# THE FEDERALISM REPORT - Volume 19, Number 3 Spring 1994

#### **CONTENTS**

CSF NOTEBOOK	1
IACFS NEWSLETTER	8
APSA FEDERALISM/INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS UPDATE	9



#### • FROM THE EDITOR •

CORRECTION It was inadvertently reported in the Fall issue of *The Federalism Report* (19:1) that Dr. Sureyya Sakinc was working on federal-type arrangements for dealing with Turkey's Kurdish population. In actuality, Dr. Sakinc's work has focused on making local governments more responsive to the needs of their residents. We apologize for any misunderstanding associated with this error.

PERSONNEL NEWS Carol Haufler, Assistant Editor of The Federalism Report and Publication Coordinator for the Center will be leaving the Center effective April 22, 1994. Ms. Haufler was largely responsible for the new design of The Federalism Report. She has also been instrumental in cataloging the Center's library holdings and maintaining its publications. The entire staff wishes her every success in her future endeavors. A decision on her replacement is pending.

# INTERNATIONAL VISITORS ●

Recent visitors to the Center included:

■ Mr. RICARDO BLOCH, Private Secretary to the Minister of the Interior, Buenos Aires, Argentina; Mr. RAFAEL PASCUAL, National Congressman, Union Civica Radical, Buenos Aires, Argentina; Mr. RAMON FARIAS, Mayor, District of San Joaquin, Santiago, Chile; Ms. PATRICIA BONILLA CORREA, Coordinator for Economics, The Presencia Foundation, Bogota, Colombia; Mr. MARIO JOSE ESQUIVEL, Congressman, National Encounter Party and President of the Commission on Municipal and Departmental Affairs, National Legislature of Paraguay, Luque, Paraguay; Mr. SERGIO CHIESA, Mayor, Province of Tacuarembo, Uruguay; Mr. MIGUEL VELIT, Congressman, Peruvian National Congress, Lima, Peru; Dr. JULIO DIAZ, Congressman, Peruvian National Congress, Lima, Peru.

The above guests were interested in learning about power-sharing in the United States federal system, especially the role of state and local governments.

- Mr. YONG-CHUL KIM, "News Task Force" Editor, News Department, Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation, Seoul, Korea. Mr. Kim was interested in broadening his understanding of the U.S. political process and democratic institutions, with main areas of focus on the nature and function of American federalism; the functions of organizations designed to protect against corruption in the government; the watchdog role of the American media; and the role of political democracy in broader American society and culture.
- Mr. EDWARD G. HOSEAH, Legal Secretary to the Chief Justice. Dar es Salaam, Tanzmia. Mr. Hoseah is interested in the areas of constitutional rights, alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, pretrial conferences, human rights, rule of law, plea bargaining, prison systems, legal systems management, legal education for non-lawyers, juvenile courts and democratic governance. Ms. NATHALIA P. KIMARO, Principal Resident Magistrate in Charge. Dar es Salaam Region.

Tanzania. Ms. Kimaro is interested in the areas of constitutional rights, alternative dispute resolution mechanisms, pretrial conferences, human rights, rule of law, plea bargaining, prison systems, legal systems management, legal education for nonlawyers, juvenile courts and democratic governance. Mr. SOUD YUSSUF MGENI, Member, Central Committee of Opposition Party, Civic United Front and Deputy Director of Parliamentary Affairs, Pemba, Tanzania. Mr. Mgeni is currently organizing major opposition party election preparations in Tanzania. While he is charged with training election officers to oversee polling locations neither he nor his officers have election experience or training. It is therefore imperative for Mr. Mgeni to obtain exposure to the independent election process. Such experience will help to ensure that Tanzania's first multi-party election will be reasonably free and fair. His specific areas of interest are the conduct and supervision of elections, political party organizations and management, budgeting, issues management, and party platforms.

■ Ms. Katherine CLERIDES. Eisenhower Exchange Fellow, Member of Parliament for Nicosia District, Cyprus. Ms Clerides' interests include the federal system as a means of enhancing civil liberties and empowering the citizen; empowering women and society's disadvantaged groups; and achieving growth and protecting the environment. Mr. HADEF J. AL-DHAHIRI. Eisenhower Exchange Fellow, Legal Adviser to the Emirate of Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates. Mr. Al-Dhahiri's interests include the legislative process at the federal and state level; the legal relationship among the federal, state and local government; committees of inquiry established by the Congress; case flow management; non-judicial committees for settling disputes between governmental agencies and contractors; and recent developments in management and teaching methods at American law schools.

