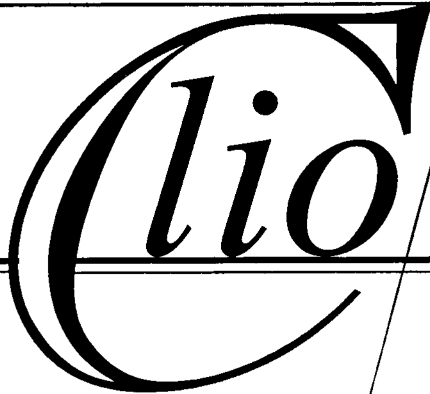


Newsletter of Politics & History:
an organized section of the
American Political Science Association

Volume 7 Number 2 *Spring/Summer 1996-1997*

From the President

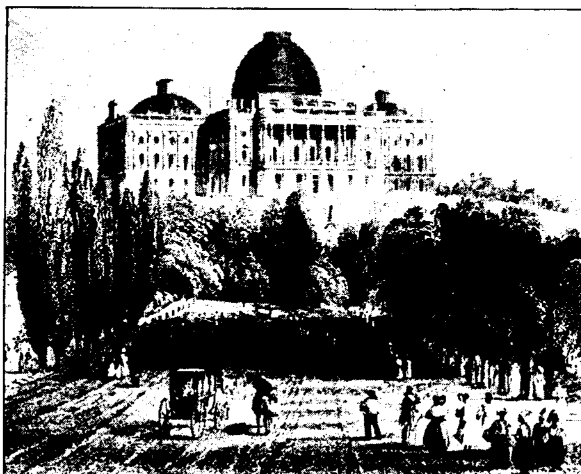
Inequality and American Political Development

Martin Shefter
Cornell University

The Boston Area Group on American Political Development is an especially active regional unit of our members. Last fall, it sponsored a conference at the Kennedy School of Government (KSG) on economic inequality in the United States. David Hart of KSG and John Gerring of Boston University were co-organizers of the conference, and the Kennedy School helped finance it.

At this conference, I delivered a paper, which drew heavily on the work of members of our section, arguing that changes in prevailing modes of political organization over the course of American history have greatly influenced the ways in which politicians and public officials have dealt with questions of income inequality. During the century between the presidencies of Andrew Jackson and Franklin Roosevelt, American electoral politics was thoroughly dominated by the nation's "traditional party organizations," to borrow a term from David Mayhew (1986). These institutions definitely did not organize conflicts between workers and their employers into U.S. politics (Bridges, 1984; Shefter, 1994).

(Continued on page 35)



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POLITICS & HISTORY
AN ORGANIZED SECTION OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

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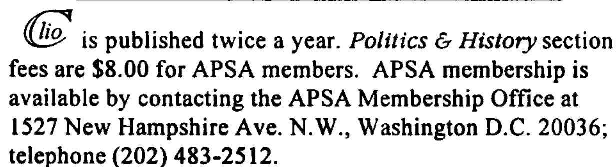

Clio is published twice a year. *Politics & History* section fees are $8.00 for APSA members. APSA membership is available by contacting the APSA Membership Office at 1527 New Hampshire Ave. N.W., Washington D.C. 20036; telephone (202) 483-2512.

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

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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On the Cover: U.S. Capitol, view from the rear, c. 1837
Rear Cover: Cartoon in New York Herald, August 26, 1908

FROM THE EDITOR

Many of our colleagues have enriched this issue enormously by contributing articles on politics and history topics. The willingness of so many scholars to contribute ideas to this issue makes it possible to attenuate this column substantially.

Politics and History topics have long enjoyed popularity at the American Political Science Association meetings and the Western Political Science Association meetings. Panels and papers devoted to these topics are becoming more prominent at the Midwest Political Science Association meetings as well. Historical topics were featured at panels on Congress, the constitution, divided government and on the borderline between domestic and international politics. At a well attended session on methods for historically-oriented political scientists, several prominent scholars made arguments for the vital utility of understanding politics historically.

We urge members to take advantage of the Politics and History Section activities at the 1997 American Political Science Association meetings in Washington, Wednesday, August 27 through Sunday, August 30. Elaine Swift and Ken Finegold have put together an outstanding set of panels and activities for the section. Our Business Meeting is set for Friday, August 29, at 5:30 P.M. A Reception will be held on Friday at 6:30 P.M.

We again thank the University of Missouri - St. Louis and its Department of Political Science for another year of support for Clio. The outgoing chair, Lyman Tower Sargent, has been tremendously helpful, as has graduate director Andy Glassberg. The department's staff— Jan Frantzen, Linda Miller, and Lana Vierdag – also has helped in many ways. This is Nick Smith's second and final issue as managing editor of Clio, and he deserves our thanks for doing a solid job.

In Memoriam: H. DOUGLAS PRICE

Kenneth Finegold, Eastern Washington University

On December 8, 1996, Doug Price, the George D. Markham Professor of Government at Harvard and an active member of the Politics and History Section from its beginning, died from a fall in his home. He was 68. Doug was a wonderful person with an amazing grasp of all aspects of American political history. His research focused on Congress and political parties. Doug received his Ph.D. from Harvard under the direction of V.O. Key in 1958. He taught at Columbia and Syracuse, then returned to Harvard as a faculty member in 1966. He loved Harvard and served the university in a variety of assignments, of which his role as Parliamentarian was probably the most fitting. His office was notoriously messy. Those of us who worked with Doug benefited so much from the offhand comments that turned out to be exactly right; the articles and citations that he left anonymously in our mailboxes; the obscure books that he pulled off his shelves to lend (it was never clear to me whether he expected these to be returned); and the murmurs of "sure, sure" to graduate students and junior colleagues going through periods of self-doubt. I can't believe all of this is over.

Rethinking the History of Social Security

Chris Howard
COLLEGE OF WILLIAM & MARY

One of my objectives in teaching students about U.S. social policy is to persuade them that Social Security will indeed "be there" when they retire. I used to accomplish this objective by telling a simple story about the program's origins and development: born in 1935 during a period of economic crisis, Social Security was nurtured by dedicated, knowledgeable bureaucrats and congressional committee chairmen for its first few decades, after which interest groups and public opinion became the main sources of support and expansion. Although the program started very small, it gradually expanded to cover most of the labor force by 1960; by 1975, benefits were large enough to reduce the poverty rate among the elderly to the national average. Social Security gained a reputation as the third rail of American politics—touch it and you die (politically speaking). Such a sacred status was deserved, I claimed, because of the program's remarkable ability to reduce poverty without stigmatizing recipients or incurring large administrative costs.

Only recently had any heretics dared to question the basic goals of the program or propose major changes. They had raised the twin specters of bankruptcy and generational warfare, themes that attracted considerable media attention and started to erode public confidence. These heretics should be ignored, I told my students, for they do not understand that policy makers will be able to make modest incremental changes to Social Security, just as they have done on many occasions over the last 60 years. Your real worry ought to be Medicare, whose financial problems are far more imminent and whose past record of adaptation is less encouraging than Social Security's.

Why I chose to tell this story is no longer clear to me. Put aside for the moment the wisdom of telling nineteen- and twenty-year-olds that just because something has been around for ages means that it always will be. The main problem is that this story is one-sided. In an effort to portray an inspiring example of gradual adaptation and progress, my account smoothed out some of the more dramatic episodes of change, such as the switch to pay-as-you-go financing in 1939 and the indexing ofbenefits in 1972. Equally important, it failed to recognize the significant challenges that Social Security hasexperienced throughout its history, and not just in the last few years. Officials in the Roosevelt Administration had a

(Continued on page37)

A special evening panel in memory of ***H. Douglas Price*** *will be held during the American Political Science Association annual meeting. Amy Bridges, Richard Fenno, John Jackson, John Manley, Michael Mezey, and Elaine K. Swift are scheduled to participate. Please check the program listings for time and location*

History Matters

Anna L. Harvey
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

(We invited Professor Anna L. Harvey to discuss her current research. Professor Harvey recently won the Best Dissertation award from the APSA's Women and Politics section)

That 'history matters' is a proposition which seems to be gaining currency among students of policy and institutional development. In the study of electoral politics, however, the idea that the sequence in which strategic interactions occur can affect the outcomes of those interactions is perhaps somewhat less well developed. As I have found in my work on women's electoral politics and on the surprising success of minor parties in some states, however, the study of electoral politics can certainly benefit from attention to such sequences.

My work on women's electoral politics is forthcoming in Cambridge University Press' series on the Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions, edited by Jim Alt and Doug North, tentatively titled Votes Without Leverage: Women in American Electoral Politics 1920-1970. Votes Without Leverage seeks to understand how the particular sequence of events leading to woman suffrage created a path for women's electoral mobilization which distinguished women's post-suffrage voting behavior and electoral leverage from that of men.

A central argument of the book, one which I seek to develop in my current research on minor parties in the United States, is that voting is an act which for most individuals has less to do with expressing issue preferences than with securing valuable social esteem. According to this argument, we would expect voters to gravitate to networks of political supporters because of what those supporters can do for them socially and economically, rather that what their votes can bring them in terms of affecting policy outcomes. And if that is correct, then

(Continued on page39)

NOMINEES FOR POLITICS AND HISTORY SECTION OFFICERS

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

President: **Margaret Weir**

New Council Members: **Daniel Carpenter, Gerald Gamm, Kenneth Finegold, and Elaine Swift**

Program Coordinators for the 1998 APSA Convention: **Amy Bridges and David Vogel**

This year's nominating committee was composed of **Martin Shefter, Jennifer Hochschild, Amy Bridges, and Davil Vogel** 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.

Presidential Mandates

(We invited Professor Patricia Conley to discuss her current research. Proffessor Conley won the APSA's E.E. Schattschneider Award for the best doctoral dissertation completed and accepted in 1994 or 1995 in the field of American government and politics.)

Patricia Conley
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

I am currently working on a book manuscript entitled "Presidential Mandates: How Elections Shape the National Agenda." After elections, some presidents "claim a mandate," placing major policy changes on the national agenda. Previous work in political science discounted the notion of political mandates for one of three reasons. First, empirical research on voting behavior shows that for the most part voters are uninformed about and do not vote solely on the basis of policy issues. Therefore a politician's claim to a mandate must be suspect since he cannot base his claim in the preferences and intentions of a majority of voters. Secondly, social choice theorists argue that it is impossible for there to be a unique "public" preference for a specific policy. Finally, some scholars argue that all presidents make such claims and furthermore, the notion is normatively unpalatable because it smacks of tyranny.

I approach the issue of mandates by taking the perspective of politicians themselves. I argue that not all presidents claim mandates. Nor is the process random. A President claims a mandate when he believes (for whatever reason) that he can mobilize both electoral and congressional coalitions around a major policy change. The president and other politicians use the election as a signal to make such inferences. I outline the process of political inference, noting the major sources of information and heuristics used to make forecasts of future mobilization. When deciding whether or not to place a major policy change on the agenda, a president balances three major considerations: the ideological distance between himself and members of Congress, the location of the status quo, and an estimate of his ability to mobilize a majority of voters (gleaned from the election outcome). There is a tradeoff between electoral

(Continued on page 39)

The Politics & History Section of the APSA now boasts an operational Audio Archive. The archive features extended clips (on the order of 90-150 secs.) of taped conversations with scholars active at the intersection of history and politics. These tapes will eventually be made available in their entirety on cassette. The archive now features a conversation with Michael Rogin of the University of California, Berkeley. The interview was conducted by Gretchen Ritter of the University of Texas-Austin. Others are planned for the future. We invite you to visit our site and take advantage of this service. We can be reached at: http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/polisci/apsa/

Greenstone Conference

David F. Ericson
WICHITA STATE UNIVERSITY

An invited conference, "The Liberal Tradition in American Politics: Consensus, Polarity, or Multiple Traditions?, " was held in memory of J. David Greenstone at the University of Chicago on November 23, 1996. Participants included John Diggins (City University of New York, Graduate Center), David Ericson (Wichita State), Louisa Green (Chicago), Carol Horton (MacAlester), Ron Kahn (Oberlin), Ira Katznelson (Columbia), Gayle McKeen (Sewanee), Carol Nackenoff (Swarthmore), Karen Orren (University of California at Los Angeles), and Rogers Smith (Yale). Paul Peterson (Harvard) was the moderator; Ericson and Green were the co-organizers, but with plenty of assistance, financial and otherwise, from the Division of Social Sciences and the Department of Political Science at the University of Chicago. Greenstone was a major figure in both the division and the department for many years until his death from cancer in 1990.

