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CSF Notebook

THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF FEDERALISM



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NEWS FROM THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF FEDERALISM

Earhart Fellowship

The Earhart Foundation has generously agreed to support a graduate research assistant at the Center. The recipient of 1991-91 Earhart Fellowship is Mr. Paul Neal who is working on his Ph.D. in Political Science at Temple University. Mr. Neal received his M.A. from Villanova University and is interested in European integration and the European Community.

EMORY UNIVERSITY



Temple University • 1616 Walnut Street • Room 507

Liberty Fund Conferences

The Center will host two upcoming invitational conferences sponsored by the Liberty Fund. The first symposium is scheduled for November 16-18, 1991 and will examine "The Bible and the Political Thought of Thomas Hobbes". The papers specially commissioned for this meeting include Daniel J. Elazar's "Seventeenth Century Political Philosophers Confront Scripture: Hobbes", Timothy Fuller's "The Idea of Christianity in Hobbes's *Leviathan*," Robert Kraynak's, "The Idea of the Messiah in the Theology of Thomas Hobbes," Thomas L. Pangle's, "Hobbes's Critique of Biblical and Natural Religion in *Leviathan*," and Thomas S. Schrock's, "King David and Uriah the Hittite in the Political Thought of Thomas Hobbes."

The second symposium will focus on "The Swiss Experience with Federal Liberty." It will be held in Brunnen, Switzerland from March 27-30, 1992. The conference will focus on the consociational, communal, economic and religious basis of Swiss liberty.

Fellows in the News

John Kincaid has been elected a Fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration. The Academy is a nonpartisan, non-profit organization of elected fellows established in 1967 to improve the effectiveness of federal, state, and local governments. The Academy was chartered by the Congress in 1984, the first such charter since President Lincoln signed the charter for the National Academy of Sciences in 1863. John was nominated by long-time Academy Fellow, Deil S. Wright of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

NEH Grant

The Center has been awarded a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to organize a public conference examining "Federalism and Rights." The conference will take place in early November 1992 in Philadelphia. It will examine developments in the United States as well as other parts of the world, especially the emerging democracies in Eastern Europe and Latin America. Drs. Ellis Katz of Temple University and Alan Tarr of Rutgers University will serve as Co-Project Directors.

Additional details, including the conference schedule and papers to be presented will appear in future issues of the Notebook.

International Visitors

During the week of September 23-26, 1991, the Center hosted 28 visitors from 23 nations as part of the U.S. Information Agency's Visitors Program Service of Meridian House International. The visitors were participating in a multi-regional project entitled "State and Local Government in the U.S." The Center's program was hosted by Dr. Ellis Katz and featured Pennsylvania State Senator Earl Baker, Philadelphia Managing Director David Pingree, and Rutgers University Professors Alan Tarr and Albert Blaustein as speakers, among others.

The Center also hosted Professor K.K. George of Cochin University of Science and Technology in India from October 21 through November 10, 1991. Professor George received a Fulbright Fellowship to study at the University of Maryland. He is particularly interested in fiscal federalism.

NEWS FROM THE ACIR

Which government gives Americans the most for their money? The U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR) 1991 poll on public attitudes toward governments and taxes found the greatest public satisfaction with local government.

Of those asked "From which level of government do you feel you get the most for your money--federal, state, or local?" 31 percent said local government, followed by the federal government (26 percent) and state government (22 percent). Twenty-two percent answered "Don't Know/No Answer."

Similarly, when asked "Which government spends your tax dollars most wisely?" 35 percent picked local government, while only 12 percent selected the federal government and 14 percent chose state government. Twenty-seven percent answered "none of them."

But when asked "Which do you think is the worst tax--that is, the least fair: federal income tax, state income tax, state sales tax, or local property tax?" 30 percent of the respondents picked the local property tax as least fair, continuing a trend begun in 1989.

This year, the Commission also wanted to find out what the average citizen thinks about one of today's major intergovernmental issues--federal mandates on state and local governments.

Asked if the federal government was right in passing a law mandating better pay and overtime benefits for local employees, 60 percent of the respondents said that each local government should make those decisions; 30 percent said the federal government was right in passing the mandate.

