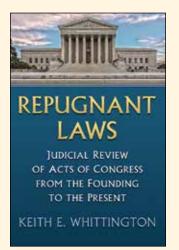


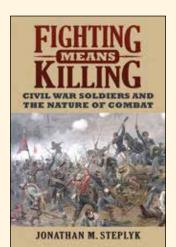
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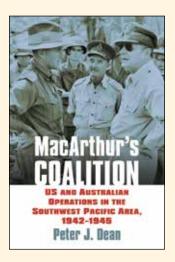
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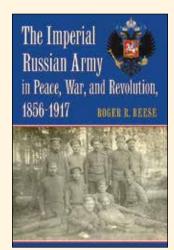
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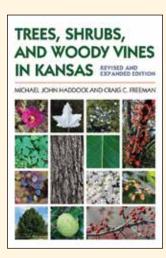
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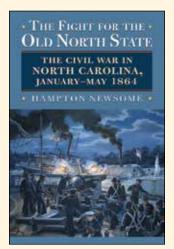
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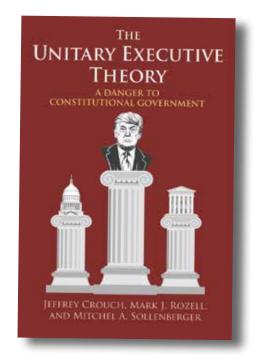
### The Unitary Executive Theory

#### A Danger to Constitutional Government

Jeffrey Crouch, Mark J. Rozell, and Mitchel A. Sollenberger

have an Article II," Donald Trump announced, citing the US Constitution, "where I have the right to do whatever I want as president." Though this statement would have come as a shock to the framers of the Constitution, it fairly sums up the essence of "the unitary executive theory." This theory, which emerged during the Reagan administration and gathered strength with every subsequent presidency, counters the system of checks and balances that constrains a president's executive impulses. It also, the authors of this book contend, counters the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

In their account of the rise of unitary executive theory over the last several decades, the authors refute the notion that this overweening view of executive power has been a common feature of the presidency from the beginning of the republic. Rather, they show it was invented under the Reagan administration, got a boost during the George W. Bush administration, and has found its logical extension in the Trump administration. This critique of the unitary executive theory reveals it as a misguided model for understanding presidential powers. While its adherents argue that greater presidential power makes government more efficient, the results have shown otherwise. Dismantling the myth that presidents enjoy unchecked plenary powers, the authors advocate for principles of separation of powers-of checks and balances—that honor the Constitution and support the republican government its framers envisioned.



A much-needed primer on presidential power from the nation's founding through Donald Trump's impeachment, *The Unitary Executive Theory: A Danger to Constitutional Government* makes a robust and persuasive case for a return to our constitutional limits.

**Jeffrey Crouch** is assistant professor of American politics at American University.

Mark J. Rozell is dean of the Schar School of Policy and Government at George Mason University where he holds the Ruth D. and John T. Hazel chair in public policy.

**Mitchel A. Sollenberger** is professor of political science at the University of Michigan-Dearborn.

"For anyone looking for a clear explanation of how we got to this place in American political history regarding presidential powers, this book is essential reading."

**LORI COX HAN,** AUTHOR OF ADVISING NIXON: THE WHITE HOUSE MEMOS OF PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

"This work by three of the nation's leading political scientists is a must-read for all citizens concerned about the fate of the US Constitution. This pathbreaking work of scholarship could not be more timely—read it now before it is too late."

STEPHEN F. KNOTT, AUTHOR OF THE LOST SOUL OF THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY: THE DECLINE INTO DEMAGOGUERY AND THE PROSPECT FOR RENEWAL

NOVEMBER

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### **Executive Privilege**

# Presidential Power, Secrecy, and Accountability Fourth Edition, Revised and Updated

Mark J. Rozell with Mitchel A. Sollenberger

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"Lucid, balanced, and tightly reasoned, Rozell's excellent book provides needed guidance on a topic that bedevils every administration."

POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY

"Ought to be mandatory reading not only for every member of Congress but also for national security lawyers in both the legislative and executive branches."

ABA NATIONAL SECURITY LAW
REPORT

xecutive Privilege—called "the definitive contemporary work on the subject" by the Journal of Politics—is widely considered the best in-depth history and analysis of executive privilege and its relation to the proper scope and limits of presidential power.

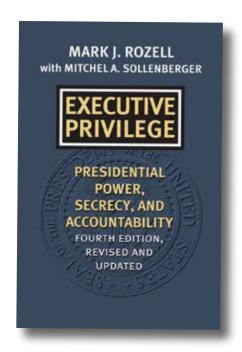
This fourth edition is revised and updated to include the two Obama administrations and the first three years of the Trump administration. The new edition includes President Obama's failure to live up to the high expectations of his campaign promises and President Trump's controversies, including the investigations into Russian meddling in the 2016 election, the proposed addition of a citizenship question on the 2020 Census, and the ongoing inquiry into White House security clearances.

"For an American people who (apparently) must be their president's keeper, this book is essential reading."

—Rhetoric & Public Affairs

Mark J. Rozell is dean of the Schar School of Policy and Government at George Mason University where he holds the Ruth D. and John T. Hazel Chair in public policy. He is the author of *Interest Groups* in American Campaigns: The New Face of Electioneering and the coeditor of God at the Grassroots 2016: The Christian Right in American Politics.

Mitchel A. Sollenberger is professor of political science at the University of Michigan-Dearborn. He is the author of The President Shall Nominate: How Congress Trumps Executive Power and coauthor with Mark J. Rozell of The President's Czars: Undermining Congress and the Constitution, both from Kansas.



JULY 296 pages, 6 x 9 Studies in Government and Public Policy Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2963-3, \$60.00(s) Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-2964-0, \$26.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-2965-7, \$26.95

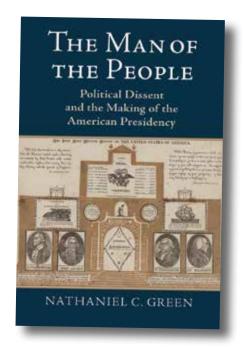
### The Man of the People

### Political Dissent and the Making of the American Presidency

Nathaniel C. Green

onald Trump's election has forced the United States to reckon with not only the political power of the presidency but also how he and his supporters have used the office to advance their shared vision of America: one that is avowedly nationalist and unrepentantly rooted in nativism and white supremacy. It might be easy to attribute this dark vision, and the presidency's immense power to reflect and reinforce it, to the singular character of one particular president—but to do so, this book tells us, would be to ignore the critical role the American public played in making the president "the man of the people" in the nation's earliest decades.

Beginning with the public debate over whether to ratify the Constitution in 1787 and concluding with Andrew Jackson's own contentious presidency, Nathaniel C. Green traces the origins of our conception of the president as the ultimate American: the exemplar of our collective national values, morals, and "character." The public divisiveness over the presidency in these earliest years, he contends, forged the office into an incomparable symbol of an emerging American nationalism that cast white Americans as dissenters lovers of liberty who were willing to mobilize against tyranny in all its forms, from foreign governments to black "enemies" and Indian "savages"—even as it fomented partisan division that belied the promise of unity the presidency symbolized. With testimony from private letters, diaries, newspapers, and bills, Green documents the shaping of the



disturbingly nationalistic vision that has given the presidency its symbolic power.

This argument is about a different time than our own. And yet it shows how this time, so often revered as a mythic "founding era" from which America has precipitously declined, was in fact the birthplace of the president-centered nationalism that still defines the contours of politics to this day. The lessons of *The Man of the People* contextualize the political turmoil surrounding the presidency today. Never in modern US history have those lessons been more badly needed.

Nathaniel C. Green is professor of history at Northern Virginia Community College.

"Green tells an exciting story about the complicated, intertwined relationship between the American public and the presidency as well as the centuries-long battle to determine what 'We the People' actually means, who belongs, and the president's relationship to that vision."

LINDSAY M. CHERVINSKY, AUTHOR OF THE CABINET: GEORGE WASHINGTON AND THE CREATION OF AN AMERICAN INSTITUTION

"Nathaniel Green's book is a learned and insightful history of how the austere executive described in the Constitution became the 'man of the people' in the first years of the nation's existence."

BRIAN D. STEELE, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA AT BIRMINGHAM

"An essential book for all those seeking to understand the American presidency and the American character."

**KEVIN BUTTERFIELD,** EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, FRED. W. SMITH NATIONAL LIBRARY FOR THE STUDY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON AT MOUNT VERNON

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### **Do Running Mates Matter?**

# The Influence of Vice Presidential Candidates in Presidential Elections

Christopher J. Devine and Kyle C. Kopko

"This work is a data-driven yet highly accessible scholarly tour de force. A must-read for students of the presidency and presidential elections."

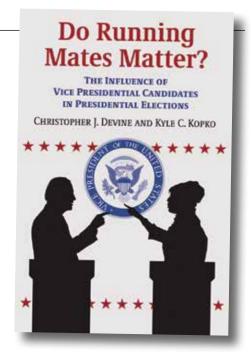
**JODY BAUMGARTNER**, COAUTHOR OF THE AMERICAN VICE PRESIDENCY: FROM THE SHADOW TO THE SPOTLIGHT

"Running mates matter, but in unexpected ways. Devine and Kopko provide the most comprehensive, multimethod examination of running mates to date. They convincingly demonstrate that the largest impact is from an evaluation of presidential candidates' decision-making process in the selection of vice presidential candidates."

JANET M. BOX-STEFFENSMEIER, VERNAL RIFFE PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

he American vice presidency, as the saying goes, "is not worth a bucket of warm spit." Yet vice presidential candidates, many people believe, can make all the difference in winning—or losing—a presidential election. Is that true, though? Did Sarah Palin, for example, sink John McCain's campaign in 2008? Did Joe Biden help Barack Obama win? Do running mates actually matter? In the first book to put this question to a rigorous test, Christopher J. Devine and Kyle C. Kopko draw upon an unprecedented range of empirical data to reveal how, and how much, running mates influence voting in presidential elections.

Building on their previous work in The VP Advantage and evidence from over 200 statistical models spanning the 1952 to 2016 presidential elections, the authors analyze three pathways by which running mates might influence vote choice. First, of course, they test for direct effects, or whether evaluations of the running mate influence vote choice among voters in general. Next, they test for targeted effects-if, that is, running mates win votes among key subsets of voters who share their gender, religion, ideology, or geographic identity. Finally, the authors examine indirect effects—that is, whether running mates shape perceptions of the presidential candidate who selected them, which in turn influence vote choice. Here, in this last category, is where we see running mates most clearly influencing presidential voting—especially when it comes to their qualifications for holding office and taking over as president, if necessary. Picking a running mate from a



key voting bloc probably won't make a difference, the authors conclude. But picking an experienced, well-qualified running mate will make the presidential candidate look better to voters—and win some votes.

