

## Conference at a Glance

This section is designed to provide a quick review of conference events; more detailed descriptions of these events appear in the next and in previous sections.

### Wednesday, June 4

**Registration:** 10:00 am - 5:00 pm

**Concurrent Sessions 1:** 1:30 pm – 3:00 pm

- *New Deal and Welfare*
- *Early Cold War Policy*
- *Questioning American Political Development*

**Concurrent Sessions 2:** 3:15 pm – 4:45 pm

- *Making Urban Policy*
- *Locating Conservatism*
- *Latin American Foreign Policy and Citizenship*
- *Protecting the Administrative State*

**Reception:** 5:00 pm - 6:30 pm

### Thursday, June 5

**Registration:** 7:00 am - 5:00 pm

**Concurrent Sessions 1:** 8:30 am – 10:00 am

- *Roundtable: Michael K. Brown's "Unjust Restitution"*
- *Anti-Money Laundering in Political, Financial and Legal History*
- *Politics of Liberal Republicanism*

**Concurrent Sessions 2:** 10:15 am – 11:45 am

- *Channeling the Flow of Technological Knowledge in Aerospace*
- *Conservatism Before 1945*
- *Anti-Semitism in American Politics*
- *Who Benefits? Business and Policy*

**JPH Editorial Board Meeting:** 12:00 pm – 1:00 pm

**Concurrent Sessions 3:** 1:30 pm – 3:00 pm

- *Policy During WWII*
- *Race, Gender, Public Service and Citizenship*
- *Rights, Revolution, Economic Freedom, and Conservatism*
- *Roundtable: Finding Uncommon Ground? The Strange Journey of Diplomatic and Policy History*

**Concurrent Sessions 4:** 3:15 pm – 4:45 pm

- *Rhetoric and Reality of Health and Drug Policy*
- *Twentieth Century Political and Economic Perspectives*
- *Reconstruction Politics and Policy*
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### Thursday Plenary Session

5:00 pm – 6:30 pm

## “Does Political History Have a Future?”

**Richard Bense**, Cornell University

**Richard R. John**, Columbia University

**Jennifer Burns**, Stanford University

### Thursday Dinner:

6:30 pm – 8:00 pm

### Friday, June 6

**Registration:** 7:00 am - 5:00 pm

**Concurrent Sessions 1:** 8:30 am – 10:00 am

- *Health and Policy Crisis*
- *Roundtable Discussion of Anthony Gregory's "New Deal Law and Order"*
- *Industrial and Monetary Policy*

**Concurrent Sessions 2:** 10:15 am – 11:45 am

- *Great Society Politics and Rhetoric*
- *High Technology and Politics*
- *Charity and Conquest in History*
- *Making of Modern Immigration Policy*

**Concurrent Sessions 3:** 1:30 pm – 3:00 pm

- *Party Structure and Voter Mobilization*
- *Federal Housing Policy*
- *Disrupting Democracy: Technology, Politics, and the Future of the American Right*

**Concurrent Sessions 4:** 3:15 pm – 4:45 pm

- *Regulating Corporate Governance*
- *Color Blindness and Politics*

### Friday Plenary Session

5:00 pm – 6:30 pm

## “Immigration Policy and Political History”

**Daniel Tichenor**, University of Oregon

**Rodney Hero**, UC Berkeley

### Friday Reception

6:30 pm – 8:00 pm

## **Conference Administration and Staff**

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Carrie Bauer, Conference Assistant  
James Strickland, Program Chair and Organizer  
Paula Baker, Program Organizer  
Bartholomew Sparrow, Program Co-Chair  
Ann-Marie E. Szymanski, Program Co-Chair

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## **Institute for Political History**

The Institute for Political History is a 501(c)(3) non-profit educational foundation. No person associated with the Institute is provided an annual salary or remuneration for their work in the Institute. The conference coordinators and conference staff receive small remuneration for their services. The Institute wants to thank plenary participants and panel participants for their voluntary contributions to the 2025 Policy History Conference.

# Wednesday, June 4

## Concurrent Session 1

1:30 - 3:00 pm

Note: This is a list of concurrent sessions only; see preceding pages for a list of all special events.