#### • DIRECTORY •

Dennis Patrick Leyden, whose research activities are included in the Annual Inventory on page 6. has the following e-mail address: LEYDEN@IRIS.UNCG.EDU

#### • BOOK REVIEWS •

THE AMERICAN MOSAIC: THE IMPACT OF SPACE, TIME, AND CULTURE ON AMERICAN POLITICS. Daniel J. Elazar. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994.

Daniel Elazar says, "The smallest communities and the most comprehensive civil societies are alike in that they are shaped by their geo-historical location. No understanding of American politics . . . is possible without taking this phenomenon into consideration." This notion of location is the fundamental theme of his work, THE AMERICAN MOSAIC. Location is a three dimensional concept consisting of time, space and culture. These three components are all critical factors to a proper understanding of location. Additionally, they can be systematized to better understand human location.

In THE AMERICAN MOSAIC, Elazar uses the three dimensional concept of location to study the generation of America and through this study, American political culture itself. American political culture is divided into three broad subcultures: moralistic, traditionalistic, and individualistic. A discussion of these subcultures demonstrates the cultural aspect of location. It is within certain subcultures that people both find themselves and function and it is within these subcultures that actions can be understood.

Location then, is space, this is understood. Being at a particular place is a critical and understood aspect of location. Additionally though, location is also time. Being at a particular place at a certain time is critical to understanding location. This is where Elazar's discussion of generational rhythms comes into play. Finally, location is culture. Being in a certain place as part of a certain group or with the mindset of certain ways of thinking plays a role in location. Elazar points out that the typical flawed notion of Americans that "deep down, we all think alike" is partly the result of not understanding political culture.

The study of generational rhythm, according to Elazar is not as easy in every society. The American generations have a clear starting point. Additionally, "The existence of the frontier and the

regularity of the generational rhythm reflect the fact that the United States is a new society founded from 'scratch'." In this new society, origins, developments and changes in generations can be traced.

THE AMERICAN MOSAIC is a large work in the sense that it attempts to look at American society from a broad thematic perspective. Elazar brings his theories of culture, generations, federalism, and polity together. Some of his material from AMERICAN FEDERALISM: A VIEW FROM THE STATES is brought together here with new thoughts and relationships. Other aspects of American society such as the frontier and immigration are also studied in the context of location.

THE AMERICAN MOSAIC is a wonderful presentation of Elazar's ideas of American politics. It seems most timely as a thesis capable of addressing both societal changes and traditions. It may well serve some predictive purposes to some. More important, though, it serves well as a study on broad approaches to American politics.

ORIGINAL INTENT AND THE FRAMERS OF THE CONSTITUTION: A DISPUTED QUESTION.
Harry Jaffa. Washington, DC: Regnery Gateway, Inc., 1994.

Original intent is not as easy to understand as some people think, according to Harry Jaffa in ORIGINAL INTENT AND THE FRAMERS OF THE CONSTITUTION: A DISPUTED QUESTION. Jaffa argues that some of the strongest proponents of original intent as a basis for constitutional jurisprudence are wrong in some of their conclusions. Rehnquist, Bork, and Meese have misunderstood original intent, a concept, if rightly understood, Jaffa wholeheartedly supports.

ORIGINAL INTENT came out of an ongoing debate between Harry Jaffa and Ed Meese that Jaffa seems more interested in pursuing than does Meese. In this work, Jaffa discusses the background and nature of this debate. Jaffa discusses a speech given by Meese at Dickinson Law School in which he supported the idea of natural law. Subsequently, he based further discussion on constitutional interpretation on original intent without additional reference to the Constitution. Meese, according to

Jaffa, joined the camp of Rehnquist and Bork who do not see the role of natural law in constitutional jurisprudence. This is where Jaffa disagrees so strongly. The book discusses these differences and is a thorough treatise on Jaffa's well known views that the framers "believed that the constitution was anchored in the principles of natural law invoked by the Declaration of Independence." If the framers based their work on the principles of natural law as outlined in the Declaration of Independence, then, according to Jaffa, a proper understanding of original intent has to include this fact.

