

# History and Politics Section Newsletter

An Organized Section of the American Political Science Association

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## From the Editors

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

Since this issue of the Newsletter is made up of our regular features, we don't need to say too much here. In addition to Theda Skocpol's Section President's Report and the list of the panels Margaret Weir has organized for this year's APSA meeting in Chicago, we have four Works in Progress and entries for seven New Books. Announcements and Quotes can be found throughout the issue.

We have extended the deadline for the spring issue to April 25. Please follow the guidelines found on page 22 of the last issue and accompany your submission with the questionnaire form at the back of this issue. Our address remains Department of Political Science, Hamilton Hall, CB #3265, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3265; Phone: (919) 962-0409; BITNET: ESWIFT@UNC; FAX: (919) 962-4777.

## Section President's Report

Theda Skocpol (Dept. of Sociology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138; Phone: 617-495-3851)

I am pleased to say that the History and Politics Section has been allocated ten panels at the upcoming American Political Science Association annual meeting. This doubles the five panels we were allocated last time. (Last year's panel chair, Vicki Hattam, was able to expand our offerings to seven panels by co-sponsoring panels with other sections, a practice the APSA no longer permits.)

This year's panel chair, Margaret Weir, has put together a stimulating set of panels, which are sure to contribute to the further growth and vitality of the section.

In accordance with the By-Laws adopted at the annual meeting, and published in the last Newsletter, I have organized the nominating committee that will select next year's section officers. The members are as follows:

Gary Marks, Dept. of Political Science, University of North Carolina (for the current academic year, Gary is in residence at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 202 Junipero Serra Blvd., Stanford, CA 94305; Phone (415) 854-8044)

Eileen McDonagh, Dept. of Political Science, Northeastern University, 303 Meserve Hall, 360 Huntington Ave., Boston, MA 02115; Phone (617) 437-2796

Anne Norton, Dept. of Government, University of Texas, Burdine Hall 536, Austin, TX 78712; Phone (512) 471-5121

John Padgett, Dept. of Political Science, University of Chicago, 5828 South University, Chicago, IL 60637; Phone (312) 702-8050

Charles Stewart, Dept. of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA 02139; Phone (617) 253-5262

The nominating committee will canvass the membership for names of candidates and recommend a slate that broadly represents the section. The committee will try to include anyone proposed by a significant number of section members. Please contact me or any of the committee members to make your suggestions. We need to hear from you by April 10. A group of ten or more members may also nominate candidates in addition to those proposed by the committee, under procedures described in the By-Laws.

# APSA Annual Meeting History and Politics Section Panels

September 3-6, 1992  
The Palmer House, Chicago

## PANEL 20-1: "The New Deal in Retrospect"

CHAIR: Donald Brand, Wilkes University

PAPERS: "The Statesmanship of Franklin Delano Roosevelt"  
Donald Brand, Wilkes University

"The New Deal Goes to War"  
Sidney Milkis, Brandeis University

"Limitations, Legacies, Lessons: The New Deal and Contemporary Policy in Agriculture and Industry"  
Kenneth Finegold, Rutgers University

"Stolen Thunder: Share Our Wealth, Political Mediation, and the Second New Deal"  
Edwin Amenta, New York University

DISC: Barry Karl, University of Chicago

## PANEL 20-2: "Author Meets the Critics: Author: James Marone, *The Democratic Wish Popular Participation and the Limits of American Government*"

CHAIR: Theda Skocpol, Harvard University

PARTIC: Jennifer Hochschild, Princeton University

Ira Katznelson, New School for Social Research

Robert Putnam, Harvard University

Theda Skocpol, Harvard University

## PANEL 20-3: "Race and American Political Development"

CHAIR: Michael Goldfield, Cornell University

PAPERS: "Race and Critical Turning Points in American Political History"  
Michael Goldfield, Cornell University

"Divergent Fates: Class and Race in the Making of the American Welfare State"  
Michael Brown, University of California at Santa Cruz

DISC: Adolph Reed, Northwestern University

Theodore Lowi, Cornell University

## PANEL 20-4: "Roundtable: Gender as a Category of Analysis: A Dialogue between Political Scientists and Historians"

CHAIR: Helene Silverberg, Princeton University

PARTIC: Theda Skocpol, Harvard University

Louise Tilly, The New School for Social Research

Nancy Cott, Yale University

Helene Silverberg, Princeton University

## PANEL 20-5: "Ideas, Institutions and American Political Development"

CHAIR: Richard Bensei, New School for Social Research

PAPERS: "The Making of an American House of Lords: The U.S. Senate and the Constitutional Convention of 1787"  
Elaine K. Swift, Dartmouth College

"Beyond the State of Courts and Parties: Rethinking the Relationship Between Patronage and Bureaucracy in Nineteenth Century American Political Development"  
Richard John, University of Chicago-Illinois

"People's Banking: The Promise Betrayed"  
Jean Shroedel, Claremont Graduate School  
Bruce Snyder, Claremont Graduate School

"The Fate of Ideas: Economic Vision, Party Regimes and Institutional Development"  
Andrew J. Polsky, Hunter College

DISC: Colleen Dunlavy, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Richard Bensei, New School for Social Research

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**PANEL 20-6: "Social Mobilization, Political Incorporation and Institutional Change"**

**CHAIR:** Barbara Nelson, The University of Minnesota

**PAPERS:** "The Puzzle of Suffrage Restriction, 1889-1908"  
Richard Valeyly, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

"The Silent Majority: The Electoral Incorporation of Women into the Democratic Party, 1924-1944"  
Anna L. Harvey, Princeton University

"Lobbyist Entrepreneurs and the Mobilization of Union Veterans"  
Scott H. Ainsworth, University of Georgia

"The 'Welfare Rights State' and the 'Civil Rights State': Tracking the Paradoxical Legacy of the Progressive Era"  
Eileen Lorenzi McDonagh, Northeastern University

**DISC:** TBA

**PANEL 20-7: "Labor and American Political Development"**

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

**PAPERS:** "The Work of Government"  
Karen Orren, University of California at Los Angeles

"Populism, Labor and the Politics of Finance in the 1890s"  
Gretchen Ritter, University of Texas at Austin

"Voluntarism, Judicial Hegemony and the Development of the Pre-New Deal Labor Policy"  
Ruth O'Brien, The University of Denver

**DISC:** Victoria Hattam, Yale University

**PANEL 20-8: "Drawing the Boundaries Between State and Economy: The New Institutionalism and Economic Policymaking"**

**CHAIR:** Margaret Weir, Brookings Institution

**PAPERS:** "Political Innovations Under Conditions of Uncertainty: The New Deal in North America and Britain"  
Alan Noel, Universite de Montreal