With its wealth of data and expert analysis, this finely crafted study, the most comprehensive to date, finally provides clear answers to one of the most enduring questions in presidential politics: Can the running mate make a difference in this election?

Christopher J. Devine is assistant professor of political science at the University of Dayton.

Kyle C. Kopko is associate professor of political science, associate dean, and director of the legal studies major at Elizabethtown College.

#### MAY

296 pages, 29 figures, 22 tables, 6 x 9 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2969-5, \$70.00(s) Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-2970-1, \$29.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-2971-8, \$29.95

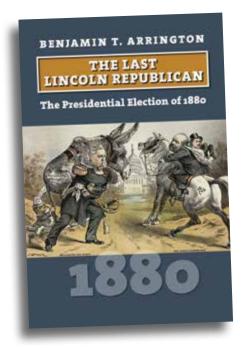
### The Last Lincoln Republican

#### The Presidential Election of 1880

Benjamin T. Arrington

f all the great "what if" scenarios in American history, the aftermath of the presidential election of 1880 stands out as one of the most tantalizing. The end of the Civil War and the assassination of Abraham Lincoln had thrown the future of Lincoln's vision for the country into considerable doubt; the years that followed-marked by impeachment, constitutional change, presidential scandals, and the contested election of 1876—saw Republicans fighting to retain power as they transitioned into the party of "big business." Enter James A. Garfield, a seasoned politician known for his advocacy of civil rights, who represented the last potential Reconstruction presidency: truly, Benjamin T. Arrington suggests in this book, the last "Lincoln Republican."

The story of the presidential election of 1880, fully explored for the first time in



The Last Lincoln Republican, is a political drama of lasting consequence and dashed possibilities. A fierce opponent of slavery before the war, Garfield had fought for civil rights for African Americans for years in Congress. Holding true to the original values of the Republican Party, Garfield wanted to promote equal opportunity for all; meanwhile, Democrats, led by Winfield Scott Hancock, sought to return the South to white supremacy and an inferior status for African Americans. With its in-depth account of the personalities and issues at play in 1880, Arrington's book provides a unique perspective on how this critical election continues to resonate through our national politics and culture to this day.

A close look at the contest of 1880 reveals that Garfield's victory could have been the start of a period of greater civil rights legislation, a continuation of Lincoln's vision. This was the choice made by the American people—and, as *The Last Lincoln Republican* makes poignantly clear, the great opportunity forever lost when Garfield was assassinated just a few months into his term.

Benjamin T. Arrington is site manager, James A. Garfield National Historic Site, Mentor, Ohio. He is the author of *The Medal* of *Honor at Gettysburg* as well as essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction. "At last a stylish, succinct, and up-to-date biography of James Garfield and a coherent argument about what Garfield's election might have meant for the Republican Party and the United States had he lived. As Arrington argues, Garfield was a bold and strategic defender of the principles that the Republican Party had been founded upon, particularly its vision of equality. Garfield's death shortly after his inauguration was a lost opportunity and a turning point in the history of Reconstruction. With a careful eve to detail and a deep knowledge of the political system, Arrington tells this tragic story clearly and well."

GREGORY P. DOWNS, AUTHOR OF THE SECOND AMERICAN REVOLUTION: THE CIVIL WAR—ERA STRUGGLE OVER CUBA AND THE REBIRTH OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC

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### Bush v. Gore

# Exposing the Growing Crisis in American Democracy

#### Third Expanded Edition

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An impressive feat."

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"A masterful synthesis that promises to be a classic work, Zelden's book recaptures the suspense, confusion, and frustration of the 2000 presidential election and infuses it with renewed relevance."

H-NET REVIEWS

ho could forget the Supreme Court's controversial 5–4 decision in *Bush v. Gore* or the 2000 presidential campaign and election that preceded it? Hanging chads, butterfly ballots, endless recounts, raucous allegations, and a constitutional crisis were all roiled into a confusing and potentially dangerous mix—until the Supreme Court decision allowed George W. Bush to become the forty-third president of the United States, despite losing the popular vote to Al Gore.

Praised by scholars and political pundits alike, the original edition of Charles Zelden's book set a new standard for our understanding of that monumental decision. A probing chronicle and critique of the vexing and acrimonious affair, it

Charles L. Zelden

Bush v. Gore

Exposing the Growing Crisis in American Democracy
THIRD EXPANDED EDITION

offered the most accurate and up-to-date analysis of a remarkable episode in American politics. Highly readable, its comprehensive coverage, depth of documentation and detail, and analytic insights remain unrivaled on the subject.

In this third expanded edition Zelden offers a powerful history of voting rights and elections in America since 2000. *Bush v. Gore* exposes the growing crisis by detailing the numerous ways in which the unlearned and wrongly learned "lessons of 2000" have impacted American election law through the growth of voter suppression via legislation and administrative rulings, and provides a clear warning of how unchecked partisanship arising out of *Bush v. Gore* threatens to undermine American democracy in general and the 2020 election in particular.

Charles L. Zelden is professor of history at Nova Southeastern University in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida. His previous books include Thurgood Marshall: Race, Rights, and the Struggle for a More Perfect Union and The Battle for the Black Ballot: Smith v. Allwright and the Defeat of the Texas All-White Primary (Kansas).

JULY
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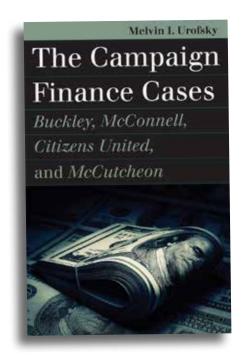
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### **The Campaign Finance Cases**

# Buckley, McConnell, Citizens United, and McCutcheon

Melvin I. Urofsky



arely does the Supreme Court reverse itself as quickly and profoundly as it did in recent campaign finance cases, with the Citizens United decision of 2010 undoing the constraints of the McCain-Feingold Act upheld in McConnell v. Federal Election Commission (2003). And rarely have the stakes seemed so high as billionaires vie for elected office and dark money floods political campaigns. In timely fashion, this new edition updates Melvin Urofsky's classic study of campaign finance law, bringing his cogent analysis of the relevant statutes and court cases up to date.

Urofsky explains in clear and convincing language what was—and is—at stake in the twists and turns of campaign finance laws taken up by the nation's highest

court in the past decades. Beginning with Buckley v. Valeo (1976) and moving through McConnell, Citizens United, and finally McCutcheon v. Federal Election Commission (2014), Urofsky discusses the two principles at issue in these cases: freedom of political speech and the protection of the political process from undue influence. Conventional wisdom holds that in such cases liberals want greater restrictions and conservatives want corporations to have greater freedom to influence voters. But working from a rich store of primary sources, probing the motivations and ideas of all participants in the campaign finance legal story, Urofsky reveals a far more complex picture, one whose significance transcends simple political ideologies.

In a time of controversies over political speech in the blogosphere, social media, and cable news, and claims of electoral fraud, *The Campaign Finance Cases* offers a much-needed, balanced account of how issues critical to American democracy figure in the adjudication of campaign finance law, and how a changing political and media landscape might alter the process.

Melvin I. Urofsky is professor of law and public policy and professor emeritus of history at Virginia Commonwealth University. He is the author of *The Affirmative Action Puzzle: A Living History from Reconstruction to Today* and coauthor of New York Times v. Sullivan: *Civil Rights, Libel Law, and the Free Press,* among many other volumes.

"Thoroughly researched, analytically sound, and clearly written, Urofsky takes a very difficult subject and opens it up to the general reader. I look forward to using this book the next time I teach voting and elections to my students."

CHARLES L. ZELDEN, AUTHOR OF BUSH V. GORE: EXPOSING THE GROWING CRISIS IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, THIRD EXPANDED EDITION

"A masterful history of the Supreme Court's decadeslong struggle to balance the integrity of elections with free speech in campaign finance cases. Urofsky upends numerous myths and misconceptions about the Court while showing how, in the era of Citizens United, campaign finance laws are increasingly likely to be struck down."

**ADAM WINKLER**, AUTHOR OF WE THE CORPORATIONS: HOW AMERICAN BUSINESSES WON THEIR CIVIL RIGHTS

OCTOBER

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### **Opposing Lincoln**

# Clement L. Vallandigham, Presidential Power, and the Legal Battle over Dissent in Wartime

Thomas C. Mackey

"In this insightful study,
Thomas Mackey analyzes
the constitutional collision
between Clement
Vallandigham's public
opposition to national
policy during the Civil War
and President Lincoln's
decision to limit political
speech."

LOUIS FISHER, AUTHOR OF RECONSIDERING JUDICIAL FINALITY: WHY THE SUPREME COURT IS NOT THE LAST WORD ON THE CONSTITUTION

"Thomas Mackey's Opposing Lincoln implicitly raises important present-day issues such as the power of a president to suppress dissent and the capacity of loyal but incompetent subordinate officials to create trouble for a president."

WILLIAM E. NELSON, JUDGE
EDWARD WEINFELD PROFESSOR OF
LAW AND PROFESSOR OF HISTORY,
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, AND AUTHOR
OF MARBURY V. MADISON: THE
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REVIEW, SECOND EDITION, REVISED
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OCTOBER 200 pages, 5½ x 8½ Landmark Law Cases and American Society Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3014-1, \$55.00(s) Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3015-8, \$24.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3016-5, \$24.95

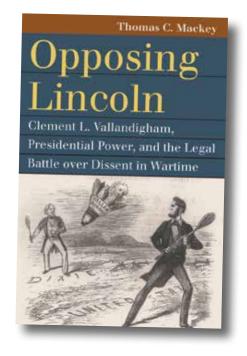
n a time of great national division, a time of threats of resistance and Lecounterthreats of suppression, a controversial president takes drastic measures to rein in his critics, citing national interest, national security, and his obligations as chief executive. If this seems familiar in our current moment of intense political agitation, that is all the more reason to attend to Thomas Mackey's gripping, learned, and eminently readable account of the Civil War-era case of Clement L. Vallandigham, an Ohio congressman arrested for campaigning against the war and President Lincoln's policies. In Mackey's telling, the story of this prominent "Copperhead," or Southern sympathizer, illuminates the problem of internal security, loyalty, and disloyalty faced by the Lincoln administration during wartime—and, more generally, the problem of determining the balance between executive power and tyranny, and between dissent and treason.

