Policy History Conference

Hyatt on Capitol Square
Columbus, Ohio
June 3 to June 6, 2010

Sponsored by the Institute for Political History and the Journal of Policy History
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The Institute for Political History is a 501(c) non-profit educational foundation. No person associated with the Institute is provided an annual salary or remuneration for their work in the Institute or conference. The conference coordinator and conference staff receive small remunerations for their services. The Institute wants to thank the conference co-chairs and plenary and regular panel participants for their voluntary contributions to the Policy History Conference. This is the sixth Policy History Conference and the twenty-second year of the publication of the Journal of Policy History. The Institute for Political History and the Journal of Policy History want to thank those many people over the years who have contributed to the success of the Journal and the conference.
Journal of Policy History Editorial Board

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David Vogel, University of California, Berkeley (Business)
Alan Ware, Oxford University (Politics)
Julian Zelizer, Princeton University (History)
More than 290 scholars from the fields of History, Political Science, Economics, Law, Journalism, and Sociology will participate in the Policy History Conference. These scholars are from all regions of the United States, and from Canada, Europe, Japan, and Australia.

**Columbus.** Columbus, home to Ohio State University, is also the state capital of Ohio. The conference hotel is adjacent to the Capitol grounds and within walking or driving distance of OSU and popular dining, shopping, and theatres.

**Hotel.** The Hyatt on Capitol Square (75 E. State Street, Columbus, Ohio 43215; Phone: 1.614.228.1234) is the site for the conference. Registration, program sessions, and book exhibits will take place at the Hyatt. Program sessions will be held in designated meeting rooms on the first floor of the hotel. The Hyatt offers several in-house restaurants, a 24-hour fitness center, and complimentary shuttle service to local entertainment districts.

**Transportation.** Directions to the hotel can be found on our website. Transportation to and from the airport is best done by taxi; the hotel does not operate a shuttle to the airport.

**Special Conference Events:**

**Friday Reception.** Sponsored by the Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia and Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy, the Friday evening cash bar reception with appetizers will be held from 6:30 – 8:30 pm, June 4, in the Legislative Room at the Hyatt for conference participants and their guests. The Miller Center is also the co-sponsor for the 2012 Policy History Conference in Charlottesville, Virginia.

**Saturday Luncheon.** An Award Luncheon will be held on Saturday, June 5 at 12:00 pm in the Governor’s Ballroom on the second floor of the Hyatt. Orders for the luncheon should be placed on the pre-registration form. Luncheon attendees should pick up their tickets when they check in with the conference registration table. For those who have not pre-registered and wish to attend the luncheon, please check with the conference registration table. The *Journal of Policy History* will award the Ellis Hawley Prize for the best article published in the journal by a junior scholar in the previous two years. The recipients of the Hugh Davis Graham Award and Thomas H. Critchlow Award will also be announced at the luncheon.

**Refreshments.** Refreshments such as coffee, soft drinks, and light snacks will be available at various times during the conference, sponsored in part by the Bowling Green State University History Department. These will be located near the book exhibit. Please enjoy a snack and browse the book exhibit.

**Registration.** All participants should check in at the conference registration table, located in the Judicial Foyer on the first floor of the hotel near the meeting rooms. You will receive a conference program and name badge when you check in. Those who have not pre-registered must register at that time. Registration is open from 10:00 am – 4:00 pm Thursday, June 3; from 8:00 am – 4:00 pm Friday, June 4 and Saturday, June 5; and from 8:00 am – 11:00 am Sunday, June 6.
### Thursday, June 3, 2010

<table>
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<tr>
<td>10:00 am - 4:00 pm</td>
<td>Registration</td>
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<tr>
<td>12:00 pm - 4:00 pm</td>
<td>Book Exhibit</td>
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| 1:30 pm - 3:00 pm | Rethinking the Tariff: New Insights into the Origins of American Statecraft  
                           Media and Voter Mobilization in the 1972 Election  
                           The Policies and Practices of Freedom of Expression  
                           Gary Hess Panel: "The Harder You Work, the Harder it is to Surrender"  
                           Regulation Revisited  
                           Book Forum—Feminism: The Changing Status of Women in the Age of Eisenhower |
| 3:15 pm - 4:45 pm | Book Forum—Zelizer's *Arsenals of Democracy*  
                           Ellis Hawley Panel: Citizens, Politics and Policy  
                           State Abortion Politics and Policy  
                           Hollywood and Politics  
                           Organized Women: Postwar Feminism in Foreign and Domestic Policy Debates  
                           The Courts and Policy |
| 5:00 pm - 6:15 pm | PLENARY: The Media and Politics—Roundtable                          |

### Friday, June 4, 2010

<table>
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<tr>
<td>8:00 am - 4:00 pm</td>
<td>Registration and Book Exhibit</td>
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| 8:30 am - 10:00 am | Dimensions of American Liberalism  
                           New Directions in Urban Renewal Scholarship  
                           New Directions in American Political Development  
                           Alcohol and Drug Policy  
                           Examining the Alternatives: Reconsidering the Rise of the Republican Right  
                           Race and Citizenship |
| 10:15 am - 11:45 am | The Conservative Response to Keynes  
                           Disaster Politics and Policy in Historical Perspective  
                           Federal Policing and Administrative Law in Historical Perspective  
                           Ironies of Legal Liberalism: Political Surprises in History  
                           Evolving Notions of Citizenship  
                           Twentieth Century Media Policy in the United States |
| 12:00 pm - 1:15 pm | Lunch Break                                                          |
| 1:30 pm - 3:00 pm | The Republican Party in the Postwar South  
                           Policy and the Social Sciences  
                           Congress and Fiscal Policy in Twentieth-Century America  
                           Children and U.S. Public Policy  
                           These United States  
                           Book Forum—Baum's *Brown in Baltimore: School Desegregation and the Limits of Liberalism* |
| 3:15 pm - 4:45 pm | Roundtable—Governing Out of Sight: An Enduring Pattern of American Political Development  
                           American Highway Politics: The Post Interstate Era  
                           Race, Violence, and Liberal Policy in Post-World War II Urban America  
                           Against the Right: Recovering the History of Moderate Republicanism  
                           Shifts in U.S. Economic Policy  
                           Policy in the 18th and 19th Centuries |
Policy History Conference

