. In so doing the book shows how "declaratory history" has been used by the administrations to help sell their foreign policies to an often skeptical Congress and public.

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Muncy, Robyn. *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. 221 pp. \$28.00.

This book explains the continuity of female reform activity between the Progressive era and the New Deal. It argues that by 1920, women reformers had built an interlocking set of voluntary organizations and public bureaus that attempted to control child welfare policy. With the federal Children's Bureau at its head, this policy making body professionalized the reform values of female Progressives, bureaucratized their methods, and institutionalized their reforming networks. These processes then allowed the older reformers to socialize younger women into the culture of Progressive reform.

To refer to the organizational structure embodying these processes, the book develops the metaphor of a female dominion in the otherwise male empire of policy making. Beyond explaining the continuity of female reform activism, the "dominion" provides a model for analyzing the relationships between public and private agencies in the construction of public policy during the first decades of the twentieth century. Moreover, the book illuminates the origins of both Progressive reform and the U.S. welfare state: it sees the peculiar position of educated, middle-class, white women at the end of the nineteenth century as one of the sources of Progressivism and of the United States welfare state. Finally, the book demonstrates the

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development of a peculiarly female professional culture and argues that this culture, once enshrined, had important implications for social policy.

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Nardulli, Peter F., ed. *The Constitution and American Political Development: An Institutional Perspective*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, forthcoming Fall 1991. Approx. 328 pp. Hardback, \$35.95. Paperback, \$14.95.

This book is a collection of original essays that aims to examine the impact of the U.S. Constitution on the development of basic American political institutions. The essays depart from the norm in constitutional studies in that they view the Constitution as a political force rather than as a set of norms, values, and principles that ebb and flow with changes in its environment. In doing so, these essays, as a whole, reject the Darwinian metaphor that has been used to understand the nature of the Constitution. That metaphor is replaced with a more dynamic one, one that views the Constitution as having established a policy marketplace. It has competing policy providers who operate within a constitutionally defined context; one that places important constraints upon their behavior and competitive interactions. The key to understanding the Constitution's developmental impact is to be found in the structural system of institutional dynamics that reflect deeply held societal values. The various essays provide illustrations of these dynamics.

Authors and chapter titles include: Peter F. Nardulli, "The Constitution and the American Politics: A Developmental Perspective"; David W. Brady, "Incrementalism in the People's Branch: The Constitution and the Development of the Policy-Making Process"; Charles Stewart III, "Responsiveness in the Upper Chamber: The Constitution and Institutional Development in the Senate"; Bert Rockman, "Entrepreneur in the Political Marketplace: The Constitution and the Development of the Presidency"; David Rosenbloom, "Democratic Constitutionalism and the Evolution of Bureaucratic Government: Freedom and Accountability in the Administrative State"; Lawrence Baum, "Supreme Court Activism and the Constitution"; Kenneth Janda, "The American Constitutional Framework and the Structure of American Political Parties"; Graham K. Wilson, "Interest Groups and the Constitution"; Kermit L. Hall, "The Irony of

the Federal Constitution's Genius: State Constitutional Development"; John Chubb, "The Constitution, Institutionalism, and the Evolution of Federalism"; and Frederick M. Wirt, "The Empowering and Protective Concerns of American Constitutionalism."

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Tilly, Charles. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, A.D. 990-1990*. Oxford, England and Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1990. 269 pp. \$34.95.

Previous analyses of European state formation, including Tilly's *Formation of National States in Western Europe*, have had trouble finding the middle ground between national particularism and unilinear formulations. Tilly's new book argues that over the past millennium the extent of already-concentrated capital and/or already-concentrated means of coercion in a given state's territory strongly affected the way rulers organized for war, which in turn fundamentally shaped state organization. Schematically, the book distinguishes a *capital-intensive* path of state formation (e.g. the Venetian Republic) based largely on the power of capitalists, and constrained by them; a *coercion-intensive* path (e.g. Russia) based largely on the coopted power of large landlords and their private armies; and a *capitalized coercion* path connecting major mercantile cities (e.g. London and Paris) with substantial landlords. The capital-intensive trajectory produced exiguous states in which capitalists wielded great power, the coercion-intensive trajectory produced bulky bureaucracies engaged in extracting the means of warfare from recalcitrant populations, and the capitalized-coercion trajectory produced relatively centralized states which, in the conditions of warfare prevailing from the eighteenth century onward, seized the military advantage over other states.

The further expansion of military effort had two ironic effects: 1) a containment of the previous autonomy of the military, as resource-extracting civilian officials became crucial to their survival; and 2) the advent of substantial bargaining with the civilian population for the means of war, which underlay the creation of national citizenship, the shift from indirect to direct rule, and the disproportionate expansion of state responsibility for non-military activity. A comparison of worldwide state formation since 1945 with the previous European experience reveals both the extension of a previously Eurocentric state system

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to the Third World and a set of changes—for example, the rising power of military men and the increasing prevalence of civil war — that a simple extrapolation from European experience could not have predicted. In that sense, the book constitutes a profound critique of standard ideas of political development.

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Yanarella, Ernest J. and Green, William C., eds. *The Politics of Industrial Recruitment: Japanese Investment and Economic Development in the American States*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1990. 248 pp. \$45.00.

The essays in this volume explore the phenomenon of foreign industrial recruitment in terms of the experience of six mid-American states—Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, and Tennessee—in attracting Japanese automobile assembly facilities. This experience and the choice of plant sites by Mazda, Honda, Fuji-Isuzu, Mitsubishi, Toyota, and Nissan was invariably determined by multi-state negotiations and escalating state government incentive packages. To understand this phenomenon and its consequences, the essays in this volume sketch its comparative historical, economic, and legal dimensions; examine the dynamics of Japanese automobile investment in terms of the six site-specific studies; and then place these industrial recruitment experiences within a wider framework of federal-state relations and the prospects for a national industrial policy.

Part I, including essays by Susan B. Hansen; H. Brinton Milward and Heidi Hosbach Newman; and William C. Green illuminates the historical background and the comparative setting for the mid-American competition for Japanese automobile plants in the era of international corporate flight. Part II carefully probes the dynamics of development in terms of six site-specific studies by Lynn W. Bachelor; Nancy S. Lind; John P. Blair, Carole Endres, and Rudy Fichtenbaum; Robert Perrucci and Madhavi Patel; Ernest J. Yanarella and Herbert G. Reid; and William F. Fox. Finally, David Lowery's essay in Part III places these six state industrial recruitment experiences within the wider framework of federal-state relations.

## Work In Progress

**Trends in the Assessment of Public Opinion during Presidential Election Campaigns, 1856-1988.** Susan Herbst (Department of Communication Research, Northwestern University, 1815 Chicago Ave., Evanston, IL 60208)

Over the past few years I have conducted research on the changing nature of public opinion expression and measurement. My current project focuses on how journalists conceptualized the public and reported on public opinion during election campaigns from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. In particular, I am interested in the techniques journalists used to assess public opinion, who “the public” was at different points in time, and how changing journalistic norms affected the reporting of public opinion.

In order to study these trends, I have systematically collected articles on campaign activities published in the days before eight presidential elections (1856, 1876, 1896, 1916, 1936, 1956, 1976, and 1988). These reports were gathered from three newspapers—*The New York Times*, *The Chicago Times*, and *The Chicago Tribune*. These three papers were chosen so that I could include sources reflecting different partisan biases and reporting styles in the sample. In addition to collecting newspaper accounts of rallies, demonstrations, speeches, torchlight parades, and pole raisings, I also included straw polls and sample surveys whenever they appeared.

Although I have only conducted preliminary analyses at this point, it seems clear that journalists were interested in quantifying public opinion well before the development of the sample survey in the 1930s. That journalists counted opinions (and heads) on trains, steamers, and at rallies is not particularly surprising. The more interesting point is that journalists often wove quantitative estimates into the partisan discourses of their newspaper in an attempt to legitimate their particular points of view; if a small number of people chose a given candidate in a straw poll, journalists could use these data as evidence that the candidate was not fit for the presidency. Quantitative evidence allowed the journalists to punctuate opinion with authoritative data.

Although straw polling was popular in the mid-nineteenth century, it became increasingly important in the latter years of the century. In these years before the *Literary Digest* and George Gallup achieved so much fame, many citizen groups polled themselves and sent these polls to their newspapers. This seemed to be a way that student bodies, quilting clubs, political organizations, and other citizen groups could “break into” the political discourse of a campaign. After the turn of the century, it seems that polling began to look more like the “top-down” survey research conducted today.

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**Why Is There No Socialism in the United States? A Comparative Perspective.** Seymour Martin Lipset (Institute of Public Policy, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA 22030) and Gary Marks (Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, Hamilton Hall, CB# 3265, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3265; BITNET: GM007969@ UNCVX1.BITNET)

Parties calling themselves Socialist, Social-Democratic, Labor, or Communist are major forces in every western democracy with the exception of the United States. Explanations of socialism's glaring absence in America are as numerous as socialists in the United States are few. It is the purpose of our book to examine the major explanations put forward for American "exceptionalism" and to evaluate their validity from a sustained comparative perspective. We adopt a flexible and self-consciously eclectic methodology involving quantitative electoral analysis, within-nation comparisons, and comparisons of the United States with other Anglo-American societies, particularly Canada. In doing so, we hope to provide not only a political sociology of socialism's failure in the United States, but also larger insights into American society and politics.

We argue that the weakness of socialism in the United States can be explained in terms of three groups of factors: cultural, political, and organizational. Culturally, the United States has been typified more than other industrialized societies by anti-statism, individualism, egalitarianism, and populism. We hypothesize that these values have inhibited socialism and channeled radical dissent to populist movements, often with an anti-statist orientation.

Second, we argue that the American political system has placed severe barriers in the way of third party success. We find that the plurality electoral system, the national character of the presidency, the separation of powers, and primaries have created a system of incentives for two, and only two, broad, porous, ideologically diffuse, political powers. We are thus drawn to view the fate of the Socialist party of America as a particular example of the extinction of a series of minor parties since the Civil War. At the same time, we disconfirm some hypotheses that have passed into conventional wisdom. Our comparative analysis suggests that the plurality character of the electoral system is far less powerful in producing two-party domination than supposed in the literature on party systems; that federalism arguably aided the Socialist party as much as it hindered it; and that early suffrage cannot be regarded as an inherent source of weakness for working-class parties.

Third, we hypothesize that the organizational split within the labor movement in the critical decades before World War I severely hurt the cause of socialism in the United States. While the Socialist party was no less successful in building electoral support than socialist or

labor parties in several other English-speaking democracies before 1914, we argue that relative electoral success hid a fundamental organizational weakness: the party remained isolated from the mainstream of the labor movement, unions in the American Federation of Labor. We hypothesize that, as a result of the split within labor, the organizational basis of the Socialist party was small and ephemeral, the party was poorly funded, and most importantly, the party was unable to rely on the diverse sources of commitment available to integrated labor parties that could see it through hard times.

Successive chapters of the book detail the influence of immigration and working-class heterogeneity, state repression of the Socialist party, and Socialist party strategy. While we find each of these factors inhibited socialism, we conclude that they are not primary causal factors.

The final chapters of the book take up the U.S.-Canadian comparison, examining the reasons for the relative strength of socialism in Canada. We conclude with a comparative analysis of working-class political orientations across Western Europe, North America, and Australasia before World War I.

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**Rudolf Hilferding: Organized Capitalism and Social Democracy.** Frank Peter Wagner (Department of Political Science, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08903)

Ever since Lenin, and recently in the works of Adam Przeworski and Gøsta Esping-Andersen, the "Marxist center" within social democracy has been treated in the literature as the expression of Austrian and German social democracy's paralyzing stance between reformism and revolutionism (bolshevism). As avowed Marxists, this group of intellectuals and activists sought to furnish the labor movement with a scientific theory of capitalist society based on Marx and Engels's writings. Politically, they situated themselves between the social democratic movement's revolutionary Left and its reformist Right, insisting on the one hand on the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society, but rejecting, on the other hand, what they perceived to be the coup d'état romanticism of the Left. It is this ideological and political stance that is said by all to have crippled the movement at key junctures in Austrian and German history. In this study, I examine the history, theory, and political importance of social democracy's "Marxist center" through the life and contribution of Rudolf Hilferding (1877-1941), a native Austrian who was one of German Social Democracy's intellectual and political leaders.

