

**NEWSLETTER OF POLITICS & HISTORY:
AN ORGANIZED SECTION OF
AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION**

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From the President's Desk

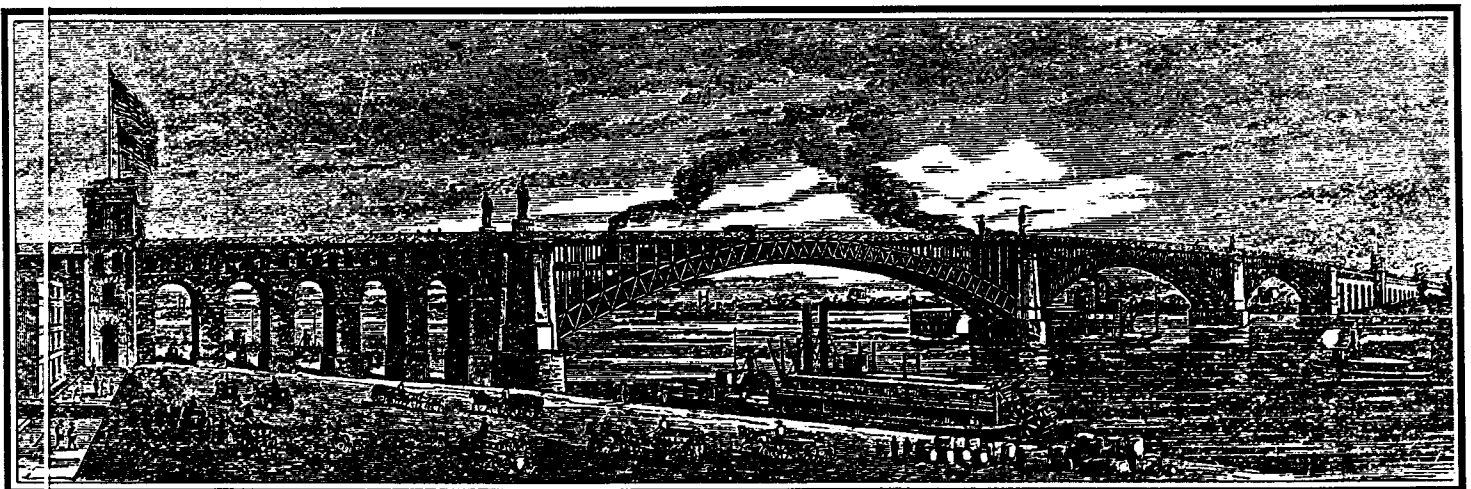
"Historical Perspective"

*Stephen Skowronek,
YALE UNIVERSITY*

In a recent scan of new chronicles of presidential administrations, I happened to read back-to-back Bob Woodward's *The Agenda* and Joan Hoff's *Nixon Reconsidered*. For all appearances, these books could not be more different, but reading them together I was struck by the extent to which their differences boiled down to a matter of historical perspective.

Woodward describes his assessment of the inner workings of the Clinton White House as falling "between newspaper journalism and history." More thorough and systematic in its account of an unfolding event than a single on-the-scene newspaper report, it is, he claims, also more contemporaneous and unmediated in its grasp of politics than archival research. He uses direct access to Washington insiders to trace the course of Clinton's first budget initiative; the "politics" is found in their evolving thoughts, actions, and reactions. The narrative makes us privy to a political struggle

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POLITICS & HISTORY
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For continuous receipt, section membership must be renewed yearly in addition to the annual membership required by the APSA.

Submissions are welcomed for all sections. We especially encourage submissions and correspondence to the New Books and Works in Progress sections of *Clio*. The deadline for submissions for the Spring/Summer issue is March 15. The deadline for submissions for the Fall/Winter issue is October 15. Communications and submissions should be directed to:

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From the Editor:

The temporary stewardship of CLIO now moves to the midwest. It will be a considerable challenge to maintain the high standards set by the first editors, Elaine Swift and Ken Finegold, and by their successors, Jim Morone and Rick Valelly. These four scholars laid an outstanding foundation for *Clio*.

We are fortunate that Lisa Panczer is serving as the managing editor. Lisa is a third year Ph.D. student in our program. Her research focuses on gender and representation, particularly in Congress. Lisa previously studied at East Stroudsburg State University and the University of Pittsburgh.

All section members owe a tremendous thanks to Bruce Beyers, the Associate Editor of CLIO who worked tirelessly to make it an outstanding publication. Very few of you have had the opportunity to experience Bruce's dedication, patience, and commitment to quality. Bruce came through St. Louis early in the fall and spent a full day helping orient Lisa and myself to the intricacies of PageMaker software and newsletter production. We will be indebted to Bruce for a long time.

This issue continues to forge connections between past and present, between geographical regions, and between scholars with different approaches to politics. Articles on public history and "belated feudalism", the rapidly growing Internet, the program for the Western Political Science Association in Portland, the conferences in Austin, Boulder, and New York, and the new books and journal articles all highlight the diversity of questions, alternative explanations, data sources and methods that are part of the "politics and history" impulse. We hope that we can build an informal working relationship with H-Pol, the history and politics Internet list moderated by Peter Knupfer.

Our newsletter needs your support to facilitate these connections. Please respond to our survey (p. 23). Let us know about your research agenda, about conferences focusing on some aspect of politics and history, about noteworthy and overlooked articles and books, about awards, grants, and research opportunities, and new sources of information. We hope that the institution of an e-mail address (clio@umslvma.umsl.edu) will elicit one or two paragraph comments about our common interests.

As I write this, pundits question the new directions of American politics in the wake of the 1994 election. We are armed with a sense that past patterns may have current application. But is the "return to history" a reassertion of our discipline's relevance or an abdication of it? In his 1919 address (p. 8), the APSA president raised the issue of whether or not political science is more relevant to society than history, a question that will strike many section members as profoundly ironic. Stephen Skowronek (p. 1) raises the problem of being too close to issues without historical context, and the opportunity we have of ensuring a more objective assessment of the constants and variables that inform contemporary political events. The question of whether or not "relevance" is our obligation is one that the post-1994 world may demand we answer.

On the Cover: The Eads Bridge between East St. Louis, IL., and St. Louis, MO., opened July 4, 1874; characterized as a "massive and enduring bond of union" between the East and West.

Politics and History Section Awards and Nominations Committees

Greenstone Book Award

Nominations for the J. David Greenstone Prize (the award of the Politics and History Section for the best book in politics and history published in the last two calendar years) should be sent to: **Professor David Vogel**, Chair of the Greenstone Prize Committee, Haas School of Business, University of California, Berkeley, 340 Barrows Hall #1900, Berkeley, CA 94720-1900. Other members of the Committee include: **Professor Amy Bridges**, Department of Political Science, University of California, San Diego, La Jolla, CA 92093; and **Professor Andrew Polsky**, Department of Political Science, Hunter College, CUNY, 695 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10021.

Best Article Award

Nominations for the Best Article Award (awarded for the best article in politics and history published in the last calendar year) should be sent to: **Professor Victoria Hattam**, Chair of the Article Award Committee, Politics and History Section, Department of Political Science, New School for Social Research, 65 Fifth Avenue, New York NY 10003. Other members of the Committee include: **Dr. John Padgett**, Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, 502 Pick Hall, 5828 South University, Chicago, IL 60637; and **Professor Margaret Weir**, The Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, D. C. 20035.

Nominations Committee

Politics and History Section President **Stephen Skowronek** will chair the nominations committee for selecting nominees for section offices to be presented at the 1995 business meeting in Chicago. Other members of the committee include: **Eldon Eisenach** of the University of Tulsa, **Sven Steinmo** of the University of Colorado at Boulder, **Deborah Stone** of Brandeis University, and **Richard Bense** of Cornell University.

Please fill out and
return the questionnaire
on p. 23.

"It's the Constitution, Stupid!"

Karen Orren

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA-LOS ANGELES

*Editor's Note: We asked Karen Orren, author of **Belated Feudalism: Labor, the Law, and Liberal Development in the United States** (Cambridge University Press, 1991), to comment on some of the reactions to her book. It was the co-winner of our section's first J. David Greenstone Prize, awarded in 1993, and it also was the subject of a 1993 roundtable at the American Political Science Association Meetings.*

The most critical reactions, and to me the most interesting, have been to my argument that feudal institutions governed important segments of American society, in particular employment relations, until their overturning during the New Deal. These have run the doubtfulness spectrum from "Feudal institutions never took hold in America" to "feudal institutions still govern." When I wrote the book, I worried a lot about getting the details right on the statutes and court cases that were the main evidence for my interpretation. So far, however, critics have concentrated on the broad claims.

The point where my position and the two criticisms meet one another concerns the relative activity of different governing institutions during the historical periods in question. I had argued that the hall mark of feudalism was judicial rather than legislative governance of social relations, with the consequence of maintaining ancient hierarchical privileges under common law. Thus, against Deborah Stone's suggestion along the lines of my argument that American welfare policy before the New Deal perpetuated feudal social relations, Theda Skocpol counters that pensions have historically been among the most "electorally and legislatively embedded" of social policies and that they were available regardless of race and social class. (*Studies in American Political Development*, 8 (1994): 145). On the other side, critics who accept the feudalism argument in its essentials have pointed out that American society remains, as legal scholar Catherine Fisk has put it, "mired in feudalism" (*Law and Social Inquiry*, 19 (1994): 174). This second critique stresses that courts have by no means decreased their activity since the New Deal, and their rulings have often reinforced the subordinate position of employees and others.