"Between Liberalism and Keynesianism: British Economic and Industrial Policy in the Interwar Period"  
Frank Longstreth, University of Bath

"The Politics of Labour Exchanges: A Theoretical Model for Comparative Analysis"  
Desmond King, St. John's College, Oxford University  
Bo Rothstein, University of Uppsala

"From the Gilded Age to Normalcy: The Political Realignment of Labor Markets in Detroit, Chicago and Milwaukee"  
Steven Amberg, University of Texas at San Antonio

**DISC:** Sven Steinmo, The University of Colorado

**PANEL 20-9: "Social Groups, Institutions, and the Formation of Political Identities"**

**CHAIR:** Sunita Parikh, Columbia University

**PAPERS:** "When Ethnicity Interacts with Class and Party: A Comparison of Vienna and Warsaw in the 1920s"  
Alan S. Zuckerman, Brown University

"The Development of Immigration Policy and the National Identity"  
Keith Fitzgerald, Grinnell College

"Organizational Development and the Formation of Ideology: The French Working Class and Revolutionary Syndicalism"  
Christopher K. Ansell, The University of Chicago

"Culture, Power and Solidarity in the Political Sphere: An Approach to Democratic Transitions"  
Carlos A. Forment, Princeton University

**DISC:** Carol Nackenoff, Swarthmore College

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**PANEL 20-10: "Developing Governmental Capacities: Institutional Change and American Policymaking"**

**CHAIR:** David Robertson, University of Missouri-St. Louis

**PAPERS:** "After the Wars"  
Bartholomew H. Sparrow, University of Texas at Austin

"Regulation and Institutional Evolution"  
Marc Allen Eisner, Wesleyan University

"Rethinking the Welfare State (Again): Tax Expenditures and Social Policy"  
Christopher Howard, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

"The American State and the Accommodation of Racial Tensions in the Workplace and in the Army, 1941-45"  
Daniel Kryder, The New School for Social Research

**DISC:** Gary Mucciaroni, The College of William and Mary

## Work in Progress

**Seminar on Biography as a Strategy for Social Research** Erwin C. Hargrove (Department of Political Science, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN 37235)

A group of ten to twelve political scientists and historians have been meeting during 1991 at Vanderbilt University to discuss the utility of biography for social research. We have examined three kinds of biography: studies of individuals, collective biographies of groups, and biographies of institutions. The term biography is used to mean portraiture of an individual, group or institution covering a significant period of time in the life of the subject, with an emphasis upon narrative.

The historians and political scientists have somewhat different goals for the seminar, which meets under the auspices of Vanderbilt's Robert Penn Warren Center for the Humanities. Historians wish to study individuals, groups, or institutions in order to understand particular cultures and periods.

They are less concerned with generalization beyond historical context. The political scientists seek generalizations about the careers of individuals, the impact of individuals upon institutions, the role of elites and other groups in governance, and the dynamics of institutions studied over time. The historians keep political scientists honest about the validity of generalization and the political scientists present analytic frameworks to historians for better understanding their material. For example, ideas in political science about the importance of the first independent political success for the career of a politician can be taken over by an historian as an insight for use in the biography of a politician.

The historian Richard Hofstadter, in *The American Political Tradition*, illustrated how the study of individual lives could illuminate the understanding of culture. Work by Jameson Doig and Erwin Hargrove on public entrepreneurs, in *Leadership and Innovation, Entrepreneurs in Government*, seeks generalizations about the impact of individuals on government. Robert Crunden, *Ministers of Reform*, a study of American Progressives, is a good example of collective biography by an historian, while Morris Janowitz's *The Professional Soldier* illustrates good work by a social scientist on elites. Alfred Chandler's histories of American corporations stand in contrast to studies of single institutions such as Herbert Kaufman's *The Forest Ranger*. Comparisons of works of this kind illustrate the possibilities of these three approaches to biography.

The main work of the seminar is to hear and discuss the scholarly work of its members. We have heard about research on Chinese elites; Ghandi's autobiography; the TVA as an institution; white reformers in southern desegregation politics; the Mothers of Victims of Political Murder in Argentina; and much else. Richard Fenno recently led the group in a discussion of his studies of individual Senators. The central questions were about how to develop generalizations about careers of politicians and insights into the working of an institution like the Senate from the studies of a few individuals.

The seminar will continue as long as its individual members derive profit from it. It is too soon to say whether a conference or even a book based on a symposium will emerge.

**Congressional Dynamics: Structure, Coordination and Choice in the First American Congress, 1774-1789** Calvin C. Jillson (Department of Political Science, University of Colorado at Boulder, Boulder, CO 80309) and Rick K. Wilson (Department of Political Science, Rice University, P.O. Box 1892, Houston, TX 77251)

We seek to accomplish two general goals in this project. One is to redress an imbalance in the relative weight of institutional and socio-cultural explanations of the origins, development and performance of the Continental Congress. The second is to explain the political and institutional dynamics that led to the demise of this First American Congress. Much of the historical work since the publication of Merrill Jensen's seminal *Articles of Confederation* (1940), and its companion volume *The New Nation* (1950), has sought to describe the clash of political ideas and interests in society at large and to see political institutions—particularly the details of structures, norms, and rules—as merely reflective of the broader social conflicts. In a sense, of course, they are reflective, but never merely so. Institutions have independent and often subtle impacts upon political outcomes and those are the subject of this project.

Our primary thesis is that the institutional structures, rules, and norms of the Continental Congress, while clearly a reflection of the central social and political ideas of the times, were as much to blame for the institution's eventual failure as the reluctance of the several States to support and finance the new government, or the propensity of their delegates in Congress to divide along sectional lines. Put another way, we propose to show how thoroughly the institutional structure of the Continental Congress worked against, rather than with, the delegates in tackling the crucial issues of the day. The net result was that the Continental Congress was riddled by faction, stymied by obstruction, and undermined by a debilitating workload.

Political scientists at least since Aristotle have thought about political institutions and how they shape the conduct of those who interact within

them. We are interested in understanding the political dynamics of the Congress as they operated between 1774 and 1789. We want to know how leadership was exercised from the chair and on the floor; how the committee system was organized and how it processed its workload; how debate and decision occurred on the floor; and how all of these things changed over the course of the institution's history as the delegates struggled to make Congress work in ways with which they were politically and ideologically comfortable. Existing scholarship on the Continental Congress lacks detailed analytical and empirical treatments of the political structure and dynamics of the institution. We approach these tasks from the direction of recent theoretical developments in economics and political science, which have been characterized as the "new institutionalism."