Hilferding, recently dubbed the "chief-ideologist of Weimar Social Democracy" by historian Heinrich August Winkler, is said to have been chiefly responsible for the German party's strategic intransigence in the Weimar

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Republic. While ideologically more flexible parties such as the Swedish one could use the Great Depression to their advantage by forging proto-Keynesian policies, the German party, thanks to its Marxist center around Hilferding, is said to have been wedded to orthodox Marxist views of the crisis of capitalism, the necessity of collapse, and the coming of the proletarian revolution, all of which militated against the faintest signs of perceived "stabilization measures."

Yet a closer look at Hilferding's writings and his political role during the Weimar Republic does not bear out this verdict. It was after all Hilferding himself who countered the notion of a necessary and immanent collapse of capitalism with the notion of "organized capitalism," that is, the possibility of capitalism's continued existence through its tendency to organize itself into ever larger and more commanding operating units. Hilferding first introduced this notion in his 1910 work, *Finance Capital*. During the Weimar Republic, Hilferding reformulated his notion of organized capitalism in terms of an analysis of the possibility for economic democracy, and thereby inaugurated a debate within social democracy that still resonates today. That the "orthodox Marxist" Hilferding could have conceptualized "organized capitalism" to begin with and could have later linked this conception to the project of economic democracy clearly challenges the orthodox assessment of his life and role. The standard view of Hilferding as orthodox Marxist is also inconsistent with his advocacy of toleration by the German Social Democratic Party towards the government of Heinrich Brüning, the first of the so-called "presidential cabinets," authorized not through elections but by the presidential power of Paul von Hindenburg. The by-now classic views, Right and Left, of the theory and role of the Marxist center are clearly at odds with the life and work of one of the most prominent center Marxists.

The history and significance of the "Marxist center" has figured prominently in recent debates on the relationship between social democracy, capitalism, and socialist transformation. Unlike Przeworski and Esping-Andersen, whose studies concentrate on class formation and the problems, historical and structural, of class-based politics, I am concentrating on one person's life and contribution. My research on Rudolf Hilferding suggests that the monolithic conception of the paralyzing hold of a "Marxist center" on pre-World War II Austrian and German social democracy should give way to a more complex conception with a contemporary relevance. Indeed, I hope that my study will ultimately contribute to a more differentiated view of the success and failure of a "Marxist center" within social democracy.

### **Protest and Violence in Japanese Politics, 1590-1877.**

James W. White (Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, Hamilton Hall, CB# 3265, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3265; BITNET: JWWHITE@UNC.BITNET)

This project is a comprehensive, events-based study of popular contention during 288 years of Japanese history—its forms and frequencies, its spatial and temporal distribution and variation, its causes, and its structural and behavioral consequences. The study was intellectually inspired by the work of Charles Tilly. The first part of the resulting book-length manuscript will be largely descriptive, tracing the distribution across time and space of different types and magnitudes of collective sociopolitical conflict in Japan during the Tokugawa era. The second part will be analytical, exploring the causes of different types and magnitudes of conflict in the subjective and objective interplay of three factors: *interests* (basically, claims by one group on the tangible and intangible possessions, powers, and policies of another, whether engendered by passion or rational calculation); the *opportunities* for conflict and challenge afforded by the sociopolitical status quo; and the *resources* (primarily organization, numbers, and economic and coercive tools) available to both challengers and defenders of the status quo. These three factors are in turn influenced by changes and conditions in the environing social, political, and economic systems, and by different social groups' locations therein.

The core of the data is a set of some 100 variables compiled on each of the 7664 incidents of petition, litigation, conflict among commoners, and political protests recorded in the late Aoki Koji's *Hyakusho Ikki Sogo Nempyo* (*Chronology of Peasant Uprisings*). The *Nempyo* is a compendium of events, with time, place, duration, participants (who and how many), leaders, targets, claims and issues, actions, and outcomes (gains, punishments, etc.) briefly recorded for each. The data are based on a distillation of local records. (The records themselves are currently being collated and edited by Hosaka Satoru under the title *Hyakusho Ikki Shiryo Shusei* [*Collected Materials on Peasant Uprisings*]; some 16 volumes are presently in print, covering the period up to c. 1840.)

Based on these data, events have been typologized into c. 50 specific action types in four broad categories: petition and litigation, conflicts among commoners, intracommoner conflicts which eventuated in overtures to the polity, and challenges to the incumbents and/or institutions of authority. Additionally, events have been coded for magnitude (based on multiple measures of scale and aggressiveness), enabling one to describe any time or locale in terms of its forms and frequencies of contention, with detailed analysis of who contended, why, how, and with what result.

The second major part of the data set contains four

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separate files in which the units are, respectively, years, political-administrative units (predominantly feudal domains), and counties, with each unit also assigned scores for the magnitude of each type of conflict occurring therein. Each event is also coded for the value of each of these variables for the year and location of that event. The data in these files were collected from dozens of sources—the Tokugawa period is possibly unique among preindustrial societies in the amount of quantitative data available—and include such items as the annual consumer price index for the city of Kyoto, the allocation to different political authorities of the land tax for every village, and the monetary value of each agricultural product for every county. The raw data fall primarily into two broad categories—economic and political—although data on population, climate, schools, and a few other dimensions are also included. Together the data permit analysis of the ecological correlates of contention—in what sorts of areas, in what sorts of years, was contention distinctive in either form or frequency?—to the end of inferring the causes of conflict among the commoners and challenges to the authorities.

These data are by no means perfect. The entire study is subject to the inherent problem of events analysis—the need to infer motivations, beliefs, values, etc., from behavior; the ecological data files cannot be combined due to incommensurate units; the Aoki data are not complete (particularly in the area of sometimes legal borderline protest activities); and there are substantial missing data such that a regression analysis with ten independent variables would probably reduce the N from 7664 to under 1000. In some cases these problems can be addressed: several hundred borderline events of the most seriously undersampled type have been excluded from most analyses, and we do have the participants' own claims regarding why they contended and what they sought. And, in any case, a wealth of hypotheses concerning the relationships between contention and governmental structure, repression, extraction, performance, and policy; economic structure, development, and deprivation; urban and rural locales; population change; popular integration, mobilization, and resources; and localities' histories of contention can be tested here across a span of time usually inaccessible to the quantitatively inclined scholar.

A note on work to date: the following is a list of papers based on this study completed thus far, with sources for published items. Unpublished items are available from the author, as are a bibliography, a complete variable list, and (time permitting) data runs addressing either theoretical, descriptive, or analytical concerns of scholars whose own research runs parallel to this project.

“The Rational Rioters: Leaders, Followers, and Popular Protest in Early Modern Japan,” *Politics & Society* 16:1 (1988).

“Popular Protest and State Growth in Tokugawa Japan,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 14:1 (Winter 1988).

“Economic Development and Sociopolitical Unrest in Nineteenth Century Japan,” *Economic Development and Cultural Change* (January 1989).

“Scholarly Discourse and Peasant Discontent: Four Studies of Popular Contention in the Tokugawa Period,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 15:1 (Winter 1989).

“Social Conflict and Political Protest in the Nobi Region, 1590-1877,” book chapter on the spatial distribution of contention, in draft.

*The Demography of Sociopolitical Conflict in Japan, 1721-1846*, monograph in draft.

“State Control and Sociopolitical Conflict in Japan, 1600-1868,” article in draft.

“Center and Periphery: Capital, Coercion, and Contention in the Tokugawa City,” article in progress.

## Query

The U.S. Senate Historical Office is currently preparing a bibliography of works by and about former members of the United States Senate, which will include substantive, scholarly books and articles as well as published writings of former senators.

In addition, the U.S. Senate Historical Office continues to collect biographical information to supplement and update the Senate entries in the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, published in 1989. Inquiries and information regarding both projects should be directed to Dr. Jo Anne McCormick Quatannens, U.S. Senate Historical Office, SH-201, Washington, D.C. 20510, telephone (202) 224-6900.

## Journal Scan

We scanned historically oriented articles in the following journals: *American Historical Review*; *American Journal of Political Science*; *American Political Science Review*; *American Scholar*; *American Sociological Review*; *Comparative Studies in Society and History*; *Diplomatic History*; *Historical Methods*; *International Organization*; *Journal of African History*; *Journal of American History*; *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*; *Journal of Politics*; *Journal of Urban History*; *Journalism Quarterly*; *New Left Review*; *Political Science Quarterly*; *Politics & Society*; *Polity*; *Public Interest*; *Radical History Review*; *Representations*; *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 September 1990 and January 1991 that were available at Rutgers or Princeton.

### **American Historical Review:**

Susan Pedersen, "Gender, Welfare, and Citizenship in Britain during the Great War," 95 (Oct. 1990):983-1006.

Maureen A. Flanagan, "Gender and Urban Political Reform: The City Club and the Woman's City Club of Chicago in the Progressive Era," 95 (Oct. 1990):1032-1050.

Daniel J. Walkowitz, "The Making of a Feminine Professional Identity: Social Workers in the 1920s," 95 (Oct. 1990):1051-1075.

Sonya Michel and Seth Koven, "Womanly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, 1880-1920," 95 (Oct. 1990):1076-1108.

Ronald Tobey, Charles Wetherell, and Jay Brigham, "Moving Out and Settling In: Residential Mobility, Home Owning, and the Public Enframing of Citizenship, 1921-1950," 95 (Dec. 1990):1395-1422.

Peter Sahlins, "Natural Frontiers Revisited: France's Boundaries since the Seventeenth Century," 95 (Dec. 1990):1423-1451.

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

Eric M. Uslaner, "Splitting Image: Partisan Affiliations in Canada's 'Two Political Worlds,'" 34 (Nov. 1990):961-981.

Debra L. Dodson, "Socialization of Party Activists: National Convention Delegates, 1972-81," 34 (Nov. 1990):1119-1141.

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

John T. Williams, "The Political Manipulation of Macroeconomic Policy," 84 (Sept. 1990):767-795.

Joseph A. Schlesinger and Mildred Schlesinger, "The Reaffirmation of a Multiparty System in France," 84 (Dec. 1990):1077-1101.

Terry Sullivan, "Bargaining with the President: A Simple Game and New Evidence," 84 (Dec. 1990):1167-1195.

John A.C. Conybeare and Todd Sandler, "The Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance 1880-1914: A Collective Goods Approach," 84 (Dec. 1990):1197-1206.

Lewis W. Snider, "The Political Performance of Third World Governments and the Debt Crisis," 84 (Dec. 1990):1263-1280.

Theda Skocpol, Kenneth Finegold, and Michael Goldfield, "Explaining New Deal Labor Policy," 84 (Dec. 1990):1297-1315.

### **American Scholar:**

Jacques Barzun, "The Cradle of Modernism," 59 (Autumn 1990):519-527.

### **American Sociological Review:**

John L. Campbell and Leon N. Lindberg, "Property Rights and the Organization of Economic Activity by the State," 55 (Oct. 1990):634-647.

Harland Prechel, "Steel and the State: Industry Politics and Business Policy Formation, 1940-1989," 55 (Oct. 1990):648-668.

Hagan Koo, "From Farm to Factory: Proletarianization in Korea," 55 (Oct. 1990):669-681.

Miles Simpson, "Political Rights and Income Inequality: A Cross-National Test," 55 (Oct. 1990):682-693.

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

Gary B. Miles, "Roman and Modern Imperialism: A Reassessment," 32 (Oct. 1990):629-659.

Minion K. C. Morrison, "Intragroup Conflict in African-American Leadership: The Case of Tchula, Mississippi," 32 (Oct. 1990):701-717.

Helen F. Siu, "Recycling Tradition: Culture, History, and Political Economy in the Chrysanthemum Festivals of South China," 32 (Oct. 1990):765-794.

Stephanie Lawson, "The Myth of Cultural Homogeneity and Its Implications for Chiefly Power and Politics in Fiji," 32 (Oct. 1990):795-821.

Ellis Goldberg, "Smashing Idols and the State: The Protestant Ethic and Egyptian Sunni Radicalism," 33 (Jan. 1991):3-35.

Adrian Shubert, "'Charity Properly Understood': Changing Ideas about Poor Relief in Liberal Spain," 33 (Jan. 1991):36-55.

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P. J. Dixon, "'Uneasy Lies the Head': Politics, Economics, and the Continuity of Belief among Yoruba of Nigeria," 33 (Jan. 1991):56-85.

Esther Kingston-Mann, "In the Light and Shadow of the West: The Impact of Western Economics in Pre-Emancipation Russia," 33 (Jan. 1991):86-105.

