

Notebook

CFR

Conference for
Federal Studies

ISBN 0194-2840

Summer 1987
Volume 14, Number 3

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FROM THE EDITOR

The study of federalism and intergovernmental relations is multi-dimensional. So too are the features of the NOTEBOOK. Among the topics in this issue are a view of voter realignment; information about the Center for the Study of Federalism; and news about conferences, individuals, and events.

Also in the NOTEBOOK are news and notes about the American Political Science Association's Organized Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations. Take a moment to review the Section's 1987 program. In the past, news of the Section has been provided in this forum. We are hopeful that Section news will be a regular part of the NOTEBOOK, to bring about closer ties among the community of scholars and others interested in federalism and intergovernmental relations.

In that same spirit, please take some time to complete the 1987 Inventory of Federalism Research found in this issue. The details of the inventory will be published in a forthcoming NOTEBOOK.

- Robert D. Thomas

THE APSA'S SECTION ON FEDERALISM AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

1987 Program

The APSA's Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations affords us the opportunity to present, discuss, debate and refine issues of interest. For the past three years, the Section has presented a full slate of panels at annual meetings. It will be well represented again at the 1987 meeting, to be held at Chicago's Palmer House and Towers from Thursday, September 3 through Sunday, September 6. A highlight this year is a panel, The Role of the States in the Federal System. This panel will focus on the findings of a collaboration between the Center for the Study of Federalism and the University of Nebraska Press, on the relationships of individual states to other states and to the government at large. Those who are interested in doing proposals for books about their own states should be sure to attend this panel.

This year's program is as follows:

Panels Organized by:

Ellis Katz, Temple University
Robert D. Thomas, University of Houston

Management Information Systems in a
Federal System

Friday, 8:45 a.m.

CHAIR: David H. Davis, University of Wyoming

PAPERS: "A Small Cities Perspective on MIS"
Beverly Cigler, North Carolina State University

"Theorizing About MIS"
James Danziger, University of California at Irvine

"A National Government Perspective on MIS"
Howard Rhile, General Accounting Office

"A State Government Perspective on MIS"
E. Sam Overman, University of Colorado at Denver

"A Substate Regional Perspective on MIS"
Keith G. Baker, Florida International University

State Targeting Policies and Practices

Friday, 3:30 p.m.

CHAIR: Sarah F. Liebschutz, State University of New York
at Brockport

PAPERS: "The New Federalism and New Geopolitics in Arizona"
John S. Hall, Arizona State University

"State Targeting: The Research Issues"
Sarah F. Liebschutz, State University of New York
at Brockport

State Targeting Policies and Practices (Con'd)

Friday, 3:30 p.m.

PAPERS: "Job Training in Georgia: State and Local Perspectives"
Gretchen E. MacLachlan, Clark College

"A Comparative Analysis of Federal and State Aid Allocations: 1977-1982"
Robert M. Stein, Rice University
Keith Hamm, Texas A & M University

Local Governmental Research in an Intergovernmental Setting: A Roundtable

Saturday, 8:45 a.m.

CHAIR: Vincent L. Marando, University of Maryland

DISCUSSANTS:

Dennis L. Judd, University of Missouri-St. Louis
Mavis Mann Reeves, University of Maryland
Irene Rubin, Northern Illinois University
Robert D. Thomas, University of Houston
David B. Walker, University of Connecticut

Third Generation Implementation Research:
A Roundtable

Saturday, 10:45 a.m.

CHAIR: Malcolm L. Goggin, University of Houston

PAPERS: "Theory of Construction and Testing in Implementation Research: A Comparative State Diachronic Analysis"

Malcolm L. Goggin, University of Houston
Ann Bowman, University of South Carolina
James Lester, Colorado State University
Laurence J. O'Toole, Jr., Auburn University

"Implementation: Finding a Way Through the Studies"

Helen Ingram, University of Arizona

DISCUSSANTS:

Dean Mann, University of California at Santa Barbara

Paul Sabatier, University of California at Davis

Partisan and Voting Expressions of Regional
Discontent in Federal Systems

Sunday, 8:45 a.m.

