

IT WON'T
BE LONG NOW,
RICHIE!!!!
(OCT. 2)

penn state university press
SPRING AND SUMMER 2004

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Front: At his last game at Connie Mack Stadium, on September 29, 1969, a homemade banner reminds Richie Allen that his days with the Phillies are numbered. Courtesy Temple University Libraries, Urban Archives, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Back: The 1964 Philadelphia Phillies. Courtesy Philadelphia Phillies.

Both from *September Swoon* (p. 5).

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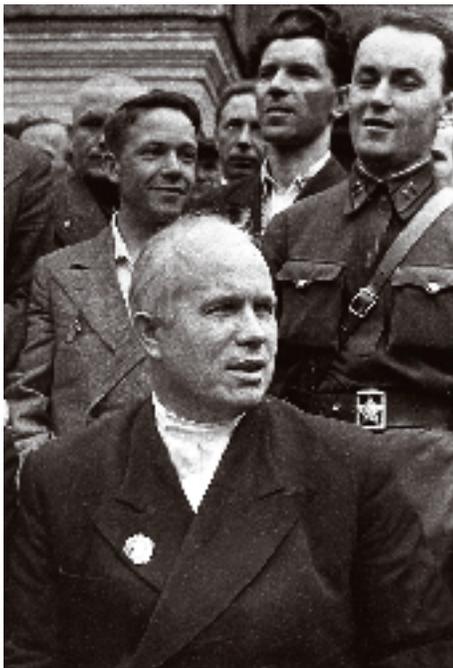
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First secretary of the Moscow city committee of the AUCP(B)
N. S. Khrushchev visits units of the Moscow garrison of the
Red Army, 1936.

**“The single most comprehensive,
candid, and authoritative account
of the inner workings of the
Kremlin leadership. . . . One of
the most extraordinary archives
of the twentieth century.”**

**—Strobe Talbott, former U.S. Deputy
Secretary of State**

Memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev

Volume 1: The Commissar, 1919–1945

EDITED BY SERGEI KHRUSHCHEV

Translated by George Shriver

Co-published with The Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies, Brown University

“Nikita Khrushchev was one of the most important political leaders of the twentieth century. Without his memoirs, neither the rise and fall of the Soviet Union nor the history of the Cold War can be fully understood. By dictating his memoirs and publishing them in the West, Khrushchev transformed himself from the USSR’s leader to one of its first dissidents. His remarkably candid recollections were a harbinger of glasnost to come. Like virtually all memoirs, his have a personal and political agenda, but even what might be called Khrushchev’s ‘myth of himself’ is vital for understanding how this colorful figure could place his contradictory stamp on his country and the world. The fact that the full text of Khrushchev’s memoirs will now be available in English is cause for rejoicing.”

—William Taubman, Amherst College, author of *Khrushchev: The Man and His Era*

Nikita Khrushchev’s proclamation from the floor of the United Nations that “we will bury you” is one of the most chilling and memorable moments in the history of the Cold War, but from the Cuban Missile Crisis to his criticism of the Soviet ruling structure late in his career, the motivation for Khrushchev’s actions wasn’t always clear. Many Americans regarded him as a monster, while in the USSR he was viewed at various times as either hero or traitor. But what was he really like, and what did he really think?

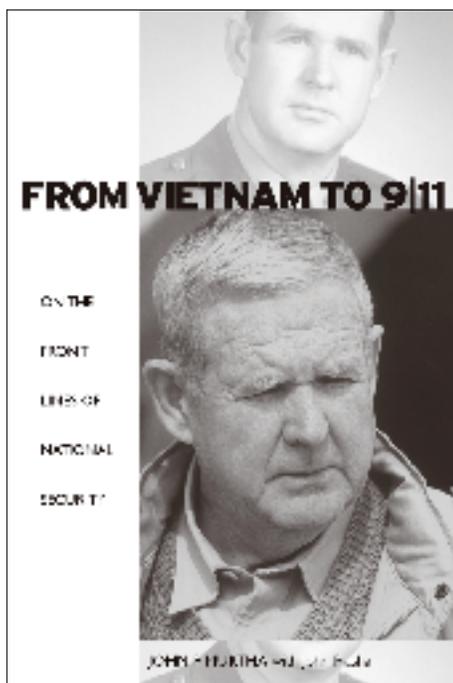
Readers of Khrushchev’s memoirs will now be able to answer these questions for themselves (and will discover that what Khrushchev really said at the UN was “we will bury colonialism”). This is the first volume of three in what will be the only complete and fully reliable version of the memoirs available in English. In this volume Khrushchev recounts how he became politically active as a young worker in Ukraine, how he climbed the ladder of power under Stalin to occupy leading positions in Ukraine and then Moscow, and how as a military commissar he experienced the war against the Nazi invaders. He vividly portrays life in Stalin’s inner circle and among the generals who commanded the Soviet armies. Khrushchev’s sincere reflections upon his own thoughts and feelings add to the value of this unique personal and historical document.

Included among the appendices is Sergei Khrushchev’s account of how the memoirs were created and smuggled abroad during his father’s retirement.

Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev (1894–1971) was First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1953 to 1964 and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers from 1958 to 1964.

Sergei Khrushchev is Senior Fellow at The Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University. He is the author of *Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower* (Penn State, 2000).

**752 pages • 57 illustrations/11 maps • 6 x 9 • July
ISBN 0-271-02332-5 • cloth: \$55.00t**



“This uniquely powerful book offers the reader an opportunity for a new voyage of discovery. Congressman Murtha presents you an opportunity to discover the innermost workings of our democracy, our Congress, and the evolving shapes of complex decisions.”

—Retired Congressman
Joseph M. McDade

New in Paperback

From Vietnam to 9/11

On the Front Lines of National Security

JOHN P. MURTHA WITH JOHN PLASHAL

“This is a sober, intelligent, insightful book written by a veteran of Congress who has been involved in most of the major foreign policy decisions of the last quarter-century. Currently the ranking Democrat on the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, Murtha has had a unique vantage point on the passing scene.”

—Richard Robbins, *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review*

“It is a history that should be required reading for any class wanting to learn the story of the country’s dealings with the world.”

—Patrick Cloonan, *McKeesport Daily News*

“I expected the book to be the usual ‘walks on water, leaps over tall buildings’ political puffery that such books can be. It wasn’t; it is much better than that. . . . It is an analytical history of defense and foreign affairs matters that Murtha has been involved in from the Vietnam War through Sept. 11. He makes his comments from the informed position of longtime membership on the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, the panel responsible for appropriating the money for America’s various military ventures. . . . Best of all, many of his observations are very relevant to what Americans are going through right now as the country appears to be headed for a major regional war in the Middle East.”

—Dan Simpson, *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*

“Congressman Murtha has written an insightful and powerful account of his life of public service and of the significant events in our nation’s recent history that he has witnessed. It is a firsthand account by one of the most respected members of our Congress. This is a must-read if you want to hear it straight from a savvy man of action who was there making history.” —General Anthony C. Zinni, USMC (Retired)

In 1974, John P. “Jack” Murtha became the first Vietnam combat veteran elected to Congress. In the nearly three decades since then, Congressman Murtha has been intimately involved with governmental decisions about America’s national security and foreign policy, adding his unique perspective to international affairs while faithfully representing Pennsylvania’s twelfth district. *From Vietnam to 9/11* combines personal memoir with thoughtful analysis to provide a behind-the-scenes account of the formation and conduct of U.S. foreign policy in the last quarter-century. At the same time, it tells the story of a man committed to service and community.

John P. Murtha graduated from the University of Pittsburgh with a degree in economics and did graduate work in economics and political science at Indiana University of Pennsylvania. In 1966, Murtha volunteered to serve in Vietnam, where he was twice wounded; he received the Bronze Star with Combat “V,” two Purple Hearts, and the Vietnamese Cross of Gallantry. He was elected to Congress in 1974, where he still serves today. He retired from the Marine Corps Reserves in 1990.

256 pages • 11 illustrations/5 maps • 6 x 9 • August

ISBN 0-271-02239-6 • cloth: \$29.95t (2003)

ISBN 0-271-02396-1 • paper: \$22.95t



Photo courtesy Historical Society of Dauphin County, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

TMI 25 Years Later

The Three Mile Island Nuclear Power Plant Accident and its Impact

BONNIE ANNE OSIF, ANTHONY J. BARATTA, AND THOMAS W. CONKLING

Three Mile Island burst into the nation's headlines twenty-five years ago, forever changing our view of nuclear power. The dramatic accident held the world's attention for an unsettling week in March 1979 as engineers struggled to understand what had happened and to bring the damaged reactor to a safe condition. Much has been written since then about TMI, but it is not easy to find up-to-date information that is both reliable and accessible to the non-scientific reader. *TMI 25 Years Later* offers a much needed "one-stop" resource for a new generation of citizens, students, and policymakers.

The legacy of TMI has been far-reaching. The worst nuclear accident in U.S. history marked a turning point in our policies, our perceptions, and our national identity. Those involved in the nuclear industry today study the scenario carefully and review the decontamination and recovery process. Risk management and the ability to convey risks to the general population rationally and understandably are an integral part of implementation of new technologies. Political, environmental, and energy decisions have been made with TMI as a factor, and while studies reveal little environmental damage from the accident, long-term studies of health effects continue. *TMI 25 Years Later* presents a balanced and factual account of the accident, the cleanup effort, and the many facets of its legacy twenty-five years later.