One can only put so many words in a book title: even following a colon. Still, I sometimes wish I had squeezed in "the Constitution." It would have emphasized two things. One is that I was analyzing governance, not social relations as such. Two is that I was concerned with what the Constitution historically provided in the way of institutionally defined limits on social change—that is, prior to the constitutional shift in the 1930s I argue was the historic accomplishment of the labor movement. There have been

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

immense changes in industry, family life, politics, and every other sphere since the time of Elizabeth I not to mention before. My point was that for all this change, the ancient hierarchy of master and servant continued to be legally enforced; the same may be said for hierarchy in the family. Privileges remained intact and were defended by courts when challenged or changed by legislation.

Labor legislation, like pension legislation, is almost as old as Parliament itself; as in America during later centuries, such legislation would be corrected by judges if it abridged common law rights, which, given the nature of early legislating, was seldom. Nor did every medieval statute impose hierarchy, anymore than every American statute undermined hierarchy, either before or since the New Deal; this can be said of judicial as well as legislative lawmaking. By the same token, today's judges continue to be active in social regulation—in fact, they continue to enforce old common law privileges—where there is no legislation to the contrary. In this perspective, however, the fact that social subordination of the old style persists today is, constitutionally speaking, an electoral and legislative matter. That the labor movement did not push farther when it was legislatively stronger has indeed left workers at the mercy of judges. It took the resurgence of feminism for women to exploit fully the new political circumstances, but today that is happening.

If there is a common theoretical impulse in these criticisms, it may be a resistance to categories like "feudal" and "liberal," "judicial review" and "legislative sovereignty," "constitution" and "law," "institution" and "action." My disposition so far has not been to junk these as "binary opposites" or political and academic artifacts, which they are, but to continue studying their permutations and cross-overs at specific historical junctures. This is because I think they express, in translation, what was at stake in important political conflicts, and that arrangements in society referenced by these categories have motivated political development. Such a structure-colored view may be valid for analyzing past development, of course, without telling us as much about a politics in which constitutional structure certainly, and perhaps also other familiar structures, are less a constraint.

Short Course

A Politics and History Section Short course: "Race and American Political Development" will be offered by Rogers Smith and Adolph Reed at the 1995 APSA Meetings. Topics will include: the ways and extent to which racial identities are historically products of governmental institutions & political mobilization; the relationship of race to class and gender hierarchies; and ways in which racial conflicts have historically structured many apparently nonracial political and legal controversies and policies.

"The Nation in Time: Crisis and Continuity in American Politics"

Gretchen Ritter
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS-AUSTIN

On April 29 and 30, a small conference entitled "The Nation in Time: Crisis and Continuity in American Politics," was held at the University of Texas at Austin. The theme was the role of history, temporality and periodicity in American political development. The event was organized by Walter Dean Burnham, Gretchen Ritter, Bartholomew Sparrow and Jeffrey Tulis. Some fifteen out of town participants were joined by a roughly equal number of UT Austin scholars. The format included open discussion organized around panels that addressed more specific topics and questions. The participants came from several disciplines, including American studies, anthropology, comparative literature, history, law, and political science. We engaged in two days of lively debates, which identified several issues of considerable interest to the participants.

What follows is a sample of some of the prominent themes from the conference. (It should be noted that this summary is my own and no doubt differs in important respects from what other conferees took away from the event.)

Multiple Orders

From our first session emerged an issue to which the conference returned several times. Karen Orren argued (from work that she has done with Stephen Skowronek) that political development should not be understood as constituted by system wide political regimes that proceed through normal periods, then face crisis and break down, to be replaced by a new regime. Instead, we may think of our polity as a set of overlapping political orders (particularly institutions) which have different political lineages and content. In the intercurrents between institutions, small or large political crises may develop.

The idea of multiple orders persisted in different forms (many more oriented to issues of political identity) throughout the conference. The idea was challenged from several perspectives. Walter Dean Burnham, Bruce Ackerman, and others, argued for the continued validity of periodization schemes, whether they be in the form of punctuated equilibrium models or constitutional moments. Other suggested that Orren and Skowronek tended to present political institutions as too autonomous and too internally coherent. Finally, there were those who pointed to the neglect of political culture in such an institution centered analysis. Overall, it seemed that most conference participants were unwilling to refute periodization schemes entirely, but were also willing to adopt some version of a multiple orders thesis.

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What is Public History?

Otis L. Graham, Jr.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA-SANTA BARBARA

In 1976 historian Robert Kelley, of the University of California, Santa Barbara, recruited some 20 distinguished American historians to sign a letter to President-elect Jimmy Carter urging him to set up an historical office in the White House. Carter and his aides needed historians on staff, the letter argued, for a knowledge of history could give depth and perspective to their policymaking and help them avoid costly blunders when reasoning was based on false or simplistic analogies. Kelley and the others were presumably moved, in part, by reading historian Ernest May's 1972 account of the dismal series of presidential mistakes attributable in large degree to misapplied analogies between present issues and past experiences (*Lessons of the Past*).

Like the other signers, Kelley was an academic historian; unlike the others, he did not believe that the professionals hired to staff the new Historical Office should necessarily be academics. (Jimmy Carter never replied to the letter, nor did Ronald Reagan to a similar one; Bill Clinton is said to be discussing a scaled-down version of the idea.) Kelley knew that academy-trained history Ph.Ds had been working for the federal government for decades, perhaps a century—in the Army and Navy, the National Park Service, the Department of Agriculture. For such off-campus roles, surely a different training was required, one going beyond the usual methodology and content of history graduate programs. There should also be instruction in the art of application and in the emerging contours of an expanding set of careers for historians working in museums, archives, preservation practice, corporations, and government agencies. Kelley established at UCSB in 1977 one of the nation's first such graduate programs (the other was at Carnegie-Mellon). He called the graduates and their off-campus predecessors "public historians," and the name has endured. Before long the historians so employed—some of them surprised to be suddenly called "public historians"—met with some academics involved in the new graduate programs and established the National Council on Public History, which holds annual meetings, publishes a newsletter and other guides to the field, and (jointly with the History Department at UCSB) a journal, *The Public Historian*. Nobody knows for sure how many public historians there are (there are over 300 members of the Society for Historians in the Federal Government and around 1,300 members of NCPH), but over 35 graduate programs have been counted.

What is the difference between on- and off-campus historians? While there are shades of gray, and many academics who do contract work (making them instant public historians) as well as public historians who return to campus to teach, it is generally accepted that the principal difference

lies in audience, and in the site of work. As a graduate student once said to me: "I get it. With public history, the client asks the question." That gets pretty close to the heart of it, without noting that, as in law or medicine, the question gets refined and if necessary reformulated when the client's relationship with the professional historian begins. The work product of many public historians is published in the usual ways (including not only books and essays, but also museum or historic site exhibits and interpretation) and is reviewed in scholarly journals, most regularly in *The Public Historian*. That journal has also begun to solicit and review the "gray literature" of the field, research and analysis submitted to the client and thus not published, or given limited circulation. For membership information and subscription write to:

National Council of Public History, David Vanderstel,
Executive Director, 327 Cavanaugh Hall, 425 University Blvd.
Indianapolis, IN 46202-5140. Phone: (317) 274-2716

Awards

Members of the Politics and History Section have won several prestigious awards that were recognized at the September meeting of the American Political Science Association in New York. Congratulations to all these members on their outstanding achievements.

Scott H. Ainsworth, University of Georgia, won the Emerging Scholars Award presented by the Political Organizations and Parties Section of the APSA.

The University of North Carolina recognized **Michael Leinesch** with a Teaching Award.

Eileen McDonagh, Northeastern University, won the Best Paper Award in the field of Women and Politics Research for her paper, "Abortion Rights Alchemy and the U.S. Supreme Court."

Stephen Skowronek, Yale University, won the Richard E. Neustadt Award for **The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to George Bush**. The award recognizes the best book published during the year that contributed to research and scholarship in the field of the American presidency.

Clarence N. Stone, University of Maryland, won the Career Achievement Award presented by the Urban Politics Section of the APSA.

Sven Steinmo, University of Colorado, won the Best Book or Article Award in Political Economy for **Taxation and Democracy**.

