Thank you for taking time to review our Fall & Winter 2024 catalog. We’re proud to present this season’s titles and thankful for all our authors, retailers, libraries, and other partners—each play a role that helps make the catalog both possible and an effective tool for sharing our collective work.

I was appointed director of the University Press of Kansas in fall 2023, but I’ve been working in the publishing industry for over twenty years. One of the things I’ve always loved to do is present a catalog. Why? Because each new season gives a publisher the chance to tell the story of a press—where it’s been and where it’s going.

As you review each page you’ll see a press focused on reimagining America’s heartland. A press attuned to the tectonic shifts in our political landscape. A press passionate about untold histories whose effects resonate today. A press committed to the notion that scholarship can change our world (and how we see it).

So, take a moment and read about the early struggles for LGBTQ rights in Kansas with Liberating Lawrence, explore the history of Russia’s special forces in Spetsnaz, or delve into the legacy of Nancy Pelosi’s speakership with Arc of Power. Each title reflects the legacy and future of UPK, especially through our strengths in regional studies, military history, political science, and US history.

In the end, you’ll encounter a highly energetic university press smack-dab in America’s geographic center, grappling with what it means to be Kansan and American in 2024.

Thank you for accompanying us—UPK staff and our authors—along this journey!

Tim Paulson

Recent Awards

Winner of the Ohio Academy of History Junior Scholar Publication Award
Finalist, George Perkins Marsh Prize
Semi-Finalist, Society for Midland Authors Award, History Category

Finalist, Tennessee History Book Award

Winner of the Hefner Heitz Kansas Book Award
Named a Kansas Notable Book by the Kansas Center for the Book
Edible Wild Plants of the Prairie

An Ethnobotanical Guide

Second Edition, Revised and Expanded

Kelly Kindscher

The wild plants in this book tell stories of land, people, and food. As renowned botanist Kelly Kindscher guides us through over one hundred edible plants in this beautiful field guide, we find that foraging has always been an important part of prairie life.

Before colonization, Native American women were the primary gatherers of wild plants, which were an abundant, sustainable, and delicious feature of Indigenous diets. Colonizers reduced the significance of wild plants in prairie life as they relocated Native peoples and imposed their agrarian culture on the land, but these Indigenous foodways were never truly lost. In the recent past, foraging has become a tremendously popular way for many peoples to connect with the earth, promote sustainability, and revive and honor cultural food traditions.

In this beautifully illustrated new edition, Kindscher explores 117 wild plants of the prairie, offering information about habitat, food use, and cultivation. Color photos and maps make this stunning book a useful foraging guide for anyone to take out into the prairie. A must-have for enthusiasts and professionals alike, Edible Wild Plants of the Prairie gives us the great opportunity to engage with the land we live in.

Kelly Kindscher is professor of Environmental Studies at the University of Kansas and a senior scientist at the Kansas Biological Survey. He is the author of Medicinal Wild Plants of the Prairie: An Ethnobotanical Guide and coauthor of The Nature of Kansas Lands.

NOVEMBER
440 pages, 117 color photographs, 119 maps, 5½ x 9
Paperback ISBN 978-0-7006-3702-7, $29.95 (t)

“Kindscher’s Edible Wild Plants of the Prairie was already an ethnobotanical classic; this fantastic new edition, with excellent color photos and expanded text, is indispensable for the edible plant enthusiast.”

Edible Wild Plants of the Prairie
An Ethnobotanical Guide
Second Edition, Revised and Expanded
Kelly Kindscher
Coryphantha vivipara
Pincushion Cactus

Common Names
Pincushion cactus, apple cactus, potted pincushion cactus, cushion cactus, mammillaria, barrel cactus, ball cactus, and goll ball cactus.

Native American Names
The Blackfeet name is kainatim-wa (Edelmann 1973). The translation is "wild fig" (Edelmann and Cadd 1974), probably in reference to the fruit.