Each of the participants presented a paper on the general theme of the conference and engaged in lively discussion of each others' papers. As one can imagine, certain subtexts developed during the course of the conference. Smith vehemently defended the notion that there has been more than one tradition of American political thought against the other participants and members of the audience. Orren, for her part, attempted to substantiate some notion of what counts as political development without assuming it is necessarily teleological in nature nor, in particular, guided by a consensual liberal tradition. The idea of unguided political development met with considerable resistance from the other participants.

Equally interesting were papers that focused more explicitly on Greenstone's own work. Katznelson analyzed an unpublished paper Greenstone had written in defense of V.O. Key's conception of voter rationality that argued for a broader notion of rationality than the prevailing instrumental one. Katznelson endorsed that argument, which brought us back to one of Greenstone's favorite topics: Wittgenstein and language games. Kahn, in contrast, focused on a more mainstream article Greenstone had published in the University of Chicago Law Review in 1988 that had argued current notions of constitutional interpretation were too static. Kahn applied that view to the problem of how to protect the rights of subordinated groups. Finally, Green extended Greenstone's discussion of "public" in his contribution to the volume he had edited in honor of his teacher Grant McConnell. She attempted to establish some boundaries on the meaning of that key, though largely undiscussed, political concept. (Yes, the layers of meaning at the conference, if not the institutional contexts, were quite thick.)

(Continued on page 28)

FULBRIGHT SCHOLAR AWARDS FOR U.S. FACULTY AND PROFESSIONALS

Opportunities for lecturing or advanced research in about 130 countries are available to college and university faculty and professionals outside academe. 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.

The deadline for lecturing or research grants for 1998-99 is August 1, 1996.

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 AMER, 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 (requests for mailing of application materials only).

1998 APSA Convention Boston

Politics and History Section

CALL FOR PAPERS

The 1998 Convention of the American Political Science Association will be held at the Boston Marriott Copley/ Shearton Boston from Setember 3 to 6, 1998. The theme of the 1998 Annual Meeting is "Community, Communities, and Politics."

When submitting your proposal, please use the form provided by the APSA. This form will be available in the 1997 convention program, the September issue of PS, and on the APSA website (www.apsanet.org) in August. Please be sure to clearly indicate your e-mail address on the form.

Organizers of the Politics and History Panels at the 1998 APSA meetings are:

Professor Amy Bridges
Department of Political Science
University of California - San Diego
La Jolla, CA 92093-0521

Professor David Vogel
Haas School of Business
University of California - Berkeley
Berkeley, CA 94720

Republicanism, Geopolitics and International Relations Theory

(We invited Professor Daniel Deudney comment on his current research. As announced in the last issue of Clio, Professor Deudney recently won our section's Mary Parker Follett Award for the best article published on politics and history).

Daniel Deudney
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

The argument set forth in "The Philadelphia System" is part of my general research project to expand system and structural international relations theory by recovering and incorporating insights from republicanism and geopolitics. This project entails both the reconstruction of early, largely neglected, aspects of republicanism and geopolitics, and the creation and application of an expanded social science model. It aims to place an appreciation of the American political experience into the center of international theorizing, and to place the practice of interstate nuclear arms control upon a firmer theoretical footing. The core of the analysis concerns the interplay between power constraint practices and structures and different and evolving material contexts.

Although the full diversity of contemporary international theory defies simple schematization, the most widely held view is that there are three traditions of international theory — Realism, Liberalism and Marxism. This contemporary tripartite division assigns hegemonic status to Realism because Realism uniquely claims to attend to the question of security, leaving liberalism and Marxism to deal with other — inevitably secondary — issues. The currently dominant form of Realism — the neo-Realism associated with Kenneth Waltz and his many followers — offers many important insights, but is deficient because it posits that all political orders are either hierarchies or anarchies (or mixtures of hierarchy and anarchy), and that the distribution of power is the only way in which material capacities influence political outcomes. This neo-Realism denies the novelty and importance of the American political project, and teaches that interstate nuclear arms control is either "impossible when necessary, or unnecessary when possible."

The tripartite schematization of international theory is historically problematic, however, because all three of these terms were coined in the nineteenth century, and they fail to capture the ways in which earlier theorists integrated ideas now parcelled out to these competing traditions. Prior to the nineteenth century, Western theorizing about large scale political order and security politics was cast largely in the languages of republicanism and naturalism, an approach that reached its theoretical climax in Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws (1748), and its practical climax in the American founding.

(Continued on page 38)

Politics and History Panels at the American Political Science Association Meetings

CoChairs:

Kenneth Finegold (Eastern Washington University)

Elaine Swift (Eastern Washington University)

THE POLITICS AND HISTORY BUSINESS MEETING: FRIDAY AUGUST 29, AT 5:30PM

THE POLITICS AND HISTORY RECEPTION: FRIDAY AUGUST 29, AT 6:30PM

SHORT COURSE:

"A SOLUTION TO THE ECOLOGICAL INFERENCE PROBLEM: RECONSTRUCTING INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR FROM AGGREGATE DATA"
GARY KING, HARVARD UNIVERSITY
(cosponsored by Section 6)

SPECIAL EVENING PANEL: MEMORIAL PANEL IN HONOR OF H. DOUGLAS PRICE
Chair: Amy Bridges, University of California, San Diego

Discussants: Richard Fenno, University of Rochester

Michael Mezey, DePaul University

John Jackson, University of Michigan

John Manley, Stanford University

Elaine K. Swift, Eastern Washington University

PANEL 21-1: THE NEW INSTITUTIONAL ECONOMICS AND THE ORIGINS OF MARKET INSTITUTIONS
(cosponsored by Section 19)

Chair: Delia Boylan, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

"Political Origins of the National Market," David Woodruff, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Kiren Chaudhry, University of California, Berkeley

"States and Markets: Governing the New Russian Economy," Timothy Frye, Columbia University

"Bureaucratic Politics and Market Governance in China," Edward Steinfeld, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Discussants.: David Laitin, University of Chicago, Delia Boylan, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

PANEL 21-2: POLITICS AS A VOCATION
Chair: Walter Dean Burnham, University of Texas Austin

"Pathways to Political Professionalism: Institutional Context and the Emergence of a Political Class in the U.S. and Germany," Jens Borchert, University of Goettingen

"Life in the Party: Political Careerism in the 19th Century," Kara Buckley, Stanford University

"The Politics of Persistence: Opposition Party Strategies in 1852, 1908, 1916, 1952, 1964, and 1984," Kenneth Finegold, Eastern Washington University

"Political Parties and the Opportunity Costs of Patronage," Carolyn M. Warner, Arizona State University

Discussant: Martin Shefter, Cornell University

PANEL 21-3: GLOBALIZATION AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES
Chair: Edward A. Kolodziej, University of Illinois

"The International Context of the US Civil Rights Movement: The Dynamics Between Race Policies and International Politics, 1941-1960," Azza Salama Layton, DePaul University

"Bringing History Back In: The Limits of RealistNeoRealistInstitutional Theory to Explain the Collapse of Eurocentric Rule and Wilhelmine Germany," Edward A. Kolodziej, University of Illinois

"The Nobel Peace Prize as International Institution," Marilyn McMorrow, Georgetown University

Discussants: Andrew Grossman, Albion College Connie Anthony, Seattle University

PANEL 21-4: LAW AND CONSTITUTION IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE
Chair: Ruth O'Brien, John Jay CollegeCity University of New York

"The Role of Reflection and Choice in InstitutionBuilding: State ConstitutionMaking in the Progressive Era," John Dinan, Wake Forest University

"The Framers as Pragmatic Statemakers," Richard P. Young, Seattle University and Paul Pitkin, Seattle University

"A Genealogy of a Critical Sociology of Law," Richard R. Weiner, Rhode Island College

"A Sweatshop of a Whole Nation: Regulatory Unionism and the Origins of the Wage and Hour Division," Ruth O'Brien, John Jay CollegeCity University ofNew York

Discussant: William Lasser, Clemson University

PANEL 21-5: IDEOLOGY AND INSTITUTIONS
Chair: Clyde W. Barrow, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth

"The Historical and Theoretical Origins of Statistical Surveillance and Population Control," Dan Engster, University of Chicago

"A History of Social Capital," Richard A. Couto, University of Richmond

"Situating the Restricted, MaleHeaded, Nuclear Family as a Historically Specific Institution," Colleen MackCanty, North Seattle Community College and Sue Wright, Eastern Washington University

"Social Democracy Against Liberalism: 'Consensus History' and the Two Progressivisms in American Political Thought," Clyde W. Barrow, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth

Discussants: Richard Ellis, Willamette University,Paul B. Kirby, Indiana University

PANEL 21-6: NATIONAL POWER, STATES' RIGHTS, AND LOCAL AUTONOMY
Chair: David Robertson, University of Missouri, St. Louis

"Race and the Principle of States' Rights," Michael Goldfield, Wayne State University

"The Politics of Devolution: Returning 'Welfare' to the States, 1962-1996," Suzanne Mettler, Syracuse University

"Appeals to the State: Institutions and Discretion in Local Politics," Nancy Burns, University of Michigan, Gerald Gamm, University of Rochester

"Dry Compulsions: Prohibition and the Creation of StateLevel Enforcement Agencies," AnnMarie Szymanski, University of Oklahoma

Discussant: Richard Flanagan, Prep for Prep

PANEL 21-7: REGIMES AND ORDERS IN AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT
Chair: Ira Katznelson, Columbia University

"Institutional Interference Patterns: Technology and Industrial Policy Since the 1920s," David M. Hart, Harvard University

"Regimes and Institutions," Karen Orren, University of California and Los Angeles, Stephen Skowronek, Yale University

"Was the Democratic Order the Last American Regime? National Politics After the 1960s," David Plotke, New School for

Social Research

"Regimes and Policy Change: Thinking About Immigration Reform," Daniel Tichenor, Rutgers University

Discussant: Andrew Polsky, Hunter College-City University of New York

PANEL 21-8: " 'MANTLING' THE POLITY: THE EMERGENCE, SHIFT, AND DECOMPOSITION OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS"
Chair: Eileen McDonagh, Northeastern University

"Party Building as Interorganizational Politics: Syndicalists and Communists in France, 1910-1921," Chris Ansell, University of California, Berkeley

"Building and Dismantling the American State: Institutional Emergence and Transformation from the New Deal to the Contract with America," Arthur Burris, University of California, Berkeley

"Machine Constitutionalism: Office, Party, and the 11th Amendment in the 1880s," Karen Orren, University of California, Los Angeles

"Red, White, and Blueand Yellow: The Emergence of the Yellow Press as a Political Institution in the 1890s," Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas, Austin

Discussants: Scott James, University of California, Los Angeles, Keith Whittington, Catholic University of America

PANEL 21-9: WAR, CITIZENSHIP, AND THE AMERICAN NATIONAL STATE
Chair: Christopher McGrory Klyza, Middlebury College

"The Military in the State of Courts and Parties," John S. Lapinski, Columbia University, Ira Katznelson, Columbia University

"Regendering Citizenship after the Second World War," Gretchen Ritter, University of Texas, Austin

"Conflict, Capacities, and Compensatory StateBuilding in the United States," Marc Allen Eisner, Wesleyan University

"The Rise and Fall of Institutionalized Patriotism: Conscription and Citizenship, 1789-2000," Stephen E. Van Holde, Kenyon College

Discussant: Christopher McGrory Klyza, Middlebury College

PANEL 21-10: "THE POLITICS OF MEMORY"
Chair: Joshua Foa Dienstag, University of Virginia

"Towards a Genealogy of Postmodern Military Interventions: The McKinley Presidency as Master Signifier in the SpanishAmerican War," Larry N. George, California State UniversityLong Beach

"A Rising Tide Inundates Everything: Perceptions of the Capital and the Development of Paris and Tokyo," James White, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

"From Individual to Community and Back Again: The Construction of Tradition in PostCommunist Poland," Janine Holc, Loyola College

"Citizenship in Historical Perspective: Collective Memory and Public Life in the Aftermath of the Vietnam War," Mary Beth Melchior, University of Maryland