PAPERS: "The Regional Context of Economic
Influences on American Congressional
and Presidential Votes"
Euel Elliott, University of Oklahoma
Marianne C. Stewart, Rutgers University

"Differences in Political Support for
Canadian Provincial and Federal Government"
Ronald Lambert, University of Waterloo
Steven D. Brown, Wilfred Laurier University
James E. Curtis, University of Waterloo
Barry J. Kay, Wilfred Laurier University

"Perpetual Alienation: The Prairie West in
Canada's Federation?"
David Smith, University of Saskatchewan

"The 1987 German Federal Election: Voting
Patterns at the Regional and Lander Levels"
Dieter Roth, Institute for Election Analysis,
Mannheim, Germany

DISCUSSANT:

Harold D. Clarke, Virginia Polytechnic Institute
& State University

The Role of the States in the American Federal System

Sunday, 10:45 a.m.

CHAIR: Ellis Katz, Temple University

PAPERS: "Illinois"
Samuel K. Gove, University of Illinois

"Maine"
Kenneth Palmer, University of Maine

"Alabama"
William Stewart, University of Alabama

"Mississippi"
Dale A. Krane, North Texas State University

DISCUSSANT:

Daniel J. Elazar, Temple University

Panels Organized by:

Stephen L. Schechter
N.Y. State Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution

Issues and Interests in the Ratification of
the Constitution

Thursday, 10:45 a.m.

CHAIR: Michael Lienesch, University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill

PAPERS: "Meanings of Federalism in the New York State
Ratification Debates"

Stephen L. Schechter, New York State Commission
on the Bicentennial of the
U.S. Constitution

"Sam Adams and the Ratification of the Constitution
in Massachusetts"

Michael Gillespie, Duke University

"The Problem of the Separation of Powers in the
North Carolina Debates"

Rob Sikorski, North Carolina Commission on the
Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution

DISCUSSANT:

Peter Onuf, Worcester Polytechnic Institute

Federalism: Views from the Founding

Thursday, 1:30 p.m.

CHAIR: Ralph Lerner, University of Chicago

PARTICIPANTS:

Thomas Pangle, University of Toronto

Peter Onuf, Worcester Polytechnic Institute

Robert Vipond, University of Toronto

How Lawyers View the Constitution

Friday, 1:30 p.m.

CHAIR: Robert S. Pack, American Bar Association

DISCUSSANTS:

Geoffrey Miller, University of Chicago Law School

Robert M. Weissbourd, Haranian, Yuterman & Howard

NEWS AND NOTES

Elazar Appointed to ACIR

Daniel J. Elazar has been appointed by President Reagan to be a member of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. The ACIR is a national bipartisan commission established by Congress in 1959 to study the American federal system and to make recommendations for change. As one of its twenty-six Commissioners, Elazar will join members of Congress, members of the executive branch, governors, state legislators, mayors, county officials and private citizens in this task. His two-year term commenced in April 1986.

Schechter Director of New York State Bicentennial Commission

Stephen L. Schechter has been selected to serve as the Executive Director of the New York State Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution. The commission was established to coordinate and promote activities commemorating the U.S. Constitution's bicentennial and the role of New York State in its adoption. The activities of the commission will include a bimonthly newsletter, a data bank of state programs and resources, a publications program, special events, technical assistance to communities and groups, and support of educational programs. Schechter is on leave from Russell Sage College.

Kincaid Research Director at ACIR

John Kincaid has assumed the position of Director of Research at the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations in Washington, D.C. Most recently, Kincaid was the recipient of grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and FIPSE to help design and direct a new core curriculum in the Arts and Sciences, called the Classic Learning Core. He is on leave from North Texas State University, but the editorial offices of Publius will remain there.

Elazar and Katz Commonwealth Speakers

Daniel J. Elazar and Ellis Katz have been selected by the Pennsylvania Humanities Council to be "Commonwealth Speakers." As part of this program, they will provide lectures relating to the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution to universities and community groups around the state.

