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## FROM THE PRESIDENT

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*Karen Orren,  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES*

Sitting as a discussant on a Politics and History panel at the Western meetings in March, Joel Silbey, Professor of History at Cornell, remarked that he saw no difference between the papers that were presented there and papers at history meetings he had been attending for decades. I thought it might be interesting to put the question to our section's executive council: is what we do as political scientists distinctive? And interestingly (or uninterestingly) everyone who answered said, yes, and the same thing: first, political scientists as a group are more concerned with generalizations and theory than are historians as a group; second, political scientists are on the whole "presentists," they proceed self-consciously from a contemporary concern or "puzzle" and seek causal roots or parallel conundra in the past. One member, Victoria Hattam, said she was impressed by how history graduate students are "archive-driven," excited most of all by a trove of documents no one has previously explored—whereas political science students are "question-driven."

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**POLITICS & HISTORY**  
AN ORGANIZED SECTION OF

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We welcome and encourage letters and submissions, especially for Book Notes and Work in Progress. The deadline for submissions for the Spring/Summer issue is March 15. The deadline for submissions for the Fall/Winter issue is October 15. Please send all correspondence to:

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## FROM THE EDITOR

Recently, subscribers to PSRT-L, an electronic discussion forum for political scientists, have been reading a very lively exchange of views on the status of political science enrollments. Correspondents from many schools shared their almost universal experience that the number of students enrolled and majoring in political science has been declining. Some authors attributed the decline to the irrelevance of the discipline, others to its lack of a central methodological core, still others to the general cynicism of the population. Sheila Mann of the American Political Science Association plans to publish an article in the September *PS* that documents some of these changes. APSA officials are contemplating an open meeting on the problem at the forthcoming annual meeting in San Francisco.

Is Politics and History a symptom of this malaise, or is it a potential cure? What do we, as the political scientists most engaged in the study and teaching of politics and history, contribute to the discipline of political science? Are we more than a recent fragment of a badly splintered discipline?

The number of section members who have won teaching and research awards strongly indicates a much more optimistic view. Many members have joined the section precisely because they find the presence of the past in contemporary politics so compelling. Our research agendas, and our heterogeneous approaches to those agendas, suggest we can play a key role in revitalizing interest in political science.

Take the timely topic of leadership as an example. Historical perspective is indispensable in any study of political leadership. Stephen Skowronek's, *The Politics Presidents Make*, offers only one example of the value of cross-historical comparison for building theory, engaging students, and addressing a central contemporary political concern. David Plotke's recently published book, *Building a Democratic Political Order*, discusses the ways leaders constructed and sustained the Democratic party in the 1930s and 1940s. These books, as well as Peter Gourevitch's, *Politics in Hard Times*, suggest that leaders can make a difference, that humans can and have changed the course of politics by inventing novel coalitions that can break the logjam of even the American policy process. This message may be essential for revival of our discipline. A message that individuals are helpless before the powerful forces of society speaks of political impotence and despair.

Historical perspective is essential for building theory about political forces that are important but difficult to measure. The rapidly evolving effect of the media on politics offers an example. Early in this century, the National Child Labor Committee hired photographer Lewis Hine to document the child labor problem in Southern textile mills. Hine's photographs powerfully affected the policy agenda. The

(Continued on page 27)

THOUGHTS ON THE RECEPTION OF  
*Unsettled States, Disputed Lands: Britain and Ireland,  
France and Algeria, Israel and the West Bank-Gaza*

Ian S. Lustick

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Aside from my delight that *Unsettled States, Disputed Lands* was the co-recipient of the 1995 J. David Greenstone Award, I have also been quite pleased with the reviews the book has received. Perhaps the only thing more difficult for authors to cope with than the length constraints imposed by presses are the length constraints imposed by editors on book reviewers. In the case of this book reviewers were mightily challenged, since it managed to evade most constraints on length in order to accommodate multiple arguments about three complex, cross-cultural political relationships studied, for each relationship, over periods of between fifty and ninety years. Thus I have nothing but admiration for those reviewers who were able to summarize my argument, not only concisely, but accurately. Little space was left, however, after these summaries were presented for entering into the theoretical or empirical nuances of the argument. I am therefore grateful for this opportunity to respond to some mischaracterizations that have appeared, to learn from certain instructive patterns in the way my book has been read, and to suggest certain aspects of the argument that, despite my hopes and expectations, have not been addressed--with either criticism or praise.

The argument in the book is advanced within a model of state expansion and contraction that envisions the process as crossing two thresholds of institutionalization--a regime threshold, where the regime, as well as careers of incumbents and governments are at stake in struggles over contraction from the outlying territory; and an ideological hegemony threshold, where hegemonic beliefs as well as regime integrity and the future of incumbent politicians are at stake in any effort to "deinstitutionalize" central state rule of the outlying territory. The basic components of this analytic framework are generally well-reported in the reviews I have seen. I refer to the asymmetric character of these thresholds--that it is "easier" to expand a state than to contract one; to the idea that this represents a kind of process of institutionalization in which the territorial shape of the state is conceived as a set of expectations that are

### Correction

The Book Note (see Fall/Winter 1995-1996 *Clio*, page 21) announcing Thomas Ferguson's book, *Golden Rule*, misquotes the author. The opening sentence properly should read, "to discover *who* rules, follow the gold..." (page 8). The editor regrets the error.

embedded politically in more and more potentially disruptive, and therefore secure, ways; and to my operationalization of the notion of ideological hegemony to mean the absence of certain kinds of public argumentation by elites. Nor have reviewers, quarrelled with my construction of the basic framework of analysis out of a critical analysis of the confused but instructive public debate surrounding the question of whether the extent of Israeli settlement of the West Bank in the 1980s had forever foreclosed options of withdrawal. Except in obviously polemical contexts, reviewers have welcomed, or at least did not object to, the kind of cross-cultural and diachronic test of the argument I develop, entailing intensive comparison of the British-Irish and French-Algerian cases, and then an application, for explanatory and predictive purposes, of the refined set of theoretical claims to the past, present, and future of the Israel-West Bank/Gaza Strip relationship. Nor have reviewers objected to one very specific substantive conclusion and prediction--that Israel would not be able to keep the West Bank and Gaza Strip without either expelling the Arab populations of those areas or abandoning its character as a "Jewish state" and that, in fact, Israel would, amidst great domestic turmoil, contract itself out of these territories. (This conclusion, by the way, ran directly against that offered by David Harman Akenson in *God's People: Covenant and Land in South Africa, Israel, and Ulster*, reviewed along with *Unsettled States* in the *APSR*.)

The main criticisms leveled against the book are those expected--that the argument emphasizes political dynamics in the central state and seems to treat both international factors and mobilization by subordinated populations in the outlying territories (in this case, Ireland, Algeria, and the West Bank/Gaza) as outside the model. My response to these criticisms is that these factors are outside the model, as every theory must

(Continued on page 16)

### NOMINEES FOR POLITICS AND HISTORY SECTION OFFICERS

The nominating committee will present the following slate of new officers at the section meeting in Chicago:

President: **Martin Shefter**

New Council Members: **Richard Bensel, Anna Harvey, Cathie Jo Martin, David Mayhew, and Eileen McDonagh**

Program Coordinators (for 1997 APSA Convention):  
**Elaine Swift and Kenneth Finegold**

This year's nominating committee was composed of **David Hart, Ira Katznelson, Elizabeth Sanders, and Richard Valelly**. Our by-laws provide for challenges by petition prior to the section meeting. The nominations committee should receive the petitions by August 1. No challenges will be entertained from the floor during the meeting.

# FULBRIGHT SCHOLAR AWARDS FOR U.S. FACULTY AND PROFESSIONALS

## 1997-98 Competition

The competition for 1997-98 awards opened March 1, 1996. Opportunities for lecturing or advanced research in over 135 countries are available to college and university faculty and professionals outside academe. Awards range from two months to a full academic year, and many assignments are flexible to the needs of the grantee.

Virtually all disciplines participate: openings exist in almost every area of the arts and humanities, social sciences, natural and applied sciences, and professional fields such as business, journalism, and law.

The basic eligibility requirements for a Fulbright senior scholar award are U.S. citizenship and the Ph.D. or comparable professional qualifications (for certain fields such as the fine arts or TESOL, the terminal degree in the field may be sufficient). For lecturing awards, university or college teaching experience is expected. Foreign language skills are needed for some countries, but most lecturing assignments are in English.

Applications are encouraged from professionals outside academe, as well as from faculty at all types of institutions. Every academic rank--from instructor to professor emeritus--is represented. Academic administrators regularly receive Fulbrights, as do independent scholars, artists, and professionals from the private and public sectors.

**The deadline for lecturing or research grants for 1997-98 is August 1, 1996.** Other deadlines are in place for special programs: distinguished Fulbright chairs in Western Europe and Canada (May 1) and Fulbright seminars for international education and academic administrator (November 1).

Funding for the Fulbright Program is provided by the United States Information Agency, on behalf of the U.S. government, and by cooperating governments and host institutions abroad.

For further information and application materials, contact the USIA Fulbright Senior Scholar Program, Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 3007 Tilden Street, N.W., Suite 5M, Box GNEWS, Washington, D.C. 20008-3009. Telephone: 202-686-7877.  
Web Page (on-line materials): <http://www.cies.org/> and  
e-mail: [cies1@ciesnet.cies.org](mailto:cies1@ciesnet.cies.org) (requests for mailing of application materialsonly).

## 1997 APSA Convention Politics and History Section

### CALL FOR PAPERS

The theme of the 1997 Annual Meeting, "New Institutions for a New Society," provides a welcome opportunity to tie the historical study of institutions to the analysis of their contemporary characteristics and future development. Many of us in the Politics and History Section have long been interested in questions of institutional origins, institutional maintenance, and, perhaps most of all, institutional change. In keeping with the meeting theme, we invite paper and panel proposals that explore the causal relations that link institutions and exogenous forces, including other institutions; the learning that takes place within institutions and the institutional framing of political debate; and the ways institutions both shape and are shaped by conflicts over class, ethnicity, gender, ideology, race, religion, and sexuality.

To build theory for the historical study of institutions, we encourage proposals that import perspectives from other disciplines or address meta-theoretical questions such as the conception of time, the use of narrative, or the definition of institution. We are also interested in papers and panels that cut across the traditional field divisions of American politics, comparative politics, international relations, and political theory. In addition, we look forward to receiving proposals that experiment with innovative panel formats that stimulate interaction among panelists and invite audience participation.

Politics and History Section panels traditionally feature a rich mix of scholarship. We therefore welcome proposals that reflect your research interests that may not be covered by the suggestions above.

When submitting your proposal, please use the form provided by the APSA. Please be sure to clearly indicate your e-mail address on the form. We strongly encourage dual submissions to other pertinent divisions.

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# APSA Short Course

## Business and Politics in America: Perspectives and Historical Patterns

The purpose of this course is to review approaches to the study of business-government relations and business power in America from both contemporary and historical perspectives. It will examine the long-standing and continuing debate over the power of business in America, changes in the form and extent of business political activity, the role of business in shaping health-care policy, tax policy and environmental policy, changing corporate perceptions of economic growth, the business collective action problem, potential cross-class coalitions in the post-industrial welfare state, the historical development of business ideology, and the distinctiveness of American business-government relations.

Taught by:

**David Vogel**, Haas School of Business, University of California at Berkeley

**Cathie Jo Martin**, Political Science, Boston University

**Wednesday**, August 28, 1996, 1 - 4 p.m.

Fees: Faculty \$25.00

Graduate students \$15.00

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### *Send registration form and fee to:*

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Your Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_ Faculty (\$25) \_\_\_ Student (\$15)

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**Politics and History Panels at the  
American Political Science Association Meetings  
San Francisco Hilton and Towers, August 28-September 1, 1996**

**SHORT COURSE**

**(Wednesday 1 - 4 p.m.)**

Taught by: David Vogel (University of California, Berkeley) and Cathie Jo Martin (Boston University)

**PANEL 21-5: BUSINESS PARTICIPATION IN AMERICAN TRANSFORMATIONAL POLICIES**

**(Thursday 8:45 a.m.)**

Chair: Laura S. Jensen (University of Massachusetts, Amherst)

“Reinventing Business-Government Relations: Are We On the Verge of a New Progressivism?” Richard Harris (Rutgers University, Camden)

“Stuck in Neutral: Business and the Politics of Social Innovation,” Cathie Jo Martin (Boston University)

“Political Regimes and American Business: Opposition, Incorporation, and Disaffection,” Andrew Polsky (Hunter College and the Graduate School, City University of New York)

Discussants: David Plotke (New School for Social Research) and Mary Summer (Yale University)

**PANEL 21-11: ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION OF HITLER'S WILLING EXECUTIONERS BY DANIEL GOLDHAGEN**

**(Thursday 10:45 a.m.)**

Chair: Donald Horowitz (Duke University)

Discussants: Donald Horowitz (Duke University)

Seymour Martin Lipset (George Mason University)

Andrei Markovits (University of California, Santa Cruz)

Respondent: Daniel Goldhagen (Harvard University)

**PANEL 21-16: ROUNDTABLE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS HISTORY: USE OR ABUSE?**

**(Thursday 1:30 p.m.)**

**(APSA co-sponsor - International Security Section)**

Chairs: Colin Elman (Columbia University; [after June 1996] Arizona State University) and Miriam Fendius Elman (Arizona State University)

Participants: Alexander L. George (Stanford University)

Stephen D. Krasner (Stanford University)