Chang Yun-Shik, "The Personalist Ethic and the Market in Korea," 33 (Jan. 1991):106-129.

Suzette Heald, "Tobacco, Time, and the Household Economy in Two Kenyan Societies: The Teso and the Kuria," 33 (Jan. 1991):130-157.

### **Diplomatic History:**

Richard Ned Lebow, "Domestic Politics and the Cuban Missile Crisis: The Traditional and Revisionist Interpretations Reevaluated," 14 (Fall 1990):471-492.

Judith Papachristou, "American Women and Foreign Policy, 1898-1905: Exploring Gender in Diplomatic History," 14 (Fall 1990):493-509.

Robert L. Beisner, "History and Henry Kissinger," 14 (Fall 1990):511-527.

Arieh J. Kochavi, "Anglo-American Discord: Jewish Refugees and United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Policy, 1945-1947," 14 (Fall 1990):529-551.

Robert J. McMahon, "The Study of American Foreign Relations: National History or International History?" 14 (Fall 1990):554-564.

Emily S. Rosenberg, "Walking the Borders," 14 (Fall 1990):565-573.

Richard H. Immerman, "The History of U.S. Foreign Policy: A Plea for Pluralism," 14 (Fall 1990):574-583.

Thomas G. Paterson, "Defining and Doing the History of American Foreign Relations: A Primer," 14 (Fall 1990):584-601.

Christopher Thorne, "Diplomatic History: Some Further Reflections," 14 (Fall 1990):602-605.

Michael H. Hunt, "Internationalizing U.S. Diplomatic History: A Practical Agenda," 15 (Winter 1991):1-11.

James Goode, "Reforming Iran during the Kennedy Years," 15 (Winter 1991):13-29.

William O. Walker III, "Decision-making Theory and Narcotic Foreign Policy: Implications for Historical Analysis," 15 (Winter 1991):31-45.

Stephen Pelz, "Changing International Systems, the World Balance of Power, and the United States, 1776-1976," 15 (Winter 1991):47-81.

Ole R. Holsti, "International Systems, System Change, and Foreign Policy: Commentary on 'Changing International Systems,'" 15 (Winter 1991):83-89.

### **Historical Methods:**

David McKibbin, "The Leipzig Working Class and World War I: A Methodology for Inferring Historical Attitudes from Behavior," 23 (Fall 1990):151-157.

John Markoff, "A Comparative Method: Reflections on Charles Ragin's Innovations in Comparative Analysis," 23 (Fall 1990):177-181.

### **International Organization:**

Ethan A. Nadelmann, "Global Prohibition Regimes: The Evolution of Norms in International Society," 44 (Autumn 1990):479-526.

John Mark Hansen, "Taxation and the Political Economy of the Tariff," 44 (Autumn 1990):527-552.

Richard A. Higgott and Andrew Fenton Cooper, "Middle Power Leadership and Coalition Building: Australia, the Cairns Group, and the Uruguay Round of Trade Negotiations," 44 (Autumn 1990):589-632.

Robert H. Bates, Philip Brock, and Jill Tiefenthaler, "Risk and Trade Regimes: Another Exploration," 45 (Winter 1991):1-18.

### **Journal of African History:**

Edmund Yorke, "The Spectre of a Second Chilembwe: Government, Missions, and Social Control in Wartime Northern Rhodesia, 1914-18," 31 (No. 3):373-391.

John Lonsdale, "Mau Mau of the Mind: Making Mau Mau and Remaking Kenya," 31 (No. 3):393-421.

### **Journal of American History:**

Hugh R. Sloten, "Humane Chemistry or Scientific Barbarism? American Responses to World War I Poison Gas, 1915-1930," 77 (Sept. 1990):476-498.

Lynn Dumenil, "'The Insatiable Maw of Bureaucracy': Antistatist and Education Reform in the 1920s," 77 (Sept. 1990):499-524.

Richard Wightman Fox, Anne Firor Scott, Bradford Perkins, Mikiso Hane, John Hope Franklin, David Brion Davis, Gerda Lerner, Rowland Berthoff, and David Thelen, "A Round Table: The Living and Reliving of World War II," 77 (Sept. 1990):553-593.

Michael Wayne, "An Old South Morality Play: Reconsidering the Social Underpinnings of the Proslavery Ideology," 77 (Dec. 1990):838-863.

Michael McGerr, "Political Style and Women's Power, 1830-1930," 77 (Dec. 1990):864-885.

Pete Daniel, "Going among Strangers: Southern Reactions to World War II," 77 (Dec. 1990):886-911.

James C. Cobb, "'Somebody Done Nailed Us on the Cross': Federal Farm and Welfare Policy and the Civil Rights Movement in the Mississippi Delta," 77 (Dec. 1990):912-936.

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

Philip Benedict, "Was the Eighteenth Century an Era of Urbanization in France?" 21 (Autumn 1990):179-215.

Peter A. Coclanis, "The Wealth of British America on the Eve of the Revolution," 21 (Autumn 1990):245-260.

Herman Freudenberger and Jonathan B. Pritchett, "The Domestic United States Slave Trade: New Evidence," 21 (Winter 1991):447-477.

### **Journal of Politics:**

James Farr, "Francis Lieber and the Interpretation of American Political Science," 52 (Nov. 1990):1027-1049.

James M. McCormick and Eugene R. Wittkopf, "Bipartisanship, Partisanship, and Ideology in Congressional-Executive Foreign Policy Relations, 1947-1988," 52 (Nov. 1990):1077-1100.

### **Journal of Urban History:**

Richard C. Wade, "The Enduring Ghetto: Urbanization and the Color Line in American History," 17 (Nov. 1990):4-13.

Christian Topalav, "Scientific Urban Planning and the Ordering of Daily Life: The First 'War Housing' Experiment in the United States, 1917-1919," 17 (Nov. 1990):14-45.

Richard Harris, "Working-Class Home Ownership in the American Metropolis," 17 (Nov. 1990):46-69.

### **Journalism Quarterly:**

George M. Zinkhan, William J. Qualls, and Abhijit Biswas, "The Use of Blacks in Magazine and Television Advertising: 1946 to 1986," 67 (Autumn 1990):547-553.

Louise M. Benjamin, "The Precedent that Almost Was: A 1926 Court Effort to Regulate Radio," 67 (Autumn 1990):578-585.

Michael Buchholz, "Racial References in the Texas Press, 1813-1836," 67 (Autumn 1990):586-591.

Janet E. Steele, "The 19th Century *World* Versus the *Sun*: Promoting Consumption (Rather than the Working Man)," 67 (Autumn 1990):592-600.

### **New Left Review:**

Jürgen Habermas, "What Does Socialism Mean Today? The Rectifying Revolution and the Need for New Thinking on the Left," No. 183 (Sept./Oct. 1990):3-21.

Eric Foner, "Blacks and the US Constitution, 1789-1989," No. 183 (Sept./Oct. 1990):63-74.

Victor Kiernan, "Modern Capitalism and Its Shepherds," No. 183 (Sept./Oct. 1990):75-94.

Christopher Bertram, "International Competition in Historical Materialism," No. 183 (Sept./Oct. 1990):116-128.

Ronald Suny, "The Revenge of the Past: Socialism and Ethnic Conflict in Transcaucasia," No. 184 (Nov./Dec. 1990):5-34.

André Gorz, "The New Agenda," No. 184 (Nov./Dec. 1990):37-46.

Alan Carling, "In Defence of Rational Choice: A Reply to Ellen Meiksins Wood," No. 184 (Nov./Dec. 1990):97-109.

Alex Callinicos, "The Limits of 'Political Marxism,'" No. 184 (Nov./Dec. 1990):110-115.

Ellen Meiksins Wood, "Explaining Everything or Nothing?" No. 184 (Nov./Dec. 1990):116-128.

### **Political Science Quarterly:**

Robert A. Dahl, "Myth of the Presidential Mandate," 105 (Fall 1990):355-372.

John W. Jeffries, "The 'New' New Deal: FDR and American Liberalism, 1937-1945," 105 (Fall 1990):397-418.

Mark J. Rozell, "President Carter and the Press: Perspectives from White House Communications Advisers," 105 (Fall 1990):419-434.

David P. Forsythe, "Human Rights in U.S. Foreign Policy: Retrospect and Prospect," 105 (Fall 1990):435-454.

Robert Fatton, Jr., "Liberal Democracy in Africa," 105 (Fall 1990):455-473.

Bruce Russett, "Doves, Hawks, and U.S. Public Opinion," 105 (Winter 1990-91):515-538.

Paul E. Peterson, "The Rise and Fall of Special Interest Politics," 105 (Winter 1990-91):539-556.

Jerome Slater, "The Superpowers and an Arab-Israeli Political Settlement: The Cold War Years," 105 (Winter 1990-91):557-577.

Ethan B. Kapstein, "The Brazilian Defense Industry and the International System," 105 (Winter 1990-91):579-596.

### **Politics & Society:**

Bo Rothstein, "Marxism, Institutional Analysis, and Working-Class Power: The Swedish Case," 18 (Sept. 1990):317-346.

Richard M. Locke, "The Resurgence of the Local Union: Industrial Restructuring and Industrial Relations in Italy," 18 (Sept. 1990):347-380.

Jonathan Zeitlin, "The Triumph of Adversarial Bargaining: Industrial Relations in British Engineering, 1880-1939," 18 (Sept. 1990):405-426.

Uday S. Mehta, "Liberal Strategies of Exclusion," 18 (Dec. 1990):427-454.

Scott Atran, "Stones against the Iron Fist, Terror Within the Nation: Alternating Structures of Violence and Cultural Identity in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," 18 (Dec. 1990):481-526.

William H. Sewell, Jr., "Collective Violence and Collective Loyalties in France: Why the French Revolution Made a Difference," 18 (Dec. 1990):527-552.

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### **Polity:**

David Resnick and Norman C. Thomas, "Cycling Through American Politics," 23 (Fall 1990):1-21.

Shelley Burt, "The Good Citizen's Psyche: On the Psychology of Civic Virtue," 23 (Fall 1990):23-38.

J. Ann Tickner, "Reaganomics & the Third World: Lessons from the Founding Fathers," 23 (Fall 1990):53-76.

### **Radical History Review:**

Frank Donner, "Protectors of Privilege: Red Squads and Police Repression," 48 (Fall 1990):5-31.

Eric Cummins, "'Anarchia' and the Emerging State," 48 (Fall 1990):33-62.

Jeffrey L. Gould, "Notes on Peasant Consciousness and Revolutionary Politics in Nicaragua, 1955-1990," 48 (Fall 1990):65-87.

George Priestley, "Panama: Obstacles to Democracy and Sovereignty," 48 (Fall 1990):88-110.

### **Representations:**

Alan Liu, "Local Transcendence: Cultural Criticism, Postmodernism, and the Romanticism of Detail," No. 32 (Fall 1990):75-113.

### **Social Science History:**

Stewart E. Tolnay and E. M. Beck, "Black Flight: Lethal Violence and the Great Migration, 1900-1930," 14 (Fall 1990):347-370.

Ronald Bailey, "The Slave(ry) Trade and the Development of Capitalism in the United States: The Textile Industry in New England," 14 (Fall 1990):373-414.

Seymour Drescher, "The Ending of the Slave Trade and the Evolution of European Scientific Racism," 14 (Fall 1990):415-450.

Peyton McCrary, "Racially Polarized Voting in the South: Quantitative Evidence from the Courtroom," 14 (Winter 1990):507-531.

### **Studies in American Political Development:**

Christopher L. Tomlins, "Law, Police, and the Pursuit of Happiness in the New American Republic," 4 (1990):3-34.

Joyce Appleby, "Historians, Community, and the Pursuit of Jefferson: Comment on Professor Tomlins," 4 (1990):35-44.

Christopher L. Tomlins, "Reply to Professor Appleby," 4 (1990):44-45.

Mark E. Kann, "Individualism, Civic Virtue, and Gender in America," 4 (1990):46-81.

Victoria Hattam, "Economic Visions and Political Strategies: American Labor and the State, 1865-1896," 4 (1990):82-129.

Gerald Berk, "Constituting Corporations and Markets: Railroads in Gilded Age Politics," 4 (1990):130-168.

Eldon J. Eisenach, "Reconstituting the Study of American Political Thought in a Regime-Change Perspective," 4 (1990):169-228.