Scientific Name
Coryphantha vivipara is a member of the Cactaceae (Cactus Family). Formerly this species was in the genus Margaritaria. Coryphantha means "bead, tip, flowers" because the flowers develop near the apex of the spine. The species name vivipara means "bearing both true young and alive," referring to the fact this species vegetatively produces small plants that grow off the stem of the parent plant.

Description
Perennials with 1-5 stems, globular to cylindrical, to 7 cm (3 in) tall, covered with spiny areoles, 5-6 mm (0.2-0.3 in) long, with many spines, 1-2 cm (0.4-0.8 in) long, brown, composed of thin, pointed spines. The flowers are yellow with white centers, 2-3 cm (0.8-1.2 in) long, or 2.5-3 cm (1-1.2 in) long, or 2.5-3 cm (1-1.2 in) long, exposed, sepals are white, petals are yellow, filaments are yellow, and stigmas are white. The fruit is a 1-2 cm (0.4-0.8 in) long, flattened, oval, or oblong, green, covered with spines, and is 1-2 cm (0.4-0.8 in) long, or 2.5 cm (1 in) long, or 2.5 cm (1 in) long, or 3 cm (1.2 in) long. The fruit has a soft, fleshy seed that is covered with a white, waxy bloom.

Habitat
Dry, rocky prairie (sulphur and uplands), frequently growing on rock outcrops and in very sandy soils.

Uses
Food (late summer) now: flowers (summer) raw or cooked.

Panicum capillare
Panic Grass

Annual and perennial species of Panicum are difficult to distinguish from one another. The annual grows quickly, as it is a panic to produce seed, and pull deeply, although the seeds are generally small. Whether gathered or cultivated, the seeds are difficult to obtain because they disperse quickly from the plant after ripening (Dobson 1964)

The seeds of various panic species were historically used in the Southeast and Mexico, and a different subset of Panicum species or varieties were part of the Eastern Agroecological Complex. The Hopi (Arizona) ground for the seeds of panic grasses. It ripens and is drawn out (P. capillare, now P. capillare) and mixed with corn for food (Cattet 1905). The Mesquites and Chiricahuas also used the perennial grass, Hesperis comata, and P. capillare (now moved to monotreme grass). Zuni, and to E. Hallock as food (Cattet and Yip 1930).

In the Sonoran Desert region, the annual Panicum mexicanum grass or Sonoran rye, Panicum capillare (now considered a variety of Panicum virgatum), was harvested, grown, and cultivated as a proso-rice-demonstrated crop (Dobson and Winfield 1960). The botanic Edward Palmer wrote in an 1873 USDA report titled "Food Products of the North America Indians" regarding the panic grass he observed amongst the Cooper and other Colorado River tribes.

It grows on the bare and wastelands of the Colorado River, in Arizona. After the June rain in the river has subsided, the plant rapidly perfects its seeds, which the Apache collect with much care, growing them by means of the wind, and store them for winter use. After the seeds are ground into flour, water is added, and the mass is kneaded into hard cakes, which, when dried in the sun, are ready for use. Great wealth and influence make the use of this. Sometimes the Indians plant this grass near their homes, to avoid the trouble of finding it. When the water has filled the marshes during the months of June, they gather the seeds over the ground by blowing them from their mouths, and a crop is the result, which is equal to wheat (Palmer 1873).

Seeds of these regional species have been made available to growers through Native Seed Senda, a Sonoran Desert nonprofit in Arizona that helped seed dealers be grown in Sonora, Mexico, that had...
Liberating Lawrence

Gay Activism in the 1970s at the University of Kansas

Katherine Rose-Mockry

The early struggle for LGBTQ rights in the 1960s and 1970s has typically been told from the perspective of the coasts—in places like New York, San Francisco, and Miami. But the midwestern town of Lawrence, Kansas, home of the University of Kansas (KU) and a thriving location for activist organizations in the 1960s, had an important role to play in the national story of LGBTQ activism in the United States.