Greenwood Press Series on State Constitutions

Greenwood Press has announced that a major new reference series on state constitutions has been launched. Professor Alan G. Tarr of Rutgers University, Camden, N.J. will serve as Series Advisor. It is projected that "State Constitutions of the United States" will be composed of 52 volumes and will be completed by 1995.

Each volume will contain an analysis of a particular state's constitutional history and current status, the texts of the constitutions, a clause-by-clause commentary on the current constitution, and other features. The

Greenwood Press Series on State Constitutions (Con'd)

series will serve as a reference tool for scholars and members of the bench and bar, as well as an overview for the general reader and students.

National Small Government Research Network

A group of researchers interested in the processes and problems of rural and other small governments in the United States has formed the National Small Government Research Network (NaSGreen). Organized in July 1986, in cooperation with the Economic Research Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the network will provide a forum for research collaboration and the exchange of ideas and materials. One planned network activity is a national data collection project on small governments, using field research samples in as many states as possible.

Researchers and other professionals are invited to join the network. Information can be obtained from:

Professor Beverly Cigler
Department of Political Science and Public Administration
North Carolina State University
Box 8102
Raleigh, NC 27695-8102

Professor Al Sokolow
Department of Political Science
University of California, Davis
Davis, California 95616

Dr. Richard Long
State and Local Government Section
Rural Business and Government Branch
Economic Research Service
U.S. Department of Agriculture
1301 New York Avenue, N.W.
Room 324
Washington, D.C. 20005-4788

* * * * *

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The latest offering from the Center for the Study of Federalism, Exploring Federalism by Daniel J. Elazar, is an examination of the federal principle as it is applied in those federal arrangements that exist in the world. The book's main purpose is to demonstrate that federalism does, indeed, offer its own unique approach to political phenomena.

Other publications are listed below and more are available through our catalogue.

American Government/Intergovernmental Relations

Documents of Political Foundation Written
By Colonial Americans

Donald S. Lutz
(474 pages, \$75.00)

America and the Federalist Revolution

Daniel J. Elazar
(\$2.00)

The Preamble to the Constitution of the
United States

Donald S. Lutz
(\$2.00)

Toward the Third Century of American
Federalism: New Dynamics and New
Perspectives

John Kincaid
(\$2.00)

Civil Community/Local Government

Cities of the Prairie Revisited: The Closing of
the Metropolitan Frontier

Daniel J. Elazar, Rozann Rothman,
Stephen L. Schechter, Maren Allen Stein,
and Joseph Zikmund II
(288 pages, \$25.00)

Building Cities in America: Urbanization and
Suburbanization in a Frontier Society

Daniel J. Elazar
(291 pages, \$23.95)

RECENT PUBLICATIONS (Con'd)

Comparative Federalism

Exploring Federalism

Daniel J. Elazar
(335 pages, \$28.95)

Federal Democracy: The U.S.A. and Europe Compared--
A Political Science Perspective

Daniel J. Elazar and Ilan Greilsammer
(\$2.00)

Covenant and Politics/Federal Theory

The Americanization of the Covenant

Rowland A. Sherrill
(\$3.00)

Breach or Covenant: Melville's Question About
Science, Philanthropy and Law

Rozann Rothman
(\$3.00)

Covenant, Process and Slavery in the Thought of
Adams and Jefferson

J. David Greenstone
(\$4.00)

Questions of Covenant in the 19th Century

Daniel J. Elazar
(\$3.00)

To order publications or receive our new catalogue, please fill in the information below and send it to: Publications Department, Center for the Study of Federalism, Temple University, #025-25 Philadelphia, PA 19122

----- Please send me your new publications catalogue.

----- Please send me the following publications.

----- bill me ----- enclosed is a check in payment (we pay postage)

NAME

ADDRESS

PUBLIUS: RECENT AND FORTHCOMING ISSUES

Publius: The Journal of Federalism features articles about the institutions and processes shaping federal systems in the United States and around the world. Recent and forthcoming issues cover such topics as state constitutions, the Voting Rights Act, the work of Leo Strauss, and the annual review of American federalism.