Discussant: Myron (Mike) Aronoff, Rutgers University

PANEL 21-11: RACE AND NATIONAL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS: COMPARATIVE AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES
Chair: Margaret Weir, Brookings Institution

"A Strong or a Weak State? Race and the US Federal Government in the 1920s," Desmond King, Oxford University

"Race and Political Institutions: The US in Comparative Perspective," Robert Lieberman, Columbia University

"Race and Redistributive Policy: The Political Economy of Civil Rights in the US South 1954-65," Joseph Luders, New School for Social Research

"The Effects of War on American Race Relations in the Twentieth Century," Daniel Kryder, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Discussant: Carol Horton, Macalester College

Panel 21-12: Sectionalism in American Political Development

Chair: Richard Bensel, Cornell University

"The Political Economy of Voting Rights Enforcement in Nineteenth Century America: Electoral College Competition and the 'Retreat from Reconstruction'," Scott C. James and Brian Lawson, University of California, Los Angeles

"Adding the West to the Progressive Era," Amy Bridges, University of California, San Diego

"The Peculiar Geography of Direct Democracy: Why the Initiative, Referendum and Recall Developed in the American West," Nathaniel Persily, University of California, Berkeley, and Stanford University School of Law

"The Persistence of Regional Divisions in American Electoral Politics," Robert W. Speel, Pennsylvania State University, Erie

Discussant: Richard Bensel, Cornell University

Panel 21-13: Strategies and Social Movements

Chair: Elizabeth Sanders, Cornell University

"Labor Neotraditionalism: The Key to Understanding Union Politics," Taylor Dark, Doshisha University

"Organizing Opportunities: Opportunity Structures in the AntiEvolution Movement," Michael Lienesch, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

"Business Roots of an Urban Agrarian Credit Reform, 1900-1916," Stuart Shulman, University of Oregon

"The Suffrage Kindergartens: Converting the Woman Who Has 'All the Rights She Needs'," Cheryl Logan Sparks, Ohio State University

Discussant: Elizabeth Sanders, Cornell University

Panel 21-14: Tradition and Innovation in the Political Thought of the New American Republic

(cosponsored by Section 2)

Chair: James W. Caeser, University of Virginia

"Finding the Founding and Losing It Again: Martin Diamond's Rediscovery of James Madison," Michael P. Zuckert, Carleton College

"Ancients, Moderns, and Americans: The Republicanism-Liberalism Debate Revisited," Alan Gibson, St. Ambrose University

"James Wilson and the Idea of Popular Sovereignty," James H. Read, College of St. Benedict

"Redefining the Public Sphere: Newspapers and Politics in the Early Republic," Marcus Daniel, Princeton University

"Must Governors be Virtuous? Changing Concepts of Good Citizenship, 1787-1860," Laura J. Scalia, University of Houston

Panel 21-15: Presidents and the Problem of Democratic Leadership

(cosponsored by Section 8)

Chair: Mary Stuckey, University of Mississippi

"Between Purists and Pragmatists: Presidents and Social Reform Movements," Daniel J. Tichenor, Rutgers University

"Presidential Leadership and Partisan Realignment," David K. Nichols, Montclair State University

"Democratic Presidential Leadership: An Oxymoron?" Sidney M. Milkis, Brandeis University, Marc K. Landy, Boston College

"Andrew Johnson and the Rise of Congressional Government," Keith E. Whittington, Catholic University of America

Discussants: Theodore J. Lowi, Cornell University, James MacGregor Burns, Williams College

Panel 21-16: "How Parties Change: The American Experience"

(cosponsored by Section 11)

Chair: Harold F. Bass, Jr., Ouachita Baptist University

"From Third Parties to Independent Candidates in the United States: The Gradual Transformation and Its Consequences," Julie M.

Walsh, St. Joseph's College

"Why Parties Out of Power Cease: The Cases of the Federalists and the Whigs," Elaine K. Swift, Eastern Washington University

"JFK and the DNC, 1958-1963," Sean J. Savage, Saint Mary's College

Discussants: Howard L. Reiter, University of Connecticut

Panel 21-17: Civil Society: Good for Us? Good for Political Science?
(cosponsored by Section 11)

Chair: Stephen Rathgeb Smith, University of Washington

Discusants: Benjamin Barber, Rutgers University

Anne Khademian, University of Michigan

James Morone, Brown University

Richard Sennett, New York University

Richard Valelly, Swarthmore College

Panel 21-18: Large Processes, Huge Comparisons
(cosponsored by Section 22)

Chair: TBA

"State Formation in Early Modern Europe and the Middle East," Yahya Sadowski, Brookings Institution

"War and Debt: State Formation in Latin America," Miguel Centeno, Princeton University

"Contentious Politics in America After the Second World War," David Meyer, City CollegeCity University of New York

"The Origins of Democracy and State Formation in the Americas," Fernando LopezAlves, University of California, Santa Barbara

Discussant: Charles Tilly, Columbia University

Panel 21-19: Not Revolution But War: Martial and Material Causes of Political Transformation
(cosponsored by Section 22)

Chair: Arthur Stein, University of California, Los Angeles

"Mobilizing Coal for War: The Rise and Decline of European Socialism," Ellis Goldberg, University of Washington

"War and Social Transformation in Modern Europe," Sandra Halperin, University of Pittsburgh

"Fascism, Democracy and Independent Development: The Role of Agriculture in Political Development after the World Wars," Shale Horowitz, University of California, Los Angeles and Central European University

"War and the StateFormation Process in the Islamic Republic of Iran," Nader Nazemi, University of Washington

Discussants: Arthur Stein, University of California, Los Angeles, He Li, Merrimack College

Panel 21-20: Explaining Empires
(cosponsored by Section 28)

Chair: Thomas M. Callaghy, University of Pennsylvania

"Empire and Communication Revisited," Ronald J. Deibert, University of Toronto

"Anarchy in Hierarchy: System Structure and Intraimperial Conflict," Daniel Deudney, University of Pennsylvania

"Explaining Imperial Decline," Hendrik Spruyt, Columbia University

"Empire and System Structural Theory: Anarchy, Hierarchy or Third Principle," Ole Waever, Copenhagen Center for Peace and Conflict Research

"Institutionalizing Sovereignty: Systemic Change and PostImperial StateBuilding," Fiona B. Adamson, Columbia University, Alexander Cooley, Columbia University

Discussant: Hayward Alker, University of Southern California

Panel 21-21: Roundtable on Race, Racial Politics, and the Shape of American Public Policy
(cosponsored by Section 45)

Chair: Edith Juanita Barrett, University of Texas, Arlington

Disusants: William Diaz, University of Minnesota

Jennifer Hochschild, Princeton University

Paula McClain, University of Virginia

James Morone, Brown University

Adolph Reed, Northwestern University

Rogers Smith, Yale University

Poster Session: American Politics

"The Limits of Institutional Development Theories of Congress: The Evolution of the Budget Process," Jasmine Farrier, University of Texas, Austin

"Legislative Reorganization: Political Narratives and Congressional Reform," Eric Hirsch, University of Colorado

"The Spatial Theory of Voting and the Presidential Election of 1824," Jeffery A. Jenkins, University of Illinois, Brian R. Sala, University of Illinois

"Autonomy or Cooptation? The Case of the Third Wave of the Women's Movement," Alana Jeydel, American University

"Elemental Verities: U.S. State Legislative Sizes and Units of Apportionment, 1700-1930," Charles A. Kromkowski, University of Virginia

"The Origins of Committee Autonomy, 1910-1946: The Conditional Party Government Alternative," Robert R. Lopez, University of Colorado

"Ivory Towers and Nationalist Minds: The Emerging University, Defined Expertise, and the Institutionalization of the New American State," Mark R. Nemec, University of Michigan

"Representing State Interests and the Development of Governors' Institutions," John D. Nugent, University of Texas, Austin

"Pestilence and Public Policy: The Rise of Public Health and the Growth of Public Authority in Buffalo, NY, 1832-1920," M. Stephen Pendleton, Buffalo State College

"Federalist Claims and Empirical Findings: The Case of Indirect Election of the U.S. Senate and the Decline of State's Rights," James R. Sopp, University of Illinois

"Rethinking Statebuilding During the 1940's: World War II and the Modernization of the American State," Brian Waddell, University of Connecticut

Poster Session: Comparative Politics

"A Threshold Model of Social Capital: An AgentBased Simulation with Data from Robert Putnam's Study of Civic Traditions in Modern Italy," Ravi Bhavnani, University of Michigan

"Angolan Dreams, Angolan Nightmares: Absolute and Relative Expropriation in Colonial Angola," Kevin Costa, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

"Comparative Perspectives on Mexican and Chinese Revolutions," He Li, Merrimack College

"New Institutions for Working Men and Women: Early Working Class Political Organizations in Britain," Charles Lewis Taylor, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

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

Separatist but Unequal: Black Nationalism and the Construction of Black Inequality

Dean E. Robinson
University of Massachusetts at Amherst

Black nationalism and black people's attempt to recognize or construct a unique identity *and* to build a separate nation on that basis is a style of politics that arises when white people define blacks as outsiders, and then take action to make them so. This paper argues that, in the United States, black nationalism's most salient political feature is not its militant rejection of things American and European. Nor is its preoccupation with "manhood" and patriarchy; or its messianistic quality. Rather, the most politically consequential fact stems from its apparent inability to produce ideas and strategies that fall outside what could be considered "normal" politics of its day. By accepting notions of difference as it does, and by focusing on the strategy of separatism, black nationalism across time inadvertantly helps to reproduce the thinking and practices that created black disadvantage in the first place. This paper demonstrates this pattern by exploring three periods of nationalist activity: the 1850s, 1920s and 1960s.

The 1994 Hungarian Election in Historical Perspective

Jason Wittenberg, MIT

This paper explores continuities and discontinuities in Hungarian voting behavior between 1945 and 1994 through an analysis of settlement-level electoral results. For the 1990-1994 period electoral fluctuation is measured at the level of individual parties. For the comparison between the 1945-1947 and 1990-1994 periods parties are grouped into blocs, and support for these blocs is measured over time. Results indicate that significant regional continuities underly the electoral discontinuity found for the country as a whole. The paper concludes with a discussion of the evolution of Hungarian electoral preferences under state-socialism.

Political Parties and Social Policymaking in the 1990s

Margaret Weir
Brookings Institution

The paper — which is the introductory chapter to an edited volume on social policymaking in the 1990s — argues that the extraordinary swings in the policy agenda during the first Clinton administration should be understood as partisan efforts to change politics by changing policy. Long frustrated by divided government, each party exceeded its electoral mandate in hopes of enacting major policy reforms aimed to shift politics in its direction for the foreseeable future. Clinton staked his domestic agenda on the passage of comprehensive health reform, which would unite the bottom and the middle of the income spectrum around an ongoing and central role for the federal government in providing security for all citizens. Congressional Republicans organized their domestic agenda around the balanced budget, which would sharply circumscribe the federal role and promote the search for private avenues to achieve individual security.

To understand why each of these bold initiatives failed, the paper highlights three features of contemporary American politics and policymaking. The first feature of contemporary politics is the polarization of political elites. This ideological polarization meant that politics was no longer simply a contest to enact or reform individual policies but a more fundamental struggle over public philosophies. Conflict over social policy became the flashpoint for debates about the fundamental principles that should guide the scope and premises of government activity for the next generation. These unusually sharp ideological divisions among political elites were nurtured and amplified by electoral and institutional shifts that made congressional parties especially homogenized and polarized.

The second feature of politics are new forms of connecting people to politics as political parties have, for the most part, ceased to be mass based organizations. Politics and policymaking now proceed on three more separate tracks: the first is an advertising strategy designed to appeal to a detached middle that no longer has any stable attachment to politics; the second is a Washington-based interest group politics in which interest groups have only loose constituent ties; the third type of politics are the pockets of grassroots mobilization such as the Christian Coalition. Reconciling these three modes of politics poses difficult strategic choices for politicians and complicates the task of policymaking because each pulls in a different direction for policymaking.