*Please let us know about any honors that we overlooked or that are awarded in future months. Send any information about awards to **Dave Robertson** at the address on the second page.*

Politics and History Section Panels
Western Political Science Association
March 16-19, 1995 Portland, Oregon
Program Co-Chairs: Eileen McDonagh (Northeastern University)
and Ruth O'Brien (John Jay College, CUNY)

RETHINKING THE RISE OF THE RHETORICAL PRESIDENCY

Chair: Richard J. Ellis (Willamette University)

"Presidential Mandates in the 19th Century; Conceptual Change and Political Development,"

Richard J. Ellis and Stephen Kirk (Willamette University)

"Is Woodrow Wilson Responsible for the Rhetorical Presidency? Democratic Popular Leadership in Historical Perspective,"

Terri Bimes (Yale University)

"Woodrow Wilson and the Dilemmas and Development of the Rhetorical Presidency," Daniel Stid (Wabash College)

Discussants: Jeffrey K. Tulis (University of Texas)

Robert Eden (Hillsdale College)

FACISM AND SOCIALISM: IDEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Chair: Mary Hampton (University of Utah)

"Everyone's Bastard and No One's Child: The Ideological Paternity of Fascism," Terrence E. Cook (Washington State University)

"What is Left Fascism?" Richard Wolin (Rice University)

"Explaining Military Revolts in Chile and Spain," Steven Snow (Western Washington University)

"Citizenship and Socialism," Mike Parkhurst (University of Massachusetts-Amherst)

Discussants: Linda Zerilli (Rutgers University)

Michael Franz (Loyola University)

STATE-BUILDING FROM NEW PERSPECTIVES

Chair: Jack Riley (Coastal Carolina College)

"Office-holders Rights," Karen Orren (UCLA)

"Rational Choice vs. Historical Institutionalism: The Case of the U.S. Department of Agriculture,"

Kenneth Feingold (East Washington University)

"Writing the Rules to Win the Game," Amy Bridges (UC-San Diego)

Discussants: Gretchen Ritter (Princeton University)

Susan Sterett (University of Denver)

REGULATION IN HISTORICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXTS

Chair: Ruth O'Brien (John Jay College, CUNY)

"New Views on Anti-Trust and Regulatory Policies," Scott James (UC-Davis)

"Pluralism without Diversity: Anti-Trust Associations in the 1920s," Gerald Berk (University of Oregon)

"Managerial Liberalism and the Growth of the American State: A Deweyan Critique," Dan O'Connor (UCLA)

"Support and Opposition to Educational Grants-in-Aid in the 1920s and 30s," Ed Fox (Eastern Washington University)

Discussants: Edward Lorenz (Alma College)

Sandra Christensen (Eastern Washington University)

CONGRESS AS THE LOCUS OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

Chair: David Carroll Cochran (University of Maryland)

“Committee Systems and the Transaction Costs of Growth,” Keith Fitzgerald (New College of the University of South Florida)

“The Last Chance for Party Government? The Speaker, Insurgency, and Party Control in the House, 1890-1920,”

Alan Siaroff (University of British Columbia)

“The Senate and the Constitutional Convention: Consensus, Compromise, Catch-All, and the Contradictions,”

Daniel Wirls (UC-Santa Cruz)

“Endogeneity, Path Dependence, and the Political Careers of Members of Congress: The Impact of Holding Senate Leadership and Non-leadership Positions,” Elaine K. Swift (East Washington University)

Discussants: Cal Jillson (University of Colorado-Boulder)

Ronald Schmidt (UC-Berkeley)

GENDER, RACE, IDENTITY, AND POLITICAL CULTURE

Chair: John Christian Laursen (UC-Riverside)

“Villains, Victims, and Heroes: The Raced, Gendered, and Classed Construction of the American National Subject,”

Julie Ann Heegaard (Johns Hopkins University)

“Outlaws of Humanity and Perpetual Enemies: An American Perspective on Indigenous Peoples,”

Roberta Haines (University of Alaska)

“Gendered Citizenship and National Order,” Gretchen Ritter (Princeton University)

“Gender and American Political Development,” Eileen McDonagh (Northeastern University)

Discussants: Carole Pateman (UCLA)

Donna Schuele (UC-Santa Barbara)

ROUNDTABLE: NEW PERSPECTIVES ON POLITICAL HISTORY

Chair: David Brian Robertson (University of Missouri-St. Louis)

Mary O. Furner (UC-Santa Barbara, Department of History)

Harry Scheiber (UC-Berkeley, School of Law)

Hugh Davis Graham (Vanderbilt University, Department of History)

Don Critchlow (St. Louis University, Department of History)

FEDERALISM AND AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Chair: Gregory Alan Coolidge (UC-Riverside)

“The Myth of the Weak American State: Federalism Reconsidered,” Suzanne Mettler (Syracuse University)

“A History of Political Consulting,” Stephen K. Medvic (Purdue University)

“Federalism and the Development of National Energy Policies,” Richard Streat (Baruch College)

“The Changing Nature of Progressive Reform Coalitions in the U.S.: An Analysis of the 17th and 18th Amendments in the House of Representatives,” Francine Sanders (Middle Tennessee State University)

Discussants: Martha Derthick (University of Virginia)

David Brian Robertson (University of Missouri-St. Louis)

"What is the matter with political science if it may serve to undermine institutions of government? Has it no settled criteria of political value, no methods of analysis by which it can accurately discern the causes of bad government and prescribe the means of cure? Can it, in fine, be anything more than a branch of history? Can it really maintain pretensions to rank as a genuine science of political institutions, enlightening and directing the arts of practical statesmanship?"

"[P]olitical science is not merely historical, but is a genuine science in that it can supply plain interpretation, clear foresight, and practical guidance to those who consult it. The state of political science may be fairly compared with that of medical science. The one has much the same relation to the body politic that the other has to the physical body. The field of each science is a hunting ground for quackery and charlatanry; in the case of each the application of well-established principles is obstructed by ignorance and cupidity. But these defects in the situation do not alter the fact that a genuine body of scientific knowledge does exist, and that the real problem is not to supply knowledge but to make available the existing supply. Political science, like medicine, is a progressive science; but in each case actual attainments are immensely in advance of their practical application. The prevalence of typhoid fever and smallpox in American communities does not discredit medical science. It knows just what to do to banish such ailments if allowed to act; the difficulty is not to find out what to do, but it is to obtain means of doing what ought to be done. Much the same may be said of political science with regard to problems in its field.

"...To take a signal instance from our own history, exact inquiry will show that the long, miserable delay in effecting currency reform was not due to lack of scientific knowledge but to the covert legislative influence of particular interests so circumscribed as to be as naturally opposed to reform as peddlers of well water would be to the introduction of a public system of water supply. The passage of the Federal Reserve Act was notoriously the result of such a vigorous exertion of presidential influence as to secure legislative attention to scientific advice. It is, in fine, the law of political progress that sound developments are the result of administrative initiative guided by scientific knowledge. When difficult situations arise in government it generally appears that the main trouble is in the matter of power to act and not through insufficiency of knowledge. If this be true, it follows that political science ought to be able to tell what is the matter with representative government that so strong a popular reaction should be going against it. I venture to say that political science can do that very thing."

*Henry Jones Ford, "Present Tendencies in American Politics," *American Political Science Review*, 14:1 (February 1920): 1-13.

We invite reactions of 150 words or less to CLIO, Department of Political Science, UM-St. Louis, or via e-mail to CLIO@UMSLVMA.UMSL.EDU.

In February, 1992, prominent scholars met in Boulder, Colorado to discuss American political change and development. The resulting papers were published in two volumes.

Lawrence C. Dodd, and Calvin Jillson. 1994. *New Perspectives on American Politics*. Washington: CQ Press.

- Nelson W. Polsby, "Foreword: On Political Change in Modern America" - John F. Manley, "The Significance of Class in American History and Politics" - Rodney Hero, "Two-Tiered Pluralism: Race and Ethnicity in American Politics" - Eileen L. McDonagh, "Gender Politics and Political Change" - Edward G. Carmines, "Political Issues, Party Alignments, Spatial Models, and the Post-New Deal Party System" - Walter J. Stone, "Asymmetries in the Electoral Bases of Representation, Nomination Politics, and Partisan Change" - Thomas Ferguson, "'Organized Capitalism,' Fiscal Policy, and the 1992 Democratic Campaign" - Bert A. Rockman, "The New Institutionalism and the Old Institutions" - Sean Q. Kelly, "Punctuated Change and the Era of Divided Government" - Paul J. Quirk and Bruce Nesmith, "Explaining Deadlock: Domestic Policymaking in the Bush Presidency" - John W. Kingdon, "Agendas, Ideas, and Policy Change" - Virginia Gray, "Competition, Emulation, and Policy Innovation" - John P. McIver, Robert S. Erikson, and Gerald C. Wright, "Public Opinion and Public Policy: A View From the States" - Theda Skocpol, "Early U.S. Social Policies: A Challenge to Theories of the Welfare State" - Linda L. Fowler, "Political Entrepreneurs, Governing Processes, and Political Change" - Martin Shefter, "International Influences on American Politics" - David R. Mayhew, "U.S. Policy Waves in Comparative Context"

Lawrence C. Dodd and Calvin Jillson. 1994. *The Dynamics of American Politics: Approaches and Interpretations*. Boulder: Westview Press.

- Theodore J. Lowi, "Forward" - Calvin Jillson, "Patterns and Periodicity in American National Politics" - Walter Dean Burnham, "Pattern Recognition and 'Doing' Political History: Art, Science, or Rootless Enterprise?" - Elaine K. Swift and David W. Brady, "Common Ground: History and Theories of American Politics" - Sven H. Steinmo, "American Exceptionalism Reconsidered: Culture or Institutions?" - Russell L. Hanson, "Liberalism and the Course of American Social Welfare Policy" - Edward S. Greenberg, "Macroeconomic Change and Political Transformation in the United States" - Theda Skocpol, "The Origins of Social Policy in the United States: A Polity-Centered Analysis" - John Aldrich, "Rational Choice Theory and the Study of American Politics" - Murray Edelman, "The Social Psychology of Politics" - Robert Huckfeldt and Paul Allen Beck, "Contexts, Intermediaries, and Political Behavior" - Clarence N. Stone, "Group Politics Reexamined: From Pluralism to Political Economy" - Jane J. Mansbridge, "Politics as Persuasion" - Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, "Beyond the Iconography of Order: Notes for a 'New Institutionalism'" - Lawrence C. Dodd, "Political Learning and Political Change: Understanding Development Across Time" - Hugh Heclo, "Ideas, Interests, and Institutions"

BOOK NOTES

Martin Shefter. 1994. **Political Parties and the State: The American Historical Experience.** New Jersey: Princeton University Press. hc: \$49.50; pb: \$14.95.