Liberating Lawrence tells the first-hand story of the Lawrence Gay Liberation Front (LGLF), a KU student organization that began in 1970. Having conducted sixty-seven interviews with people who were involved at the time, author Katherine Rose-Mockry focuses on the group's early formative years between the founding and 1979, during which time the members of LGLF had to fight for their right to exist on campus as an official student group. Inspired by a class project that led him to interview local members of the LGBTQ community, David Stout initiated the formation of the LGLF in the summer of 1970 to provide a safe space for gay students to meet each other and to establish a base of operations for student activism on campus. The group focused on educating the campus about the experience of being gay. They formed a speakers’ bureau in their opening months and gave frequent presentations at KU and nearby campuses. In addition to raising awareness and providing counseling services, the group was also self-consciously political from the start and advocated for equal protections, employment rights, and the elimination of laws criminalizing same-sex sexual activity.

The university administration, however, did not welcome the formation of the LGLF. Three times the chancellor rejected their request for recognition. This led the group to file a lawsuit against the university in 1971, and the famous cause lawyer William Kunstler, who had previously defended the Chicago Seven in 1969, agreed to represent them—a development that received national media attention. While the LGLF lost the legal battle, they ultimately won the war to change the campus culture.

Katherine Rose-Mockry has written the definitive history of gay and lesbian activism at the public universities of Kansas. Liberating Lawrence is a major contribution to our understanding of the fight for gay pride and LGBTQ civil rights, both locally and nationally.

Katherine Rose-Mockry is the former director of the Emily Taylor Center for Women and Gender Equity at the University of Kansas.

OCTOBER
360 pages, 41 photographs, 6 x 9
Hardcover ISBN 978-0-7006-3735-5, $39.95 (s)
Crossings

Women on the Santa Fe Trail

Frances Levine

The Santa Fe Trail has a special allure in southwestern history—it was a road of lucrative commerce, military expansion, and great adventure. Because these themes are connected with the Santa Fe Trail in the American imagination, however, the trail is not often associated with stories of women. Crossings tells the personal stories of several women who made the journey, showing how they were involved with and affected by Santa Fe Trail trade. The Santa Fe Trail was a nexus of nations and cultures, connecting the northern frontier of newly formed Mexico with the quickly expanding western United States, as well as with the many Indigenous nations whose traditional lands it crossed. With her attention on women, Frances Levine enriches our understanding of the Santa Fe Trail and shows how interregional trade affected society, politics, and culture.

Through diaries, letters, and firsthand accounts, Levine seeks to understand the experiences of women who journeyed from St. Louis to Santa Fe, as well as some who made an eastward crossing. Crossings focuses on women who traveled during the most crucial period of Santa Fe Trail trade from the early 1820s to the later 1870s, ending as railroads made cross-continental movement a safer and more leisurely experience for travelers. Several of the women made multiple crossings, adding to the depth of their observations of the changing country and dispelling the myth of women in this period as averse to the risks of trail life.

Crossings introduces readers to the stories of women such as the Comanche captive María Rosa Villalpando; Carmel Benavides Robidoux and Kit Carson’s half-Arapaho daughter Adaline, both of whose lives were dramatically impacted by American expansion; suffragist Julia Anna Archibald Holmes; Kate Messervy Kingsbury, who sought health on the trail west; diarist Susan Shelby Magoffin and her enslaved servant Jane; army wife Anna Maria De Camp Morris; Jewish pioneers Betty and Flora Spiegelberg; and many others. As an expert guide to the people of the Santa Fe Trail, Frances Levine has curated a view of the American West that gives voice to many of the women who made this journey.

Frances Levine is the former president and CEO of the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis. She also served as the director of the New Mexico History Museum and as the interim executive director of the St. Louis Kaplan Feldman Holocaust Museum.

DECEMBER
304 pages, 36 photographs, 2 maps, 6 x 9
Hardcover ISBN 978-0-7006-3781-2, $34.95 (s)
Las Madres
Latinas in the Heartland Who Led Their Family to Success

Dennis Raphael Garcia

Las Madres is an incredible story of generational resilience and transformation with family and community at its heart. Dennis Raphael Garcia deftly writes the tale of three generations of women in his family, recounting the difficult challenges each of them faced in their lifetimes as they pursued the same goal—the advancement of the well-being of their families from poverty to success.