The third feature of contemporary politics and policymaking is what Urban Institute economist Eugene Steurele has called the end of the era of easy financing. The new era was in part a product of cumulative shifts in spending over time, grassroots tax revolt and deliberate political decisions to make federal spending more difficult. Since the 1980s, budgetary concerns have exercised an unprecedented influence on social policymaking, altering the terms of debates, increasing reliance on regulation rather than spending, and propelling new actors into federal policymaking.

Together these features of contemporary politics and policymaking blocked major efforts to alter the policy and political terrain. But the failure of most major initiatives did not mean that policy or the terrain for policymaking in the future was unaltered.

(Continued on next page)

Errata: In the last issue of Clio, the abstract of the paper, "The Two Phases of Political Development," inadvertantly omitted the name of an author. The paper was written by Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek.

(Continued from previous page)
To make sense of the policy shifts that did occur requires explaining the accommodations that Republicans and Democrats made to one another's agenda. In each case, the pattern of accommodation represented a shift from the transformative efforts of earlier initiatives to a strategy of inoculation. Both parties accepted compromises that aimed to neutralize their greatest vulnerability in the broad arena of advertising politics. But the legislative impasse also suggested that in the future key aspects of social policy would be decided at the state and local levels and in the private sector.

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Leon F. Litwack, "The Making of a Historian"
Dan T. Carter, "Reflections of a Reconstructed White Southerner"
Darlene Clark Hine, "Reflections on Race and Gender Systems"
David Levering Lewis, "From Eurocentrism to Polycentrism"
Eric Foner, "My Life as a Historian"
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Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting 1997: Abstracts of Politics and History Papers

Discursive Cartels in the Public Interest: Uniform Accounting among Manufacturers before the New Deal

Gerald Berk
UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

This paper explores the uniform cost accounting movement from roughly 1908 to 1934. I will argue that historians of associationalism from Hawley to Gordon have underestimated the importance of uniform cost accounting to the viability of trade associations, while historians of managerial accounting (Johnson and Kaplan, in particular) have underestimated the importance of associationalism to the viability of accounting systems relevant to improving productivity.

As envisioned by the architects of associational accounting committees, uniform accounting systems would play a central role in solving the critical problem facing manufacturing in the early twentieth century, namely, how to channel rivalry from cut-throat pricing into process and product improvement. By establishing a shared language upon which to set standards, the architects of uniform accounting systems hoped that competitors would learn to make managerial decisions through disciplined comparisons—across departments, processes and products within and between firms. In so doing, they also hoped that firms would learn to set prices that covered total costs and compete by using better information to improve production, administration and distribution. By solving the problem of cut-throat pricing without killing rivalry altogether, the architects of uniform accounting hoped also to meet the objections of those who charged that such systems were no more than subterfuge—an attempt to take excess profits through price-fixing by another name.

The paper will trace the development of uniform cost accounting both institutionally and intellectually. Institutionally, I will show how the National Association of Cost Accountants (NACA) split off from the American Institute of Accountants and then developed an alliance with the trade association movement in the 1920s, which reflected mutual concerns and shared identities. Indeed, NACA counted many trade association executives among its members. Intellectually, I will show how the technical dispute that led the 1918 split of public and cost accountants—whether to include count interest as a cost—reflected a deeper concern, shared by associationalists, with how to get manufacturers to compete more over cost reduction than price. I will trace the geneology of this idea from the debate over interest to the development of methods for uniform and standard accounting, and demonstrate how it shaped efforts to build and defend trade associational program for cost accounting, I will look at experiments in uniform accounting by the United Typothetae of America (UTA). This is a good case for a number of reasons. At first blush, it seems an unlikely candidate for cooperation and uniformity. Printing was a highly fragmented and competitive industry, in which products and production processes were quite diverse—precisely the sort of environment in which coordination problems and cheating ought to run rampant. Thus, if uniform accounting was possible here, then it was likely to be possible elsewhere. Indeed, this is what a number of contemporaries in other manufacturing sectors thought. The work of the Typothetae was closely watched and carefully evaluated. Finally, uniform accounting in the printing industry became a source of conflict with the state, when the FTC placed the UTA under investigation for price fixing in 1920. I hope to show how the conflict between the commission and the printers was similar to one between certified public accountants and cost accountants, which led to the creation of NACA around the same time.

The paper will conclude with some speculations about why something like uniform cost accounting by association might be necessary for specialty manufactuing to be viable over the long run.

The Culture of Gender and the Gender of Politics in Late Eighteenth-Century America

Mark E. Kann
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

The culture of gender was vibrant but the gender of politics was static in late eighteenth-century America. On the one hand, the ideal of the traditional patriarch ruling over female subordinates was destabilized by an English legacy of Whig ideology and disputed gender relations, a gap between American patriarchal ideals and actual gender relations, and economic changes that weakened paternal authority. Alternative images of manhood and womanhood animated cultural discourse. On the other hand, contested cultural ideals had minimal impact on men's political discourse and domination. The founders assumed women's exclusion and construed politics as a matter of reconciling liberty and order in the ranks of men.

Why the difference between the culture of gender and the gender of politics? First, crucial aspects of gendered culture were not contested. Americans defined manhood in opposition to womanhood and, relatedly, independent citizenship against female dependence. Second, the founders stabilized gender relations by depoliticizing gender opposition. Particular aspects of republican and liberal theory facilitated the process. Finally, American leaders feared that disorderly men would destroy liberty; so they focused their efforts on encouraging men to exercise self-restraint in their private and public lives. Politicizing gender would have been a distraction from these efforts and also would have deepened male discontents by introducing into political discourse the sexual improprieties and corruption associated with "the public woman."

When Judith Sargent Murray called on every American "to play the man for his country," she conveyed two implicit but unmistakable messages. One was that greater sexual equality

may have been conceivable for families but men alone were to be the sole arbiters of the nation's political fate. The other message was that all men may have been born free and equal but each male had to measure up to standards of manhood (in opposition to womanhood) to earn citizenship or achieve leadership.

Associative Reform, Democratization, and the Indeterminacy of State Imperatives

William L. Lewis
University of Oregon

The theory of state-society relations put forward by neo-Marxists and pluralists asserts that public policy, and therefore democracy, is "imprisoned" in capitalist societies because of the structural relationship between the managers of property and the managers of the state. These accounts of the imperatives the state pursues are of little use in predicting or explaining policy choices in specific cases. This is because a theory of the ends the state pursues as a matter of course (economic growth, internal order, etc.) cannot determine why a particular set of means are chosen over instrumentally equivalent alternatives.

Different policy options may be neutral in regards to the values of efficiency and competitiveness, but have a quite different relationship to other values such as democratic accountability. The first section of the paper establishes the boundaries of this problematic through a discussion of the contemporary debate over the political viability of associative-democratic reform proposals. The theoretical problematic is then developed in the second section of the paper through a brief case study of the late nineteenth-century debates over the legal personality of business corporations.

A Jury of Her Peers: Citizenship and Women's Jury Service After the Nineteenth Amendment

Gretchen Ritter
University of Texas at Austin

This paper examines the debate over women's eligibility to serve on juries after the passage of the nineteenth amendment in 1920. Several issues are considered, including: the impact of the nineteenth amendment on broader aspects of women's citizenship; women's political identity as revealed in the debates over their eligibility; conceptions of citizenship and community that are reflected in changing ideals of jurors; and activist women's own conceptions of peerage, jury service and citizenship before and after the nineteenth amendment. The debates over women's eligibility for jury service reveals that the nineteenth amendment had a complex and not entirely positive effect on women's citizenship.

Associations and States Versus Markets and Hierarchies: Contradictions and Tradeoffs in Property Insurance Governance

Marc Schneiberg
University of Arizona

This paper uses a comparative historical analysis of the US property industry to challenge two critical features of Alfred Chandler and Oliver Williamson's account of institutional change in the American economy. Specifically, I challenge: 1) their assumption that markets and hierarchies are natural or elemental governance choices that exhaust the options open to capitalist economies, and 2) their view that the institutional development of capitalist economies was at root a process driven by market forces and pressures for efficiency in which autonomous, vertically integrating corporations internalized transactions and displaced markets.

In contrast to this view, I find that the American property insurance industry embraced not one, but two institutional orders — a post World War II regime that was based on open markets and vertically integrated hierarchies, and a regime of associations and states that prevailed from the Civil War through 1945. I find further that the two orders embodied qualitatively different strategies, performance advantages, problem solving capabilities and economic competencies. Far from being a drag on performance or simply an attempt at monopolistic exploitation, the regime of associations and states was an economically and politically viable institutional alternative to markets and hierarchies, and was critically important to the operation of the industry and the development of a nation-wide insurance function. Finally, there were contradictions, tensions and incompatibilities between the two economic orders. These contradictions prevented the two regimes from peacefully coexisting and made political and regulatory interventions and changes necessary for the transition from associations and states to markets and hierarchies.

Based on these findings, I draw two general conclusions. First, the choices between markets and hierarchies, far from being natural, inevitable, or elemental, may be preceded by other critical choices or a winnowing process, and thus represent an "artificially" circumscribed choice set. Second, the efficiency pressures and market forces emphasized by the Chandler/Williamson account of institution change neither dominate nor uniquely determine institutional outcomes. Thus, future research must look to political struggles, social choices and broader socio-political condition to explain institutional choice and change in capitalist economies.

Urban Agrarians and the Role of Business in Agricultural Finance Policy

Stuart Shulman
University of Oregon

Prior to the industrialization of agriculture, political decisions about the availability of credit for farmers contributed to the development of the sector. Mass production agriculture, as practiced in the United States, evolved not solely out of inexorable forces of technical or economic necessity. In addition to the

influence of these factors, the evolution of agriculture between 1900-1920, is also noteworthy as a result of concrete political struggles over distributional rights in United States capital markets.

The historic commitment of United States policy has been to meet the capital needs of an affluent commercial class of farmers and agricultural land owners. Defeated along the way was an alternative ideal that linked diversified small and middle size farms, regional economies, rural co-operation, community development, soil conservation, and participatory democracy in ways incongruous with many modern rural practices.

Past explanations of Progressive era agricultural legislation tended to focus on electoral components of a populist, rural-based movement to bring the government into the lives of farmers. This paper pursues an alternative explanation by tracing the roots of rural credit reform to the organizational activity of urban agrarians drawn from, and supported by, business and financial interests.

Antifederalism, Consensual Legitimacy, and the American Constitutional Order

David J. Siemers
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

Successful constitutionalism requires widespread acceptance of the legitimacy of the institutions and procedures a constitution defines. Attempts at outlining stable fundamental laws often fail to achieve consensus, partly because constitutions are usually born amidst controversy in times of political turmoil. The American version was, of course, born in controversy, as Antifederalists expressed bitter opposition to the Constitution in late 1787 and early 1788. But the Constitution very quickly came to be considered the consensually legitimate bounds for American politics. The evidence I present shows that Antifederalists acquiesced to the Constitution sooner than has heretofore been claimed, immediately upon ratification. Their acceptance was not due to a change of heart, but rather stemmed from their conception of the rule of law: Antifederalists felt that good citizens were bound by the procedurally sanctioned pronouncements of the community, no matter how distasteful they seemed to its individual members.

I show that professions of acquiescence were remarkably uniform among Antifederalists across states and regions, and in public and private forums. As a measure of uniformity, I present evidence on oaths taken to the Constitution in 1788 and 1789, recorded in state legislative journals. Only a few individuals nationwide refused to accept the ratified Constitution. These few exceptions show that other options were available to the Antifederalists, some of which may well have prohibited union. The great majority of Antifederalists actively eschewed radical action, preferring to work within the sanctioned bounds of government, even one they were very uncomfortable with. Only by studying the Antifederalists after ratification can one fully appreciate this conservative facet of their political thought, a facet as important to their legacy, and the United States, as the complaints they expressed during the ratification debates, which have been so well documented.

In the Shadow of the Balkans: Challenging State-Sponsored Narratives of History and Security in Trieste and Istria

Pamela Ballinger
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

Today, the Italian port city of Trieste is known largely for its role as a key site of early Cold War divide. Focusing on interpretations that were silenced by "Great Power" narratives of the post-war "Trieste Crisis," this paper examines current and competing claims for "historical justice" in the border region between Italy, Slovenia and Croatia. Incorporated into the Italian state with the 1920 Treaty of Rapallo, the Istrian peninsula and the adjacent city of Trieste became the objects of a bitter and protracted territorial dispute between Italy and Yugoslavia at the close of World War II. Perceived by the Anglo-Americans in broader terms, with Tito initially seen as Stalin's proxy, the "Trieste Question" contributed to the early articulation of a "Cold War" discourse.