Susan Sterett, "Constitutionalism and Social Spending: Pennsylvania's Old Age Pensions in the 1920s," 4 (1990):231-247.

Paul Kantor, "The Political Economy of Business Politics in U.S. Cities: A Developmental Perspective," 4 (1990):248-268.

Stephen P. Erie, "Bringing the Bosses Back In: The Irish Political Machines and Urban Policy Making," 4 (1990):269-281.

### **Western Political Quarterly:**

James L. Gibson, "Pluralism, Federalism and the Protection of Civil Liberties," 43 (Sept. 1990):511-534.

John R. Baker, "Exploring the 'Missing Links': Political Culture as an Explanation of the Occupational Status and Diversity of State Legislators in Thirty States," 43 (Sept. 1990):597-612.

Reginald S. Sheehan, "Administrative Agencies and the Court: A Reexamination of the Impact of Agency Type on Decisional Outcomes," 43 (Dec. 1990):875-885.

### **World Politics:**

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, "Pride of Place: The Origins of German Hegemony," 43 (Oct. 1990):28-52.

Russell Mardon, "The State and the Effective Control of Foreign Capital: The Case of South Korea," 43 (Oct. 1990):111-138.

James D. Fearon, "Counterfactuals and Hypothesis Testing in Political Science," 43 (Jan. 1991):169-195.

## **Fellowships**

Old Sturbridge Village announces the availability of one or more Research Fellowships for 1991-92, to be awarded to scholars working in the social history and material culture of early rural New England. At least one fellowship will be awarded to a scholar whose project focuses on the life of African Americans and Native Americans in the region during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Fellows will be expected to be in residence for six to twelve weeks, using the OSV Research Library and other museum resources for a significant part of their work; residence in the Fall or Spring semesters is preferred. A stipend of up to \$2,500 will be awarded.

For more information, contact:

Dr. John Worrell  
Director of Research  
Old Sturbridge Village  
1 Old Sturbridge Village Road  
Sturbridge, MA 01566  
(508) 347-3362 ext. 302

The application deadline is July 1, 1991.

## Guidelines for Newsletter Contributors

Now that we have edited two issues, we can offer more specific guidelines for future contributions. Work in Progress should be two or three typed, double-spaced pages in length. These pieces should not be organized as summaries of forthcoming books or articles, but as broader descriptions of ongoing projects. In preparing your Work in Progress, remember that your audience is the entire History and Politics Section. Try to write for an audience that is theoretically sophisticated, but may know very little about your specific area and topic.

As for other features, we welcome New Book notices for works published in the past two years or immediately forthcoming. New Books should be summaries of two or three paragraphs and should include the following publication information: full title, publisher, publisher location, total pages, type of binding, and price(s) according to binding(s). Again, try to emphasize those aspects of most interest to members of the Section, who may not be familiar with names or terms specific to a particular country or period. Fellowships and Queries should be concise and specifically relevant to History and Politics. Please send notices of more general interest to the political science discipline to *PS*. Since we are conserving space by photocopying Syllabi at half-size, these submissions should be clean (no written annotations) and freshly printed or typed (no photocopies). Any partial references on the Syllabi, such as "handout" or "packet," should be replaced by full citations.

Please be sure that anything you submit is relevant to History and Politics. If major revisions are necessary, we will contact you to discuss our suggestions; if only minor editing is necessary, we will do it ourselves. All submissions should be accompanied by the questionnaire form at the back of this issue. In addition, all submissions should include your FAX number and your BITNET address, if you have them. We would also be very grateful if you would send any submission in both paper and diskette forms. Specifically, please provide a double-spaced printed copy and either a 3 1/2" or a 5 1/4" IBM-compatible diskette. Please use ASCII; most word processing programs will give you options for converting your text into this standard format.



Richard Ellis  
Department of Political Science  
Willamette University

AMERICAN POLITICAL CULTURE AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT:  
THE REVOLUTION TO THE CIVIL WAR

This course aims to introduce students to competing conceptualizations of political culture and to explore how well these rival theories describe and explain American values, beliefs, behavior, and institutions between the time of the Revolution and the Civil War.

The written requirements are 1) a take-home midterm due at the end of the fifth week, 2) an 8-10 page research paper due at the end of the tenth week, and 3) a final in-class exam.

The books to be purchased are:

Herbert Storing, What the Anti-Federalists Were For (1981).  
James Sterling Young, The Washington Community, 1800-1828 (1966).  
John Ashworth, 'Agrarians' and 'Aristocrats': Party Political Ideology in the United States, 1837-1846 (1983).  
Daniel Walker Howe, The Political Culture of the American Whigs (1979).  
Eric Foner, Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War (1970).

Week 1. Moving Beyond Consensus: Approaches to American Political Culture(s)

Richard Hofstadter, "Conflict and Consensus in American History," in The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Farrington (1968), pp. 437-66.

Louis Hartz, The Liberal Tradition in America (1955), pp. 3-32.

Samuel P. Huntington, American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony (1982), pp. 1-23, 31-41.

Daniel Elazar, "The American Cultural Matrix."

Mary Douglas, "Cultural Bias," in In the Active Voice (1982)

Richard Ellis, "Individualism and Community in American History"

Related Reading:

Mary Douglas, Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology (1970); and  
Essays in the Sociology of Perception (1982).  
Daniel Elazar, American Federalism: A View from the States (1966)  
Richard Ellis and Aaron Wildavsky, Dilemmas of Presidential Leadership: From Washington through Lincoln (1989).  
J. David Greenstone, "Political Culture and American Political Development: Liberty, Union, and the Liberal Bipolarity," in Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, eds., Studies in American Political Development (1986), pp. 1-50.  
John Higham, "Hanging Together: Divergent Unities in American History," Journal of American History (1974), pp. 5-28; and "Beyond Consensus: The Historian as Moral Critic," American Historical Review (April 1962), 609-625.  
Richard Hofstadter, The American Political Tradition (1949)  
Robert Kelley, The Cultural Pattern in American Politics (1979).  
Seymour Martin Lipset, The First New Nation: The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective (1963).  
Herbert McCloskey and John Zaller, The American Ethos (1984)  
James A. Monroe, The Democratic Wish: Popular Participation and the Limits of American Government (1990)  
Vernon L. Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought (1927)  
David M. Potter, People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character (1954).  
Daniel T. Rodgers, Contested Truths: Keywords in American Politics Since Independence (1987)  
Michael Thompson, Richard Ellis, and Aaron Wildavsky, Cultural Theory (1990).

Week 2: The American Revolution

- John M. Murrin, "The Myths of Colonial Democracy and Royal Decline in Eighteenth-Century America," *Cithara* (1965), pp. 53-69.
- Bernard Bailyn, The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution (1967), pp. 302-19.
- Bernard Bailyn, "Central Themes of the American Revolution," in Stephen G. Kurtz and James Hutson, eds., Essays on the American Revolution (1973), pp. 3-31.
- Gordon S. Wood, The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787 (1969), pp. 132-50, 173-88, 226-37.
- Gordon S. Wood, "Rhetoric and Reality in the American Revolution," William and Mary Quarterly (January 1966), 3-32.
- John Patrick Diggins, The Lost Soul of American Politics: Virtue, Self-Interest, and the Foundations of Liberalism (1985), pp. 18-32.

Related Reading:

- Hannah Arendt, On Revolution (1963)
- Bernard Bailyn, The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution (1967); and The Origins of American Politics (1968).
- Eric Foner, Tom Paine and Revolutionary America (1976)
- Jack P. Greene, ed., The Reinterpretation of the American Revolution, 1763-1862 (1968); and The American Revolution: Its Character and Limits (1987).
- Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, ed., Sovereign States in an Age of Uncertainty (1981).
- Merrill Jensen, The Articles of Confederation (1940); and The Founding of a Nation: A History of the American Revolution, 1763-1776 (1968).
- Donald S. Lutz, Popular Consent and Popular Control: Whig Political Theory in the Early State Constitutions (1980).
- Pauline Maier, From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776 (1972).
- Robert Middlekauff, The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763-1789 (1982).
- John M. Murrin, "The Myths of Colonial Democracy and Royal Decline in Eighteenth-Century America," *Cithara* (1965), 53-69.
- J.G.A. Pocock, ed., Three British Revolutions: 1641, 1688, 1776 (1980).
- J.R. Pole, Political Representation in England and the Origins of the American Republic (1966).
- Jack N. Rakove, The Beginnings of National Politics: An Interpretive History of the Continental Congress (1979).
- Gordon S. Wood, "Rhetoric and Reality in the American Revolution," William and Mary Quarterly (January 1966), 3-32.
- Alfred F. Young, ed., The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism (1976).

Week 3: The Constitution: Federalists versus Antifederalists

- The Federalist Papers, numbers 6, 10, 51, and 70.
- Herbert Storing, What the Anti-Federalists Were For (1981).
- Jack Rakove, "Mr. Meese, Meet Mr. Madison," Atlantic Monthly (1986), 77-86.
- Gordon S. Wood, "Democracy and the Constitution," in Robert Goldwin and William A. Schambra, ed., How Democratic is the Constitution? (1980), pp. 1-17.
- Martin Diamond, "Democracy and The Federalist: A Reconsideration of the Framers' Intent," American Political Science Review (March 1959), 52-68.
- Isaac Kramnick, "The 'Great National Discussion': The Discourse of Politics in 1787," William and Mary Quarterly (January 1988), pp. 3-32.

Related Reading:

- Charles Beard, An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States (1913).
- Richard Beeman, et al., ed., Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity (1987).
- Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, "The Founding Fathers: Young Men of the Revolution," Political Science Quarterly (June 1961), 181-216.
- David Epstein, The Political Theory of the The Federalist (1984)
- Max Farrand, ed., The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787 (1937).
- Michael Allen Gillespie and Michael Lienesch, ed., Ratifying the Constitution (1989).
- Robert Goldwin and William A. Schambra, ed., How Capitalistic is the Constitution? (1982).
- Calvin C. Jillson, Constitution Making: Conflict and Consensus in the Federal Convention of 1787 (1988).
- Forest McDonald, We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution (1958); and Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution (1985).
- Frederick W. Marks III, Independence on Trial: Foreign Affairs and the Making of the Constitution (1973).
- James H. Hutson, "Country, Court, and Constitution: Antifederalism and the Historians," William and Mary Quarterly (1981), 337-68.
- Cecelia M. Kenyon, "Men of Little Faith: The Anti-Federalists on the Nature of Representative Government," William and Mary Quarterly (1955), 3-43.
- Jackson Turner Main, The Antifederalists: Critics of the Constitution, 1781-1788 (1961).
- Wilson Carey McWilliams, "Democracy and the Citizen: Community and Dignity, and the Crisis of Contemporary Politics in America, in How Democratic is the Constitution?, pp. 79-101.
- Herbert Storing, ed., The Complete Anti-Federalist (1981).

Week 4: The Federalist Party

- Gerald Stourzh, Alexander Hamilton and the Idea of Republican Government (1970) pp. 126-27, 148-53, 161-65, 189-201.
- James M. Banner, Jr., To the Hartford Convention: The Federalists and the Origins of Party Politics in Massachusetts, 1789-1815 (1970), pp. 53-83.
- David Hackett Fischer, The Revolution of American Conservatism: The Federalist Party in the Era of Jeffersonian Democracy (1965), pp. 1-28.
- Washington's Farewell Address

Related Reading:

- David Hackett Fischer, "The Myth of the Essex Junto," William and Mary Quarterly (April 1964).
- Felix Gilbert, To the Farewell Address: Ideas of Early American Foreign Policy (1961).
- Linda Kerber, Federalists in Dissent: Imagery and Ideology in Jeffersonian America (1970).
- Richard H. Kohn, Eagle and Sword: The Federalists and the Creation of the Military Establishment in America, 1783-1802 (1975).
- Shaw Livermore, Jr., The Twilight of Federalism: The Disintegration of the Federalist Party (1962).
- Forrest McDonald, Alexander Hamilton: A Biography (1979); and The Presidency of George Washington (1974).
- John C. Miller, The Federalist Era, 1789-1801 (1960).
- Barry Schwartz, George Washington: The Making of an American Symbol (1987).
- James Morton Smith, Freedom's Fetters: The Alien and Sedition Laws and American Civil Liberties (1956).
- Leonard D. White, The Federalists: A Study in Administrative History (1948).
- Manning J. Dauer, The Adams Federalists (1953).
- Thomas P. Slaughter, The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epitaph to the American Revolution (1986).