Las Madres focuses on Candelaria Garcia, who was born in Mexico; her daughter Rafaela; and Rafaela’s daughter Irene, the author’s mother. Each of these Latina women followed a separate path on their journey to security and freedom from want. Though they traveled with apprehension and uncertainty into unknown places and arenas, they were courageous, patient, and steadfast in their pursuit.

Las Madres dispels any notion that immigrants and their families who come to the United States are given a life of ease. Very few people living on the high plains of Kansas in 1900 had it easy, especially Mexican railroad workers and their families. Their journeys remind readers that there is no one true path to achieve an end. Las Madres will inspire readers, especially Latina women, to continue the pursuit of their dreams.

Dennis Raphael Garcia is a retired attorney and teacher living in California. He is the author of Marine, Public Servant, Kansan: The Life of Ernest Garcia, published by the University Press of Kansas in 2018, which was first-place winner in the International Latino Book Awards' biography category.

NOVEMBER
320 pages, 57 photographs, 6 x 9
Hardcover ISBN 978-0-7006-3797-3, $79.95 (x)
Paperback ISBN 978-0-7006-3798-0, $27.95 (s)
On February 27, 1973, a group of roughly 300 armed Indigenous men, women, and children seized the tiny hamlet of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, at gunpoint, took hostages, barricaded themselves in the hilltop church, and raised an upside-down American flag. Taking place at the site of the infamous massacre in 1890, the highly symbolic confrontation spearheaded by the American Indian Movement (AIM) ultimately evolved into a prolonged, seventy-one-day armed standoff between law enforcement officers and modern-day Indigenous warriors. Among these warriors were Vietnam War veterans armed with Vietnam-era equipment and weaponry. By organizing in defense of the newly proclaimed Independent Oglala Nation, the AIM activists at Wounded Knee linked their nationalist quest for sovereignty and self-determination with a warrior masculinity they constructed from a mix of Indigenous cultures and contemporary cultural elements, including the Black civil rights movement, the counterculture of the 1960s and early 1970s, and the antiwar movement.

As Matthias André Voigt shows, the takeover of Wounded Knee was only one moment among many in the complex interplay between protest activism, gender, race, and identity within AIM. While AIM is widely recognized for its militancy and nationalism, Reinventing the Warrior is the first major study to examine the gendered transformation of Indigenous men within the Red Power movement and the United States more generally. AIM activists came to regard themselves, like their ancestors before them, as warriors fighting for their people, their lands, and their rights. They sought to remasculinize their Indigenous identity in order to confront hegemonic masculinities—and, by implication, colonialism itself. By becoming “more manly,” Indigenous men challenged the disempowering nature of white supremacy.

Voigt traces the story of the reinvention of Indigenous warriorhood from 1968 to the takeover of Wounded Knee in 1973 and beyond. His trailblazing work explores why and how Indigenous men refashioned themselves as modern-day warriors in their anticolonial nation-building endeavor, thereby remaking both self and society.

Matthias André Voigt is a teacher of English, history, and politics in Berlin, Germany, and a part-time lecturer in modern American history at Free University Berlin.

Lyda Conley Series on Trailblazing Indigenous Futures

SEPTEMBER
448 pages, 37 photographs, 6 x 9
Hardcover ISBN 978-0-7006-3697-6, $54.95 (x)
The Spirit of 1889
Restoring the Lost Promise of the High Plains and Northern Rockies
Samuel Western

In August 1889, the five states that were once part of the Dakota 1861 Territory—North Dakota, South Dakota, Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho—drafted their state constitutions in preparation for inclusion in the United States. These constitutions were models of progressive and pragmatic values for their time. Wyoming, for instance, was the first state to grant women’s suffrage. In addition to suffrage, delegates from these states banned child labor, curbed the power of railroads and grain monopolies, mandated state ownership of running water, opened voting eligibility, and created state-owned banks. These states, the “89ers,” as Samuel Western calls them, exhibited a spirit of commonweal inclusivity that set them apart.