Opposing Lincoln explores Vallandigham's opposition not only to Lincoln and his administration but also to Lincoln's use of force and his executive orders suspending habeas corpus. In addition to tracing Vallandigham's experiences of being arrested, tried, convicted by military commission instead of civilian courts, and then banished from the United States, this historical narrative introduces readers to Lincoln's most important statements on presidential powers in wartime, while also providing a primer on the wealth of detail involved in such legal and military controversies. Examining the long-standing issue of the limits of political dissent

in wartime, the book asks the critical historical question of what reasonable lengths a legitimate government can go to in order to protect itself and its citizens from threats, whether external or internal.

The case of Clement Vallandigham is, Mackey suggests, a quintessentially American story. Testing the limits of dissent in a political democracy in wartime, and of the scope and power of constitutional government, it clarifies a critical aspect of the American experience from afar.

Thomas C. Mackey is professor of history and adjunct professor of law at the University of Louisville. He is the author of the four-volume *A Documentary History of the American Civil War Era*, among other works.



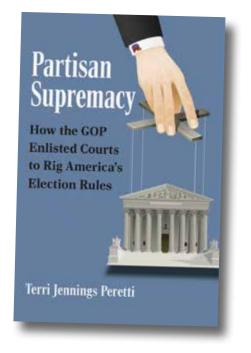
### **Partisan Supremacy**

#### How the GOP Enlisted Courts to Rig America's Election Rules

Terri Jennings Peretti

have no agenda," US Supreme Court Chief Justice John Roberts proclaimed at his Senate confirmation hearing. "My job is to call balls and strikes and not to pitch or bat." This declaration was in keeping with the avowed independence of the judiciary. It also, when viewed through the lens of Roberts's election law decisions, appears to be false. With a scrupulous reading of judicial decisions and a careful assessment of partisan causes and consequences, Terri Jennings Peretti tells the story of the GOP's largely successful campaign to enlist judicial aid for its self-interested election reform agenda.

Partisan Supremacy explores four contemporary election law issues-voter identification, gerrymandering, campaign finance, and the preclearance regime of the Voting Rights Act—to uncover whether Republican politicians and Republican judges have collaborated to tilt America's election rules in the GOP's favor. Considering cases from Shelby County v. Holder, which enfeebled the Voting Rights Act, to Crawford v. Marion County Election Board, which upheld restrictive voter identification laws, to Citizens United and McCutcheon, which loosened campaign finance restrictions, Peretti lays bare the reality of "friendly" judicial review and partisan supremacy when it comes to election law. She nonetheless finds a mixed verdict in the redistricting area that reveals the limits of partisan control over judicial decisions. Peretti's book helpfully places the current GOP's voter suppression campaign in



historical context by acknowledging similar efforts by the post–Civil War Democratic Party. While the modern Democratic Party seeks electoral advantage by expanding voting by America's minorities and youth, arguably hewing closer to democratic principles, neither party is immune to the powerful incentive to bend election rules in its favor.

In view of the evidence that *Partisan Supremacy* brings to light, we are left with a critical and pressing question: Can democracy survive in the face of partisan collaboration across the branches of government on critical election issues?

**Terri Jennings Peretti** is a professor in the Department of Political Science at Santa Clara University. "What an excellent book!
Peretti thoroughly documents how Republicans in the New Right political regime created electoral advantages for themselves and disadvantaged Democrats through changes in election law."

**ARTEMUS WARD,** COAUTHOR OF AMERICAN JUDICIAL PROCESS: MYTH AND REALITY IN LAW AND COURTS

"A welcome addition to the literature for scholars and students alike who want to learn more about how the Supreme Court has approached these election-related controversies in our democracy."

MARK C. MILLER, ADJUNCT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND DIRECTOR, LAW & SOCIETY PROGRAM, CLARK UNIVERSITY

#### ${\sf NOVEMBER}$

360 pages, 3 figures, 6 tables, 6 x 9 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3019-6, \$39.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3020-2, \$39.95

### **Angry Politics**

#### Partisan Hatred and Political Polarization among College Students

Stacy G. Ulbig

"Accessible for readers inside the classroom and out, Angry Politics offers an expansive and meaningful examination of our political polarization and provides optimistic suggestions for ways to bridge our national divide."

**ALISON DAGNES, AUTHOR OF SUPER** MAD AT EVERYTHING ALL THE TIME: POLITICAL MEDIA AND OUR NATIONAL

"Required reading for anyone interested in how students think about politics and why university faculty and administrators must take heed before this new generation replicates the intolerant, destructive politics of their parents and grandparents."

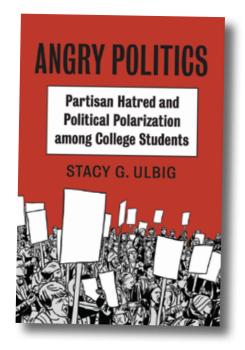
SUSAN HERBST, UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PRESIDENT EMERITA, UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT

#### DECEMBER

248 pages, 34 figures, 32 tables, 6 x 9 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3021-9, \$60.00(s) Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3022-6, \$24.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3023-3, \$24.95

t a time of political tribalism and ideological purity tests, when surveys tell us that pluralities of the people in each party deem the opposition "downright evil," it can be hard to remember that cross-party hatred is not an inherent feature of partisan politics. But, as this book reminds us, a backward glance—or a quick survey of so many retiring members of Congresstells us that even in the past decade partisan rancor has grown exponentially. In Angry Politics, Stacy G. Ulbig asks why. Even more to the point, she traces the trend to the place where it all might begin—the college campus, among the youngest segment of the electorate.

A distinguished researcher and scholar of political psychology and public opinion, Ulbig gets right to the heart of the problem—the early manifestation of the incivility pervading contemporary US politics. With an emphasis on undergraduates at four-year universities, she gauges the intensity and effects of partisan animosities on campus, examines the significance of media consumption in forming political attitudes, and considers the possibility that partisan hostility can operate like racial and ethnic animosities in fomenting intolerance for other groups. During the college years, political attitudes are most likely to be mutable; so, as Angry Politics explores the increasing combativeness on campus, it also considers the possibility of forestalling partisan hatred before attitudes harden. Finally, Ulbig finds hope in the very conditions that make college a breeding ground for political ill will. Embracing their respon-



sibility for developing responsible citizens capable of productive political engagement, colleges and universities may well be able to inject more reason, and thus more civility, into future partisan debate.

Stacy G. Ulbig is professor of political science at Sam Houston State University.

# Dynamics of American Democracy

# Partisan Polarization, Political Competition, and Government Performance

Edited by Eric M. Patashnik and Wendy J. Schiller

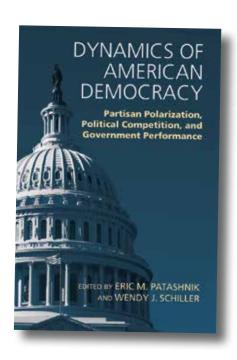
emocracy is in crisis. Washington is failing. Government is broken. On these counts many politicians, policy experts, and citizens agree. What is less clear is why—and what to do about it. These questions are at the heart of *Dynamics of American Democracy*, which goes beneath the surface of current events to explore the forces reshaping democratic politics in the United States and around the world.

Bringing together leading scholars and practitioners of politics and governance, this volume charts a twenty-first-century landscape beset by ideological polarization and political tribalism; rapid demographic, economic, and technological change; the influence of online news and social media; and the increasing importance of public attitudes about gender and race. Against this fraught background the authors consider the performance of the two-party system, the operations of Congress and the presidency, and the ways in which ordinary citizens form their beliefs and make their voting decisions. The contributors' work represents a wide range of perspectives and methodological approaches and provides insight into what ails American governance, from the practice of politics as tribal warfare to the electoral rules that produce a two-party hegemony, and from the impact of social media—including how differently conservatives and liberals use Twitter-to the significance of President Trump in historical and institutional perspective.

Finally, *Dynamics of American Democracy* goes beyond diagnosis to present and evaluate the value and viability of proposals for reforming politics.

Eric M. Patashnik is Julis-Rabinowitz Professor of Public Policy, professor of political science, and director of the Master of Public Affairs Program, Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, Brown University.

Wendy J. Schiller is professor of political science and international and public affairs and chair of the Department of Political Science at Brown University.



"Patashnik and Schiller assemble an all-star cast to cover the landscape of current challenges in American politics. With topics ranging from tribal politics in the age of Trump, to states taking a greater role in governance, to citizens self-sorting on social media, this volume offers valuable insights and potential paths forward for American democracy."

CRAIG VOLDEN, CODIRECTOR OF THE CENTER FOR EFFECTIVE LAWMAKING, FRANK BATTEN SCHOOL OF LEADERSHIP AND PUBLIC POLICY, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, AND COEDITOR OF LEADERSHIP IN AMERICAN POLITICS

#### DECEMBER

360 pages, 52 figures, 16 tables, 6 x 9 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3000-4, \$80.00(s) Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3001-1, \$34.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3002-8, \$34.95

### Sam Nunn

#### Statesman of the Nuclear Age

Frank Leith Jones

"In Sam Nunn: Statesman of the Nuclear Age, Frank Leith Jones considers the political career and policy accomplishments of one of the most influential senators of the last half century. Jones's work proceeds with a clarity of purpose as it explores not only Nunn's character, expansive influence, and keen strategic sense but also his policy leadership in defense and the international arena. Exceedingly well-paced and cogent, this book covers an extraordinary amount of historical and policy ground."

Douglas B. Harris, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, LOYOLA UNIVERSITY MARYLAND

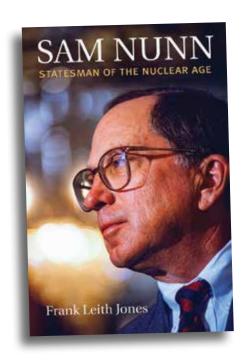
"Frank Leith Jones's invaluable and incisive biography shows why Sam Nunn stands as one of the most consequential senators of the twentieth century."