Week 5: The Jeffersonians

- James Sterling Young, The Washington Community, 1800-1828 (1966), pp. 1-37, 49-64, 157-254.
- Lance Banning, The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology (1978), pp. 273-302.
- Drew R. McCoy, The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America (1980), pp. 185-208.
- Lance Banning, "Jeffersonian Ideology Revisited: Liberal and Classical Ideas in the New American Republic," William and Mary Quarterly (1986), 3-19.
- Joyce Appleby, "Republicanism in Old and New Contexts," William and Mary Quarterly (1986), 20-34.

Related Reading:

- Joyce Appleby, Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s (1984).
- John Ashworth, "The Jeffersonians: Classical Republicans or Liberal Capitalists," Journal of American Studies (1984).
- Richard E. Ellis, The Jeffersonian Crisis: Courts and Politics in the Young Republic (1971).
- John R. Nelson, Jr., Liberty and Property: Political Economy and Policymaking in the New Nation, 1789-1812 (1987).
- Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., In Pursuit of Reason: The Life of Thomas Jefferson (1987); The Jeffersonian Republicans: The Formation of Party Organization, 1789-1801 (1957); and The Jeffersonian Republicans in Power: Party Operations, 1801-1809 (1963).
- Robert M. Johnston, Jr., Jefferson and the Presidency: Leadership in the Young Republic (1978).
- Leonard W. Levy, Jefferson and Civil Liberties: The Darker Side (1963).
- Richard K. Matthews, The Radical Politics of Thomas Jefferson: A Revisionist View (1984).
- Drew McCoy, The Last of the Fathers: James Madison and the Republican Legacy (1988).
- J.C.A. Stagg, Mr. Madison's War (1983).
- Steven Watts, The Republic Reborn: War and the Making of Liberal America, 1790-1820 (1987).
- George Dangerfield, The Era of Good Feelings (1952).

Week 6: The Jacksonians

- John Ashworth, 'Agrarians' and 'Aristocrats': Party Political Ideology in the United States, 1837-1846 (1983), pp. 1-51, 87-111, 132-46, 224-35, 260-71.
- Richard Hofstadter, 'Andrew Jackson and the Rise of Liberal Capitalism,' in The American Political Tradition, pp. 44-66.
- Marvin Meyers, The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief (1957), pp. v-ix, 1-23, 141-56.

Related Reading:

- Lee Benson, The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case (1964).
- Jean H. Baker, Affairs of Party: The Political Culture of Northern Democrats in the Mid-Nineteenth Century (1983).
- Herbert Ehrlich and William G. Shade, 'Consensus or Conflict? Political Behavior in State Legislatures During the Jacksonian Era,' Journal of American History (December 1971), 591-621.
- John M. McFaul, The Politics of Jacksonian Finance (1972).
- Edward Peessen, Jacksonian America: Society, Personality and Politics (1969).
- Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson (1945).
- James Roger Sharp, The Jacksonians versus the Banks: Politics in the States after the Panic of 1837 (1970).
- Richard Latner, The Presidency of Andrew Jackson: White House Politics, 1829-1837 (1979).
- John William Ward, Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age (1953).
- Michael Paul Rogin, Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian (1975).
- Robert V. Remini, Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom, 1822-1832 (1981); Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Democracy (1984); and Martin Van Buren and the Making of the Democratic Party (1959).
- Donald B. Cole, Martin Van Buren and the American Political System (1984).
- Jean Friedman, The Revolt of the Conservative Democrats: An Essay on American Political Culture and Political Development, 1837-1844 (1978).
- Thomas R. Hietala, Manifest Design: Anxious Aggrandizement in Late Jacksonian America (1985).
- Frederick Mark, Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History (1963).
- Marvin E. Gettleman, The Dorr Rebellion: A Study in American Radicalism (1973).

Week 7: The Whigs

- Daniel Walker Howe, The Political Culture of the American Whigs (1979), pp. 1-43, 69-122, 210-37, 299-305.
- John Ashworth, 'Agrarians' and 'Aristocrats': Party Political Ideology in the United States, 1837-1846, pp. 52-84, 111-31, 147-74.
- Lynn Marshall, 'The Strange Stillbirth of the Whig Party,' American Historical Review (1967), 445-68.

Related Reading:

- Thomas Brown, Politics and Statesmanship: Essays on the American Whig Party (1985).
- Robert F. Dalzell, Jr., Daniel Webster and the Trial of American Nationalism, 1843-1852 (1973).
- Melvyn Dubofsky, 'Daniel Webster and the Whig Theory of Economic Growth, 1828-1848,' New England Quarterly (1969), 551-72.
- Ronald P. Formisano, The Transformation of Political Culture: Massachusetts Parties, 1790s-1840s (1983).
- M.J. Heale, The Presidential Quest: Candidates and Images in American Political Culture, 1787-1852 (1982).
- Jean V. Matthews, Rufus Choate: The Law and Civic Virtue (1980).
- Sidney Nathans, Daniel Webster and Jacksonian Democracy (1973).
- Glyndon G. Van Deusen, 'Some Aspects of Whig Thought and Theory in the Jacksonian Period,' American Historical Review (January 1958), 305-322; and 'The Whig Party,' in Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., History of U.S. Political Parties (1973).
- Rush Welter, The Mind of America, 1820-1860 (1975).
- Major L. Wilson, 'The Concepts of Time and the Political Dialogue in the United States, 1828-1848,' American Quarterly (1967), 619-44.

Week 8: Abolitionists

- Ronald Walters, The Antislavery Appeal: American Abolitionism After 1830 (1976), pp. 37-53.
- John L. Thomas, "Antislavery and Utopia," in Martin Duberman, ed., The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists (1965), pp. 240-69.
- Lawrence J. Friedman, Gregarious Saints: Self and Community in American Abolitionism, 1830-1870 (1982), pp. 43-67.
- Lewis Perry, Radical Abolitionism: Anarchy and the Government of God in Antislavery Thought (1973), pp. 92-95, 104-23.
- Richard Ellis and Aaron Wildavsky, "A Cultural Analysis of the Role of Abolitionists in the Coming of the Civil War," Comparative Studies in Society and History (January 1990).

Related Reading:

- Gilbert Hobbes Barnes, The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844 (1933).
- Dwight Lowell Dumond, Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States (1939).
- Blanche Glassman Hirsch, The Slavery of Sex: Feminist Abolitionists in America (1978).
- Aileen Kraditor, Means and Ends in American Abolitionism: Garrison and His Critics on Strategy and Tactics, 1834-1850 (1969).
- John R. McKivigan, The War Against Proslavery Religion: Abolitionism and the Northern Churches (1984).
- James M. McPherson, The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction (1964).
- Lewis Perry and Michael Fellman, eds., Antislavery Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Abolitionists (1979).
- Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery (1969).
- Richard Hofstadter, "Wendell Phillips: The Patrician As Agitator," in The American Political Tradition, pp. 135-61.
- James Brewer Stewart, Wendell Phillips: Liberty's Hero (1986)
- Irving Bartlett, Wendell Phillips: Braintin Radical (1961)

Week 9: Slaveholders and Slaves

- Barrington Moore, Jr., "The American Civil War: The Last Capitalist Revolution," in The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy (1966), pp. 111-55.
- Eugene Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (1974), pp. 70-86.
- Eugene Genovese, "Slavery Ordained of God": The Southern Slaveholders' View of Biblical History and Modern Politics," Twenty-Fourth Annual Robert Fortenbaugh Lecture (1985), pp. 7-30.
- William W. Freehling, Prelude to Civil War: The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina, 1816-1836 (1966), pp. 301-39.
- Richard Ellis, "Fatalism in America: The Case of Slavery"

Related Reading:

- Peter Kolchin, Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom (1987).
- Eugene Genovese, The World the Slaveholders Made: Two Essays in Interpretation (1969); and The Political Economy of Slavery: Studies in the Economy and Society of the Slave South (1965).
- John Oakes, The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders (1982).
- Larry E. Tise, Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701-1840 (1987).
- Shearer Davis Bowman, "Antebellum Planters and Vormarx Junkers in Comparative Perspective," American Historical Review (October 1980), 779-808.
- George W. Fredrickson, White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History (1981).
- Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South (1982); and Yankee Saints and Southern Sinners (1985).
- J. Mills Thornton III, Politics and Power in a Slave Society: Alabama, 1800-1860 (1978).
- Stephen A. Channing, Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina (1970).
- William Freehling, "Spoilsman and Interests in the Thought and Career of John C. Calhoun," Journal of American History (June 1965), 25-42.
- Richard Ellis, "Legitimizing Slavery in the Old South: The Effect of Political Institutions on Ideology," Studies in American Political Development (1991)
- Stanley Elkins, Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life (1975).
- Ann J. Lane, The Debate over Slavery: Stanley Elkins and his Critics (1971).
- Kenneth M. Stampp, The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South (1956).
- Lawrence W. Levine, Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom (1977).
- John W. Blasingame, The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South (1972)

Week 10: Lincoln and the Republican Party

Eric Foner, Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War (1970), pp. 1-225, 301-18.

Daniel Walker Howe, The Political Culture of the American Whigs, pp. 263-98.

Related Reading:

- Eric Foner, Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War (1980).  
David M. Potter, The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861 (1976).  
Kenneth M. Stampp, The Imperilled Union: Essays on the Background of the Civil War (1980).  
G.S. Boritt, Lincoln and the Economics of the American Dream (1978).  
David Donald, Lincoln Reconsidered (1961).  
Don E. Fehrenbacher, Prelude to Greatness: Lincoln in the 1850s (1962);  
and Lincoln in Text and Context (1988).  
George B. Fergie, Patricide in the House Divided: A Psychological Interpretation of Lincoln and His Age (1979).  
Richard Hofstadter, "Abraham Lincoln and the Self-Made Myth," in The American Political Tradition.  
Harry Jaffa, Crisis of the House Divided: An Interpretation of the Issues in the Lincoln-Douglas Debates (1959).  
Stephen B. Oates, With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln (1977).  
J.G. Randall and Richard N. Current, Lincoln the President (4 volumes).  
John L. Thomas, ed., Abraham Lincoln and the American Political Tradition (1986), esp. essays by Holt, McPherson, and Oates.  
T. Harry Williams, Lincoln and the Radicals (1941).

University of Illinois

SYLLABUS

POLITICAL SCIENCE 450

PROSEMINAR IN AMERICAN POLITICS

Friday 3-5  
362 Lincoln Hall

Professor Peter F. Nardulli  
Fall, 1989

This course is a broad introduction to the scholarly study of American politics. It is a supplement to a more detailed set of graduate offerings on American political institutions and the political process, not a substitute for them. The overall objective of the seminar is to provide students with a better understanding of the context within which American politics has evolved. Correspondingly, the course will draw heavily from historical and sociological materials, and make comparative observations where instructive and appropriate. In all instances, however, the political implications of the material will be underscored and developed. This will facilitate an understanding of the "big picture" and will enhance the student's ability to place more specific treatments of American political institutions and processes into a broader historical and comparative context. It is hoped that this will help students direct their own research efforts to the larger questions that have preoccupied students of American politics over the past two centuries, or at least help them understand how their research relates to those enduring concerns.

The course begins with an inquiry into the roots of American politics. Readings touch upon the political make-up of feudal society and the fundamental problems posed by the failure of that structure to emerge in the new world. Then the origins and foundations of American political institutions and beliefs are

examined briefly. This section ends with a review of some materials that place American politics in a comparative perspective.

The next segment of the course deals with American political development. It is concerned with both the content of political development and theories that purport to explain the unfolding of American political institutions and processes. Because the materials that treat them are so different, this segment will treat the development of electoral institutions separately from policy-making institutions. In this section of the course we will treat such diverse theoretical perspectives on political development as Jackson's frontier thesis, mobility and prosperity explanations, Hartz's ideas on the importance of the absence of a feudal heritage, economic determinism, and institutionalization.

The final section of the course will deal with the evolution of perspectives on the operation of the U.S.' representative democracy. We will be concerned with the substance of these perspectives, some fundamental criticisms of them, and the historical and philosophical context within which these debates took place. Our primary focus will be on the Madisonian model, the early twentieth century critique of it, the pluralist-incrementalist paradigm, and the mid century critique of it. The course will end with a review of neo-institutionalism in American politics and its relevance to the on-going debate concerning the operation of American politics.