Much has changed since—and not for the better. Today, legislators in these five states have spurned these inclusive values. Instead, they promote the narrative of exclusion and lean toward authoritarianism. Legislators restrict voting, disenfranchise Native Americans, limit protests, squash public education, and discourage immigration initiatives, such as sanctuary cities. In their current condition, these states are in direct contradiction of the pragmatically inclusive and progressive values of their 1889 constitutions. The 89ers today are driven by ideological objections to political autonomy (stripping power from cities), fueling partisanship, and a rigid commitment to traditional commodity-based industries. Western sees hope for the future, but only if these states replace their fidelity to a particular idea of rural America with a more pragmatic openness to diversity and change—which will paradoxically bring them closer to the original spirit of their constitutions.

Western calls for a radical rethinking of what rural America is and could be. As a long-time resident in Wyoming, he speaks not from the outside but as someone who personally cares about this region and its future prosperity. The Spirit of 1889 aims to shed light on how these states have drifted so far from where they began and what might be done to reclaim those original values.

Samuel Western covered the northern Rocky Mountain region for the Economist for twenty-five years, and also taught economic history at the University of Wyoming. He is the author of Pushed Off the Mountain, Sold Down the River: Wyoming’s Search for Its Soul.
In January 1951, Lieutenant Evgeniy Borisov was sent to the headquarters of the Soviet 5th Army in Spassk-Dalnii, a small city in the Russian Far East. Borisov was there on a secret mission. Together with his superior, Major Rusinov, his job was to establish the 91st Special Forces Company. The 91st was to be one of forty-six similar units spread out across the Soviet Union. The new forces were called “spetsnaz”—short for spetsnial-noe naznachenie, which translates to “special purpose.”

In Spetsnaz, Tor Bukkvoll presents the first in-depth history of the Soviet and, later, Russian special operations forces from their establishment until today. He focuses on three broad topics: Soviet and later Russian thinking on the use of special operations forces; the actual process of constructing these forces and how this was facilitated or hampered by other agencies of the Soviet and Russian states; and the use of these forces in combat.

Bukkvoll uses a variety of sources, but the most important are the recollections of former spetsnaz soldiers and officers themselves, which allow an understanding of the history of these forces as the men of spetsnaz see and have seen it. Bukkvoll also draws upon observations and judgments from other parts of the Soviet and Russian militaries, from a number of KGB sources, and from independent Russian experts and journalists.

Spetsnaz is essential reading for anyone interested in special operations forces or Russian military history.

Tor Bukkvoll is senior research fellow at the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment in Kjeller, Norway. He is the author of Ukraine and European Security. A specialist in Russian and Ukrainian security and defense policies, Bukkvoll has been a visiting research fellow at the University of Oxford and the Naval Postgraduate School.

"Tor Bukkvoll’s book is a very welcome contribution to SOF studies, based on thorough and impartial examination of available Russian sources. Destined to become a seminal work on Russian Special Forces."

Andrei Soldatov, coauthor of The New Nobility: The Restoration of Russia’s Security State and the Enduring Legacy of the KGB

"Tor Bukkvoll has succeeded in putting a human face on a very storied and enigmatic arm of the Russian military. Essential reading for any military historian or analyst of contemporary war."


"A long-overdue account of Russia’s Spetsnaz, SOF, and SOFCOM (KSSO). . . . An outstanding analysis of the contemporary global phenomenon of the proliferation of SOF with the requisite historical context for understanding this phenomenon as it has unfolded in Russia."

Christopher Marsh, coauthor of Russian Foreign Policy: Interests, Vectors, and Sectors
Corps Competency?
III Marine Amphibious Force Headquarters in Vietnam

Michael F. Morris

The Vietnam War ended nearly fifty years ago but the central paradox of the struggle endures: how did the world's strongest nation fail to secure freedom for the Republic of Vietnam? Michael F. Morris addresses this vexing question by focusing on the senior Marine headquarters in the conflict's most dangerous region.