This collection of seven essays analyzes the development of American political parties as the reflection of American political institutions and the strategic behavior of leaders. Three central questions inform these essays: Under what conditions do strong, disciplined party organizations emerge? What influences the extent to which political parties are programmatic or patronage-oriented? Under what circumstances will parties that formerly dominated politics come under attack? These pieces reveal the author's interest in the new institutionalism, in American class mobilization in comparative perspective, and in the politics of postwar New York City.

Eldon J. Eisenach. 1994. **The Lost Promise of Progressivism.** Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Eisenach traces the origins of Progressive ideas as a political theory, shows how these ideas came to dominate American political discourse beyond the courts and political parties by the 1910s, and demonstrates that institutions inspired by the Progressives permeate the American polity. Women's movements, churches, universities, and reform journalism helped make progressivism emerge as alternative "National Regime" in the 1910s, and progressive thinkers redefined America's national identity. Eisenach contends that, as Progressivism triumphed in the 1912 election, it began to disintegrate into incoherence, eventually to be replaced by intellectual stagnation and liberal political theory. "The passage from Progressivism to liberalism ... was a kind of euthanasia of articulate and contestable ideas, an implicit denial that America either needed or had them — even as America as a superpower was projecting its way of life in every corner of the world" (p. 4).

Linda Gordon. 1994. **Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare.** New York: Free Press. hc: \$21.95

In the U.S., claims to welfare have been based on needs, earnings, and rights. Public policies built on the claims of earnings and rights usually have been masculine, aiming to assert power in the economy and the state. Policies based on needs, such as Aid to Dependent Children, usually have been rooted in feminine claims of need. These claims helped build a political power base for women, but they also contributed to the limitations of contemporary welfare programs.

Calvin Jillson and Rick K. Wilson. 1994. **Congressional Dynamics: Structure, Coordination, and Choice in the First American Congress, 1774-1789.** Stanford University Press.

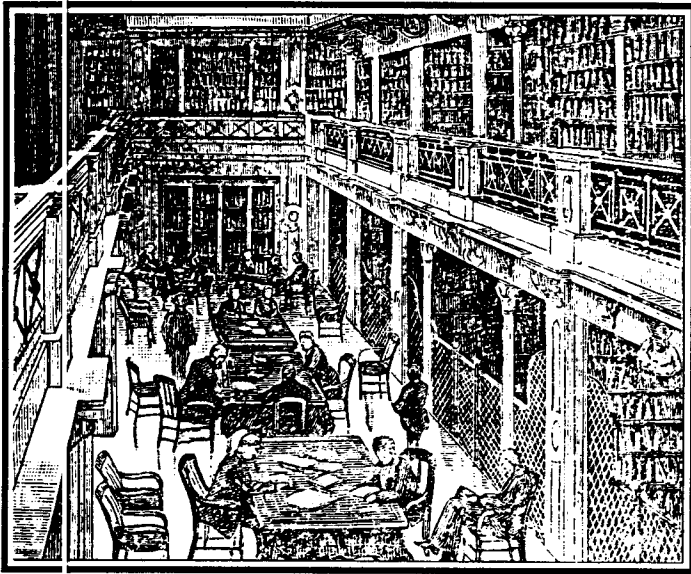
This book reinterprets the Continental Congress from the perspective of the social choice wing of "new institutionalism," which explores how the design of an institution affects the behavior of its actors. The authors present the first modern inquiry into questions of how leadership was exercised from the chair and the floor, how the committee system was organized and how it processed its work, and how debate and decision proceeded on the floor. Multidimensional Scaling (MDS) is employed to create delegate preference maps which depict spatially the divisions that existed year to year between and among the members of Congress. The norms, rules, and institutional structures of the Continental Congress were as much to blame for the Congress' eventual failure as the reluctance of the states to support the new government or the propensity of delegates to divide along sectional lines.

Sidney Tarrow. 1994. **Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics.** Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press. pb: \$18.95.

Unlike political or economic institutions, social movements have an elusive power, but one that is no less real. From the French and American revolutions through the democratic workers' movements of the nineteenth century to the new social movements of today, movements exercise a fleeting but powerful influence on politics and society. This study surveys the history of the social movement, puts forward a theory of collective action to explain its surges and declines, and offers an interpretation of the power of movement that focuses on its effects on personal lives, policy reforms, and political culture. While emphasizing the cultural, organizational and personal sources of the power in movement, the book interprets the rise and fall of social movements as part of political struggle and as the outcome of changes in political opportunity structure.

Jill Quadagno. 1994. **The Color of Welfare: How Racism Undermined the War on Poverty.** New York: Oxford University Press. hc: \$24.00.

American exceptionalism is rooted in the central dilemma of race relations. The New Deal legitimated racial segregation in employment and housing, and its Social Security Act created a two tiered system of racially-segregated benefits. While other nations were extending the welfare state in the post-World War II generation, the U.S. was struggling to extend democracy to African-Americans. The War on Poverty resulted in the ghettoization of urban politics and contributed to the loss of support for the civil rights agenda. The Nixon administration consolidated the middle class welfare state rooted in the insurance provisions of Social Security.



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Stephen Amberg. 1994. **The Union Inspiration in American Politics: Autoworkers and the Making of a Liberal Industrial Order.** Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

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Paul J. Weber and W. Landis Jones, eds. 1994. **U.S. Religious Interest Groups Institutional Profiles**. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood. hc: \$69.50.

The Politics that Presidents Make

Stephen Skowronek's election as section President comes at a time when his new book **The Politics Presidents Make** is attracting considerable attention in political science. Winner of both the Neustadt and Greenstone book prizes at the APSA, the book has also been the topic of two well attended roundtables. As last Spring's Western Political Science Association meetings, a roundtable on the book included remarks by Peri Arnold, Sidney Milkis, Karren Orren, James Sterling Young and Skowronek. A symposia derived from that discussion will be published this year in the journal **Polity**. At this Fall's APSA meetings, Skowronek responded to remarks at a roundtable that included Walter Dean Burnham, Michael Rogin, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and Jeffrey K. Tulis. Parts of that discussion will be incorporated into a symposia forthcoming in the **Journal of Policy History**.

The Journal of Policy History is planning a special issue concerning policy, political culture, and social movements in the 1970s. To propose a chapter or to find out more, please contact the editor, David B. Robertson, Department of Political Science, University of Missouri-St. Louis, 8001 Natural Bridge Road, St. Louis, MO 63121-4499; (314) 516-5855
e-mail: SDBROBE@UMSLVMA.UMSL.EDU.

Liberalism and Illiberalism

Although it was not officially on the agenda of the conference, the role of liberalism in American history became one of the conferences's main themes. In the presentations of Ira Katznelson, Uday Mehta, Gretchen Ritter, and Rogers Smith, the role of history in liberal theory and of liberalism in political practice was repeatedly addressed. Katznelson argued that commonality in American history was to be found in the liberal public sphere. It was here that common rights and citizenship created the basis for a shared conversation and history among Americans. I argued instead that liberal theory denied history, and that within an American context, the assumption of historical progress within liberalism worked to deny illiberal legacies (slavery, the oppression of women, etc.) by viewing them as obstacles that were overcome, and events that were untrue to our core liberal identity.

Perhaps the most exciting exchanges came during the second to last panel, when both Uday Mehta and Rogers Smith returned to the theme of liberalism. Mehta argued that Anglo-American liberal theory had no theory of space, particularly no theory of the nation as a geographic entity. This argument was made in connection with his broader thesis about liberal excursions that deny history, geography, subjectivity, and political power. Smith also spoke of the uses of history in constructing political power, but defended liberalism's record as a means to historical progress.

History as Narrative

Richard Slotkin introduced the theme of history as a narrative in his comments and in his presentation on the first day. Slotkin argued that history is manufactured; that it is a cultural lore that is used to provide coherence to our lived experiences. History constitutes the nation as a sort of fictive ethnicity. This theme of history as narrative was echoed by Gerald Berk, Ann Cvetkovitch, Anne Norton, Michael Rogin, Lora Romero, and Jeffrey Tulis.

Berk argued that a review of economic development showed that the emergence of corporate capitalism in the U.S. was particular and contingent rather than linear and determined. Such work exposes the distorting role of unifying narratives in understanding history. Anne Norton spoke to the role that historical narratives play in constructing politics and suggested that political challengers often attempt to recapture "lost" histories to provide credibility for their agendas. This insistence on a political presence in the past is misguided, she argued. There is a virtue to forgetting; it allows us to create anew. We needn't rely on past script to write our political futures.

For the last panel, Michael Rogin's witty analysis of Richard Nixon's funeral provided a stunning example of the power of narrative in politics, and the need for historical and interpretive tools to understand American politics. On the same panel, Ann Cvetkovitch served as a counterpoint to Rogin, as she sought to unmask the narrative structure of Rogin's

deconstructive account of the funeral. Cvetkovitch called into question (and was echoed by others) the focus on presidential politics exhibited in the discussions of Nixon. For many (particularly the socially less privileged), she argued, personal presidential politics were not relevant and did not resonate with their own social experiences.