2010

5:00 pm - 6:15 pm  PLENARY: American Economic Crises in Historical Perspective
6:30 pm - 8:30 pm  RECEPTION: Sponsored by the Miller Center & Frank Batten School – Legislative Room

Saturday, June 5, 2010

8:00 am - 4:00 pm  Registration and Book Exhibit
8:30 am - 10:00 am  Constructing American Capitalism
                    Roundtable—In Search of Progressivism in the 21st Century
                    Jane De Hart Panel: New Perspectives on Gender, Sexuality, and Citizenship
                    Faith and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Cold War: The Case of Catholics
                    Roundtable—Policy History in the Classroom
                    American Party Development
10:15 am - 11:45 am  Law, Society, and American Political Development in the Nineteenth Century
                    Crises of the 1970s
                    Miller Center Panel: Social Science and Public Policy in the Post-1945 U.S.
                    International Development Ideas and Institutions: The World Bank in Historical Perspective
                    Point Four and the Weapons of Development
12:00 pm - 1:00 pm  Award Luncheon – Governor’s Ballroom
1:30 pm - 3:00 pm  Transitions in US Political Economy
                    That ‘70s Journalism: Managing and Mis-managing Image in the 1970s
                    Human Rights and Policy History
                    The US in the World: The Material Basis of Power
                    New Frontiers in International Policy
                    Presidents and Politics
3:15 pm - 4:45 pm  Roundtable—Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.’s Legacy for Policy History
                    The Therapeutic State
                    Disaster Relief in Historical Perspective
                    Policy Knowledge, Labels, and Gendering
                    Exporting Policy History: Capitalism and Internationalism
                    U.S. Economic Experts & Twentieth-Century Global Fiscal Reform
5:00 pm - 6:15 pm  PLENARY: A State of War – US Military History as Policy History – Roundtable

Sunday, June 6, 2010

8:00 am - 11:00 am  Registration and Book Exhibit
8:30 am - 10:00 am  The New Right Revisited
                    Federal Institutions in Wartime: A Reassessment
                    Framing Race and Social Justice: The Press and the Politics of Civil Rights
                    Grassroots Bureaucracy: Activists, Bureaucrats, and the State
10:15 am - 11:45 am  ERA and the Growth of Women’s Political Activism in the 1970s
                    Politics, Policy, and the Environment
                    Engaging Race, Embracing Peace: Policy and Praxis in Obama’s America
                    Perspectives of 20th Century Migration Policy
Thursday, June 3
1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

**Congressional**
Rethinking the Tariff: New Insights into the Origins of American Statecraft

Chair/Commentator:
RICHARD BENZEL, Cornell University

STEPHEN MEARDON, Bowdoin College
“Negotiating Free Trade in Theory and Fact: The Doctrine and Diplomacy of Condy Raguet, 1784-1842”

GAUTHAM RAO, Rutgers University/New Jersey Institute of Technology
“Customhouses, Coercion, and Consent: Collecting Taxes in the Early American Republic”

ARIEL RON, University of California, Berkeley
“Developing the Country: Agricultural Reform and Tariff Protection”

**Senate B**
Media and Voter Mobilization in the 1972 Election

Chair/Commentator:
DAVID FARBER, Temple University

KATHRYN BROWNELL, Boston University

MARK NEVIN, University of Virginia

LILY GEISMER, University of Michigan
“Don’t Blame Me, I’m from Massachusetts’: Suburban Liberals and George McGovern’s 1972 Presidential Campaign”

**House A**
The Policies and Practices of Freedom of Expression

Chair/Commentator:
CHARLES W. MCCURDY, University of Virginia

LAURA WITTERN-KELLER, University at Albany, SUNY
“No Help from the First Amendment: The Experience of a Non-citizen Journalist in the Early Cold War Years”

BRIAN HOFFMAN, University of California, San Francisco
“The House Un-American Activities Committee and American Nudism: The Case of Maurice Parmelee”

RICHARD F. HAMM, University at Albany, SUNY
“Free Speech on the Ground”

**Judicial**
Gary Hess Panel: “The Harder You Work, the Harder it is to Surrender”

Chair:
MARIA BALDWIN, Tiffin University

MATTHEW S. YOUNG, Marietta College
“FBI Surveillance of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, 1936-1945”

ALVIN DWAYNE BEGGS, Bowling Green State University
“The Impact of Just Two Senators on the Ability of the President to Wage War in Vietnam”

SARAH THELEN, American University
“Friends on the Outside: The White House and Domestic Support for the Vietnam War”

JOSIP MOCNIK, Southern Adventist University
“Ambassadorial Diplomacy: Laurence Silberman, Lawrence Eagleburger, and U.S.-Yugoslav Relations During the Carter Administration”

Commentator:
WILLIAM THOMAS ALLISON, Georgia Southern University

**House B**
Regulation Revisited

Chair/Commentator:
STEVE THOMAS, Ohio Dominican University

MANSEL BLACKFORD, Ohio State University

ROBERT DENNING, Ohio State University

NOGA MORAG-LEVINE, Michigan State University College of Law
“Civil Law, Common Law, and Precautionary Regulation: Lessons from the Long History of the Alkali Act”

**Senate A**
Book Forum—Feminism: The Changing Status of Women in the Age of Eisenhower: Petigny’s *The Permissive Society*

Chair/Commentator:
BETH BAILEY, Temple University
### Congressional Book Forum—Zelizer’s Arsenals of Democracy

**Chair:**
ROBERT MCMAHON, Ohio State University

REV. WILSON MISCAMBLE C.S.C., University of Notre Dame

JEREMI SURI, University of Wisconsin

FREDRIK LOGEVALL, Cornell University

JULIAN ZELIZER, Princeton University

**Judicial**

**Ellis Hawley Panel: Citizens, Politics and Policy**

**Chair/Commentator:**
WILLIAM R. CHILDS, Ohio State University

DAVID E. HAMILTON, University of Kentucky

"New Deal Agriculture, New Deal Modernism"