The new institutionalists, focusing their attention on the incentives and constraints created for actors within organizations, have been concerned principally with three organizational dilemmas. The first concerns the coordination of shared interests. The second deals with problems of collective action. The last pertains to collective choice problems. These dilemmas are important because they are common to all democratic (continued on the next page)

## Fellowship

**June 1, 1992.** The National Endowment for Humanities will provide support for faculty members of Ph.D.-granting departments so they can undertake full time independent study and research in the humanities. Fellows may work in their own fields or in other fields that will increase their competence or improve understanding of their fields. Applicants must be U.S. citizens or permanent residents for at least three years prior to applying. Grants are up to \$27,500 for 12 months or a full academic year, prorated for shorter periods. Deadline is June 1 for support beginning after January 1 of the following year. Information and applications are available from the Fellowship for University Teachers Program, Division of Fellowships and Seminars, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1100 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Room 316, Washington, DC 20506; (202) 786-0466.

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decision making bodies. The principal tension in all collective decision making bodies is between achieving consistent, coherent outcomes and ensuring that the interests of individual members are adequately reflected in the choice of outcomes. Actors must make conscious choices about how to solve their collective action dilemmas or they must decide to live with them. If they decide to live with them, as the members did over the entire life of the Congress, the institution within which they work will display specific and quite predictable patterns of activity and behavior.

We describe and analyze how the Continental Congress confronted these dilemmas individually and in combination. By employing analytical tools identified with the new institutionalism, we aim to detail how the structural choices made by delegates to the Continental Congress contributed to stalemate, obstruction, and inconsistency within the institution. We wish to understand the interplay between actors, institutions, and outcomes. We regard institutions as crucial for structuring the choices available to individuals. The choices made by the delegates were a function of the interests they brought with them to the Congress, the structure of the institution, and the order in which issues came before the Congress.

This project is divided into three parts. Part I focuses on the legislative precedents best known to the delegates and how they selected from among them when it came time to organize the First Continental Congress. We find, not surprisingly, that individuals, when creating political institutions, rarely go far beyond their own experience. Members looked to the history of the British Parliament, their individual colonial legislatures, and the recent and seemingly relevant example of the intercolonial Stamp Act Congress of 1765.

In Part II we turn to in-depth discussions of leadership powers and prerogatives, committee structures, and the rules governing floor behavior as these developed and evolved over the history of the Congress. We regard these three features of the Continental Congress as the most crucial for understanding its operation.

In Part III we describe the patterns of cooperation and conflict that existed between the members of Congress. We employ a mathematical

technique called multi-dimensional scaling to create first state, and later delegate, preference maps. These maps, based on the roll-call voting record for each congressional year, provide a spatial distribution of states and delegates in which those who voted together frequently are in close proximity to each other and distant from those who they opposed most frequently. These maps display not only the basic patterns of cooperation and opposition that were at work in the Congress, but also how diffuse or how tight these patterns were. Not surprisingly, we find broad regional divisions in Congress from the beginning. These divisions became increasingly deep and intractable as the decade of the 1780s wore on. Once we have described the general groups into which the delegates formed themselves, we highlight several sets of substantive issues that confronted the Congress. While most of the issues we detail were the dominant issues facing the Congress, we selected them to illustrate our contention that institutional structure affected outcomes in very predictable ways. The Continental Congress has provided a fascinating laboratory within which to explore contemporary questions about the nature of political institutions, the strategic choices and incentives that they present to actors, and the outcomes that result.

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**Gender Politics: Creating Women's Labor Law in America, 1890-1940.** Sybil Lipschultz (Department of History, University of Miami, Coral Gables, FL 33124)

This project reassesses the history of protective labor laws and the "social feminist" movement that sponsored and defended these laws in court, depicting the social feminists' strategy of legislation and litigation. It also shows how these reformers helped to create a regulatory state.

The subjects of this study are the women who led and staffed the Consumers' League, League of Women Voters and Women's Bureau; the male lawyers and judges they encountered in the legal process; and the reformist women who made professional careers in government through their involvement in women's labor law administration.

Aiming to achieve equality through attention to

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gender difference, the women in this coalition tried to put their political commitment into action. For social feminists, building a regulatory state was an attempt to grapple with women's diverse roles as industrial workers and domestic caretakers. This position put them at odds with men in the reform community, especially lawyers, and the gender relations that ensued were strained, at best.

An analysis of adjudication of significant women's labor law cases demonstrates how social feminists succeeded in court when they stressed women's biological differences from men, but when they turned to schemes for pay equity based on women's social and economic disadvantages, they failed. But not all legal channels were closed to this economic feminism; women's minimum wage proponents accomplished a great deal through administrative law.

The study's examination of minimum wage administration reveals how social feminists invented new areas of administrative law when they created women's minimum wage boards. Working from behind the scenes, these women were able to put their ideas into action with greater success than they had with the more public and dramatic Supreme Court litigation. And it was in the administrative sphere that women were able to professionalize their voluntary activity and gain entry into the expanding state, even before they won their voting rights.

This work will contribute to our understanding of both the gendering of labor standards for working women and the gendering of the reform community that worked toward a welfare state, thereby integrating the study of law into the study of women's history and the development of the American welfare state. It shows how law, as a feminist agent of change, limited these women greatly; their dreams were far more progressive than their achievements. So, too, the ideals of women's political culture were compromised by serious gender conflicts and divisions in the integrated reform community. Still, some women were able to work with these conditions to propel themselves into formal state power.

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## Project on Historical Congressional Statistics Collaborators are listed below.

Frustrated by the current lack of long-range data on Congress? We would like your help on a project that would redress this need.

Our project would provide individual and aggregate level data, from about 1789 to the 1950s where possible, on the congressional dimensions listed below. Although most data will be collected and automated for the first time, the project would also include substantial revisions of existing ICPSR databases. Data on the different dimensions will be structured to allow merging. We will archive the database with ICPSR, and produce a book of summary data.

What data would be collected? To make that decision, we need your input. In addition, while each of us plans to use this data in research projects, we are interested in how others might apply it. Also, please let us know if you have collected data you might like to see incorporated in the project.

The following is a brief list of our tentative collection plans and the individuals coordinating the effort. For general information, contact Elaine K. Swift. Her address, phone, and BITNET number is listed on page one of this newsletter. For additional information, we also invite you to a 1992 APSA roundtable on the project.