Recent Issues

Volume 16, Number 4

Articles

From the Editors of *Publius*.....

Introduction.....
by *Charles L. Cotrell*

Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act: Implementation of an
Administrative Remedy.....
by *Lorn S. Foster*

Racial Vote Dilution: Impact of the Reagan DOJ and the Burger
Court on the Voting Rights Act.....
by *Howard Ball*

The Voting Rights Act and Hispanic Political Representation in
the Southwest.....
by *John A. Garcia*

Effects of the Voting Rights Act in Texas: Perceptions of
County Election Administrators.....
by *Charles L. Cotrell and Jerry Polinard*

Applying the Voting Rights Act in Houston: Federal Intervention
or Local Political Determination?.....
by *Robert D. Thomas and Richard W. Murray*

The Voting Rights Act and Louisiana: Twenty Years of Enforcement.....
by *Frederick D. Wright*

Repairing the Crack in New Orleans' Black Vote: VRA's Results
Test Nullifies "Gerryduck".....
by *Richard L. Engstrom*

The Voting Rights Act and Black Registration in Mississippi.....
by *David C. Colby*

The Voting Rights Act in North Carolina: An Evaluation.....
by *Joel A. Thompson*

Beyond the Voting Rights Act: White Responses to Black
Political Power in Tchula, Mississippi.....
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Publius: Recent Issues
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- State Constitutions, Freedom of Expression, and Search and Seizure:
Prospects for State Court Reincarnation.....
by *Sue Davis and Taunya Lovell Banks*
- Judicial Federalism and Equality Guarantees in State Supreme Courts.....
by *Susan P. Fino*
- Reactive Responses: The Complementary Role of Federal and State Courts..
by *Stanley H. Friedelbaum*
- Judicial Review and the Supreme Court of Washington, 1890-1986.....
by *Charles H. Sheldon*
- State Constitutional Limits on Legislative Procedure: Legislative
Compliance and Judicial Enforcement.....
by *Robert F. Williams*
- The Decline of the Legislative Veto: Federal/State Comparisons and
Interactions.....
by *L. Harold Levinson*
- State Attorneys General as Interpreters of State Constitutions.....
by *Thomas R. Morris*
- Constitutional Amendment and Revision Revisited.....
by *Janice C. May*

Book Reviews

- Richman, White, and Wilkinson, *Intergovernmental Mediation:
Negotiations in Local Government Disputes*.....
by *John Kincaid*
- Smith, B. C., *Decentralization: The Territorial Dimension of the State*.....
by *Gregory R. Weiher*

Book Notes

- Benton, 1787: *Drafting the U.S. Constitution*.....
- Bonney, *The Politics and Finance of Provincial Government in Papua
New Guinea*.....
- Gelfand and Neymeyer, *Changing Patterns in American Federal-State
Relations During the 1950's, the 1960's & the 1970's*.....
- Kammen, *The Origins of the American Constitution: A Documentary
History*.....
- Kaplan and Cinciti, *The Great Society and Its Legacy*.....
- Lutz, *Documents of Political Foundation Written by Colonial Americans:
From Covenant to Constitution*.....
- Stewart, *Concepts of Federalism*.....
- In Memoriam.....
- Publius Index.....

Publius: Recent Issues

Volume 17, Number 2

Articles

- From the Editors of *Publius*.....
- Leo Strauss and the American Regime.....
by *Morton J. Frisch*
- Jefferson and Executive Power: Revisionism and the "Revolution of 1800".....
by *Gary J. Schmitt*
- The Promise of Progressivism: Herbert Croly and the Progressive Rejection
of Individual Rights.....
by *David K. Nichols*
- The Governorship-Senate Connection: A Step in the Structure of
Opportunities Grows Weaker.....
by *Franz Coady-pott*
- The New Federalism Game: Primacy Implementation of Environmental
Policy.....
by *Patricia McGee Croly*
- State Participation in Interstate Compacts.....
by *David C. Nice*
- The Burger Court's View of the Relationship Between the States and Their
Municipalities.....
by *Louise Byer Miller*
- Integrating Municipal Workforces: A Comparative Study of Six
Southern Cities.....
by *Lana Stein and Stephen E. Condrey*
- Research Note
- The U.S. Senate and Federalism Policy in the 96th and 97th Congresses.....
by *Rodney E. Hero*