JAMES M. LINDSAY, SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT, DIRECTOR OF STUDIES, AND MAURICE R. GREENBERG CHAIR, COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

NOVEMBER 448 pages, 6 x 9 Congressional Leaders Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3012-7, \$29.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3013-4, \$29.95

n a 2012 opinion piece bemoaning the state of the US Senate, Washington Post columnist Dana Milbank cited a "leading theory: There are no giants in the chamber today." Among the respected members who once walked the Senate floor, admired for their expertise and with a stature that went beyond party, Milbank counted Sam Nunn (D-GA).

Nunn served in the Senate for four terms beginning in 1972, at a moment when domestic politics and foreign policy were undergoing far-reaching changes. As a member and then chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, he had a vital impact on most of the crucial national security and defense issues of the Cold War era and the "new world order" that followed—issues that included the



revitalization of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's military capability, US-Soviet relations, national defense reorganization and reform, the Persian Gulf conflict, and nuclear arms control. In this first full account of Nunn's senatorial career, Frank Leith Jones reveals how, as a congressional leader and "shadow secretary of defense," Nunn helped win the Cold War, constructing the foundation for the defense and foreign policies of the 1970s and 1980s that secured the United States and its allies from the Soviet threat.

At a time of bitter political polarization and partisanship, Nunn's reputation remains that of a statesman with a record of bipartisanship and a dedication to US national interests above all. His career, as recounted in Sam Nunn: Statesman of the Nuclear Age, provides both a valuable lesson in the relationships among the US government, foreign powers, and societies and a welcome reminder of the capacity of Congress, even a lone senator, to promote and enact policies that can make the country, and the world, a better and safer place.

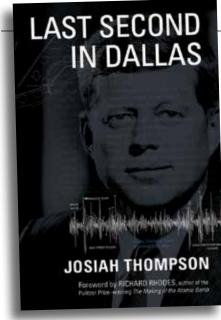
Frank Leith Jones is professor of security studies and the General George C. Marshall Chair of Military Studies in the Department of National Security and Strategy at the US Army War College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. His published work includes Blowtorch: Robert Komer, Vietnam, and American Cold War Strategy.

### **Last Second in Dallas**

Josiah Thompson

Foreword by Richard Rhodes, author of the Pulitzer Prize-winning

The Making of the Atomic Bomb



n this long-awaited follow-up to his critically acclaimed 1967 classic, *Six Seconds in Dallas*, Josiah Thompson reveals major new forensic discoveries since the year 2000 that overturn previously accepted "facts" about the Kennedy assassination. Together they provide what no previous book on the assassination has done—incontrovertible proof that JFK was killed in a crossfire.

Last Second in Dallas is not a conspiracy book. No theory of who did it is offered or discussed. Among the discoveries is the fact that the test showing that all recovered bullet fragments came from Oswald's rifle was mistaken. Several fragments could have come from bullets of any manufacturer and any caliber. The sudden two-inch forward movement of the president's head in the Zapruder film just before his head explodes is revealed to be an optical illusion caused by the movement of Zapruder's camera. This leaves without further challenge clear evidence that this shot

came from a specific location to the right front of the limousine. Detailed analysis of film frames matched by the newly validated acoustic evidence show a second shot struck the president's head from behind less than a second later. Result: two killing shots to the head from opposite directions in the final second of the shooting—hence the book's title.

At once a historical detective story and a deeply personal narrative by a major figure in the field, *Last Second in Dallas* captures the drama and sweep of events, detailing government missteps and political bias as well as the junk science, hubris, and controversy that have dogged the investigation from the beginning. Into this account Thompson weaves his own eventful journey, that of a Yale-educated scholar who in 1976 resigned his tenured professorship in philosophy to become a private investigator in San Francisco, developing a national reputation.

Profusely illustrated, *Last Second in Dallas* features dozens of archive photographs, including Zapruder film frames reproduced at the highest clarity ever published.

Josiah Thompson investigated numerous high-profile murder cases during his thirty-five-year career specializing in criminal defense, including the Oklahoma City bombing as defense investigator for Timothy McVeigh. Thompson's publications include two books on the Danish existentialist thinker Søren Kierkegaard and a memoir about his jump from professor to detective, *Gumshoe*. He and his wife Nancy live in northern California.

### From the foreword by Richard Rhodes:

"Very few investigators—or let's call him a historian, since the case went cold long ago—are prepared to revise a conclusion of their previous major work as Thompson does here. I salute him for it. To borrow his own metaphor, he's taken a jigsaw puzzle he thought he had solved before, pulled it apart, found some missing pieces, and put it together again to create a startling new picture.

That's what Josiah Thompson does here. Based on what he's found, although we'll never know for certain, I believe he's right."

#### ${\sf NOVEMBER}$

544 pages, 203 photographs, 27 figures & tables, 61/8 x 91/4 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3008-0, \$29.95(t)

### **Independent Scholars** Meet the World

#### **Expanding Academia beyond the Academy**

Edited by Christine Caccipuoti and Elizabeth Keohane-Burbridge

"Demonstrates that independent does not mean inferior and that high-quality scholarship can indeed be pursued outside the confines of academe."

AMANDA J. HASTE, PHD, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL COALITION OF INDEPENDENT SCHOLARS

"Offers motivation and inspiration for those who are committed to forging their own unique paths outside the space of academia."

GAVIN WILK, AUTHOR OF TRANSAT-LANTIC DEFIANCE: THE MILITANT IRISH REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT IN AMERICA, 1923-45

"Essential reading for all scholars, as its authors prove that there is not and should not be-one standard career path for people pursuing the life of the mind."

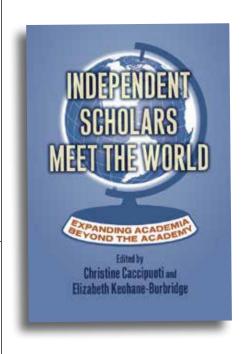
MEGAN KATE NELSON, AUTHOR OF THE THREE-CORNERED WAR: THE Union, the Confederacy, and NATIVE PEOPLES IN THE FIGHT FOR THE WEST

**OCTOBER** 

200 pages, 51/2 x 8 Rethinking Careers, Rethinking Academia Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2990-9, \$55.00(s) Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-2991-6, \$24.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-2992-3, \$24.95

or too long graduate school was viewed solely as a pipeline to teaching positions at colleges and universities. As MAs and PhDs proliferate and opportunities in the academy narrow, this timely book reminds us that the academy is only one of many venues for satisfying and successful scholarly endeavor.

The contributors to *Independent* Scholars Meet the World represent a spectrum of graduate school experiences, from leaving midprogram to completing an MA or PhD. They include those who sought nontraditional paths and others who started in the familiar professorial direction only to change course. Ultimately they are independent scholars contributing to their fields but working



outside the academy. Their stories illustrate the variety of options that exist beyond the university setting, from museum education and high school teaching to newer professions like podcasting and creating historical coloring books. These scholars impart advice about encountering difficulties, overcoming challenges, and learning to adapt to changing circumstances. All have something to share that the graduating scholar and those who guide them ought to hear about—cultivating networks; viewing departure from familiar terrain as an option, not a failure; and understanding the real value that an independent scholar brings to any number of situations. Perhaps the most important lesson this book offers is for those steeped in the belief that the only "right" way to be a scholar is as a tenured professor, and how, therefore, to embrace the label independent scholar.

The contributors to Independent Scholars Meet the World offer the advice and encouragement they wish they'd received when heading into uncharted postgraduate territory. They demonstrate that success awaits the determined and resourceful scholar pursuing a different path toward "expanded-ac."

Christine Caccipuoti and Elizabeth Keohane-Burbridge produce the popular history podcast Footnoting History. In addition, Keohane-Burbridge is a history teacher at Woodward Academy in Georgia and Caccipuoti is a freelance writer and performer.

### **Gene Kelly**

#### The Making of a Creative Legend

Earl J. Hess and Pratibha A. Dabholkar

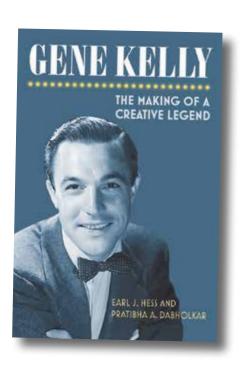
hether as a curiosity or a beloved idol, Gene Kelly (1912–1996) lives on in our cultural memory as a fantastic dancer in MGM musicals, especially Singin' in the Rain. But dancing, however extraordinary, was only one of his many gifts. This book, for the first time, offers a full picture of Gene Kelly as the Renaissance man he actually wasdancer, yes, but also choreographer, actor, clown, singer, director, teacher, and mentor. Kelly was star of radio and television as well as film, avant-garde as artist and auteur but also ahead of the curve in opening the world of dance to different races, ethnicities, and genders.

Gene Kelly: The Making of a Creative Legend takes us from Kelly's youth in Depression-era Pittsburgh through his years on Broadway and ascendance to stardom in Hollywood. Authors Hess and Dabholkar pay particular attention to his work with the US Navy, solo directing, and lesser-known but considerable accomplishments in television, radio, and on the stage in later years. The book gives us a rare inside look at Kelly's relationships with dancing partners and peers from Leslie Caron, Vera-Ellen, and Cyd Charisse to Fred Astaire, and at his directorial collaboration with Stanley Donen and Vincente Minnelli. The authors show us significant but little-examined facets of Kelly's character and career, such as the political convictions that got him graylisted in Hollywood; his passion for creating cine-dance and serving as an ambassador of dance in America; and his forging of links between dance, civil rights, and the "common man."

Steeped in research and replete with photographs, this career biography uniquely encompasses all phases of Gene Kelly's life and work—and finally gives us a full portrait of this central figure in the history of the film musical during Hollywood's Golden Age.

Earl J. Hess is Stewart W. McClelland Chair in History at Lincoln Memorial University.

Pratibha A. Dabholkar is emerita professor in the College of Business at the University of Tennessee. Their book Singin' in the Rain: The Making of an American Masterpiece is also published by Kansas.



"Hess and Dabholkar's Gene Kelly: The Making of a *Creative Legend* is the most complete biography of Gene Kelly to date. It offers a substantial addition to what we know about Gene Kelly's career and enriches our appreciation for the depth and range of his accomplishments, thanks to extraordinary and far-reaching research into materials never studied by Kelly's previous biographer. Gene Kelly is a delightful read and a true page-turner."

RICK ALTMAN, AUTHOR OF FILM/GENRE

"The authors illuminate Kelly's role as artist and innovator not only in his championship of dance as an art form but also in his role as an educator who effectively promoted the value of male dancing at a time when those who practiced the profession in the United States were stigmatized and stereotyped."