Jack S. Levy (Rutgers University)

Paul W. Schroeder (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

Edward Ingram (Simon Fraser University, Canada)

**PANEL 21-2: NATIONS IN TIME: CONSTITUTIVE DIMENSIONS OF POLITICAL CHANGE**

**(Thursday 3:30 p.m.)**

Chair: Daniel Kryder (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

“When is Modernity?” Anne Norton (University of Pennsylvania)

“The Two Phases of Political Development,” Karen Orren (University of California, Los Angeles) and Stephen Skowronek (Yale University)

“American Politics as Layered Text,” Jeffrey Tulis (University of Texas, Austin)

Discussants: John Gerring (Boston University) and Michael Rogin (University of California, Berkeley)

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**POLITICS AND HISTORY SECTION BUSINESS MEETING**  
**(Friday 5:30 p.m.)**

**PANEL 21-1: PARTY REALIGNMENT: THE 1990S AS A CASE?**  
**(Friday 8:45 a.m.)**

Chair: Richard Ellis (Willamette University)

“Strains in the Contemporary Democratic Coalition,” Benjamin Ginsberg (Johns Hopkins University) and Martin Shefter (Cornell University)

“Stasis and Upheaval in American Politics: The 1990s as a Case in Point,” Walter Dean Burnham (University of Texas)

“New Perspectives on U.S. Party Dynamics,” Kenneth Finegold (Eastern Washington University) and Elaine Swift (Eastern Washington University)

“Party Conflict Over Social Policy in the 1990s,” Margaret Weir (The Brookings Institution)

Discussants: Sidney Milkis (Brandeis University) and Daniel Wirls (University of California, Santa Cruz)

**PANEL 21-15: GLOBALIZATION AND DEMOCRATIC THEORY**  
**(Friday 10:45 a.m.)**

Chair: John P. McCormick (European University Institute, Florence, Italy)

“Democratic Government and Governance: Reflections on Post-National Democratization,” Bob Jessop (Lancaster University, United Kingdom)

“Globalization and Prospects for a European Welfare State,” Stephan Leibfried (University of Bremen, Germany)

“The Democratic Ramifications of Recent Global Transformations,” Moishe Postone (University of Chicago)

“Globalization and Democratization: A Feminist and Post-Colonial Perspective,” Ngai-Ling Sum (University of Sheffield, United Kingdom)

Discussants: Neil Brenner (University of California, Los Angeles; [after July 15, 1996] University of Chicago) and David Held (The Open University, United Kingdom)

**PANEL 21-14: ROUNDTABLE ON CONSTRUCTIVISM: PAST AGENDAS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS**  
**(Friday 1:30 p.m.)**

**(APSA co-sponsor - International Collaboration Section)**

Chair: Peter Katzenstein (Cornell University)

Discussants: Emanuel Adler (Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel)

Audie Klotz (University of Illinois, Chicago)

Friedrich Kratochwil (University Muenchen, Germany)

Cecilia Lynch (Northwestern University)

J. Ann Tickner (University of Southern California)

Alexander Wendt (Yale University)

**PANEL 21-4: CITIZENSHIP AND INCORPORATION**  
**(Friday 3:30 p.m.)**

Chair: Bartholomew H. Sparrow (University of Texas, Austin)

“Civil Rights and the Cultural Relativity of State,” Ruth O’Brien (City University of New York) and John Jay (City University of New York)

“Gender, Voting, and the Political Identity of Citizenship in the 1920s,” Gretchen Ritter (University of Texas, Austin)

“Gendered Citizenship: Alternative Narratives of Political Incorporation in the United States, 1875-1925,” Carol Nackenoff (Swarthmore College)

“Of Rights and Rules: Title VII in Institutional Perspective,” Helene Silverberg (University of California, Santa Barbara)

Discussants: Sue Davis (University of Delaware) and Joseph Luders (New School for Social Research)

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**PANEL 21-8: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON LEGISLATURES**

**(Saturday 8:45 a.m.)**

**(APSA co-sponsor - Legislative Behavior Section)**

Chairs: H. Douglas Price (Harvard University) and William T. Bianco (Duke University)

"House Turnover in Historical Perspective: An Aggregate Analysis, 1925-1995," Stephen Borelli (University of Alabama), John W. Swain (University of Alabama), Brian C. Reed (University of Alabama), and Sean F. Evans (University of Colorado)

"The Rewards of Pork: Particularized Spending and the Electoral Connection, 1870-1930," Kara M. Buckley (Stanford University)

"The Local Roots of State Government: Representing Urban Interests," Nancy Burns (University of Michigan) and Gerald H. Gamm (University of Rochester)

Discussant: Patricia A. Hurley (Texas A & M University)

**PANEL 21-10: HISTORIOGRAPHY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**(Saturday 10:45 a.m.)**

Chair: Eileen McDonagh (Northeastern University)

"History, Historiography and Political Science: Using History in the Absence of an Historical Record," Ian Lustick (University of Pennsylvania)

"Path Dependence and Political Science," Paul Pierson (Harvard University)

"Counterfactual Analysis and Path-Dependent Thinking in the Study of International and Comparative Politics," Michael Sinatra (University of California, Berkeley)

"On Historical Complexity: Mathematical Responses to Historiography's Challenge," Hayward Alker (University of Southern California)

Discussants: David Robertson (University of Missouri, St. Louis) and Graham Wilson (University of Wisconsin)

**PANEL 21-7: ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION OF *UNSETTLED STATES, DISPUTED LANDS* BY IAN LUSTICK**

**(Saturday 1:30 p.m.)**

Chair: Ernst Haas (University of California, Berkeley)

Discussants: Eldon Eisenach (University of Tulsa)

Ernst Haas (University of California, Berkeley)

Brendan O'Leary (London School of Economics)

Robert Vitalis (Clark University)

Respondent: Ian Lustick (University of Pennsylvania)

**PANEL 21-12: HISTORICAL LEGACIES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF EAST EUROPEAN POLITIES**

**(Saturday 1:30 p.m.)**

Chair, Gregorz Ekiert (Harvard University)

"Repertoires of Contention: The Changing Patterns of Protest in Poland, 1956-1993," Maryjane Osa (University of South Carolina)

"Reinventing Unemployment in Hungary: Politics, Pensions, and Patterns of Work," Phineas Baxandall (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

"Historical Inheritances and the Reemergence of Political Identity in East-Central Europe: An Analytic Framework," Jason Wittenberg (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

Discussant: Jan Kubik (Rutgers University, Douglass Campus)

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**PANEL 21-3: THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RACIAL INEQUALITY IN AMERICA**

**(Saturday 3:30 p.m.)**

Chair: Robert Lieberman (Columbia University)

“The Unsteady March: The Rise and Decline of America’s Commitment to Racial Equality,” Philip Klinkner (Hamilton College)

“Liberal Equality and the Civic Subject: Race, Class, Gender and the Construction of U.S. Citizenship,” Carol Horton (Macalester College)

“Race and the Formation of Majority-Based Parties in America,” Paul Frymer (University of California, Los Angeles)

“Separatist But Unequal: Black Nationalism and the Construction of Racial Inequality,” Dean E. Robinson (University of Massachusetts, Amherst)

Discussant: Guy Baldwin (New School for Social Research) and Richard Valelly (Swarthmore College)

**PANEL 21-13: INEQUALITY AND UNIVERSALISM**

**(Saturday 3:30 p.m.)**

**(APSA co-sponsor - Comparative Industrial Societies Section)**

Chair: Ellen Immergut (University of Konstanz, Germany)

“Comparing Welfare State Changes in Germany and the United States,” Jens Alber (University of Konstanz, Germany)

“The Moral and Political Logic of the Welfare State: The Historical Roots of Swedish Universalism,” Bo Rothstein (University of Goteborg, Sweden)

“American Federalism and the Politics of Universalism,” Margaret Weir (The Brookings Institution)

“Political-Institutional Conditions for Universalist Politics,” Ellen M. Immergut (University of Konstanz, Germany)

Discussant: Ted Marmor (Yale University)

**PANEL 21-9: GENDER, PARTY, AND POLITICS IN AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT**

**(Sunday 8:45 a.m.)**

**(APSA co-sponsor - Political Organizations and Parties Section)**

Chair: Scott James (University of California, Los Angeles)

“Playing with Fire: NOW and Party Politics, 1966-1994,” Maryann Barakso (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

“Inequalities, Factions, and the American Party System in Historical Perspective,” Howard Reiter (University of Connecticut)

“Gender Issues: Challenge to the Party System, 1968-1996,” Kira Sanbonmatsu (Harvard University)

“Promoting the ‘Forgotten Man’: The Politics of Labor and the New Deal Democratic Party,” Suzanne Mettler (Syracuse University)

Discussants: Michael Hagen (Harvard University) and Rogers Smith (Yale University)

**PANEL 21-6: ROUNDTABLE ON MODERNIZATION STRATEGIES IN A FEDERAL SYSTEM: A DISCUSSION OF ALTERNATIVE TRACKS BY GERALD BERK**

**(Sunday 10:45 A.m.)**

Chair: Daniel Carpenter (Princeton University)

Discussants: Amy Bridges (University of California, San Diego)

Stephen Elkin (University of Maryland)

Michael Goldfield (Wayne State University)

Elizabeth Sanders (Cornell University)

Respondent: Gerald Berk (University of Oregon)

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**(PRESIDENT, continued from page 1)**

I will add only that while there are certainly many contemporary historians—Joel Silbey among them—who “generalize” in the sense that political scientists mean, that is they frame their investigations within widely applicable analytic paradigms like republicanism or post-modernism or base broad or theoretical conclusions on their results. But they are less inclined to build theories upon and within theories than are political scientists. On our part, we see not just liberal hegemony in the United States, but an America “born liberal;” not just critical elections, but “consilience;” not just the electoral connection, but uncertainty. If this mounts stylized description upon stylized description, so much the better. We want our analyses to be empirically robust, to stand up against challenges on the facts, rather than be complete. Political scientists working in history can be arrayed according to how much description (and on how many dimensions) they think is necessary to qualify their studies as empirically robust, rather than whether they engage theory as such.

\* \* \* \* \*

The only program I know about that attempts to formally combine the interests and skills of political scientists and historians has been recently announced at Brandeis. The entire Brandeis graduate department will be restructured around the “hub” of American government, with four core classes required of every student: American Political Development, Liberalism and Its Critics, Comparative Political Institutions and Policy, and the US in World Politics. These open to a series of “clusters”—American political development, Comparative welfare states, Law and politics, Democratic citizenship and ethnic identity, and others—that are made up of electives taught by political scientists, historians, sociologists, and people in American studies. The program will emphasize an historical and institutionalist approach that, according to one of the architects, Sid Milkis, is intended as a bridge to the Brandeis history department (Bruce Kloppenberg, Morton Keller, and others) and a means of better integrating existing subfields at Brandeis.

A report describing the program states that the ability to move in this direction was related to the circumstance that “the Brandeis Politics Department has managed to escape much of the discipline’s fads and overspecializations.” Without endorsing this characterization as it applies to a much smaller setting, but perhaps adjusting to some of the constraints implied, other programs in APD have been set up independent of adjoining disciplines and department subfields. The Government Department at Cornell, for example, long associated with strong work in APD, offers a two semester sequence taken by all APD graduate students, consisting of “The Political Economy of Industrialization, 1850-1900” and “Social Movements and State Expansion in the 20th Century,” taught by Richard Bense and Elizabeth Sanders. APD students also regularly take the proseminar in American politics and a class in State and Economy.

At UCLA, Scott James and I have introduced a three quarter graduate sequence. The first quarter is an overview of APD’s central analytic themes; the second focusses on a single historical period, which will vary from year to year; and the third is devoted to a single institution or social movement over time or to a theoretical paradigm. We anticipate this third quarter will be dictated by the research of whoever teaches it and that it will promote spinoff research by students. We thought about structuring in a component of courses in the UCLA history department, but decided to hold off for now, given the difference in intellectual styles. We would like to attract some history graduate students, smuggling historians’ skills into our classes by that route; we will feel we have come of age when we can say our courses are recommended to history students, alongside our usual wondering about the reverse. Preparing our first “overview” syllabus, we were surprised to find how heavily we could rely on books and articles written by political scientists, a dramatic change from only five or six years ago—though we expect much more disciplinary crossovers in the second two quarters.

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Over the last couple of years several of us have talked about an APD consortium organized across universities. Here the inspiration is that many APD scholars work in departments where they are more or less on their own to cover a wide subject matter, and some are at places with no graduate programs. The most ambitious feature of such a consortium would be funding for graduate students to spend a term at a different participating institution, studying with faculty expert on a question in the student’s research program. This would include faculty located in departments where there are not normally graduate students. The consortium could also sponsor a bi-annual research conference for graduate students, where they could get to know future colleagues, and a week’s summer faculty retreat (at some idyllic spot—say Maui or Ithaca) to present research and talk about course development. In the best of all possible worlds, there would be funds for dissertation fellowships and release-time for faculty on some rotating or competitive basis.

This idea was pitched to a couple of major foundations as a new model for strengthening fast-growing but institutionally scattered specialties in scholarship at a time of diminishing resources. In response to a foundation officer’s warning about the forbidding complications of transferring student credits among schools, we proposed the concept of the “virtual visiting professor,” with participating institutions agreeing to treat a course taught through the consortium as their own. To no avail. If anyone knows an angel or other funding source, please let me know. The trick will be, apparently, to find support for a project that is mainly national, to say nothing of the absence of a clear policy thrust. Alternatively APD could be recast in a world perspective without doing violence to the detail that political development proceeded in specific settings and cultures over several centuries.