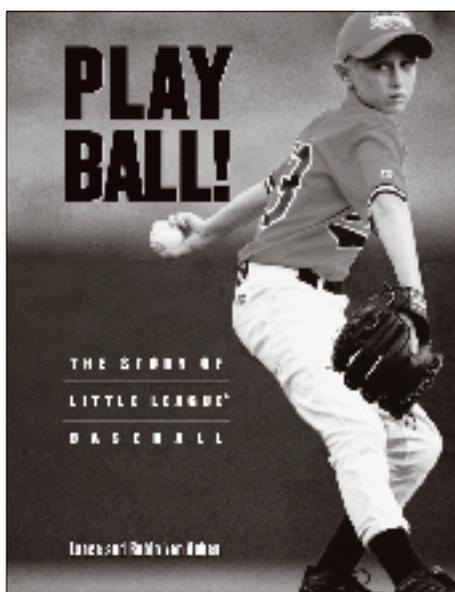
The authors bring extensive research and writing experience to this book. After the accident and the cleanup, a significant collection of videotapes, photographs, and reports were donated to the University Libraries at Penn State University. Bonnie Osif and Thomas Conkling are engineering librarians at Penn State who maintain a database of these materials, which they have made available to the general public through an award-winning website. Anthony Baratta is a nuclear engineer who worked with the decontamination and recovery project at TMI and is an expert in nuclear accidents. The book features unique photographs of the cleanup and helpful appendixes that enable readers to investigate further various aspects of the story.

Bonnie Anne Osif is Engineering Reference and Instruction Librarian at The Pennsylvania State University.

Anthony J. Baratta is an administrative law judge with the Atomic and Safety Licensing Board and Professor Emeritus of Nuclear Engineering at The Pennsylvania State University.

Thomas W. Conkling is Head of the Engineering Library at The Pennsylvania State University.

160 pages • 37 illustrations • 6 x 9 • March
ISBN 0-271-02383-X • cloth: \$24.95t



“Play Ball! is a delightful walk down the storied history of Little League Baseball. For those of us who played the dreams of our youth, it brings back mighty memories. For those of us reluctant adults who still dream, it’s a wonderful reminder of what might have been.”

—John Grisham

New in Paperback

Play Ball!

The Story of Little League Baseball®

LANCE AND ROBIN VAN AUKEN

Companion volume to the Public Broadcasting Service series *Small Ball: Little League Stories*, airing in Spring 2004

“The Van Aukens’ book is a straightforward account of a mountain of facts, including those describing the organization’s rocky times. Foremost among these are its split with Little League founder Carl Stotz and lawsuits involving gender-related issues.”
—Ross Atkin, *The Christian Science Monitor*

“*Play Ball!* is the best account of the evolution of Little League Baseball now available. . . . Not only will readers who have or have had children in Little League Baseball enjoy the Van Aukens’ efforts, but so will readers interested in baseball generally. Theirs is a handy reference book which is fun to read or simply to thumb through.”
—G. S. Rowe, *Pennsylvania History*

On any given spring evening, 360,000 children around the world can be found on the dusty mounds and grassy fields of a Little League field. With more than four million people playing or volunteering in Little League games every year, Little League is the institutional rite of passage into the quintessential American pastime.

Play Ball! charts Little League’s history from the earliest days and shows how, in many respects, its history parallels America’s history. A microcosm of American society, Little League reflects and is affected by cultural, political, and historical trends. Today, Little League is played on 12,000 fields in every U.S. state and in 103 other countries on six continents, and The Little League Baseball World Series, played annually in Williamsport, is watched by crowds of 40,000 each year in person—and by more than ten million on ABC’s *Wide World of Sports*.

The authors were given full access to the Little League Baseball archives and have created a fully illustrated and comprehensive history. *Play Ball!* contains appendixes including winners of all Little League Baseball and Softball World Series, a year-by-year history of Little League, countries in Little League, and lists of some of the famous people who played the game as children, including Kevin Costner, Mark McGwire, and George W. Bush.

Play Ball! will interest parents, former players and coaches, fans of Little League Baseball, general baseball enthusiasts, and anyone who has ever picked up a ball and bat.

Lance Van Auken is director of media relations and communications for Little League Baseball.

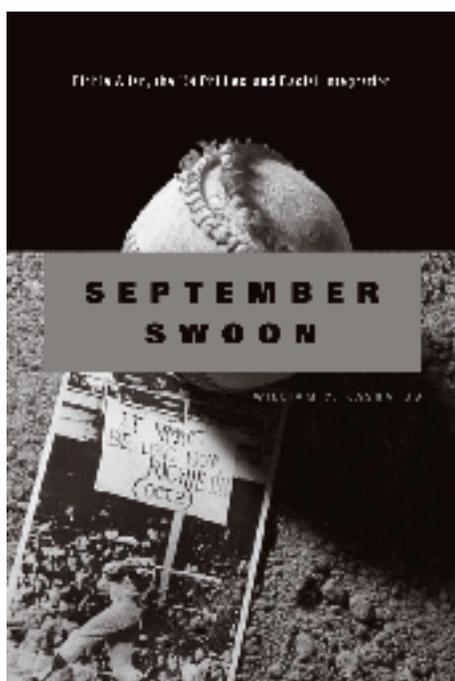
Robin Van Auken is the owner of The Omnibus, a literary agency.

264 pages • 19 color/140 b&w illustrations • 8½ x 11 • March

ISBN 0-271-02118-7 • cloth: \$29.95t (2001)

ISBN 0-271-02402-X • paper: \$24.95t

A Keystone Book



September Swoon

Richie Allen, the '64 Phillies, and Racial Integration

WILLIAM C. KASHATUS

With a Foreword by Gerald Early

"In my growing up, very few black people I knew rooted for the Phillies, most having long memories of how Philadelphia manager Ben Chapman mercilessly taunted Brooklyn Dodger Jackie Robinson with racial insults and invective when Robinson arrived in the Majors. As my mother said to me once, 'I'll root for the Phillies when hell freezes over.' In 1964, for my mother, hell definitely did not freeze over and she was, in fact, ecstatic when the team went into its free fall at the end of the season. I suppose I wanted the Phillies to win but I was not very disappointed when they lost. I almost expected it. But the impact of that season has stayed with me all my life, in a way that no other baseball season has."

—from the Foreword by Gerald Early

Everything seemed to be going the Phillies' way. Up by 6½ games with just 12 left to play in the 1964 season, they appeared to have clinched their first pennant in more than a decade. Outfielder Johnny Callison narrowly missed being the National League MVP. Third baseman Richie Allen was Rookie of the Year.

But the "Fightin' Phils" didn't make it to the postseason—they lost 10 straight and finished a game behind the St. Louis Cardinals. Besides engineering the greatest collapse of any team in major league baseball history, the '64 Phillies had another, more important distinction: they were Philadelphia's first truly integrated baseball team. In *September Swoon* William Kashatus tells the dramatic story—both on the field and off—of the Phillies' bittersweet season of 1964.

More than any other team in Philadelphia's sports history, the '64 Phillies saddled the city with a dismal reputation. Even when victory seemed assured, Philadelphia found a way to lose. Unfortunately, the collapse, dubbed the "September swoon," was the beginning of a self-destructive skid in both team play and racial integration, for the very things that made the players unique threatened to tear the team apart. An antagonistic press and contentious fans blamed Richie Allen, the Phillies' first black superstar, for the team's losing ways, accusing him of dividing the team along racial lines. Allen manipulated the resulting controversy in the hope that he would be traded, but in the process, he managed to fray further already tenuous race relations.

Based on personal interviews, player biographies, and newspaper accounts, *September Swoon* brings to life a season and a team that got so many Philadelphians, both black and white, to care deeply and passionately about the game at a turbulent period in the city's—and our nation's—history. The hometown fans reveled in their triumphs and cried in their defeat, because they saw in them a reflection of themselves. The '64 Phillies not only won over the loyalties of a racially divided city but also gave Philadelphians a reason to dream—of a pennant, of a contender, and of a City of Brotherly Love.

William C. Kashatus, a professional historian and educator, holds a Ph.D. in history from the University of Pennsylvania. A regular contributor to the *Philadelphia Daily News*, he is the author of several baseball books, including *Connie Mack's '29 Triumph: The Rise and Fall of the Philadelphia Athletics Dynasty* (1999) and *One-Armed Wonder: Pete Gray, Wartime Baseball, and the American Dream* (1995). He lives in Chester County, Pennsylvania.

280 pages • 35 b&w photos • 6 x 9 • March

ISBN 0-271-02333-3 • cloth: \$29.95t

A Keystone Book

"*September Swoon* captures the drama of the 1964 pennant race while shedding much light on the problems the Phillies faced with the racial integration that centered on talented rookie Richie Allen. Any Phillies fan will enjoy reading Kashatus's interesting book."