MARK LEFF, University of Illinois

"FDR, Obama, and the Politics of Sacrifice"

PETER Z. GROSSMAN, Butler University

"Extravagant Excess in the Halls of Hubris: Nuclear Fusion Policy and the MFEE"

LESLIE WAGGENER, University of Wyoming

"Battling Project Plowshare in the Rocky Mountains"

### House A

**Hollywood and Politics**

**Chair/Commentator:**
GREGORY SCHNEIDER, Emporia State University

AMY WALLHERMFCHTEL, Saint Louis University

"Cecil B. DeMille and the Right to Work"

EMILIE RAYMOND, Virginia Commonwealth University

"The Golden Boy of the Civil Rights Movement"

ROBERT L. FLEEGLER, University of Mississippi

"The Liberalism of 24"

### Senate B

**Organized Women: Postwar Feminism in Foreign and Domestic Policy Debates**

**Chair/Commentator:**
KATHLEEN A. LAUGHLIN, Metropolitan State University

JANET WEAVER, Iowa Women's Archives, University of Iowa Libraries

"Barrio Women: Community and Coalition in the Heartland"

JANE BERGER, Cornell University

"A Lot Closer To What It Ought To Be': Black Women and Public Sector Employment in Baltimore, 1950-1970"

JULIE GALLAGHER, Pennsylvania State University, Brandywine

"The National Council of Negro Women, Human Rights, and the Cold War"

### Senate A

**The Courts and Policy**

**Chair/Commentator:** JOANNA L. GRISINGER, Clemson University

DOUGLAS SMITH, Huntington Library

"Amicus Curiae: The Department of Justice and the Reapportionment Revolution of the 1960s"

CHRISTOPHER HICKMAN, George Washington University

"The Miranda Roadshow: Birch Bayh's Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments Holds Court on the Warren Court"

KEVIN TRISKEETT, Cornell Institute for Public Affairs

"Jurisprudence and United States Patent Policy"
Thursday, June 3
Plenary Session
5:00 p.m. to 6:15 p.m.

Congressional
The Media and Politics—Roundtable

RICHARD R. JOHN, Columbia University School of Journalism

PAUL STARR, Princeton University

JOE HALLETT, Senior Editor, The Columbus Dispatch

Friday, June 4
8:30 a.m. to 10:00 a.m.

Senate B
Dimensions of American Liberalism

Chair/Commentator:
KATHLEEN FRYDL, University of California, Berkeley

DAVID CIEPLEY, University of Denver
"Making Corporations Private: Citizens United and Corporate Constitutional Rights"

JAMES E. BLOCK, DePaul University
"American Liberalism’s (Failed) Romance with Louis Hartz: Rethinking American Political Development"

DEAN KOTLOWSKI, Salisbury University
"The First Cold War Liberal? Paul V. McNutt and the Idea of Security in the 1930s and 1940s"

House A
New Directions in Urban Renewal Scholarship

Chair/Commentator:
MARK ROSE, Florida Atlantic University

ANDREA THABET, University of California, Santa Barbara
"Cultural Construction as Urban Renewal: The Los Angeles Music Center"

GUIAN A. MCKEE, University of Virginia
"Health Care Policy as Urban Policy: Urban Renewal and Hospital Expansion"

DEREK HYRA, Virginia Tech
"Conceptualizing the 'New' Urban Renewal: Comparing the Past to the Present"

Congressional
New Directions in American Political Development

Chair:
RICHARD BENSEL, Cornell University

JOSEPH LOWNDES, University of Oregon
"Barack Obama, the Body Politic, and the Contest over American National Identity"

KATHLEEN SULLIVAN, Ohio University and PATRICIA STRACH, Harvard University
"Garbage and Governance"

WILLIAM J. ADLER, CUNY Graduate Center
"Bringing the Military (Back?) In"

JAMES WALLNER, Catholic University of America
"Partisan Restraint: American Political Development and the Consequences for Policy in the Modern United States Senate"

Commentator:
LAURA JENSEN, Virginia Tech

Senate A
Alcohol and Drug Policy

Chair/Commentator:
DAVID COURTWRIGHT, University of North Florida

CAROLINE ACKER, Carnegie Mellon University
"The Challenge of Harm Reduction to American Drug Policy"

PHILLIP W. MAGNESS, American University
"Tariffs, Excises, and the Volstead Act: The Political Economy of Prohibition"

JOY NEWMAN, University at Albany, SUNY
"The Road to '84: The Creation of the National Minimum Drinking Age Act"

JASON S. PLUME, Syracuse University
"Drug War Trenches Deepen: Executively Driven Path Dependency of the Reagan and Bush Administration"

Judicial
Examining the Alternatives: Reconsidering the Rise of the Republican Right

Chair/Commentator:
PAULA BAKER, Ohio State University

TIMOTHY N. THURBER, Virginia Commonwealth University
"Whither the GOP in the Wake of Goldwater? Ray Bliss, the RNC, and the Role of Race and the South, 1965-1968"
LEAH M. WRIGHT, Wesleyan University
“"Progressive Conservatism’: Edward Brooke, the Republican Party, and the Midterm Elections of 1966”

MARSHA E. BARRETT, Rutgers University

House B
Race and Citizenship

Chair:
PAUL THOMPSON, North Greenville University
PAUL THOMPSON, “African American Clergy and Temperance in Fulton County Georgia, 1885-1887”

HEATHER BRYSON, University of Florida

JASON KRUPAR, University of Cincinnati
“The Struggle between Community Divestiture and Race in the Jim Crowed Bomb Complex”

DENNIS DESLIPPE, Franklin and Marshall College
‘Positive action programs without quota systems’: Color-Blind Liberals and the Opposition to Higher Education Affirmative Action”

Commentator:
ALAN PETIGNY, University of Florida

Friday, June 4
10:15 a.m. to 11:45 a.m.

