

## James Madison Fellows, 1986

List of participants in Madison Fellows Conference for Project '87 of the AHA and APSA at Indiana University (Social Studies Development Center) from June 23-July 11, 1986:

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## Constitutions and Constitutionalism Is Theme of 1987 Annual Meeting

**Robert Jervis**

Columbia University

Even if 1987 were not the 200th anniversary of the American Constitution, it would be appropriate to make "Constitutions and Constitutionalism" the theme of the annual meeting. The institutional arrangements of government never tell the whole story of politics, power, and government, but it is rare for them to play no role whatsoever. Recent years have seen a resurgence of interest in institutions and while this theme is one of the oldest in political science, there is no reason why it cannot be combined with many of the newer methods, insights, and approaches. Even where formal constitutions are absent, as in most aspects of international politics, some of the same functions may be met in other ways.

Of course the Program Committee does not expect all panels to deal with this theme. Rather, we expect one or two panels within each section to be explicitly concerned with constitutions and constitutionalism although, of course, many of the other panels may also discuss these subjects.

### Panel Organization

A few changes have been made in the organization of sections for the 1987 Program. First, many of the comparative politics sections are based on the kind of country being studied. Second, two new sections have been added to ensure that proper attention is given to the basic and general questions which concern us. One of these sections is on "Great Issues in Politics" and the other "Divergent Approaches to Politics and Political Science." We are under no illusions that the way we organize the Program will have great influence; as it should be, individual research agendas drive our discipline. But we hope that the Program will encourage

and display excellence and intellectual diversity.

Martin Schapiro of the Boalt School of Law, University of California at Berkeley, will serve as a "constitutional advisor" to help section and panel chairs utilize the theme.

### **Policies and Deadlines**

Paper proposals and offers to appear as discussants or panel chairpersons should be submitted as early as possible. The deadline for receipt of submissions is December 1, 1986. Proposals for whole panels are welcome, but persons with suggestions for panels should get their requests in early.

Please write directly to the appropriate section chairperson listed below. More general inquiries or suggestions may be addressed to:

- Robert Jervis, Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University, 420 West 118th Street, New York, NY 10027; (212) 280-4610.
- Norinne Hessman, Convention Coordinator, APSA, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036; (202) 483-2512.

Prospective participants should be aware of two APSA Council policies which will be enforced by the Association: (1) acceptance of a proposal by the Program Committee obligates you to preregister (with appropriate fee) prior to June 1, 1987. If you fail to preregister, you will not be listed in the final program; (2) you may serve on no more than two panels of the official program organized by the Program Committee. However, you may serve as a paper author on only one panel of the official program. This rule applies only to participation on the panels organized by the Program Committee and does not affect participation on panels organized by APSA Organized Sections or "unaffiliated groups."

You may offer to participate in panels in several sections. However, if you receive invitations for more than one paper presentation, you may only accept one of them. You may not appear on more than two official panels, irrespective of the

nature of the participation. If you do apply to several sections, please inform each section chairperson that this is a multiple application. Also, in that case, please notify the other section chairpersons as soon as you have accepted an invitation for participation in another section.

*Section 1. Positive Political Theory.* Barry Weingast, The Hoover Institution, Stanford, CA 94305.

The focus of the Positive Theory panels will be on the *new institutionalism*. The collection of panels will emphasize the broad applicability of these approaches, especially to problems of interest in the more traditional literatures. Two panels will be devoted to constitutional issues. One panel will focus on each of the following topics: congressional institutions; voting and collective choice; bureaucratic politics; analysis of public policymaking; and models of agenda formation.

Other possible panels will probably be drawn from the following areas: the effect of limited information, especially in electoral or committee processes; regulation; applications to international relations; political history; and applications to distributional issues.

*Section 2. Methodology and Epistemology.* John Jackson, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48104; (313) 763-5844.