In response to some of these arguments, Ira Katznelson asked us to remember institutional constraints and the limits of political choice. He, like Theda Skocpol (and others), argued for balancing our analysis to account for both political institutions and identities; both structure and agency; both contingency and determinism.

These two days of conversation were challenging for the participants, both because of the disciplinary diversity represented by the group (it took us time to find a language with which to talk to each other), and because the style of presentations emphasized open discussion on broad topics rather than presentations of finished works. The conversation proved intellectually liberating as it moved conferees away from settled categories and received wisdom to a more direct confrontation with the problems of political culture and history. Inspired by recent advances in related disciplines, the interpretive and historical turn in political science is creating important new insights into politics and political changes.

New York Colloquium on American Political Development

ANDREW POLSKY

To encourage greater interaction among the numerous scholars in the New York metropolitan area interested in the study of American political development, the New York Colloquium on American Political Development has been organized under the auspices of the Ph.D. Program in Political Science at the Graduate School of the City University of New York. The first meeting was held on November 10th. Professor Brian Waddell of City College presented a paper, "The Politics of Reconversion: Constructing the Post-War Governing Consensus."

Current plans call for the colloquium to convene once or twice per semester. Faculty and graduate students in the New York area are welcome, including scholars who are in the area at foundations or on visiting appointments. If you would like information or wish to be included on the mailing list, please contact: Professor Andrew J. Polsky, Department of Political Science, Hunter College, CUNY, 695 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10021.

whose outcome is unknown by either the analyst or his principles. Indeed, Clinton's "accomplishment," the final passage of a budget, becomes, in this telling, the least significant thing about his leadership. Woodward's "history-as-it-happens" invites us to take the measure of the man and his presidency from an assessment of the process by which the result was achieved. What we see is an administration which seems to lack a center of gravity and control, and a president so infirm in his avowed commitment to change things that he does not realize until it is too late that what he is actually producing is just more of the same. This critique is sharp without seeming imposed. Woodward allows Clinton's leadership pretensions to succumb to our own deeply-ingrained, civics-book sense of how a government should work and what a leader should be.

Hoff is out to correct what she sees as the distorted impressions of the Nixon presidency created by close-to-the-scene investigative journalists like Woodward. The passage of time and the availability of new archival material make possible a more dispassionate assessment of this much maligned figure, and Hoff uses these resources to infuse Nixon revisionism with a historian's authority to set the record straight. Against Woodward's mugwumpish expose of the gap between our standards of good government and the actual practice, Hoff insists on a "cold" appraisal of initiatives taken and accomplishments realized. To break our narrow fixation on the Watergate crimes she prescribes placing the Nixon administration in the larger context of politics in the post-World War II era. There she finds a president who manifests the best as well as the worst of the political system of which he was a part. The praise is circumspect, but the analysis turns Richard Nixon into the forgotten progressive of liberal America.

Clinton may take comfort in the thought that, with the passage of time and the release of new information, an historian like Hoff is sure to come along who will put his presidency in some larger perspective. What comes across to me, however, is the alternative perspective already available to anyone who reads these two works together. Hoff tells of a moderate Republican who, having displaced the long-dominant liberals from power, ended up "exceeding the accomplishments of the New Deal and the Great Society." While Nixon found much of the conservative side of his agenda blocked, he was willing to make advances of his own into the areas of civil rights, social welfare, environmental protection and to threaten liberals by staking claim to their issues. Similarly, Woodward tells of a moderate Democrat, who having displaced the long-dominant conservatives in power, ended up implementing "an economic program worthy of George Bush." Encountering stiff resistance to the more liberal aspects of his agenda, Clinton has demonstrated a penchant for repackaging "change" as more effective action on his opponents commitments — deficit reduction, NAFTA, workfare, crime control.

From this perspective, a comparative historical perspective, the issues posed by these two books are not all that different. The interesting insight, for me at least, has little to do with whether Nixon's progressive forays bolster his standing as a leader or whether Clinton's drift toward conservatism undercuts his leadership pretensions; it is, rather, about what leaders who come from the opposition do when they find that they cannot repudiate received commitments outright.

Thinking about the matter in this way, I was reminded of the paradox of Woodrow Wilson as it has recently been posed in a dissertation that won this year's E.E. Schattschneider award. In an exemplary blending of theory and history, Scott James examines the political strategies of Democratic administrations in the period of Republican dominance between the Civil War and the New Deal. At the center stands President Wilson, the leader of a rabidly anti-statist and anti-corporate party who maneuvered his administration behind the creation of a new federal agency which would support and legitimize the corporate reconstruction of the American economy.

Clinton, Nixon, and Wilson are the three presidents of the twentieth century to land in office as leaders of an opposition party claiming about 40% of the popular vote. Where James sees the irresistible party-building strategy of the minority leader determined to expand his base, Hoff sees the machinations of an "apricipled pragmatist" throwing his weight to wherever can most effectively disorient his opponents and gain credit for himself, and Woodward sees proof certain that the current incumbent is a chameleon on plaid. My sense is that each assessment is correct not only about its own subject but about the other two as well. It's largely a matter of historical perspective.

1994 Business Meeting

Politics and History Section members enjoyed a brief business meeting on September 2 at the American Political Science Association convention at the New York Hilton. President Walter Dean Burnham reported that section growth continued and that its membership size now ranked among the top half-dozen in the APSA. Secretary/Treasurer Richard Valelly reported that the section's budget was in surplus and thanked the members for helping him and James Morone in their role as editors of CLIO. Rick reported favorable comments from professional historians who receive CLIO. Ellen Immergut and Cathie Jo Martin were applauded for organizing section panels at the 1994 and 1995 APSA meetings, respectively. The members approved the elections of Stephen Skowronek as section President and Dave Robertson as Secretary/Treasurer and CLIO editor.

Politics and History on the Internet

H-Net is an international initiative to assist humanists in using the Internet. With financial support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, and hosted by the University of Illinois-Chicago and Michigan State University, H-Net sponsors electronic discussion groups or "lists" by and for interested professional scholars, college professors, graduate students, librarians and archivists. Over 17,000 subscribers in 56 countries automatically receive messages in their computer mailboxes from over 35 lists. These messages can be saved, discarded, downloaded to a PC, copied, printed out, posted to local bulletin boards, or relayed to someone else. Readers can reply to these electronic newsletters immediately. Each list is moderated by one or more scholars and has a board of editors. The moderators control the flow of messages and reject those unsuitable for a scholarly discussion group. H-NET's Executive Director is Professor Richard Jensen, Department of History, University of Illinois-Chicago (Richard.Jensen@uicvm.uic.edu.). To subscribe to most lists, send this one line e-mail message to H-Net's Internet address, LISTSERV@UICVM.UIC.EDU:

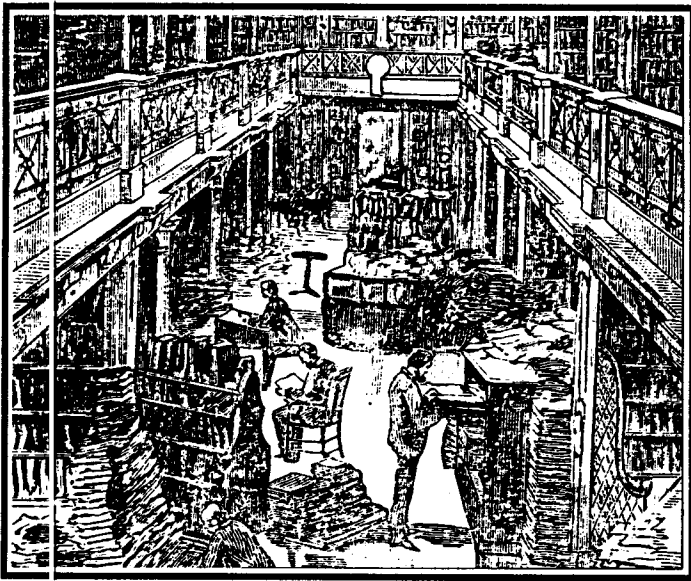
SUBSCRIBE H-xxxx (Firstname, Surname, School) where H-xxxx = list name (for example, subscribe H-TEACH Jean Smith, South State U.). Subscriptions are controlled and limited to a professional clientele. The editors will send you a short questionnaire and sign you up when you return it. The messages will automatically arrive in your mailbox.

H-POL: Members of the Politics and History Section will find H-Pol, the Internet list on the History of Politics, particularly useful. With 482 subscribers in the fall of 1994, H-Pol offers subscribers book and software reviews, lively commentary, teaching materials, job postings, announcements of new products, publications, services, and funding opportunities, and most important of all, regular contact with your colleagues in the humanities and social sciences. This is a very lively list that has included not only stimulating historical discussion but timely information about the 1994 elections. Subscription is free: send an e-mail message from the computer address where you want to receive mail, to LISTSERV@UICVM.UIC.EDU, with the following command as its text: sub h-pol your name, your university. Questions may be sent to H-Pol's current moderator, Prof. Peter Knupfer, History Department, Kansas State University -- pknupfer@ksu.ksu.edu.