### New Deal and Welfare

#### Panel 1-A - Gwynn

**Chair:**

**Ben Zdencanovic**, UCLA

"We Haven't Anything at All to Count On': Race, Social Security, and the Making of the War on Poverty, 1935-1964"

**Benjamin I. Waldman**, Harvard University

"In Entire Amity and With Mutual Benefit': The Transnational Roots of New Deal Administrative Reform, 1934-1939"

### Early Cold War Policy

#### Panel 1-B - North Carolina

**Chair/Commentator:**

**Emine Turkmen**, Southern Illinois University Carbondale

"Reinterpreting Turkish-American Relations During the Cold War: The Marshall Plan and Public Health Policies"

**Robert Alexander Ferguson**, University of Georgia

"Perfidious Albion and Uncle Sucker: How Winston Churchill Ensured the British Maximally Benefited, at the expense of the Americans, from the Anglo-American Loan, 1946-47"

**Gisele Muller-Parker**, National Science Foundation (ret)

"Federal Fellowships with Strings Attached: History of the Disclaimer Affidavit and Loyalty Oath at the National Science Foundation"

### Questioning American Political Development

#### Panel 1-C - South Carolina

**Chair: Charles U. Zug**, University of Missouri

**Discussant: Sidney Milkis**, University of Virginia

**Katherine Rader**, Christopher Newport University

"Tangled Fates: Casting Racial and Economic Equality in Twentieth Century America"

**Bryant Etheridge**, Harvard University

"Crafting a New Labor Policy: The National Labor Relations Board, A Divided Labor Movement, and Industrial Pluralism's Public Ordering Problem, 1942-1954"

**Calvin TerBeek**, University of Virginia

"Constitutional Modernism, Constitutional Conservatism, and Supreme Court Politics Since the New Deal"

**Matthew Conklin**, University of Chicago

"Local Legacies of War and the Postwar Foreign Policy Consensus in Congress"

3:15 - 4:45 pm

### Making Urban Policy

#### Panel 2-A - Gwynn

**Chair:**

**Donovan Fifield**, University of Tübingen

"Municipal Finances and Migration in Colonial Boston, 1754-1775"

**Gregory Elinson**, Northern Illinois University College of Law

"Driving State Development: How Cars Shaped the Growth of the American State in the Twentieth Century"

**Jason Bourke**, Delaware State University

"Does Anybody Govern? The Evolution of Power and Governance in an American City"

### Locating Conservatism

#### Panel 2-B - North Carolina

**Chair: Michael Bitzer**, Catawa College

**David Stebenne**, The Ohio State University

"'Reagan Isn't as Conservative as He Sounds': Locating Ronald Reagan's Place in the Republican Party"

**Kobby Barda**, School of Multidisciplinary Studies at the Holon Institute of Technology

"Jerry Falwell, Liberty University, and the Role of Church Planting in Shaping the American Right"

**Thomas Packer**, independent scholar

"Republican Party Factionalism in the New South: The North Carolina GOP 1964-1994"

### Latin American Foreign Policy and Citizenship

#### Panel 2-C - South Carolina

**Chair:**

**Chris Choe**, University of Georgia

"Making of an Imperial Class: An Examination of Policy Preference, Ideology, and Class Consciousness at the Panama Canal Zone"

**John Paul Wilson**, St. John's University

"Lessons in U.S. Foreign Relations: The Alliance for Progress in Nicaragua, 1961-1979"

**Saladin Ambar**, Rutgers University

"1989, the Number: The Reagan-Bush Transition and the Beginning of America's Lost 'Peace Dividend'"

**Alfredo González**, University of California, Santa Barbara

"Designating Periods of Hostilities: Immigrant Military Service and the 1968 Armed Forces Naturalization Act"

### Protecting the Administrative State

#### Panel 2-D - Johnson

**Chair: Jed Handelsman Shugerman**, Boston University

**Nathaniel Donahue**, University of Montana

"Officers at Common Law"

**Kevin Arlyck**, Georgetown Law

"Statutory Immunity"

**Jane Manners**, Temple Beasley School of Law

"The Legislative Roots of Qualified Immunity"