The development of empirical methods to measure key concepts and relationships, to test and refine theories, to provide the basis for prediction, and to help answer counterfactual, "What if?" questions is a central part of any discipline. The major task facing methodologists in political science is the continued development of measures and methods that specifically address the substantive issues and experience of politics. To further this objective, we have taken as a central theme the presentation of work tying theory and method together. We also want to address methodological issues in all areas of the discipline, as good methodology is neither the province of one subfield nor totally specific to each subfield. We hope

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to have panels on the following topics: (1) Models of rational expectations in international relations; (2) Event analysis; (3) Measures and models of representation; (4) Empirical issues of specific interest to comparative politics; (5) The relationship between psychological theory and survey based measurement; (6) The measurement and study of group behavior and of political institutions; (7) New software. We also welcome additional topics in the area of new methods, with emphasis on how they address substantive problems in the discipline.

*Section 3. Political Thought and Philosophy: Historical Approaches.* Mary Shanley, Department of Political Science, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, NY 12601; (914) 452-7000.

The convention theme of constitutions and constitutionalism speaks directly to major concerns in the history of political philosophy. Political theorists have perennially raised questions about constitution-making and the nature of political regimes. Convention panels might address these issues by examining theorists' reactions to historical examples of the founding of a new regime, or by analyzing various views of the problems of establishing a polity.

Panels will not be limited to the convention theme. Papers may offer new interpretations of the works of major political theorists. Papers may also explore the theoretical insights of writers not always included in the canon of Western political theory, perhaps of Latin American or African writers, feminists like Mary Wollstonecraft, or representatives of racial minorities like W. E. B. DuBois. Reinterpretations of and debates about normative terms in political theory are also welcome.

Serious discussion seems best served by panels which are carefully and clearly focused, rather than those which are larger and more loosely defined. Panels consisting of two papers and one or two discussants tend to stimulate more exchange and audience participation than those with three papers. Proposals for roundtable discussions among scholars (generally those who have previously

written on the topic) are also encouraged. I will make every effort to create interesting panels out of individual paper proposals sent to me. Descriptions of proposed papers should be sufficiently detailed to suggest the construction of coherent panels; it is also helpful if such proposals indicate who else is doing related work.

*Section 4. Political Thought and Philosophy: Analytical and Critical Theory.* Benjamin Barber, Department of Political Science, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08903; (201) 932-9463.

Panels in this section may focus on critical concepts related to constitutions and constitutionalism—with an emphasis on but not limited to the American Constitution. Because the Constitution is a historical document, and because the distinctions between "analytical" and "historical" theory panels is somewhat arbitrary, and in contradiction to the natural intersection of history and analysis, panels can have a historical dimension. Comparative, dialectical, critical and other forms of conceptual analysis are all welcome. Pertinent concepts include (but are not limited to) social contract, consensus, legitimacy, sovereignty, federalism, the separation of powers, rights, higher law, positivism, and of course the two perennials—power and liberty. The chair welcomes other concepts, theorists and focii, and will interpret the "theme" in the broadest possible fashion.

*Section 5. The Practice and Profession of Political Science.* Lee Sigelman, Director, Political Science Programs, National Science Foundation, 1800 G Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20550; (202) 357-7534.

This section encompasses a wide array of issues concerning political science as a profession. Suggestions for panels or roundtables, or for individual papers, will be considered on any of the following general topics: ethical problems in political science; the political science job market; private and public support for political science research; the public service aspects of being a political scientist; scholarly publishing; review proc-

esses; teaching and learning political science; the role of minorities and women in the profession; and emerging trends in the profession. Proposals for empirical analysis are especially sought, but "thought pieces" and position papers are also sought.

*Section 6. Great Issues in Politics.* Jennifer Hochschild, Department of Politics, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ 08544; (609) 452-5634 or 4911.

Unlike most sections, this one will be unified by similar approaches across subfields of political science rather than by different approaches within one subfield. More specifically, two criteria will govern the selection of panels. First, panels should focus on concepts at a fairly high level of generality, traditionally of interest to a variety of political scientists. Examples might include "Justice among Nations," or "The Relationship between Democracy and Elections," or "The Meaning of War in Domestic Politics." Second, panels should address this concept empirically, analytically, and normatively. Each paper may range among modes of analysis, or individual papers may concentrate on one mode, with discussants bringing the strands together. But in the aggregate, the panels should cut across various methods of thinking about their subjects, as well as choosing subjects which cut across specific subfields.