—Allen Lewis,
former *Philadelphia Inquirer* baseball writer
and member of the writer's wing
of the Baseball Hall of Fame

Community of the Cross

Moravian Piety in Colonial Bethlehem

CRAIG D. ATWOOD

Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, was a unique colonial town. It was the first permanent outpost of the Moravians in North America and served as the headquarters for their extensive missionary efforts. It was also one of the most successful communal societies in American history. Bethlehem was founded as a “congregation of the cross” where all aspects of personal and social life were subordinated to the religious ideal of the community. In *Community of the Cross*, Craig D. Atwood offers a convincing portrait of Bethlehem and its religion.

Visitors to Bethlehem, such as Benjamin Franklin, remarked on the orderly and peaceful nature of life in the community, its impressive architecture, and its “high” culture. But, many non-Moravians were embarrassed or even offended by the social and devotional life of the Moravians. The adoration of the crucified Jesus, especially his wounds, was the focus of intense devotion for adults and children alike. Moravians worshiped the Holy Spirit as “Mother” and made the mystical marriage to Christ central to their marital intimacy. Everything, even family life, was to be a form of worship.

Atwood reveals the deep connection between life in Bethlehem and the religious symbolism of controversial German theologian Nicholas von Zinzendorf, whose provocative and erotic adoration of the wounds of Jesus was an essential part of private and communal life. Using the theories of René Girard, Mary Douglas, and Victor Turner, Atwood shows that it was the Moravians’ liturgy and devotion that united the community and inspired both its unique social structure and mission effort.

Community of the Cross is published as part of the Max Kade German-American Research Institute Series. This series provides an outlet for books that reflect the mission of the Penn State Kade Institute: to integrate the history and culture of German speakers in the Americas with the major themes of early modern scholarship from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century.

Craig D. Atwood is Theologian in Residence at the Home Moravian Church in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. He also teaches at the Moravian Theological Seminary.

240 pages • 7 illustrations • 6½ x 9¼ • May

ISBN 0-271-02367-8 • cloth: \$37.50s

Max Kade German-American Research Institute Series

Friends and Enemies in Penn’s Woods

Colonists, Indians, and the Racial Construction of Pennsylvania

EDITED BY WILLIAM A. PENCAK AND DANIEL K. RICHTER

With an Afterword by James H. Merrell

Two powerfully contradictory images dominate historical memory when we think of Native Americans and colonists in early Pennsylvania. To one side is William Penn’s legendary treaty with the Lenape at Shackamaxon in 1682, enshrined in Edward Hicks’s allegories of the “Peaceable Kingdom.” To the other is the Paxton Boys’ cold-blooded slaughter of twenty Conestoga men, women, and children in 1763. How relations between Pennsylvanians and their Native neighbors deteriorated, in only eighty years, from the idealism of Shackamaxon to the bloodthirstiness of Conestoga is the central theme of *Friends and Enemies in Penn’s Woods*.

William Pencak and Daniel Richter have assembled some of the most talented young historians working in the field today. Their approaches and subject matter vary greatly, but they all concentrate less on the details of how European and Indian Pennsylvanians negotiated and fought than on how people constructed and reconstructed their cultures in dialogue with others. Taken together, the essays trace the collapse of whatever potential may have existed for a Pennsylvania shared by Indians and Europeans. What remained was a racialized definition that left no room for Native people, except in reassuring memories of the justice of the Founder. Pennsylvania came to be a landscape utterly dominated by Euro-Americans, who managed to turn the region’s history into not only a story solely about themselves but also a morality tale about their best (William Penn) and worst (Paxton Boys) sides. The construction of Pennsylvania on Native ground was also the construction of a racial order for the new nation.

Friends and Enemies in Penn’s Woods will find a broad audience among scholars of early American history, Native American history, and race relations.

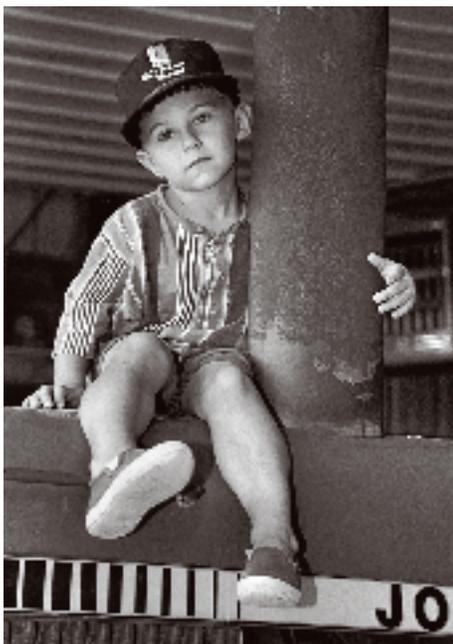
William A. Pencak is Professor of History at Penn State University. He has co-edited three books published by Penn State Press, most recently, with Randall Miller, *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth* (2002).

Daniel K. Richter is Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania, where he is also the Richard S. Dunn Director of the McNeil Center for Early American Studies. His most recent book, *Facing East from Indian Country: Rediscovering Colonial North America* (2001), was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize.

336 pages • 6 x 9 • June

ISBN 0-271-02384-8 • cloth: \$65.00s

ISBN 0-271-02385-6 • paper: \$22.95s



Johnny Tjelemand atop the John Deere tractor of his parents, active PFI members near McCallsburb, Iowa, 1998.
Photo by Michael Mayerfeld Bell.

Farming for Us All

Practical Agriculture and the Cultivation of Sustainability

MICHAEL MAYERFELD BELL

It is easy to feel overwhelmed and depressed by all the threats facing modern agriculture—threats to the environment, to the health and safety of our food, to the economic and cultural viability of farmers and rural communities. Hundreds of thousands of farmers leave their farms every year as the juggernaut of “big agriculture” plows across our rural landscape. But there are viable alternatives to big agriculture, as many farmers and others involved in agriculture, including consumers, are discovering. In *Farming for Us All*, Michael Mayerfeld Bell offers crucial insight into the future of a viable sustainable agriculture movement in the United States.

Based on interviews and years of close interaction with more than sixty Iowa farm families, Bell answers two critical questions concerning sustainable agriculture: why some farmers are becoming sustainable farmers and why, as yet, most are not. The first part of the book describes how the structure of agriculture—that nexus of markets, regulations, subsidies, and technology—has created a situation in which farmers are paid to undermine their own economic and social security as well as the security of the land. The second part explores why most Iowa farmers carry on with these destructive practices. Farming is a pressured endeavor, and farmers find themselves relying on recipes of knowledge to get them through the latest crisis, with little opportunity to explore some other way—even if they think what they know how to do isn’t likely to work very well for them.

And yet some farmers resist the tide of big agriculture. In the third part of the book, Bell examines Iowa’s largest sustainable agriculture group, Practical Farmers of Iowa (PFI), and he finds a new model of social relations at work. Members of PFI seek to create an agriculture that engages others—farmers, university researchers, government officials, and consumers alike—in a common conversation about what agriculture might look like, without insisting that a common conversation requires a common vision. Instead, PFI members come to relish their differences as sources of learning and new ideas. Through dialogue, these PFI members seek to cross-breed knowledge, to create pragmatic knowledge that gets the crops to grow in ways that sustain families, communities, societies, economies, and environments. Herein lies the heart of the cultivation of *practical agriculture*, an agriculture that roots action in dialogue and dialogue in action and thereby sustains them both. In an increasingly fractured and untrusting world, this is a cultivation worthy of all our interests.

Farming for Us All gives us the opportunity to explore the possibilities for social, environmental, and economic change that practical, dialogic agriculture presents. It therefore represents an important step forward in our search for a viable sustainable agriculture in the United States.

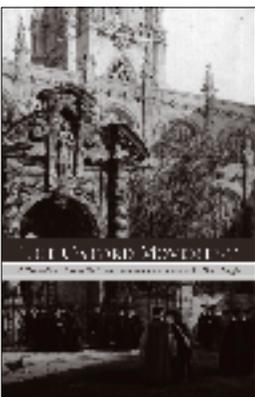
Michael Mayerfeld Bell is Associate Professor of Rural Sociology at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. He is the author of several books, including the award-winning *Childerley: Nature and Morality in a Country Village* (1994) and *The Face of Connecticut: People, Geology, and the Land* (1984).

296 pages • 21 illustrations • 6 x 9 • May

ISBN 0-271-02386-4 • cloth: \$75.00s

ISBN 0-271-02387-2 • paper: \$22.50t

Rural Studies Series



New in Paperback

The Oxford Movement

A Thematic History of the Tractarians and Their Times

C. BRAD FAUGHT

"Anyone trying to understand why the institutions of Christianity refuse to disappear and why some of its branches—well, its key branch, which remains Roman Catholicism—continues to be obstinate and even belligerent in the face of growing secular tolerance on key social issues like gay rights will find the history of the Oxford Movement remarkably pertinent.

It is Faught's great achievement as a historian and communicator that he leads readers through all the theological and metaphysical complications and occasional muddle with such writerly clarity and scholarly élan."