Congressional
The Conservative Response to Keynes

Chair/Commentator:
ROBERT M. COLLINS, University of Missouri
PAUL C. MILAZZO, Ohio University
“Henry Hazlitt and the Roots of Modern Conservatism”

BRIAN DOMITROVIC, Sam Houston State University
“The JFK Tax Cuts: The Evidence for Keynesianism is Thin”

JENNIFER BURNS, University of Virginia
“Ayn Rand and the Meaning of Money”

Senate B
Disaster Politics and Policy in Historical Perspective

Chair/Commentator:
GARETH DAVIES, Oxford University
THOMAS BIRKLAND, North Carolina State University
“Plus ça change: Learning, Forgetting, and the History of U.S. Disaster Policy”

MICHELE LANDIS DAUBER, Stanford University School of Law
“The Real Third Rail of American Politics”

ANDREW LAKOFF, University of California, San Diego and STEPHEN COLLIER, The New School
“The Rise of the Emergency State: From Civil Defense to Disaster Management”

SCOTT G. KNOWLES, Drexel University
“Experts in Disaster: Disaster Researchers and their Policy Influence Since the 1970s”

PATRICK S. ROBERTS, Virginia Tech
“FEMA from the Ashes: Disaster Policy and Organizations after Civil Defense”

House A
Federal Policing and Administrative Law in Historical Perspective

Chair/Commentator:
BRUCE SCHULMAN, Boston University
JENNIFER LUFF, Georgetown University
“J. Edgar Hoover, Civil Libertarian: The Fish Committee and the FBI”

JOANNA L. GRISINGER, Clemson University
“Implementing the Administrative Procedure Act: The Battle over the Hearing Examiners”

MARIA PONOMARENKO, Stanford University
“Forging a National Police Force: Law Enforcement Cooperation under Hoover’s FBI”

DAVID BEITO, University of Alabama
“Leftwing McCarthyism and the Buchanan Committee Lobbying Investigation”
Judicial
Ironies of Legal Liberalism: Political Surprises in the Histories of Welfare, Civil Rights, and Feminism

Chair:
MATTHEW D. LASSITER, University of Michigan

KAREN M. TANI, University of Pennsylvania Law School
“Legal Rights and Human Needs: The Contested Emergence of Rights-Based Liberalism in Public Assistance Administration”

SOPHIA Z. LEE, University of Pennsylvania Law School

DEBORAH DINNER, Harvard Law School
“The Costs of Life: Feminism, Choice, and the Debate over Pregnancy”

HIROSHI OKAYAMA, Keio University

Commentator:
GRETCHEN RITTER, University of Texas

House B
Evolving Notions of Citizenship

Chair/Commentator:
WILLIAM LINK, University of Florida

DARYL MICHAEL SCOTT, Howard University
“White Supremacy and the Question of Black Citizenship in the Post-Emancipation South”

MATTHEW GALLMAN, University of Florida
“The Civil War, Conscription and Citizenship”

JAMES T. SPARROW, University of Chicago
“World War II and New Conceptions of Citizenship”

Senate A
Twentieth Century Media Policy in the United States

Chair/Commentator:
JAMES L. BAUGHMAN, University of Wisconsin

RICHARD R. JOHN, Columbia University
“Universal Service: The Forgotten Origins of a Contested Civic Ideal”

ROBERT B. HORWITZ, University of California, San Diego
“The Recent History of Media Concentration Policy”

MICHAEL STAMM, Michigan State University

“The Owner of the Printing Press as an Agent of Change in Media Policy”

FRANKIE CLOGSTON, Johns Hopkins University
“The Repeal of the Fairness Doctrine: Ideational Conflict, Institutional Complexity and Unintended Consequences”

Friday, June 4
1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

Judicial
The Republican Party in the Postwar South

Chair/Commentator:
WILLIAM RORABAUGH, University of Washington

DAVID L. STEBENNE, Ohio State University
“Moderate Republicanism in the Postwar South, 1945-1964”

DANIEL K. WILLIAMS, University of West Georgia
“God, Dixie, and the GOP: Republican Partisanship among Southern Evangelicals from Hoover to Nixon”

RICHARD PRIMUTH, University of West Georgia
“The Reagan Campaign’s Use of Race in the 1976 and 1980 Elections”

Congressional
Policy and the Social Sciences

Chair/Commentator:
MARY O. FURNER, University of California, Santa Barbara

IAN HART, University of Oxford
“The Politics of Measuring Progress: Social Reporting in the Hoover and Johnson Administrations”

ANGUS BURGIN, American Academy of Arts and Sciences
“The Policy Implications of Milton Friedman’s Positive Economics”

House A
Congress and Fiscal Policy in Twentieth-Century America

Chair:
KAREN M. HULT, Virginia Tech

MATTHEW C. SHERMAN, Institute for Political History
“Congressional Opposition to Secret Service Appropriations in the Second Administration of Theodore Roosevelt”

NANCY BECK YOUNG, University of Houston
“‘Sticking his Fingers into this Tax Bill’: Congress, the President, and World War II Fiscal Policy”
CHAD KINSELLA, University of Cincinnati
"The Unfunded Mandates Reform Act: A Case Study in Policy-Making"

Commentator:
IWAN MORGAN, University of London

House B
Children and U.S. Public Policy

Chair/Commentator:
EILEEN BORIS, University of California, Santa Barbara

KAREN BALCOM, McMaster University
"The Public Policy of Child Adoption and the Federal-State Division of Powers"

CATHERINE RYMPH, University of Missouri
"Welfare Children: Foster Family Care and ADC Reform in the 1960s"

ETHAN SRIBNICK, Institute for Children and Poverty
"The Strange and Strained Relationship between Child Welfare and Services to Homeless Families"

TINA D. PIERCE, Denison University
"Calming the Waters: A Case Study of the Affects of the Policy Governance Model on Community Engagement in the Columbus City School District"