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# Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting 1996: Abstracts of Politics and History Papers

## **Their Natural Protectors: Constitutionalism and Social Spending, 1860s-1920s**

*Susan M. Sterett*  
UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

Municipalities and states provided for pensions for volunteer firemen, soldiers and, later, police throughout the nineteenth century. When programs were challenged in court, judges often treated these pensions as earned rather than as charity. In much of the legal reasoning, the masculine character of the work and its quality as what the courts held was "service to the state" were crucial to holding that the pensions were earned. Other than payments for service, only payments to people considered truly dependent, such as the disabled, women, or children, were considered legitimate as charity. These constitutional divisions of state payments address current questions in the study of American social policy concerning whether states treated pensions as entitlements for different groups.

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## **State Theory and the Dependency Principle: A Neo-Institutionalist Critique**

*Clyde W. Barrow*  
UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS, DARTMOUTH

In the continuing literature on state theory and political power, "the dependency principle" has gained wide acceptance among political scientists and sociologists as an important concept for explaining the symbiotic relationship between state elites and the capitalist class. The dependency principle asserts that the decision-making power and institutional capacities of the state in capitalist society are dependent upon the success and continuity of private capital accumulation. Therefore, state elites must adopt policies that enhance "business confidence" in the short-run and that promote a "favorable business climate" over the long-run.

Even though the dependency principle has been formulated by liberal and radical state theorists, its explanatory power relies on the assumption that state policies such as increased public expenditures, high taxes, mandates on private business, regulation, and pro-labor legislation systematically undermine business confidence and, therefore, lead to an unfavorable business climate. Conversely, it assumed that low public expenditures, low taxes, the absence of mandates of private business, deregulation, and right-to-work legislation will increase business confidence and,

therefore, promote a favorable business climate. Thus, paradoxically, the explanatory power of the dependency principle rests on the assumption that a neo-classical concept of the business climate accurately identifies what business firms and capitalists need from the state (i.e., to be left alone). Hence, over the last two decades, a laissez-faire model of the capitalist economy has become a cornerstone of much liberal and radical state theory.

However, it is my contention that the dependency principle (as currently constructed) relies on a highly oversimplified and, in many ways, over-rationalized conception of the relation between state policy and the business climate. First, the business climate is not a uni-dimensional phenomenon that can be reduced to a single set of policies that automatically produce a favorable or unfavorable business climate for all business firms. Second, therefore, the "density" of the business climate means that business executives and public officials encounter serious obstacles to "rational action" that make it difficult to assess the impact of any particular state policy or policies on the business climate. Third, the density of the business climate also implies that the presumed linkage between state policies and the business climate is not uniform throughout the capitalist economy and, consequently, individual firms will not necessarily respond in a similar manner to any particular state policy. For these reasons, the dependency principle exaggerates both the automatic functioning and the uniform rationality of the market's trigger mechanism (i.e., disinvestment and capital flight) and, thus, it misrepresents the ways in which policy-makers are prisoners of the market.

In this context of developing these arguments, I suggest that the concept of transaction costs developed by institutional and neo-institutional economists can explain the density and lack of uniformity of the business climate. Furthermore, such a concept may provide the theoretical anchor for alternative models of the business climate that are not only multi-faceted, but that identify various forms and degrees of state intervention as critical to the capitalist economy.

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## **An American Machiavellian Moment: The Rise of the "Social" in the Era of Substantive Due Process**

*Christopher M. Duncan*  
MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY

Between the years 1887 when the Allgeyer case was decided and 1941 when the most important pro-New Deal decision in *U.S. v. Darby* was handed down, the United

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States Supreme Court supported through its jurisprudence a form of capitalism which was not only foreign to the actual American political experience, but also one which was theoretically groundless except on the most rarified and ahistorical reading of its early modern western antecedents. To make this case I attempt to synthesize the notion of a "Machiavellian moment" as used by the historian J.G.A. Pocock with the idea of the rise of the "social" as found in the work of Hannah Arendt to assert a theoretical understanding of the time period under scrutiny which suggests that under a classical vision of politics America "entered into the time process" and, hence, began a very observable descent into classical corruption and civic decline at this time. The argument then skips ahead to the present briefly and contends that the America that many contemporary conservatives claim to desire a return to of sorts is indeed located discursively and theoretically in this period of corruption and decline.

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### **The Antebellum South and the American Liberal Tradition: The "Tough" Case of George Fitzhugh**

*David F. Ericson*  
*WICHITA STATE UNIVERSITY*

The Southern defense of slavery was predominantly a liberal defense. The paper only considers one case--that of George Fitzhugh (author of the infamous *Cannibals All!, or Slaves Without Masters*)--but it is part of the proverbial larger project that looks at other Southern defenders of slavery as well as several prominent Northern abolitionists. Fitzhugh is also identified in the literature on the antebellum South as a tough case, including by Louis Hartz himself, who placed Fitzhugh at the center of what he called the reactionary enlightenment. The paper argues that Hartz need not have done that; there was more of a liberal consensus than even he supposed there was. It, indeed, was this liberal consensus that "forced" the defenders of slavery to make liberal arguments in favor of the institution, as did, dialectically, the fact that the abolitionists were making liberal arguments against the institution. For example, one of Fitzhugh's favorite arguments was to argue that the Southern slaves were actually freer than the so-called free laborers of the North in terms of their ability to actually enjoy leisure activities, lead secure lives, and possess personal property.

This interpretation of the antebellum United States assumes that historically there has not been one liberalism but rather a loose set of arguments that appeal to common principles of equality, liberty, and government by consent which can be identified as liberal arguments and used to justify quite disparate social practices. How exactly the Southern defenders of slavery and the Northern abolitionists used liberal arguments for and against the Southern institution of racial slavery is the story of this paper as well as the larger project.

### **Group Capture During the Nixon Administration: The Impact of Race and Electoral Laws on African-American Interests in the Party System**

*Paul Frymer*  
*UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES*  
*John David Skrentny*  
*UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA*

This paper examines the role that electoral incentives play in determining which political groups become emboldened as "swing" voters, and which groups become marginalized as "captured" voters. We find that African-Americans became captured during the Nixon Administration's efforts to create a new electoral majority because, a) they failed to convince Nixon that their votes were contestable, b) Nixon recognized the disruptive potential that appealing to black interests had for the rest of his electoral coalition, and c) Nixon recognized that he could reach out to many more voters, and in particular swing voters, by using race as a wedge to divide the Democratic party's New Deal electoral coalition. These findings, we argue, complicate the long-standing assumption in the scholarly literature that a competitive party system is essential for a healthy and more inclusive democracy. Not all groups benefit equally from two-party competition, and indeed, some groups will find competitive parties to be more of a hindrance than an aid to their political opportunities.

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### **Cultural Blindness: Individuals, Associations, Groups**

*Robert C. Grady*  
*Eastern Michigan University*

Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act prohibits dilution of votes that denies minorities opportunities to elect representatives of their choice. This non-dilution standard has been implemented chiefly through use of majority-minority, or black-majority, districts. Both have been controversial since they appear to conflict with two other standards: race neutral or color blind standards and traditional districting principles of compactness, contiguity, and respect for political boundaries. The controversy came to a head with the *Shaw v. Reno* and *Miller v. Johnson* cases. The main conflict is between non-dilution and neutrality, with differences over districting principles serving as their proxies. For Abigail Thernstrom and the Court majority, attempts to resolve the conflict in favor of the non-dilution standard appear to challenge liberalism's individual autonomy. For Carol Swain, the principal issue is that use of majority-minority districts actually weakens and further dilutes black voting strength and legislative representation. For Lani Guinier, majority-minority districts have been counterproductive, but her

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proposal to enhance group representation through modified proportional representation appears to challenge the underlying assumptions of Thernstrom and company.

The protagonists hold different governing assumptions about democracy and ways of life. These assumptions have two dimensions: democracy assumptions and organizing, or constitutive, assumptions. For the first, the protective-equilibrium and the developmental-participatory models of democracy provide a useful framework; for the second, a theoretical continuum ranging from individual through association to group. These help clarify the basis of conflicts for the principals and their allies. Thernstrom and the Court are individualist protective-equilibrium democrats; Swain, an associationalist with developmental-participatory tendencies but protective-equilibrium by default; Guinier, a developmental-participatory democrat but vacillating between associations and groups.

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**The Politics of Institutional Transfer:  
Imitating Labor Institutions**

*Wade Jacoby*  
*GRINNELL COLLEGE*

In 1945, Joseph Keenan, longtime secretary of the Chicago AFL, became General Clay's deputy for labor affairs in the US occupation of Germany. The American occupation faced the open question of the role of the German labor movement after the end of Nazi rule. As Keenan later noted, "there were four unions: social democrats, Christian democrats, there was the Einheit [unitary] unions, and then there were the communists...I went to Clay and said, 'Well, General, this is a mix up, and I would like to reorganize these unions along the lines in the United States. They have these four different political unions which is not just right. Well, he [Clay] said, go ahead.'"

Keenan's remarks give short shrift to the actual complications of reforming the German labor movement. Yet, as my paper demonstrates, a host of AFL, CIO, and National Labor Relations Board officials did spend the next several years in Germany trying to carry out this agenda. I argue that the battles over union reform were indeed heavily colored by what I call the American "functional equivalent approach" to institutional transfer. "Institutional transfer" is the effort by sovereign policy makers (in this case, an occupation government, but many cases of "voluntary borrowing" exist) to imitate institutional designs from a foreign society. I contrast this functional equivalent approach with the "exact transfer approach" which has been used to extend West German institutions and actors to Eastern Germany in the wake of reunification.

I show that during the occupation, a particular faction of American labor used the "functional equivalent" approach successfully to shift the internal balance inside the German labor movement away from political unionism and toward a focus on collective bargaining. After 1990, an initial state-society consensus on institutional transfer has not been able to prevent the reemergence of politics around precisely the fundamental questions of institutional design that "exact transfer" was designed to solve.

Imitation has been badly undertheorized as a mechanism of institution building. The claim that institutional transfer is a political phenomenon worthy of serious analysis can be situated between two other implicit claims about institution building--one that institutional transfer is inevitable and one that it is impossible. Pure neo-liberal accounts of institutional change, at least those concerning the economy, imply that competition will weed out less adaptive structures and will ultimately drive a convergence around some set of best practices. By contrast, accounts that stress the "embeddedness" of institutions in social, cultural and political contexts see in institutional transfer a kind of technocratic naïveté that makes success unlikely.

What is needed is a description of the conditions under which successful and unsuccessful transfer tend to occur. Some suggest that strong political authority, pre-existing cultural similarity or the transfer of groups of institutions at one time might account for success. But, as I suggest, these hypotheses cannot explain why a poorly funded, piecemeal transfer from a quite alien American culture after WWII often (but not always) contributed to positive changes in German institutions, while a well-funded, systematic transfer from one half of the German nation to the other appears to be contributing to the ongoing dilemmas of institution building in Eastern Germany.

The argument developed on the basis of these German cases begins from the claim that institutional transfer is best understood as an inherently political process and not one driven primarily by the logic of market competition nor utterly constrained by social structure and the intricacies of national histories. The basic claim is that in order for institutional transfer to succeed (as defined in the paper), it must have political support drawn from both state and society. Therefore, institutional changes merely decreed by policy elites seem unlikely to be both enduring and effective. Conversely, "voluntaristic" changes on the part of union leadership seem, absent state backing, only marginally more capable of a "go it alone strategy."

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## Political Culture and Changing Patterns of American Political Development

Charles Lockhart  
TEXAS CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY

This paper is predicated on two central ideas: 1) that political culture and institutional structure are closely intertwined and reciprocally causal and 2) that historical contingencies prompt shifting relations among cultures, resulting in political change as new patterns of cultural interaction produce institutional innovation. In the first section of this paper I provide background offering support for these ideas. Then, in the second section, I argue that the history of American political development (1760s-1980s) can be divided into three eras characterized by distinctive patterns of shifting cultural coalitions. In the final section I relate these patterns to a broader theory of rational choices.

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### Schumpeter, the New Deal, and Democracy

John Medearis  
University of California, Los Angeles

Joseph Schumpeter is well known to American political scientists as the influential originator of a theory of democracy as a "method," a theory laid out in his *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (1942). But in his work on the development of liberal capitalist societies, which he developed over thirty years, Schumpeter also treated democracy as a socially-transformative historical tendency, one of several that he thought were propelling such societies toward a form of "democratic" socialism. Schumpeter regarded the politics of labor and the reorientation of state policy in the New Deal era as evidence of these tendencies--especially of a tendency toward the democratic reconstruction of workplace hierarchy, a tendency that he deplored. In his later work, Schumpeter sketched the outlines of a "democratic" socialist society in which the most harmful of these tendencies--in his estimation--would be curbed.

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### Defining Corruption: From Plunkitt to Buckley and Beyond

Ronald Schmidt, Jr.  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

"Corruption" is a descriptive term. The phrase "Political corruption" implies that some "pure" model of politics has degenerated. Much of the writing on the need for

governmental reform in several Supreme Court decisions and elsewhere, however, does not include a discussion of such a "pure" model, and threatens to disrupt legitimate political action in order to control some vague "corruption". In this paper, I conduct a literature review, attempting to draw a clear distinction between "corrupt" action and the political processes that reformers are attempting to protect.