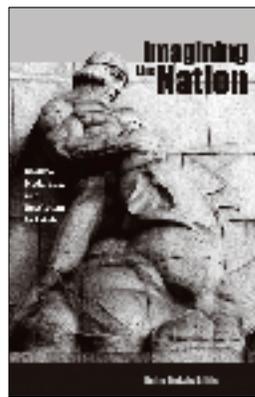
—John Fraser, *National Post*

Well over a century and a half after its high point, the Oxford Movement continues to stand out as a powerful example of religion in action. Led by four young Oxford dons—John Henry Newman, John Keble, Richard Hurrell Froude, and Edward Pusey—this renewal movement within the Church of England was a central event in the political, religious, and social life of the early Victorian era. Beginning formally in 1833 with Keble's famous "National Apostasy" sermon and lasting until 1845, when Newman made his celebrated conversion to Roman Catholicism, the Oxford Movement posed deep and far-reaching questions about the relationship between Church and State, the Catholic heritage of the Church of England, and the Church's social responsibility, especially in the new industrial society.

This book offers an up-to-date and highly accessible overview of the Oxford Movement. C. Brad Faught highlights five key areas in which the movement affected English society more broadly—politics, religion and theology, friendship, society, and missions. The advantage of this thematic approach is that it illuminates the frequently overlooked wider political, social, and cultural impact of the movement. The questions raised by the Tractarians remain as relevant today as they were then. Their most fundamental question—"What is the place of the Church in the modern world?"—still remains unanswered.

C. Brad Faught is Assistant Professor of History at Tyndale University College and Seminary in Toronto.

200 pages • 9 illustrations • 5 x 7½ • January
 ISBN 0-271-02249-3 • cloth: \$29.95s (2003)
 ISBN 0-271-02394-5 • paper: \$22.50s



New in Paperback

Imagining the Nation

History, Modernity, and Revolution in Latvia

DAINA STUKULS EGLITIS

"[Eglitis's] book is an insightful study of the rhetoric and symbolism at the center of the transition process in Latvia. This well-documented study is a significant contribution to the scholarly literature on postcommunist transition and includes a useful bibliography of Latvian- and English-language sources."

—R. P. Peters, *Choice*

Every epoch produces its own notions of social change, and the post-Communist societies of East Europe are no exception. *Imagining the Nation* explores the fate of contemporary Latvia, a small country with a big story that is relevant for anyone wishing to understand better the nature of post-Communist transitions.

As Latvia and other former Soviet-bloc countries seek to rebuild and transform their societies, what is the central dynamic at work? In *Imagining the Nation*, Daina Stukuls Eglitis finds that in virtually all aspects of life, the guiding sentiment among Latvians has been a desire for normality in the wake of the "deformations" that marked the half century of Soviet rule. In seeking to return to normality, many people look to the West for models; others look back in time to the period of Latvian independence, from 1918 to 1940, before the years of Soviet domination. Ultimately, the changes in Latvia and other East European countries are closely tied to a vital reimagining of the past, as the logic of progress long associated with "revolution" is amalgamated with nostalgia for what is gone. The radiant utopias of revolution give way to widely shared aspirations for a return to the normal in politics, place names, private property, and even gender relations.

Eglitis draws upon published and unpublished documents, campaign posters, maps, and monuments, as well as interviews with Latvians from all walks of life. The resulting picture of life in contemporary Latvia offers fresh perspective on a dilemma facing millions throughout the post-Communist world.

Daina Stukuls Eglitis is Assistant Professor of Sociology at George Washington University.

280 pages • 21 illustrations • 6 x 9 • August
 ISBN 0-271-02203-5 • cloth: \$35.00s (2002)
 ISBN 0-271-02393-7 • paper: \$22.50s
 Post-Communist Cultural Studies Series

Music for the Revolution

Musicians and Power in Early Soviet Russia

AMY NELSON

"Music for the Revolution is a gripping account of one of the great cultural struggles in early Soviet Russia. Written by a professional historian and a trained musician, the book offers a grand synthesis marked by great erudition, superb research, and fair-minded judgments."

—Richard Stites, Georgetown University

Mention twentieth-century Russian music, and the names of three "giants"—Igor Stravinsky, Sergei Prokofiev, and Dmitrii Shostakovich—immediately come to mind. Yet during the turbulent decade following the Bolshevik Revolution, Stravinsky and Prokofiev lived abroad and Shostakovich was just finishing his conservatory training. While the fame of these great musicians is widely recognized, little is known about the creative challenges and political struggles that engrossed musicians in Soviet Russia during the crucial years after 1917. *Music for the Revolution* examines musicians' responses to Soviet power and reveals the conditions under which a distinctively Soviet musical culture emerged in the early thirties.

Given the dramatic repression of intellectual freedom and creativity in Stalinist Russia, the twenties often seem to be merely a prelude to totalitarianism in artistic life. Yet this was the decade in which the creative intelligentsia defined its relationship with the Soviet regime and the aesthetic foundations for socialist realism were laid down. In their efforts to deal with the political challenges of the Revolution, musicians grappled with an array of issues affecting musical education, professional identity, and the administration of musical life, along with the embrace of certain creative platforms and the rejection of others. Nelson shows how debates about these issues unfolded in the context of broader concerns about artistic modernism and elitism as well as the more expansive goals and censorial power of Soviet authorities.

Music for the Revolution shows how the musical community helped shape the musical culture of Stalinism and extends the interpretive frameworks of Soviet culture presented in recent scholarship to an area of artistic creativity often overlooked by historians. It should be broadly important to those interested in Soviet history, the cultural roots of Stalinism, Russian and Soviet music, and the place of music and the arts in revolutionary change.

Amy Nelson is Associate Professor of History at Virginia Tech.

272 pages • 22 illustrations • 6 x 9 • June
ISBN 0-271-02369-4 • cloth: \$45.00s

Experiment in Occupation

Witness to the Turnabout, Anti-Nazi to Cold War 1944–1946

ARTHUR D. KAHN

"What differentiates this work from other accounts is Kahn's familiarity with German politics at the local level and his knowledge of how high-level Military Government policies were translated into actual practice. Kahn has an important story to tell and possesses a trove of documentary evidence to support some of his most interesting claims."

—Carolyn Eisenberg, Hofstra University

As a participant in many of the events he writes about in *Experiment in Occupation*, Arthur Kahn offers a richly detailed account of the process by which the fight against Nazism came to be transformed into the Cold War. His story reveals how those in the Military Government of Germany who were dedicated to carrying out the war aims promulgated by Roosevelt and Eisenhower for a thorough democratization of Germany were ultimately defeated in their confrontation with powerful elements in the Military Government and in Washington who were more intent upon launching a preemptive war against the Soviet Union than upon the eradication of Nazism and German militarism.

A twenty-three-year-old OSS operative, Kahn was assigned after D-Day to a psychological warfare unit, where at first he supervised prisoner-of-war interrogations and then served as an editor of intelligence. Instructed to respond to requests from Supreme Headquarters, he drafted proposals for psychological warfare approaches to critical situations at the front only to discover that a SHAEF directive banned calls to the Germans to revolt. Kahn subsequently served in liaison with the Soviets and during the Battle of the Bulge at Montgomery's British headquarters. For several months before and after VE-Day, he traveled through the American Zone as an intelligence investigator and wrote a report that led to the dismissal of General George S. Patton as Military Governor of Bavaria. Appointed Chief Editor of Intelligence of the Information Control Division, he produced the most influential intelligence weekly in the American Zone.

Kahn's portrayal of events in postwar Germany provides warnings for current and future American experiments in foreign occupation.

Arthur Kahn, a former distinguished professor of Classics at universities in the U.S. and Canada, has written seven previous books, including *The Education of Julius Caesar* (1986), a History Book Club Selection.

240 pages • 6 x 9 • February
ISBN 0-271-02314-7 • cloth: \$45.00s

The New Palaces of Medieval Venice

JUERGEN SCHULZ

"A splendid accomplishment, overwhelming in its mastery of sources and scholarship, that makes its arguments with nerve and verve, and, unlike most scholarship, leaves the reader with a poignant sense of the effects of time on historical artifacts and persons."

—Stanley Chojnacki, University of North Carolina

The palaces of Venice have long excited the wonder of visitors. These grand, ornate buildings seem to float on the water of the city's canals like the sea castles in a mariner's dream. But Juergen Schulz demonstrates that the origins of these residences lay on terra firma, in a widely disseminated building type that, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was adapted to the special circumstances of an Adriatic lagoon and the needs of the merchants who were turning this environment into a center of trade.

An internationally recognized expert on Venetian art, architecture, and cartography, Schulz examines the city's medieval palaces with scholarship of unprecedented breadth and insight. His book, based in both archival research and first-hand knowledge of Venice, reconstructs the original appearance of the city's oldest surviving residences, such as that of the Corner and Pesaro families, and traces the many later modifications made to these buildings. Further, Schulz's book breaks new ground by presenting a systematic discussion of the use of sculpture in Venice's early palaces, famed for their "exhibitionistic" ornament and scale.

Illustrated with numerous photographs and plans, *The New Palaces of Medieval Venice* provides a comprehensive account of the ways in which a group of buildings came to embody the lives of Venice's leading mercantile families. Schulz's discussion of the Venetian palaces' impact on later architecture further enhances the significance of this handsome publication.

Juergen Schulz is Andrea V. Rosenthal Professor Emeritus of Art History and Architecture at Brown University and the author of numerous books and articles on Venetian art, architecture, and cartography.