Senate B
These United States

Chair:
MCGEE YOUNG, Marquette University

STEPHEN B. ADAMS, Salisbury University
"University as Monopolist, College as Entrepreneur: Engineering as Catalyst for California’s Master Plan"

LOREN GATCH, University of Central Oklahoma
"State-Level Deposit Guaranty Programs as an Example of Policy Diffusion, 1907-1930"

SHANE LANDRUM, Brandeis University
"Registering Race, Policing Citizenship: Delayed Birth Registration and the Virginia Racial Integrity Act, 1924-1975"

CHRISTOPHER SHAW, University of California, Berkeley
"The Branch Banking Debate of the 1920s"

FIONA GREENLAND and ANTHONY CHEN, University of Michigan, and LISA M. STULBERG, New York University
"The Origins of Affirmative Action in Undergraduate Admissions at Cornell and the University of Michigan"

Comment: Audience

Senate A
Book Forum—Baum’s Brown in Baltimore: School Desegregation and the Limits of Liberalism

Chair:
ALAN PETIGNY, University of Florida

DAVID BEITO, University of Alabama

JONATHAN BEAN, Southern Illinois University

HOWELL BAUM, University of Maryland

Friday, June 4
3:15 p.m. to 4:45 p.m.

Congressional Roundtable—Governing Out of Sight: An Enduring Pattern of American Political Development

Chair:
BRIAN BALOGH, University of Virginia

BRUCE SCHULMAN, Boston University

JULIAN ZELIZER, Princeton University

CHRISTOPHER LOSS, Vanderbilt University

Judicial
American Highway Politics: The Post Interstate Era

Chair:
DAVID STEBENNE, Ohio State University

MICHAEL FEIN, Johnson and Wales University
"20-20 Hindsight: Public Oversight, Local Control and Highway Privatization since the ‘Big Dig,’ 1970-2009"

LOUISE DYBLE, Michigan Technological University
"Toll Roads in the Neoliberal Age: The Chicago Skyway and the Pennsylvania Turnpike"

RAY MOHL, University of Alabama, Birmingham
"Daniel Moynihan Would Be Pleased: Twenty-first Century Expressway Teardowns"

Commentator:
MARK ROSE, Florida Atlantic University
House A
Race, Violence, and Liberal Policy in Post-World War II Urban America

Chair: ROBERT CHASE, Case Western Reserve University

KHALIL MUHAMMAD, Indiana University
“The Road Not Taken: African American Liberalism and Urban Policy, 1935-1965”

WILL COOLEY, Walsh University

CHRISTOPHER AGEE, University of Colorado, Denver
“Leader of the Pack: San Francisco Gang Leaders, City Hall Politicians, and a Liberal Model for the Law-and-Order Era”

Commentator: MICHAEL FLAMM, Ohio Wesleyan University

House B
Against the Right: Recovering the History of Moderate Republicanism

Chair: JASON SCOTT SMITH, University of New Mexico

DAVID KOISTINEN, William Paterson University of New Jersey
“The Interstate Conference on Labor Compacts: A Liberal Republican Reform Initiative of the New Deal Era”

JUSTIN COFFEY, Quincy University
“Back to the Center: The Republican Party and the 1966 Elections”

GEOFF KABASERVICE, Independent
“Republican Soul Brothers: GOP Outreach to African Americans, 1964-70”

Commentator: GUIAN MCKEE, Miller Center, University of Virginia

Senate A
Policy in the 18th and 19th Centuries

Chair: BEVERLY GAGE, Yale University

ZACHARY M. SCHRAG, George Mason University
“No Passive Obedience: Militia Loyalties and Civil Disorder in Early America, 1747-1812”

NICOLAS BARREYRE, University of Paris-Ouest Nanterre
“The Politics of Economic Crises: The Case of 1873”

ROMAIN HURET, University of Lyon
“Petitioning against the Fiscal State (1861-1913): Taxpayers, petitions and the quest for a fair taxation from the Civil War to the Progressive Era”

ANN LARABEE, Michigan State University
“Advocacy and Dynamite: Terrorism Policies in the Age of Anarchy and Beyond”

JOHN M. HUFFMAN, Harvard University
“Identifying the Citizenry and Constructing Sovereignty Abroad During the American Revolution”

Comment: Audience

Friday, June 4
Plenary Session
5:00 p.m. to 6:15 p.m.

Congressional
American Economic Crises in Historical Perspective

Chair: DAVID ROBERTSON, University of Missouri, St. Louis

MICHAE LBERNST EIN, Tulane University
ROBERT M. COLLINS, University of Missouri


G. MARK HENDRICKSON, University of California, San Diego
“A New Economic System: Answering the Labor Question in the New Era”

ELIZABETH TANDY SHERMER, Claremont McKenna College
“Creating the Sunbelt: Phoenix Boosters, the Business Climate, and the Erosion of the New Deal Order”

Comment: Audience
MONICA PRASAD, Northwestern University
DAVID M. HART, George Mason University

Saturday, June 5
8:30 a.m. to 10:00 a.m.

Senate B
Constructing American Capitalism

Chair:
DAVID ROBERTSON, University of Missouri, St. Louis
ERIC LOMAZOFF, Harvard University
“‘The Great Regulating Wheel’: The Bank of the United States as an Instrument of Banking Industry Oversight, 1791-1811”
PAULA GAJEWSKI, Vanderbilt University
“‘Time for Decisions’: Pension Reform in the 1970s”
JOHN FARRIS, Georgia Perimeter College
CHRISTY CHAPIN, University of Virginia
“Health Care, Medicare, and the Empowerment of Insurance Companies”
Commentator:
JONATHAN RUSS, University of Delaware

House A
Roundtable—In Search of Progressivism in the 21st Century: Perspectives from History, Policy, and Practice

Chair:
ALICE O’CONNOR, University of California, Santa Barbara
MARY FURNER, University of California, Santa Barbara
“Toward a Progressive Political Narrative”
JOHN HALPIN, Center for American Progress
“Ideas, Values, and the Role of History in the Progressive Revival”
WENDY PATTON, Policy Matters Ohio
“Building a Progressive Economy: A View from the States”
JOSE D. VILLALOBOS, University of Texas, El Paso, and JUSTIN S. VAUGHN, Cleveland State University
“Czars in the White House: Considering Barack Obama’s Usage of ‘Czars’ in Historical Context”