■ **CAREERS.** Using the new *Biographical Directory* (1989), we will correct the party IDs and other substantial errors in ICPSR 7803. Contact John Hibbing, Dept. of Pol. Sci., U. of Neb.-Lincoln, Lincoln, NE 68588. Ph: (402) 472-2341  
BITNET: PSCI0003@UNLVM

■ **COMMITTEES.** Data will be gathered on the number and type of committees, reports, hearings, and chairs, and individual and aggregate level data on committee assignments. Contact David T. Canon, Dept. of Pol. Sci., U. of Wis.-Madison, 110 North Hall, Madison, WI 53706.  
Ph: (608) 263-2283 BITNET:  
DCANON@WISCGPS.BITNET

■ **ELECTIONS.** Data on elections will correct the party IDs on ICPSR 0079 and 0001 on elections. To ICPSR 0001, we also plan to add data on Senate elections by state legislatures. We

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would especially appreciate input on the latter. Contact Kenneth C. Martis, Dept. of Geology and Geography, W. Va. U., Morgantown, WV 26506. Ph: (304) 293-5603

■ EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS.

In addition to data on vetoes, oversight hearings, civilian nominations, treaties, and executive agreements, we would like to create an historical equivalent of CQ's Presidential Support Scores and/or Box Scores. Ideas on the latter would be particularly welcomed. Contact Michael J. Malbin, Ctr. for Legislative Studies, Rockefeller Institute of Gov., 411 State St., Albany, NY 12203. Ph: (518) 443-5256

■ PARTIES AND ROLL CALL VOTING.

Howard Rosenthal and Keith Poole of Carnegie-Mellon will mainly correct the party IDs and numerous factual errors on ICPSR 0004, Congressional Roll Call Voting Records. Contact Keith Poole, on leave at the Div. of Humanities and Soc. Sci. 228-77, Cal. Tech., Pasadena, CA 91125. Ph: (818) 356-4569 BITNET: Poole@Romeo.Caltech.EDU

■ WORKLOAD. In addition to the type, number and disposition of public and private bills, petitions, and commemoratives, we will also collect data on rules changes and their dispositions. We specifically request input on classifying commemoratives and rules changes. Contact Evelyn Fink or Brian Humes, Dept. of Pol. Sci., U. of Neb.-Lincoln, Lincoln, NE 68588. Ph: (402) 472-3224 or 8854 BITNET: PSCI036@UNLVM or PSCI024@UNLVM

This project is funded by NSF grant SES-9109335.

## New Books

Einhorn, Robin L. *Property Rules: Political Economy in Chicago, 1833-1871*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991. 295 pp. \$34.95.

Although there have been important challenges in the last decade, historians and political scientists studying nineteenth-century American city govern-

ment have tended to work within a "functionalist" model that linked the rise of "machine politics" to the needs and power of an enfranchised urban working class. In fact, Einhorn argues, the rise of machine politics, like other changes in city government in the nineteenth-century, reflected the power of wealthy interest groups who sought subsidized rewards they could not win from the radically localized and privatized governing system that was actually in place before the Civil War.

Based on recently discovered municipal records long thought to have burned in the Great Chicago Fire of 1871, this study explains the mechanics of decision-making and municipal finance. In the privatized and non-partisan polity that Einhorn calls the "segmented system of city government," officials acted as though real estate owners were their only constituents in a system that conceived of the city as a "corporation" and property owners as its "stock holders." With a surprising absence of corruption, the city provided these owners with the physical infrastructure they needed to profit from speculative investments in Chicago's growth. "Segmentation," which rested on the use of special assessments to finance public works, strictly limited access to the decision-making process. Only those property owners who would be liable to pay for a particular public works project could participate in decisions concerning that project, those who owned no property were excluded entirely, and the very existence of a "public interest" apart from the interests of particular property owners was assumed away. Built in the mid-1840s, the segmented system collapsed during

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## Quote

So long as we trace the development from its final stage backwards, the connection appears continuous, and we feel we have gained an insight which is completely satisfactory or even exhaustive. But if we proceed the reverse way . . . then we no longer get the impression of an inevitable sequence of events.

Sigmund Freud, quoted in *New York Times Book Review*, March 1, 1987, p. 16.



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the Civil War as newly powerful elites, especially meat packers and street railway companies, demanded subsidies in the name of the "public interest" and had sufficient economic and political clout to extort them.

Einhorn draws concrete links between this municipal system and American politics at the national level in the antebellum and Civil War years. She also connects the story of Chicago's government to the realignment of party politics there. The Jacksonians, she concludes, fearing that "public interests" would inevitably be elitist interests, had opposed any political redistributions of wealth, and the re-emergence of redistributive policy-making in Chicago during the Civil War—and of machine politicians to exploit it—proved them right.

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Hansen, John Mark. *Gaining Access: Congress and the Farm Lobby, 1919–1981*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991. 265 pp. Hardback, \$38.00. Paperback, \$15.95.

*Gaining Access* explores when, how, and why lobbying organizations gain and lose influence in the United States Congress. By consulting with policy advocates, Hansen argues, lawmakers offset their uncertainty about the policy stands that will improve or threaten their prospects for reelection. Policy advocates provide legislators with electoral intelligence in Washington and supportive propaganda at home, earning serious consideration of their policy views in return. Advocates, though, are numerous and conflicting, ranging from political parties to interest groups, and lawmakers must choose those they will most closely consult. From these starting points, Hansen derives conditions under which legislators favor one informant over another.

With evidence from congressional hearings, personal interviews, oral histories, farm and trade journals, and newspapers, Hansen uses the theory to understand the evolution of farm lobby access in Congress. He chronicles the rise and the fall of the Farm Bureau, the surge and decline of party politics, the incorporation of commodity lobbies, the exclusion of consumer lobbies, and the

accommodation of urban interests by food stamps. In the final chapter, Hansen applies the theory to prohibition, small business, and environmental lobbies, and draws on the politics of labor, veterans, and foreign affairs to discuss the relationship between interest groups and political parties.

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Hibbing, John R. *Congressional Careers: Contours of Life in the U.S. House of Representatives*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991. 213 pp. Hardback, \$29.95. Paperback, \$12.95.

Whereas most previous studies of congressional careers documented the increasing length of the typical stay in Congress, in *Congressional Careers* attention is centered on how members of the U.S. House change their behavior while they are in the body. Do they change their roll call behavior as they age? Do they change their legislative or constituency-oriented activities? Do they garner more electoral support and better formal positions on the Hill? In short, are there learning curves or life-cycle effects evident in congressional service?

In its analyses of the years 1950 to the late 1980s, this work investigates these and other questions to determine how career contours themselves have changed over the years. The results indicate that for many aspects of the congressional career, life-cycle effects have diminished since the 1950s, but that in terms of actually working with legislation, life-cycle effects are more visible than ever—even though the apprenticeship norm was supposed to be weakening during this time. The findings have implications for the debate over limiting legislative terms as well as more general views of the pros and cons of congressional careerism and legislative professionalization.