# Thursday, June 5

## Concurrent Session 1

8:30 - 10:00 am

### Roundtable: Michael K. Brown's "Unjust Restitution"

#### Panel 1-A - Graves

**Chair/Commentator:** Eileen Boris, UC Santa Barbara

**Discussants:**

**Erik Gellman**, UNC Chapel Hill

**Julie Novkov**, University at Albany

**Rogers Smith**, University of Pennsylvania

**Michael K. Brown**, UC Santa Cruz

### Anti-Money Laundering in Political, Financial, and Legal History

#### Panel 1-B - Graham

**Chair:**

**Sara Mayeux**, Vanderbilt University

"'Drug Money': The President's Commission on Organized Crime and the Money Laundering Control Act of 1986"

**Peter Conti-Brown**, University of Pennsylvania

"The Rise and Fall of Bearer Instruments"

**Vikramaditya Khanna**, University of Michigan

"Crypto & Money Laundering: Back to the Future?"

**David Martin**, Rutgers University

"The Political Origins of the Shadow Banking System and Financialization"

### Politics of Liberal Republicanism

#### Panel 1-C - Dunn

**Chair/Commentator:** David Stebenne, The Ohio State University

**Maxine Wagenhoffer**, Wilson College

"Civic Education at a Women's College: Margaret Chase Smith at Wilson College in October 1973"

**Ryan LaRochelle**, University of Maine and **Kate Flynn**, Independent Scholar

"Maintaining Legitimacy in Polarized Times: William S. Cohen and the Pentagon, 1997-2000"

# Thursday, June 5

## Concurrent Session 2

### 10:15 - 11:45 am

## Channeling the Flow of Technological Knowledge in Aerospace

### Panel 2-A - Graves

**Chair/Commentator: Mark R. Wilson**, University of North Carolina at Charlotte

**Peter Meyer**, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics  
"Declines in Aviation Patenting During WWI"

**Sean Seyer**, University of Kansas  
"The Particularities of Technology Transfer: A British Aircraft Designer's Quest to Enter the American Market, 1918-1942"

**Angelina Callahan**, U.S. Navy Secretariat  
"Shared Risks and Shared Achievements: Commercialization and Commercial Partnerships of the Early Space Age"

## Conservatism Before 1945

### Panel 2-B - Dunn

**Chair: Logan E. Sawyer III**, University of Georgia

**Paul V. Murphy**, Grand Valley State University  
"The Failure of the New Humanism and the Transformation of Cultural Conservatism in the 1930s and 1940s"

**Paul Charles Milazzo**, Ohio University  
"Henry Hazlitt, Benjamin Anderson, and the Evolving Logic of Free Trade After World War I"

**Joel Webster**, Arizona State University  
"Ideas that were becoming unfashionable': Congressional Conservatism in the 1930s"

## Anti-Semitism in American Politics

### Roundtable 2-C - Graham

**Chair: Julie Novkov**, University at Albany

**Erin Klarner**, Towson University

"Temperate Toleration: How Maryland Began the Sisyphean Task of Securing Representative Democracy in the 'Jew Bill' of 1826"

**Zohar Segev**, University of Haifa, Israel

"Rethinking the Dilemma of Bombing Auschwitz: Support, Opposition, and Political Struggle"

**William D. Adler**, Northeastern Illinois University

"Antisemitism and the American Presidency from FDR through Biden"

## Who Benefits? Business and Policy

### Panel 2-D - Ardwell

**Chair:**

**Laura Phillips-Sawyer**, University of Georgia, School of Law

"Revising the Boundaries of the Firm: How Courts, not Congress, Created Contracting Out"

**Richard R. John**, Columbia University

"The Curse of Smallness: Anti-Monopoly, William Randolph Hearst, and the Election of 1904"

**Robert P. Kaminski**, University of Florida

"Railroads, Regime Uncertainty, and Regulatory Reorganization during World War I"

# Thursday, June 5

## Concurrent Session 3

1:30 - 3:00 pm

### Policy During WWII

#### Panel 3-A -Graham

**Chair:**

**Alicia Venchuk**, Purdue University

"What Mothers Lost by Working for Victory: The Rise and Fall of Childcare During World War II"