I begin by providing a "pure" definition of politics, drawing on Federalist 10 to picture a public arena in which various interests engage in an attempt to shape policy in an ongoing process of political negotiation. I then turn to what seems to be a straightforward example of corrupt politics: bribery. Federal statutes, *Buckley v. Valeo*, and *United States v. Brewster*, however, reveal an uncertain division between legitimate and corrupt political action. I turn next to *Austin v. Michigan Chamber of Commerce* and the work of Daniel Lowenstein and Bruce Cain to explore the trade-offs between the desire to regulate corruption and the need to protect legitimate political action from ill-defined reforms. I close by examining another "straightforward" model, political machines, using Plunkitt's account of Tammany Hall, the autobiography of lobbyist Artie Samish, and Steven Erie's, *Rainbow's End*, to distinguish corrupt politics from political action which is legitimate if less than "virtuous".

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### Building the Perfect Citizen: The Emergence of an Antebellum Tort Law

Howard Schweber  
CORNELL UNIVERSITY

In the first half of the nineteenth century, American political discourse was dominated by the conflict between two broadly defined positions: an emergent, economically oriented liberalism and traditionalist republicanism. By the 1850s the issue was resolved in terms of the dominant national--which meant largely Northern--conceptions of the proper functions of government and the nature of the political economy.

During this same period, American law emerged as a coherent system. In public law, the dominant conception clearly tracked the liberalism of the Democrat-Republican prescriptions for government. The outcome was quite different, however, in the private law of tort and contract. After decades of debate between conservatives who favored the wholesale retention of English Common Law, radicals who supported Continental-style codification, and early labor radicals, an American system of private law emerged.

This paper argues that American private law represented the residuum of legal republicanism, culminating in the articulation of a model for an ideal citizen. This model, defined in terms of universally binding duties and standard-

ized expectations of knowledge and character, represented a reconfigured version of the republican ideal of civic virtue. In addition, the ideal citizen was characterized by particular relations to technology--especially public industrial technologies exemplified by railroads. The relationship between political ideology and legal doctrine is examined in this paper at two levels: in terms of debates over the development of legal theory and by a review of the adjudication of railroad cases by the Illinois Supreme Court between 1850 and 1860.

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**Pre-Industrial Social Legacies and Institution-Building  
in Late-Industrializers: Contemporary Lessons from  
the Comparison of Japan (1880-1930, 1950-80) and  
Soviet Russia (1917-85)**

*Rudra Sil*

*UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY*

This paper addresses the issue of how late-developing nations cope with building modern, complex institutions under the pressures of late economic development, rapid social mobilization and persisting pre-industrial social legacies. The argument begins with the observation that pre-industrial "corporate groups" (such as joint households, kinship or caste groups, village communities and other groups sharing collective definitions of identity, interest and responsibility) do not inevitably give way to individualism in non-Western late-developers as was the case over the course of early industrialization in the West. As a result, institutions and development strategies in most late-developing societies cannot be predicated on the assumption of individual rationality, especially during the period of "catch-up" industrialization and social mobilization when people identifying with different groups and communities are suddenly uprooted and thrust into unfamiliar institutional settings, facing new tasks, new social environments and new authority relations.

I focus the study on the case of the industrial enterprise as a large-scale institution. My main argument is that economic elites and managers in late-industrializing nations are more likely to succeed in their production goals where the company ideology and the organization of workplace social relations in large-scale industrial enterprises are communicated and understood in terms of the collectivistic values and patterns of social relations inherited from typical pre-industrial corporate groups. The familiar, predictable patterns of authority and group relations, when adapted to the context of the social organization of the modern enterprise, can be an important factor in whether employees prove to be committed, cooperative and productive.

The empirical portion of the study provides initial support for the argument by comparing pre-industrial legacies and industrial enterprises in pre- and post-war Japan and in Soviet Russia. The juxtaposition of traditional images

of the "family firm" and individual specialization in the organization of work did not prove effective in the Meiji period. Even less effective were the powerful industrial managers of Soviet Russia, who were unable to sustain productivity or motivation among workers, partly because management practices increasingly deviated from both official communist ideology and the collectivist norms inherited from pre-revolutionary Russia. In contrast, the post-war Japanese firm (1950-80) serves as the preeminent example of effective and purposive modern institutions where authority relations, work responsibilities and incentive structures are understood in terms of collectivist values, norms and social relations similar to those found in Tokugawa Japan.

Institution-builders in contemporary late-developing and post-communist societies should view the post-war Japanese economic "miracle" neither as a historically unique phenomenon nor as an alternative development model per se. Instead, they should regard the success of post-war Japanese firms as evidence of the merits of a syncretic approach to social engineering in which the group-oriented legacies in a given late-developing society can be adapted in the context of building stable and effective institutions.

## Member Awards

Politics and History Section members have won several prestigious awards that have been recognized at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association. Congratulations were extended to a number of those members on their outstanding achievements in the last *Clio*. We would also like to extend congratulations to:

**Daniel P. Carpenter**, Princeton University, who received the Herbert Kaufman award for the Best Paper in the Public Administration Section at the 1994 APSA conference. The paper, "The Structural and Institutional Foundations of Bureaucratic Culture: Corporate Attachment at the U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1889-1932," is an analysis of the bureaucratic culture of the early USDA. This is the second time in three years that Professor Carpenter has won this award.

*Please let us know about any honors that we overlooked or that are awarded in future months. Send any information about awards via e-mail or by regular mail to **Dave Robertson** at the addresses listed on page 2.*

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(LUSTICK, continued from page 3)

be based on a decision to treat some relevant factors as outside the theory itself in order to achieve an effective balance between parsimony and explanatory power. But readers of the book will quickly see how much attention is devoted to international forces in each case and to the timing and effects of Irish, Algerian, and Palestinian political struggles. These variables thereby become, not irrelevant, but inputs into the model—a model focused on states whose boundaries cannot, it is assumed, be changed by force majeure, and whose own political systems must therefore produce decisions to withdraw or, according to the theory, situations in which maintaining rule over the territory is a hegemonically established non-decision.

With some exceptions, what has been missing from these reviews has been an assessment of the overall theoretical effort of the book to reconsider how state transformation (along any dimension, not just its territorial shape) can be studied in institutionalist terms that integrate both continuous and discontinuous variables. In this respect I have been disappointed not to hear yet, and still look forward to receiving, comment on my critique of the way Weber's classic definition(s) of the state have been employed. (I argue that the state should be simply defined as the organization that enforces property rights, and that references to "within a given territory" as part of the definition of the state make it impossible to study change in the territorial shape of the state as a political problem.)

Nor have reviewers spent much time, or had much space, to comment substantively on the specific theoretical claims I make about how the regime and hegemony thresholds can be crossed. These claims, inspired by, but not deduced from Gramsci, stipulate how "wars of position" (around the hegemony threshold) and "wars of maneuver" (around the regime threshold) are fought and can be won. The theory I develop about conditions required for the overthrow of an established hegemonic belief emphasize different mixes of three factors or their absence: gross discrepancies between the official belief and "stubborn realities;" new ideas from outside the discourse that can convincingly interpret and explain these contrary patterns; and risk-taking political entrepreneurs able to use these new interpretations to advance their own interests. My analysis of wars of maneuver, surrounding the regime threshold, centers on different combinations of four rescaling mechanisms logically available to elites who face the spectre of regime level disruption before policies can be implemented, via state contraction, to realize central state interests. These rescaling mechanisms are decomposition of the problem, dividing regime-threatening elements from incumbent-level risks; regime recomposition, to reduce the number and extent of central state actors involved in the process leading up to a regime crisis; realignment, producing a government with an expanded political base founded

on interests defined orthogonally to the regime-threatening dispute; and utility preference change, entailing political pedagogy to persuade key groups to abandon or de-escalate longstanding commitments.

Although some reviewers did explain the theory I advance for constructing and deconstructing hegemonic beliefs, the techniques I discuss for surviving and even exploiting regime crises have received very little attention, despite the explosive appearance, as anticipated in Chapters 9 and 10 of the book, of regime-level challenges in Israel regarding government policies designed to achieve Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza. Indeed I specifically discussed the likelihood of a secret deal between an Israeli Labor government and the PLO, subsequent assassination attempts on Israeli leaders by Jewish extremists, the opportunities such oppositionist activities would open up to bold leadership for rapidly crossing the regime threshold toward state contraction, and the dangers of failure if Israeli leaders were to refuse to run risks of regime breakdown.

It is not surprising, perhaps, that those reviewers who have focused on the strategies I outline for state contraction across the regime threshold have been Israeli writers, publishing their reviews in Hebrew, for Israeli audiences. Instructively, and very satisfyingly for me, both dovish and hawkish reviewers have noted the powerful implications of Churchill's scuttled strategy in 1914 for overcoming regime-threatening opposition to Irish Home Rule from diehard Ulster Protestants, an aroused and furious Unionist Party, and large parts of the British officer corps. This was a strategy of provoking the settlers into a premature showdown and then rallying the country around defense of the flag and of the stability of the parliamentary order as a means of building the political capital necessary to contract the state. While Asquith forced Churchill to abandon this course in 1914 for fear of triggering a real civil war, de Gaulle took just this risk in 1959-1961. Dovish reviewers in Israel hailed my analysis that a bold course such as this would have even more of a chance of working in Israel as it did in France. At the same time, and much to my satisfaction, one hawkish reviewer in a prominent Jewish settler journal urged his readers to learn from the organizational and political techniques employed by the Protestants in Ireland to prevent imposition of Home Rule on Ulster in 1912-1914 in order to block imposition of the Oslo autonomy agreement on Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

I argue in the book that the theory it contains is applicable to a wide variety of historical and contemporary settings where expansion and contraction of states through processes other than military defeat or victory are of decisive importance. I am therefore delighted with attention the book has received by scholars interested in Russia, Eastern Europe, and the Soviet successor states, as well as by Irish and British scholars. I am, to be frank, disappointed that I have not seen the book reviewed or considered by French scholars, though

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## Woodrow Wilson International Center Fellowships in the Humanities and Social Sciences, 1997-98

The Woodrow Wilson Center awards approximately 35 fellowships annually in an international competition to individuals with outstanding project proposals representing the entire range of scholarship, with a strong emphasis on the humanities and social sciences. The Center especially welcomes projects that transcend narrow specialties.

Each Fellow is assigned a furnished office available every day on a round-the-clock basis. The Center's main offices are located in the heart of Washington, D.C., in a smoke-free space. Professional librarians provide access to the Library of Congress, university and special libraries in the area, and other research facilities. IBM-compatible personal computers or manuscript-typing services are available, and each Fellow is offered a part-time research assistant. Publishing services are available through the Woodrow Wilson Center Press, which co-publishes with Cambridge University Press and the Johns Hopkins University Press.

In order to foster a true community of scholars, the Center prefers its Fellows to be in residence for the entire U.S. academic year (September through May), although a few fellowships are available for shorter periods with a minimum of four months.

Applications from any country are welcome. Men and women with outstanding capabilities and experience from a wide variety of backgrounds (including government, the corporate world, and the professions, as well as academia) are eligible for appointment. For academic participants, eligibility is limited to the postdoctoral level, and normally it is expected that academic candidates will have demonstrated their scholarly development by publication beyond the Ph.D. dissertation. For other applicants, an equivalent degree of professional achievement is expected.

The Center seeks to follow the principle of no gain/no loss in terms of a Fellow's previous year's salary. However, the combination of limited funds and a Congressionally established ceiling makes it essential for most applicants to seek supplementary sources of funding: sabbatical support, other fellowships, or foundation grants. In no case can the Center's stipend exceed \$61,000; the average yearly support is approximately \$47,000, inclusive of travel expenses and 75% of health insurance premiums for Fellows, their spouses, and their dependent children.

Where appropriate, Fellows are associated with one of the Center's seven programs: Asian; East and West European; Historical, Cultural, and Literary Studies; International Studies; Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies; Latin American; and United States Studies.

The Center holds one round of competitive selection per year. The deadline for receipt of applications is October 1, 1996. Decisions on appointment will be made by March 1, 1997.

Further information and application forms may be obtained from:

The Fellowships Office  
The Woodrow Wilson Center  
1000 Jefferson Drive S.W.  
SI MRC 022  
Washington, D.C. 20560  
e-mail: [wcfellow@sivm.si.edu](mailto:wcfellow@sivm.si.edu); Fax: 202-357-4439;  
Telephone: 202-357-2841; World Wide Web:  
<http://wwics.si.edu>

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(LUSTICK, continued from page 16)

presentations drawn from the book have been well-received by them at conferences on Gaullism and contemporary European history. I believe that my book makes a significant contribution to rescuing both Algeria and Ireland from the scholarly limbo into the which they have been relegated by students who study French colonial affairs and leave out Algeria because it was "legally part of France," by students of France proper who ignore Algeria because it was, essentially, "a colony," by students of the British empire who ignore Ireland because it was part of the United Kingdom, and by students of Great Britain who ignore Ireland because it was, "essentially," a colony. I also look forward to efforts by scholars working on problems of secession, decolonization, "internal colonialism," or historical patterns of state-building, who have found it nearly impossible to know how to categorize or analyze these highly salient cases, to come to grips with the categorizations, evidence, and arguments presented in *Unsettled States*.