This section is an experiment intended to help bring together fragmented sectors of the discipline. Therefore I welcome any ideas for implementing its two criteria, such as roundtables, discussions of a book, and so on. Proposals for fully formed panels or individual papers are equally appropriate. Please address the criteria for selection specifically in your proposals.

*Section 7. Divergent Approaches to Politics and Political Science.* Stephen Krasner, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305; (415) 497-0676.

"Divergent Approaches to Politics and Political Science" is designed to present a small number of panels which offer conflicting macro-theoretical interpreta-

tions of major issues. Differing approaches to political science as an intellectual pursuit might include discussions of the merits of behavioral versus institutional perspectives with respect to either a specific topical issue (such as the impact of constitutional arrangements on political outcomes), or the development of some area of the discipline such as legislative studies and international conflict, or even American politics and international relations. Panels will also include interpretations from alternative paradigms, such as marxist, pluralist, and statist, of some specific problems such as federal relations within the United States, alternative paths to industrialization, ethnic conflict, or American foreign policy. Potential participants should think in terms of whole panels rather than individual papers since the fundamental objective of this section is to promote interchange among perspectives and people who do not usually confront each other.

*Section 8. Comparative Politics of the Developing Countries.* Robert Bates, Department of Political Science, Duke University, Durham, NC 27706; (919) 684-3508.

Of special interest to this year's program would be proposals for panels on the role of constitutions and constitutional design in developing countries. How have constitutional systems been put in place to regulate social and political conflict? What provisions have been made to assuage the fears of minorities, to control the effects of faction, and to preserve peaceful relations even in the midst of political change? And how successful have these provisions been?

Of related interest would be panels on the role of the legal system. What has been the role of law, lawyers, and the courts in developing countries? How have they functioned in attempts to defend political rights and maintain civil liberties? What role have they played in the "re-democratization" of authoritarian regimes?

In addition to panels devoted to these central themes, proposals would be particularly welcomed for panels devoted to the political economy of development.

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*Section 9. The Comparative Politics of Advanced Industrialized Countries.* T. J. Pempel, Department of Government, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853; (607) 256-4076.

Panels in this section should have as their principal focus one or more problems of domestic politics in countries that are members of the O.E.C.D. Single country and single issue papers are welcomed, but the cumulative focus of panels should be comparative across countries, issues and/or time. Comparisons that use cases from non-O.E.C.D. countries to delimit political characteristics peculiar to the advanced industrials are also encouraged. There are no restrictions on types of data or analytic techniques, but papers and panels that promise theoretical and comparative insights will be encouraged over those whose principal orientation is the presentation of empirical data. Especially welcomed are efforts to integrate comparative politics with other areas such as empirical theory, political economy, international relations, history, or public policy.

In addition to panels dealing with traditional political problems of the advanced industrials, I wish to encourage consideration of some of the recent issues that have arisen in these countries, including for example, terrorism, the Third World debt crisis, industrial restructuring, fiscal reform or single issue movements. In addition, I would welcome papers or panels which seek to analyze broad historical changes in political relationships within the advanced industrial countries, such as those among different economically based interests, among elected and non-elected officials, or among different types of political issues.

One or two panels will deal with this year's convention theme, "Constitutions and Constitutionalism." Beyond the more typical constitutional issues, possible topics might include comparative analysis of the ways in which constitutions have or have not shaped political behavior, the role of constitutional change in regime change, the domestication of constitutions imposed by foreign powers and the reconceptualization of constitutional relations in areas such as electoral laws, administrative reform,

and relations among levels of government.

I encourage inquiries from possible panel organizers, paper givers and discussants. Workshops and roundtables will be considered. Anyone whose topic might overlap with other sections is encouraged to submit a proposal to all relevant section heads, so long as all section heads are kept informed of such multiple submissions.

*Section 10. Comparative Politics of Communist Countries.* Donna Bahry, Department of Politics, New York University, 25 Waverly Place, New York, NY 10012; (212) 598-3275.

Given the varied political organizations, levels of economic development, and social and ethnic makeup of communist societies, panels in this section will include a broad range of topics. Proposals are invited on any aspect of political life in communist systems.