**BETH GENNÉ**, PROFESSOR OF ART AND DANCE HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

OCTOBER

552 pages, 101 photographs, 3 maps, 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3017-2, \$39.95(t) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3018-9, \$39.95

### Mawson's Mission

#### Launching Women's Intercollegiate Athletics at the University of Kansas

Lora Marlene Mawson

"Required reading for Kansas Jayhawks. Before Title IX, many coaches built women's sports programs on a shoestring budget and little recognition. Dr. Mawson was a national leader of those determined coaches. Her book documents those years, and I highly recommend it." KALA M. STROUP, PHD, EMERITA DEAN AND FORMER UNIVERSITY

"Mawson's Mission: Launching Women's Intercollegiate Athletics at the University of Kansas is must reading not only for KU fans but also for those interested in understanding women's lives in a changing world."

PRESIDENT, UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

**BILL TUTTLE**, AUTHOR OF RACE RIOT: CHICAGO IN THE RED SUMMER OF 1919 AND "DADDY'S GONE TO WAR": THE SECOND WORLD WAR IN THE LIVES OF AMERICA'S CHILDREN

LORA MARLENE MAWSON MAWSON'S MISSION LAUNCHING WOMEN'S INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETICS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

efore 1968, women's athletics in higher education meant playdays and sports days. That spring, when the National Division of Girls and Women in Sports announced that national collegiate sports championships for women would begin in 1969, Marlene Mawson, a new hire in the physical education faculty at the University of Kansas, was charged with establishing a women's athletics program. "I was on my own," Mawson recalls, "because there was no precedent for creating a women's athletics program with a meager budget." That meant planning sports competition schedules, staffing coaches, organizing policies and procedures for coaches and athletes, coordinating practice schedules, budgeting, and directing the new KU

intercollegiate sports program for women without intervention or guidance. In their first decade, KU women's teams competed in national championships in volleyball, basketball, softball, and gymnastics.

In this book, Mawson, who was inducted into the KU Athletics Hall of Fame in 2009, describes her remarkable career, from her early years in Missouri to her retirement. With behind-the-scenes views and insights that reflect a lifetime's experience, her memoir weaves together the history of the development of women's athletics at the University of Kansas and the story of the birth of women's intercollegiate athletics across the United States—from the Olympic Development Committee to Title IX to the NCAA. It is an engaging account of groundbreaking personal achievement by a woman in the world of college sports and a stirring record of an extraordinary but littledocumented decade in the evolution of women's athletics.

At KU between 1968 and 1990, Marlene Mawson was coordinator of the undergraduate and graduate programs and assistant chair in the Department of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation. She is emerita professor and was chair of the Department of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation at Illinois State University from 1990 to 2000.

JULY

344 pages, 55 photographs, 61/8 x 91/4 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2974-9, \$29.95(t) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-2975-6, \$29.95

### **Taking Flight**

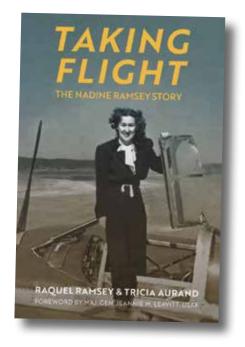
#### The Nadine Ramsey Story

Raquel Ramsey and Tricia Aurand Foreword by Maj. Gen. Jeannie M. Leavitt, USAF

In October 1944, Nadine Ramsey was thirty-three and flying the cutting-edge P-51 Mustang to New Jersey, its last stop before heading to the war in Europe. The irrepressible young woman from Wichita had long been determined to fly, and the gathering storm clouds of World War II had provided an unexpected opportunity. *Taking Flight* is the inspiring story of a girl from Depression-era Kansas who overcame tremendous challenges and defied convention to become an elite pilot—one of the few American women to fly fighter aircraft during World War II.

Taking Flight follows Nadine as she became one of 1,102 women to join the Women's Airforce Service Pilots and one of only 303 WASPs to take to the skies in military cockpits, transporting aircraft to bases across the nation for use in the theaters of war. This book marks her milestones: the first Kansas woman to earn a commercial pilot license; among the earliest women to fly the US Air Mail; one of only 26 WASPs who flew the Lockheed P-38 Lightning, a fighter aircraft—and the first woman to own one; the only woman in the country to instruct male pilots to fly fighter planes after the war. Disbanded in late 1944 to make way for male pilots and barred from piloting for commercial airlines, the WASPs spent the next three decades fighting to win veteran status.

Taking Flight: The Nadine Ramsey Story is a profile in courage of a woman who helped clear the flight path for today's female combat and commercial aviators.



Raquel Ramsey, a retired teacher, is the widow of Nadine's brother, Col. Edwin P. Ramsey, a decorated World War II hero, and the executive producer of his documentary, *Never Surrender: The Ed Ramsey Story*.

**Tricia Aurand** is a screenwriter. Both Ramsey and Aurand live in Los Angeles.

"Taking Flight: The Nadine Ramsey Story is more than the tale of her days as a WASP ferrying high-priority army aircraft across the skies of World War II America. It is the heartfelt account of her family and its collective grit, patriotism, and raw courage. A good read with a ton of great research on woman pioneers in aviation."

SARAH BYRN RICKMAN, AUTHOR OF THE ORIGINALS: THE WOMEN'S AUXILIARY FERRYING SQUADRON OF WORLD WAR II AND WASP OF THE FERRY COMMAND: WOMEN PILOTS, UNCOMMON DEEDS

"What better way to penetrate a glass ceiling than by piloting an aircraft!
Nadine Ramsey's story is both enlightening and inspirational; *Taking Flight* is a must-read."

THOMAS J. CUTLER, GORDON ENGLAND CHAIR OF PROFESSIONAL NAVAL LITERATURE, US NAVAL INSTITUTE

#### SEPTEMBER

320 pages, 89 photographs, 6 x 9 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2980-0, \$29.95(t) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-2981-7, \$29.95

### **Prairie Bachelor**

#### The Story of a Kansas Homesteader and the **Populist Movement**

Lynda Beck Fenwick

"Fenwick vividly transports the reader to the plains of central Kansas and describes the foundation of a pioneer spirit defined by industriousness and care for neighbor and community that exists to the present day."

US SENATOR JERRY MORAN, KANSAS

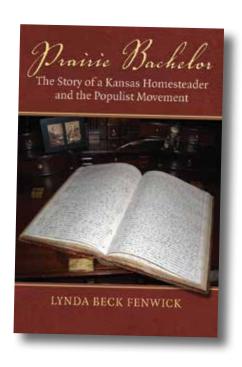
"Fenwick has done a noble thing: rescued a person and his time—from oblivion. Prairie Bachelor gives us a peek into the rich and complicated life of a thoughtful man who gave back to his community. Isaac Werner is both a striking individual and a symbol of all the people whose daily labor and political engagement made the great plains we know today."

**ANDREW JEWELL**, COEDITOR *THE* SELECTED LETTERS OF WILLA CATHER

DECEMBER 280 pages, 18 photographs, 2 maps, 20 figures, 6 x 9 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3027-1, \$55.00(s) Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3028-8, \$26.95(t) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3029-5, \$26.95

he People's Party, the most successful third party in America's history, emerged from the Populist Movement of the late 1800s. And of the People's Party, there was perhaps no more exemplary proponent than homesteader Isaac Beckley Werner of Stafford County, Kansas. Very much a man of his community, Werner contributed columns to the County Capital and other Kansas newspapers, spoke at the county seat, regularly attended Populist lectures, and-most fortunately for posterity—from 1884 until a few years before his death in 1895, kept a journal reporting on the world around him and noting the advice of Henry Ward Beecher. With this journal as a starting point, Isaac Beckley Werner, prairie bachelor, becomes an eloquent guide to the practical, social, and political realities of rural life in late nineteenth-century Kansas. In this portrait Lynda Beck Fenwick finds the Populist thinking that would eventually take hold in numerous ways, big and small, in American lifeand that would make a mark the imprint of which can be seen in the nation's political culture to this day.

Expanding her search to local cemeteries, courthouses, museums, and fields where homesteaders once staked their claims, Fenwick reveals a farming community much denser than today's, where Prohibition, women's rights, and income inequality were shared concerns, and where enduring problems, like substance abuse, immigration, and racial bias, made an early appearance. The Populist movement both arose from and focused upon these issues, as Werner's



journal demonstrates; and in his world of farmers, small-town businessmen, engaged women, and working people, Fenwick's Prairie Bachelor shows us the provenance and lived reality of a rural populism that would forever alter the American political scene.

Lynda Beck Fenwick is an attorney emeritus—TX, GA, and NC, and was an adjunct professor of law, Baylor University. Fenwick is an award winning author of Should the Children Pray: A Historical, Judicial, and Political Examination of Public School Prayer and Private Choices, Public Consequences: Reproductive Technology and the New Ethics of Conception, Pregnancy, and Family. She and her husband have lived in New England, New York City, Atlanta, Charlotte, and Texas. She was raised and now lives in Kansas.

### My Flint Hills

### Observations and Reminiscences from America's Last Tallgrass Prairie

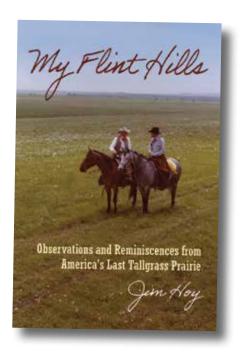
Jim Hoy

Osage County, Oklahoma, are the Flint Hills of Kansas, and growing on those hills the last of the tallgrass prairie that once ranged from Canada to Texas, and on those fields of bluestem, cattle graze—and tending the cattle, someone like Jim Hoy, whose people have ranched there from, well, not quite time immemorial, but pretty darn close.

Hoy has always called the Flint Hills home, and over the decades he has made a study of them—their tough terrain and quiet beauty, their distinctive folk life and cattle culture—and marshaled his observations to bring the Flint Hills home to readers in a singular way. These essays are Hoy's Flint Hills, combining family lore and anecdotes of ranching life with reflections on the region's rich history and nature. Whether it's weaning calves or shoeing horses, checking in on a local legend or a night of high school basketball in nearby Cassoday, encountering a

coyote or a badger or surveying what's happened to the tallgrass prairie over time, summoning cowboy traditions or parsing the place's plant life or rock formations, he has something to say—and you can bet it's well worth hearing. With his keen eye, understated wit, and store of knowledge, Hoy makes his Flint Hills come alive, and in the telling, live on.