Subscriptions and single copies for individual and classroom
use may be obtained by writing to:

Publius: The Journal of Federalism
Department of Political Science
North Texas State University
Denton, Texas 76203-5338

Publius: Forthcoming Issue

The State of American Federalism, 1986
Volume 17, Number 3
Summer 1987

Articles

- "The State of American Federalism: 1986"
by John Kincaid
- "Fiscal Federalism in 1986: The Spotlight Continues to Swing Toward
the States and Local Governments"
by Robert W. Refuse, Jr.
- "Public Opinion and Federalism, 1986"
by Mavis Mann Reeves
- "The 1986 Mid-Term Elections for Governor and State Legislatures:
A Modest Departure from Past Patterns"
by John F. Bibby
- "The Southern Presidential Primary: Regional Intentions with
National Implications"
by Harold W. Stanley and Charles F. Hadley
- "The Supreme Court Prohibits Gerrymandering: A Gain or a Loss
for the States?"
by Charles H. Backstrom and Leonard Robins
- "SBE Planning and Participation Processes: Are the States
Becoming Stronger Partners?"
by Robert Agranoff
- "Education Policy: A New Context for Governments"
by Susan H. Fuhrman
- "Bitter Harvest: Intergovernmental Dimensions of the Farm Crisis"
by Timothy J. Conlan
- "Tort Reform and Regulation of the Insurance Industry: Medical
Malpractice Liability in 1986"
by Garry W. Copeland and Kenneth J. Meier
- "Inter-State Banking: Current Status and Unfinished Agendas"
by Sandra B. McCray
- "U.S. Prosecution of State and Local Officials for Political
Corruption: Is the Bureaucracy Out of Control in a High-Stakes
Operation Involving the Constitutional System?"
by Arthur Maass
- "The YwaZulu/Natal Indaba: A Federalist Proposal for South Africa"
by Edward A. Lyuch

WILL THERE BE A VOTER REALIGNMENT?

Daniel J. Elazar
Temple University and Bar-Ilan University

The results of the 1986 elections suggest that the Republican hope for a voter realignment has not come to pass. In fact, that hope was premature for this generation. The American electorate today is in the same position that it was 100 years ago when the Republicans were seeking to replace a Democratic majority in place for two generations. They found themselves in a situation where they could win the presidency more often than not, but had far greater difficulty with Congressional elections.

A brief review of the history of voter realignment and critical elections suggests what is happening. The first real voter realignment in American history occurred around the presidential elections of 1796 and 1800, when the Jeffersonian Democrats replaced the Federalists as the majority party. Thomas Jefferson lost the 1796 election but won in 1800 and the Federalists, who had a very brief tenure, disappeared as a political force.

The Jeffersonian coalition held until 1820 and then began to fragment. Still, it was not until the 1824-1828 elections (the latter being the first really popular election for the presidency) that the dust settled. The Jacksonian wing of the party captured the presidency and the voters, and became the Democratic party. The Clay wing left to form the Whig party. Jackson actually lost the election of 1824 in the House of Representatives and then won in 1828. Thus, the Democratic party received a mandate for another generation--a mandate which did not face a significant challenge until 1854 when the Republican party was founded.

The next set of critical elections revolved around the presidential elections of 1856, which the Republicans lost, and 1860, which they barely won. The Democratic majority was shattered but no Republican majority was formed in its wake, even though what ensued was a generation of stalemate, with Republicans winning the presidency and the Democrats doing at least as well in Congressional and state and local elections. That stalemate persisted until the presidential elections of 1892 and 1896, when the Republicans finally broke through and achieved the decisive majority. They held that majority until the elections of 1928, when they won, and 1932, which they lost to FDR who proceeded to restore the Democrats to majority party status.