Adhering to the idea of original intent is no guarantee that the right judicial decisions will be made, says Jaffa. Roger Taney was a strong and articulate proponent of original intent. Yet, Dred Scott was decided wrongly. Rehnquist, Bork and Meese argued that this decision was the result of "substantive due process." However, if Taney was such a strong proponent of original intent as Jaffa demonstrated in this work, how was this decision possible? Jaffa argues that it was because the court did not understand that the black man's human nature was what gave him standing under the Constitution.

ORIGINAL INTENT includes some contributions from others. Three critics of Jaffa are given the opportunity to present their arguments, which Jaffa then responds to. This section is not so much directly related to his debate with Rehnquist, Bork and Meese as Jaffa addresses issues from moral virtue to the Bork nomination itself. In these sections the reader is given a glimpse into the totality of Jaffa's approach to politics. Jaffa's use of Lincoln in so many of his arguments and discussions reminds the reader of his earlier work, CRISIS OF THE HOUSE DIVIDED. ORIGINAL INTENT is not "more of the same." Rather, in some ways, it is a continuation of some of the ideas so ably raised in CRISIS.

laffa calls Meese back to his view expressed at Dickinson. ORIGINAL INTENT contains a series of attempts by Jaffa to discuss the matter with Meese. The situation makes for interesting reading and shows the degree to which Jaffa feels so strongly. Jaffa does feel strongly about this issue. He has been an outspoken critic of liberal ideas since he wrote the famous 'extranism in defense of

liberty..." line for Barry Goldwater in 1964. The view of jurisprudence that his subjects in this book hold, is no better, according to Jaffa, than the liberal views he has, for so long, opposed.

#### • ANNUAL INVENTORY RESULTS •

As a service to the political science community, the Center for the Study of Federalism compiles an annual inventory of individuals' current research activities and publications. The following are the results of this year's inventory.

Prof. Daniel J. Elazar Center for the Study of Federalism Temple University 1616 Walnut Street, Suite 507 Philadelphia, PA 19103

#### Current Research Activities

- 1. "Confederal Arrangements and Ethnic Conflict" A study of the revival of confederation and confederal arrangements as species of federalism, particularly in the effort to resolve the ethnic conflicts of the postmodern world. This study involves a preliminary examination of modern confederation and a more extensive examination of postmodern confederal arrangements. The study began in September, 1992 and should be completed in August, 1994. The final report will be in the form of two edited volumes and various shorter papers that will be available from CSF when published. Information contact: Dr. Joseph Marbach, Center for the Study of Federalism; Deborah Gerber, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 13 Tel Hai Street, Jerusalem 92107.
- 2. "Federal Systems of the World: A Handbook of Federal, Confederal and Autonomy Arrangements" A revision of the very successful handbook first published by Longman (Westgate House, 6th Floor, The High, Harlow, Essex CM20 IYR, United Kingdom) in 1991 as the major reference work in the world on the subject of federal systems and arrangements, up to date through March 1994. For information contact Deborah Gerber, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs (see above address).

#### Recent Publications

1. THE AMERICAN MOSAIC: THE IMPACT OF SPACE, TIME AND CULTURE ON AMERICAN POLITICS. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

A sequel to AMERICAN FEDERALISM: A VIEW FROM THE STATES, widening and deepening the discussion of those factors which have a continuing influence on the shape of American politics, emphasizing political culture, federalism, religion and ethnicity. For a copy, contact the publisher.

2. COVENANT AND POLITY IN BIBLICAL ISRAEL. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Press. The first volume of a multi-volume series on the covenant tradition in Western politics dealing with the biblical basis of the covenant idea, how that idea and its practice are played out in the Bible and in subsequent Jewish political tradition. For a copy, contact the publisher.

Prof. Franz Gress Center for North American Studies Munchener Str. 48 D-60329 Frankfurt/M.

#### Current Research Activities

1. "The American Federal System: Beyond Cooperative Federalism?"

This research project focusses on the changes in the position of the American states in the American federal system: How have the states redefined their role in that system and what are their perspectives as political actors today? The project will also stress the comparative view with regard to the German federal experience. The results will be published in 1995. For further information, contact Dr. Gress.

#### Recent Publications

1. THE AMERICAN FEDERAL SYSTEM: FEDERAL BALANCE UNDER A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE. Peter Lang: New York, 1994.