However, 61 percent agreed that the federal government was right to mandate that state governments provide more health care for the poor. Whether or not they agreed with the federal mandates in the past, most Americans want the cost to be shared.

On local pay and benefits, 47 percent said the federal and local governments should each pay part of the cost; 59 percent said the federal and state governments should share the costs of providing federally required health-care services; and 62 percent said the federal local governments should share the cost of federal wastewater treatment standards.

The commission also wanted to find out what the average citizen thinks of the ability of federal-state and state-local governments to cooperate.

Of those responding, 50 percent said the federal and state governments cooperated very well or fairly well (7 percent and 43 percent respectively). Thirty-seven percent thought those governments did not cooperate well, 13 percent did not know or gave no answer. State-local relations were rated a little better--59 percent said those two governments were able to work together (9 percent said very well; 50 percent, fairly well). Thirty percent thought state and local governments did not cooperate well, and 12 did not know or gave no answer.

Asked "Which level of government do you think has the most power in the U.S. federal system: federal, state, or local?" 60 percent of respondents chose a graphic distribution showing the federal government with the most power, followed by state and local governments, respectively. Fifteen percent selected a state-federal-local government power distribution, and 4 percent picked a local-state-federal scheme. Nine percent think power is evenly distributed between all three governments.

Given the chance to divide 100 units of power between the federal, state, and local governments as they chose, respondents gave the highest percentage to the federal government (average of 39 percent), followed by state governments (average 31 percent), and local governments (average of 30 percent). Twenty-two percent distributed the power equally between federal, state, and local governments.

According to the 1991 poll, 52 percent of voting-age Americans know that their state has its own constitution, but a surprising 37 percent do not know, and 11 percent believe that their state does not have a constitution. Awareness of state constitutions increases with education from 31 percent among persons who have not completed high school to 74 percent among those who have attended graduate school.

The poll was conducted by The Gallup Organization, July 22-25, 1991. The results are based on in-person interviews with 1,069 adults aged 18 and older. The margin of error is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

Detailed results and analysis of the poll will be published in Changing Public Attitudes on Governments and Taxes: 1991 (U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, 800 K Street, N.W., South Building Suite 450, Washington, DC 20575, \$10, Report S-20), which will be available in late September.

PUBLIUS

The Journal of Federalism
Volume 21, Number 4
Fall 1991

"Federalism in Nigeria"

Articles

Introduction
by *Ladipo Adamolekun*

Background to Nigerian Federalism: Federal Features
in the Colonial State
by *Adiele E. Afigbo*

The Two-Party System and the Federal Political Process
by *Tunde Adeniran*

Protecting Local Governments from Arbitrary State and Federal
Interference: What Prospects for the 1990s?
by *Alex Gboyega*

The Legal Order and the Administration of Federal
and State Courts
by *Jadesola Akande*

"Federal Character" and Management of the Federal Civil
Service and the Military
by *Ladipo Adamolekun, John Erero, and Basil Oshionebo*

The Economics of Nigerian Federalism: Selected Issues
in Economic Management
by *Izevbuwa Osavimwese and Sunday Iyare*

Four Decades of Fiscal Federalism in Nigeria
by *Adedotun Phillips*

Federalism and the Management of External Relations
of Nigeria: Lessons from the Past and Challenges
of the Future
by *Ibrahim A. Gambari*

Federalism and National Leadership in Nigeria
by *J. Isawa Elaigwu*

The Nigerian Federation in the Nigerian Novel
by *Kole Omotoso*

The Literature on Nigerian Federalism:
A Critical Appraisal
by *Dele Olowu*

The Federal Solution in Nigeria: An Assessment
and a Prognosis
by *Ladipo Adamolekun and John Kincaid*

Contributors

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FEDERALISM AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS SECTION NEWSLETTER

**Contents: Executive Council Minutes, 1991
Annual Business Meeting Minutes, 1991
1992 Call for Papers
1991-92 Section Officers**

As has been the practice of the past few years, news from the Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations Section once again appears within a *CSF Notebook* issue. Future issues will appear independently if sufficient interest and contributions can be generated. In this issue, readers will find a summary of the section's activity at the 1991 Annual APSA meeting which was held in Washington, D.C., a call for papers for next year's meeting in Chicago, and a listing of the section's officers.