Finally, I would like to take this opportunity to note that a key element in my own current research grows out of one of the biggest challenges I faced writing this book--establishing background narratives for the three relationships that were theoretically neutral enough to permit non-tautological tests of my claims but stylized enough to be presentable in one volume and translatable into the categories of my model. The difficulties I encountered have led me to work hard on the methodological problems associated with using historiography (in the absence of an agreed "historical record") as a data base. I explored this line of analysis first in a 1993 article in *World Politics*, "Writing the Intifada: Collective Action in the Occupied Territories," and look forward to a Politics and History Section panel on this topic in San Francisco, where I will present a paper entitled, "History, Historiography, and Political Science: Using History in the Absence of an Historical Record."



Harold Kincaid. 1995. **Philosophical Foundations of the Social Sciences: Analyzing Controversies in Social Research.** Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

This book argues that behind the diverse methods of the natural sciences lies a common core of scientific rationality that the social sciences can and sometimes do achieve. It also argues that good social science must analyze large-scale social structures and processes and thus that methodological individualism is misguided. These theses are supported by analysis of existing research on theories of agrarian revolution, organizational ecology, social theories of depression, and supply-demand explanations in economics.

David Marsh and Gerry Stoker, eds. 1995. **Theory and Methods in Political Science.** New York: St. Martin's.

*Contents:*

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David Sanders, "Behavioural Analysis";  
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**Other New Books:**

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## SCOPE AND METHODS

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### Scope and Methods Bookscan

James Farr, John Dryzek, and Stephen T. Leonard. 1995. **Political Science in History: Research Programs and Political Traditions.** New York: Cambridge University Press.

*Contents:*

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Terence Ball, "An Ambivalent Alliance: Political Science and American Democracy";  
Stephen T. Leonard, "The Pedagogical Purposes of Political Science";  
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John S. Dryzek and David Schlosberg, "Disciplining Darwin: Biology in the History of Political Science";  
Joseph P. McCormick II, "Race and Political Science: The Dual Traditions of Race Relations Politics and African American Politics";  
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James Farr, "Remembering the Revolution: Behavioralism in American Political Science";  
Douglas Torgerson, "Policy Analysis and Public Life: The Restoration of Phronēsis?";  
John Ferejohn, "The Development of the Spatial Theory of Elections";  
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Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, "Order and Time in Institutional Study: A Brief for the Historical Approach."

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## WORK IN PROGRESS

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*Lucy G. Barber*

*UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, DAVIS*

My current project is a history of marching on Washington. Protest in Washington is so common today that marches are both accepted and expected for most political causes. Nearly every American has seen protests on television and many have participated in them. Yet, a hundred years ago, the first "march" in the streets of the nation's capital seemed to threaten the political order. It provoked a nation-wide debate over the right of American citizens to use the public spaces of the capital. My book will examine this transformation.

To capture the drama of individual demonstrations and the broad sweep of changes, I concentrate on six examples: the march by Coxe's Army in 1894, the Woman Suffrage Procession and Pageant of 1913, the Bonus March of 1932, the planned but canceled Negro March on Washington for Jobs in National Defense in 1941, the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, and three weeks of demonstrations against the Vietnam War in April and May of 1971. An epilogue will use the recent Million Man March of 1995 as a lens for examining contemporary views of political protest in the capital.

The story of each demonstration emerges from the struggles between and among organizers, government officials, journalists, and participants. Consequently, I develop my accounts by interweaving materials from the private papers of organizers and government officials with public discussions in newspapers, magazines, and Congress, and visual records in photographs, newsreels and television broadcasts. Surveillance records from the Military Intelligence Division and the FBI provide important information on the plans for demonstrations and their treatment by security forces. The resulting narratives evoke the course of demonstrations from their conception and planning to their execution and ultimate effects.

Together, a history of marches on Washington reveals dramatic changes in the nature of national politics and the role of social protest in American political culture. Through these protests, we can see emerging the acceptance of interest groups and social movements in American politics and a broader and more inclusive view of American citizenship. As a result, marches on Washington have become part

of what John F. Kennedy called a "great tradition" in American politics. Yet, this tradition has developed alongside and often in support of a far more powerful national government. Thus, this act of protest against the government has most often served to bolster that same government.

This project is an expansion and revision of my dissertation from Brown University (1995) under the direction of James T. Patterson in the History Department. I welcome comments and correspondence from people working on related topics. Please write to: Professor Lucy Barber, History Department, University of California, Davis, CA 95616, or, e-mail: [lgbarber@ucdavis.edu](mailto:lgbarber@ucdavis.edu).

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### **Why is There No Labour Party in the United States?**

*Robin Archer*

*CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD, UK*

Political parties based on the labour movement have become electorally important in every advanced capitalist country. Every one, that is, except the United States.

Most of the conventional explanations for this "American Exceptionalism" rely on comparisons between the United States and Europe. They point out that the United States had earlier manhood suffrage, a higher standard of living, an immigrant population, a culture of liberal individualism and so on. But much of this is also true of Australia and, yet, Australia produced one of the earliest and most politically powerful labour parties in the world. Here, then, I want to reassess the conventional explanations for American exceptionalism, not by comparing the New World with the Old, but rather by comparing one New World country with another.

My work focuses on the period around the late 1880s and early 1890s, because it was in this period that the Australian Labour Party was established and that the American labour movement came closest to establishing a similar party.

I would be very interested to make contact with American colleagues who are working in similar areas. My normal address is: Robin Archer, Fellow in Politics, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, OX1 4JF, United Kingdom. Until August 1996, I will be on sabbatical at the Department of Political Science, Columbia University, 420 West 118th Street, New York, NY 10027.

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### **1997 Western Political Science Association**

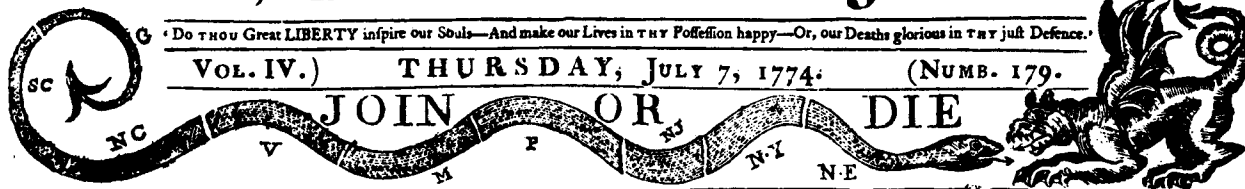
You are invited to submit panel and paper proposals for the 1997 Western Political Science Association meetings to be held in Tucson, Arizona from March 13-15, 1997. Please send proposals to the Politics and History Section coordinator, Professor Gerald Berk, Department of Political Science, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403-1284; (telephone) 541-346-4887; (fax) 541-346-4860; e-mail: [gberk@oregon.uoregon.edu](mailto:gberk@oregon.uoregon.edu).



# Or, Thomas's Boston Journal.

Do THOU Great LIBERTY inspire our Souls—And make our Lives in thy Possession happy—Or, our Deaths glorious in thy just Defence.

VOL. IV.) THURSDAY, JULY 7, 1774. (NUMB. 179.



## 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.

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Frans D. Huizenga, "Regime Analysis: A Rule-Based Method," 27:3 (November 1995): 361-378.

Jean Mercier and Robert P. McGowan, "The Greening of Organizations," 27:4 (February 1996): 459-482.

### African Studies Review

Ayodeji Olukoju, "Anatomy of Business-Government Relations: Fiscal Policy and Mercantile Pressure Group Activity in Nigeria, 1916-1933," 38:1 (April 1995): 23-50.

### The American Economic Review

Enrico C. Perotti, "Credible Privatization," 85:4 (September 1995): 847-859.

Jonathan Gruber and Brigitte C. Madrian, "Health-Insurance Availability and the Retirement Decision," 85:4 (September 1995): 938-948.

James E. Rauch, "Bureaucracy, Infrastructure, and Economic Growth: Evidence from U.S. Cities During the Progressive Era," 85:4 (September 1995): 968-979.

Daniel Treffer, "The Case of the Missing Trade and Other Mysteries," 85:5 (December 1995): 1029-1046.

Gary Ramey and Valerie A. Ramey, "Cross-Country Evidence on the Link Between Volatility and Growth," 85:5 (December 1995): 1138-1151.

### American Journal of Sociology

Carol Conell and Samuel Cohn, "Learning from Other People's Actions: Environmental Variation and Diffusion in French Coal Mining Strikes, 1890-1935," 101:2 (September 1995): 366-403.

Elisabeth S. Clemens, Walter W. Powell, Kris McIlwaine, and Dina Okamoto, "Careers in Print: Books, Journals, and Scholarly Reputations," 101:2 (September 1995): 433-494.

Claude S. Fischer, "The Subcultural Theory of Urbanism: A Twentieth-Year Assessment," 101:3 (November 1995): 543-577.

Theodore P. Gerber and Michael Hout, "Educational Stratification in Russia during the Soviet Period," 101:3 (November 1995): 611-660.

### American Journalism

Richard Digby-Junger, "'News in Which the Public May Take An Interest': A Nineteenth Century Precedent for *New York Times v. Sullivan*," 12:1 (Winter 1995): 22-38.

David A. Copeland, "*The Proceedings of the Rebellious Negroes*: News of Slave Insurrections and Crimes in Colonial Newspapers," 12:2 (Spring 1995): 83-106.

Bruce J. Evensen, "Following A Famous President: Truman's Troubles with an Independent-Minded Post-War Press," 12:3 (Summer 1995): 242-259.

Margaret A. Blanchard, "Freedom of the Press in World War II," 12:3 (Summer 1995): 342-366.

### American Political Science Review

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Randolph M. Siverson, "War and the Survival of Political Leaders: A Comparative Study of Regime Types and Political Accountability," 89:4 (December 1995): 841-855.

Kathryn Firmin-Sellers, "The Politics of Property Rights," 89:4 (December 1995): 867-881.

Mark J. Gasiorowski, "Economic Crisis and Political Regime Change: An Event History Analysis," 89:4 (December 1995): 882-897.

Cathie Jo Martin, "Nature or Nurture? Sources of Firm Preference for National Health Reform," 89:4 (December 1995): 898-913.

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Jacqueline Stevens (comment); Rogers M. Smith (response), "Beyond Tocqueville, Please!" 89:4 (December 1995): 987-995.

Sidney Verba, "The Citizen Respondent: Sample Surveys and American Democracy," 90:1 (March 1996): 1-7.

Sarah A. Binder, "The Partisan Basis of Procedural Choice: Allocating Parliamentary Rights in the House, 1789-1990," 90:1 (March 1996): 8-20.

Jonathan N. Katz and Brian R. Sala, "Careerism, Committee Assignments, and the Electoral Connection," 90:1 (March 1996): 21-33.

Brian M. Pollins, "Global Political Order, Economic Change, and Armed Conflict: Coevolving Systems and the Use of Force," 90:1 (March 1996): 103-117.

### **American Politics Quarterly**

Robert S. Erikson, "State Turnout and Presidential Voting: A Closer Look," (387-396) with reply by Benjamin Radcliff (397-403) and response by Erikson (404-408), 23:4 (October 1995).

Staci L. Rhine, "Registration Reform and Turnout Change in the American States," 23:4 (October 1995): 409-426.

Kenneth J. Meier, Robert D. Wrinkle, and J.L. Polinard, "Politics, Bureaucracy, and Agricultural Policy: An Alternative View of Political Control," 23:4 (October 1995): 427-460.

Christopher J. Deering, "Career Advancement and Subcommittee Chairs in the U.S. House of Representatives: 86th to 103rd Congresses," 24:1 (January 1996): 3-23.

Richard Forgette, "Constraint or Accommodation: The Congressional Budget Procedure's Effect on Appropriations Decisions," 24:1 (January 1996): 24-42.

Christopher Wlezien, "The President, Congress, and Appropriations, 1951-1985," 24:1 (January 1996): 43-67.

### **American Sociological Review**

Michael Hout, Clem Brooks, and Jeff Manza, "The Democratic Class Struggle in the United States, 1948-1992," 60:6 (December 1995): 805-828.

Judith Stepan-Norris and Maurice Zeitlan, "Union Democracy, Radical Leadership, and the Hegemony of Capital," 60:6 (December 1995): 829-850.

Don Sherman Grant II, "The Political Economy of Business Failures across the American States, 1970-1985: The Impact of Reagan's New Federalism," 60:6 (December 1995): 851-873.

Frank P. Romo and Michael Schwartz, "The Structural Embeddedness of Business Decisions: The Migration of Manufacturing Plants in New York State, 1960-1985," 60:6 (December 1995): 874-907.

Joane Nagel, "American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Politics and the Resurgence of Identity," 60:6 (December 1995): 947-965.

Edward N. Muller, "Economic Determinants of Democracy," 60:6 (December 1995): 966-982.

Amitai Etzioni, "The Responsive Community: A Communitarian Perspective" [Presidential Address], 61:1 (February 1996): 1-11.

Julia Adams, "Principals and Agents, Colonialists and Company Men: The Decay of Colonial Control in the Dutch East Indies," 61:1 (February 1996): 12-28.

Karen Rasler, "Concessions, Repression, and Political Protest in the Iranian Revolution," 61:1 (February 1996): 132-152.

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

David McKay, "Urban Development and Civic Community: A Comparative Analysis," 26:1 (January 1996): 1-23.

Christopher Wlezien, "Dynamics of Representation: The Case of US Spending on Defence," 26:1 (January 1996): 81-103.

### **The British Journal of Sociology**

Bruce Curtis, "Taking the State Back Out: Rose and Miller on Political Power," with response by Miller and Rose, 46:4 (December 1995): 575-597.