Known as I Corps, the northern five provinces of South Vietnam witnessed the bloodiest fighting of the entire war. I Corps also contained the Viet Cong's strongest infrastructure, key portions of the Ho Chi Minh Trail, and the important political and economic prizes of Hue and Da Nang. For Americans, it was the site of the first major military operation (Operation STARLITE); the Battles of Hue City and Khe Sanh during the 1968 Tet Offensive; and a military innovation known as the Combined Action Platoon (CAP), a counterinsurgency technique designed to secure the region's villages. The Marine zone served as Saigon's “canary in the coal mine”—if the war was to be won, allied action must succeed in its most contested region. With such deep significance, I Corps holds many answers to the lasting questions of the Vietnam War.

Following the Marine Amphibious Force (III MAF)—the primary US tactical command in I Corps from 1965 to 1970—Corps Competency provides the first composite analysis of the critical role of the senior Marine headquarters and offers a coherence missing in piecemeal accounts. Despite the critical importance of I Corps, relatively little is known about its overall impact on the war due to disconnected and patchy historical study of the region.

In this comprehensive and newly insightful study of the Vietnam War, Michael Morris tells a story that illustrates what can happen when a corps headquarters is not ready for the conflict it encounters and then fights the war it wants to rather than the one it must.

Dr. Michael F. Morris is a retired colonel in the US Marine Corps and associate professor of Military History at Marine Corps University’s School of Advanced Warfighting (SAW). Morris served thirty years as a Marine artillery officer and operational planner.

Modern War Studies

AUGUST
344 pages, 12 photographs, 6 tables, 1 map, 1 figure, 6 x 9
Hardcover ISBN 978-0-7006-3693-8, $54.95 (x)
The Radical Mind
The Origins of Right-Wing Catholic and Protestant Coalition Building
Chelsea Ebin

*The Radical Mind* is a groundbreaking analysis of the origins of the Christian Right, whose political victories are radically reshaping the landscape of American society. Scholars and the public alike have traditionally regarded the New Right and the Christian Right as separate movements. The New Right is supposedly a secular right-wing operation with purely political goals, while the Christian Right is an evangelical Protestant movement largely motivated by religious convictions. Insofar as both are conservative efforts, most people view them as reactionary and driven by a culture-war backlash against liberal changes to society.

Chelsea Ebin’s *The Radical Mind* aims to overturn this consensus. Through a close analysis of New Right architects Connaught Marshner and Paul Weyrich (who is often seen as secular but was a committed Catholic), this book explores the way conservative Catholics and Protestants overcame their long-standing antipathy to form a political coalition—what Ebin calls the New Christian Right. Drawing on extensive archival research, Ebin shows how the movement's key architects infused right-wing activism with religion. Rather than working to conserve the past, this book argues that the New Christian Right is fundamentally a forward-looking and proactive movement focused on remaking the political landscape in the United States.

The radical aims of the New Christian Right have been obscured by the way they cultivated a shared identity of victimhood and manipulated the discourse about backlash to create a nostalgic idea of the past that they then leveraged to justify their right-wing policy goals. The Catholic-Protestant alliance constructed an imagined past that they projected into the future as their ideal vision of society. Ebin calls this strategy “prefigurative traditionalism”—a paradoxical prefiguring of a manufactured past. Using this tactic, the New Christian Right coalition disguised the radicality of its politics by framing their aims as reactionary and defensive rather than proactive and offensive.

An interdisciplinary work informed by the fields of history, religious studies, public law, and American politics, *The Radical Mind* offers a new and convincing explanation for the recent gains of the Christian Right and the morally supercharged political landscape we face today.

Chelsea Ebin is assistant professor of political science at Drew University and coeditor of *Male Supremacism in the United States: From PatriarchalTraditionalism to Misogynist Incels and the Alt-Right*.