The re-definition of strategic interests after Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Cominform in 1948, however, led the Anglo-Americans to ultimately force the hands of the Italian and Yugoslav negotiators and settle the conflict. As a result, in 1954 Italy resumed control of Trieste and Istria definitively passed to Yugoslavia. Between 200,000 and 350,000 persons (the majority of them "ethnic" Italians) left the Istrian peninsula in a mass exodus. Up to a third of the refugees settled in Trieste, where in subsequent decades the experience of "exile" nurtured their bitterness at having been "sacrificed" in the name of larger state interests. Angry at the way in which after 1954 Trieste became defined as a "non-crisis," many exiles rejected Italian and Yugoslav state propaganda celebrating "the world's most open border." Just as these exiles have continued to live in the long historical shadow cast by the post-war exodus, so too have current exile demands — as well as those of a contemporary regionalist movement in Istria — remained almost completely "in the shadow" of the larger crisis in the Balkans and little or no attention has been paid them in the recent slew of accounts about former Yugoslavia.

With Yugoslavia's dissolution and the demise of the Italian "First Republic," both manifestations of broader re-alignments attendant to the Cold War's end, Istrian exiles have found a space for bringing their case to the attention of a broader public. Exile associations in Italy have demanded compensation for lost properties and persecution of "war criminals" responsible for atrocities committed in Istria during World War II; these claims have become important issues in inter-state relations between Italy, Slovenia and Croatia. Simultaneously, a regionalist movement known as the Istrian Democratic Assembly (DDI) has arisen in the Istrian peninsula, now territorially divided between Slovenia and Croatia. The DDI proposes a regional, trans-state entity in order to overcome the historical trauma wrought by the post-war exodus, as well as by

contemporary territorial division. DDI leaders claim that in providing an alternative to the violent nationalisms which destroyed Yugoslavia, their model of ethnic "co-habitation" will contribute to regional security and stability.

Although DDI proponents share with exiles a vision of Istria as the object (rather than subject) of a history of conquest, regionalists encounter fierce opposition amongst the exiles. DDI supporters promote a vision of "Istrian" identity as a historic hybrid of "Slavic" and "Italian" cultures that contradicts the exile view of Istrian culture as inherently Italian. Despite their political polarity, however, the exile associations and the DDI locally refract broader changes in state sovereignty and the inter-state system. This paper explores, then, the different ways in which these groups (in dialogue with one another) construct moral capital by means of historical discourses of authenticity and legitimacy and, in so, doing challenge state-sponsored definitions of "security" in the region.

Contesting the Multiple Traditions Thesis as Interpretive Strategy: The Case of the Women's Suffrage Movement

Max Brown
University of Oregon

Louis Hartz's interpretation of the American liberal tradition remains influential today. According to Hartz, American political culture is constituted by a pervasive and consensual liberal tradition. In this paper, I critically examine two interpretive challenges to the Hartzian thesis: Roger Smith's "multiple traditions thesis" and J. David Greenstone's liberal bipolarity argument. Smith challenges Hartz's claim that American political thought is pervasively liberal. Instead, Smith contends that American political culture is best described as one constituted by "multiple political traditions." On the other hand, Greenstone contests Hartz's liberal consensus thesis. Greenstone maintains that common liberal norms and practices may have multiple meanings, both historically and politically. I argue that Greenstone's challenge to Hartz's consensus thesis is a better interpretive strategy for re-reading American political thought than Smith's multiple traditions thesis. I support this claim on two theoretical counts, and substantiate it through a re-reading of the suffragists' debate over the Fifteenth Amendment.

First, I argue that Smith holds the liberal tradition and ascriptive traditions to incommensurable interpretive criteria. While liberal norms and practices are defined in formal, philosophical terms, ascriptive norms are historically and politically contextualized. For interpretive purposes, two problems follow from Smith's incommensurable criteria. For one, any historically or politically contextualized norm or practice is — by definitional fiat — an ascriptive norm. Liberal norms and practices, however, are not subject to historical or political interpretive inquiry. For another, defining liberal norms in formal terms may bear indeterminate interpretive outcomes: it is not necessarily clear, in certain cases, whether a particular norm or practice is liberal or ascriptive using Smith's own criteria. I argue that Greenstone's analysis offers more insight into historical and political attributes of the liberal tradition itself. By treating liberal norms as ambiguous in meaning, Greenstone's approach enables historians to critically scrutinize the liberal tradition with historical and political sets of questions. This, in turn, abates the problem of indeterminate interpretive outcomes.

Second, I contend that Smith fails to undermine Hartz's interpretive framework because the multiple traditions thesis rests on different assumptions. Despite how misconstrued Hartz's interpretation of the American liberal tradition may be, it is not a causal theory as Smith implies. Smith's alternative hypothesis fails as a critical engagement of Hartz because it rests on substantively different methodological grounds. On the other hand, Greenstone's interpretive approach internally undermines Hartz's interpretive framework. He concedes to Hartz that Americans share a common set of liberal norms; however, under certain historical and political contexts, these common norms may take on fundamentally different, multiple meanings. As such, Hartz's liberal consensus thesis, if not his liberal pervasiveness thesis, does not necessarily hold.

I substantiate my interpretive argument further by interpreting different arguments that suffragists posed over the Fifteenth Amendment. Specifically, Lucy Stone and Frederick Douglass each tried to reconcile their conflicting instrumental and substantive interpretations of the liberal norm at stake in this debate — political equality. This dilemma, I suggest, illustrates two distinct meanings of political equality within a particular historical and political context.

The Local Roots of National Policies in the Progressive Era: The Case of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906

Eileen L. McDonagh
Northeast University

This research defines progressivism as increasing the centralization and scope of state authority as a means for reducing economic inequalities. Because progressive reform is coterminous with state-building, periods of progressivism, both contemporary and historical, inevitably generate debate about "big government." This work explores historical dimensions of those policy debates by examining the Progressive era at the beginning of the twentieth century in the context of one of the first progressive policies passed by Congress: the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906. A study of this policy success illustrates how the representative structure of Congress situates it as an institutional agent of state-building facilitating modernization processes which make government bigger, both in terms of the scope of state authority and the centralization of state authority. Comparisons with contemporary counterparts, such as President Clinton's failed health care plan, provide historical and contemporary insights about the institutional framework necessary for establishing big government, now and then.

Rethinking the History of Social Welfare Policy: Poverty, Citizenship, and Ideology in Antebellum Debates

Linda Shafer
UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

The U.S. is the only advanced Western industrial democratic nation with no European-style social democratic welfare policies. Explanations for the unique path of social policies in the U.S. focus on the "exceptional" features of American political development, including early democratization, patronage politics, and fragmented state administrative capability. They are rooted in the postbellum period and, in particular, focus on the policies of the Progressive and New Deal Eras.

There are three major problems with the dominant explanations of the development of U.S. social welfare policies. The first is periodization. Focusing on the period after the Civil War, in particular the Progressive and New Deal eras, reworks the same ground and ignores the debates and discourse of the antebellum years. This limits both understandings and explanations of the development of social welfare policies. Next, there is too narrow a focus on institutional factors, in particular the administrative capacity of the state, that downplays the role of public debate and discourse as a barometer of political inquiry and citizen concern and instead sees it as derivative of institutional factors. This slights the ability and potential of citizens to affect policies and institutions. Lastly, explorations of antebellum era highlight the effects of expanded suffrage but locate its importance as the development of party and patronage politics. The emphasis on the patronage aspects of two antebellum political parties ignores the fact that parties formed around real *ideological* differences and were not merely groups of self-interested individuals pursuing like economic goals. The varying political debates and ideologies represented efforts to understand "citizenship" in a society rapidly altered by capital expansion and industrial growth.

There were social and political visions and alternatives of social welfare policies under serious public debate during the antebellum period. In this period, attempts were made to frame social problems, especially poverty and growing inequalities, as problems of national concern and to move these problems away from private philanthropy and into the arena of public policy. These attempts, visions, and alternatives are ignored by the current literature in political science on social welfare policy development. Its explanations of social welfare policy induces one to view ideas as uncontested when in the antebellum period they were anything but uncontested; to see later decisions as inevitabilities, instead of choices from a narrowed range of alternatives; and to understand serious consideration of poverty and inequality as rooted in the postbellum period.

This paper begins to examines antebellum politics and social debates before sectional crises intervened and reveals the existence of very real and serious debates on the relationship among the existence of poverty, understandings of citizenship, and the role of capital investment in a democracy. Politicians and newly-enfranchised citizens alike pondered and argued over this relationship well *before* the Civil War.

Explanations of the development of social welfare policies in the U.S. should be dislodged from their asylum in the postbellum period. It may well be that the U.S. is "exceptional" in regards to its social welfare policy not so much for the policies it enacted but for those ideas and visions it ignored and ultimately forgot.

A Genealogy of Citizenship: Mexican-Americans, Race and National Identity

Clare Sheridan

In Progressive Era Texas violence against the Mexican origin population was extreme and their civil rights were not protected by the legal system. This paper is an attempt to explain how this could occur to citizens. How and why were Texas Mexicans' civil and political rights considered contingent on local events? How did understandings of race influence the meaning of citizenship and help forge an "American" identity that excluded Mexican-Americans? What constituted citizenship and who qualified for it sparked a struggle over the meaning of national identity in the late 1800s and early 1900s. This paper demonstrates how citizenship intersected with race and national identity. It proposes that the process of excluding Mexican-Americans was part of national identity formation and of the construction of a racialized notion of citizenship.

By analyzing 1) the records of the Primer Congreso Mexicanista, convened by Mexicans to discuss social and political discrimination against them, 2) the border raids of 1915-1917, and 3) the legislative investigation of civil rights abuses of Mexican-Americans by the Texas Rangers during this era, I reconstruct contemporary thought about the substance of citizenship and national identity.

I argue: 1) The civil rights abuses of Texas Mexicans were ignored because of Anglos' ethnoracial understanding of nationhood and citizenship. The border raids of 1915-1917 triggered fears that challenged Texas' existence as being culturally and geographically part of America. Anglos' fear of irredentism led them to distrust the loyalty of Mexican-*Americans* because of their race. National identity was linked to whiteness and national security concerns justified the violation of Mexicans' civil rights. 2) While many scholars see Progressive Era reforms as a reaction to corruption, I contend that these "reforms" were motivated by racial bias. Mexicans were racialized as a *foreign, alien race* incapable of exercising citizenship rights independently, and therefore unworthy of them. The border raids helped to define Texas Mexicans as aliens, and as dangerous to democracy's existence. 3) Mexican-Americans' citizenship status was contingent on Anglos' estimation of their civic worth. While earlier this protected elite Mexicans, in the 1910s newcomers redefined citizenship, making race the salient characteristic of membership. 4) Understanding Mexican-Americans' experience requires us to broaden our definition of citizenship. While citizenship confers legal status, social identity helps to define and circumscribe that status, and thus constitute citizenship. That is, social hierarchies matter in defining the parameters, content, and meaning of citizenship. A rich account of citizenship must describe relationships among citizens that influence the interpretation and distribution of citizenship rights and privileges.