368 pages • 219 illustrations • 9½ x 10 • July
ISBN 0-271-02351-1 • cloth: \$85.00s

Changing Patrons

Social Identity and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Florence

JILL BURKE

"No one writing about Florentine and Italian art history will be able to ignore this elegant and probing book."

—F. W. Kent, Director, Monash University at Prato

To whom should we ascribe the great flowering of the arts in Renaissance Italy? Artists like Botticelli and Michelangelo? Or wealthy, discerning patrons like Cosimo de' Medici? In recent years, scholars have attributed great importance to the role played by patrons, arguing that some should even be regarded as artists in their own right. This approach receives sharp challenge in Jill Burke's *Changing Patrons*. Burke, drawing heavily upon her discoveries in Florentine archives, traces the many profound transformations in patrons' relations to the visual world of fifteenth-century Florence. Looking closely at two of the city's upwardly mobile families, Burke demonstrates that they approached the visual arts from within a grid of social, political, and religious concerns. Art, for them, often served as a mediator of social difference and as a potent means of signifying status and identity.

Changing Patrons combines visual analysis with techniques from history and anthropology to propose new interpretations of the art created by, among others, Botticelli, Filippino Lippi, and Raphael. Genuinely interdisciplinary, the book also casts light on broad issues of identity, power relations, and the visual arts in Florence, the cradle of the Renaissance.

Jill Burke is AHRB Postdoctoral Research Fellow, Art History Department, University of Edinburgh. In 2000–2001, she was a postdoctoral fellow at the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies.

256 pages • 64 illustrations • 7 x 10 • June
ISBN 0-271-02362-7 • cloth: \$55.00s



Andrea della Robbia, *Annunciation*, ca. 1487. Florence, Ospedale degli Innocenti. Photo source: Soprintendenza per i beni artistici e storici, Florence.



“Admiration for everything
that is great made tears come
to my eyes.”

—Antoine-Jean Gros,
upon learning that Bonaparte had
returned to France from Egypt

After the Revolution

Antoine-Jean Gros, Painting, and Propaganda under Napoleon Bonaparte

DAVID O'BRIEN

“The masses . . . must be guided without their noticing it.”

—Napoleon to Joseph Fouché, his minister of police

Napoleon and Antoine-Jean Gros first met in 1796 in Italy, where the young French painter was working as a portraitist and attempting to recover from the upheavals of the French Revolution. The meeting changed Gros's life. Soon thereafter, he was making paintings—*Napoleon Visiting the Battlefield of Eylau*, *Napoleon Visiting the Plague-Stricken in Jaffa*, and others—that commemorated the great deeds of “the Corsican upstart” and have come to be regarded as masterpieces of both art and propaganda.

After the Revolution by David O'Brien is the first account in over a century to trace Gros's meteoric career, from its beginnings in Paris in David's studio to its Napoleonic successes and its end in a mysterious suicide. Drawing on letters from the artist to his mother, many of which O'Brien discovered, this book gives the reader a compelling account of the opportunities and conflicts faced by a brilliant, sensitive artist working for an increasingly autocratic regime.

O'Brien's highly original book weaves a comprehensive biography of Gros together with a history of the institutional machinery through which Napoleon encouraged but also regulated the arts. Here again, O'Brien introduces the reader to new documents—this time, records from the Archives Nationales—that illuminate the personalities and policies directing the representation of Napoleon and his era.

The many color illustrations in *After the Revolution* enable the reader to follow O'Brien's informative analysis of the mixing of fact and fiction in such famed paintings as the *Battlefield of Eylau*. Written in a clear, engaging style, this book will be of great interest to art historians, students of political and military history, and all those fascinated by Napoleon.

David O'Brien is Associate Professor of Art History at the University of Illinois and the author of numerous articles on American and French art.

344 pages • 16 color/141 b&w illustrations • 9 x 11½ • August
ISBN 0-271-02305-8 • cloth: \$85.00s



Above: Antoine-Jean Gros, *The Battle of Aboukir*, 1806. Oil on canvas, 578 cm. x 968 cm. Versailles, Musée National du Château.
Above left: Detail from *The Battle of Aboukir*.

The Spanish Gypsy

The History of a European Obsession

LOU CHARNON-DEUTSCH

"To my knowledge, this is the only work to date that retraces both the historical and anthropological studies concerning the Spanish Gypsies in concert with the numerous literary texts and visual representations that they have elicited throughout the ages. I would not be surprised if it became the standard reference work in the field." —Nelly Furman, Cornell University

Spanish Gypsy—the words themselves conjure up the sound of castanets, heels tapping the floor, plaintive yet passionate singing and the unforgettable sight of a seductive figure, back arched, skirts swirling, dancing with fierce grace. This stereotype has been all but synonymous with Spain since the nineteenth century, and there are no signs that her power as a national icon is on the wane. Surprising as it may seem, *The Spanish Gypsy* by Lou Charnon-Deutsch, the well-known Hispanist, is the first comprehensive history of this icon and her people, who have long been shrouded in mystery and all too often subjected to discrimination and persecution.

Charnon-Deutsch starts her story in the Middle Ages and proceeds to show how Europeans came to revere but also fear Gypsies because of their nomadic way of life and the freedoms it seemed to allow. Much of Charnon-Deutsch's information is drawn from historical and sociological studies, but she also proposes new readings of literature, starting with Cervantes's "Precious Jewel of Love" and moving on to the vogue for Gypsy subjects that arose in the Romantic era.

This fascinating book reaches its culmination in the chapters devoted to Spain's embrace of Gypsy myth and lore. Here the range of materials broadens to include music, dance, and the visual arts. Although the primary audience for Charnon-Deutsch's study will be students of Spanish social and cultural history, it will also be essential reading for all those interested in a group of people that remains the least understood ethnic minority in Europe.

Lou Charnon-Deutsch is Professor of Hispanic Languages and Literature at the State University of New York, Stony Brook. She is the author of two other Penn State Press books: *Narratives of Desire: Nineteenth-Century Spanish Fiction by Women* (1994) and *Fictions of the Feminine in the Nineteenth-Century Spanish Press* (1999).

280 pages • 31 b&w illustrations • 7 x 10 • May
ISBN 0-271-02359-7 • cloth: \$39.95s

Through the Looking Glass

Women and Self-Representation in Contemporary Art

SARAH RICH

JOYCE HENRI ROBINSON

Published by Palmer Museum of Art

"Venus trying to make nice to hear her own voice speak and know the sound of her own voice."
—Julie Heffernan

Through the Looking Glass provides readers with an informative record of the exhibition of self-portraits by Ana Mendieta, Carrie Mae Weems, and other leading women artists held in 2003 at the Palmer Museum of Art as part of the Women's Self-Representation Project at The Pennsylvania State University.

This fully illustrated catalogue enables readers to revisit the provocative juxtaposition of Yayoi Kusama's *Multi-Fabrics* and Alba d'Urbano's *Couture*, or Martha Rosler's *Semiotics of the Kitchen* and several of Cindy Sherman's famed *Film Stills*. An essay by Sarah Rich addresses important questions about women's use of self-portraiture. How, for example, does self-representation by women engage with narcissism, a trait long ascribed to the stereotypical "woman"? To what extent is gender a necessary element in women's self-portraiture?

Sarah Rich is Assistant Professor in the Department of Art History at The Pennsylvania State University.

Joyce Henri Robinson is Curator at the Palmer Museum of Art and Affiliate Associate Professor in the Department of Art History at The Pennsylvania State University.

48 pages • 15 color/10 b&w illustrations • 9 x 9 • Available Now

ISBN 0-911209-60-3 • paper: \$19.95s

Distributed by Penn State Press by arrangement with the Palmer Museum of Art



Joan Semmel, *Knees Together*, 2003.
Oil on canvas, 60 x 48 inches.
Courtesy Mitchell Aligus Gallery



Wyndham Lewis, *Plan of War*, oil on canvas(?).
Lost, reproduced from *Blast* 1, 1914. ©Wyndham Lewis and the
estate of the late Mrs G A Wyndham Lewis by kind permission of
the Wyndham Lewis Memorial Trust (a registered charity)

“The morality of art consists
in the perfect use of an
imperfect medium.”

—Oscar Wilde, *Picture of Dorian Gray*

The World in Paint

Modern Art and Visuality in England, 1848–1914

DAVID PETERS CORBETT

Co-published with Manchester University Press

“Corbett is one of very few scholars who are thinking deeply about the future direction of art history, and of even fewer who are doing so in the context of British art. This book has the potential to lead the way not only in its own field but also in art history as a discipline.”

—Elizabeth Prettejohn, University of Plymouth

Paintings of a “kept woman” sitting in her lover’s lap, of the Lady of Shalott, of Merlin the magician, of an explosive, abstract pattern—some rendered in meticulous detail, others only sketched—appear side by side in David Peters Corbett’s book on English art. The sharp differences in style and in subject matter are striking and significant, but they are *not* presented in any of the usual ways. They are not seen as markers of a progressive development, expressions of strong personalities, or signs of English artists’ inability or reluctance to master French Impressionism. All these familiar narratives are abandoned in Corbett’s book, which, in their stead, proposes a new way of looking at English painting from the Pre-Raphaelites to Wyndham Lewis and the Vorticists.