Jim Hoy is professor emeritus of English, Emporia State University, and director emeritus of the Center for Great Plains Studies. Among his many books are Flint Hills Cowboys: Tales from the Tallgrass Prairie, also from Kansas, and, with Tom Isern, Plains Folk: A Commonplace of the Great Plains.



"The stories in this book are reflections of life lived in the region and of the deep family ties he has to the hills. It is a joy to read Hoy's deep-rooted affection for the place he calls home."

**JAMES SHEROW,** AUTHOR OF *THE*CHISHOLM TRAIL: JOSEPH McCOV'S
GREAT GAMBLE

"Grass isn't the only thing that grows beautifully in the Kansas Flint Hills. So do families, horses, tall tales, myths, unwelcome cedar trees, the number of stars you can see in the sky, and women who make legendary pies. Even when some folks are remembered only in fragments of amusing yarns, their names have a place in the deep and horizontal root system Jim Hoy cultivates."

C. J. Janovy, arts reporter and editor, KCUR (Public Radio Kansas City, MO) and author of No Place Like Home: Lessons in Activism from LGBT Kansas

#### SEPTEMBER

272 pages, 56 photographs, 1 map, 6 x 9 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2993-0, \$29.95(t) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-2994-7, \$29.95

### Rodeo as Refuge, Rodeo as Rebellion

#### Gender, Race, and Identity in the **American Rodeo**

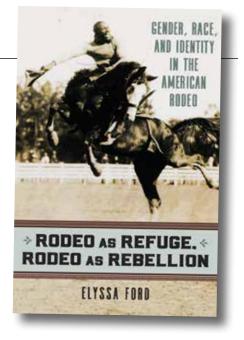
Elyssa Ford

"In Rodeo as Refuge, Rodeo as Rebellion, Ford compellingly uses the rodeo to explore how lived experiences interact with mythic pasts to shape modern identities in diverse settings across North America. The theme of work and the roles of women in each rodeo are highlights in this appealing study.

MARGARET FRISBEE, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, METROPOLITAN STATE UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

rom the Wild West shows of the nineteenth century to the popular movie Westerns of the twentieth century, one view of an idealized and mythical West has been promulgated. Elyssa Ford suggests that we look beyond these cowboy clichés to complicate and enrich our picture of the American West. Rodeo as Refuge, Rodeo as Rebellion takes us from the beachfront rodeo arenas in Hawai'i to the reservation rodeos held by Native Americans to reveal how people largely missing from that stereotypical picture make rodeo—and America their own.

Because rodeo has such a hold on our historical and cultural imagination, it becomes an ideal arena for establishing historical and cultural relevance. By claiming a place in that arena, groups rarely included in our understanding of the West-African Americans, Native Americans, Mexican Americans, Native Hawaiians, and the LGBT+ communityemphasize their involvement in the American past and proclaim their right to an American identity today. In doing so, these groups change what Americans know about their history and themselves. In her journey through these race- and group-specific rodeos, Ford finds that some see rodeo as a form of escape, a refuge from a hostile outside world. For others, rodeo has become a site of rebellion, a place to proclaim their difference and to connect to a different story of America. Still others, like



Mexican Americans and the LGBT+ community, look inward, using rodeo to coalesce and celebrate their own identities.

In Ford's study of these historically marginalized groups, she also examines where women fit in race- and groupspecific rodeos-and concludes that even within these groups, the traditional masculinity of the rodeo continues to be promoted. Female competitors may find refuge within alternate rodeos based on their race or sexuality, but they still face limitations due to their gender identity.

Whether as refuge or rebellion, rodeos of difference emerge in this book as quintessentially American, remaking how we think about American history, culture, and identity.

Elyssa Ford is associate professor of history at Northwest Missouri State University.

#### **NOVEMBER**

288 pages, 35 photographs, 6 x 9 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3030-1, \$70.00(s) Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3031-8, \$29.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3032-5, \$29.95

### The American Counterculture

#### A History of Hippies and Cultural Dissidents

Damon R. Bach

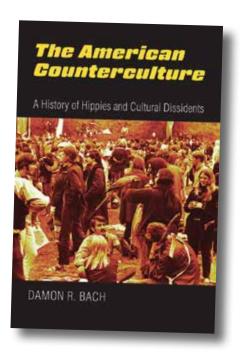
estricted to the shorthand of "sex, drugs, and rock 'n' roll," the counterculture would seem to be a brief, vibrant stretch of the 1960s. But the American counterculture, as this book clearly demonstrates, was far more than a historical blip and its impact continues to resonate. In this comprehensive history, Damon R. Bach traces the counterculture from its antecedents in the 1950s through its emergence and massive expansion in the 1960s to its demise in the 1970s and persistent echoes in the decades since.

The counterculture, as Bach tells it, evolved in discrete stages, and his book describes its development from coast to heartland to coast as it evolved into a national phenomenon, involving a diverse array of participants and undergoing fundamental changes between 1965 and 1974. Hippiedom appears here in relationship to the era's movements—civil rights, women's and gay liberation, Red and Black Power, the New Left, and environmentalism. Bach contends that in its connection to other forces of the time, the counterculture's central objective was to create a new, superior society based on alternative values and institutions. Drawing for the first time on documents produced by self-described "freaks" from 1964 through 1973—underground newspapers, memoirs, personal correspondence, flyers, and pamphlets-his book creates an unusually nuanced, colorful, and complete picture of a time often portrayed in clichéd or nostalgic

This is the counterculture of love-ins and flower children, of the Grateful Dead and Jefferson Airplane, but also of antiwar

demonstrations, communes, co-ops, head shops, cultural feminism, Earth Day, and antinuclear activism. What Damon R. Bach conjures is the counterculture in all of its permutations and ramifications as he illuminates its complexity, continually evolving values, and constantly changing components and adherents that defined and redefined it throughout its near decade-long existence. Bach convincingly argues that, in the long run, the counterculture spearheaded cultural transformation, leaving a changed America in its wake.

**Damon R. Bach** is a lecturer in history at Texas A&M University.



"Bach offers a highly accessible account of a movement that encompassed both hippies and allied cultural dissidents . . . compelling and original, this book will no doubt attract the interest of scholars and students as well as the general public."

GRETCHEN LEMKE-SANTANGELO,
AUTHOR OF DAUGHTERS OF AQUARIUS:
WOMEN OF THE SIXTIES COUNTERCULTURE

"The American Counterculture offers a sweeping synthesis of an important national story that truly spread across the entire nation and made a lasting impact on American culture and politics. This is 'a trip' worth taking."

**SHERRY L. SMITH**, AUTHOR OF HIPPIES, INDIANS AND THE FIGHT FOR RED POWER

"This is an essential book for anyone wanting to understand the full scope of Sixties-era youth culture.

**BLAKE SLONECKER**, AUTHOR OF A NEW DAWN FOR THE NEW LEFT: LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE, MONTAGUE FARM, AND THE LONG SIXTIES

#### NOVEMBER

360 pages, 18 photographs, 6 x 9 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3009-7, \$70.00(s) Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3010-3, \$29.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3011-0, \$29.95

### **Bargaining with the Machine**

#### Technology, Surveillance, and the Social Contract

Robert M. Pallitto

"Bargaining with the Machine explores the contractual relationship between the user of a technology or service and the provider. Robert M. Pallitto makes a convincing case that most people will enter the bargain without even considering the consequences or implications. An important contribution to the study of surveillance."

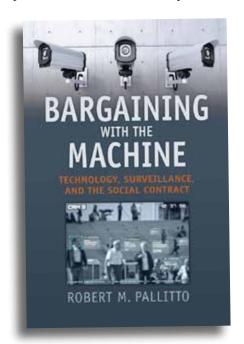
DR. ARMIN KRISHNAN, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR AND DIRECTOR OF SECURITY STUDIES AT EAST CAROLINA UNIVERSITY

"With philosophical insight and social science circumspection, Robert M. Pallitto lifts the veil of plausibility from the injurious bargains we make with contemporary American culture."

ALBERT BORGMANN, AUTHOR OF REAL AMERICAN ETHICS

ell phone apps share location information; software companies store user data in the cloud; biometric scanners read fingerprints; employees of some businesses have microchips implanted in their hands. In each of these instances we trade a share of privacy or an aspect of identity for greater convenience or improved security. What Robert M. Pallitto asks in Bargaining with the Machine is whether we are truly making such bargains freely-whether, in fact, such a transaction can be conducted freely or advisedly in our ever more technologically sophisticated world.

Pallitto uses the social theory of bargaining to look at the daily compromises we make with technology. Specifically, he explores whether resisting these "bargains" is still possible when the technologies in question are backed by persuasive, even coercive, corporate and



state power. Who, he asks, is proposing the bargain? What is the balance of bargaining power? What is surrendered and what is gained? And are the perceived and the actual gains and losses the same—that is, what is hidden?

At the center of Pallitto's work is the paradox of bargaining in a world of limited agency. Assurances that we are in control are abundant whether we are consumers, voters, or party to the social contract. But when purchasing goods from a technological behemoth like Amazon, or when choosing a candidate whose image is crafted and shaped by campaign strategists and media outlets, how truly free, let alone informed, are our choices?

The tension between claims of agency and awareness of its limits is the site where we experience our social lives and nowhere is this tension more pronounced than in the surveillance society. This book offers a cogent analysis of how that complex, contested, and even paradoxical experience arises as well as an unusually clear and troubling view of the consequential compromises we may be making.

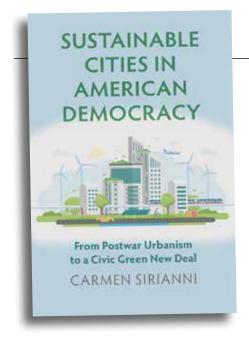
Robert M. Pallitto is professor in the Department of Political Science and Public Affairs at Seton Hall University. He is the author of In the Shadow of the Great Charter: Common Law Constitutionalism and the Magna Carta (Kansas).

**AUGUST** 168 pages, 6 x 9 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2984-8, \$60.00(s) Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-2985-5, \$24.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-2986-2, \$24.95

# Sustainable Cities in American Democracy

# From Postwar Urbanism to a Civic Green New Deal

Carmen Sirianni



e face two global threats: the climate crisis and a crisis of democracy. Located at the crux of these crises, sustainable cities build on the foundations and resources of democracy to make our increasingly urban world more resilient and just. Sustainable Cities in American Democracy focuses on this effort as it emerged and developed over the past decades in the institutional field of sustainable cities—a vital response to environmental degradation and climate change that is shaped by civic and democratic action.