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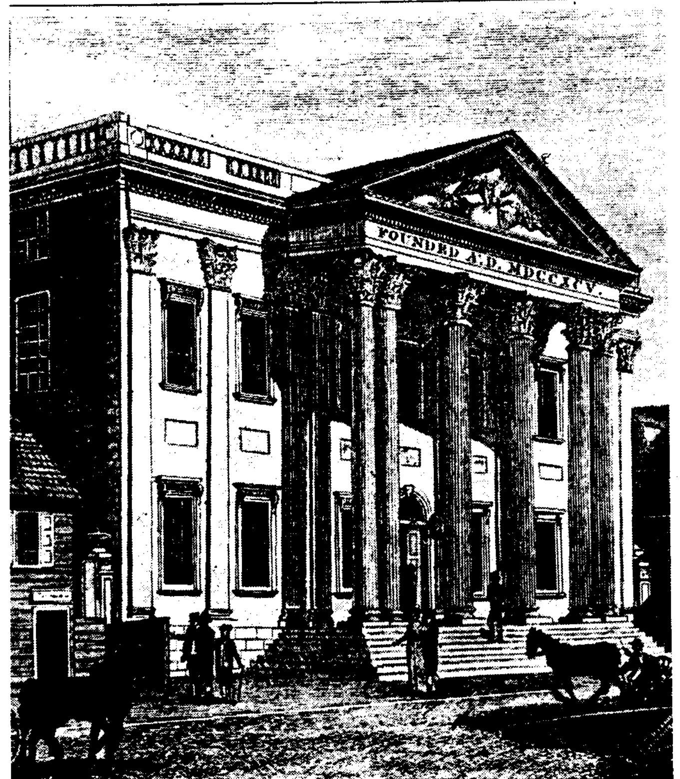

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Georgetown University Press announces "American Governance and Public Policy," a new series of books edited by Barry Rabe and John Tierney. This new series examines a variety of public policy issues in relation to all levels of government in the United States. The series comprises studies that illuminate the successes as well as the failures of the policy process. The books in the series are serious contributions to scholarship that appeal to both academic and professional readers. Contact the Georgetown University Press at 3619 O Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20007.

Book Notes

Elaine K. Swift. 1996. The Making of an American Senate: Reconstitutive Change in Congress, 1787-1841. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Between 1809 and 1829, the U.S. Senate transformed itself from a relatively passive "American House of Lords." It became a proactive, autonomous institutional player in national politics. It distanced itself from state legislatures and became more independent of the president. It developed closer bonds with voters. Five factors brought about this reconstitutive change: major changes in the partisan composition of the parties in the electorate; changes in the composition, opinions positions, and power of voters nationally; the issue agenda actively considered by the national government; prevailing beliefs about the role that Congressional institutions should play in national government; and members of Congress who successfully brought about marked shifts in the fundamental dimensions of Congress. Between 1829 and 1841, these changes became institutionalized and enduring. Among other sources of data, the study includes extensive analysis of news reports about the Senate during this period.

Gretchen Ritter. 1997. Goldbugs and Greenbacks: The Antimonopoly Tradition and the Politics of Finance in America, 1865-1896. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ritter analyzes the debates about money and banking in the late nineteenth century that, she argues, played a central role in American political development. The stalemate of the Republican and Democratic parties on financial issues, encouraged the growth of an antimonopoly movement and the rise of the Greenback and People's parties. The debates of the 1870s, as well as labor's defeats in the 1880s, helped shaped

the debate between financial reformers and financial conservatives in the politically portentous decade of the 1890s. During the 1890s, financial conservatives won a decisive victory over antimonopolists, and shaped the path of American political development. Ritter details the antimonopolist movement in North Carolina, Illinois, and Massachusetts. These cases demonstrate the geographical diversity of the debate.

Bo Rothstein. 1996. **The Social Democratic State: The Swedish Model and the Bureaucratic Problem of Social Reforms.** Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Rothstein investigates the question, "What limits does a social democratic government labor under, and what possibilities does it enjoy, in using the state to implement large-scale social change?" (page 9). Despite the Swedish Social Democratic party's long hold on political power, the party had uneven success in implementing reforms. The Social Democrats viewed their labor market policy to have been very successful, but were disappointed in the results of school reforms. Rothstein attributes this result to the fact that the labor unions and Social Democrats emphasized control of the labor market authorities, and turned the National Labor Market Board into a party cadre organization. In the area of school reform, the Social Democratic party did not capture, but instead was captured by, the bureaucratic state.

Sunita Parikh. 1997. **The Politics of Preference: Democratic Institutions and Affirmative Action in the United States and India.** Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Affirmative action policies in the U.S. and in India, two large, ethnically diverse nations, initially enjoyed more support than is now the case. Both Democrats and Republicans supported American affirmative action in the 1960s and 1970s. In India, the British initiated systems of reserved representation for Muslims and then other groups, and the nation's government maintained these arrangements after independence in 1947. These policies were initiated and endured in both nations because "it was able to solidify and expand electoral coalitions" (page 10). In both nations, however, realigning political coalitions caused support for these affirmative action arrangements to break down during the 1970s. Affirmative action in the U.S. began to engender opposition among nontargeted groups. Conservatives in the Republican party found that opposition to affirmative action was a politically viable strategy for winning votes among working class and suburban whites. Since the death of Indira Gandhi, the political coalition that supported reservation policy in India has come under increasing stress, resulting in riots and the fall of governments. Parikh studies policy histories as punctuated equilibria; institutions and preferences can be modeled during periods of stability, while major changes are explained through analysis of the contexts in which change occurs.

Suzanne M. Marilley. 1996. **Woman Suffrage and the Origins of Liberal Feminism in the United States, 1820-1920.** Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Marilley identifies three dissenting ideologies of feminist equal rights in American history. The first, the feminism of equal rights, constituted a feminist version of the Declaration of Independence and was expressed in the Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments in 1848. It emerged during the Jacksonian period as a counter to women's public participation in the anti-slavery movement. The second, the feminism of fear, was articulated by temperance leader Frances Willard. This theme was emphasized after the Civil War and emphasized freedom for women from fear of violence or death as a result of drunken men. The third, the feminism of personal development, began to emerge in the 1890s and flourished in the progressive era. It aimed to secure full opportunities for women to secure happiness, and it was articulated by such social reformers as Florence Kelley and Jane Addams. The book elaborates Frances Willard's role in the Colorado referendum victory for women's suffrage in 1893, and Congress's approval of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1919.

Keith T. Poole and Howard Rosenthal. 1997. **Congress: A Political-Economic History of Roll Call Voting.** New York: Oxford University Press.

Poole and Rosenthal assess two hundred years of Congressional roll calls. They argue that the data reveal two stable patterns of cleavage along two dimensions: the extent of government intervention in the economy, and race. They find that their spatial model has remarkable persistence in American history, especially since the Civil War, as political parties have promoted stable alignments. "The distinction between the period since the late 1950s and earlier times attests to the value of pursuing a long-term historical study ... Much of the current political-economy approach to legislatures has been based on scholars' experience with the textbook Congresses of the 1960s and 1970s. Such a time span is too short for accumulating the stylized facts that need to be explained by a theory of legislatures in general or of Congress in particular" (pages 228-229).

Thomas J. Sugrue. 1997. **The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit.** Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Sugrue argues that the contemporary urban crisis has deeper and more tangled historical roots that social scientists recognize. He traces the transformation of Detroit from its heyday as the boomtown "arsenal of democracy" during World War II through its decline into an island of physical decay, racial isolation, and poverty. The development of postwar capitalism and the labor market interacted with changing race relations and political interests to keep inequality off the policy agenda even as it developed in industrial core cities such as Detroit. Conflicts

over race and housing came to occupy center stage in local public debates. The Detroit case provides instructive lessons about the crisis in industrial cities throughout the nation.

James T. Patterson. 1996. **Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974.** New York: Oxford University Press.

In this tenth volume of the Oxford History of the United States, Patterson, a leading historian, argues that the majority of Americans between 1945 and 1970 "developed ever-greater expectations about the capacity of the United States to create a better world abroad and a happier society at home" (page vii). This ambition fueled the rights revolution in American domestic policy. After the early 1970s, a more somber culture emerged, reflecting the gap between grand expectations and "unyielding social divisions, traditional beliefs, and economic uncertainty" (page ix). The book is a massive chronicle of the post war years.

William H. Riker. 1996. **The Strategy of Rhetoric: Campaigning for the American Constitution.** New Haven: Yale University Press.

In this posthumous book [edited by Randall Calvert, John Mueller, and Rick Wilson], Riker argues for an approach to the study of political campaigns based on the analysis of rhetoric and heresthetics (that is, the process of structuring political choice). Using the campaign for the ratification of the constitution as his empirical base, Riker shows how adversaries' rhetoric used negative themes and addressed issues only partially. The Federalists structured the process of constitution writing and approval in a way that biased the outcome in the direction they favored. The Federalist victory depended on both rhetoric and heresthetics.

Michele Hoyman. 1997. **Power Steering: Global Automakers and the Transformation of Rural Communities.** Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Hoyman analyzes the impact of automobile plant constructed in four rural American communities beginning in the late 1970s: Smyrna and Spring Hill, Tennessee; Georgetown, Kentucky; and Marysville, Ohio. These plants have had profound impacts on local cultures, governments, economies, and policy agendas over time. The book assesses the role of local leadership, agenda-setting, economic development, and globalization.

John E. Martin. 1996. **Holding the Balance: A History of New Zealand's Department of Labour, 1891-1995.** Christchurch, NZ: Canterbury University Press.

This history documents the development of a state agency which has borne chief responsibility for a wide range of policy, including immigration, employment, and labor relations. [Editor's note: This richly illustrated book, which includes extensive original sources, chronologies, personnel and budget data, is the most comprehensive study of the development of a labor bureau I've ever seen published in English. New Zealand's turn of the century labor policy, like Australia's, influenced policy reformers in the U.S. and other nations.].

Ericson continued from page 4

Four papers were also presented that had to do with the issues of race and gender; issues of central concern to Greenstone but on topics he had not pursued in his own research. McKeen discussed African-American conceptions of self-help, arguing that the tension between self-help on the individual level and on a community level may be a false one. Ericson argued that both the defenders of slavery and the opponents of slavery in ante-bellum America appealed to common liberal principles, but of course interpreted those principles in very different ways. Horton viewed the failure of Reconstruction through the lens of three different conceptions of liberalism, again suggesting the interplay between shared meanings and divergent interests. Nackenoff discussed debates over citizenship with particular reference to gender during the Progressive era, noting that the debate was, in some sense, forced into individualistic conceptions of citizenship by the broader culture. Last but certainly not the least, Diggins added his iconoclastic (dare I say neo-Progressive?) view that American politics, whether one wants to call it liberal or not, does seem to be peculiarly a politics of interest.

I clearly have not done justice to the papers presented at the conference, and I am sure their authors will not all agree with the way I have summarized them. However, everyone did agree that the conference was merely the midpoint in a continuing conversation, not its terminus. A volume of essays is being planned based on the conference papers.

Eileen L. McDonagh. 1996. **Breaking the Abortion Deadlock: From Choice to Consent.** Oxford University Press.

(We invited Professor Eileen McDonagh to discuss her current book in the context of politics and history.)

This book situates a new argument for abortion rights within the political and historical framework delineating the development of women's rights in the American political system. Historically, women's rights have been undermined by legal enforcement of cultural assumptions which viewed husbands in particular and men in general as having an automatic right of access to women's bodies. Until the late nineteenth century, the common law doctrine of coverture specified that when a man and a woman married, they became one person and that person was the husband. Consequently, not only did married women have no civil identities, they also had no legal right to refuse to engage in sexual relations with their husbands. This form of coverture lasted well into the twentieth century, since no state until the mid-1970s recognized marital rape as a crime. In addition, it took a concerted rape reform movement to guarantee that men in general could not intrude sexually upon women's bodies without explicit consent.

This book shows how the historical battle to secure women's right to bodily integrity and liberty continues today in the context of women's abortion rights. Legally and medically, pregnancy is a condition in a woman's body resulting from a fertilized ovum throughout its developmental stages. Notably absent from this definition is men or sexual intercourse. While it is common to attribute the cause of pregnancy to sex,medically and legally it is a fertilized ovum, not a man, that causes a woman's body to change from a non pregnant to a pregnant condition. And however culturally challenging such an idea might be, it makes sense. Although sexual intercourse usually precedes pregnancy, it need not, since women can become pregnant without engaging in sexual intercourse, as when in vitro fertilization or artificial insemination is used. And when a woman seeks to terminate her pregnant condition, she seeks to remove the fetus from her body as the cause of that condition, not a man.

However people might disagree about what the fetus is, therefore, this book shows that we can agree that what the fetus does when it implants itself in a woman's body is to transform her body from a nonpregnant to a pregnant condition, an extraordinarily massive change. In a medically normal pregnancy, some hormones in a woman's body rise 400 times their base level; her blood system is rerouted to make all of her blood available to the fetus; a new organ is grown in her body, the placenta; and her blood plasma and cardiac volume increase 40 percent and her heart rate increases 15 percent, just to cite a few of the changes. In a medically abnormal pregnancy, a woman can be crippled for the rest of her life as the result of pregnancy, or even die.Yet, although the Supreme Court has ruled that it is constitutional to protect the fetus as a separate entity from the woman, this book explicates how the Court has failed in over twenty years even to consider the constitutional significance of what the fetus does as state protected preborn life causing a woman's body to change from a nonpregnant to a pregnant condition. By refocusing the abortion debate on what the fetus does, however, this book recasts the abortion debate from a woman's right to choose what to do with her own body to her right to consent to what the fetus does to her body as state protected preborn life. Given the historical context of an American political system founded upon the principle of consent, the constitutional ramifications of this approach promise to be far-reaching.