Special consideration will be given to panels and papers that emphasize cross-national comparisons, or that center on linkages among the political, the economic and the social, such as: (1) the political costs and consequences of economic reform—including the impact on political institutions, on the policy process, on consumers or on social classes; (2) the structure of regime-society relations—including strategies for managing class or ethnic conflicts or for mobilizing the citizenry, and their effects; (3) the uses and impact of legal norms and constitutions (the theme of this year's program) and the role of opposition—including the significance of changing constitutional provisions, of alternate strategies for social control, and of dissent.

*Section 11. Power and Change Within Nations.* Gail Lapidus, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720; (415) 642-6467.

The question of power and change in countries cuts across the common categories established by geography and type of regime, and so the panels in this section should have this characteristic as well. Although power is the theme of the 1986 convention, not the 1987 meet-

ing, the topic is still central to politics and political science. How it is acquired and used, how its nature changes over time and different circumstances, how we understand and measure it, all need further consideration. Change is similarly central to the study of politics, and occurs in different ways in different kinds of systems. It presents challenges and opportunities to members of the general public, elites, and political scientists alike. Theoretical and empirical studies, both of specific cases and of larger classes, are needed.

### *Section 12. Politics and Economics.*

Andrei Markovits, Department of Political Science, 232 Bay State Road, Boston University, Boston, MA 02215; (617) 353-2540.

In trying to address the major theme of the convention ("Constitutions and Constitutionalism") I would be particularly interested in receiving proposals for panels and papers which focus on the interaction of politics and economics on the following levels:

First, I would welcome participation in what I would call the political economy of the constitutional order. Specifically, I would be interested in seeing comparative analyses of economic arrangements and preferences of economic ordering as articulated in the constitutions of key nation states. Papers in this cluster should analyze the civic, political and economic codifications provided by the constitutional order in various countries. Are such concepts as "free market," "social market economy" or "planned economy" constitutionally stipulated and legitimated? If so, what were the political conflicts leading to the respective constitutional arrangements and how have their ramifications been institutionalized over the years? What role do these economic arrangements in the country's constitution play in contemporary politics?

Second, I would like to see participation in what one could call the political economy of nation-state development. Of special interest would be analyses of the different sequences of national development and the economy in advanced industrial societies on the one hand and

Third World countries on the other. I would encourage comparative studies on topics such as decolonization (the "first new nation" syndrome revisited?), small vs. large states, the role of bureaucracies in the politics of national economic development, and the formations of new social and political identities—such as classes and ethnic groups among others—in the course of this process.

Third, under the rubric of what one could term internationalization, panels and papers should address the politics of economics beyond the conventional boundaries of the nation state. Here I would like to see scholars address themselves both theoretically and empirically to topics such as the politics of regional integration, the political implications of world market developments for domestic politics, the internationalization of economic policymaking and the politics of global interdependence in a post-hegemonial world. It is in this context that I would welcome papers analyzing the political implications of global summity, for example.

Lastly, in conjunction with the previous cluster, a number of papers and panels should also address a concomitant topic best described by the concept of localism. Here the focus should be on the politics of economic arrangements and policies on the subnational level such as regions and districts, perhaps even cities and towns. Accompanying the increasing internationalization of economic life, one can also observe a definite localization which adds yet another challenge to the nation state, though in this case "from below."

### *Section 13. Public Opinion and Political Psychology.* Robert Erikson, Department of Political Science, University of Houston, Houston, TX 77004; (713) 749-4879.

This section is intended to cover a wide variety of topics ranging from broad questions concerning the nature and impact of public opinion on government to investigations of attitudes and values within individual belief systems. Encouragement is given to panels and papers on all aspects of public opinion and political psychology. *This includes (but is not*

limited to) research on political attitude formation and classical political socialization, research on cognitive organization of political attitudes, ideology, mass media and political attitudes, political symbolism, propaganda and the management of public opinion, as well as questions concerning the measurement and interpretation of public opinion and its role in democracies.

Special attention will be given to panels and papers that relate public opinion and political psychology to the 1987 APSA convention theme of constitutions and constitutionalism. Most obviously this would include research on public knowledge about and support for constitutional principles such as bill of rights freedoms, political tolerance, and attitudes toward government institutions. The convention theme also presents a special opportunity for papers on how constitutional arrangements channel the ways in which public opinion influences government policies.