Carmen Sirianni shows how various kinds of civic associations and grassroots mobilizing figure in this story, especially as they began to explicitly link conservation to the future of our democracy and then develop sustainable cities as a democratic project. These organizations are national, local, or multitiered, from

the League of Women Voters to the Natural Resources Defense Council to bicycle and watershed associations. Some challenge city government agencies contentiously, while others seek collaboration; many do both at some point. Sirianni uses a range of analytic approaches—from scholarly disciplines, policy design, urban governance, social movements, democratic theory, public administration, and planning—to understand how such diverse civic and professional associations have come to be both an ecology of organizations and a systemic and coherent project.

The institutional field of sustainable cities has emerged with some core democratic norms and civic practices but also with many tensions and trade-offs that must be crafted and revised strategically in the face of new opportunities and persistent shortfalls. Sirianni's account draws ambitious yet pragmatic and hopeful lessons for a "Civic Green New Deal"—a policy design for building sustainable and resilient cities on much more robust foundations in the decades ahead while also addressing democratic deficits in our polarized political culture.

Carmen Sirianni is Morris Hillquit Professor in Labor and Social Thought and professor of sociology and public policy at Brandeis University. His books include Investing in Democracy: Engaging Citizens in Collaborative Governance. "Sirianni skillfully reveals how sustainable cities are as much about the processes of contesting, aligning, and blending policies as the products or outcomes of our public decisions. This book also engages with important issues of urban equity in sustainability—who benefits and who has power. This work is extremely important for understanding how to move toward lasting and equitable policy change around many of today's most pressing issues of human and planetary survival."

JASON CORBURN, PROFESSOR,
DEPARTMENT OF CITY AND REGIONAL
PLANNING AND DIRECTOR, INSTITUTE
OF URBAN AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
BERKELEY

OCTOBER

456 pages, 6 x 9

Environment and Society

Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2997-8, \$80.00(s)

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Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-2999-2, \$29.95

### Napoleon Absent, **Coalition Ascendant**

#### The 1799 Campaign in Italy and Switzerland, Volume 1

Carl von Clausewitz

Translated and Edited by Nicholas Murray and Christopher Pringle

#### Praise for Napoleon's 1796 Italian Campaign:

"Interested in Clausewitz but lack the stomach (and the Sitzfleisch) for On War? Here is the antidote, one of the Prussian sage's more snackable historical works. Napoleon's 1796 Italian Campaign has it all: flash campaign narrative, deep analysis, and snide remarks about Jomini. Murray and Pringle are erudite commentators and smooth translators. A volume for novices and experts alike."

ROBERT M. CITINO, AUTHOR OF THE WEHRMACHT'S LAST STAND: THE GERMAN CAMPAIGNS OF 1944-1945

#### Europe from 1789 through 1815, informed and shaped Clausewitz's military thought, so they offer invaluable insight into his dialectical, often difficult theoretical masterwork.

Among these historical works, one of the most important is Der Feldzug von 1799 in Italien und der Schweiz, which covers an important phase of the French Revolutionary Wars. Napoleon Absent, Coalition Ascendant covers the period of

Napoleon's invasion of Egypt and focuses on the Second Coalition's campaign in Italy and their victories under Suvorov's dynamic leadership that carried the tide of battle up against the French frontier

Moving from strategy to battle scene to analysis, this first English translation of volume 5 of Clausewitz's collected works nimbly conveys the character of Clausewitz's writing in all its registers: the brisk, often powerful description of events as they unfolded and the critical reflections on strategic theory and its implications. Napoleon Absent, Coalition Ascendant includes the major battles of Trebbia and Novi and will expand readers' experience and understanding of not only this critical moment in European history but also the thought and writings of the modern master of military philosophy.

Nicholas Murray teaches strategy and policy at the US Naval War College. He is the author of The Rocky Road to the Great War: The Evolution of Trench Warfare to 1914.

Christopher Pringle is an academic publisher and a former officer in the British Territorial Army. He is the author of Bloody Big BATTLES! Rules for Wargaming the Late Nineteenth Century and a supporting blog.

Murray and Pringle are the cotranslators and coeditors of Carl von Clausewitz's Napoleon's 1796 Italian Campaign, also from Kansas.

## Carl von Clausewitz NAPOLEON ABSENT, COALITION ASCENDANT THE 1799 CAMPAIGN IN ITALY AND SWITZERLAND, VOLUME 1 Nicholas Murray & Christopher Pringle

arl von Clausewitz (1780–1831) is

best known for his masterpiece of

*▶* military theory On War, yet that

ten-volume published writings. The others, historical analyses of the wars that roiled

work formed only the first three of his

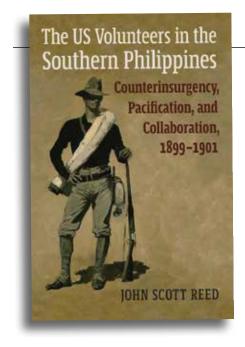
#### **DECEMBER**

440 pages, 11 maps, 6 x 9 Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-3024-0, \$75.00(s) Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3025-7, \$35.00(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3026-4, \$35.00

### The US Volunteers in the **Southern Philippines**

### Counterinsurgency, Pacification, and Collaboration, 1899-1901

John Scott Reed



n fighting the Philippine-American War, the United States counted heavily on twenty-five new regiments raised in the summer of 1899: the United States Volunteers (USVs). The USVs outnumbered regular regiments in eleven of eighteen military pacification districts, particularly through the southern archipelago, where they bore the brunt of field service, combat, and disease casualties until relieved in spring 1901 by a reconstituted Regular Army. The US Volunteers in the Southern Philippines offers the first full account of this historically unique 35,000-man force—and in the process describes how the USVs decisively contributed to the United States' single most successful counterinsurgency campaign waged outside the Western Hemisphere.

A close examination of the military achievements, garrison life, and institutional characteristics of the US Volunteers reveals how the force effectively combined the best elements of the American regular and militia traditions during its brief existence—abetted by an Army medical system vastly improved since debilitating losses in Cuba and the United States during 1898. Countering recent readings of the pacification of the Philippines as a near-genocidal event, John Scott Reed uses court-martial records to argue for a high disciplinary and behavioral standard among the USVs-in garrison, in the field, and, most critically, in their interactions with Filipino villagers. This standard, his evidence suggests, was supported by a late-Victorian, reflexively patriotic sense of masculinity that motivated the Volunteers, along with a profound belief in the self-evident superiority of American institutions. He also draws on recent Filipino scholarship to clarify the role of landed and commercial elites in initially supporting the Philippine Revolution and later collaborating with the US occupation.

Bridging military history and postcolonial studies, Reed's work provides a new and clearer understanding of the short-lived but highly effective US Volunteer force, and a new perspective on a critical moment in America's military and colonial past.

John Scott Reed is associate professor of history at the University of Utah.

"John Scott Reed has written an important and necessary work on the Philippine-American War."

DAVID SILBEY, AUTHOR OF A WAR OF FRONTIER AND EMPIRE: THE PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN WAR, 1899-1902

"Meticulously researched and organized, it is filled with insights on counterinsurgency, troop conduct, military adaptation, and the dynamics of irregular warfare."

BRIAN MCALLISTER LINN, AUTHOR OF THE PHILIPPINE WAR, 1899-1902

"John Scott Reed provides insights about the importance of logistical and medical support for soldiers, which have continuing resonance today.

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JULY

328 pages, 4 maps, 6 x 9 Modern War Studies Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2972-5, \$39.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-2973-2, \$39.95

### The U.S. Navy and Its Cold War Alliances, 1945-1953

Corbin Williamson

"This original analysis of postwar naval cooperation among the United States, Australia, Britain, and Canada adds to a growing body of new Cold War global scholarship. A must-read for historians of twentiethcentury navies and for scholars of the Cold War."

ISABEL CAMPBELL, SENIOR HISTORIAN, DIRECTORATE OF HISTORY AND HERITAGE, NATIONAL DEFENCE HEADQUARTERS, OTTAWA, CANADA

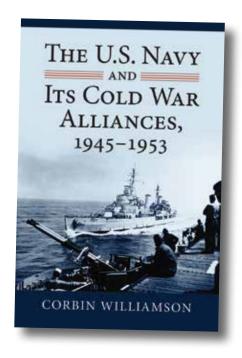
"The U.S. Navy and Its Cold War Alliances illuminates the web of these links built between the U.S. Navy and the British, Canadian, and Australian navies, and it is highly recommended."

ADMIRAL (RET.) JAMES STAVRIDIS, U.S. NAVY

**AUGUST** 360 pages, 15 photographs, 5 tables, 6 x 9 Modern War Studies Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2978-7, \$50.00(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-2979-4, \$50.00

fter World War I, the U.S. Navy's brief alliance with the British Royal Navy gave way to disagreements over disarmament, fleet size, interpretations of freedom of the seas, and general economic competition. This go-it-alone approach lasted until the next world war, when the U.S. Navy found itself fighting alongside the British, Canadian, Australian, and other Allied navies until the surrender of Germany and Japan. In The U.S. Navy and Its Cold War Alliances, 1945-1953, Corbin Williamson explores the transformation this cooperation brought about in the U.S. Navy's engagement with other naval forces during the Cold War.

Like the onetime looming danger of Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, growing concerns about the Soviet naval threat drew the U.S. Navy into tight relations with the British, Canadian, and Australian navies. The U.S. Navy and Its Cold War Alliances, 1945-1953, brings to light the navy-to-navy links that political concerns have kept out of the public sphere: a web of informal connections that included personnel exchanges, standardization efforts in equipment and doctrine, combined training and education, and joint planning for a war with the Soviets. Using a "history from the middle" approach, Corbin Williamson draws upon the archives of all four nations, including documents only recently declassified, to analyze the actions of midlevel officials and officers who managed and maintained these alliances on a day-to-day basis. His work highlights the impact of domestic politics and security concerns on navy-to-navy relations, even as it integrates American



naval history with those of Britain, Canada, and Australia. In doing so, the book provides a valuable new perspective on the little-studied but critical transformation of the U.S. Navy's peacetime alliances during the Cold War.

Corbin Williamson is assistant professor of strategy, Air War College, Montgomery, Alabama. His work has appeared in numerous publications, including books such as The Culture of Military Organizations and The Vietnam War in Popular Culture and periodicals such as the International Journal of Naval History, Diplomatic History, and Joint Force Quarterly.