Members are also asked to submit their ideas for future issues. Perhaps you find the format of some other newsletter particularly appealing, if so send the editor a copy. If you would like to submit an op-ed piece of 2-3 pages on a current F/IGR issue, please feel free. Book reviews, reports on research in progress, and course syllabi are also welcome, as are your suggestions and recommendations for future issues.

Remember this is your newsletter. It is your opportunity to communicate and keep in touch with colleagues in the F/IGR field. Please take advantage of this resource.

For an initial project, I would like to assemble a working bibliography on American Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations literature. Please send whatever sources you are aware of which may then be compiled and made available to section members.

Please direct all correspondence to Joseph R. Marbach, Center for the Study of Federalism, Temple University, Suite 507, 1616 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19103, Phone: (215) 787-1480, Fax: (215) 787-7784.

Minutes of the 1991 Executive Council Meeting

1. Council members present were M. Reeves, J. Kincaid, S. Edner, R. Thomas, J. Marbach, D. Wright, K. Palmer, R. Dilger, and D. Krane.
2. John Kincaid, ACIR, moved that the Section disconnect the choice of the Section Chair from the process that selects the Section's representative on the program committee for the annual AOSA meeting and, second, change and the Chair's term to a two year tenure. Marbach seconded. Passed Unanimously.
3. Mavis Reeves, University of Maryland, moved that the Chair appoint a nominating committee that will poll the Section membership as to their preferences for Chair, council members, and Program Representatives and that this procedure would begin in 1992. Wright second. Passed unanimously.
4. John Kincaid moved that the Section establish a four year term for the position of Secretary-Treasurer, open a bank account in Washington, D.C. transfer the Section's funds to the new account, and staggering the selection of the Secretary-Treasurer so as not to coincide with the selection of the Section Chair. Krane seconded. Passed unanimously.
5. The terms of three council members -- Robert Dilger, Ken Palmer, and Daniel Elazar - have come to an end. The current council includes Sam Gove, Diane Blair, Stephen Schechter, Robert Thomas, Deil Wright, and Ronald Watts. Three new council members need to be selected.
6. John Kincaid initiated a discussion regarding the size of the Section and the level of Section activity. Current membership is approximately 367. A variety of suggestions were made and discussed; for example, the Section might want to consider changes in the newsletter such as emulating some of the features in Policy Currents, the newsletter of the policy section. Another idea was to obtain the names of new members from the APSA office and send them a welcoming letter. It was also suggested that the Section check with the APSA office or determine if the national office could reimburse the Section for mailing costs.

Minutes of the 1991 Annual Business Meeting

1. The Section met for its 1991 annual business on Saturday, August 31, in Washington, D.C. Dale Krane, Secretary-Treasurer, presided in the absence of Don Lutz, Section Chair.
2. As the first order of business, a memorial for E. Lester Levine, who died this summer, was conducted. Prof. Levine's many accomplishments in his university career and in his service in national, state, and local government were summarized. Lester Levine also served as Book Review Editor of Publius 1971-74 and served on the Publius Editorial board from 1975 to 1987.
3. Stephen Schechter suggested that Lester Levine's name be made part of the Section's Award. Leonard Robbins seconded. Motion passed.
4. The Treasurer's report was made and accepted.
5. Dale Krane read the actions of the previous day's executive council meeting and put the decision taken by the council to change the selection and tenure of the Section Chair before the members at the business meeting. It was moved that the Section disconnect the choice of the Section Chair from the process that selects the Section's representative on the program committee for the annual APSA meeting and, second, change the Chair's term to a two year tenure. Seconded and passed unanimously.
6. Sarah Liebschutz moved that a nominating committee be established to fill the existing council vacancies and Chair position. Ken Palmer seconded. Passed unanimously.
7. Dale Krane reviewed the executive council's decision to change the term of the Secretary-Treasurer for consideration by the members. Joe Marbach moved that the Section establish a four year term for the position of Secretary-Treasurer, open a bank account in Washington, D.C., and transfer the Section's funds to the new account, and the selection of the Secretary Treasurer should be staggered not to coincide with the selection of the Section Chair. Beverly Cigler seconded. Passed Unanimously.
8. Diane Blair moved that the Section notify APSA that we have a \$3 student membership fee with the understanding that \$1.50 of the fee stays with the Section and the other \$1.50 stays with the national association. Leonard Robbins seconded. Passed unanimously.
9. A discussion about the vitality of the Section was initiated out of which came the following suggestions to be communicated to Don Lutz, Section chair:
 - a. create a recruitment committee to increase members, both younger faculty and students.