The course requirements for this seminar include one 25-30 page paper plus a take home exam; each will count for 45% of the grade, with student contributions to the seminar accounting for the remaining 10%. There is a very heavy reading load in this course. In addition to the 9 books there is about 1000 pages of material copied from classic articles and books on American politics. These materials are available from the Graduate Office at a cost of

\$40. While this may seem a tad much, it will comfort you to know that I have spent a year and a half culling these materials from a variety of diverse sources. It will be much more convenient for you to have a personal copy of these materials than to have to spend so much time in the Reserve Room at the Library. Moreover, it will prove very valuable to you later in your career (both as a graduate student and an academic) to have copies of these materials.

REQUIRED TEXTS

Huntington, Samuel P., American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony  
Lipset, Seymour Martin, The First New Nation: The United States in Historical Comparative Perspective  
Rossiter, Clinton, The First American Revolution  
Tocqueville, Alexis, Democracy in America  
Fairfield, Roy, The Federalist Papers  
Loui, Theodore, The End of Liberalism  
Dahl, Robert, A Preface to Democratic Theory  
Hartz, Louis, The Liberal Tradition in America  
Skowronek, Stephen, Building a New American State  
Collected Materials available in Graduate Office

## COURSE OUTLINE

### I. THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN POLITICS

Aug. 24 Course Introduction

#### A. From the Old Order to the New

##### Readings:

Randall, John Herman. The Making of the Modern Mind (1926). pp. 172-194; 334-349. (Selection #1, mimeo materials.)

Ostrogorski, M. Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties (1902). Chapter 1, pp. 1-54. (Selection #2, mimeo materials.)

Smith, J. Allen. The Spirit of American Government (1907). Chapter 1-3, pp. 3-39. (Selection #3, mimeo materials.)

Croly, Herbert. The Promise of American Life (1909). Chapter 1, pp. 1-26. (Selection #4, mimeo materials.)

#### B. Origins and Foundations of American Political Institutions

##### Readings:

U.S. Constitution (1787). (Selection #5, mimeo materials.)

The Federalist Papers (1787). No's 10, 14, 15, 16, 17, 37, 38, 39, 41, 44, 45, 47, 51, 59, 60, 62, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 78, 80, 81.

Bryce, James. The American Commonwealth (1888). pp. 1-5, 16-37, 43-64, 92-160, 225-254. (Selection #6, mimeo materials.)

Wilson, Francis. The American Political Mind (1949). Chapters 4 and 5, pp. 87-143. (Selection #7, mimeo materials.)

Tocqueville, Alexis de. Democracy in America (1835). Editor's introduction (skim), pp. 46-87; 106-169.

### C. American Political Beliefs and Values

Sept. 1 Origins of the American Creed

##### Readings:

Tocqueville, Alexis de. Democracy in America (1835). pp. 3-37.

Curti, Merle. The Growth of American Thought (1943). Chapter 1, pp. 3-24. (Selection #8, mimeo materials.)

Wilson, Francis. The American Political Mind (1949). pp. 1-16, 27-35. (Selection #9, mimeo materials.)

Rossiter, Clinton. The First American Revolution (1953).

Nature and Content of the American Creed

##### Readings:

Potter, David. People of Plenty (1954). Chapter 1, pp. 3-31. (Selection #10 in mimeo materials.)

Tocqueville, Alexis de. Democracy in America (1835). pp. 38-45.

Huntington, Samuel P. American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony (1981). Chapter 2, pp. 13-30.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. The First New Nation: The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective (1973). Chapter 3, pp. 101-39.

Devine, Donald. The Political Culture of the United States (1972). Chapter 1, 2, pp. 1-76. (Selection #11, mimeo materials.)

McCloskey, Herbert. "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics." APSR, June 1964, pp. 361-382. (Selection #12, mimeo materials.)

Prothro, James W. and Charles M. Grigg. "Fundamental Principles of Democracy." JOP 1960, pp. 276-294. (Selection #13, mimeo materials.)

**A Comparative Perspective**

- Sept. 7 D. American Politics in Comparative Perspective

Readings:

- Lipset, Seymour Martin. The First New Nation (1973).  
Chapters 1, 2, 6-8.
- Huntington, Samuel P. American Politics: The Promise of  
Disharmony (1981). Chapter 3.
- Bryce, James. The American Commonwealth (1888). pp. 271-  
(Selection # 14, mimeo material.)

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**II. AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT**

- Sept. 14 A. Electoral Institutions

1. An Overview of Political Developments

Background

Readings:

- Randall, John Herman. The Making of the Modern Mind (1926).  
pp. 349-363. (Selection #15, mimeo materials.)
- Tocqueville, Alexis de. Democracy in America (1835).  
pp. 170-198.
- Wilson, Francis. The American Political Mind (1949).  
Chapters 7, 12, pp. 174-203; p. 317-345.  
(Selection #16, mimeo materials.)

Nominations

Readings:

- Ostrogorski M. Democracy and the Organization of Political  
Parties (1902). pp. 3-34, 59-71. (Selection #17, mimeo  
materials.)
- Key, V. O. Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups (1942).  
pp. 370-376. (Selection #18, mimeo materials.)

Suffrage and Ballot

Readings:

- Key, V. O. Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups (1942).  
pp. 597-623, 638-649. (Selection #19, mimeo materials.)

Political Parties

Readings:

- Chambers, William N. "Party Development and the American  
Mainstream" in W. N. Chambers and W. D. Burnham American  
Party Systems (1975). pp. 3-32. (Selection #20, mimeo  
materials.)
- Chambers, William N. Political Parties in a New Nation (1963).  
pp. 1-27; 37-41. (Selection #21, mimeo materials.)
- Goodman, Paul. "The First American Party System" in  
W. N. Chamber and W. D. Burnham. The American Party Systems  
(1975). pp. 56-65; 72-77. (Selection #22, mimeo  
materials.)
- McCormick, Richard. "Political Development and The  
Second Party System" in W. N. Chambers and W. D. Burnham,  
The American Party Systems (1975). pp. 90-116. (Selection #23,  
mimeo materials.)
- Ostrogorski, M. Democracy and the Organization of Political  
Parties (1902). pp. 367-383; 390-397; 412-440. (Selection  
#24, mimeo materials.)
- Burnham, Walter Dean. "American Politics in the 1970's:  
Beyond Party?" pp. 308-354, in Chambers, Wm. N. and Walter  
D. Burnham. American Party Systems (1975). (Selection #25,  
mimeo materials.)
- Sept. 21. 2. Theoretical Approaches
- The Frontier Thesis
- Readings:
- Billington, Ray Allen, ed. The Frontier Thesis (1966).  
pp. 1-30, 41-67, 100-105. Selection #26, mimeo materials.)

- The Mobility Thesis
- Readings:
- "Mobility a Strong Influence." Everett S. Lee in Billington, The Frontier Thesis (1966). pp. 90-95. (Selection #27, mimeo materials.)
- "A Restless Temper." George Pierson. American Historical Review, Vol. 69, 1964, pp. 969-89. (Selection #28, mimeo materials.)
- Sept. 28 The Role of Economic Abundance
- Readings:
- Potter, David. People of Plenty (1954). pp. 91-165. (Selection #29, mimeo materials.)
- The Liberal Tradition
- Readings:
- Hartz, Louis. The Liberal Tradition in America (1955). Chapters 1-5, pp. 1-144.
- Oct. 6. B. Policy-making Institutions
- Economic Determinism
- Readings:
- Beard, Charles. The Economic Basis of Politics (1922). pp. 1-99. (Selection #30, mimeo material.)
- Beard, Charles. An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution (1939). pp. v-xiv, 1-18. (Selection #31, mimeo materials.)
- Parrington, Vernon. Main Currents in American Thought (1930). Vol. 1, pp. 267-291. (Selection #32, mimeo materials.)
- Beard, Charles. "Framing the Constitution." pp. 27-38. (Selection #33, mimeo materials.)
- Roche, John P. "The Founding Fathers: A Reform Caucus in Action." (APSA, 1961). pp. 799-816. (Selection #34, mimeo materials.)
- Parrington, Vernon. Main Currents in American Thought (1930). Vol. II, pp. 3-14, 61-69, 99-103, 137-144, 193-199, 271-279, 296-303. (Selection # 35, mimeo materials.)
- Croly, Herbert. The Promise of American Life (1909). Chapter 5, pp. 100-140. (Selection of #36, mimeo materials.)
- Stigler, George J. "The Theory of Economic Regulation" (1971). (Selection #37, mimeo materials.)
- Oct. 13 Institutionalization as a Developmental Force
- Readings:
- Skowronek, Stephen. Building A New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities 1877-1920 (1982).
- Oct. 20. The Constitution as a Developmental Force: A Macro Perspective
- Readings:
- Nardulli, Peter F. The Constitution and American Political Development: An Institutional Perspective. draft manuscript 1989. Chapter 1-4, handout.
- Oct. 27 The American Creed as a Developmental Force
- Readings:
- Huntington, Samuel P. American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony (1981). Chapter 5-8.
- III. THE EVOLUTION OF THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE OPERATION OF REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES
- Nov. 3 The Madisonian Model
- Readings:
- Review Selected Readings from 8-24-89, Section B.
- Smith, J. Allen. The Spirit of American Government (1907). pp. 40-77; 125-147; 159-165; 186-202. (Selection # 38, mimeo materials.)

- Nov. 10
- Could, Lewis L., ed. The Progressive Era (1974). pp. 1-53. (Selection #39, mimeo materials.)
- Dahl, Robert. A Preface to Democratic Theory (1956). Chapters 1 and 2.
- Carey, George W. "Separation of Powers and the Madisonian Model," 72 APSR (1978). pp. 151-164. (Selection #40, mimeo materials.)
- Ricci, David M. The Tragedy of Political Science (1984). pp. 70-132; 149-175. (Selection #41, mimeo materials.)
- Pluralism and Incrementalism
- Pluralism
- Readings:
- Dahl, Robert. Who Governs? (1961). pp. 1-36, 63-104, 163-189, 223-228, 270-275, 305-324. (Selection #42, mimeo materials.)
- Dahl, Robert. A Preface to Democratic Theory (1956). pp. 63-84, 124-151.
- Garson, G. David. Group Theories of Politics (1978). pp. 15-24, 47-50, 55-76, 77-94. (Selection #43, mimeo materials.)
- Incrementalism
- Readings:
- Lindblom, Charles. "The Science of Muddling Through" (1959). pp. 238-249. (Selection #44, mimeo materials.)
- Lindblom, Charles. The Intelligence of Democracy (1965). Chapters 9-18, pp. 137-290. (Selection #45, mimeo materials.)
- Wildavsky, Aaron. The Politics of the Budgetary Process (1984). pp. 1-126. (Selection #46, mimeo materials.)
- The Pluralist-Incrementalist Paradigm: Critical Perspectives
- Schattschneider, E.E. The Semi-Sovereign People (1960). pp. 1-45, 62-77. (Selection #47, mimeo materials.)
- Olson, Mancur. The Rise and Decline of Nations (1982). pp. 17-35. (Selection #48, mimeo materials.)

- Dec. 1
- Continued
- Readings:
- Ricci, David M. The Tragedy of Political Science (1984). pp. 176-184. (Selection #51, mimeo materials.)
- Lowi, Theodore J. The End of Liberalism (1969).
- Wilson, James Q. "The Politics of Regulation" in James Q. Wilson, ed., The Politics of Regulation (1980). pp. 357-394. (Selection #52, mimeo materials.)
- The New Institutionalism
- Readings:
- March, James and John P. Olsen. "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life" 78 APSR 1984, p. 734-749. (Selection #53, mimeo materials.)
- Almond, Gabriel A. "The Return to the State" 82 APSR 1988, p. 853-874. (Selection #54, mimeo materials.)
- Lowi, Theodore J. "The Return to the State: Critique" 82 APSR 1988, p. 885-891. (Selection #55, mimeo materials.)
- Olson, Mancur. The Logic of Collective Action (1965). pp. 5-22, 33-36, 111-135, 165-167. (Selection #49, mimeo materials.)
- McConnell, Grant. Private Power and American Democracy (1965). (Selection #50, mimeo materials.)