Lilja Móseddóttir, "The State and the Egalitarian, Ecclesiastical and Liberal Regimes of Gender Relations," 46:4 (December 1995): 623-642.

### **Business History Review**

Steven Tolliday, "Enterprise and State in the West German Wirtschaftswunder: Volkswagen and the Automobile Industry, 1939-1962," 69:3 (Autumn 1995): 273-350.

Christine Meisner Rosen, "Businessmen Against Pollution in Late Nineteenth Century Chicago," 69:3 (Autumn 1995): 351-397.

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Timothy Thomas, "New Forms of Political Representation: European Ecological Politics and the Montreal Citizen's Movement," 28:3 (September 1995): 509-531.

David E. Smith, "Bagehot, the Crown and the Canadian Constitution," 28:4 (December 1995): 619-635.

Herman Bakvis and Laura G. MacPherson, "Quebec Block Voting and the Canadian Electoral System," 28:4 (December 1995): 659-692.

Looking for 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.

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## Comparative Political Studies

Lane Kenworthy, "Unions, Wages, and the Common Interest," 28:4 (January 1996): 491-524.

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Karen L. Remmer, [Review Article] "New Theoretical Perspectives on Democratization," 28:1 (October 1995): 103-122.

Vivien A. Schmidt, [Review Article] "Industrial Policy and Policies of Industry in Advanced Industrialized Nations," 28:2 (January 1996): 225-248.

## Comparative Studies in Society and History

Michael Braddick, "The Early Modern English State and the Question of Differentiation, from 1550 to 1700," 38:1 (January 1996): 92-111.

William A. Munro, "Power, Peasants, and Political Development: Reconsidering State Construction in Africa," 38:1 (January 1996): 112-148.

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Andrew J. Polsky, "Giving Business the Business," 43:1 (Winter 1996): 33-36.

## Economic and Industrial Democracy

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Stephen M. Bainbridge, "The Politics of Corporate Governance," 18:3 (Summer 1995): 671-734.

Earl M. Maltz, "The Impact of the Constitutional Revolution of 1937 on the Dormant Commerce Clause--A Case Study in the Decline of State Autonomy," 19:1 (Fall 1995): 121-145.

## Harvard Law Review

Laurence H. Tribe, "Taking Text and Structure Seriously: Reflections on Free-Form Method in Constitutional Interpretation," 108:6 (April 1995): 1221-1303.

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Elizabeth Herr, "The Census, Estimation Biases, and Female Labor-Force Participation Rates in 1880 Colorado," 28:4 (Fall 1995): 167-181.

## History of Political Economy

John D. McCallie, "Early Warnings of the Hazards of Federal Deposit Insurance at the Time of Its Inception," 27:4 (Winter 1995): 687-703.

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Philip G. Cerny, "Globalization and the Changing Logic of Collective Action," 49:4 (Autumn 1995): 595-625.

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Albert S. Yee, "The Causal Effects of Ideas on Policies," 50:1 (Winter 1996): 69-108.

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James B. Johnson and Philip E. Secret, "Focus and Style Representational Roles of Congressional Black and Hispanic Caucus Members," 26:3 (January 1996): 245-273.

A. J. Williams-Myers, "Slavery, Rebellion, and Revolution in the Americas: A Historiographical Scenario on the Theses of Genovese and Others," 26:4 (March 1996): 381-400.

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Cheryl Walsh, "The Incarnation and the Christian Socialist Conscience in the Victorian Church of England," 34:3 (July 1995): 351-374.

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Sylvia N. Tesh, "Miasma and 'Social Factors' in Disease Causality: Lessons from the Nineteenth Century," (1001-1024) and Christopher Hamlin, "Commentary--Finding a Function for Public Health: Disease Theory or Political Philosophy?" (1025-1032), 20:4 (Winter 1995).

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"Forum on Welfare State History" with Andrew Polsky, Jill Quadagno, and Linda Gordon, 7:4 (1995): 441-466.

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Brian Balogh, "Introduction," (1-33);

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Martha Derthick, "Crossing Thresholds: Federalism in the 1960s," (64-80);

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Noel Whiteside, "Creating the Welfare State in Britain, 1945-1960," 25:1 (January 1996): 83-103.

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Dan T. Carter, "Legacy of Rage: George Wallace and the Transformation of American Politics," 62:1 (February 1996): 3-26.

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Reuven Y. Hazan, "Center Parties and Systemic Polarization: An Exploration of Recent Trends in Western Europe," 7:4 (October 1995): 421-445.

Evelyn C. Fink, "Institutional Change as a Sophisticated Strategy: The Bill of Rights as a Political Solution," 7:4 (October 1995): 477-510.

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## Journal of Urban History

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Marcel van der Linden and Gregory Zieren, "German Contemporary Studies of American Labor, 1865-1914," 36:4 (Fall 1995): 579-587.

### Law & Social Inquiry

Martin Chanock, "Criminological Science and the Criminal Law on the Colonial Periphery: Perception, Fantasy, and Realities in South Africa, 1900-1930," 20:4 (Fall 1995): 911-939.

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Andrew Gamble, "The Crisis of Conservatism," 214: (November/December 1995): 3-25.

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*Symposium*: Sleaze: Politics, Private Interests and Public Reaction, 48:4 (October 1995).

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*Symposium*: The State of the Discipline (Part Two), with Grant Recher, Robert Weissberg, Mark P. Lagon, James H. Rutherford, and Thomas S. Engeman, 24:4 (Fall 1995): 197-217.

*Symposium*: The State of the Discipline (Part Three), with Bradley C. S. Watson and David J. Webber, 25:1 (Winter 1996): 6-14.

### Policy Sciences

Dvora Yanow, "Editorial: Practices of Policy Interpretation," 28:2 (May 1995): 111-126.

Jeanette Hofmann, "Implicit Theories in Policy Discourse: An Inquiry into the Interpretations of Reality in German Technology Policy," 28:2 (May 1995): 127-148.

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Kenneth J. Meier, "Publishing Replications: OK, Let's Try It," 28:4 (December 1995): 662-663.

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Miriam Feldblum, "The Study of Politics: What Does Replicability Have to Do With It?" 29:1 (March 1996): 7-9.

*Symposium*: "Media and Politics," 29:1 (March 1996): 10-36.

Robert S. Erikson and Christopher Wlezien, "Of Time and Presidential Election Forecasts," 29:1 (March 1996): 37-38.

Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, "Northern Bourbons: A Preliminary Report on the National Voter Registration Act," 29:1 (March 1996): 39-42.

*Symposium*: "Political Scientists Examine Civic Standards," 29:1 (March 1996): 47-72.

### Political Research Quarterly

Howard J. Gold, "Third Party Voting in Presidential Elections: A Study of Perot, Anderson, and Wallace," 48:4 (December 1995): 751-773.

Benjamin Radcliff and Martin Saiz, "Race, Turnout and Public Policy in the American States," 48:4 (December 1995): 775-794.

Alan L. Abramowitz, *Field Essay*: "The End of the Democratic Era? 1994 and the Future of Congressional Election Research," 48:4 (December 1995): 873-889.

Peeverill Squire, *Field Essay*: "Candidates, Money, and Voters--Assessing the State Congressional Elections Research," 48:4 (December 1995): 891-917.

David A. Leblang, "Property Rights, Democracy and Economic Growth," 49:1 (March 1996): 5-26.

Sharon E. Fox, "The Influence of Political Conditions on Foreign Firm Location Decisions in the American States (1974-1989)," 49:1 (March 1996): 51-75.

Charles R. Shipan, "Senate Committees and Turf: Do Jurisdictions Matter?" 49:1 (March 1996): 177-189.

Tom W. Rice and Tracey A. Hilton, "Partisanship Over Time: A Comparison of United States Panel Data," 49:1 (March 1996): 191-201.

### Political Science Quarterly

Paul R. Abramson, John H. Aldrich, Phil Paolino, and David W. Rohde, "Third-Party and Independent Candidates in American Politics: Wallace, Anderson, and Perot," 110:3 (Fall 1995): 349-367.

Timothy McKeown, "Is American Foreign Policy Exceptional? An Empirical Analysis," 110:3 (Fall 1995): 369-384.

Wallace Mendelson, "Ninth Amendment Rights and Wrongs--A Note on Noninterpretism," 110:3 (Fall 1995): 405-415.

Lawrence R. Jacobs, "Presidential Manipulation of Polls and Public Opinion: The Nixon Administration and the Pollsters," 110:4 (Winter 1995-96): 519-538.

David Carroll Cochran, "Ethnic Diversity and Democratic Stability: The Case of Irish Americans," 110:4 (Winter 1995-96): 587-604.

Fred I. Greenstein, "Colin Powell's *American Journey* and the Eisenhower Precedent: A Review Essay," 110:4 (Winter 1995-96): 625-630.

### Political Studies

Erik Asard and W. Lance Bennett, "Regulating the Marketplace of Ideas: Political Rhetoric in Swedish and American National Elections," 43:4 (December 1995): 645-663.

## Polity

**Forum:** "Institutions and Institutionalism," 28:1 (Fall 1995): 83-140.

Philip J. Ethington and Eileen L. McDonagh, "The Common Space of Social Science Inquiry";  
Stephen Skowronek, "Order and Change";  
Karen Orren, "Ideas and Institutions";  
Theda Skocpol, "Why I am an Historical Institutionalism";  
Morris Fiorina, "Rational Choice and the New (?) Institutionalism";  
Dorothy Ross, "The Many Lives of Institutionalism in American Social Science";  
James T. Kloppenberg, "Institutionalism, Rational Choice, and Historical Analysis";  
Terrence J. McDonald, "Institutionalism and Institutions in the Stream of History"; and  
Rogers M. Smith, "Ideas, Institutions, and Strategic Choices."

## Politics & Society

**Special Section:** "Critique of Robert Putnam's *Making Democracy Work*," 24:1 (March 1996), with the following articles:

Ellis Goldberg, "Thinking About How Democracy Works," (7-18);

Filippo Sabetti, "Path Dependency and Civic Culture: Some Lessons From Italy About Interpreting Social Experiments," (19-44); and

Margaret Levi, "Social and Unsocial Capital: A Review Essay of Robert Putnam's *Making Democracy Work*," (45-55).

## Polity

Susan M. Olson, "Comparing Women's Rights Litigation in the Netherlands and the United States," 28:2 (Winter 1995): 189-215.

Jo Renee Formicola, "*Everson* Revisited: 'This is Not... Just a Little Case Over Bus Fares,'" 28:1 (Fall 1995): 49-66.

## Presidential Studies Quarterly

**Issue Theme:** "Civil Rights and Presidential Leadership," 25:3 (Summer 1995).

## Public Administration Review

Camilla Stivers, "Settlement Women and Bureau Men: Constructing a Usable Past for Public Administration," 55:6 (November/December 1995): 522-529.

Hindy Lauer Schachter, "Reinventing Government or Reinventing Ourselves: Two Models for Improving Government Performance," 55:6 (November/December 1995): 530-537.

Eliza Wing-ye Lee, "Political Science, Public Administration, and the Rise of the American Administrative State," 55:6 (November/December 1995): 538-546.

"Changing European States: Changing Public Administration," with Walter J. M. Kickert, Richard J. Stillman II, Jacques Chevallier, Wolfgang Seibel, Christopher Pollitt, and Torben Beck Jørgensen, 56:1 (January/February 1996): 65-103.

Herbert Kaufman, "Music of the Squares: A Lifetime of Study of Public Administration," 56:2 (March/April 1996): 127-138.

"Public Policy and Administration: The Goals of Rationality and Responsibility" and "Further Reflections" by Norton E. Long, with comments by Frank P. Sherwood and Thomas W. Novotny, 56:2 (March/April 1996): 149-158.

## Public Choice

J. de Haan and C. L. J. Siermann, "New Evidence on the Relationship Between Democracy and Economic Growth," 86:1-2 (1996): 175-198.

W. O. Brown, Jr., "Friends in High Places: The Wealth Effects of JFK's Assassination on the Assets of LBJ's Supporters," 86: 3-4 (1996): 247-256.

T. A. Downes, "An Examination of the Structure of Governance in California School Districts Before and After Proposition 13," 86:3-4 (1996): 279-307.

## The Public Interest

Abigail Thernstrom and Henry D. Fetter, "From Scottsboro to Simpson," 122 (Winter 1996): 17-27.

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## Publius: The Journal of Federalism

Stephen L. Percy, Brett W. Hawkins, and Peter E. Maier, "Revisiting Tiebout: Moving Rationales and Interjurisdictional Relocation," 25:4 (Fall 1995): 1-18.

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## Signs

Constance W. Hassett, "Siblings and Antislavery: The Literary and Political Relations of Harriet Martineau, James Martineau, and Maria Weston Chapman," 21:2 (Winter 1996): 374-409.

Lisa D. Brush, "Love, Toil, and Trouble: Motherhood and Feminist Politics," 21:2 (Winter 1996): 429-454.

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## Social Forces

Robert K. Merton, "The Thomas Thorem and the Matthew Effect," 74: 2 (December 1995): 379-424.

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## Social Politics

Maureen A. Flanagan, "The Predicament of New Rights: Suffrage and Women's Political Power from a Local Perspective," 2:3 (Fall 1995): 305-330.

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## Social Science History

Larry J. Griffin and Robert R. Korstad, "Class as Race and Gender: Making and Breaking a Labor Union in the Jim Crow South," 19:4 (Winter 1995): 425-454.