H-STATE, another useful list for section members, provides international forum for the discussion of the welfare state, policy history, and social welfare history. H-STATE, with 345 subscribers in the fall of 1994, is especially interested in discussion about recent work in

that "brings the state back in" to the study of social welfare programs and the political economy. H-STATE publishes syllabi, outlines, handouts, bibliographies, listings of new articles, books, and archives, and reports on new software, datasets and cd-roms. H-STATE posts announcements of grants, conferences, fellowships and jobs. H-STATE is co-moderated by Professor E. Wayne Carp of Pacific Lutheran U., Dept. of History, Tacoma, WA 98447 (e-mail: carpw@plu.edu) and by Professor Larry G. Gerber of Auburn U., Department of History, Auburn, AL 36849 (e-mail: gerbelg@mail.auburn.edu).





JOURNAL SCAN

The scholarly journals examined include those published since the last issue of the newsletter. Periodicals that were not available for scanning will be included in future issues.

The American Historical Review

Michael S. Roth, "Performing History: Modernist Contextualism in Carl Schorske's *Fin-de-Siecle Vienna*," 99:3 (June 1994): 729-745.

Harry Liebersohn, "Discovering Indigenous Nobility: Tocqueville, Chateaubriand, and Romantic Travel Writing," 99:3 (June 1994): 746-766.

Christopher Waldrep, "The Making of a Border State Society: James McGready, the Great Revival, and the Prosecution of Profanity in Kentucky," 99:3 (June 1994): 767-784.

David Joravsky, "Communism in Historical Perspective," 99:3 (June 1994): 837-857.

Gary Gerstle, "The Protean Character of American Liberalism," 99:4 (October 1994): 1043-1073.

Sandra Stanley Holton, "'To Educate Women into Rebellion': Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the Creation of a Transatlantic Network of Radical Suffragists," 99:4 (October 1994): 1112-1136.

Barbara Donagan, "Atrocity, War Crime, and Treason in the English Civil War," 99:4 (October 1994): 1137-1166.

American Journal of Political Science

Jack Tweedie, "Resources Rather than Needs: A State-Centered Model of Welfare Policymaking," 38 (August 1994): 651-672.

American Political Science Review

Lawrence R. Jacobs and Robert Y. Shapiro, "Issues, Candidate Image, and Priming: The Use of Private Polls in Kennedy's 1960 Presidential Campaign," 88:3 (September 1994): 527-540.

Andrew Gelman and Gary King, "Enhancing Democracy through Legislative Redistricting," 88 (September 1994): 541-559.

Lyn Kathlene, "Power and Influence in State Legislative Policymaking: The Interaction of Gender and Position in Committee Hearing Debates," 88:3 (September 1994): 560-576.

Edward N. Muller and Mitchell A. Seligson, "Civic Culture and Democracy: The Question of Causal Relationships," 88:3 (September 1994): 635-652.

William James Booth, "On the Idea of the Moral Economy," 88:3 (September 1994): 653-667.

American Politics Quarterly

Benjamin Radcliff, "Turnout and the Democratic Vote," 22:3 (July 1994): 259-276.

Malcolm E. Jewell, "State Legislative Elections: What We Know and What We Don't Know," 22:4 (October 1994): 438-509.

American Sociological Review

Douglas S. Massey, Andrew B. Gross, and Kumiko Shibuya, "Migration, Segregation and the Geographic Concentration of Poverty," 59:3 (June 1994): 425-445.

A Debate on Deconstruction, Stephan Fuchs and Steven Ward; Ben Agger, 59:4 (August 1994): 481-510.

Lynne M. Casper, Sara S. McLanahan, and Irwin Garfinkel, "The Gender-Poverty Gap: What We can Learn from Other Countries," 59:4 (August 1994): 594-605.

British Journal of Political Science

John F. Helliwell, "Empirical Linkages Between Democracy and Economic Growth," 24:2 (April 1994): 225-248.

X. L. Ding, "Institutional Amphibiousness and the Transition from Communism: The Case of China," 24:3 (July 1994): 293-318.

Ian McAllister and Jack Vowles, "The Rise of New Politics and Market Liberalism in Australia and New Zealand," 24:3 (July 1994): 381-402.

Business History Review

Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., "The Competitive Performance of U.S. Industrial Enterprises Since the Second World War," 68:1 (Spring 1994): 1-72.

Comparative Politics

Mattie Dogan, "The Decline of Nationalism within Western Europe," 26:3 (April 1994): 281-305.

Ruth Lane, "Structural-Functionalism Reconsidered: A Proposed Research Model," 26:4 (July 1994): 461-477.

Markus M. L. Crepaz, "From Semisovereignty to Sovereignty: The Decline of Corporatism and The Rise of Parliament in Austria," 27:1 (October 1994): 45-65.

Dissent

David Brody, "The Future of the Labor Movement in Historical Perspective," (Winter 1994): 57-66.

Michael Walzer, "Multiculturalism and Individualism," (Spring 1994): 185-191.

Special Section: Green Politics, (Spring 1994): 213-240.

Linda Gordon, "Welfare Reform: A History Lesson," (Summer 1994): 323-328.

Margaret Weir, "Urban Poverty and Defensive Localism," (Summer 1994): 337-342.

Dorothy Sue Cobble, "Labor Law Reform and Postindustrial Unionism," (Fall 1994): 474-480.

Economic and Industrial Democracy

Magnus Ryner, "Assessing SAP's Economic Policy in the 1980s: The 'Third Way', the Swedish Model and the Transition from Fordism to Post-Fordism," 15:3 (August 1994): 385-428.

Explorations in Economic History

Ronald N. Johnson and Gary D. Libecap, "Patronage to Merit and Control of the Federal Government Labor Force," 31:1 (January 1994): 91-119.

Robert Higgs, "The Cold War Economy: Opportunity Costs, Ideology, and the Politics of Crisis," 31:3 (July 1994): 283-312.

Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy

Lillian R. BeVier, "Judicial Restraint: An Argument from Institutional Design," 17:1 (Winter 1994): 7-12.

Frank H. Easterbrook, "Text, History, and Structure in Statutory Interpretation," 17:1 (Winter 1994): 61-70.

Jonathan R. Macey, "The Pervasive Influence of Economic Analysis on Legal Decisionmaking," 17:1 (Winter 1994): 107-117.

Lino A. Graglia, "Do Judges Have a Policy-Making Role in the American System of Government?," 17:1 (Winter 1994): 119-130.

Bradley C. Karkkainen, "Plain Meaning: Justice Scalia's Jurisprudence of Strict Statutory Construction," 17:2 (Spring 1994): 401-477.

History of Political Economy

Robert J. Myers, Jorn Henrik Peterson and Bruno Stein on the Origins of Social Security Financing, 25:3 (Fall 1993): 531-543.

Mary S. Morgan, "Competing Notions of 'Competition' in Late Nineteenth-Century American Economics," 25:4 (Winter 1993): 563-614.

History of Political Thought

C. E. Hill, "Sidney Webb and the Common Good: 1887-1889," 14:4 (Winter 1993): 591-622.

Alan Harding, "The Development of the Concept of the State," 15:1 (Spring 1994): 57-72.

International Organization

Symposium on "The End of the Cold War and Theories of International Relations," with Janice Gross Stein, Thomas Risse-Kappen, Rey Koslowski, Friedreich V. Kratochwil, and Richard Ned Lebow, 48:2 (Spring 1994): 156-277.

Stanley D. Nolan and Dennis P. Quinn, "Free Trade, Fair Trade, and Protectionism in the U. S. Congress, 1987-88," 48:3 (Summer 1994): 491-525.

Journal of American History

Michael J. Klarman, "How Brown Changed Race Relations: The Backlash Thesis," 81:2 (September 1994): 81-118.

Eric Foner, "The Meaning of Freedom in the Age of Emancipation," 81:2 (September 1994): 435-460.

Andrew J. Rotter, "Gender Relations, Foreign Relations: The United States and South Asia, 1947-1964," 81:2 (September 1994): 518-542.

Journal of Economic Issues

Richard Goode, "Gardiner Means on Administered Prices," 28:1 (March 1994): 173-186.

Journal of Public Policy

Simon J. Bulmer, "Governance of the European Union: A New Institutional Approach," 13:4 (October/December 1993): 351-380.

Journal of Policy History

Marc Allen Eisner, "Discovering Patterns in Regulatory History: Continuity, Change and Regulatory Regimes," 6:2 (1994): 157-187.

Samuel B. Hoff, "The Presidential Pocket Veto: Its Use and Legality," 6:2 (1994): 188-208.

Sanford Lakoff, "Desert Snowstorm: Revisionism and the Gulf War," 6:2 (1994): 209-231.

William E. Gienapp, "The Myth of Class in Jacksonian America," 6:2 (1994): 232-259. Commentary on Gienapp by Iver Bernstein, (260-271) and Herbert Hovenkamp, (272-276).

William E. Gienapp, "Ahistorical History," 6:2 (1994): 277-282.

E. Wayne Carp, "Professional Social Workers, Adoption, and the Problem of Illegitimacy, 1915-1945," 6:3 (1994): 161-184.

Margaret Dewar, "The American Record in Industrial Policy: Results of Programs for Troubled Manufacturing Industries," 6:3 (1994): 185-214.

Jonathan J. Bean, "World War II and the 'Crisis' of Small Business: The Smaller War Plants Corporation, 1942-1946," 6:3 (1994): 215-243.

Gail H. Evans, "A Tide of History: Values, Conflicts, and Transformation in Water History," 6:3 (1994): 244-258.

Journal of Social Policy

Linda Hantrais, "Comparing Family Policy in Britain, France and Germany," 23:2 (April 1994): 135-160.

Hugh Davies and Heather Joshi, "Sex, Sharing and the Distribution of Income," 23:3 (July 1994): 301-340.