- b. include a panel of graduate students in the Section's program at the next APSA meeting.
 - c. efforts be undertaken to "rev up" the Section.
10. Vince Ostrom moved that the current council members whose terms are ending be asked to serve one more year until the new system of council selection (i.e., open solicitation of nominees from the membership) begins. Passed unanimously.
 11. The Section presented its annual award for "significant contributions to the field of federalism and intergovernmental relations" to Professor Vincent Ostrom of Indiana University. The award was presented by Professor Daniel Elazar, recipient of last year's award.
 12. After Prof. Ostrom's acceptance remarks, the membership adjourned to a reception jointly sponsored by the Section and by the Center for the Study of Federalism.

Call For Papers - 1992

Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations. Sarah F. Liebschutz, Department of Political Science, SUNY-Brockport, Brockport, NY 14420; (716) 395-2584; Fax: (716) 395-2172.

Federalism is a set of political/governmental arrangements that combines diversity with unity. This combination implies dynamic tension and mutual adjustments among central/regional/local governments. Proposals are invited for panels, roundtables, and papers on all aspects of federalism and intergovernmental relations in the United States and other federal polities. Preference will be given to proposals demonstrating solid theoretical work on federalism, sound empirical research on inter-governmental relations, or significant understandings of new constitutional, political, fiscal, or policy developments. Proposals are invited on such topics as preemption, mandates, regulation, fiscal affairs, and state-local relations. I especially welcome papers and panels that are cross-national in scope, that consider tensions and adjustments under federalism for systems experiencing democratic revolution.

Proposals should be clear and thorough and provide assurance that a competent paper will be presented at the meeting. Please provide paper title, author or authors, address, and telephone together with an extended abstract of the proposed paper, each paper on a panel, or each presentation on a roundtable. I also welcome names of persons wishing to chair a panel or serve as a discussant; please let me know area(s) of expertise for possible assignment to appropriate panel.

I invite doctoral students who have recently completed or are currently writing dissertations in the field of federalism to participate in a Graduate Student Roundtable: Dissertations on Federalism. Please contact me in writing with as much detail as possible on the nature and approach of your dissertation.

Nominations Requested for Section Award

The Section will present the annual "E. Lester Levine" award to an individual for his or her "significant contribution to the field of federalism and intergovernmental relations" at the 1992 APSA Meetings in Chicago, IL. Nominations should be sent by August 15, 1992 to:

Professor Stephen L. Schechter
 Political Science Department
 Russell Sage College
 Troy, NY 12180

Your letter of nominations should include a brief statement of the reasons for the nomination. If possible, you should include supporting documentation.

Previous award recipients have been Daniel J. Elazar (1990) and Vincent Ostrom (1991).

Section Officers (1991-92)

Section Chair	-	Donald S. Lutz (1990-92) University of Houston
Secretary-Treasurer	-	Dale Krane (1990-94) University of Kansas
Program Chair	-	Sarah Liebschutz (1991-92) SUNY - Brockport

Executive Council

Daniel Elazar (1988-92) Temple University	Stephen Schechter (1989-92) Russell Sage College	University of Arkansas Samuel Gove (1990-93)
Kenneth Palmer (1988-92) University of Maine	Robert Thomas (1989-92) University of Houston	University of Illinois Ronald Watts (1990-93)
Robert Dilger (1988-92) University of Redlands	Diane Blair (1989-92)	Queen's University Deil Wright (1990-93) University of North Carolina

In a future mailing, members will be asked to submit nominations for future Section officers to the Section Chair, who will appoint a Nominating Committee to review the names submitted. Next year the positions up for election are: President (term 1992-94), Program Chair (term 1992-93), 3 Council Members (term 1992-1994), 3 Council Members (term 1992-1995).