An award-winning art historian, Corbett contends that from 1848 to 1914, English artists confronted a world in which the rise of science and decline in religion deprived painting of many of its traditional functions and powers. Yet these same changes, according to Corbett, presented the possibility that painting could become a crucial means of mediating the widely decried materialism of industrial society. It could expose the values that had been lost, reveal hidden spiritual and emotional resources, or, alternatively, welcome and champion the dynamics of modernism.

Corbett makes persuasive use of a wide range of sources, including contemporary art criticism, artists’ letters, literature, and, not surprisingly, the torrent of publicity touched off by the Whistler versus Ruskin trial of 1877. But what gives his book originality is its incisive discussion of aesthetic issues that art historians, intent on social history, have generally overlooked. Corbett puts readers in contact with debates about visual experience, the handling of paint, codes of beauty, and questions of meaning.

Many of Corbett’s points entail close analysis of art. *The World in Paint* is amply illustrated with high-quality color and black-and-white reproductions.

David Peters Corbett is Reader in the History of Art Department at York University and the author of *The Modernity of English Art, 1914–1930* (1997), *Wyndham Lewis and the Art of Modern War* (1998), and *Walter Sickert* (2001), among numerous other publications.

256 pages • 16 color/86 b&w illustrations • 8 x 10 • August

ISBN 0-271-02360-0 • cloth: \$75.00s

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Refiguring Modernism Series



New in Paperback

Revolutionary Saints

Heidegger, National Socialism, and Antinomian Politics

CHRISTOPHER RICKEY

"The result is one of the few truly superb treatments of this vexing problem [the relation between Heidegger the man and his thinking, his actions, and the truth of his thoughts]. Rickey has written one of the most tightly argued and persuasive briefs, as it were, for the case in favor of the unity of Heidegger as political man and primordial

thinker of the 'history of being.'" —Horst Mewes, *Perspectives on Politics*

"The considerable interest of Rickey's work is to show in detail that Heidegger is not the proto-communitarian he is sometimes described as, but rather a peculiar kind of failed Christian communitarian, loyal not to human beings but to being." —Tom Rockmore, Duquesne University

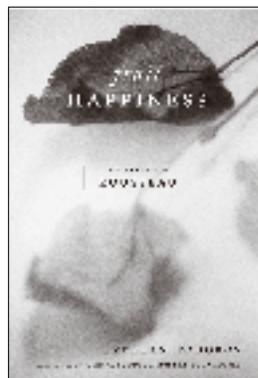
Heidegger's connection with Nazism is well known and has been exhaustively debated. But we need to understand better why Heidegger believed National Socialism to be the best cure for the ills of modern society. In this book Christopher Rickey examines the internal logic of Heidegger's ideas to explain how they led him to become a powerful critic of liberalism and a Nazi supporter.

Key to Rickey's interpretation is the radically antinomian conception of religiosity he finds at the core of Heidegger's challenge to modernity. Heidegger responds to the crisis of modernity with a philosophy attuned to the fundamental need for humans to live with the proper stance toward the divine. Inspired by Lutheran and mystical theology, Heidegger outlines an essentially religious conception of authentic human being. Like his radical Lutheran forerunners, Heidegger politicizes the radical strains of Luther's theology to create a potent revolutionary brew: the revolution of the saints.

Rickey shows how this political-theological vision forms the basis of Heidegger's concrete political action and concludes with an analysis of the fundamental problems this vision poses to our political thinking today.

Christopher Rickey is an attorney working in New York City.

312 pages • 6 x 9 • August
 ISBN 0-271-02163-2 • cloth: \$45.00s (2002)
 ISBN 0-271-02397-X • paper: \$25.00s



New in Paperback

Frail Happiness

An Essay on Rousseau

TZVETAN TODOROV

Translated by John T. Scott
 and Robert D. Zaretsky

"This translation . . . is doubly welcome. . . . [It] offers readers both an insightful interpretation of Rousseau, one that presents him explicitly as a moral theorist, and an introduction to Todorov's own contributions to what he calls a 'critical humanism.'" —Zev M. Trachtenberg, *Ethics*

"Todorov accomplishes remarkably much in this brief book, and he does so with a clarity and grace that reflect his humanism and his intention to confront life honestly, characteristics he particularly admires in Rousseau." —Laurence D. Cooper, *The Review of Politics*

"In *Frail Happiness*, Todorov argues for the coherence of Rousseau, against those who prefer to underscore his contradictions. In its very simplicity it is an elegant presentation, one that will doubtless attract many readers." —Philip Stewart, Duke University

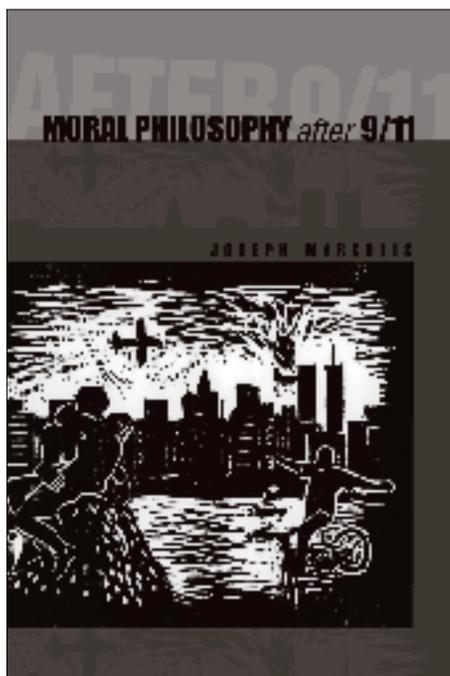
"We are all confronted, at one time or another, with choices as to what sort of life we will lead." So Tzvetan Todorov begins *Frail Happiness*, an important interpretation of Rousseau, one suffused with Todorov's own moral seriousness and intellectual depth. While ranging widely through Rousseau's corpus with skill and scholarly authority, Todorov returns, again and again, to the fragile yet persistent hope for human happiness.

Tzvetan Todorov is a director of research at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) in Paris. A linguist, literary theorist, and world-renowned essayist, he is the author of numerous books, several of which have been translated into English, including *Voices from the Gulag: Life and Death in Communist Bulgaria* (Penn State, 1999).

John T. Scott is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of California at Davis.

Robert D. Zaretsky is Associate Professor of French at the University of Houston, where he holds a joint appointment in the Honors College and the Department of Modern and Classical Languages.

104 pages • 5½ x 8 • June
 ISBN 0-271-02110-1 • cloth: \$22.50s (2001)
 ISBN 0-271-02400-3 • paper: \$16.95s



Moral Philosophy After 9/11

JOSEPH MARGOLIS

"Margolis's book is a serious contribution to a new and valuable approach to moral philosophy. Rightly suspicious of approaches that attempt to ground morality in ultimate principles, Margolis seeks a way of understanding morality that heeds the data of the moral experience of individuals and groups of individuals. Focusing on intractable moral disputes, such as the Palestinian/Israeli conflict, Margolis provides a conceptual framework for a mode of moral reasoning that can move toward a *modus vivendi*, as opposed to a final moral judgment." —J. Kellenberger, California State University, Northridge

"This is a major contribution on many counts to the extant literature on morality and the ethical issues raised by globalization and the subsequent conflict of cultures. Although Margolis may be criticized for formulating a 'second-best' morality that embraces values associated with the West's Enlightenment tradition, on his own account he has no alternative starting point. Those whose tradition provides them with a different starting point may balk, but Margolis counts on the fact that the desire to end conflict, violence, death, and destruction may prompt them to engage at least in dialectical discussion. Let us hope that this book will also be read by those most in need of it: those who hold positions of power, privilege, and influence in the West yet fail to see that their very own tradition commits them to the second-best morality that Margolis is formulating." —Joanne Waugh, University of South Florida

Were the perpetrators of the 9/11 attacks courageous "freedom fighters" or despicable terrorist murderers? These opposing characterizations reveal in extreme form the incompatibility between different moral visions that underlie many conflicts in the world today, conflicts that challenge us to consider how moral disputes may be resolved. Eschewing the resort to universal moral principles favored by traditional Anglo-American analytic philosophy, Joseph Margolis sets out to sketch an alternative approach that accepts the lack of any neutral ground or privileged normative perspective for deciding moral disputes. This "second-best" morality, nevertheless, aspires to achieve an "objectively" valid resolution through a dialectical procedure of reasoning toward a *modus vivendi*, an accommodation of prudential interests that are rooted in the customs and practices of the societies in conflict.

In working out this approach, Margolis engages with a wide range of thinkers, from Plato, Aristotle, Kant, and Hegel through Nietzsche, Heidegger, Levinas, Rawls, Habermas, MacIntyre, Rorty, and Nussbaum, and his argument is enlivened by reference to many specific moral issues such as abortion, female circumcision, the control of Kashmir, and the continuing struggle between the Muslim world and the West.

Joseph Margolis is Laura H. Carnell Professor of Philosophy at Temple University. With Penn State Press he has also published *What, After All, Is a Work of Art?* (1999), *Selves and Other Texts: The Case for Cultural Realism* (2001), and the co-edited volume *The Quarrel Between Invariance and Flux* (2001).