Paper proposals will be selected on the basis of their importance to current research and potential new directions in the field, as well as their relation to the 1987 theme. Suggestions regarding panels on the subjects above or any other topics relevant to this section are welcome and will be given serious consideration.

*Section 14. Political Parties and Elections.* Everett Ladd, The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, P.O. Box 440, Storrs, CT 06268; (203) 486-4608.

It is fitting, I think, at an American political science convention made more historically cognizant by the fact of its meeting during the 200th anniversary of the Constitution, that we use our historical experience to re-examine basic concepts and ways of conceptualizing matters related to parties and elections. Like a robust cross-national comparison, a rich historical comparison can do much to extend understanding of present-day developments in the United States.

I think it appropriate, too, that we use the panels in this section for a determined, even ruthless effort at reconstituting our approaches to the study of parties, elections, and voting. To cite just one exam-

ple of the scrutiny I have in mind: I do not believe it is possible to reread our collective work of the last three decades or so on change in party coalitions—including realignment and “dealignment”—and feel satisfied.

While making sure that we do not intrude unduly on Section 9, I would like us to address in this section the comparative political party experience of advanced industrial countries. Common currents or directions—or if evidence so suggests, the absence thereof—merit close attention. I encourage proposals for papers that offer comparisons of developments affecting left-of-center parties in these countries, and as well the right-of-center parties.

Finally, to meet the happy requirement that we include in this section at least one panel on the convention’s theme of “Constitutions and Constitutionalism,” I strongly encourage proposals for papers that examine contemporary U.S. partisan organization and performance in the context of such basic democratic functions and requirements as popular participation and representation, and effective control of the government by the governed.

*Section 15. Interests, Groups, and Social Movements.* Dianne Pinderhughes, Department of Political Science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, IL 61801-3696; (217) 333-2574.

This section examines the formation of interests and their representation in and by collectivities of human beings to political institutions, in more or less structured forms. Panels may be organized and papers presented on theories of the formation and development of political interests, or on the representation of those interests in varying ways, whether in economic, political, social, religious, racial, ethnic, sexual and language form, to formal political institutions. These same issues may also be addressed when representation weakens or fails under conditions of dominance and subjection. Panels on social movements should address the development of political ideas by less formally institutionalized groupings. Two panels will devote special attention to political and eco-

conomic interests of the American polity during the writing of the Constitution. Those with an interest in participating in this general subject area should take the preceding as suggestions rather than limitations on the subjects for panels and papers.

*Section 16. Public Law and Judicial Politics.* Samuel Krislov, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455; (612) 373-2651.

It is hoped that concern with the Constitution will permeate the 1987 proceedings. Of course, we are planning special concentration in the judicial and public law panels. However, that section has been allocated sufficient panels so that *we can accommodate normal topics considered at our annual meetings, in addition to the special concentration on the Constitution.*

All topics on the Constitution will be considered in addition to panels generally on public law and judicial behavior. I am especially interested in panels and/or papers dealing with the following five sub-themes:

1. *Interpretations of the Constitution* (paralleling Llewellyn's "Constitution as an Institution"), e.g., rational choice, economic or esthetic interpretations.
2. *Influence of the Constitution and constitutional interpretation on other political systems.*
3. *Creative reappraisals of eras, specific decisions or justices.*
4. *Examination, interpretation, and justification of the radical shift in court agenda, pre- and post-1937.*
5. *The Constitution and private ordering.* Boundary conditions between public and private and the Constitution. Spillover from the Constitutional doctrine into private norms and patterns.

*Section 17. Legislative Processes and Politics.* David Brady, Department of Political Science, Rice University, P.O. Box 1892, Houston, TX 77251; (713) 527-4842.

Papers for the legislative processes and

politics section of the 1987 APSA meeting need not be historical or constitutional in nature. However, papers featuring a historical or constitutional theme are welcome. Topics considered for presentation include: legislative behavior; legislative recruitment; decisionmaking in legislatures; linkages between elections; institutional structures and policymaking; and comparative legislatures and analysis of legislative sub-units.