**Todd McDonald**, Virginia Tech

"The Veteran Problem"? Revisiting a Past Veteran Reintegration Theory"

**Anne M. Kornhauser**, City College of New York

"Exporting Democracy: U.S. Lessons from World War II"

### Race, Gender, Public Service and Citizenship

#### Panel 3-B - Dunn

**Chair/Commentator: Mark Graber**, University of Maryland Carey School of Law

**Carol Nackenoff**, Swarthmore College

"Women in Public Service in the Progressive Era: Expanding the State and Extending Visions of Citizenship Before Women's Suffrage"

**Julie Novkov**, University at Albany

"The Promise and Limits of Military Service for Securing Rights: Race, Memory and Political Development"

**Ann-Marie E. Szymanski**, University of Oklahoma

"The U.S. Forest Service and Directors of Women's Activities: Women and Political Authority in the South"

### Rights, Revolution, Economic Freedom, and Conservatism

#### Panel 3-C - Ardwell

**Chair/Commentator: William D. Adler**, Northeastern Illinois University

**Logan E. Sawyer III**, University of Georgia

"Originalism, Incorporation, and the Conservative Rights Revolution, 1970-1990"

**Vincent Carret**, Creighton University

"Price Controls, the New Deal and Eisenhower: The End of Reform and the Return of Economic Freedom"

### Roundtable: Finding Uncommon Ground? The Strange Journey of Diplomatic and Policy History

#### Panel 3-D - Graves

**Discussants:**

**Ryan Irwin**, SUNY Albany

**Mark R. Wilson**, University of North Carolina at Charlotte

**Grant Madsen**, Brigham Young University



# Thursday, June 5

## Concurrent Session 4

3:15 - 4:45 pm

### Rhetoric and Reality of Health and Drug Policy

#### Panel 4-A - Graves

**Chair: Karen Kruse Thomas**, Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

**William D. Goldsmith**, UNC Chapel Hill

"Public Money, Private Watchmen: The Origins and Evolution of Federal Reliance on Private Accreditors in U.S. Education and Health Care"

**Jeremy Strickler**, University of Tennessee-Chattanooga

"Waging the War": Legitimation, Coordination, and the Presidential Politics of the War on Drugs"

**Charlton C. Copeland**, University of Miami Law School

"Race, Menthol and the Administrative State"

### Twentieth Century Political and Economic Perspectives

#### Panel 4-B - Dunn

**Chair:**

**Grant Madsen**, Brigham Young University

"Morality, Messaging, and Macroeconomics: Congressional Debates over Welfare, Inflation, and Taxes, 1970-1980"

**Nathanael L. Mickelson**, University of Georgia

"The Long Depression: Agricultural Crisis in the 1920s and the Search for Monetary Balance"

**John Farris**, Perimeter College of Georgia State University

"This Tide of Imports: The Resurgence of Economic Nationalism and the Trade Policy Initiatives of the Carter Administration"

### Reconstruction Politics and Policy

#### Panel 4-C - Ardwell

**Chair/Commentator:**

**Mark Graber**, University of Maryland Carey School of Law  
"The Constitution of December, 1865"

**M. Henry Ishitani**, Yale University & Tulsa School of Law  
"Reconstruction's Original Vision: Confederate Disqualification and the Road to *Slaughterhouse*"

**Harry DeVoe**, University of Montana

"Experimenting with Self-Sufficiency: Southern Farmers and the Creation of the Agricultural Experiment Station System"



# Friday, June 6

## Concurrent Session 1

8:30 - 10:00 am

### Health Policy and Crisis

#### Panel 1-A - Graves

**Chair:**

**Karen Kruse Thomas**, Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health

"Riding High, Sinking Low: How Crisis-Driven Policy Responses Have Shaped 21st-Century Public Health from 9/11 to COVID-19"

**Michael Flamm**, The Ohio State University

"Minnesota Bedlam: Geri Joseph and the Painful Costs of Postwar Mental Health Reform"

**David G. Schuster**, Purdue University Fort Wayne

"The Newcomer Case: Tracing the Parameters of Asylum Commitment, Michigan, 1870s"