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Miriam L. King and Diana L. Magnuson, "Perspectives on Historical U.S. Census Undercounts," 19:4 (Winter 1995): 455-466.

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## Social Science Quarterly

Joseph Stewart, Jr., James F. Sheffield, Jr., and Margaret E. Ellis, "The Mechanisms of Runoff Primary 'Disadvantage,'" 76:4 (December 1995): 807-822.

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Tesa Stegner and Rodney Fort, "A Test of Congressional Dominance over Administrative Agencies: The Case of the U.S. Forest Service," 76:4 (December 1995): 839-852.

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Stanley N. Katz, "Do Disciplines Matter? History and the Social Sciences," 76:4 (December 1995): 863-877.

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Charles M. Tolbert, "The Southwestern Social Science Association: The Long Road toward Organizational Maturity, 1920-1995," 76:4 (December 1995): 878-901.

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Irwin L. Morris, "Monetary Policy Signaling and the Senate Banking Committee," 76:4 (December 1995): 902-910.

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## Social Service Review

Susan Kerr Chandler, "'That Biting, Stinging Thing Which Ever Shadows Us': African-American Social Workers in France during World War I," 69:3 (September 1995): 498-514.

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Andrew Abbott, "Boundaries of Social Work or Social Work of Boundaries? The *Social Service Review* Lecture," 69:4 (December 1995): 545-562.

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Martha N. Ozawa, "The Earned Income Tax Credit: Its Effect and Its Significance," 69:4 (December 1995): 563-582.

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Kay Walters Ofman, "A Rural View of Mothers' Pensions: The Allegan County, Michigan, Mothers' Pension Program, 1913-1928," 70:1 (March 1996): 98-119.

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## Social Science History

**Special Section: Institutions and Institutionalism,** 19:4 (Winter 1995).

Philip Ethington and Eileen McDonagh, "The Eclectic Center of the New Institutionalism: Axes of Analysis in Comparative Perspective," 467-477.

James J. Connolly, "Reconstituting Ethnic Politics: Boston, 1909-1925," 479-509.

Robert C. Lieberman, "Race, Institutions, and the Administration of Social Policy," 511-542.

John R. Graham, "An Analysis of Canadian Social Welfare Historical Writing," 70:1 (March 1996): 140-158.

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## Studies in American Political Development

Robert Meister, "Sojourners and Survivors: Two Logics of Constitutional Protection," 9:2 (Fall 1995): 229-286.

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M. Stephen Weatherford with Thomas B. Mayhew, "Tax Policy and Presidential Leadership: Ideas, Interests, and the Quality of Advice," 9:2 (Fall 1995): 287-330.

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Scott C. James, "Building a Democratic Majority: The Progressive Party Vote and the Federal Trade Commission," 9:2 (Fall 1995): 331-385.

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Adonica Y. Lui, "The Machine and Social Policies: Tammany Hall and the Politics of Public Outdoor Relief, New York City, 1874-1898," 9:2 (Fall 1995): 386-403.

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Christopher Howard, "Protean Lure for the Working Poor: Party Competition and the Earned Income Tax Credit," 9:2 (Fall 1995): 404-436.

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Joyce Appleby, "The Popular Sources of American Capitalism," 9:2 (Fall 1995): 437-457.

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## Technology and Culture

Mark Aldrich, "Preventing 'the Needless Peril of the Coal Mine': The Bureau of Mines and the Campaign against Coal Mine Explosions, 1910-1940," 36:3 (July 1995): 483-518.

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Immanuel Wallerstein, "The End of What Modernity?" 24:4 (August 1995): 471-488.

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William A. Tobin, "Studying Society: The Making of *Recent Social Trends in the United States, 1929-1933*," 24:4 (August 1995): 537-565.

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## The University of Chicago Law Review

David P. Currie, "The Constitution in Congress: The Third Congress, 1793-1795," 63:1 (Winter 1996): 1-48.

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## Urban Affairs Review

Timothy Bledsoe, Michael Combs, Lee Sigelman, and Susan Welch, "Trends in Racial Attitudes in Detroit, 1968-1992," 31:4 (March 1996): 508-528.

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## West European Politics

Jack Hayward (editor), *Special Issue: "The Crisis of Representation in Europe,"* 18:3 (July 1995).

Paul Pennings, "The Impact of Parties and Unions on Welfare Statism," 18:4 (October 1995): 1-17.

Graham K. Wilson and Anthony Barker, "The End of the Whitehall Model?" 18:4 (October 1995): 130-149.

## The William and Mary Quarterly

Richard Striner, "Political Newtonianism: The Cosmic Model of Politics in Europe and America," 52:4 (October 1995): 583-608.

## World Politics

Paul Pierson, "The New Politics of the Welfare State," 48:2 (January 1996): 143-179.

Anthony W. Marx, "Race-Making and the Nation-State," 48:2 (January 1996): 180-208.

## Boston Area Workshop Fall Conference

The Boston Area Workshop on American Political Development and the Kennedy School of Government Politics Research Group invite faculty and graduate students from all disciplines to our second fall conference:

"The Politics of Economic Inequality in the Twentieth Century"

Saturday, September 28, 1996  
Kennedy School of Government  
Harvard University

To receive program and registration information, contact:

- e-mail: JGERRING@ACS.BU.EDU (Professor John Gerring, Political Science Department, Boston University)

- regular mail or phone: Professor David Hart, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 79 JFK Street, Cambridge, MA 02138, (phone) 617-496-4007; (fax) 617-495-8963.

## CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENCY

### REQUEST FOR SUBMISSIONS

The editors of *Congress and the Presidency*, Susan Webb Hammond and Darrell West, seek submissions appropriate to the journal from historians and political scientists. The editors are political scientists, but they are anxious to publish work informed by the insights and approach of historians as well as political scientists. Articles should be analytical rather than purely descriptive. Subjects should be placed in the context of the development of legislative or executive institutions, the relations between the legislative and executives branches of the national government, attitudes toward legislative and executive power over time, and the like. For example, a detailed analysis of a fight for the speakership of the House could be framed to illustrate the patterns of legislative behavior and influence at a particular time.

If you have a piece nearing completion that you think appropriate to the journal, we hope you will consider submitting it to us. Please send submissions to:

Brooks D. Simpson  
Associate Professor of History  
Associate Editor for History, *Congress and the Presidency*  
Box 872501  
Arizona State University  
Tempe, AZ 85281-2501  
e-mail: BROOKS.SIMPSON@ASU.EDU

### (EDITOR, continued from page 2)

relative newness of this medium--the muckraking photograph--may have amplified enormously the effect of the content of the pictures. Today, as we think about various media and politics, we are struck constantly by the evident impact of talk radio. Many speculate that the Internet has as great a political impact. Again, comparison of such cases across time would provide valuable theory building in political science as well as engage an issue of contemporary and future relevance. Historical analysis of the effect of different types of media on the public agenda also would underscore another area in which individuals can shape politics.

In short, Politics and History members are well positioned to revitalize the discipline--if we exercise leadership and artfully employ our media. Our primary medium, of course, is *Clio*. Your active participation in contributing to *Clio* is essential to the strength of our section.

We urge members to take advantage of the Politics and History Section activities at the 1996 American Political Science Association meetings to be held in San Francisco, from Wednesday, August 28, through Sunday, September 1, 1996. Eileen McDonagh and Paul Pierson, with patience and persistence that few can truly appreciate, have put together an outstanding program of panels for the section. Our business meeting will be held on Friday, August 30, at 5:30.

Finally, we again thank the University of Missouri - St. Louis and the Department of Political Science for their support of *Clio*. This is Shellagh Carper's second issue as *Clio* managing editor. I wish readers could have seen the diligence, care, and constructive professionalism with which she has completed these issues.

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# **CALLS FOR PAPERS**

## **New England Historical Association**

The annual Fall conference of the New England Historical Association meets at Roger Williams University in Bristol, Rhode Island on October 19, 1996. Proposed papers or panels on any historical topic, time or place may be submitted by July 1 to the program chair: Professor James Leamon, Bates College, Lewiston, ME 04240; [jleamon@abacus.bates.edu](mailto:jleamon@abacus.bates.edu). For membership information, contact Peter Holloran at [pch@world.std.com](mailto:pch@world.std.com).

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## **The Future of Business History: A Conference to Consider Ideas and Approaches**

On April 4 and 5, 1997, the Center for the History of Business, Technology, and Society at the Hagley Museum and Library will sponsor a conference on the future of business history.

We have called this conference to bring together scholars concerned with the future of this field and interested in new directions for the study of business and American life. Over the past few years, discussions relating to the direction of business history have surfaced at Business History conferences and other venues. Historians of business have begun to consider the development of business history beyond the organizational synthesis. At the same time, there has been a growth of research initiatives by scholars not primarily identified as business historians, on the relationship between firms and culture, race, gender, and ethnicity. We intend this conference to provide a setting for thorough consideration of these issues.

We invite research papers which employ fresh conceptualizations or methodologies on topics concerning business and American life, as well as thoughtful essays which reflect broadly on the future of the field of business history. Some funds to support travel by presenters will be available

Send proposals for individual papers or panels by November 1, 1996 to: Dr. Roger Horowitz, Hagley Museum and Library, P.O. Box 3630, Wilmington, DE 19807, or, fax to 302-655-3188. For more information call 302-658-2400, or, e-mail: [rh@udel.edu](mailto:rh@udel.edu).

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## **McKinley Centennial Conference**

The Ohio Historical Society, the Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era (SHGAPE), and The Ohio State University College of Humanities and Department of History invite proposals for papers or for panels consisting of two papers and a commentator, on any aspect of the McKinley presidency and administration, or the McKinley era (circa 1885-1900), to be presented at a centennial conference on "William McKinley and the McKinley Era" to be held March 15, 1997, at the Ohio Historical Center, Columbus, Ohio. The Program Committee hopes for submissions on social, cultural, and economic themes, and on subjects directly connected to the McKinley presidency, such as expansionism, foreign policy, and trade; domestic public policy and administration; and politics. The Ohio Historical Society will pay the costs of transportation and lodging for all presenters and commentators.

Please send proposals, including the title of the proposed paper; a one-page prospectus; and name, address (including e-mail address), and a one-page curriculum vitae to: Dr. Terry Kehoe, Ohio Historical Society, 1982 Velma Avenue, Columbus, OH 43211. If proposing a panel, please also provide a cover sheet, including panel title, titles of papers, and the names and addresses of presenters and commentator. For further information, contact Dr. Kehoe at: [tkehoe@magnus.acs.ohio-state.edu](mailto:tkehoe@magnus.acs.ohio-state.edu) or Michael Les Benedict at: [benedict.3@osu.edu](mailto:benedict.3@osu.edu).

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## **THE UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES OF POLICY DECISIONS: A NATIONAL POLICY HISTORY CONFERENCE**

The Policy History Program at Bowling Green State University will host a national policy history conference, June 5-8, 1997. The theme of the conference is the "Unintended Consequences of Policy Decisions." Papers by historians, political scientists, sociologists, economists, and other scholars addressing issues of domestic or foreign policy, whether in the U.S., Europe, Latin America, Asia, or Africa, are invited. Papers and sessions may focus on a single nation, or they may be comparative. While proposals for individual papers are welcome, suggestions for complete panels are encouraged. Persons wishing to propose individual papers should submit a one-page precis and a c.v., while those proposing complete sessions should submit a one-page precis of each paper and c.v.s for all participants. The deadline for submissions is October 1, 1996. Proposals or questions about the conference should be directed to: Professor Donald G. Nieman, Department of History, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH 43403-0220; (phone) 419-372-2030; (e-mail) [dnieman@bgnet.bgsu.edu](mailto:dnieman@bgnet.bgsu.edu).

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## BOOK NOTES

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Bartholomew H. Sparrow. 1996. **From the Outside In: World War II and the American State**. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

“States make wars; wars make states,” writes Sparrow in introducing his study of American domestic policy during the Second World War. Sparrow argues that the war constituted change rather than continuity: it transformed preexisting American political institutions and established patterns of political relationships in ways that have persisted for decades. The war delayed the expansion of the Social Security system, while the expansion of the payrolls and contributions solidified contributory elements. The war years marked the transition of American labor from a social movement into a more bureaucratic set of pressure groups allied with the Democratic coalition, and they marked a great expansion of federal intervention in labor-management relations. During the war years, the federal government established the income tax as the primary source of revenue generation by expanding per capita income tax revenues and by establishing withholding of taxes from paychecks. Wartime debt management established a permanent market in U.S. securities. The expansion of military procurement during the war (and its persistence at reduced levels afterward) established a permanent and more extensive relationship between business and the federal government. The book includes a particularly detailed case study of wartime navy procurement. It also includes an extensive discussion of the process of crisis-induced state-building and employs insights from the resource dependence hypotheses of organization theory.

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Scott R. Bowman. 1996. **The Modern Corporation and American Political Thought: Law, Power, and Ideology**. University Park: Penn State Press.

Bowman traces the development of corporate power and the ideology of corporate liberalism in the United States since the rise of the large corporation in the nineteenth century. The book synthesizes and critiques concepts of corporate power in legal, normative, and social science discourse over the past century. The third chapter deals with the reconstruction of American liberalism that accompanied the “reconstruction of American capitalism” in the Progressive era. The fourth and fifth chapters analyze the legal and normative theories of the corporation, identifying Peter Drucker, Adolf Berle, and John Kenneth Galbraith as principal normative theorists of the corporation. Bowman develops a political theory of the corporation that combines

elements from managerial and neo-Marxist theory, and projects the corporate reconstruction of the global political economy.