**Political Science 431**  
**American Political Development: The New Institutionalism**

David Robertson  
Office: Tower 811  
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725-3429 (Home)

Winter, 1991  
2:30-5:00 M  
SSB 344

**The Course Agenda**

Struggles for political power evolve over time, and as they do political scientists explore their patterns of change and continuity. The "new institutionalism," one of the most provocative recent developments in the study of American politics, emphasizes the effects of institutions on these struggles. Studies described as "new institutionalist" focus on the ways that governing structures (executives, legislatures, judiciaries, and subnational governments) and structures of political linkage (political parties and organized interests) shape the development of political conflict and public policy. Such studies emphasize that the decisions of the past affect the dynamics of political development by creating opportunities and constraints in contemporary political strategy, institutional design, and policy outcomes.

The central goal in this course is to familiarize students with the application of this perspective in the study of American politics. It combines several features of the "new institutionalism" in the study of politics: longitudinal (that is, across time) comparison; the use of developmental evidence to validate hypotheses, the attention to the effect of rules and structure on political conflict, and the rediscovery of the "state" as an independent political force. Two questions will guide many of our discussions: how does political strategy affect political structure, and how does political structure affect political strategy?

Evidence drawn from primary and secondary sources will illuminate changes primarily in Congress, the Presidency, the bureaucracy, political parties, interest groups and public policy since 1787. We will examine some of the classic arguments, interpretations, and writers on American politics, from the **Federalist Papers** to the present. Although many of these works are more discussed than read today, we will analyze these interpretations on their own terms, for their intrinsic values and for a better understanding of the circumstances that they reflect. Students will choose a political institution or a policy area and follow its development through periods of change in American politics.

**2. Required Books:** Five books are required for the course. These are available at the UM-St. Louis bookstore.

Richard Franklin Biesel, **Sectionalism and American Political Development** (University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

James G. March and John P. Olsen, **Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics** (Free Press, 1989)

Clinton Rossiter, ed., **The Federalist Papers** (Mentor, 1961)

Stephen Skowronek, **Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877-1920** (Cambridge University Press, 1982)

James Sundquist, **Dynamics of the Party System: Alignment and Realignment of Political Parties in the United States**, Second Edition (Brookings, 1983).

In addition to these books, several articles are also required (see below).

**3. Grading**

Grades will be allocated in the following way:

- Participation 10%
- 6 Papers 15% each

**4. Participation**

You are expected to attend all seminar sessions and to contribute thoughtful and informed questions and comments to the discussion. If you do so you will receive an "A" for this part of the grade. Remember, this seminar will succeed only to the extent that you participate. Its success depends on you.

Five sessions will be devoted in large part to student presentations of their work. These brief (10-15 minute) presentations will apply the main hypotheses of the course to the policy or institution chosen for analysis by the student. The papers will be based on sources from the historical period that is analyzed that week. At least one of these sources must be an original source, such as a Congressional debate, a presidential paper, a Supreme Court decision, a political party platform, or an interest group document. The best strategy is to pick an institution or a policy area and look at key turning points in each of the periods that we analyze.

**5. Papers**

There will be six short (6-10 page, typed) analytical papers for the course. The first is a critical analysis of the readings on the "state" or of March and Olsen. The next five are "think pieces" based on applying the required course readings to the material that you research independently each week.

The papers are due February 4, February 25, March 25, April 8, April 22, and May 7. Since one of the purposes of these papers is to facilitate class discussion, I will impose a small penalty for papers handed in after the seminar meeting. This penalty will be one point per day. There will be no exceptions.

For paper 1, respond to either of the following questions:

- What does a focus on "institutions" add to the study of politics that other approaches do not?
- What does a focus on "the state" add to the study of politics that other approaches do not?

You may define the topics for papers 2-6 as you wish. Pick a good question to ask, select a good case, and discover something of interest that you can share with the class. If you feel more secure with set topic, try the following:

- \* How did \_\_\_\_\_ affect (the presidency, Congress, the judiciary, political parties, or interest groups) in this period?
- \* In what ways was \_\_\_\_\_ independently shaped by political structure, and in what ways does it reflect other things such as American political culture, economic interests, or other factors that determine political outcomes?
- \* In what ways does your case illustrate the importance of leadership and / or political argument as an independent determinant of political outcomes?

**Brief Schedule**

- January 14 (M) Introduction  
 READ: Stern
- January 21 (M) DR. KING BIRTHDAY - CLASS DOES NOT MEET
- January 28 (M) The State  
 READ: "Government and Citizen," Machiavelli;  
 "State" (in IESS); Skowronek, 3-18;  
 Skocpol; Almond; Shepsle
- February 4 (M) Structure  
 READ: March and Olsen (entire)  
 PAPER 1 DUE
- February 11 (M) Designing the American State  
 READ: Virginia and New Jersey Plans;  
 Federalist Papers; the US Constitution
- February 18 (M) The State of Courts and Parties  
 READ: Skowronek, 19-46; Sundquist, 1-105
- February 25 (M) The State of Courts and Parties  
 READ: Tocqueville  
 PAPER 2 DUE
- March 4 (M) - SPRING BREAK - CLASS DOES NOT MEET
- March 11 (M) The Search for Organization  
 READ: Skowronek, 47-162; Bense, 3-88;  
 Sundquist, 106-169; Bryan
- March 18 (M) Reconstitution  
 READ: Sundquist, 170-197; Bense, 89-128; Skowronek, 165-292
- March 25 (M) Reconstitution  
 READ: Bentley  
 PAPER 3 DUE
- April 1 (M) The New Deal  
 READ: Sundquist, 198-239; Bense, 128-190; Brinkley
- April 8 (M) The New Deal and its Aftermath  
 READ: Key  
 PAPER 4 DUE
- April 15 (M) Complacency Undermined  
 READ: Sundquist, 240-411; Bense, 191-254
- April 22 (M) Complacency Undermined  
 READ: Truman, 501-533  
 PAPER 5 DUE
- April 29 (M) Transformation?  
 READ: Sundquist, 412-449; Bense, 256-412
- MAY 7 (T) FINAL PAPER DUE, 5:30 PM, @ 90 Greendale

**Comprehensive Course Schedule**

**January 14 American Political Development: A Comparative Perspective**

**Required Readings**

Paul C. Stern, *Evaluating Social Science Research*, (Oxford University Press, 1979), 24-37, 72-77.

**January 21 Dr. King Birthday - Class Does Not Meet**

**January 28 The State: Approaches and Critique**

**Required Readings**

"Government and Citizen" in John M. Swarthout and Ernest R. Bartley, eds., *Materials on American National Government* (Oxford University Press, 1962).

Nicolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, chapter 1.

Morton H. Fried, "State (The Institution)," and Frederick M. Watkins, "State (The Concept)," in David L. Sills, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (Macmillan, 1968).

Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State*, 3-18

Theda Skocpol, "Bringing the State Back In," in Peter Evans, Theda Skocpol, and Dieterich

Rueschmeyer, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), 3-37.

Gabriel Almond, "The Return to the State," *American Political Science Review*, 82:3 (September,

1988) 853-874

Kenneth Shepsle, *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1:2 (1989), 131-147.

**Discussion Questions**

What is the state? Is it good or bad?

If the state is being brought back, where has it been?

What kinds of research questions interest Skocpol, Skowronek, and Shepsle?

What kinds of hypotheses does the "state" suggest that other approaches do not?

What is Almond's problem with "the return to the state"? What parts of his critique are valid and which

miss the point, according to the commentators who respond after his article?

Why bother with the concept of the "state" at all?

**Supplementary Readings**

J.P. Nettl, "The State as a Conceptual Variable," *World Politics* 20:4 (July, 1968), 559-592.

Quentin Skinner, "The State," chapter 5 in Terence Ball, James Farr, and Russell L. Hanson, *Political*

*Innovation and Conceptual Change* (Cambridge University Press, 1989)

Eric Nordlinger, *On the Autonomy of the Democratic State* (Harvard University Press, 1981)

Roger Benjamin and Stephen L. Elkin, eds., *The Democratic State* (University Press of Kansas, 1985).

Stephen D. Krasner, "Approaches to the State: Alternative Conceptions and Historical Dynamics,"

*Comparative Politics* (January, 1984): 223-46

Stephen D. Krasner, "Sovereignty: An Institutional Perspective," *Comparative Political Studies* 21:1

(1988), pp. 66-94.

John Dearlove, "Bringing the Constitution Back In: Political Science and the State," *Political Studies*

37:4 (December, 1989), 521-539

David B. Robertson and Dennis R. Judd, *The Development of American Public Policy: The Structure*

*of Policy Restraint* (Scott, Foresman / Little, Brown, 1989)

#### February 4 The New Institutionalism

##### Required Readings

March and Olsen, 1-158

##### Recommended: One of the Following:

- Rogers M. Smith, "Political Jurisprudence, the 'New Institutionalism,' and the Future of Public Law," *American Political Science Review* 82:1 (March, 1988), pp. 89-108  
 Joseph Cooper and David W. Brady, "Toward a Diachronic Analysis of Congress," *American Political Science Review* 75:3 (September, 1981), pp. 988-1006.  
 Stephen Skowronek, "Presidents as Agents of Political Change," unpublished paper presented at the 1988 APSA convention (on reserve).

##### Discussion Questions

- What has prompted political scientists' interest in institutions in recent years?  
 Compare and contrast March and Olsen, pp. 2-8, to Almond's points.  
 Compare and contrast March and Olsen, chapters 2-3, to Skocpol.  
 What causes institutional change and who cares?  
 What are the biggest problems that "new institutionalist" approaches face?  
 What kinds of evidence validate "new institutionalist" hypotheses?  
 How do you design a "new institutionalist" research project?  
 How does a "new institutionalist" propose to study Congress? the presidency, the courts, political parties, or interest groups?  
 What are the strengths and limitations of historical evidence? (remember Stern)

##### Supplementary Readings

- Margaret Weir, Ann Shola Orloff, and Theda Skocpol, eds., The Politics of Social Policy in the United States (Princeton University Press, 1988).  
 Roland M. Czada and Adrienne Windhoff-Heritier, eds., Political Choice: Institutions, Rules, and the Limits of Rationality (Westview, 1990).  
 John E. Jackson, ed., Institutions in American Society: Essays in Market, Political, and Social Organizations (University of Michigan Press, 1990)  
 Terry M. Moe, "Interests, Institutions, and Positive Theory: The Politics of the NLRB," in Studies in American Political Development 2 (1987), pp. 236-299.  
 Sanford M. Jacoby, "The New Institutionalism: What Can It Learn From the Old?" Industrial Relations 29:2 (Spring, 1990).  
 Mancur Olson, The Logic of Collective Action (Harvard University Press, 1965) and The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagnation, and Social Rigidities (Yale University Press, 1982)

#### February 11 The Constitution: Interests and Structures

##### Required Readings

- The Virginia and New Jersey plans (handout)  
 The Federalist Papers, vii-xvii, Nos. 1-16, 23, 28, 31, 37-51, 62-63, 70, 78, 84-85 and either 52-66 or 67-77  
 The U.S. Constitution (appendix to Rossiter)

##### Discussion Questions

- The Constitution is a solution. What is it a solution to?  
 How do the authors' view of human nature, and how does that view color their political arguments against the status quo?

How do you know a bad government when you see one, according to the authors? How do you know a good government when you see one?

How do the authors use historical evidence to make political arguments? What kinds of evidence is included and excluded in these political arguments?

What interests are advantaged and disadvantaged by the design of the constitution?

Are the Federalist's empirical assumptions about interests accurate?

By trying to control for the mischief of faction, have the authors creating a system that encourages a politics of fragmented interest groups (that is, pluralism)?

Why is it called "Congress"?

What opportunities do the Federalist's authors envision for the expansion of Congressional power? Presidential power? Judicial power?

What constrains do the Federalist's authors envision on the expansion of Congressional power? Presidential power? Judicial power?

What are the best and worst political predictions made by the authors of the Federalist?

What is the authors' vision of the American polity of the future?