Comment: Audience

Congressional
Jane De Hart Panel: New Perspectives on Gender, Sexuality, and Citizenship

Chair/Commentator:
EILEEN BORIS, University of California, Santa Barbara
JENNIFER J. ARMIGER, University of Delaware, Rowan University
“Social Justice and An Emerging Women’s Economic Citizenship”
STEPHANIE GILMORE, Dickinson College
“Enabling Social Citizenship through Activating Political Citizenship: The Case of NOW”
CLAIRED BOND POTTER, Wesleyan University
“Paths to Political Citizenship: GLBT and Feminist Activism Compared”

Senate A
Faith and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Cold War: The Case of Catholics

Chair/Commentator:
ROY DOMENICO, University of Scranton
KATHLEEN L. RILEY, Ohio Dominican University
“American Catholicism’s Anticommunist Crusade: The Piety and Patriotism of Bishop Fulton Sheen”
REV. WILSON D. MISCAMBLE C.S.C., University of Notre Dame
THOMAS J. CARTY, Springfield College
“Parallel Emperors? Ronald Reagan, Pope John Paul II, and the End of the Cold War”

House B
Roundtable—Policy History in the Classroom

Chair:
SHEILA JONES, Broward College
LIETTE GIDLOW, Wayne State University
“Teaching Policy History under the Radar”
SHEILA JONES, Broward College
“Policy History for Undergraduates”
ANDREW M. SCHOCKET, Bowling Green State University
“Learning by Doing”
Comments: Audience
**Judicial**

**American Party Development**

Chair:
GREGORY SCHNEIDER, Emporia State University

SHAMIRA GELBMAN, Illinois State University and JESSE RHODES, University of Massachusetts, Amherst


DANIEL DISALVO, City College of New York, CUNY

“Party Competition and Voter Turnout: A New Measure”

ALAN LESSOFF, Illinois State University and JAMES CONNOLLY, Ball State University

“From Political Insult to Political Theory: Machine Politics and the Origins of Pluralism”

Commentator:
JOSEPH E. LOWNDES, University of Oregon

**Saturday, June 5**

**10:15 a.m. to 11:45 a.m.**

**Senate B**

**Law, Society, and American Political Development in the Nineteenth Century**

Chair:
RICHARD BENSEL, Cornell University

EMILY ZACKIN, Princeton University


SEAN BOUTIN, Cornell University

“Ideas about Freedom: Tracing Norm Diffusion in 18th and 19th Century Declarations of Rights”

KEN KERSCH and MATTHEW KAREMBELAS, Boston College

“The Effect of Prohibition on the Development of Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century International Law”

Commentator:
MARK GRABER, University of Maryland

**Congressional**

**Crises of the 1970s**

Chair/Commentator:
EDWARD BERKOWITZ, George Washington University

BEVERLY GAGE, Yale University

“Rethinking Watergate: J. Edgar Hoover, Richard Nixon, and the Intelligence Crisis of the 1970s”

BEN WATERHOUSE, University of North Carolina

“Nixon’s Wage-Price Controls and the Politics of Inflation”

KIM PHILLIPS-FEIN, New York University

“The Language of Crisis: New York City in the 1970s”

**Judicial**

**Miller Center Panel: Social Science and Public Policy in the Post-1945 U.S.**

Chair:
DARYL SCOTT, Howard University

JOY ROHDE, University of Michigan

“From Cold War Liberalism to Beltway Banditry: How the Anti-War Movement Expanded the Pentagon’s ‘Cerebral Reserve’”

CHRISTOPHER LOSS, Vanderbilt University

“From Pluralism to Diversity in the Postwar University”

ANDREW MORRIS, Union College

“‘Local Experts’ and Therapeutic Policy”

Commentator:
WADE PICKRE, Ryerson University

**House B**

**International Development Ideas and Institutions: The World Bank in Historical Perspective**

Chair/Commentator:
AMY SAYWARD, Middle Tennessee State University

MICHELE ALACEVICH, Columbia University

“Shaping Development Policies: The Rise and Fall of Economists at the World Bank in the Early 1950s”

KATHRYN LAVELLE, Case Western Reserve University

“Friends or Foes: The U.S. Congress and the World Bank”

PATRICK SHARMA, University of California, Los Angeles


**House A**

**Point Four and the Weapons of Development**

Chair:
JESSICA WANG, University of British Columbia

RICHARD GARLITZ, University of Tennessee, Martin

“American Universities and Rural Development in Turkey and Iran: ‘Low Modernization’ vs. Institution Building”
THOMAS ROBERTSON, Worcester Polytechnic Institute

AMANDA KAY MCVETY, Miami University
“The Rinderpest Campaign”

Commentator:
NICK CULLATHER, Indiana University

Senate A
Welfare

Chair:
STEVE THOMAS, Ohio Dominican University

MARCOS F. SOLER, John Jay College, CUNY

ALEXANDER HERTEL-FERNANDEZ, Economic Policy Institute and George Washington University
"Conservative Drift in Crisis? The Rise of a Progressive Dynamic in American Social Insurance Reform”

BRIAN KENNEDY, Ohio State University
“Catholics and the Child Labor Amendment, Massachusetts 1924-1938”

MARC GOLDWEIN, Institute for Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley
“Quest for a Free Lunch: Social Security, Health Care, and the Paradigm of Expansionary Retrenchment”

Comment: Audience

Saturday, June 5
1:30 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.