These topics are intentionally broad and general in an attempt to encourage papers on a wide variety of topics relevant to legislative scholars.

*Section 18. Political Executives.* George Edwards, Department of Social Sciences, U.S. Military Academy, West Point, NY 10996; (914) 938-2800.

The study of political executives has made substantial progress in recent years, but it remains an eclectic field. Thus, I am open to a wide range of topics, approaches, and methods. I want to especially encourage proposals in the following areas of research, however:

1. consistent with the program theme of Constitutions and Constitutionalism, papers focusing on the creation of the presidency and current constitutional dilemmas, especially those revolving around separation of powers questions;
2. papers dealing with leadership—of the public, the legislature, the bureaucracy of decisionmaking processes;
3. papers emphasizing comparative analysis, either cross-nationally or among levels of U.S. government.

In all cases papers should explore theoretically significant questions in an analytically rigorous fashion. Papers emphasizing description or that lack a clear analytical focus are unlikely to be selected.

*Section 19. Public Administration and Organization Theory.* Larry Hill, Department of Political Science, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK 73019; (405) 325-6410.

Research in public administration and public organization theory have bur-



geoned in recent years, and I expect that this growth will be reflected in the number and the diversity of the proposals submitted.

Although I shall not attempt to impose orthodoxy upon them, proposals dealing with broadly "political" definitions of public administration that concern the following sorts of matters are especially encouraged: (1) various aspects of the roles of public agencies in any phase of the policy process; (2) the impact of other official actors and of unofficial actors on public agencies; (3) political analyses of the administration of public agencies (communication, personnel, budgeting, leadership and management, etc.); (4) normative evaluations of such topics as public administration and democratic theory, ethics, accountability, and the public interest.

Of course, proposals reflecting theoretical, methodological, and epistemological concerns are welcomed. I expect that some papers will be "think pieces," some will be theoretically informed case studies, and some will be presentations of systematic empirical research.

One or two panels will deal with the relationship between public administration and the theme of the conference, "Constitutions and Constitutionalism."

*Section 20. Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations.* Thomas Anton, Taubman Center for Public Policy and American Institutions, Brown University, Box 1977, Providence, RI 02912; (401) 863-2825.

In 1987 we celebrate the 200th anniversary of the American Constitution, which created our federal system. In 1987, too, we can look back on three tumultuous decades of federal history, marked by enormous expansion of governmental services at all levels, dramatic changes in relationships among federal, state and local governments, and the re-emergence of federalism as a major political issue. Not surprisingly, the political tumult has stimulated a great deal of new scholarship on issues of federalism and intergovernmental relations. Detailed studies of the operation of numerous national

government programs have generated new insights into program implementation. Large-scale studies of taxing and spending among states and localities have produced large data bases that continue to be sources of new understanding. Comparative studies of politics within and among states again are being published. New conceptual approaches, derived in part from recent empirical work, are being developed and compared to older formulations. Scholars of American federalism and intergovernmental relations, in short, have been enjoying a period of unparalleled intellectual excitement.

The 1987 convention theme of "Constitutions and Constitutionalism" offers an excellent opportunity to draw upon this recent scholarship to evaluate what we have learned and what we have yet to discover. What does recent work tell us about the impact of state and federal institutions on politics and policy? What have we learned about the sources of variation in the implementation of intergovernmental programs? How can we best conceptualize the ebb and flow of influence between the states and the nation? What, if anything, does our accumulated knowledge offer to proponents of various reforms, including proponents of fundamental constitutional change? Colleagues are invited to submit proposals for papers or panels that address these and other fundamental issues of federalism from analytic, normative or empirical points of view. Proposals that suggest efforts to develop general statements based on accumulated scholarship will be especially welcome.

*Section 21. State, Local, and Urban Politics.* Peter Eisinger, Taubman Center for Public Policy and American Institutions, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912; (401) 863-2201.