Proceedings of an international workshop, held in Frankfurt/Main (Germany) in January, 1994.

Prof. John J. Harrigan Department of Political Science Hamline University St. Paul, MN 55104

#### Current Research Activities

1. "Governing the Minneapolis-St. Paul Twin Cities Region"

The Minneapolis-St. Paul chapter for an <u>Urban Affairs Annual Review</u> volume on regional economics and governance. Final report will be available at the APSA meeting in September, 1994. For more information, contact the author at the above address.

2. "Political Implication of American Popular Fiction and Culture"

On-going project. Final report available at the Midwest Political Science Association's annual meeting in April 1994. For more information, contact the author at the above address.

#### Recent Publications

- 1. EMPTY DREAMS, EMPTY PACKETS: CLASS AND BIAS IN AMERICAN POLITICS. MacMillan Publishing Co., 1994.
- 2. POLITICS AND POLICY IN STATES AND COMMUNITIES. Harper Collins, 1993.

Asst. Prof. James M. Hoefler Political Science Dickinson College Carlisle, PA 17013

#### Current Research Activities

1. "Smoking and Politics"

Completely revised fifth edition, co-authored with original author A. Lee Fritschler

#### Recent Publications

1. DEATHRIGHT: CULTURE, MEDICINE, POLITICS AND THE RIGHT TO DIE. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994.
Comprehensive policy analysis of the right to die issue in America.

2. "The Right to Die: State Courts Lead Where Legislators Fear to Tread," <u>Law and Policy</u>, 14:4, October, 1992.

Analysis of policy struggle between state courts and legislatures regarding the right to die.

Assoc. Prof. Dennis Patrick Leyden Department of Economics University of North Carolina at Greensboro Greensboro, NC 27412

#### Current Research Activities

 "The Ayers Case and the Implications for Segregation and Funding in Public Higher Education"

This paper attempts to predict the eventual outcome of the Ayers Case in which the U.S. Supreme Court ordered the state of Mississippi to finish the desegregation of its university system. This project should be completed in the Summer, 1994. For more information, contact the author.

#### Recent Publications

1. "Court-Mandated Changes in Educational Grant Structure." <u>Public Finance/Finances Publiques</u> 47(2):229-247. 1993.

A theoretical analysis of the limits of a court to force a legislature to equalize spending across rich and poor school districts through manipulation of the state's grant structure. For a free copy, contact the author.

2. "Donor Determined Intergovernmental grants Structure." <u>Public Finance Quarterly</u>. 20(3):321-337. July 1992.

A theoretical model of how a legislature controlled by a dominant coalition determines the structure of its intergovernmental grant structure. Important to the outcome are spillovers between local jurisdictions, the desire to redistribute resources to members of the coalition, and political asymmetries between the desires of localities versus the state legislature. For a free copy, contact the author.

Prof. Gary Moncrief Boise State University Political Science Department Boise, ID 83725

#### Current Research Activities

1. "Campaign Financing in State Legislature

Elections"

With Joel Thompson, Keith Hamm, Tony Gierzynski, David Breaux, and Bill Cassie. A NSF-sponsored project which will collect campaign expenditure and contribution data for all state legislative candidates in 25 states, 1986-1992. The project began in April, 1994 and should be completed in June, 1996. A series of conference papers, articles, and perhaps a book will be produced. For information, contact the authors.

2. "Turnover in Canadian Provincial Assemblies" An analysis of turnover, broken down by voluntary retirement and electoral defeat, for all provincial elections, 1960-1993. N = 93 elections. The analysis is ongoing, and should be completed by May 1, 1994. A paper will be presented in June at the Canadian Political Science Association annual meeting. For information, contact the author.

#### Recent Publications

- 1. "Professionalization and Careerism in Canadian Provincial Assemblies: A Comparison to U.S. State Legislatures," Legislative Studies Quarterly. Canadian subnational legislatures professionalized at about the same time as U.S. state legislature, but without the same effect as careerism or turnover rates.
- 2. "A Note on Election Financing in Canada and the United States," Canadian Parliamentary Review.

Some Canadian provinces were well ahead of most American state legislatures in enacting campaign finance laws. This article compares incumbentchallengers expenditures in six Canadian provinces.