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Houston, Alan. *Algernon Sidney and the Republican Heritage in England and America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991. 344 pp. \$39.95.

Alan Houston contributes to contemporary debates over republicanism by providing the first

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complete account of the range, structure, and influence of the political writings of Algernon Sidney (1623–83). Though not well-known today, Sidney's *Discourses Concerning Government* influenced radicals in England and America throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. To many, it was a "textbook of revolution." Houston begins with Sidney's biography, tracing the development of his ideas in the political and intellectual context of Stuart England, and he concludes with a detailed study of the impact of Sidney's writings and the story of his heroic martyrdom on revolutionary America.

Documenting the interdependence of what have previously been regarded as distinctly "liberal" and "republican" theories, the author provides a new perspective on Anglo-American political thought. Many scholars have assumed that the republican language of virtue is distinct from and in tension with the liberal logic of rights and interests. By focusing on the contemporary meaning of concepts like freedom and slavery or virtue and corruption, Houston demonstrates that Sidney's republicanism and Locke's liberalism frequently complemented each other. A continuing theme of the work is the complexity and ambiguity of republican doctrine.

The dissertation on which this book is based won the American Political Science Association's 1990 Leo Strauss Award.

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Orren, Karen. *Belated Feudalism: Labor, the Law, and Liberal Development*. Cambridge University Press, 1991. 238 pp. \$15.95.

Following de Tocqueville, Louis Hartz, and others, theories of American political development depict the American state as a thoroughly liberal state from its inception. This book challenges that account by arguing that a remnant of ancient feudalism was, in fact, embedded in the American governmental system, in the form of the law of master and servant, and persisted well into the twentieth century. This old law was incorporated into the U.S. Constitution and administered by the judiciary, cutting off the sphere of workplace relations from democratic politics. The fully legislative polity that defines the modern liberal

state was achieved in the United States, Orren claims, only through the initiatives of the labor movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and was finally ushered in with the processes of collective bargaining instituted by the New Deal.

Locating the unions' industrial actions in the sequence of confrontations with ancient hierarchy establishes the preeminent position of the labor movement in the creation of modern liberalism. Equally significant to the study of American politics, the connection between modern and medieval labor regulation bridges the chasm that has separated the interpretation of American government and politics from the European past. The restoration of that past, Orren argues, is necessary for an accurate rendering of present-day social and political institutions.

In addition to its historical concerns, the book offers a theoretical perspective on changing state-societal relations in terms of "the primacy of labor." This perspective is premised on the idea that state elites depend upon work activities as these impinge on their undertakings and goals; and that individuals work within relations and for rewards sanctioned by the state. Changes in the work relations have historically caused readjustment of political institutions, accompanied by various degrees of conflict.

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Polsky, Andrew J. *The Rise of the Therapeutic State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991. 303 pp. \$35.00.

Assuming that "marginal" citizens in America cannot govern their own lives, proponents of the therapeutic state urge casework intervention to reshape the attitudes and behaviors of those who live outside the social mainstream. The casework approach is now used widely in the United States in the attempt to address poverty, delinquency, family violence, and other problems. Yet the record of casework agencies has been poor. In this study Polsky investigates the origins of the therapeutic approach, the emergence and expansion of public casework, and the persistence of the therapeutic state despite its failures.

Polsky builds his argument around a close

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analysis of institutions in the fields of juvenile justice and public assistance. The discourse of intervention developed out of philanthropic practices in the 19th century and assumed modern form during the Progressive era. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the casework approach was incorporated into a number of institutions and programs, notably the juvenile courts and the mothers' aid program. (The latter was the antecedent to the current AFDC program.) But therapeutic practitioners, who are policy activists lacking a strong constituency, have had to struggle constantly to enlist support for their methods. Polsky details the strategies casework advocates have used to establish and preserve a niche for themselves, explores the opposition from other policy actors and clients, and notes the costs that political turmoil within and about the therapeutic sector has imposed on the programs and those with whom they deal.

Beyond tracing the evolution of a particular sector of the modern state that has been only dimly understood, *The Rise of the Therapeutic State* seeks to contribute to several larger discussions. Certain post-modernist concepts introduced by Foucault and others can be used productively in the study of political development, but not at the expense of more conventional forms of political analysis. This study takes seriously both the discourse of therapeutic activists and their role in the policy process over time. In addition, Polsky treats the historical examination of the therapeutic state as a vehicle for a sharp normative critique of the therapeutic approach and its impact on democratic values.

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Weir, Margaret. *Politics and Jobs: The Boundaries of Employment Policy in the United States*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992. 238 pp. \$24.95.

This book examines why active employment policies have gained only a tenuous foothold in the United States despite the fact that Americans claim a strong attachment to the work ethic and regularly profess support for government policies to promote employment. To solve this puzzle, Weir examines

the power of ideas in policymaking and the politics of interest formation. Rather than seeing policy as a straightforward outcome of public preferences, she shows how ideas frame problems and how interests form around possibilities created by the interplay of ideas and politics.

By examining Keynesian macroeconomic policy in the 1930s and 1940s, labor market policies and the War on Poverty in the 1960s, and efforts to develop new planning mechanisms in the late 1970s, the book shows how sequences of decision-making restricted the scope for later initiatives. Emerging from the 1940s, American employment policy settled on a narrow definition of the problem to be solved; policymakers concerned with employment policy rarely conceived their task as one of institution building; and employment issues became partitioned into an "economic" component and a "social" component, each cast into a distinct orbit of politics and administration.

The initial failure to join the social and economic arenas spurred the development of fragmented intellectual, institutional, and interest configurations that left the United States poorly equipped to devise employment policies under the changing political and economic circumstances of the next decades. Instead, employment policies became entangled with two concerns pivotal in American politics: the economic and political position of African Americans and the role of the federal government in social policy. Conflicts in each of these domains stymied the development of institutions to implement employment policy and unraveled the coalitions needed to sustain government action. By the end of the 1970s, racial divisions and government incompetence set the terms of debates about employment policies, which were increasingly portrayed as wasteful special interest programs standing in the way of the broad public interest in a prosperous economy peopled by resourceful individuals.

## Journal Scan

We scanned historically oriented articles in the following journals: *American Historical Review*; *American Journal of Political Science*; *American Journal of Sociology*; *American Political Science Review*; *American Politics Quarterly*; *American Scholar*; *American Sociological Review*; *British Journal of Political Science*; *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 Policy History*; *Journal of Politics*; *Journal of Urban History*; *Journalism Quarterly*; *Labor History*; *New Left Review*; *Political Science Quarterly*; *Politics & Society*; *Polity*; *Public Interest*; *Radical History Review*; *Representations*; *Social Science History*; *Studies in American Political Development*; *Theory and Society*; *Western Political Quarterly*; *Women and Politics*; and *World Politics*. Due to space limitations, book reviews and review essays are not included in the scan. For this issue of the newsletter, we scanned issues of those journals published between September 1991 and February 1992 that were available at nearby libraries. We have also included some earlier listings for journals that were unavailable to us at the time of our last issue.