An enduring source of constitutional ambiguity in American politics has been the proper role of the states in the federal arrangement. In practice this uncertainty has always raised questions about the appropriate scope and character of state responsibilities and the limits of their resources. In the last 20 years state con-

stitutional and fiscal reforms have substantially transformed the institutional capacity of the states. These developments have lately been accompanied, if not spurred, by diminishing federal interest in the domestic policy concerns that animated Washington in the 1960s and declining fiscal commitment to inter-governmental aid as a means of addressing those concerns. The questions which the panels in this section ought to address, then, concern the implications for subnational governments of increasing state and local fiscal capacity and self-reliance and the diminishing role of Washington as generator of domestic programs and policy experiments.

The ascendance of the states in judicial policymaking, particularly in the area of individual rights; economic development; medical care-cost containment and liability insurance; education; and environmental regulation are examples of appropriate policy areas for treatment on panels. Fiscal strategies in an era of declining federal aid offer another broad topic area encompassing state and local tax reform, privatization, state revenue-sharing, and expenditure limits. A focus on institutional changes in state and local government as a response to increased burdens is yet another subject, including the changing gubernatorial role, the impact of national associations of state and local officials on Washington policymakers, and the emergence of county government in the modern era. The question of how blacks, Hispanics, and the new Asian ethnic groups are faring in the subnational political arena, the traditional locus of political opportunity and mobility, is particularly germane as one seeks to understand the implications of the federal devolution of responsibility in domestic policy.

*Section 22. Public Policy Analysis.* George Downs, Department of Political Science, University of California, Davis, CA 94616; (916) 752-0966.

Since virtually any paper of interest to a political scientist can be thought to represent some aspect of public policy or policy analysis, the panels in this section have historically reflected an extraordinary variety of research. I see no

reason for the 1987 program to depart from this tradition. Individuals are invited to submit paper proposals or suggest a panel dealing with (1) the impact of institutions, political processes, norms, and decision rules on domestic policy in the U.S. or any other nation(s); (2) policymaking or analysis-oriented institutions not covered by other sections such as OMB, GAO and CBO; (4) tax and regulatory policy; and (5) methodological issues in policy analysis and evaluation. While empirical research that utilizes time series and comparative data will be warmly received, approaches that imaginatively make use of simulation, axiomatic theory, and case study material are no less welcome.

Because the theme of the convention is "Constitutions and Constitutionalism" it would be particularly desirable to have one or more panels focus on the policy effects of varying constitutional provisions that currently exist in different countries and, particularly, on the policy implications of reforms being proposed for the U.S. Constitution by the Committee on the Constitutional System and other groups (e.g., campaign financing through parties, four-year house terms, relaxing the requirements for treaty ratification).

*Section 23. International Organization and Order.* Mark Zacher, Department of Political Science, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia V6T 1W5; (604) 228-2717.

The section will focus on the politics of international collaboration. The collaborative arrangements can be formal organizations or informal understandings and accords. They can also deal with economic and social or military-security issue areas. Possible themes for the panels are: the political foundations and impacts of the constitutional arrangements of international organizations; decisionmaking in international organizations; the promotion of compliance with international accords; the concept of international regime; theories of international collaboration or regime development; comparisons of the nature and strength of international regimes in different issue areas; and the policies of cer-

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tain countries or groups of countries toward international collaboration in select issue areas.

*Section 24. International Conflict.* Karen Feste, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, Denver, CO 80208; (303) 871-2324.

The panels in this section are intended both to reflect the conference theme of constitutionalism and to provide sufficient latitude to explore substantive policy issues and theoretic questions on security and conflict analysis. Especially appropriate are proposals that deal with the distance between law and policy as applied to issues of conflict and conflict resolution. Particular emphasis will be placed on changing actors, new or modified conflict processes, and the relevance of legal foundations for a world system where national sovereignty and international anarchy reign.

Along these lines, I would like to develop three groups of panels. The first group, *Conflict Regulation*, will be focused around theme-related topics, for example, (1) Warmaking Powers of Political Leaders, (2) The Reagan Record in Conflict, (3) Trends in Treaties and Diplomacy. The second group, *Conflict Theory Frontiers*, will center around (4) New Directions in War Research, (5) The Impact of Rational Actor Models on Conflict Theory, and (6) Protracted Conflicts in International Politics. The third group, *Future Conflict Focus*, is designed as a catch-all category to emphasize contemporary problems at issue in the international arena such as (7) Superpower Intervention, (8) The Role of Terrorism, (9) Low Intensity Conflicts, (10) The Arms Trade, (11) Ethnic Conflicts, or (12) Proxy Wars.