Congressional
Transitions in US Political Economy

Chair:
WILLIAM RORABAUGH, University of Washington

AXEL R. SCHÄFER, Keele University, UK

JONATHAN BELL, Reading University, UK
“The making of Propositions 6 and 13: Bay Area politics and the dynamics of cultural change in the 1970s”

IWAN MORGAN, University of London
“The Volcker Regime at the Fed: The Implications for the Liberal Political Economy”

ELIZABETH SANDERS, Cornell University
“Bryan’s Ghost: Congress and the Politics of Monetary Policy”

Comment: Audience

House A
That ‘70s Journalism: Managing and Mis-managing Image in the 1970s

Chair/Commentator:
DONALD RITCHIE, Senate Historical Office

WILLIAM P. HUSTWITT, University of Mississippi
“How Jane Became an Ignorant Slut and James J. Kilpatrick a Household Name”

JAMES L. BAUGHMAN, University of Wisconsin, Madison
“There Were Two Gerald Fords: John Hersey and Richard Reeves Profile a President”

House B
Human Rights and Policy History

Chair:
WILLIAM NOVAK, University of Michigan Law School

CARL BON TEMPO, University at Albany
“Human Rights and the 1976 Republican National Convention”

STEPHEN PORTER, University of Cincinnati
“Human Rights During the Cold War: Did the U.S. Really Abandon Them?”

PATRICK W. KELLY, University of Chicago
“When the People Awake’: The Pinochet Junta, the Transnational Solidarity Movement, and the Human Rights Moment of the 1970s”

Commentator:
THOMAS F. JACKSON, University of North Carolina, Greensboro
Judicial
The U.S. in the World: The Material Basis of Power

Chair/Commentator:
JOHN MCNEILL, Georgetown University
PETER A. SHULMAN, Case Western Reserve University
"Coal, Slaves, and Constructing the 19th Century U.S. Empire"

CHRISTOPHER JONES, Harvard University
"Governing Energy Systems: Anthracite Canal Policies in Historical Perspective"

MEG JACOBS, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
"From the Cold War to the Gulf War: The US in the Middle East"

Senate B
New Frontiers in International Policy

Chair:
CHRISTOPHER OTTER, Ohio State University
CIARA MEEHAN, University College Dublin
"Towards a Just Society: Policy Formulation in Ireland, 1964-1977"

FRIEDA FUCHS, Oberlin College
"The Legal Foundations of Bureaucratic Autonomy: The Nineteenth-Century British Factory Inspectorate in Comparative Perspective"

MIROSLAV SVIRCEVIC, Institute for Balkan Studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts
"Local Self-Government in the Programme of the People’s Radical Party of Serbia (1881-1914) and Radical-Democratic Party of Bulgaria (1895-1914)"

JENNIFER L. ERKULWATER, University of Richmond
"Using Education Policy to Explore the Limits of Policy Feedback: A Comparison of Education Reform Efforts in the United States, Chile, and Uruguay"

ERIK LAKOMAA, Stockholm School of Economics
"The Municipal Takeover of the School System--a study of transfers of responsibility within the public sector"

Comment: Audience

Senate A
Presidents and Politics

Chair:
ROBERT M. COLLINS, University of Missouri
WILLIAM B. PIGGOT, University of Washington


DARYL A. CARTER, East Tennessee State University
"President Clinton, African Americans, and the Politics of Race and Class"

JULIA AZARI, Marquette University
"Political Change and Presidential Mandate"

JAMES A. DAVIS, Oklahoma State University
"Presidential Selection Processes and Role Emphasis: President Lyndon Baines Johnson and Barack Obama"

Comment: Audience

Saturday, June 5
3:15 p.m. to 4:45 p.m.

Congressional
Roundtable—Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.’s Legacy for Policy History

Chair:
EDWARD BERKOWITZ, George Washington University
ELLIS HAWLEY, University of Iowa
VINCENT CANNATO, University of Massachusetts, Boston
BEVERLY GAGE, Yale University

Senate A
The Therapeutic State

Chair:
JAMES MOHR, University of Oregon
IAN DOWBIGGIN, University of Prince Edward Island
"Emily Mudd, Marriage Counseling, and the Rise of the Therapeutic State in Modern America"

ANN CARMICHAEL, Indiana University
"Between Policy and Pandemic: The Early Modern State’s Plague Personnel"

STEPHEN RANDOLL, Saint Louis University
"The Politics of Public Health in Chicago: 1850-1930"

SANDRA J. JOHNSON, Fairfield University
"Mental Health Medical Elites: Yesterday and Today"

Comment: Audience
Judicial
Disaster Relief in Historical Perspective

Chair/Commentator:
JOHN BURNHAM, Ohio State University

GARETH DAVIES, University of Oxford
“The Military Origins of Federal Disaster Relief, 1865-1906”

THOMAS KRAINZ, DePaul University
“Caring for El Paso’s Refugees”

MARIAN MOSER JONES, Virginia Commonwealth University
“On Counting and Not Counting: Death Tolls, Race, and Class in Major U.S. Disasters, from Johnstown to Hurricane Katrina”

ANDREW MORRIS, Union College
“Hurricane Camille and Great Society Disasters”

Senate B
Policy Knowledge, Labels, and Gendering

Chair/Commentator:
MARY O. FURNER, University of California, Santa Barbara

MIKE CZAPLICKI, University of Chicago
“The Politics of State Knowledge During the New Deal”

ANN-MARIE SZYMANSKI, University of Oklahoma
"Child Abuse, Social Science, and the Definition of Social 'Problems'"

SARAH F. ROSE, University of Texas at Arlington
“Gendering U.S. Disability Policy, 1895-1930”

House A
Exporting Policy History: Capitalism and Internationalism

Chair:
ROBERT MCMAHON, Ohio State University

PETER SIMONS, University of Chicago
“Starving the Red Menace: Postwar Famine Relief and Agricultural Internationalism”

JASON SCOTT SMITH, University of New Mexico
“Inventing the Multinational Corporation: The New Deal and Postwar Capitalism”

JOHN-PAUL WILSON, St. John’s University
"Skeletons in the Backyard: CIA Involvement in Nicaraguan Counter-Revolutionary Activities, 1981-1990"

Comment: Audience

House B
U.S. Economic Experts & Twentieth-Century Global Fiscal Reform

Chair:
MONICA PRASAD, Northwestern University

W. ELLIOT BROWNLEE, University of California, Santa Barbara, and RYO MURAMATSU, Keio University
“Tax Reform in Japan and the American Occupation: Who Killed Shoup?”