### **American Historical Review:**

Arthur Waldron, "The Warlord: Twentieth-Century Chinese Understandings of Violence, Militarism, and Imperialism," 96 (Oct. 1991):1073-1100.

John K. Thornton, "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion," 96 (Oct. 1991):1101-1113.

Rashid Khalidi, "Arab Nationalism: Historical Problems in the Literature," 96 (Dec. 1991):1363-1373.

Philip S. Khoury, "Continuity and Change in Syrian Political Life: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," 96 (Dec. 1991):1374-1395.

John F. Devlin, "The Baath Party: Rise and Metamorphosis," 96 (Dec. 1991):1396-1407.

Bernard Reich, "Themes in the History of the State of Israel," 96 (Dec. 1991):1466-1478.

Shaul Bakhash, "Iran," 96 (Dec. 1991):1479-1496.

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

Jean-Pierre P. Langlois, "Rational Deterrence and Crisis Stability," 35 (Nov. 1991):801-837.

Woosang Kim, "Alliance Transitions and Great Power War," 35 (Nov. 1991):833-850.

Hank C. Jenkins-Smith, Gilbert K. St. Clair, and Brian Woods, "Explaining Change in Policy Subsystems: Analysis of Coalition Stability and Defection over Time," 35 (Nov. 1991):851-880.

James D. Morrow, "Alliances and Asymmetry: An Alternative to the Capability Aggregation Model of Alliances," 35 (Nov. 1991):904-933.

Richard G. Niemi and M. Kent Jennings, "Issues and Inheritance in the Formation of Party Identification," 35 (Nov. 1991):970-988.

James C. Garand and T. Wayne Parent, "Representation, Swing, and Bias in U.S. Presidential Elections, 1872-1988," 35 (Nov. 1991):1011-1031.

### **American Journal of Sociology:**

Mary Ruggie, "The Paradox of Liberal Intervention: Health Policy and the American Welfare State," 97 (Jan. 1992):919-944.

Allen W. Imershein, Philip C. Rond III, and Mary P. Mathis, "Restructuring Patterns of Elite Dominance and the Formation of State Policy in Health Care," 97 (Jan. 1992):970-993.

Sydney A. Halpern, "Dynamics of Professional Control: Internal Coalitions and Cross-professional Boundaries," 97 (Jan. 1992):994-1021.

Thomas A. LaVeist, "The Political Empowerment and Health Status of African-Americans: Mapping a New Territory," 97 (Jan. 1992):1080-1095.

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

Bradley M. Richardson, "European Party Loyalties Revisited," 85 (Sept. 1991):751-775.

John M. Bruce, John A. Clark & John H. Kessel, "Advocacy Politics in Presidential Parties," 85 (Dec. 1991):1089-1105.

John Zaller, "Information, Values, and Opinion," 85 (Dec. 1991):1215-1237.

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Josep M. Colomer, "Transitions by Agreement: Modeling the Spanish Way," 85 (Dec. 1991):1283-1302.

### **American Politics Quarterly:**

James M. Lindsay, Lois W. Sayrs, and Wayne P. Steger, "The Determinants of Presidential Foreign Policy Choice," 20 (Jan. 1992):3-22.

James M. McCormick and Eugene R. Wittkopf, "At the Water's Edge: The Effects of Party, Ideology, and Issues on Congressional Foreign Policy Voting, 1947 to 1988," 20 (Jan. 1992):26-53.

### **American Scholar:**

John Lukacs, "American History: The Terminological Problem," (Winter 1992):17-32.

### **American Sociological Review:**

Patrick M. Horan and Peggy G. Hargis, "Children's Work and Schooling in the Late Nineteenth-Century Family Economy," 56 (Oct. 1991):583-596.

Mabel Berezin, "The Organization of Political Ideology: Culture, State, and Theater in Fascist Italy," 56 (Oct. 1991):639-651.

William Brustein, "The 'Red Menace' and the Rise of Italian Fascism," 56 (Oct. 1991):652-664.

John R. Sutton, "The Political Economy of Madness: The Expansion of the Asylum in Progressive America," 56 (Oct. 1991):665-678.

Michael Patrick Allen, "Capitalist Response to State Intervention: Theories of the State and Political Finance in the New Deal," 56 (Oct. 1991):679-689.

Karen Barkey, "Rebellious Alliances: The State and Peasant Unrest in Early Seventeenth-Century France and the Ottoman Empire," 56 (Dec. 1991):699-715.

Roger V. Gould, "Multiple Networks and Mobilization in the Paris Commune, 1871," 56 (Dec. 1991):716-729.

David J. Eggebeen and Daniel T. Lichter, "Race, Family Structure, and Changing Poverty Among American Children," 56 (Dec. 1991):801-817.

### **British Journal of Political Science:**

Jeffrey W. Hahn, "Continuity and Change in Russian Political Culture," 21 (Oct. 1991):393-421.

Stephen Ansolabehere, David Brady and Morris Fiorina, "The Vanishing Marginals and Electoral Responsiveness," 22 (Jan. 1992):21-38.

Mark P. Lagon, "The International System and the Reagan Doctrine: Can Realism Explain Aid to 'Freedom Fighters'?", 22 (Jan. 1992):39-70.

Richard Johnston, "Political Generations and Electoral Change in Canada," 22 (Jan. 1992):93-115.

J. R. Happy, "The Effect of Economic and Fiscal Performance on Incumbency Voting: The Canadian Case," 22 (Jan. 1992):117-130.

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

Thomas V. Cohen, "A Long Day in Monte Rotondo: The Politics of Jeopardy in a Village Uprising (1558)," 33 (Oct. 1991):639-668.

Sandra Lauderdale Graham, "Slavery's Impasse: Slave Prostitutes, Small-Time Mistresses, and the Brazilian Law of 1871," 33 (Oct. 1991):669-694.

James Holston, "The Misrule of Law: Land and Usurpation in Brazil," 33 (Oct. 1991):695-725.

Subrata Kumar Mitra, "Desecularising the State: Religion and Politics in India after Independence," 33 (Oct. 1991):755-777.

Uffe Østergård, "Peasants and Danes: The Danish National Identity and Political Culture," 34 (Jan. 1992):3-27.

Donald L. Donham, "Revolution and Modernity in Maale: Ethiopia, 1974 to 1987," 34 (Jan. 1992):28-57.