Dr. Slava Shealo Centre for Combined Federal Studies Institute of the USA and Canada 2/3 Khlebny per., Moscow 121 814 RUSSIA

#### Current Research Activities

1. "Behind the Political Facade of Modern Federalism: A Comparative Experience of Canada and Other Developed Federations"

A book-length monograph on comparative analysis of political and legal aspects of federal development in Canada with the practice of other federative

democracies such as USA, Germany, Australia, Switzerland, etc., through both theoretical and empirical study. Study should be completed in 1995-1996.

"Constitutional Developments in Canada"
 Analysis of recent constitutional developments in Canada and their impact on the political stability within existing federal framework and on the society in general. Should be completed in Autumn, 1994.

#### Recent Publications

 "Modern Federalism in Global Transition: The Case of Canada and Russia," September, 1993.
 Working research paper.

# • FONDAZIONE BRUNO SALVADOR (FBS) •

In a beautiful building in the center of Milan a small group of students of federalism, under the guidance of Prof. Gianfranco Miglio and the patronage of some businessmen, has undertaken a challenging task: the spreading of federal principles and studies in one of the most centralized countries in the world. Prof. Miglio, an independent senator elected in the Northern League, the party that made federalism the cornerstone of its political platforms, has always been in favor of a federal solution for the Italian recurrent crises.

Italy has an important tradition of thought, especially alive during last century's Risorgimento, that advocated democratic federalist principles for the unification of the country. Although every student of Italian history realized immediately that Italy would have been a case study in "necessary federalism," the building of an extremely unitary state has always been the task of the successive regimes that governed the country. If someone had to find a line of continuity between the liberal, fascist and Christian democratic state it certainly would be the policy of prefectorial administration.

In the wake of the so-called fall of the First Republic, the Italian political debate has focused on federalism as a viable option for the overdue constitutional rearrangements. Unfortunately, such an interest is not paralleled with a clear notion of what is at stake. On the left there is much abuse of the expression fiscal federalism, as if this were possible within the ultra unitary framework. In other sides of the political spectrum, confusion still reigns on terms like regionalism, autonomy, and federalism.

In this climate the Fondazione Bruno Salvadori has the crucial task of promoting studies and clarifications on the political theory of contemporary federalism. The works of Ostrom, Elazar, Wheare, Riker and Friedrich, among others, are everyday food for thought among the students associated with the Fondazione. In order to build a network of federalist circles, the FBS has sought the help of Dr. Mario Unnia of Prospecta srl, a real entrepreneur of culture, who just founded the quarterly Federalismo e Societa' (federalism and society) that is likely to become a very important means of spreading federal concepts, even outside the academic community.

Of the several research projects, translations of classical federal studies, such as The Problem of Federalism by Sobei Mogi, articles, public debates, promoted by the FBS, one stands out as the most important challenge. It is the "revisitation" in the Italian language of William H. Stewart's Concepts of Federalism. Luigi Marco Bassani, a Ph.D. candidate in American political science from the S. Anna School, Pisa, and Alessandro Vitale, a student of Eastern European politics, who works at ISPI (Institute for the Study of International Politics) are adding several entries to the 1984 edition of the book, translating some parts and making it suitable for the Italian reader. Bassani and Vitale, in order to find more material on federalism and meet scholars, visited the Center for the Study of Federalism at the end of March 1994. From here they moved on to the University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, to meet Prof. Stewart and discuss his book. The FBS is located in Via Vincenzo Monti 15, 20100, Milano, Italy. If you have any suggestions, or would like to submit an article for Federalismo e Societa", please contact the Fondazione. Tel: 0039-2-430689; Fax: 0039-2-4690439



#### $\bullet$ MEETING $\bullet$

# CONFEDERAL SOLUTIONS TO ETHNIC CONFLICT

April 16-17, 1994 Fribourg, Switzerland

In conjunction with the annual IACFS Directors Meeting and the Institute du Federalism's Tenth Anniversary Conference, "Europe and Federal Experiences," the Center for the Study of Federalism convened a consultative meeting designed to examine recent worldwide efforts at building confederation and confederal arrangements. This meeting was held on April 16-17, 1994 in Fribourg, Switzerland. Issues introduced at these sessions will be further explored at next year's meeting of the IACFS Directors which will be hosted by the Center for the Study of Federalism. The following is a copy of the meeting's schedule:

Session I Saturday, April 16, 1994

The Principles of Confederation

Daniel J. Elazar, "The Shifting Paradigm" Murray Forsyth, "Unions of States" Session II Sunday April 17, 1994