AJAY K. MEHROTRA, Indiana University
“From Seligman to Shoup: The Early Columbia School of Taxation and Development”

JOSEPH J. THORNDIKE, Tax Analysts
“New Deal Economists and the Origins of the Modern American Fiscal Regime”

Comment:
CAROLYN JONES, University of Iowa College of Law

Saturday, June 5
Plenary Session
5:00 p.m. to 6:15 p.m.

Congressional
A State of War: US Military History as Policy History—Roundtable

BETH BAILEY, Temple University

MARK WILSON, University of North Carolina, Charlotte

PETER MANSOOR, Mershon Center/Ohio State University

STEPHEN ORTIZ, Bowling Green State University

JONATHAN REED WINKLER, Wright State University
Sunday, June 6
8:30 a.m. to 10:00 a.m.

House A
The New Right Revisited

Chair/Commentator:
JULIA AZARI, Marquette University

JASON FRIEDMAN, Michigan State University

SETH OFFENBACH, SUNY, Stony Brook
“Heed the Grassroots: Re-examining the Birth of the New Right”

NEIL J. YOUNG, Princeton University
“We Gather Together? Rethinking the Religious Right”

Senate B
Federal Institutions in Wartime: A Reassessment

Chair/Commentator:
ERIC S. YELLIN, University of Richmond

DARLENE RICHARDSON, US Department of Veteran’s Affairs, Veteran’s Health Administration History Office
“Precursor to VA: The National Homes for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers”

NICOLE PHELPS, University of Vermont
“The U.S. Consular Service as the World’s Consular Service: The Burdens of Neutrality and the Push for Reform, 1914-1924”

NANCY BECK YOUNG, University of Houston
“Why We Fight: Congress and the Politics of World War II”

House B
Framing Race and Social Justice: The Press and the Politics of Civil Rights

Chair:
KENT B. GERMANY, University of South Carolina

KATHY ROBERTS FORDE, University of South Carolina
“Achieving Our Country: Reading Baldwin’s The Fire Next Time Across the Long Civil Rights Movement”

THOMAS F. JACKSON, University of North Carolina, Greensboro
“Policy Discourse and Media Frames in the ‘Negro Revolution’ of 1963”

SID BEDINGFIELD, University of South Carolina

“Beating Down the Fear’: John H. McCray and the Framing of the Civil Rights Struggle in South Carolina, 1940-1948”

Commentator:
DAVID C. CARTER, Auburn University

Senate A
Grassroots Bureaucracy: Activists, Bureaucrats, and the State

Chair/Commentator:
JASON SCOTT SMITH, University of New Mexico

THOMAS F. DORRANCE, University of Illinois, Chicago
“Old Friends and New Deals: Reconfiguring Local Politics in 1930s Chicago”

BENJAMIN L. PETERSON, University of Illinois, Chicago
“Sweeping Up Change: Janitors, Policy, and Public Schools”

ANNE E. PARSONS, University of Illinois, Chicago
“Revolution Behind Bars: Disentangling Prisons and Mental Institutions, 1945-1955”

JOHN T. MCGUIRE, Tompkins-Cortland Community College
"Continuing an Alternative View of Public Administration: Mary van Kleeck and Industrial Citizenship, 1918-1927”

MARK SANTOW, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth
"The Tide Was Running Out': Economic Policy, Community Development and Black Activism in the 1960s"

Sunday, June 6
10:15 a.m. to 11:45 a.m.

Senate B
ERA and the Growth of Women’s Political Activism in the 1970s

Chair/Commentator:
NANCY BAKER, Sam Houston State University

ROBIN MORRIS, Yale University
“Hidden Breadwinners’: The Place of Housewives in Georgia’s ERA Debates, 1972-1982”

KYLE GOYETTE, University of Houston
“The Politics of Rhetoric: Texas, the ERA, and the Defense of Family Values”

Commentator:
DAVID C. CARTER, Auburn University
CYNTHIA STACHECKI, Saint Louis University
“The IWY Houston Conference: From the Periphery into the Mainstream”

House A
Politics, Policy, and the Environment
Chair:
RICHARD MIZELLE, Florida State University

NATALIE SCHUSTER, University of Houston
“The Midwest Flood of 1993 and the Failure of the American State”

MATTHEW CHRISTENSEN, University of Houston
“Open Decision-Making and Disaster Management”

JOSEPH STROMBERG, University of Houston
“In Whose Defense? Superfund and the Longhorn Tin Smelter”

Commentator:
STEPHEN R. PORTER, University of Cincinnati

House B
Engaging Race, Embracing Peace: Policy and Praxis in Obama’s America
Chair:
BABACAR M’BAYE, Kent State University

ZACHERY WILLIAMS, University of Akron
“Peace for a Change: Barack Obama’s Nobel Peace Prize and the Legacy of Black Peacemakers in America”

SENeca VAUGHT, Niagara University
“No Justice, No Peace (Prize): Stan ‘Tookie’ Williams, the 1992 Blood-Crips Truce, and Limits of Racial Peacekeeping”

TARA JABBAAR-GYAMBRAH, Hilbert College
“Mammy No More: Michelle Obama and Prospects for Peace in ‘Post-Racial’ America”

Commentator:
ROBERT SMITH, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Senate A
Perspectives of 20th Century Migration Policy
Chair/Commentator:
THEODORA DRAGOSTINOVA, Ohio State University

VIHBA BHALLA, Bowling Green State University
“Rethinking Skilled Professional Migrations to the U.S.”

TIFFANY A. TRIMMER, Bowling Green State University
“Edge of Empire, Zone of Capitalist Development, Center of Global Migration: How Understandings of Colonial Malaya’s Place in the World Shaped Immigration Policy, 1900-1930s”

REBECCA MANCUSO, Bowling Green State University
“Three Thousand Families: Managing Family Migration from Britain to Canada, 1925-1939”
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