BOOK REVIEWS

American and Yugoslav Views on the 1990's, Edited by: Predrag Simic, William Richey and Mirko Stojcevic, Institute of International Politics and Economics, 1990, pp. 192. \$10.00.

Early in 1990, the Institute on International Politics and Economics in Yugoslavia brought to Belgrade a group of American and Yugoslavian experts on political and economic relations and federalism for a round-table discussion. The conference was called "American-Yugoslav Views on the 90's".

The topics of discussion were expanded to allow experts to exchange views on the most current issues related to International Development, International Relations and U.S.-Yugoslavian bilateral relations. There were five U.S. experts and 40 experts from all parts of Yugoslavia present at the conference along with officials from the U.S. Embassy.

Five seminars were held, each of which correspond to the chapter titles of this book. For each seminar, at least one American and one Yugoslav prepared a paper. Yugoslavs from every republic and province sat down with Americans and discussed the challenges of the 1990's. Debate focused on the nature and consequence of changes in Yugoslavia. Chapter titles include American and Yugoslav Views on Federalism and Pluralism in Democratic Societies; American and Yugoslav Views and International Effects of Reform in Yugoslavia and Eastern Europe; American and Yugoslavian Views on the Current International Economic Situation Including Financial and Monetary Factors; Economic Reform in Yugoslavia and Perspectives for Economic Relations Between the U.S. and Yugoslavia; and finally, U.S.-Yugoslavia Bilateral Relations in Light of Current Changes in East-West Relations.

In light of developments in Yugoslavia, American and Yugoslav Views on the 1990's would make an interesting addition to classroom reading in courses related to Federalism or American Foreign Relations. It offers an easy to read perspective on the current state of U.S.-Yugoslav relations from both sides of the issues. Its opinions are well balanced and informative.

Arthur Holst, Temple University (Copies are available through the Center)

A Government of Laws: Political Theory, Religion, and the American Founding by Ellis Sandoz. Louisiana State University Press, 1990.

Ellis Sandoz in A Government of Laws makes an excellent contribution to constitutional scholarship. Sandoz's primary concern is to establish the importance of Christianity and classical philosophy in the intellectual foundations of the American constitution. While Sandoz pays heed to the roles the Scottish Enlightenment, Lockean liberalism, Republican ideology, and the English constitution played in the intellectual foundations of the constitution's framers, he feels the role of religion and classical philosophy have been relatively ignored. Sandoz maintains, however, that Christianity and classical philosophy played fundamental roles in the establishment of our constitution and formative institutions.

Sandoz makes a very convincing argument that the founders had an underlying consensus described as a "commonsense and civil theology based on nonsectarian Christianity and on the reasoned faith that man ... [is] not without a father" (p. 123). Sandoz brings much evidence to bear on the importance of religion on the new nation and its founders including the pervasiveness of the Bible as a source of literature and the religious symbolism of early American institutions. Religious arguments were also the rationalization for the revolution according to Sandoz. The apotheosis of individual liberty is grounded in Christian faith and once King George III of England breached the liberty of the American colonists it became not only their right but their moral duty to reassert their individual liberties and freedoms entrenched in natural law.

Once liberty was restored the founders were compelled to protect this liberty through the establishment of institutions to control the "baser" elements of man and governing institutions. The Constitution was to protect what Sandoz terms "sacred liberty" or the liberty of man within the social contract preserving property rights and the pursuit of happiness within the purview of civic virtue and the common good. "Sacred liberty" is associated with the Lockean and Christian concepts of individual liberty. The Constitution was to thwart "vulgar liberty" or the liberty of the masses and debtor classes who used force of arms to abridge reasonable laws and cheat creditors out of legal payments. Therefore the Constitution was created to reassert order for the protection of "sacred liberties" that were fought for during the revolution.