Patterns of Politics: Conflict and Cooperation

Cliff Walsh, "Confederations and Conflict" Joseph Marbach, "Economic Integration"

Session III Sunday, April 17, 1994

Concentric Circles of Federal Arrangements

Barbara Jancar-Webster, "The Development of the Commonwealth of Independent States" Douglas Brown, "Aboriginal Peoples in North America" Rasheeduddin Khan, "India and SAARC"

Rasheeduddin Khan, "India and SAARC" Stephen L. Schechter, "Subnational, Intra- and Inter-regional Developments"

Session IV Sunday, April 17, 1994

Common Constitutional Principles

Ronald L. Watts, "Common Principles"

Session V Sunday, April 17, 1994

Future Directions for Research

Daniel J. Elazar, "Developments in the Post-Modern Era"

## AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

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#### • SECTION NEWS •

## 1994 ANNUAL MEETING - NEW YORK CITY'S INTERGOVERNMENTAL WORLD

New York City has been characterized as a "labyrinth of wheels within wheels, understood only by the managers." Join policy experts, local, state, and federal representatives for an exciting and informative afternoon of briefings on this "labyrinth" within the current context of increased mandates and decreased aid.

This short course will focus on the intergovernmental agenda of the new Giuliani administration, comparing its formulation and priorities with those of the Dinkins and Koch administrations. It will discuss issues like Staten Island's 1993 vote to secede, and will consider how - and how effectively - the City administration has organized to promote its agenda in Washington and in Albany in its first year.

Additionally, the short course will focus on the politics of intergovernmental relations under the Intermodel Surface Transportation Act of 1991 (ISTEA). New York City's regional, national, and international transportation linkages span mass transit, highways, airports, and shipping. Thus,

the ISTEA focus can shed light on the effects of federal mandates for metropolitan planning and for increased state flexibility on the politics, jobs, and transportation services in New York as well as other cities.

This short course will be held on Wednesday afternoon, August 31, 1994, 12:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. in the Board Room of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, 347 Madison Avenue, New York, NY. Registration fee (including lunch) is \$35 per person for APSA Federalism Section members (\$45 for Section non-members). Checks should be made payable to the APSA Section on Federalism.

Registration is limited and will be accepted on a first-come, first-serve basis. To register for this short course (and to join the Section), please contact Prof. Sarah F. Liebschutz, Political Science Department, SUNY, Brockport, NY 14420. Tel: (716) 395-2584. Fax: (716) 395-2172.

Registration deadline is August 1, 1994, but meeting this deadline is no guarantee that space will be available.

#### • ANNUAL MEETING •

#### 1994 PRELIMINARY PROGRAM NEW YORK HILTON AND TOWERS

Division 14: Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations

PANEL 14-1 The American County: Growth Determinants and Fiscal Challenges

Chair: Donald Menze, University of South Florida

Papers: Determinants of County Government Growth, Dr. Kee Ok Park, University of Virginia; Intergovernmental Aid and Mandates: The County Experience, J. Edwin Benton, University of South Florida; Revenue Diversification Among U.S. Counties, Beverly A. Cigler, Penn State-Harrisburg; Economic Development Strategies Among Counties, William A. Pammer, Jr., University of South Florida

Discussants: Philip A. Russo, Jr., Miami University; Ken Klase, West Virginia University

<u>PANEL 14-2</u> National Standards v. "Competitive Deregulation" in Federal Systems

Chair: Paul Pierson, Harvard University

Papers: The Origins of National Environmental Standards, Kathy Harrison, University of British Columbia; Competition through Laxity or National Standards? Social Policy Preferences of Poor States in Federal Systems, Miguel Glatzer and Paul Pierson, Harvard University; Federalism and Policy Change, R. Kent Weaver, The Brookings Institution

PANEL 14-3 Federalism in Post-Communist Societies

Chair: Paul Goble, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Papers: Bringing People Together and Pulling Them Apart: Nationalism, Integration and Disintegration in the "New Europe," Marijke Breuning, University of Arkansas, John T. Ishnyama, Northeast Missouri Stats University: Extending Riker's Theory of "Federalism as a Bargain" to the Post-Communist World, Michael Heel, University of Rochester; Public Pressure for Regional Autonomy in Russia: The Potential for Further Disintegration, Vicki L. Hesli, William M. Relsinger and Arthur H. Miller, University of Iowa