Roundtables which bring together the clash of ideas at the broadest level in international conflict analysis may be attractive too. Perhaps a select group of scholars might discuss the merits of conventional vs. critical theory approaches; or consider the significance of nuclear power as an effective weapon to deter current conflicts between countries; or debate the value of single scholarly works that have reached major academic audiences in the international politics

community. The role of superpowers and the Europeans in world conflict might be examined in a similar format. Psychological vs. Systemic Approaches to International Conflict would be yet another subject worthy of general discussion.

Proposals falling into the three categories or within the roundtable issues are welcomed. Interested participants should send a curriculum vitae along with their specific request (to organize a panel, deliver a paper, serve as chair or discussant). Please include an abstract that is sufficiently detailed about suggested panel formats or paper topics.

*Section 25. National Security Policy.* John Mearsheimer, Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, 5828 South University, Chicago, IL 60637; (312) 962-8050.

There will be no theme for the panels in this section, since interesting work is being done in so many areas of national security. Panels will be selected with an eye to representing the most innovative research being done in this field. I would hope, however, that it would be possible to have panels or roundtables on some of the following topics: grand strategy; the determinants of military effectiveness; ballistic missile defense; the militarization of space; Israeli defense policy; the origins of World War I as a social scientific problem; the weapons acquisition process; the utility of military history for contemporary strategic studies; economics and national security affairs; America's conduct of small wars; the consequences of the Reagan administration's defense build-up; peace movements in the West; and demographics and European security. There are certainly many other topics that would be appropriate for this section.

*Section 26. International Political Economy.* Joanne Gowa, Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19104-6215; (215) 898-4255.

In keeping with the theme of the 1987 convention, I welcome proposals for panels (single or multiple papers) and/or roundtable discussions dealing with the role of constitutions in international

political economy. Obvious candidates are analytic and empirical treatments of international regimes. Slightly less obvious candidates are more informal analogues of constitutions in this area of international relations: the ideological or welfare appeal of neoclassical trade theory, for example. Impassioned defenses and/or critiques of the utility of considering constitutions in the context of international political economy are also encouraged.

This is the only section specifically devoted to international political economy. I am, therefore, receptive to suggestions for panels, focused on either substantive or methodological issues, across the sub-field. I encourage, in particular, the formation of panels that include members with very different approaches to the issue at hand, and I also encourage panels whose members are drawn from fields other than political science.

*Section 27. Foreign Policy Making.* Charles F. Hermann, Mershon Center, Ohio State University, 199 West Tenth Avenue, Columbus, OH 43201; (614) 422-2880.

In recognition of the 200th anniversary of the United States Constitution, special attention will be directed in this section to the broad historical sweep of American foreign policy as well as current issues. Papers are invited that interpret and analyze in a fresh perspective the basic themes and patterns in American foreign policy and the structures, processes, and norms that have shaped it. Constitutional issues such as the separate one of powers, the treaty-making

and ratifying functions, and the president as commander-in-chief all deserve further consideration. Encouragement also will be given to efforts that suggest the implications for the future of basic patterns and trends. Alternatively authors may wish to suggest ways in which this country may have departed from past trends and the consequences for future American foreign policy.

Examination of American foreign policy cannot occur without reference to the broader context. Accordingly comparative analysis, particularly when the American case is included, are encouraged. A comparative analysis of the impact of constitutions on the institutions and practices of foreign policy would be particularly appropriate. In what sense might American practice be regarded as representative of the policies of a class of actors and under what circumstances might it be regarded as a deviant case? Comparisons that examine the variability in the types of foreign policy actors, the instruments of statecraft, and the objectives of influence in the international environment will merit careful attention.

As in any scholarly enterprise, studies that provide new insights into the theoretical underpinnings of foreign policy making or the methods of analysis deserve full consideration. The renewed attention in foreign policy analysis to case study techniques as well as advances in artificial intelligence and cognitive processes of decisionmakers are among the expected topics for methodological exploration in 1987. □