Rosalind O'Hanlon and David Washbrook, "After Orientalism: Culture, Criticism, and Politics in the Third World," 34 (Jan. 1992):141-167.

Gyan Prakash, "Can the 'Subaltern' Ride? A Reply to O'Hanlon and Washbrook," 34 (Jan. 1992):168-184.

### **Diplomatic History:**

Robert J. McMahon, "Credibility and World Power: Exploring the Psychological Dimension in Postwar American Diplomacy," 15 (Fall 1991):455-471.

Sheldon Anderson, "Poland and the Marshall Plan, 1947-1949," 15 (Fall 1991):473-494.

William Burr, "Marshall Planners and the Politics of Empire: The United States and French Financial Policy, 1948," 15 (Fall 1991):495-522.

Brian McKercher, "Reaching for the Brass Ring: The Recent Historiography of Interwar American Foreign Relations," 15 (Fall 1991):565-598.

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### **Historical Methods:**

Matthew Sobek, "Class Analysis and the U.S. Census Public Use Samples," 24 (Fall 1991):171-181.

### **International Organization:**

Charles Lipson, "Why Are Some International Agreements Informal?" 45 (Autumn 1991):495-538.

Geoffrey Garrett and Peter Lange, "Political Responses to Interdependence: What's 'Left' for the Left?" 45 (Autumn 1991):539-564.

Mary Ann Tétreault, "Autonomy, Necessity, and the Small State: Ruling Kuwait in the Twentieth Century," 45 (Autumn 1991):565-591.

Peter M. Haas, "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination," 46 (Winter 1992):1-35.

William J. Drake and Kalypso Nicolaïdis, "Ideas, Interests, and Institutionalization: 'Trade in Services' and the Uruguay Round," 46 (Winter 1992):37-100.

M. J. Peterson, "Whalers, Cetologists, Environmentalists, and the International Management of Whaling," 46 (Winter 1992):147-186.

Peter M. Haas, "Banning Chlorofluorocarbons: Epistemic Community Efforts to Protect Stratospheric Ozone," 46 (Winter 1992):187-224.

Raymond F. Hopkins, "Reform in the International Food Aid Regime: The Role of Consensual Knowledge," 46 (Winter 1992):225-265.

G. John Ikenberry, "A World Economy Restored: Expert Consensus and the Anglo-American Postwar Settlement," 46 (Winter 1992):289-321.

Emanuel Adler and Peter M. Haas, "Conclusion: Epistemic Communities, World Order, and the Creation of a Reflective Research Program," 46 (Winter 1992):367-390.

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

Gwynn Campbell, "The State and Pre-Colonial Demographic History: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Madagascar," 32:3 (1991):415-445.

C. N. Ubah, "Suppression of the Slave Trade in the Nigerian Emirates," 32:3 (1991):447-470.

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

Daniel Czitrom, "Underworlds and Underdogs: Big Tim Sullivan and Metropolitan Politics in New York, 1889-1913," 78 (Sept. 1991):536-558.

Linda Gordon, "Black and White Visions of Welfare: Women's Welfare Activism, 1890-1945," 78 (Sept. 1991):559-590.

Mary Frances Berry, "Judging Morality: Sexual Behavior and Legal Consequences in the Late Nineteenth-Century South," 78 (Dec. 1991):835-856.

Robert E. May, "Young American Males and Filibustering in the Age of Manifest Destiny: The United States Army as a Cultural Mirror," 78 (Dec. 1991):857-886.

Nancy MacLean, "The Leo Frank Case Reconsidered: Gender and Sexual Politics in the Making of Reactionary Populism," 78 (Dec. 1991):917-948.

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

Dale Baum, "Pinpointing Apparent Fraud in the 1861 Texas Secession Referendum," 22 (Autumn 1991):201-221.

Dianne Snow, "Family Policy and Orphan Schools in Early Colonial Australia," 22 (Autumn 1991):255-284.

Larry M. Logue, "Union Veterans and Their Government: The Effect of Public Policies on Private Lives," 22 (Winter 1992):411-434.

Peter McCaffery, "Style, Structure, and Institutionalization of Machine Politics: Philadelphia, 1867-1933," 22 (Winter 1992):435-452.

### **Journal of Policy History:**

John C. McWilliams, "Through the Past Darkly: The Politics and Policies of America's Drug War," 3:4 (1991):356-392.

David T. Courtwright, "Drug Legalization, the Drug War, and Drug Treatment in Historical Perspective," 3:4 (1991):393-414.

Kathryn Meyer, "Fast Crabs and Cigarette Boats: A Speculative Essay," 3:4 (1991):415-439.

Jonathan Marshall, "Opium, Tungsten, and the Search for National Security, 1940-1952," 3:4 (1991):440-467.

Douglas Clark Kinder, "Shutting Out the Evil: Nativism and Narcotics Control in the United States," 3:4 (1991):468-493.

William B. McAllister, "Conflicts of Interest in the International Drug Control System," 3:4 (1991):494-517.

William O. Walker, III, "Bibliographic Essay [Drug Control Policy]," 3:4 (1991):518-524.

### **Journal of Politics:**

Michael S. Rabieh, "The Reasonableness of Locke, or the Questionableness of Christianity," 53 (Nov. 1991):933-957.

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Paul Brace and Barbara Hinckley, "The Structure of Presidential Approval: Constraints within and across Presidencies," 53 (Nov. 1991):993-1017.

Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones, "Agenda Dynamics and Policy Subsystems," 53 (Nov. 1991): 1044-1074.

Rebecca M. Hendrick and James C. Garand, "Variation in State Economic Growth: Decomposing State, Regional, and National Effects," 53 (Nov. 1991):1093-1100.

Arthur H. Miller, Christopher Wlezien, and Anne Hildreth, "A Reference Group Theory of Partisan Coalitions," 53 (Nov. 1991):1134-1149.

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

Alan DiGaetano, "Urban Political Reform: Did It Kill the Machine?" 18 (Nov. 1991):37-67.

Louise McReynolds, "St. Petersburg's 'Boulevard' Press and the Process of Urbanization," 18 (Feb. 1992):123-140.

### **Journalism Quarterly:**

Lloyd Chiasson, "Japanese-American Relocation During World War II: A Study of California Editorial Reactions," 68 (Spring/Summer 1991):263-268.

### **Labor History:**

Sarah M. Henry, "The Strikers and Their Sympathizers: Brooklyn in the Trolley Strike of 1895," 32 (Summer 1991):329-353.

Richard Schneirov, "Political Cultures and the Role of the State in Labor's Republic: the View from Chicago, 1848-1877," 32 (Summer 1991):376-400.