Looking for more even more references? The Journal of American History offers an outstanding quarterly listing of "Recent Scholarship" including articles, dissertations, and books that may be relevant to your interests. It includes special sections on politics, legal and constitutional affairs, public history, social welfare, and public health, among others.

Journal of Theoretical Politics

Aaron Wildavsky, "Why Self-Interest Means Less Outside of a Social Context: Cultural Contributions to a Theory of Rational Choices," 6:2 (April 1994): 131-159.

Andrew Murray Faure, "Some Methodological Problems in Comparative Politics," 6:3 (July 1994): 307-322.

Law and Social Inquiry

Robert A. Kagan, "Do Lawyers Cause Adversarial Legalism? A Preliminary Inquiry," 19:1 (Winter 1994): 1-62.

Catherine Fisk, "Still 'Learning Something of Legislation': The Judiciary in the History of Labor Law," with review commentaries by Karen Orren, Victoria Hattam, and William Forbath, 19:1 (Winter 1994): 151-221.

Barbara Y. Welke, "Unreasonable Women: Gender and the Law of Accidental Injury, 1870-1920," 19:2 (Spring 1994): 369-403.

Law and Society Review

Kitty Calavita and Henry N. Pontel, "The State and White-Collar Crime: Saving the Savings and Loans," 28:2 (1994): 297-324.

Legislative Studies Quarterly

Shirley M. Geiger, "The House Appropriations Committee, FY 1963-82: A Micro-Budgetary Perspective," 19:3 (August 1994): 397-416.

New Left Review

Jacques Derrida, "A Lecture on Marx," 205 (May/June 1994): 31-58.

Ralph Miliband, "The Plausibility of Socialism," and comments on Miliband by Robin Blackburn and Frances Fox Piven, 206 (July/August 1994): 3-26.

Polity Studies Journal

William R. Lowry, "Paved with Political Intentions: the Impact of Structure on the National Park Services of Canada and the United States," 22:1 (Spring 1994): 44-58.

Symposium on Disability Policy, Part Two: Disability Politics and Practice, 22:1 (Spring 1994): 110-169.

Polity Studies Review

Symposium, Social Security: A Cross-Cultural Perspective, 12:1/2 (Spring/Summer 1993): 85-214.

Political Research Quarterly

John R. Oneal, "The Affinity of Foreign Investors for Authoritarian Regimes," 47:3 (September 1994): 565-588.

Howard Gillman, "Preferred Freedoms: The Progressive Expansion of State Power and the Rise of Modern Civil Liberties Jurisprudence," 47:3 (September 1994): 623-654.

Lawrence Baum, "Specialization and Authority Acceptance: The Supreme Court and Lower Federal Courts," 47:3 (September 1994): 693-704.

Benjamin Radcliff, "Reward Without Punishment: Economic Conditions and the Vote," 47:3 (September 1994): 721-732.

Polity

The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Issue. Volume 26, Number 4, Summer 1994

Kevin C. O'Leary, "Herbert Croly and Progressive Democracy," (533-552).

Daniel D. Stid, "Woodrow Wilson and the Problem of Party Government," (553-578).

Scot J. Zentner, "Liberalism and Executive Power: Woodrow Wilson and the American Founders," (579-600).

Daniel Kryder, "The American State and the Management of Race Conflict in the Workplace and in the Army, 1941-1945," (601-634).

Suzanne B. Mettler, "Federalism, Gender, and the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938," (635-654).

Susan E. Reily, "Caring for Rosie's Children: Federal Child Care Policies in the World War II Era," (655-676).

Jessica Korn, "Improving the Policymaking Process by Protecting the Separation of Powers: Chadha and the Legislative Veto in Education Statutes," (677-698).

Gregory E. McAvoy, "State Autonomy and Democratic Accountability: The Politics of Hazardous Waste Policy," (699-728).

John Gerring, "A Chapter in the History of American Party Ideology: The 19th Century Democratic Party, 1828-1892," (729-768).

Philip A. Klinkner, "Beyond Pseudo-Science: Political Parties and Policymaking," (769-792).

A. Lane Crothers, "Asserting Dominance: Presidential Transitions from Out-Party to In-Party, 1932-1992," (793-814).

PS: Political Science and Politics

Forum on "National Health Care Reform," with Rashi Fein, Theodore Marmor, Lawrence D. Brown, Mark A. Peterson, Lawrence R. Jacobs and Robert Y. Shapiro, Joseph White, Virginia Gray, and James A. Morone, 27:2 (June 1994): 192-223.

Political Science Quarterly

Paul E. Peterson, "The President's Dominance in Foreign Policy Making," 109:2 (Summer 1994): 215-234.

Robert M. Hathaway, "Suez, The Perfect Failure: A Review Essay," 109:2 (Summer 1994): 361-366.

Political Studies

James I. Walsh, "International Constraints and Domestic Choices: Economic Convergence and Exchange Rate Policy in France and Italy" 42:2 (June 1994): 243-258.

William D. Coleman, "Policy Convergence in Banking: A Comparative Study," 42:2 (June 1994): 274-292.

Perspectives on Northern Ireland by Shane O'Neill, Feargal Cochrane, and Alan Greer, 42:3 (September 1994): 363-412.

Politics and Society

Edgar Kiser, "Markets and Hierarchies in Early Modern Tax Systems: A Principal-Agent Analysis," 22:3 (September 1994): 284-315.

Stathis N. Kalyvas, "Hegemony Breakdown: The Collapse of Nationalization in Britain and France," 22:3 (September 1994): 316-348.

Polity

Daniel J. Tichenor, "The Politics of Immigration Reform in the United States, 1981-1990," 26:3 (Spring 1994): 333-362.

Martha Liebler Gibson, "Managing Conflict: The Role of the Legislative Veto in American Foreign Policy," 26:3 (Spring 1994): 441-472.

Public Administration Review

Frances Stokes Berry, "Innovation in Public Management: The Adoption of Strategic Planning," 54:4 (July/August 1994): 322-330.

Frank Aneciarico and James B. Jacobs, "Visions of Corruption Control and the Evolution of American Public Administration," 54:5 (September/October 1994): 465-473.

The Public Interest

Nathan Glazer, "How Social Problems are Born," 115 (Spring 1994): 31-44.

William A. Niskanen, "Why Our Democracy Doesn't Work," 116 (Summer 1994): 88-95.

John J. DiIulio, Jr., "The Question of Black Crime," with commentaries by Glenn C. Loury, James Q. Wilson, Paul H. Robinson, Patrick A. Langan, and Richard T. Gill, 117 (Fall 1994): 3-56.

Publius: The Journal of Federalism

Sanford Lakoff, "Between Either/Or and More or Less: Sovereignty versus Autonomy Under Federalism," 24:1 (Winter 1994): 63-78.

G. Alan Tarr, "The Past and Future of the New Judicial Federalism," 24:2 (Spring 1994): 63-79.

Review of Economics and Statistics

Paul Evans and George Karras, "Are Government Activities Productive? Evidence from A Panel of U. S. States," 76:1 (February 1994): 1-11.

Review of Politics

Cornell W. Clayton, "Law, Politics, and the New Federalism: State Attorneys General as National Policymakers," 56:3 (Summer 1994): 525-553.

Signs

Ann duCille, "The Occult of True Black Womanhood: Critical Demeanor and Black Feminist Studies," 19:3 (Spring 1994): 591-629.

Special Issue on Feminism and the Law with articles by: Maivan Clech Lam, Sherene Razack, Rosemary Ofeibe Ofei-Aboagye, Bronwyn Winter, Ruthann Robson, Farida Shaheed, Sharon K. Hom, and Mary Louise Fellows and Sherene Razack, 19:4 (Summer 1994).

Social Forces

Holly J. McCammon, "Disorganizing and Reorganizing Conflict: Outcomes of the State's Legal Regulation of the Strike since the Wagner Act," 72:4 (June 1994): 1011-1049.

Lowell L. Hargens and Lisa Kelly-Wilson, "Determinants of Disciplinary Discontent," 72:4 (June 1994): 1177-1195.

Don Sherman Grant II and Michael Wallace, "The Political Economy of Manufacturing Growth and Decline across the American States, 1970-1985," 73:1 (September 1994): 33-63.

Mark Western, "Class Structure and Intergenerational Class Mobility: A Comparative Analysis of Nation and Gender," 73:1 (September 1994): 101-134.

Social Politics

Eileen Lorenzi McDonagh, "Abortion Rights Alchemy and the U.S. Supreme Court: What's Wrong and How to Fix It," 1:2 (Summer 1994): 130-156.

Bruce Bellingham and Mary Pugh Mathis, "Race, Citizenship, and the Bio-politics of the Materialist Welfare State: 'Traditional' Midwifery in the American South under the Sheppard-Towner Act, 1921-29," 1:2 (Summer 1994): 157-189.

Kathleen B. Jones, "Identity, Action, and Locale: Thinking about Citizenship, Civic Action, and Feminism," 1:3 (Fall 1994): 256-270.

Birte Siim, "Engendering Democracy: Social Citizenship and Political Participation for Women in Scandinavia," 1:3 (Fall 1994): 286-305.

Wendy Sarvasy, "From Man and Philanthropic Service to Feminist Social Citizenship," 1:3 (Fall 1994): 306-325.

Social Science History

Thomas Goebel, "Professionalization and State Building: The State and the Professions in Illinois, 1870-1920," 18:2 (Summer 1994): 309-337.