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Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, eds. 1996. **States, Social Knowledge, and the Origins of Modern Social Policies**. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

### *Contents:*

- Ira Katznelson, “Knowledge About What? Policy Intellectuals and the New Liberalism”;  
Anson Rabinbach, “Social Knowledge, Social Risk, and the Politics of Industrial Accidents in Germany and France”;  
Bjorn Wittrock and Peter Wagner, “Social Science and the Building of the Early Welfare State: Toward a Comparison of Statist and Non-Statist Western Societies”;  
Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Ronan Van Rossem, “The Verein für Sozialpolitik and the Fabian Society: A Study in the Sociology of Policy-Relevant Knowledge”;  
Libby Schweber, “Progressive Reformers, Unemployment, and the Transformation of Social Inquiry in Britain and the United States, 1880s-1920s”;  
John R. Sutton, “Social Knowledge and the Generation of Child Welfare Policy in the United States and Canada”;  
Stein Kuhnle, “International Modeling, States, and Statistics: Scandinavian Social Security Solutions in the 1890s”;  
Sheldon Garon, “Social Knowledge and the State in the Industrial Relations of Japan (1882-1940) and Great Britain (1870-1914); and  
Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, “Conclusion.”

### **Free Senate History Publications**

The U.S. Senate Historical Office has a limited supply of three recent publications for complimentary distribution to any subscriber who sends a self-addressed mailing label to the Senate Historical Office, Washington, DC 20510-7108. Specify which publication you would like and send one label for each volume. The titles available are: *Guide to Research Collections of Former U.S. Senators, 1789-1995* (743 pages); *Senators of the United States: A Historical Bibliography, 1789-1995* (356 pages) and *Senate Election, Expulsion and Censure Cases, 1793-1990* (486 pages). Also available is a reprint edition of Roy Swanstrom’s *The United States Senate, 1787-1801* (1961, 325 pages).



## BOOK SCAN

Muthiah Alagappa, ed. 1996. **Political Legitimacy in Southeast Asia: The Quest for Moral Authority.** Stanford: Stanford University Press.

J. L. Anderson. 1995. **Explaining Long-Term Economic Change.** Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Stephen-V. Ash. 1995. **When the Yankees Came: Conflict and Chaos in the Occupied South, 1861-1865.** Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

John Ashworth. 1996. **Slavery, Capitalism, and Politics in the Antebellum Republic.** Volume 1: Commerce and Compromise, 1820-1850. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Paul Avrich. 1995. **Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America.** Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Ronald H. Bayor. 1996. **Race and the Shaping of Twentieth-Century Atlanta.** Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Eva Bertram, Morris J. Blachman, Kenneth Sharpe, and Peter Andreas. 1996. **Drug War Politics: The Price of Denial.** Berkeley: University of California Press.

Steven Best. 1995. **The Politics of Historical Vision: Marx, Foucault, Habermas.** New York: Guilford Publications

Roger Biles. 1995. **Richard J. Daley: Politics, Race, and the Governing of Chicago.** Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press.

Ole Borre and Elinor Scarborough, eds. 1995. **The Scope of Government.** Vol. 3: Beliefs in Government in Post-War Europe. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gabor S. Borritt. 1996. **Why the Civil War Came.** New York: Oxford University Press.

John Bourne. 1996. **British Politics, 1832-1885.** Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Saul Brenner and Harold J. Spaeth. 1995. **Stare Indecisus: The Alteration of Precedent on the Supreme Court, 1946-1992.** Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

W. Elliot Brownlee, ed. **Funding the Modern American State, 1941-1995: The Rise and Fall of the Era of Easy Finance.** Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ralph J. Bunche. 1995. **Ralph J. Bunche: Selected Speeches and Writings.** Charles P. Henry, ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Andrew Burstein. 1995. **The Inner Jefferson: Portrait of a Grieving Optimist.** Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

Jeanne Nienaber Clarke. 1996. **Roosevelt's Warrior: Harold L. Ickes and the New Deal.** Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kenneth Cmiel. 1995. **A Home of Another Kind: Once Chicago Orphanage and the Tangle of Child Welfare.** Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Timothy J. Colton. 1995. **Moscow: Governing the Socialist Metropolis.** Cambridge: Belknap Press.

Alice Holmes Cooper. 1995. **Paradoxes of Peace: German Peace Movements Since 1945.** Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Phillip J. Cooper. 1995. **Battles on the Bench: Conflicts Inside the Supreme Court.** Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Ivor Crewe and Anthony King. 1996. **SDP: The Birth, Life, and Death of the Social Democratic Party.** New York: Oxford University Press.

Jesus Cruz. 1996. **Gentlemen, Bourgeois, and Revolutionaries: Political Change and Cultural Persistence Among the Spanish Dominant Groups, 1750-1850.** Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Karel Davids and Jan Lucassen, eds. 1996. **A Miracle Mirrored: The Dutch Republic in European Perspective.** Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gareth Davies. 1996. **From Opportunity to Entitlement: The Transformation and Decline of Great Society Liberalism.** Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Christopher C. De Santis. 1995. **Langston Hughes and the Chicago Defender.** Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Sara Diamond. 1995. **Roads to Dominion: Right-Wing Movements and Political Power in the United States.** New York: Guilford Press.

Edward Ross Dickinson. 1996. **The Politics of German Child Welfare from the Empire to the Federal Republic.** Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Robert J. Dinkin. 1995. **Before Equal Suffrage: Women in Partisan Politics from Colonial Times to 1920.** Westport, CT: Greenwood.

David Herbert Donald. 1995. **Lincoln.** New York: Simon and Schuster.

Theodore Draper. 1996. **A Struggle for Power: The American Revolution.** New York: Times Books; Random House.

Wilma A. Dunaway. 1996. **The First American Frontier: Transition to Capitalism in Southern Appalachia, 1700-1860.** Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

- Mark Egnal. 1996. **Divergent Paths: How Culture and Institutions have Shaped North American Growth.** New York: Oxford University Press.
- John Ehrman. 1995. **The Rise of Neoconservatism: Intellectuals and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1994.** New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Geoff Eley. 1995. **Society, Culture, and the State in Germany, 1870-1930.** Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Wayne Fields. 1996. **Union of Words: A History of Presidential Eloquence.** New York: Free Press.
- Martha Albertson Fineman and Isabel Karpin, eds. **Mothers In Law: Feminist Theory and the Legal Regulation of Motherhood.** New York: Columbia University Press.
- Leon Fink, Stephen T. Leonard, and Donald M. Reid, eds. 1996. **Intellectuals and Public Life: Between Radicalism and Reform.** Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Glenn W. Fisher. 1996. **The Worst Tax? A History of the Property Tax in America.** Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
- May Fulbrook. 1995. **Anatomy of a Dictatorship: Inside the GDR, 1949-1989.** New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kevin K. Gaines. 1996. **Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century.** Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Paul W. Gates. 1996. **The Jeffersonian Dream: Studies in the History of American Land Policy and Development.** Allan G. and Margaret B. Bogue, eds. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Irwin Gellman. 1995. **Secret Affairs: Franklin Roosevelt, Cordell Hull, and Sumner Wells.** Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Michael J. Gerhardt. 1996. **The Federal Impeachment Process: A Constitutional and Historical Analysis.** Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Irwin N. Gertzog. 1995. **Congressional Women: Their Recruitment, Integration, and Behavior.** 2d ed. Westport, CT: Praeger.
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- Stanton A. Glantz, John Slade, Lisa A. Bero, Peter Hanauer, and Deborah E. Barnes. 1996. **Cigarette Papers.** Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Robert E. Goodin, ed. 1996. **The Theory of Institutional Design.** Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.
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- Michael Grossberg. 1996. **A Judgment For Solomon: The D'hauteville Case And Legal Experience In Antebellum America.** New York: Cambridge University Press.
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# *Déjà Vu 1896*

## *DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM*

We, the Democrats of the United States in National Convention assembled, do reaffirm our allegiance to those great essential principles of justice and liberty, upon which our institutions are founded, and which the Democratic Party has advocated from Jefferson's time to our own-- freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, the preservation of personal rights, the equality of all citizens before the law, and the faithful observance of constitutional limitations.

During all these years the Democratic Party has resisted the tendency of selfish interests to the centralization of governmental power, and steadfastly maintained the integrity of the dual scheme of government established by the founders of this Republic of republics. Under its guidance and teachings the great principle of local self-government has found its best expression in the maintenance of the rights of the States and in its assertion of the necessity of confining the general government to the exercise of the powers granted by the Constitution of the United States...

We are unalterably opposed to monometallism which has locked fast the prosperity of an industrial people in the paralysis of hard times. Gold monometallism is a British policy, and its adop-

tion has brought other nations into financial servitude to London. It is not only un-American but anti-American, and it can be fastened on the United States only by the stifling of that spirit and love of liberty which proclaimed our political independence in 1776 and won it in the War of the Revolution.

We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar be a full legal tender, equally with gold, for all debts, public and private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal-tender money by private contract...

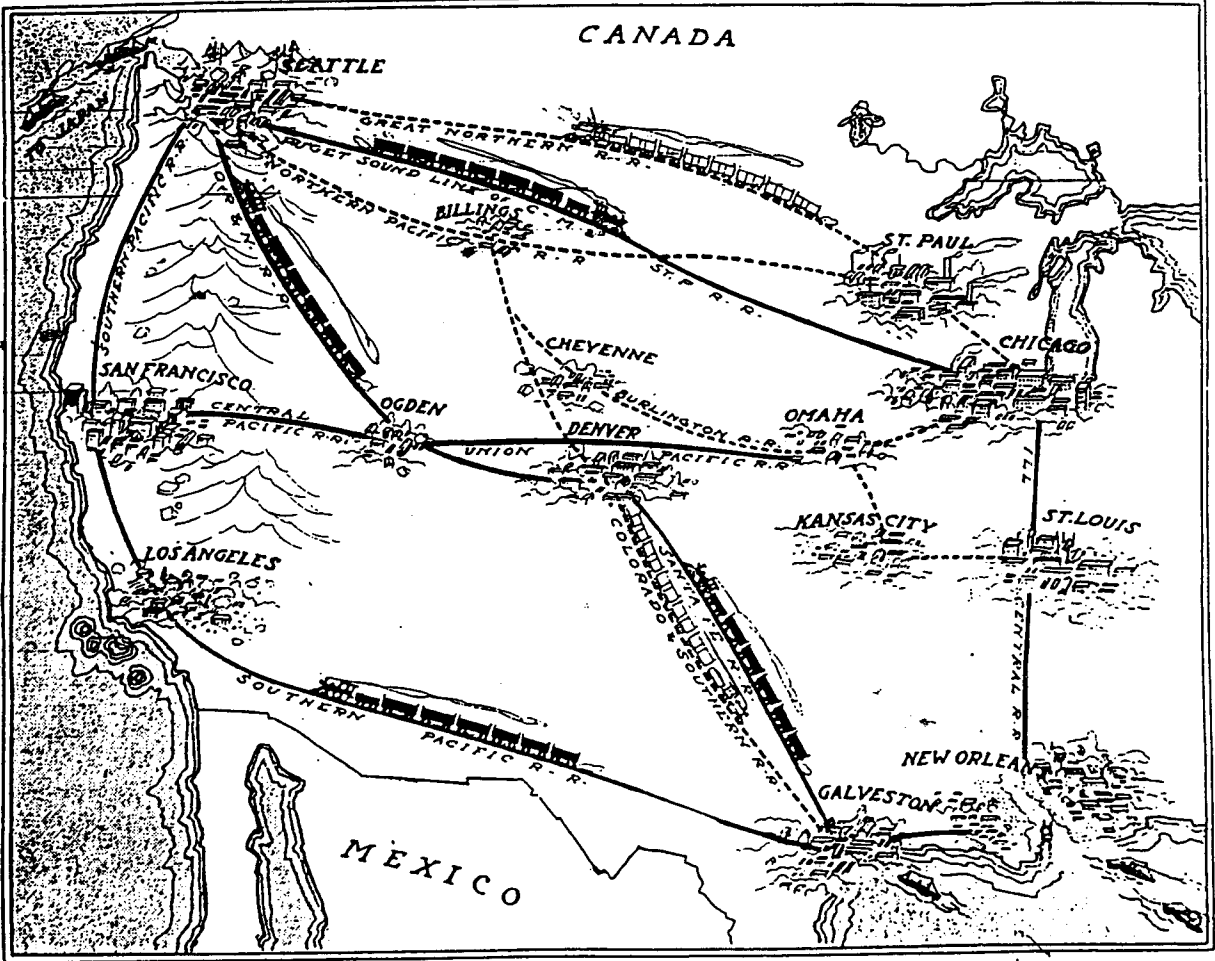
We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation and the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high, while the labor that pays them is unemployed and the products of the people's toil are depressed in price till they no longer repay the cost of production. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a Democratic Government, and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people...

We denounce arbitrary interferences by Federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Constitution of the United States, and a crime against free institutions, and we especially object to government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression by which Federal Judges, in contempt of the laws of the States and rights of citizens, become at once legislators, judges and executioners; and we approve the bill passed at the last session of the United States Senate, and now pending in the House of Representatives, relative to contempts in Federal courts and providing for trials by jury in certain cases of contempt...

We declare it to be the unwritten law of this Republic, established by custom and usage of 100 years, and sanctioned by the examples of the greatest and wisest of those who founded and have maintained our Government that no man should be eligible for a third term of the Presidential office...







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