As this book shows, the law recognizes that all people are entitled to consent to what is done to their bodies by private parties. Without consent, even a medically life-saving operation performed by a competent physician becomes a legal injury. And the law already recognizes that when pregnancy is imposed upon a woman without consent, as in the case of failed sterilization, rape, or incest, she has suffered serious bodily injury, termed wrongful pregnancy. Similarly, once a child a born, no state requires parents to donate even a pint of blood to their children, much less bone marrow or kidneys, even if the child's life is at stake. What is more, if a child captured a parent and forcibly took needed blood or body parts, state policy does not protect a born child by allowing it to intrude even in minimum invasive ways upon a parent's body without consent; to the contrary, the state would act to protect the parent's right to bodily integrity and liberty in relation to the child.

So, too, with preborn life. This book argues that while it is constitutional for the state to protect the fetus, the state cannot use a means of protection that allows preborn life to intrude upon a parent's body, causing serious injury, for to do so does grants to preborn life more privilege than the law allows to born people. Rather than allow preborn life to injure a woman by imposing a medically normal, not to mention medically abnormal pregnancy, to the extent that the state acts to protect people from violations of their bodily integrity and liberty, this book argues that the state must act to stop preborn life from imposing injuries on a woman who does not consent to be pregnant. To do otherwise, deprives pregnant women of their fundamental right to the equal protection of the state of their bodily integrity and liberty, thereby violating the Equal Protection Clause of the Constitution.

Political activists and constitutional scholars agree thatthis book guarantees not only a stronger right to an abortion, but also greater access by means of abortion funding. In the opinion of Patricia Ireland, President of the National Organization for Women (NOW), this book "makes an original and provocative argument which has the potential to transform our understanding of abortion and secure not only the right to abortion but also abortion funding," and constitutional law scholar Sylvia Law states that this book "provides the most original and provocative defense of the morality of abortion that has appeared in decades." Anti-abortion activists currently seek

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Between the Jacksonian and New Deal eras, there was almost a complete disjunction between the organizations that mobilized voters where they lived and workers where they labored, as Ira Katznelson (1981) has argued. From the 1830s through the 1930s, party conflict pitted Whigs or Republicans against Democrats. To a considerable extent, the Democrats embodied an alliance between Southern landowners and the commercial interests that traded with them. Whigs and Republicans represented the owners and employees of manufacturing firms, as well as the farmers who fed these increasingly numerous residents of urban America. Politicians belonging to the major parties would not consider advocating the redistribution of income within the economic sector for which they spoke. Rather, they strove to maintain the coalitions between people at the top and bottom of the particular sectors of the American economic and social order that their party represented.

The "Roosevelt revolution" was revolutionary to the extent that the New Deal did, indeed, seek to redistribute income within economic sectors, especially between industrial workers and their employers. But there were some major respects in which the New Deal did not challenge prevailing institutions and practices. For example, New Deal agricultural programs did not stir up conflicts between landowners and the farm workers or tenant farmers who tilled their fields (Finegold and Skocpol, 1996). Also, FDR scrupulously avoided "interfering" in the Southern racial order, which subjected blacks to segregation, disfranchisement, and a quasi-official Reign of Terror.

Of greatest relevance here is another way in which the New Deal respected prevailing political institutions and practices: FDR did not seek to destroy the nation's traditional party organizations. Rather, he sought to strengthen those political machines whose leaders were prepared to support the New Deal, such as Ed Crump (Memphis), Ed Flynn (the Bronx), Frank Hague (Jersey City), and Tom Pendergast (Kansas City). And FDR sought to build powerful Democratic machines in many cities that formerly had been dominated by the Republicans.

The organizational legacy of the New Deal endured for roughly two decades following World War II. As David Mayhew (1986, p. 324) observes, one element of the New Deal system was "a Democratic party in the 1940s and 1950s made up largely of machines and unions." It is not my intention to glamorize such influential postwar Democrats as Richard Daley and George Meany. But it is worth noting that, although they were prepared to reach accommodations with business, the organizations that they led also provided a base of support for presidents and members of Congress who proposed, enacted, and financed redistributive programs. As traditional party organizations and labor unions have declined, so too has the tendency of national officials to back such programs.

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The "decline of party" is, of course, a central theme of American political science. But the consequences of this trend are more extensive than observers usually emphasize. It commonly is argued that as traditional party organizations have faded, TV advertizing has become increasingly important in electoral campaigns. The party workers of old were compensated for their political labors with jobs on the public payroll. Hence, in the past, the costs of political campaigning were largely borne by the public treasury. But the ways in which voters are mobilized nowadays greatly increase costs that must be covered by candidates and their campaigns.

It indeed is true that hiring professional campaign consultants, conducting "focus groups," and buying TV advertising time is enormously costly. And this requires candidates to focus not only on issues that will appeal to major segments of the electorate, but also on matters of concern to contributors, as was vividly demonstrated in 1996. It often is argued that reducing income inequality may speak to the concerns of ordinary voters, but prudence dissuades politicians from advocating redistributive policies that might alienate wealthy contributors.

In addition to the decline of party organizations, there have been some other changes in American government and politics in recent decades that may have implications for the relative power of various political forces. A well-known example is the successful effort in the late 1960s of liberal political activists to increase their influence at the expense of the party organizations and labor unions that formerly had dominated the Democratic nominating process. Anti-war activists and their political allies attributed the Democrats' defeat after the tumultuous 1968 national convention to the party's failure to reach out to people like themselves. The McGovern-Fraser Commission, which reflected these views, sought to remedy the problem by "reforming" the Democrats' nominating procedures.

The Commission proposed that convention delegates be selected in primary elections or "open" caucuses that the Democratic party's traditional leaders could not easily dominate. The individuals who turn out in these settings tend to have more years of schooling and higher incomes than the average voter who supports Democratic candidates in general elections. Previously, Democratic machine politicians had sought to anticipate the views of such voters, but their influence has been greatly reduced by the McGovern-Fraser reforms (Polsby, 1983). To a significant extent, the machines and unions that essentially comprised the Democratic party during the postwar decades have been supplanted by organizations of "issue-oriented" liberal political activists (e.g., feminists, environmentalists, gay rights advocates) whose members are predominantly college students or college graduates belonging to the middle- or upper-middle-class. As John Judis (1995) has observed, the sympathies of these activists are aroused by forms of poverty, such as homelessness, that are melodramatic. But they are less reliable supporters of programs to redistribute income to people who lead conventional (and boring) "lives of quiet desperation" that were the "party hacks" who staffed local Democratic organizations in the decades immediately following the New Deal and World War II.

Relatively well-educated and prosperous liberal political activists may not object to policies that seek to reduce income inequality, but this is not the issue on which they focus their political efforts. To be sure, many such activists have supported programs and policies that purport to benefit various "disadvantaged minorities." But serious questions have been raised about whether these programs—"affirmative action" in college admissions, minority "set asides" in government contracting, etc.—actually benefit the poor.

There are good political reasons why the policies that have been enacted in recent decades benefit the better-off more that the less well-off. Members of the middle class are more readily organized and are more active politically than members of the working and lower classes. And, in recent decades, political activists who organize the more prosperous members of various "identity groups" have enjoyed considerable success in attracting the attention of the news media, securing grants from charitable foundations, and obtaining the backing of prominent political allies (Skerry, 1996).

In sum, changing patterns of political organization in the U.S. have very much influenced the forms of inequality that become salient in America, as several distinguished members of our section argue in the books cited below.

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the threat of means-tested benefits, flat-rate benefits, and private-sector benefits to Social Security until at least the early 1950s; and predictions of bankruptcy in the trust fund made media headlines in the early 1970s and the early 1980s. Only from around the early 1950s to the early 1970s does my initial story come close to capturing the politics of Social Security.

There are at least two ironies here. The first is that my revised account of Social Security,punctuated by changes large and small and riddled with conflict, may be more reassuring to students worried about the program's future. Social Security is not some vessel that has enjoyed smooth sailing for decades and is only now being tested by harsh weather. The program has withstood many challenges in the past, and the trust fund was far closer to bankruptcy in the early 1980s than it is now. Some of those past episodes revolved around the same issues being debated today, such as the desirability of means-testing Social Security. Understanding those debates may provide some insight into coping with current problems. And if policy makers eventually need to make major changes to the program (only relatively modest changes are needed now), there is precedent.

The second irony is that the information needed to tell this revised account has been available for quite some time. Normally one expects current periods of conflict to inspire researchers to search the past for similar conflicts and revise their histories accordingly. In this case I discovered that students of Social Security had been noting conflict and episodic change long before it became fashionable to speak of generational warfare and "greedy geezers." Notable pioneers in this regard include W. Andrew Achenbaum, Edward Berkowitz, Jerry Cates,and Mark Leff (most of whom, I should note, are historians). Even Martha Derthick's classic Policymaking for Social Security (1979), which provided much of the material for my earlier account of Social Security, devotes two chapters to criticisms by elected officials, economists, actuaries, and the occasional dissident within the Social Security Administration. Mea culpa. At least I caught the problem fairly quickly.

My next challenge is persuading students that "will Social Security be there when I retire?" is not the most important question to ask. Political scientists interested in modern welfare states have long focused on specific programs—who pushed for and against national health insurance, how much countries spend on old age pensions. In other words, they have analyzed the relation between policy inputs and policy outputs. Less is known about the relation between policy outputs like programs and policy outcomes like infant mortality rates and poverty rates; that tends to be the domain of economists. Nevertheless, as Gosta Esping-Andersen has argued, individuals do not struggle for social programs or social spending per se; they struggle to make life better for certain groups in society. In his view that better life entails income redistribution from rich to poor and the freedom to opt out of the labor market without substantial penalty. For my purposes, that better life entails reducing the number of people living below or near the poverty line. The difference between these goals is less important than their common emphasis on the tangible impact of social programs on ordinary citizens. The overarching question I would therefore like my students to consider with respect toSocial Security is what the government can and should do to provide adequate income support to retirees. Answering that question requires some debate over the meaning of "adequate" income and the extent to which the elderly deserve more or less support than other groups from government. It also requires a much better understanding for the various ways in which government enhances the income of the elderly, beyond Social Security. The usual image cited is the three-legged stool of retirement income, which includes public pensions, employment-based pensions, and individual savings. All three legs, it should be noted, are influenced by public policy. Teaching students about the relationship between monetary policy, inflation, and savings may be too much to ask anyone but an economist, but it is possible to say more about how the government influences employment-based pensions. By allowing employers to deduct contributions to their employees' pensions from their income taxes, the national government effectively spends tens of billions of dollars each year to enhance the income of retirees. These pensions, however, are unavailable to about half the labor force, and the benefits accrue disproportionately to more affluent retirees. The growing trend away from defined benefit plans to defined contribution plans makes inequality in benefits even more likely in the future. Similar provisions in the tax code exist for Keogh retirement plans (for the self-employed) and for Individual Retirement Accounts.

Tax subsidies for employer pensions have an interesting history, one that Beth Stevens, James Wooten, myself, and others have started to unearth. Much more needs to be done, particularly concerning the origins and impact of the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 (ERISA), which imposes a whole host of regulations on pensions receiving tax subsidies.

What is clear so far is how seldom policy makers have tried to coordinate tax subsidies for retirement income with the more direct subsidies for Social Security and Supplemental Security Income. Consequently, placing Social Security in a larger context of income support policies for the elderly has the potential not only to encourage students to consider what social programs are supposed to accomplish. It could also change the terms of debate over reforms to Social Security. For instance, some contemporary critics of Social Security note how the benefit formula replaces a higher percentage of the income earned by less affluent retirees than for more affluent retirees, and how poor a return on investment more affluent individuals can expect in the future. They never point out how much help with retirement these same affluent individuals receive indirectly through the tax code. If policy makers and the public thought less about who gets what from individual programs, and more about who gets what from government, they might be less critical of Social Security and less willing to contemplate major surgery on the program.