### Roundtable Discussion of Anthony Gregory's "New Deal Law and Order"

#### Panel 1-B - Ardwell

**Discussants:**

**Anne M. Kornhauser**, City College of New York

**Seth Kotch**, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

**Faith Lazar**, Yale University

**Anthony Lee Gregory**, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

### Industrial and Monetary Policy

#### Panel 1-C - Dunn

**Chair: Richard Bense**, Cornell University

**Robert Shum**, SUNY-Brockport

"Not So Easy Being Green? Trade and Industrial Policy-making Institutions after the Inflation Reduction Act"

**Kwesi Quansah**, University of North Carolina at Charlotte

"Currency Manipulation: A Panel Data Analysis"

**Christy Ford Chapin**, University of Maryland Baltimore County

"The Federal Reserve as a Democratic Project"

**James E. Hamilton**, The University of South Florida

"Beyond the 'Stability' of the NLRB: Ideas, Contestation, and Gradual Change"

# Friday, June 6

## Concurrent Session 2

10:15 - 11:45 am

### Great Society Politics and Rhetoric

#### Panel 2-A - Graham

**Chair/Commentator: Jeremy Strickler**, University of Tennessee-Chattanooga  
**Kevin A. Evans**, Florida International University  
“The Johnson Administration’s Fight Against the Legislative Veto”  
**Danielle E. St. Julien**, Xavier University of Louisiana  
“Making Black ‘Breadwinners’: Great Society Liberalism and the Political Uses of Black Social Mobility, 1964-1969”  
**S. L. Ivey**, University of North Carolina at Charlotte  
“Benevolent Bullying: FDR and LBJ’s Unpacking of American Democracy”

### High Technology and Politics

#### Panel 2-B - Dunn

**Chair:**  
**Andrew McGee**, Smithsonian Institution, National Air and Space Museum  
“...”  
**John A. Alic**, Arizona State University  
“U.S. Industrial Policy in the 1970s and After”

### Charity and Conquest in History

#### Panel 2-C - Ardwell

**Chair:**  
**Eileen McDonagh**, Northeastern University  
“The Welfare State: Its Origin and Scope over Historical Time and Place”  
**Kerry Wynn**, Washburn University  
“Military Bounty Land and the Settler Colonial Welfare State”  
**John David Briley**, East Tennessee State University  
“Creating a Statesmen: Nixon’s World Tour in 1967”

### Making of Modern Immigration Policy

#### Panel 2-D - Graves

**Chair: Daniel Tichenor**, University of Oregon  
**Brendan A. Shanahan**, Yale University  
“Dead Letters and/or Powerful Instruments? Blue-Collar Nativist State Hiring Laws and American Federalism Between World War I and the New Deal”  
**Wendy Wall**, Binghamton University (SUNY)  
“Population Paul Reverses: How Immigration Restrictionists Used Neo-Malthusianism to Shape the Immigration Act of 1965”  
**Martha Guerrero**, Yale University  
“Employer Sanctions: The Rise of a New Workplace Immigration Regime (1972-1986)”

# Friday, June 6

## Concurrent Session 3

1:30 - 3:00 pm

### Party Structure and Voter Mobilization

#### Panel 3-A - Graves

**Chair: Katherine Rader**, Christopher Newport University

**Byron E. Shafer**, Emeritus, Wisconsin & Oxford and

**Regina L. Wagner**, University of Alabama

“Prologue to 2024”

**Robert H. Brehm**, University of Virginia and **Sidney**

**Milkis**, University of Virginia

“Referenda in Missouri: Reviving Progressive Era

Strategies for Modern Health Policy Reform”

**Adam Chamberlain**, Coastal Carolina University and

**Alixandra Yanus**, High Point University

“The Union Cause in Policymaking: The Grand Army of the Republic, State Politics, and American Civic Life”

**James Strickland**, Arizona State University

“Who Stopped the Equal Rights Amendment?”