160 pages • 6 x 9 • August
ISBN 0-271-02447-X • cloth: \$29.95s



New in Paperback

Sartre on Violence Curiously Ambivalent

RONALD E. SANTONI

"In this well-documented, provocative work, Professor Santoni uncovers and examines the ambivalences of Sartre's treatments of violence throughout his writings. In the process he interestingly resurrects the intellectual atmosphere of mid-twentieth-century France, paying special attention to one of the most famous polemics of the time, the Sartre-Camus clash over the latter's *The*

Rebel. The timeliness of Santoni's contribution, at a moment when the word 'terrorism' has captured everyone's attention but the idea of it often appears murky and unclear, hardly needs to be underscored."

—William L. McBride, Purdue University

"I do not know of anyone who has undertaken as thorough a study of both the early and later Sartre's 'curiously ambivalent' views on violence. One of the book's special strengths is that it makes significant use of Sartre's unpublished 1964 Rome Lecture as well as interviews he gave shortly before his death."

—Thomas C. Anderson, Marquette University

From *Materialism and Revolution* (1946) through *Hope Now* (1980), Jean-Paul Sartre was deeply engaged with questions about the meaning and justifiability of violence. In the first comprehensive treatment of Sartre's views on the subject, Ronald Santoni begins by tracing the full trajectory of Sartre's evolving thought on violence and shows how the "curious ambiguity" of freedom affirming itself against freedom in his earliest writings about violence developed into his "curiously ambivalent" position through his later writings.

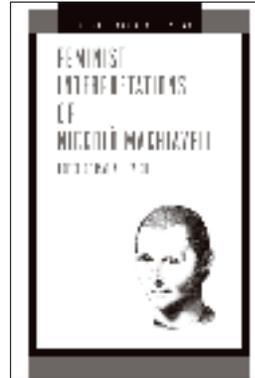
In the second part of the book, Santoni provides a detailed analysis of Sartre's debate with Camus in 1952 and his Rome Lecture in 1964. Santoni criticizes Sartre for scoffing at Camus's "limits" on violence while failing to articulate his own. And in the Rome Lecture, Santoni argues, Sartre still held a two-sided position: while acknowledging conditions for any legitimate use of terror, Sartre failed to show persuasively how revolutionary killing could be a vehicle for overcoming mass alienation or effecting the "new" humanity he sought.

Ronald E. Santoni is Maria Theresa Barney Professor Emeritus of Philosophy at Denison University and a Life Member of Clare Hall, Cambridge University. His previous books include *Bad Faith, Good Faith, and Authenticity in Sartre's Early Philosophy* (1995).

200 pages • 6 x 9 • February

ISBN 0-271-02300-7 • cloth: \$35.00s (2003)

ISBN 0-271-02399-6 • paper: \$19.95s



Feminist Interpretations of Niccolò Machiavelli

EDITED BY MARIA FALCO

Diplomat, bureaucrat, and practical politician, Niccolò Machiavelli served as Second Secretary to the Republic of Florence in the early sixteenth century and became the first major political thinker in the Western tradition to make a complete break with the Aristotelian model of politics as a branch of ethics. While *The Prince* is his most famous work, grounding his reputation as

the progenitor of *Realpolitik*, his many other writings have contributed to a more complex and broader image of the man and his political thought. Thus in recent years Machiavelli has come to be seen as a republican and a proto-liberal by some mainstream political theorists and as an obfuscator of traditional values and ideologies, including gender roles, by feminists and nonfeminists alike.

The contributors to this volume, grappling with questions about the position of women in political society, investigate whether Machiavelli was truly a misogynist and a proto-fascist or instead a proto-feminist and a democratic republican. Among the themes they explore are the implications of such dichotomies as *fortuna* and *virtù*, the public and the private, nature and reason, ends and means, functionality and the common good, as well as the social construction of gender and the importance of the military to the socialization of citizens (particularly women) to civic life. Some of the contributors even consider the possibility that Machiavelli's approach to ethics provides a special insight that feminists, and women generally, might explore to their benefit.

Along with the editor, the contributors are Wendy Brown, Jane Jaquette, Vesna Marcina, Melissa Matthes, Donald McIntosh, Martin Morris, Cary Nederman, Andrea Nicki, Mary O'Brien, Hanna Pitkin, Arlene Saxonhouse, John Shin, R. Claire Snyder, and Catherine Zuckert.

Maria J. Falco is Professor Emerita of Political Science at DePauw University. She has published five previous books, including *Feminist Interpretations of Mary Wollstonecraft* (Penn State, 1996).

440 pages • 6 x 9 • August

ISBN 0-271-02388-0 • cloth: \$95.00s

ISBN 0-271-02389-9 • paper: \$39.50s

Re-Reading the Canon Series

Private Selves, Public Identities

Reconsidering Identity Politics

SUSAN J. HEKMAN

In an age when “we are all multiculturalists now,” as Nathan Glazer has said, the politics of identity has come to pose new challenges to our liberal polity and the presuppositions on which it is founded. Just what identity means, and what its role in the public sphere is, are questions that are being hotly debated. In this book Susan Hekman aims to bring greater theoretical clarity to the debate by exposing some basic misconceptions—about the constitution of the self that defines personal identity, about the way liberalism conceals the importance of identity under the veil of the “abstract citizen,” and about the difference and interrelationship between personal and public identity.

Hekman’s use of object relations theory allows her to argue, against the postmodernist resort to a “fictive” subject, for a core self that is socially constructed in the early years of childhood but nevertheless provides a secure base for the adult subject. Such a self is social, particular, embedded, and connected—a stark contrast to the neutral and disembodied subject posited in liberal theory. This way of construing the self also opens up the possibility for distinguishing how personal identity functions in relation to public identity. Against those advocates of identity politics who seek reform through the institutionalization of group participation, Hekman espouses a vision of the politics of difference that eschews assigning individuals to fixed groups and emphasizes instead the fluidity of choice arising from the complex interaction between the individual’s private identity and the multiple opportunities for associating with different groups and the public identities they define.

Inspired by Foucault’s argument that “power is everywhere,” Hekman maps out a dual strategy of both political and social/cultural resistance for this new politics of identity, which recognizes that with significant advances already won in the political/legal arena, attitudinal change in civil society presents the greatest challenge for achieving more progress today in the struggle against racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression.

Susan J. Hekman is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Graduate Humanities Program at the University of Texas, Arlington. She has published two previous books with Penn State Press: *Moral Voices, Moral Selves: Carol Gilligan and Feminist Moral Theory* (1995) and an edited volume, *Feminist Interpretations of Michel Foucault* (1996).

184 pages • 6 x 9 • June
ISBN 0-271-02382-1 • cloth: \$35.00s

Imagining the American Polity

Political Science and the Discourse of Democracy

JOHN G. GUNNELL

“Imagining the American Polity is a vivid and engaging study of the discourse of pluralist democracy in the history of political science. It tracks the varieties of twentieth-century pluralism out of debates over ‘the state’ and convincingly demonstrates the genealogical ties that bind Laski and the Progressive Era to the behavioral revolutionaries of the fifties to today’s multiculturalists. There is nothing quite like it in the literature on democratic theory, much less on the history of political science that John Gunnell has already done so much to advance.”

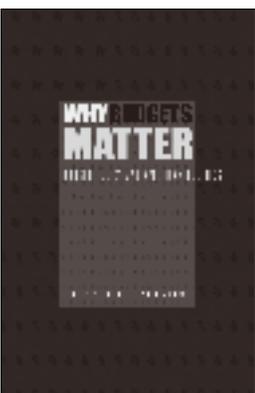
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Americans have long prided themselves on living in a country that serves as a beacon of democracy to the world, but from the time of the founding they have also engaged in debates over what the criteria for democracy are as they seek to validate their faith in the United States as a democratic regime. In this book John Gunnell shows how the academic discipline of political science has contributed in a major way to this ongoing dialogue, thereby playing a significant role in political education and the formulation of popular conceptions of American democracy.

Using the distinctive “internalist” approach he has developed for writing intellectual history, Gunnell traces the dynamics of conceptual change and continuity as American political science evolved from a focus in the nineteenth century on the idea of the state, through the emergence of a pluralist theory of democracy in the 1920s and its transfiguration into liberalism in the mid-1930s, up to the rearticulation of pluralist theory in the 1950s and its resurgence, yet again, in the 1990s. Along the way he explores how political scientists have grappled with a fundamental question about popular sovereignty: Does democracy require a people and a national democratic community, or can the requisites of democracy be achieved through fortuitous social configurations coupled with the design of certain institutional mechanisms?

John G. Gunnell is Distinguished Professor of Political Science at SUNY-Albany and the author of six other books, including *The Descent of Political Theory: The Genealogy of an American Vocation* (1993).