Discussant: Paul Goble, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

PANEL 14-4 Exploring Political Subcultures: Preliminary Findings of the Center for the Study of Federalism-University of Nebraska Press Series on the Government and Politics of the American States

Chair: John Kincaid, U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations

Papers: Mississippi, Dale A. Krane, University of Nebraska at Omaha, Stephen Shaffer, Mississippi State University; New York, Sarah F. Liebschutz, SUNY-Brockport; Pennsylvania, Ellis Katz, Temple University; North Dakota, Theodore Pedeliski, University of North Dakota

Discussant: Daniel J. Elazar, Temple University and Bar Ilan University

PANEL 14-5 A Europe of Regions?

Chair: J. Nicholas Ziegler, MIT

Papers: The Federlisation of West European Politics: The European Union, Regionalism and Challenges to the Nation State, Shaun Bowler, University of California at Riverside, David Farreil and Ian Holliday, University of Manchester; The Political Strategies of Economic Interest Groups: Regional Adjustment to the Single European Market in France and Italy, John Constantelos, Duke University; Germany's Lander and the Federalization of the EC, Richard Deeg, Temple University; Manipulating the "MESO": The New, Federal Belgian State in Comparative Perspective, William Down, Harvard University

Discussant: J. Nicholas Ziegler, MIT

PANEL 14-6 States and Localities in a Changing Federal System

Chair: Herman Boschken, San Jose State University

Papers: The Influence of Federal Mandates on State Policy Decision-Making, Colleen M. Grogran, Yale University; State Mandated Expenditure Distortions, Joseph F. Zimmerman, State University of New York at Albany; Leading or Pushing on a String: Intergovernmental Administration in the Office of Economic Adjustment of the Defense Department, Andrew Glassberg, University of Missouri-St. Louis; Interstate Variation in Welfare Benefits and the Migration of the Poor, Sanford Schram, Macalester College

Discussant: Cole Blease Graham, Jr., University of South Carolina

PANEL 14-7 State and Local Administration in a Federal System

Chair: Craig Wheeland, Villanova University

Papers: The Economic Impact of Growth Management Mandates, Richard C. Feiock, Florida State University; Policy Devolution in the U.S.: Federal Dependence v. Local Independence in Housing Assistance, Edward G. Goetz, University of Minnesota; Disaster Management, Carolyn Clark-Daniels, Iowa State University; Privatization of State Services: Good Policy or Good Politics?, Bruce Wallin, Northeastern University

Discussant: Craig Wheeland, Villanova University

PANEL 14-8 The Issues of Divided Nations: International Status and Intergovernmental Relations

Chair: Bih-Jaw Lin, National Chengchi University

Papers: Experience and Lesson: The Two Germanies on the International Stage from the Perspective of the Republic of China, Lin Yu-fang, Tamkang University; North-South Korean Diplomatic Warfare: A Struggle for Survival, Ming Lee, National Chengchi University; The Evolution of ROC Foreign Relations, Lang Kao, National Taiwan University; A Comparison Among Former Germany, Korea and China as Divided Nations, Tzong-Ho Bau, National Taiwan University

Discussants: Cheng-Wan Tsai, National Taiwan University; Jaw-ling Joanne Chang, Brookings Institution

<u>PANEL 14-9</u> Wildavsky and the Politics-Administration Dichotomy (a panel in memory of Aaron Wildavsky)

Panelists: Martha Derthick, University of Virginia; Robert Golembiewski, University of Georgia; Hank Jenkins Smith, University of New Mexico

#### ★ PLEASE NOTE ★

Our readers are encouraged to submit articles for publication in future issues of *The Federalism Report*. If you are interested in presenting an op-ed piece or have a research note that you would like to share with the scholarly community interested in federalism and intergovernmental issues, please contact the editor.

#### The deadline for the Summer issue is June 31, 1994.

\*\* If you are interested in advertising in *The Federalism Report*, we offer half-page ad space at a rate of \$60.00 per advertisement. The deadline for the Summer issue June 31, 1994. Please pay when copy is submitted. If you have any questions regarding our advertisement policies, please contact Carol Haufler at (215) 204-1481.

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The Federalism Report is published by the Center for the Study of Federalism

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