FDR's coalition held until the 1950s. It was threatened by the Republicans under Eisenhower who won big in 1952 and even bigger in 1956, actually cutting into such traditional Democratic strongholds as the city of Chicago. John F. Kennedy restored the Democratic coalition in 1960, albeit in a weakened state, so that, in the last generation of the twentieth century, Americans are where they were in the last generation of the nineteenth, with the two parties in a stalemate.

Realignments take place when a new generation of voters comes of age and the old generation drops out of political activity. Relatively few voters shift their party allegiance in mid-life. Thus electoral changes follow biological rhythms on a generational basis.

It is true that, given the cycle of previous critical elections (every 24 to 32 years), a realignment could have begun in 1984, but the last generation of the nineteenth century spread out over a longer period than usual (32 years between 1860 and 1892) and it seems that the same is occurring a century later. On the other hand, there is another parallel which suggests that the future for the Republicans, while delayed, is still rosy. The precursor of the reconstruction of the Democratic coalition in the 1960s was to be found in Democratic victories in previously solid Republican states between 1948 and 1958, in state elections. The 1980s seem to be bringing about a similar phenomenon in reverse, with Republicans winning previously solid Democratic statehouses. Thus, there is every likelihood that the Republicans will achieve their realignment and become the majority party sometime between 1992 and the year 2000. All this only serves to confirm that there is a generational rhythm to American politics which can only be manipulated in modest ways.

ANNUAL INVENTORY OF RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

As a service to its members, the Center for the Study of Federalism takes an annual inventory of members' current research activities and publications. The results of the inventory are published in the NOTEBOOK. The following form is provided for your convenience. Please fill it out and return it to:

Professor Robert D. Thomas
Department of Political Science
PGH Bldg., Room 427
University of Houston
Houston, Texas 77004

Look for the complete inventory in a forthcoming issue. Thank you.

ANNUAL INVENTORY OF RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

1. Name _____
2. Institutional Affiliation (university and department, governmental agency, etc.) and Address

3. Title and position _____

4. Current Research Activities

Project Number 1

(a) Title _____

(b) Description _____

(c) Information Contact _____

(d) Starting Date/Completion Date _____

(e) Availability of Final Report (Address) _____

Project Number 2

(a) Title _____

(b) Description _____

(c) Information Contact _____

(d) Starting Date/Completion Date _____

(e) Availability of Final Report (Address) _____

(Please use back of this page for additional projects.)

Annual Inventory of Research and Publications (Con'd)

5. Recent Publications

Publication 1

(a) Title _____

(b) Journal or other publication source _____

(c) Description _____

(d) Availability of reprints (Address and cost, if any) _____

Publication 2

(a) Title _____

(b) Journal or other publication source _____

(c) Description _____

(d) Availability of reprints (Address and cost, if any) _____

(Please use back of this page for additional publications.)

Annual Inventory of Research and Publications (Con'd)

5. Center for the Study of Federalism Activities

(a) What services would you like the Center to provide for its members?

(b) What topics would you like to see included in the APSA's Section on Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations at the annual American Political Science Association Meetings?

(c) Would you be willing to serve as a reader for PUBLIUS manuscripts?

___ Yes ___ No

If yes, please indicate your areas of specialization and interest.

(d) Would you be willing to review books for PUBLIUS?

___ Yes ___ No

(e) On what topics would you like to review books?

THANK YOU.

Please return to: Dr. Robert D. Thomas
Department of Political Science
PGH Bldg., Room 427
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Houston, Texas 77004

Notebook

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CFS NOTEBOOK is published by the Center for the Study of Federalism,
Temple University, Gladfelter Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122.
Editor: Robert D. Thomas
Production Editor: Monica M. Wysong
Editorial Assistant: Mary A. Duffy
CFS NOTEBOOK is distributed on a quarterly basis to members of the
Conference for Federal Studies.