Andrew Battista, "Labor and Coalition Politics: the Progressive Alliance," 32 (Summer 1991):401-421.

Edward D. Berkowitz, "How to Think About the Welfare State," 32 (Fall 1991):489-502.

Robert Justin Goldstein, "Political Repression in Modern American History (1870-present): A Selective Bibliography," 32 (Fall 1991):526-550.

### **New Left Review:**

Joseph McCarney, "The True Realm of Freedom: Marxist Philosophy after Communism," No. 189 (Sept./Oct. 1991): 19-38.

Giovanni Arrighi, "World Income Inequalities and the Future of Socialism," No. 189 (Sept./Oct. 1991):39-65.

Paul Cammack, "Brazil: The Long March to the New Republic," No. 190 (Nov./Dec. 1991):21-58.

### **Political Science Quarterly:**

Samuel P. Huntington, "How Countries Democratize," 106 (Winter 1991-92):579-616.

Paul E. Peterson, "The Urban Underclass and the Poverty Paradox," 106 (Winter 1991-92):617-637.

Loree Bykerk and Ardith Maney, "Where Have All the Consumers Gone?" 106 (Winter 1991-92):677-693.

Wilbur Edel, "Diplomatic History—State Department Style," 106 (Winter 1991-92):695-712.

### **Politics & Society:**

Susan C. Stokes, "Hegemony, Consciousness, and Political Change," 19 (Sept. 1991):265-290.

Jane Burbank, "Controversies over Stalinism: Searching for a Soviet Society," 19 (Sept. 1991):325-340.

Bob Hancke, "The Crisis of National Unions: Belgian Labor in Decline," 19 (Dec. 1991):463-487.

### **Polity:**

James H. Read, "Thomas Hobbes: Power in the State of Nature, Power in Civil Society," 23 (Summer 1991): 505-525.

David A. Nordquest, "The *Federalist* on Truth & The Constitution," 23 (Summer 1991):527-547.

Huey L. Perry, "Pluralist Theory & National Black Politics in the United States," 23 (Summer 1991):549-565.

Suzanne D. Jacobitti, "Individualism & Political Community: Arendt & Tocqueville on the Current Debate in Liberalism," 23 (Summer 1991):585-604.

Thomas S. Langston & Michael E. Lind, "John Locke & the Limits of Presidential Prerogative," 24 (Fall 1991):49-68.

Charles A. Kromkowski & John A. Kromkowski, "Why 435? A Question of Political Arithmetic," 24 (Fall 1991):129-145.

### **The Public Interest:**

Bernard Semmel, "Schumpeter's Curious Politics," No. 106 (Winter 1992):3-16.

### **Radical History Review:**

Robin D. G. Kelley, "The Religious Odyssey of African Radicals: Notes on the Communist Party of South Africa, 1921-34," 51 (Fall 1991):5-24.

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Ali Mirsepassi-Ashtiani and Valentine M. Moghadam, "The Left and Political Islam in Iran: A Retrospect and Prospects," 51 (Fall 1991):27-62.

Dana Frank, "'Food Wins All Struggles': Seattle Labor and the Politicization of Consumption," 51 (Fall 1991):65-89.

### Representations:

Wu Hung, "Tiananmen Square: A Political History of Monuments," No. 35 (Summer 1991):84-117.

Frances Ferguson, "Sade and the Pornographic Legacy," No. 36 (Fall 1991):1-21.

### Social Science History:

Alice Goldstein, Sidney Goldstein, & Gu Shengzu, "Rural Industrialization and Migration in the People's Republic of China," 15 (Fall 1991):289-314.

Brian Gratton & Frances M. Rotondo, "Industrialization, the Family Economy, and the Economic Status of the American Elderly," 15 (Fall 1991):337-362.

### Theory and Society:

Jack A. Goldstone, "Ideology, Cultural Frameworks, and the Process of Revolution," 20 (Aug. 1991):405-453.

Hagen Koo, "Middle Classes, Democratization, and Class Formation: The Case of South Korea," 20 (Aug. 1991):485-509.

Valery A. Tishkov, "The Soviet Empire Before and After Perestroika," 20 (Oct. 1991):603-629.

Lee Walker, "Toward an Improved Analysis of Soviet Ethnic Relations," 20 (Oct. 1991):711-721.

### The Western Political Quarterly:

Steve Chan and Cal Clark, "Economic Growth and Popular Well-Being in Taiwan: A Time Series Examination of Some Preliminary Hypotheses," 44 (Sept. 1991):560-582.

David G. Lawrence, "The Collapse of the Democratic Majority: Economics and Vote Choice Since 1952," 44 (Dec. 1991):797-820.

Judith A. Baer, "Women's Rights and the Limits of Constitutional Doctrine," 44 (Dec. 1991):821-852.

Thomas S. Schrock, "The Rights to Punish and Resist Punishment in Hobbes's *Leviathan*," 44 (Dec. 1991):853-890.

James C. Garand and Rebecca M. Hendrick, "Expenditure Tradeoffs in the American States: A Longitudinal Test,

1948-1984," 44 (Dec. 1991):915-940.

Mary Alice Nye, "The U.S. Senate and Civil Rights Roll-Call Votes," 44 (Dec. 1991):971-986.

### Women & Politics:

Rosemary Whip, "Representing Women: Australian Female Parliamentarians on the Horns of a Dilemma," 11:3 (1991):1-22.

Norma C. Noonan, "Two Solutions to the Zhenskii Vopros in Russia and the USSR—Kollontai and Krupskaja: A Comparison," 11:3 (1991):77-99.

### World Politics:

Timur Kuran, "Now out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989," 44 (Oct. 1991):7-48.

Giuseppe Di Palma, "Legitimation from the Top to Civil Society: Politico-Cultural Change in Eastern Europe," 44 (Oct. 1991):49-80.

Andrew C. Janos, "Social Science, Communism, and the Dynamics of Political Change," 44 (Oct. 1991):81-112.

Russell Bova, "Political Dynamics of the Post-Communist Transition: A Comparative Perspective," 44 (Oct. 1991):113-138.

Lawrence R. Jacobs, "Institutions and Culture: Health Policy and Public Opinion in the U.S. and Britain," 44 (Jan. 1992):179-209.

Steve C. Ropp, "Explaining the Long-Term Maintenance of a Military Regime: Panama before the U.S. Invasion," 44 (Jan. 1992):210-234.

Randall L. Schweller, "Domestic Structure and Preventive War: Are Democracies More Pacific?" 44 (Jan. 1992):235-269.

## Fellowship

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Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3265

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DAVID B. ROBERTSON  
DEPT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE  
UNIV OF MISSOURI-ST LOUIS  
ST LOUIS MO 63121