### Disrupting Democracy: Technology, Politics, and the Future of the American Right

#### Panel 3-C - Graham

**Chair/Commentator: Laura K. Field**, George Washington University

**Jacob Bruggeman**, Johns Hopkins University

“Governing the Encrypted World: The Clipper Chip and Hacker Politics in the 1990s”

**Joshua Tait**, Ronald Reagan Institute

“Curtis Yarvin’s Cathedral, Nihilism, and Permission Structures and the New Right”

**James Brennan**, University of Virginia

“The Development of ‘Hyperbitcoinization’ and its Impact on Democracy”

### Federal Housing Policy

#### Panel 3-B - Ardwell

**Chair: James Greer**, U.S. Treasury

**Commentator: Christy Ford Chapin**, University of

Maryland Baltimore County

**John Brennan**, University of North Carolina Wilmington

“Discrimination from the Ground Up? The Case of Howard Whipple Green in Greater Cleveland During the 1920’s and 1930’s”

**Alexander von Hoffman**, Harvard University

“America’s First Social Housing Program and New Deal Reforms”

**James Greer**, U.S. Treasury

“Long-Term Consequences of New Deal Housing Policy”

**Jacob Anbinder**, Cornell University

“NIMBY Nation: The Ideological Origins of the Housing Crisis”

## **Regulating Corporate Governance**

### **Panel 4-A - Graham**

**Chair/Commentator: Nathanael L. Mickelson**, University of Georgia

**Lawrence A. Cunningham**, University of Delaware and George Washington University (emeritus)

“Governance Gurus: The Weinbergs of Goldman Sachs”

**Robert E. Wright**, Central Michigan University

“SEC Regulations and the Power of Corporate Activists”

## **Color Blindness and Politics**

### **Panel 4-B - Dunn**

**Chair:**

**A.J. Rice**, University of California, Santa Barbara

“Segregation, Education, and Path Dependency”

**Christa Elise Kieffer**, Cottey College

“‘The Law of the Land’: Brown v. Board and the Politics of Law and Order”

# *In Memoriam of M. Elizabeth Sanders*

We were saddened to hear of the death of our long-time friend Elizabeth Sanders.

A meticulous, original, passionate, and generous scholar as well as a gifted and devoted teacher, Elizabeth deeply loved the Policy History Conference and will be sorely missed as we gather in her absence.

Elizabeth Sanders was born on May 13, 1943. Her mother was a primary school teacher in Cullman, Alabama, where her father owned and operated a seed and feed store. After graduating from Cullman High School, Elizabeth entered Auburn University, where she majored in political science and joined the editorial staff of the Auburn Plainsman just as it embarked on an anti-segregation and voting rights campaign. While at Auburn, Elizabeth studied abroad in Vienna, where she became interested in political philosophy, especially Kant. Decades later, she had Kant's principle printed on the back of her business cards: "Act only according to that maxim that you would will to become a universal law." After graduation at Auburn, Elizabeth served in the Peace Corps in Valparaíso, Chile, where she helped construct a school in the hills above the city.

Returning to the United States, Elizabeth entered the MA program in International Relations at Georgetown University. After completing her degree there, she taught French at Tuskegee Institute High School, in Alabama, before joining the doctoral program in the Department of Government at Cornell in 1973. After graduating in 1978, she took a tenure-track position at Rice University. In 1982, she was awarded the Gladys M. Kammerer Prize by the American Political Science Association for "The Regulation of Natural Gas: Policy and Politics, 1938-1978". In 1983-1984, she moved to Washington as a Fellow at the Wilson Center. Elizabeth subsequently joined the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research as a tenured associate professor and was a member of the Center for Historical Studies and the Department of Political Science. In 1992, Elizabeth moved to Cornell, where she taught until her retirement in 2019. While at Cornell, she published her best-known book, "Roots of Reform: Farmers, Workers and the State, 1877-1917", which won the Greenstone Prize from the Politics and History section of the American Political Science Association.

In her later career, Elizabeth was vigorously and passionately committed to defending the progressive nature of late nineteenth century American Populism from attempts to classify that movement as a variant of contemporary mass movements in the United States and Europe. She was also committed to a reinterpretation of the onset of World War I and American involvement in that conflict, by providing a more nuanced analysis of German attempts to reach a peaceful settlement. Both these efforts were cut short when she was struck and killed by a car in her childhood hometown on December 2, 2024.



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