### **Moral Imperative**

# 1972, Combat Rescue, and the End of America's War in Vietnam

Darrel D. Whitcomb

n 1972, America was completing its withdrawal from the long and divisive war in Vietnam. Air power covered the departure of ground forces, and search and rescue teams from all services and Air America covered the airmen and soldiers still in the fight. Day and night these military and civilian aircrews stood alert to respond to "Mayday" calls. The rescue forces were the answer to every man's prayer, and those forces brought home airmen, sailors, marines, and soldiers downed or trapped across the breadth and depth of the entire Southeast Asia theater. Moral Imperative relies on a trove of declassified documents and unit histories to tell their tales.

Focusing on 1972, Darrel Whitcomb combines stories of soldiers cut off from

Moral Imperative
1972, Combat Rescue,
and the End of America's
War in Vietnam

DARREL D. WHITCOMB

their units, advisors trapped with allied forces, and airmen downed deep in enemy territory, with the narratives of the US Air Force, Army, Navy, Marines, contract pilots, and special operations teams ready to conduct rescues in Laos, Cambodia, North Vietnam, and South Vietnam. All of these missions occur against the backdrop of our withdrawal from the war and our diplomatic efforts to achieve a lasting peace. In detail, Whitcomb shows how American rescue forces supported the military response to the North Vietnamese's massive threepronged invasion of South Vietnam, America's subsequent interdiction operations against North Vietnam, and ultimately the strategic bombing of Linebacker II.

Darrel D. Whitcomb graduated from the US Air Force Academy in 1969. He served three tours in Southeast Asia as a cargo pilot and forward air controller, logging combat missions over Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. He retired from the Air Force Reserve as a colonel in 1999 and is the author of *The Rescue of Bat 21* and three other books on military rescue and aviation.

"This book does an outstanding job in addressing the search and rescue efforts of the US Air Force and US Navy during the last year of the war. This book is strongly recommended."

James H. Willbanks, Professor emeritus, US Army Command and General Staff College, Vietnam veteran, and author of *Abandon-ING VIETNAM* 

"Darrel Whitcomb deftly demonstrates the ends to which rescue crews were willing to go to save a downed airman or aviator. Whitcomb shows the almost daily struggle of the men who flew the Sandys, Jolly Greens, Big Mothers, and a host of others who were willing to put it all on the line to bring their comrades out of harm's way. An amazing tale of gallantry and sacrifice."

**BRIAN LASLIE**, AUTHOR OF *THE AIR*FORCE WAY OF WAR: U.S. TACTICS
AND TRAINING AFTER VIETNAM

#### DECEMBER

368 pages, 21 photographs, 61/8 x 91/4

Modern War Studies

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### **Twenty Years of Service**

### The Politics of Military Pension Policy and the Long Road to Reform

Brandon J. Archuleta

"Twenty Years of Service is a must-read for anyone interested in US military pensions. This terrific book not only advances our understanding of the politics of military pensions—it also sheds light on policy subsystems more generally."

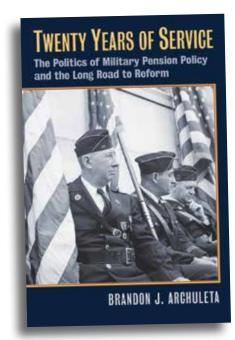
SARAH F. ANZIA, MICHELLE J. SCHWARTZ ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF PUBLIC POLICY AND ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

"The book helps us better understand how policy reforms and innovation proceed when budgetary stresses preclude the status quo despite a sclerotic and long history."

JEREMY TEIGEN, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, RAMAPO COLLEGE of New Jersey

ilitary pension policies are as old as the republic itself and reside at the intersection of American social, economic, and defense policy. But as the nation's social and economic circumstances underwent dramatic changes over the last half-century, military pension policy remained static, stuck in the personnel and retirement model of the industrial age. This book examines why.

Integrating policy history, theory, and practice, Twenty Years of Service provides the most comprehensive examination of US military pension policy in a generation. Brandon J. Archuleta sets the stage with an exploration of the rise, evolution, and transformation of the veterans' policy subsystem from the American Revolution through World War II. The ensuing



theoretical overview explains how the military personnel policy subsystem achieved the autonomy it enjoyed from 1948 to 2018; it also offers a new perspective on autonomous policy subsystems in general, which helps to account for the long-term pension policy stasis. In practical terms, Archuleta explores the role of the successful 2015 Military Compensation and Retirement Modernization Commission as an institutional venue for policy change during the congressional budget battles of the 2010s.

Through extensive archival research, illustrative case studies, and field interviews with Pentagon bureaucrats, congressional staffers, veterans' lobbyists, defense scholars, and journalists, Twenty *Years of Service* brings the policymaking process to life. Its insights will prove invaluable to policy scholars and defense practitioners alike.

Brandon J. Archuleta is an active duty US Army officer currently assigned to the Pentagon as a strategic planner in the Army War Plans Division. He most recently served as assistant professor of American politics at the US Military Academy at West Point.

**AUGUST** 272 pages, 24 illustrations, 7 tables, 6 x 9 Studies in Government and Public Policy Cloth ISBN 978-0-7006-2976-3, \$39.95(s) Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-2977-0, \$39.95

### **Repugnant Laws**

### Judicial Review of Acts of Congress from the Founding to the Present

Keith E. Whittington

#### Winner of the Thomas M. Cooley Book Prize

"Whittington here offers a thorough rejoinder to the often-repeated notion that the Supreme Court's exercise of judicial review is countermajoritarian. He also offers novel and thought-provoking analyses of famous cases, placing them in new light. There may be no better time to seek a fuller understanding of how judicial independence (whether in the form of activism or otherwise) can arise in different forms. Whittington's book is sure to inform those discussions. Highly recommended."

—Choice

"An impressively thorough, empirical study of judicial review, from the founding to the Supreme Court's 2017 term. The book makes for rewarding reading."—Claremont Review of Books

"Keith Whittington's invaluable and comprehensive survey of Supreme Court decisions striking down—and upholding—federal statutes carefully maps the complex relations between the Court and the political coalitions that produce, support, or sometimes abandon the laws the Court reviews. Bringing insights from American political development to bear, Whittington has supplanted Robert Dahl's classic work while preserving its core. Everyone interested in American political development and the Supreme Court must now take this work into account."—Mark Tushnet, William Nelson Cromwell Professor of Law, Harvard Law School

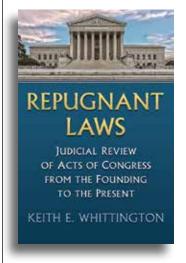
"Any book by Keith Whittington is an important book, and this one is no exception. Facts matter and this book provides them. From now on, no discussion of the practice of judicial review can ignore its empirical findings. Simply a must-read for any serious student of our Constitution and how it actually works."—Randy E. Barnett, director of the Georgetown Center for the Constitution and author of Our Republican Constitution: Securing the Liberty and Sovereignty of We the People

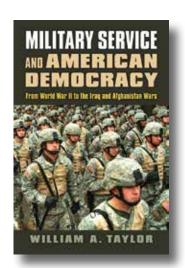
A thorough examination of the record of judicial review requires first a comprehensive inventory of relevant cases. To this end, Whittington revises the extant catalog of cases in which the Court has struck down a federal statute and adds to this, for the first time, a complete catalog of cases upholding laws of Congress against constitutional challenges. With reference to this inventory, Whittington is then able to offer a reassessment of the prevalence of judicial review, an account of how the power of judicial review has evolved over time, and a persuasive challenge to the idea of an antidemocratic, heroic court. In this analysis, it becomes apparent that the Court is political and often partisan, operating as a political ally to dominant political coalitions; vulnerable and largely unable to sustain consistent opposition to the policy priorities of empowered political majorities; and quasi-independent, actively exercising the power of judicial review to pursue the justices' own priorities within bounds of what is politically tolerable.

The Court, Repugnant Laws suggests, is a political institution operating in a political environment to advance controversial principles, often with the aid of political leaders who sometimes encourage and generally tolerate the judicial nullification of federal laws because it serves their own interests to do so. In the midst of heated battles over partisan and activist Supreme Court justices, Keith Whittington's work reminds us that, for better or for worse, the court reflects the politics of its time.

Keith E. Whittington is William Nelson Cromwell Professor of Politics at Princeton University. His many books include *Political* Foundations of Judicial Supremacy, Speak Freely, and, also from Kansas, Constitutional Interpretation.

AVAILABLE | CONSTITUTIONAL STUDIES | US HISTORY 432 pages, 13 illustrations, 6 x 9 Constitutional Thinking Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3036-3, \$29.95(s)





### Military Service and American **Democracy**

#### From World War II to the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars

William A. Taylor

- "Who serves? Who fights? As William Taylor makes clear in this exceptionally fine book, the answers to these two questions speak directly to the condition of American democracy. Here is a timely reminder that in our own day the questions themselves have lost none of their prior salience and may, if anything, be more important than ever."—Andrew J. Bacevich, author of America's War for the Greater Middle East: A Military History
- "Should be considered essential reading for those interested in understanding the modern American military."—Marine Corps University
- "Taylor's book is based on a far-ranging use of primary sources and a variety of archives. He addresses some of the crucial issues of manpower procurement, such as the criteria used by the selective service system, especially when the inequities of who should serve clashed with the desire to make the military representative of the society it was serving." —Journal of Military History
- "This is a valuable book. It is concise, comprehensive, and authoritative on a host of factual matters otherwise scattered among many print and online sources; here they are in one place. Taylor also illuminates a lesser-known story about the armed forces' major role in desegregating civilian society."—Journal of American History
- "A valuable, insightful book. . . . This work represents a significant step toward understanding the military in relation to the nation, the citizenry, and the political values it represents and serves."—American Historical Review

William A. Taylor is Lee Drain Endowed University Professorship, associate professor of global security studies, Department of Security Studies and Criminal Justice, Angelo State University

AUGUST | US HISTORY | MILITARY HISTORY 304 pages, 25 photographs, 6 x 9 Modern War Studies Paper ISBN 978-0-7006-3040-0, \$19.95(s)

### The Fight for the Old North State

#### The Civil War in North Carolina, January-May 1864

Hampton Newsome

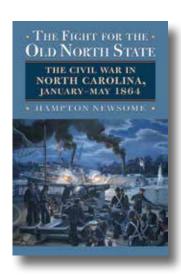
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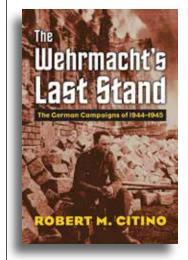
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