Robert C. Lieberman, "The Freedmen's Bureau and the Politics of Institutional Structure," 18:3 (Fall 1994): 405-437.

Social Science Quarterly

Brian Goff and Gary Anderson, "The Political Economy of Prohibition in U.S., 1919-1933," 75:2 (June 1994): 270-283.

Richard B. Kielbowicz, "Cost Accounting and Policy Reform: Postal Rate Making, 1875-1926," 75:2 (June 1994): 284-299.

Social Service Review

Iris Carlton-LaNey, "The Career of Birdye Henrietta Haynes, a Pioneer Settlement House Worker," 68:2 (June 1994): 254-273.

Ira Flarkavy and John L. Puckett, "Lessons from Hull House for the Contemporary Urban University," 68:3 (September 1994): 299-321.

Lawrence M. Mead, "Poverty: How Little We Know," 68:3 (September 1994): 322-350.

Society

Neil Gilbert, "Gender Equality and Social Security," 31:4 (May/June 1994): 27-33.

Clark Kerr, "Abraham Flexner's *Universities*," 31:4 (May/June 1994): 40-47.

The American Century at End Point with articles by: Henry R. Luce, Irving Louis Horowitz, Wendell Bell, Adda B. Bozeman, Gary L. Ulman, and Robert J. Myers, 31:5 (July/August 1994): 4-42.

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John J. Coleman, "State Formation and the Decline of Political Parties: American Parties in the Fiscal State," 8:2 (1994)

Clyde W. Barrow, "Beyond Progressivism: Charles A. Beard's Social Democratic Theory of American Political Development," 8:2 (1994)

Sidney Milkis and Daniel Tichenor, "The Progressive Party, Social Reformers, and the Politics of 'Direct Democracy'," 8:2 (1994)

Christopher McGrory Klyza, "Ideas, Institutions, and Policy Patterns: Hardrock Mining, Forestry, and Grazing Policy on United States Public Lands, 1870-1985," 8:2 (1994)

Panel on the Legacy of the Johns Hopkins Seminary of History and Politics. Comments by: Philip Ethington, Eileen McDonagh, John Higham, Dorothy Ross, Robert Fogel, Kirstie McClure, David Harvey, Eldon J. Eisenach, and Robert Eden.

Theory and Society

Special Issue on the Theoretical Implications of the Demise of State Socialism, edited by Michael Hechter and Ivan Szelenyi, 23:2 (April 1994).

University of Pennsylvania Law Review

Richard D. Friedman, "Switching Time and Other Thought Experiments: The Hughes Court and the Constitutional Transformation," 142:6 (June 1994): 1891-1984.

The William and Mary Quarterly

Bruce H. Mann, "Tales from the Crypt: Prison, Legal Authority, and the Debtors' Constitution in the Early Republic," 51:2 (April 1994): 183-202.

Wayne Bodle, "Themes and Directions in Middle Colonies Historiography, 1980-1994," 51:3 (July 1994): 355-388.

World Politics

Michael Bratton and Nicholas van de Walle, "Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa," 46:4 (July 1994): 453-489.

Hernan Schwartz, "Small States in Big Trouble: State Reorganization in Australia, Denmark, New Zealand, and Sweden in the 1980s," 46:4 (July 1994): 527-555.

Sylvia Maxfield, "Financial Incentives and Central Bank Authority in Industrializing Nations," 46:4 (July 1994): 556-588.

Works in Progress

Bruce Byers, UNC-CHAPEL HILL

"The Reconstitution of Political Science: 1937-1953"

This work examines the history of the "Behavioral Revolution" in Political Science, identifying the source of practices in scope of inquiry, methods and variable construction that have been contested since its conception. The work locates the rise of "Behavioralism" in the political context of the late New Deal Keynesian response to the depression, through its transformation in World War II mobilization, and into the Fair Deal search for a post-war economic and political order. Though the work uses oral histories of revolutionaries from both the APSA Oral History Project as well as more focused interviews conducted by the author, the primary empirical referents are the public and professional writings of some 60 Political Scientists either active in the periods' New Deal reform, wartime mobilization, or simply consciously addressing the need for "new forms of knowledge." I look at trends and debates in their public and governmental writings, and their re-creation in discussions of the science of politics in academic journals. Interesting findings have been the degree to which a number of scholars considered both historical methodology and an enlightened political activism as the appropriate turn away from the discipline's "formalism," and the degree to which the rejection of centralized Keynesian planning, domestic fears of a "laborist" economy, and fascist control of labor unions contributed to the rejection of the concept of an enlightenment science, and embrace of pragmatism and functionalism as appropriate post-war research exemplars in the mid and late 1940s.

Daniel A. Smith, UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

My research focuses on quasi-public associations — for example ad hoc task forces, advisory commissions, blue-ribbon panels, and expert commissions — and how they affect the making of public policy in the United States. In the tradition of Grant McConnell, I am interested in how and why federal, state, and local officials formally delegate power to private groups and interests. I am currently examining labor-management advisory commissions and health care task forces at the state level in the US, as well as presidential task forces and commissions at the national level. I argue that executive officials are using these quasi-public associations, which bring together public and private sector individuals to deliberate public problems and policy options in nonpartisan settings, to bypass an increasingly adversarial legislative process. I argue that these arrangements constitute a pattern of "insular democracy," whereby a few private interests are sanctioned by the state to hash out public policy outside of the legislative process. Normatively, I am concerned with how these state-created public-private associations affect the representativeness and of public policy making.

Clio SURVEY

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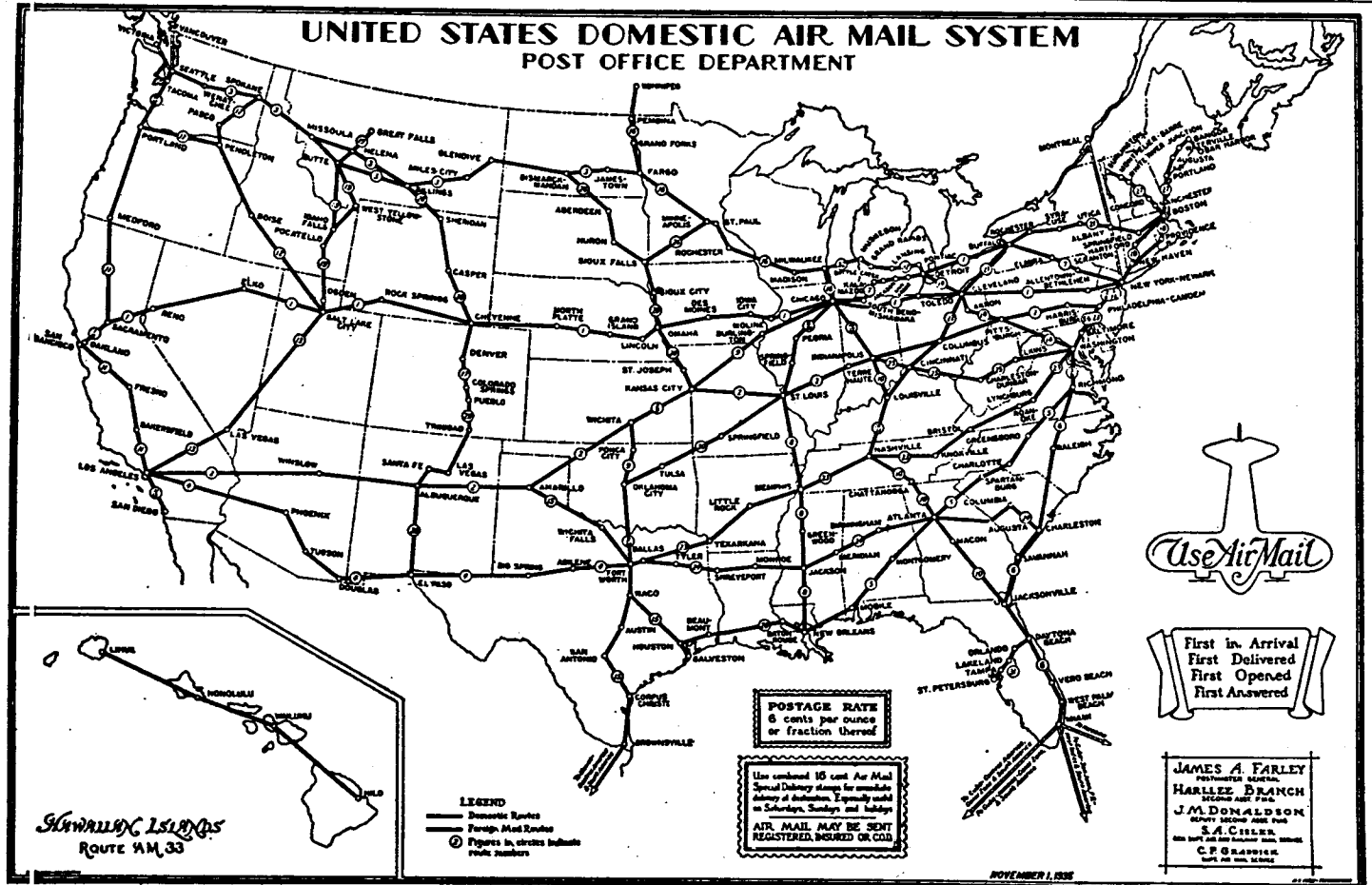
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