Deudney (continued from page 5)

My reconstruction of republicanism and naturalist geopolitics and creation of an expanded system structural security theory yields three main points. First, early republican theorists were primarily concerned — like Realists today — with security from violence. But unlike contemporary Realists, republican theorists held that situations of both hierarchy and anarchy were threats to security. Life is the first and most important form of property, and individuals who are politically unfree are inherently insecure against the predations of concentrated power. In contrast, "security studies," which has recently emerged as a subfield of (Realist) international relations theory, does not address the most important source of violent death in the twentieth century, "domestic" repression by highly hierarchical states.

Second, in order to avoid the perils of both anarchy and hierarchy, republican power constraint practices sought to simultaneously avoid the perils of anarchy and hierarchy, both internally and externally. The practical culmination of this political tradition was the "Philadelphian System" of the American republic which was explicitly understood by the Founders to be an alternative to the Westphalian system of hierarchies in anarchy, rather than another (hierarchical) state. In order to incorporate this insight and solution into international theory, I propose the existence of a third structural ordering principle — negarchy — which existed in a nearly pure form in the "compound republic" and "states-union" of the early United States. This conceptual innovation helps put recent investigations into the "democratic peace" and "liberal hegemony" on a sounder conceptual footing. Although recent IR scholars often cite Kant, they neglect his crucial distinction between a "despotic democracy" and a "republican democracy." The current Western community of states is not a series of hierarchies in anarchy, but rather a mixture in which negarchy at both the unit and system level plays an important role. Similarly, the first steps towards global nuclear arms control accomplished over the last half century mark not the beginnings of a world state, but rather a "planetary republic."

Third, early republican theory and practice incorporated a sophisticated understanding of the interplay between power constraint practices and material contexts. Neo-Realism is widely perceived to be the most materialist of major contemporary international theories, but its focus solely on distribution neglects qualitative and compositional dimensions of material context with great significance for the viability of different security practices. The most important missing compositional aspect of power is violence interaction capacity, which has varied greatly across history. The overall central insight here is that security from violence depends upon constraint of violence, and that constraint can come either "from nature" (i.e. the material context) or from social practices and structures. For most of human history, hierarchy and anarchy was consistent with security because the material context was so impoverished in its violent power potential. Hierarchies in the past were much less powerful sources of insecurity than the total hierarchies of the twentieth century because prior to the industrial revolution even the most "absolute" ruler was constrained by the material environment. Similarly the difference between the anarchy of the "state of nature" that Hobbes deems incompatible with security, and the anarchy of the "state of war" that he deems compatible with it, is simply one of the differing material context. Anarchy on a very small scale has always been incompatible with security because of the volumes and velocities of violence available in a very small space. What has happened over the last several centuries, beginning with the industrial and culminating with the nuclear revolution, is simply that the size of the space within which anarchy is incompatible with security has increased to the point where it now encompasses the entire planet.

Thinking about republicanism in this way casts the evolution of republican governance from the polis to the global village in a new and different light. The pessimism of the polis republicanism of the ancients and early moderns stemmed from the realization that self-governing political orders, even with a highly favorable material environment, were precarious and needed to be highly militarized. Venice, Holland and Britain marked important milestones in republican practice because their insularity and their naval and capital intensive military capabilities broke the "iron laws of polis republicanism," and made possible the emergence of pacific and commercial republics. This modern polities were able to reverse the previous republican antipathy to commerce and wealth because they needed no longer fear their erosive effects on military virtu. In this reconstruction, Machiavelli's republicanism is essentially archaic, and better insight is to be found scattered through the writings of figures of lesser ability and renown that I label the "maritime whigs."

Another chapter in the largely lost and misunderstood evolution of natural republicanism is the widespread characterization by modern, particularly 18th century, European thinkers Europe as a whole to be a "republic" (not an anarchy) which was constituted by a multiplicity of power constraints, both in the material context (topographical "division" of power, and the "mixture" of land and seapowers) and in political practices and structures. "Balance of power" in its several senses came into international theory from this broader republican understanding, but the "division" or "separation" of power, both by material context and in practice, was actually logically prior to and at least as important in the constitution of Europe as a plural political order. The importance of practices of division and separation is visible in the three great constitutional settlements of the early modern era - Westphalia (division into territorial units and separation of church and state) Utrecht (separation of the thrones of Spain and France, and Vienna (separation of nationalism and politics).

This approach also casts the trajectory of American "foreign policy" in a different light. Realists insist that U.S. policy has been subject to utopian and idealistic aspirations and they have assiduously sought to "socialize" American elites into the techniques of power politics developed in the classical

Westphalian System. In reality, the United States has sought, with uneven but significant success, to replace the European model of large-scale security politics with one more consistent with the logic of the Philadelphian System. In the 19th century, when the U.S. was removed from European predations and weaker than European states, isolationism was a viable approach. But in the twentieth century, the technologies of the industrial revolution meant that the United States had either to become like a European state, or make Europe like the United States. After tardy balancing against imperial projects in Europe in both World Wars, the United States emerged on the victorious side, and then atempted to recast Europe along American-lines, first with the League of Nations, and then with the post-World War II reconstruction of Europe. These efforts were not always coherently conceived, advanced or implemented, and circumstances for their success were often absent, but their basic thrust is unmistakably an extension of the logic of the American founding.

Finally, and perhaps most significantly, the nuclear revolution and arms control can be seen a new light. Early in the nuclear era, many Realists (most notably Hans Morgenthau and John Herz), applying Hobbes's simple logic, concluded that the state-system was obsolete and needed to be replaced with a world state. More recently, Realists (most notably Kenneth Waltz) have concluded that nuclear weapons have robbed anarchy of its sting, creating something approaching the best of all security worlds in which both large-scale nuclear violence and interstate aggression have been abolished as practical possibilities, but without altering either the hierarchical state or the anarchical interstate system. The reality is somewhere in between, in the conceptual space that the narrow neo-Realist model simply lacks the conceptual apparatus to grasp. The state-system as traditionally understood has been rendered obsolete by the absolute violence volume and instantaneous violence velocity of contemporary capabilities of destruction. Security in this situation is to be had from constraining both the hierarchies within units ("nuclear despotism") and the anarchy between them. The practice of interstate arms control has begun creating a system structure that is negarchical in character. Unlike previous consolidations in security units and systems, the changes required for security in the nuclear era, can be purely negarchical because there is — barring alien invasion from outer space — no outside threat that requires balancing against through the creation of a centralized monopoly of violence. Unfortunately, whether the United States continues to lead in the application of its republican security practice in this new geopolitical context remains an open question due to the successful colonization of the United States by proponents of the Westphalian approach that the United States was founded to avoid.

Conley (continued from page 4)

and congressional support. Some Presidents place major policy changes on the agenda because they have extremely high estimates of their ability to mobilize the electorate around the desired change. Others have lower estimates of popular mobilization but still have an incentive to ask for policy change because they face a favorable Congress. Others don't ask for policy change because both the interpretation of their election and the Congress that they face are unfavorable.

To make my argument I do a broad survey of all American presidential elections since 1828. While I have gathered election statistics, I provide evidence for my argument mostly by analyzing the interpretation of elections that appears in private papers, public discussion in newspapers and in Congress, and formal public addresses such as inaugural and state of the union addresses. Patterns in the election statistics, congressional statistics, and interpretive process predict the President's subsequent agenda-setting behavior. I do a more detailed comparative analysis of presidential elections from 1948 to the present.

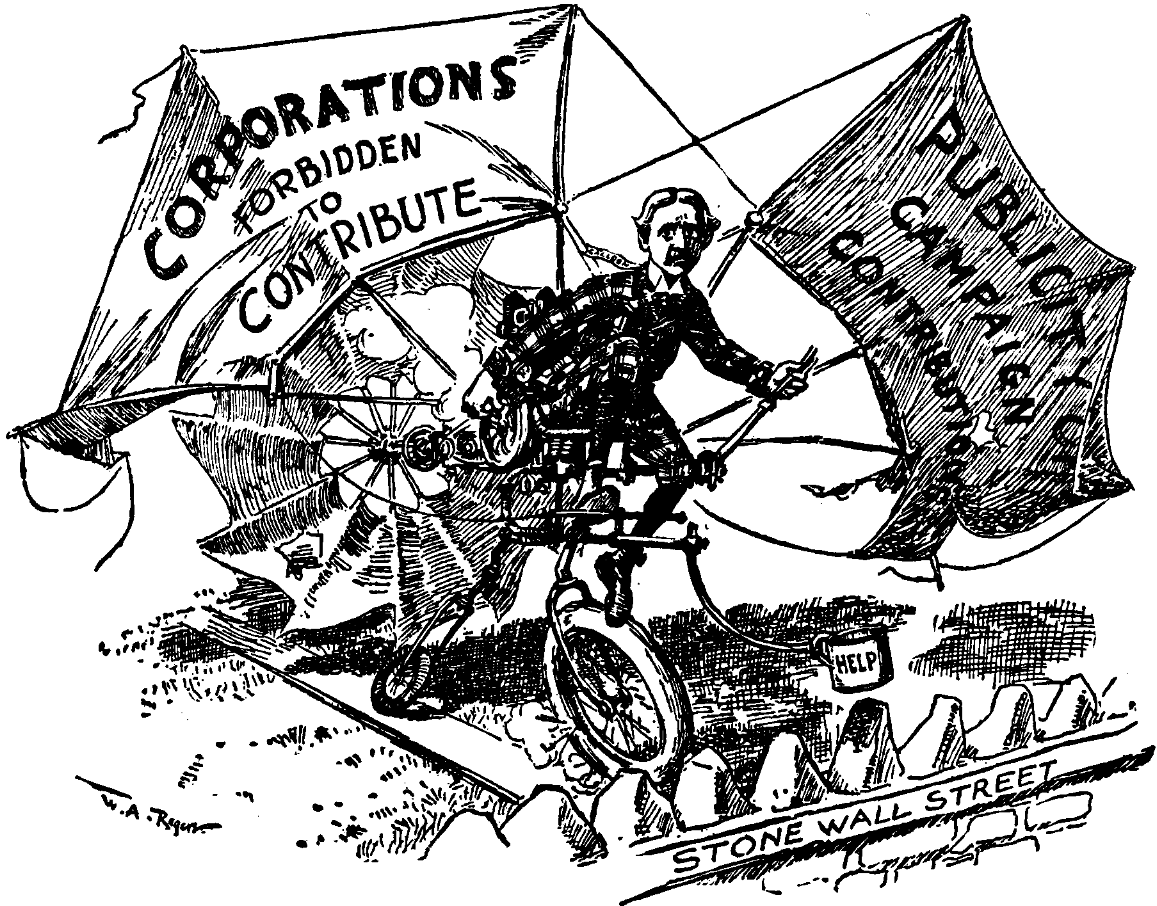
In many ways, I view this project as detailing the role of elections in the "politics Presidents make." Election outcomes and their subsequent interpretations provide signals about when party regimes or previously established institutional commitments are resilient or vulnerable. The interpretation of the election outcome and the kind of Congress facing the new president allow political elites (and the President himself) to estimate how much the president's political identity is opposed or affiliated with the previous regime. Since a variety of political actors, journalists, and voters have access to the information on which such assessments are made, new presidents cannot make outrageous claims. They have an incentive not to cry wolf. I welcome comments and correspondence from people working on similar topics. (e-mail address: pconley@nwu.edu)

Harvey (continued from page 3)

the competition for votes will take on certain key features of imperfect competition characteristic of externalities of demand, where my preference for a candidate can be influenced by what other voters think of that candidate. Most significantly for thinking about the sequence of events, the first organization to coordinate a network of socially linked voters into a voting group will have competitive advantages over later organizations trying to coordinate the same network. And the way that political institutions regulate the participation of voters can affect when and by which organizations voters are coordinated.

McDonaugh (continued from page 29)

to limit reproductive rights by cutting off access to abortions by legislatively banning certain abortion procedures. This book, by establishing women's right to consent to pregnancy as the foundation of their right to an abortion, not only dramatically connects current debate on the abortion issue with historical patterns of women's legal and cultural oppression, but also offers new ways to affirm women's access to abortion.



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