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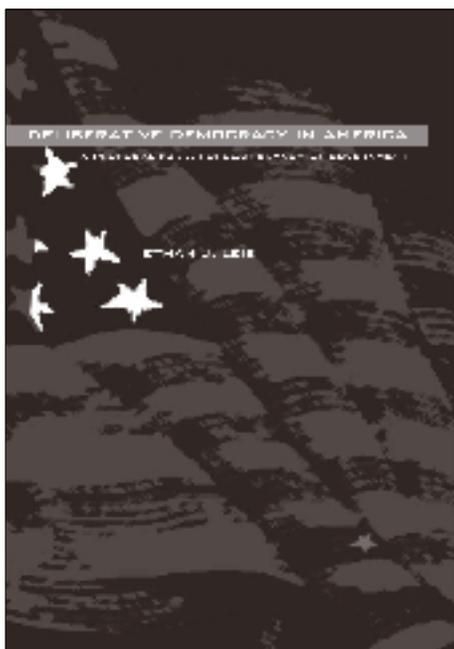
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When theorists explain how democracies conduct foreign policy, they tend to ignore or downplay differences and assume that democratic governments all behave similarly. Challenging this assumption, Norrin Ripsman breaks down the category of “democracy” to argue that differences in structural autonomy among democratic states have a lot to do with how foreign security policies are chosen and international negotiations are carried out. Concluding with an examination of the implications of these findings for security policy in contemporary democracies, *Peacemaking by Democracies* combines innovation in international relations theory with careful primary research in historical archives.

Norrin M. Ripsman is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Concordia University.

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Deliberative Democracy in America

A Proposal for a Popular Branch of Government

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We are taught in civics class that the Constitution provides for three basic branches of government: executive, judicial, and legislative. While the President and Congress as elected by popular vote are representative, can they really reflect accurately the will and sentiment of the populace? Or do money and power dominate everyday politics to the detriment of true self-governance? Is there a way to put “We the people” back into government? Ethan Leib thinks there is and offers this blueprint for a fourth branch of government as a way of giving the people a voice of their own.

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Ethan J. Leib is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science at Yale University. A recent graduate of Yale Law School, he is a law clerk for the chief judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit.

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Do Third World countries benefit from having large militaries, or does this impede their development? Kirk Bowman uses statistical analysis to demonstrate that militarization has had a particularly malignant impact in this region. For his quantitative comparison, he draws on longitudinal data for a sample of 76 developing countries and for 18 Latin American nations.

To illuminate the causal mechanisms at work, Bowman offers a detailed comparison of Costa Rica and Honduras between 1948 and 1998. The case studies not only serve to bolster his general argument about the harmful effects of militarization but also provide many new insights into the processes of democratic consolidation and economic transformation in these two Central American countries.

Kirk S. Bowman is Assistant Professor at The Sam Nunn School of International Affairs, Georgia Institute of Technology.

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Democratization Without Representation

The Politics of Small Industry in Mexico

KENNETH C. SHADLEN

“This first-rate account of small industry politics in Mexico shows how democratization can actually hinder effective representation for weak actors. Meticulously researched and argued, *Democratization Without Representation* sets the standard for the Mexican case and will be required reading for students of business politics more generally.”

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When countries become more democratic, new opportunities arise for individuals and groups to participate in politics and influence the making of policy. But democratization does not ensure better representation for everyone, and indeed some sectors of society are ill-equipped to take advantage of these new opportunities. Small industry in Mexico, Kenneth Shadlen shows, is an excellent example of a sector whose representation decreased during democratization.

Shadlen’s analysis focuses on the basic characteristics of small firms that complicate the process of securing representation in both authoritarian and democratic environments. He then shows how increased pluralism and electoral competition served to exacerbate the political problems facing the sector during the course of democratization in Mexico. These characteristics created problems for small firms both in acting collectively through interest associations and civil society organizations and in wielding power within political parties. The changes that democratization effected in the structure of corporatism put small industry at a significant disadvantage in the policy-making arena even while there was general agreement on the crucial importance of this sector in the new neoliberal economy, especially for generating employment. The final chapter extends the analysis by making comparisons with the experience of small industry representation in Argentina and Brazil.

Shadlen uses extensive interviews and archival research to provide new evidence and insights into the difficult challenges of interest aggregation and representation for small industry. He conducted interviews with a wide range of owners and managers of small firms, state and party officials, and leaders of business associations and civil society organizations. He also did research at the National Archives in Mexico City and in the archives of the most important business organizations for small industry in the post-World War II period.

Kenneth C. Shadlen is Lecturer in Development Studies at the Development Studies Institute of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

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These findings contribute to theoretical debates regarding state autonomy and the embeddedness of economic action. MacLeod calls into question the autonomy of the Mexican state in its privatization program. And, while accepting the basic premises of economic sociology, he shows that the creation of markets where public firms once dominated has involved both the destruction of social relations and the construction of new relations and institutions to regulate the market.

Downsizing the State is a theoretically innovative account of how actors and institutions may construct capitalist markets so that they actually resemble the asocial ideal of neoclassical economics: facilitating exchange among actors while denying the obligations and commitments that attach to other types of social relations.

Dag MacLeod is Senior Research Analyst with the Judicial Council of California.

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The View from the South, Mexico 1867–1911

FRANCIE R. CHASSEN-LÓPEZ

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"The book represents many years of remarkable excavations in local, state, and national archives. No other regional history of any other Mexican state exhibits this thorough a survey of sources. The book is encyclopedic in its coverage."

—Mark Wasserman, Rutgers University

From Liberal to Revolutionary Oaxaca aims at finally setting Mexican history free of stereotypes about the southern state of Oaxaca, long portrayed as a traditional and backward society resistant to the forces of modernization and marginal to the Revolution. Chassen-López challenges this view of Oaxaca as a negative mirror image of modern Mexico, presenting in its place a much more complex reality. Her analysis of the confrontations between Mexican liberals' modernizing projects and Oaxacan society, especially indigenous communal villages, reveals not only conflicts but also growing linkages and dependencies. She portrays them as engaging with and transforming each other in an ongoing process of contestation, negotiation, and compromise.

The book is organized into three parts. The first examines Oaxaca's infrastructure and economy, addressing whether its native sons, Presidents Benito Juárez and Porfirio Díaz, neglected their own state in the drive toward Mexico's modernization. The second part looks at the society, studying the dynamic interplay of class, ethnicity, and gender and critically examining claims that the indigenous people of Oaxaca acted as an obstacle to progress. The final part connects the economic and social transformations in Oaxaca with the state's changing political culture and power relationships and reinserts Oaxaca into the larger dynamics of the Mexican Revolution. By linking developments at the local, state, and national levels throughout and making frequent comparisons with developments in other states, Chassen-López compels a reassessment not only of Oaxacan history but also of Mexican history in general during this period.

Francie R. Chassen-López is Associate Professor of History at the University of Kentucky, where she has also served as Director of the Latin American Studies Program.

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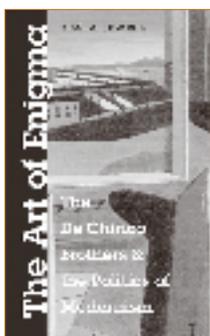
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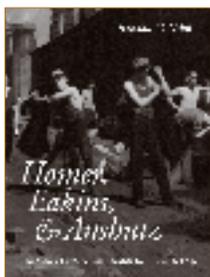


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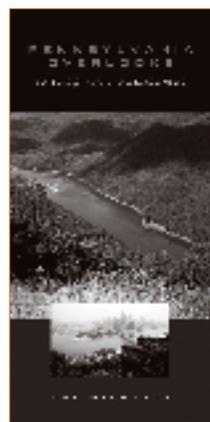


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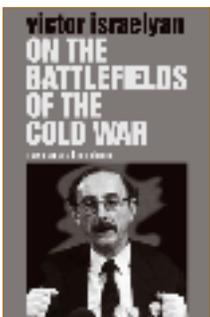


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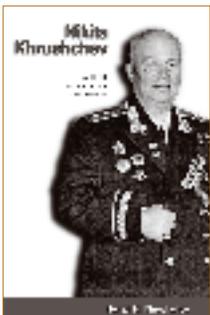


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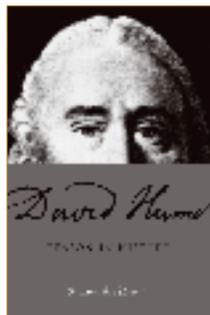


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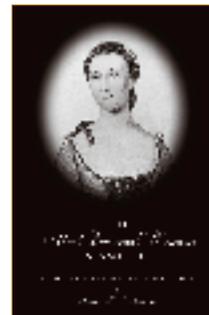
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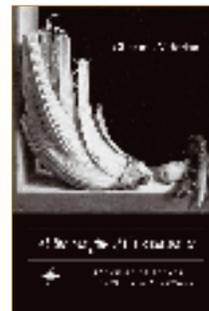


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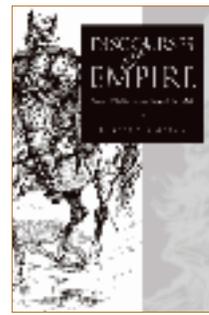


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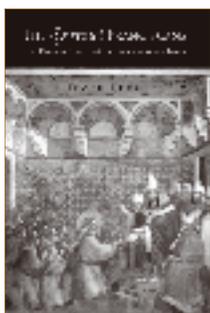
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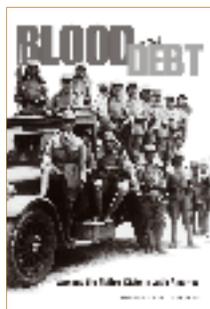
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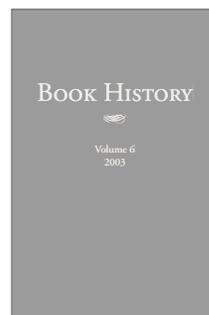


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