The Christian concept of man as "neither brute nor ... God" also led to the establishment of checks and balances such that governing institutions compete and keep close watch on each other, thus controlling their proclivity to accrue power. Sandoz's favorite and oft repeated quotes are those of James Madison describing man's baser elements and the importance of controlling these elements through checks and balances in governing institutions.

The primary drawback of the book is its failure to draw an explicit balance between the impact of religion and classical philosophy on the founders and their pragmatism in constructing a framework for governance that would be adopted by the several states. It is unlikely that religion, classical philosophy, or any other intellectual underpinnings were as important in the framing of the Constitution as the process of compromise and accommodation that clearly marked the proceedings of the convention per Madison's notes. It is equally clear, however, that religion, classical philosophy, Republicanism, Lockean liberalism and other elements also played a role in the existential concerns of the founders. To draw an explicit delineation between each would be futile.

In sum, Sandoz has made a compelling if not always concise argument about the role religion and classical philosophy played in the construction of the Constitution. It is an important addition to the growing literature on America's intellectual foundations.

C. Douglas Baker, University of Maryland

RECENT RELEASES

Emerging Influentials in State Legislatures Women, Blacks, and Hispanics, by Albert J. Nelson, Praeger Publishers, 1991, pp 168, \$39.95.

Although representation by women, blacks, and Hispanics in state legislatures has increased greatly in recent decades, the significance of these gains has not been systematically evaluated. Albert Nelson's study explores several important questions in this area: Does greater representation in fact result in proportionally greater influence in political parties and policy outcomes? How does party affiliation, gender, and other variables affect the political fortunes of these groups? What is the impact of party affiliation on their turnover rates in legislatures?

Nelson scrutinizes the factors that influence minority and female incorporation into the legislative process, including opportunity and incentives, party affiliation, religion, employment, and cultural elements. Nelson explains how these elements translate into practical political results in both legislatures and the power base of Nelson's findings and identifies promising areas for continuing research.

UPCOMING CONFERENCES

New England Political Science Association
1992 Annual Conference
April 3 - 4
Providence, Rhode Island

CALL FOR PAPERS AND PANELS

The New England Political Science Association encourages participants across a broad range of interests and disciplines in political science. The 1992 Annual Conference will feature "Meet the Author" roundtables, topical roundtables, and panels presenting scholarly research.

Please write to the Program Chair: Eileen McDonagh, Department of Political Science, Northeastern University, Boston, MA 02115, (617) 495-8140 or (617) 437-2796.

Proposals for papers should include author, title, and an abstract. Proposals for whole panels are welcome. The deadline for receipt of submissions is December 15, 1991.

Registration Fee: The registration fee is \$30 in advance or \$35 onsite which includes a continental breakfast at the New England Politics Roundtable.

CALL FOR PAPERS

Sixth Lothian Memorial Conference

27 - 28 March 1992, Mansfield College, Oxford

Curtis Lothian, the Astors and Chatham House 1919-1940: The Royal Institute of International Affairs during the inter-war years

The Conference will discuss the origins of the project of an Institute of International Affairs at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919; the establishment of Chatham House in 1920 and the role played by Lionel Curtis, the great wire-puller and persistent operator behind the scenes; the contribution of Mr. and Mrs. Leonard, the Canadian couple who donated the nascent Institute No. 10 St. James Square; the involvement of the Astors in the creation of the Institute; Chatham House and the creation of the Council of Foreign Relations; the role played by Robert Brand and the City; the relations between Chatham House and the press, particularly *The Times* and the *Observer*; Lord Lothian and Chatham House's Anglo-American policy; Chatham House and the Foreign Office; Chatham House and appeasement; Chatham House and federalism; Chatham House and British Commonwealth relations; Chatham House's study groups method and its relevance in policy-making; Chatham House, the Foreign Office and the Foreign Press Research Service during the Second World War.

Participants will receive copies of the main papers in advance. Conference languages will be English and French.

The Proceedings of the Conference will be published by the Lothian Foundation Press.

Please contact: Dr. Andrea Bosco, Lothian Foundation, 1 Whitehall Place, London, England, SW1A 2DA, Phone: 071-242-2959

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