##### Supplementary Readings

- Max Farrand, ed., The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787 (Yale University Press, 1966)  
 Bernard Grofman and Donald Witman, eds., The Federalist Papers and the New Institutionalism (Agathon, 1989)  
 Gordon S. Wood, The Confederation and the Constitution: The Critical Issues (edited, Little, Brown) and The Creation of the American Republic (Norton, 1969)  
 Richard B. Morris, The Forging of the Union, 1781-1789 (Harper and Row, 1967)  
 Calvin C. Jillson, Constitution Making: Conflict and Consensus in the Federal Convention of 1787 (Agathon, 1988).  
 David Epstein, The Political Theory of the Federalist (University of Chicago Press, 1984).  
 Louis Hartz, The Liberal Tradition in America (Harcourt, Brace, 1955)  
 Seymour Martin Lipset, The First New Nation: The United States in Historical Perspective (Basic Books, 1963)  
 E.S. Corwin, The Constitution and What it Means Today (Princeton University Press, 1973).  
 Charles Beard, An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution. (Macmillan, 1913)  
 Forrest McDonald, We, The People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution (Phoenix Books, 1963)  
 Herbert Storing, ed., The Complete Anti-Federalist (University of Chicago Press, 1980)  
 Merrill Jensen, The Articles of Confederation (University of Wisconsin Press, 1963)  
 Sheldon S. Wolin, The Presence of the Past: Essays on the State and the Constitution (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).  
 Barry Schwartz, George Washington: The Making of an American Symbol (Free Press, 1987)

#### February 18 The State of Courts and Parties

##### Required Readings

- S. Skowronek, Building a New American State, pp. 19-46.  
 James Sundquist, Dynamics of the Party System, pp. 1-105.

##### Discussion Questions

- What are "working rules"? How do they relate to March and Olsen?  
 Why are courts so important in early American history?  
 Why are lawyers so important?  
 Why are political parties so important in early American history?  
 How did courts and parties work together?  
 How do you know political realignment when you see it?  
 What causes political realignment?

Under what conditions are different kinds of political realignment likely to occur?  
Was the slavery issue fundamentally economic or political?

Supplementary Readings

- Matthew Crenson, The Federal Machine: The Beginnings of Bureaucracy in Jacksonian America (Johns Hopkins, 1975)  
Leonard White, The Jeffersonians (Macmillan, 1948)  
Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson (Little, Brown, 1950)  
Marshall Smelser, The Democratic Republic, 1801-1815 (Harper and Row, 1968)  
George Dangerfield, The Awakening of American Nationalism 1815-1828 (Harper and Row, 1965)  
John C. Calhoun, A Disquisition on Government (Bobbs-Merrill, 1953)  
James S. Young, The Washington Community, 1800-1828 (Columbia University Press, 1966)  
Vernon L. Partridge, The Romantic Revolution in America, 1800-1860 (Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1927)

February 25 The State of Courts and Parties

Required Readings

Alexis De Tocqueville, Democracy in America (sets.)

PLUS

Original Sources collected by the students.

Discussion Questions

- What are the strengths and weaknesses of socioeconomic, ideological, and structural explanations for the differences that de Tocqueville observes between the U.S. and Europe?  
To what extent is its political structure a necessary condition for the democratic character of American culture as Tocqueville describes it? To what extent is its political structure a sufficient condition?  
What is the evidence for a "tyranny of the majority" in the United States?  
Reading Tocqueville, would the authors of the Federalist papers conclude that they had politically succeeded or failed?

March 4 Spring Break

March 11 The Search for Organization

Required Readings

- Skowronek, Building a New American State, pp. 47-162  
Bensel, Sectionalism and American Political Development, pp. 3-88  
Sundquist, Dynamics of the Party System, pp. 106-169  
W.J. Bryan, "Cross of Gold" Speech

Discussion Questions

- How do the growing power of the courts and of political parties reinforce one another in the late 19th century?  
In what ways can civil service systems be used to exercise political power?  
What does Skowronek mean when he says that the early American state became more elaborated in the late 19th century but more irrelevant?  
Does Skowronek give enough attention to federalism?  
Why is no permanent farmer-labor electoral alliance forged in late 19th century American politics?  
Why does conservatism dominate both the Republican and Democratic parties in this period?

Is the 1896 election so decisive? Compare Bense and Sundquist  
Would sectional stress affect policy outcomes differently in a unitary, parliamentary government system than in the American system?

Why are tariffs so central to political conflict in this period?

How much of change in political parties in this period is driven by government structure, existing public policy, and economic structure, respectively?

Supplementary Readings

- Leonard White, The Republican Era, 1869-1901 (Macmillan, 1958)  
Eric Foner, Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877 (Harper and Row, 1988).  
Woodrow Wilson, Congressional Government (World Publishing, 1885)  
Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order (Hill and Wang, 1967)  
Lawrence Goodwyn, The Populist Movement (Oxford University Press, 1978)  
J. Morgan Kousser, The Shaping of Southern Politics: Restrictions and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910 (Yale University Press, 1974)  
Richard L. McCormick, The Party Period and Public Policy: American Politics from the Age of Jackson to the Progressive Era (Oxford University Press, 1986).  
Martin Shefter, "Trade Unions and Political Machines: The Organization and Disorganization of the American Working Class in the Late Nineteenth Century," in I. Katznelson and A.R. Zolberg, Working-Class Formation: Nineteenth Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States (Princeton University Press, 1986)

March 18 Reconstruction

Required Readings

- Sundquist, Dynamics of the Party System, pp. 170-197  
Bensel, Sectionalism and American Political Development, pp. 89-128  
Skowronek, Building a New American State, pp. 165-292

Discussion Questions

- Could Theodore Roosevelt effectively have pursued a different strategy for increasing presidential power? For executive power?  
Was the "executive-professional" governing coalition inevitable? By 1920, was it irreversible?  
Why are grants-in-aid so attractive to American reformers?  
Did business get what it wanted from the reforms of the Progressive era?  
Do you agree with Skowronek's claim that "American exceptionalism has not been transcended by twentieth-century state building; it has only taken a new form" (p. 288)  
Why didn't the political party system organize the conflict between Progressive reformers and their opponents?  
When does a minor realignment have major consequences?  
Why are territorial expansion and military preparedness so divisive in this period?

Supplementary Readings

- Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (Knopf, 1956)  
George Mowry, The Era of Theodore Roosevelt and the Birth of Modern America, 1900-1912 (Harper and Row, 1958)  
Edmund Morris, The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt (Coward, McCann, and Geoghegan, 1979)  
Arthur S. Link, Wilson (Princeton University Press, 5 vols., 1947-1965) and Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917 (Harper and Row, 1954).  
D.B. Robertson, "Policy Entrepreneurs and Policy Divergence: John R. Commons and William Beveridge," Social Service Review, 62:3 (1988): 504-531.  
William Graebner, "Federalism and the Progressive Era: A Structural Interpretation of Reform," Journal of American History 64:2 (September, 1977): 331-357.

- Woodrow Wilson, Constitutional Government in the United States (Columbia, 1908).  
 Gabriel Kolko, The Triumph of Conservatism: A Reinterpretation of American History, 1900-1916 (Free Press, 1963)  
 Richard Abrams, Conservatism in a Progressive Era: Massachusetts Politics, 1900-1912, (Harvard University Press, 1964)  
 Ann Shola Orloff and Theda Skocpol, "Why Not Equal Protection? Explaining the Politics of Social Spending in Britain, 1900-1911, and the United States, 1880s-1920," American Sociological Review, 49:4 (December, 1984): 726-750.

### March 25 Reconstitution

- Required Readings  
 Arthur Bentley, "Group Activities," from The Process of Government (University of Chicago Press, 1908).  
 PLUS  
 Original Sources collected by the students.
- Discussion Questions  
 Are American political scientists attracted to pluralism because of the fragmentation of the political system makes pluralism seem descriptively accurate and normatively desirable?

### April 1 The New Deal

- Required Readings  
 Sundquist, Dynamics of the Party System, 198-239  
 Bensef, Sectionalism and American Political Development, 128-190  
 Alan Brinkley, "The New Deal and the Idea of the State," in Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980 (Princeton: 1989)
- Discussion Questions  
 What caused the realignment of the 1930s?  
 Why didn't the "Southern Bourbons" follow their Northern colleagues to the Republican party?  
 What were the strengths and weaknesses of Franklin Roosevelt's political leadership?  
 Do the divisive Congressional votes of the 1930s prove that the New Deal went about as far to the "left" as was possible in the American system?  
 How did the New Deal affect Congress, the executive, and the judiciary as institutions?  
 How did the realignments of political parties and business affect executive-legislative relations and vice-versa?  
 Why is war mobilization politically divisive?  
 Did the New Deal revolutionize American politics? How do you know a political revolution when you see one?
- Supplementary Readings  
 William E. Leuchtenburg, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940 (Harper & Row, 1963)  
 Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Coming of the New Deal (Houghton Mifflin, 1958)  
 James MacGregor Burns, Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox (Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1956)  
 Thomas Ferguson, "From Normalcy to New Deal: Industrial Structure, Party Competition, and American Public Policy in the Great Depression," International Organization 38 (Winter, 1984), 41-94.  
 Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, eds., The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order (Princeton, 1990).

- James T. Patterson, Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal: The Growth of the Conservative Coalition in Congress, 1933-1939 (University of Kentucky Press, 1967)  
 Howard Zinn, (ed), New Deal Thought, (Bobbs-Merrill, 1966)  
 Barry Karl, Executive Reorganization and Reform in the New Deal: The Genesis of Administrative Management, 1900-1932 (Cambridge University Press, 1963).  
 Peter H. Irons, The New Deal Lawyers (Princeton University Press, 1982).  
 Theda Skocpol and Kenneth Finegold, "State Capacity and Economic Intervention in the Early New Deal," Political Science Quarterly 97:2 (Summer, 1982): 255-278

### April 8 The New Deal

- Required Readings  
 V.O. Key, "The Nature and Consequences of One-Party Factionalism," in Southern Politics (Knopf, 1949).  
 PLUS  
 Original Sources collected by the students.
- Discussion Questions  
 Is the South the most important distinguishing feature of American politics?

### April 15 Complacency Undermined: From the 1950s to the 1980s

- Required Readings  
 Sundquist, Dynamics of the Party System, pp. 240-411  
 Bensef, Sectionalism and American Political Development, pp. 191-254
- Discussion Questions  
 Did the 1950s and early 1960s mark a period of excessive stability in American political institutions?  
 Does the New Deal move the United States toward "responsible" political parties?  
 Did the Goldwater and Nixon campaigns pursue a mistaken strategy, from the Republicans' point of view?  
 Did the Humphrey, McGovern, and Carter campaigns pursue a mistaken strategy, from the Democrats' point of view?  
 Were the conditions met for political party realignment in 1980?  
 Are civil rights the fundamental reason for the breakup of the New Deal coalition?  
 Was Congress suited to deal with divisive conflicts over civil rights in this period compared to the 1860s and 1870s?
- Supplementary Readings  
 Theodore J. Lowi, The End of Liberalism: The Second Republic of the United States (Norton, 1979) and The Personal President: Power Invested, Promise Unfulfilled (Cornell University Press, 1985)  
 William E. Leuchtenburg, In the Shadow of FDR: From Harry Truman to Ronald Reagan (Cornell University Press, 1989)  
 James L. Sundquist, Politics and Policy: The Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Years (Brookings, 1968)  
 James L. Sundquist, The Decline and Resurgence of Congress (Brookings, 1981)  
 A. James Reichley, Conservatives in an Age of Change: The Nixon and Ford Administrations (Brookings, 1981)  
 Lawrence C. Dodd and Richard L. Schott, Congress and the Administrative State (Westview)  
 Gary Jacobson, The Electoral Origins of Divided Government: Competition in U.S. House Elections, 1946-1988 (Westview, 1990)

April 22 Complacency Undermined: From the 1950s to the 1980s

Required Readings

David B. Truman, The Governmental Process, pp. 501-533.

PLUS

Original Sources collected by the students.

Discussion Questions

What are the differences between Truman and Bentley?

Are American political scientists attracted to pluralism because the fragmentation of the political system makes pluralism seem descriptively accurate and normatively desirable?

To what extent is pluralism descriptively accurate and normatively desirable?

April 29 Transformation?

Required Readings

Sundquist, Dynamics of the Party System, pp. 412-449

Bense, Sectionalism and American Political Development, pp. 256-412

Recommended Readings

Anthony King, ed., The New American Political System, 2nd Ed. (American Enterprise Institute, 1990)

(Select the chapter most relevant to the institution you've traced)

Discussion Questions

Under what conditions will we have a political party realignment in the 1990s?

Is sectionalism still the most important cleavage in American politics?

To what extent does Bense's thesis depend on a federal political system?

To what extent does Bense's thesis depend on a system of divided power at the national level?

To what extent are American institutions entering into an unprecedented period?

What institutional factors are likely to exercise a constant influence in American politics through the year 2000?

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Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers, Right Turn: The Decline of the Democrats and the Future of American Politics (Hill and Wang, 1986)

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