Studies in US Religion, Politics, and Law

JULY
256 pages, 1 table, 1 figure, 6 x 9
Hardcover ISBN 978-0-7006-3699-0, $49.95 (x)
Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3701-0, $49.95

“**A bold and compelling reinterpretation of the rise of the New Right that places religion at the heart of the movement.**
Ebin demonstrates that figures like Paul Weyrich and Jerry Falwell were not revivalists of tradition but political and theological innovators whose ideas bound together conservative Catholics and Protestants into a coalition that transformed American politics.”

**Gene Zubovich**, author of *Before the Religious Right: Liberal Protestants, Human Rights, and the Polarization of the United States*

“**This bold reframing of the New Christian Right draws on extensive and perceptive archival research to illustrate the ambitious goal at the heart of the movement: to transform American culture and with it, American politics. Ebin’s carefully constructed argument challenges the dominant framing of the New Christian Right as a ‘backlash’ to the cultural revolutions of the 1960s and demonstrates the revolutionary—and relevant—goal of cultural dominance at the heart of the movement.”**

**Seth Dowland**, author of *Family Values and the Rise of the Christian Right*
Pragmatic Vision
Obama and the Enactment of the Affordable Care Act

Meena Bose

On March 23, 2010, President Barack Obama signed the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act into law, providing every American with the opportunity to have guaranteed health care coverage. The Affordable Care Act—frequently referred to as Obamacare—is almost synonymous with Obama's presidential legacy and reflects a series of key decisions that he made beginning before he took office. As Meena Bose shows, it was Obama's particular brand of pragmatic politics that ultimately shaped the passage of the Affordable Care Act and made a lasting mark on health care reform in the United States.

Pragmatic Vision examines eight of Obama’s decisions that resulted in the landmark enactment of health care reform, starting with his commitment to health care reform in the 2008 presidential campaign and concluding with his decision to allow for flexibility with its implementation, following technical hurdles and Supreme Court rulings. Bose shows that Obama's steadfast commitment to the issue was crucial to its passing, especially after the Democrats lost their filibuster-proof majority in the Senate. Obama’s direct engagement built key political support for the legislation and was aided by the senior White House staff and Democratic leaders in Congress who skillfully navigated the bill to passage just fourteen months after Obama took office.

The story of Obama's leadership in enacting the Affordable Care Act is a tale of today's partisan divide and the polarization of Congress. The legislation passed on a party-line vote and continued to divide politicians long after its passage. Nevertheless, despite repeated efforts by Republicans to repeal the law, it is more popular today than ever and seems destined to remain in force until the next stage of reform. Pragmatic Vision is an authoritative guide to this singular achievement of the Obama administration.

Meena Bose is executive dean for Public Policy and Public Service Programs in the Peter S. Kalikow School of Government, Public Policy and International Affairs, and director of the Peter S. Kalikow Center for the Study of the American Presidency at Hofstra University. She is also the author of Shaping and Signaling Presidential Policy and coeditor of Executive Policymaking: The Role of the OMB in the Presidency.

Landmark Presidential Decisions

OCTOBER
152 pages, 5½ x 8½
Hardcover ISBN 978-0-7006-3743-0, $69.95 (x)

“A leading expert on presidential policymaking, Bose weaves together penetrating analytical insights into a highly readable narrative. This book is essential reading for anyone interested in the challenges of crafting landmark legislative reforms in a polarized age.”

Philip Rocco, coauthor of Obamacare Wars: Federalism, State Politics, and the Affordable Care Act
The Hidden Cost of Freedom
The Untold Story of the CIA’s Secret Funding System, 1941–1962
Brad L. Fisher

How is it possible for an agency of the United States government to be exempt from providing what the US Constitution’s Appropriations Clause describes as “a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money”?

In *The Hidden Cost of Freedom*, author Brad Fisher presents a comprehensive narrative of the origin and early development of the CIA’s clandestine financial system, beginning with the establishment of the Office of Strategic Services’ Special Funds Branch during World War II. Fisher documents the controversial legislative history of the Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949 from the standpoint of the CIA, the General Accounting Office, and congressional insiders, and describes the act’s role in the transformation of the CIA’s financial administration into a global enterprise for financing its foreign intelligence activities. Finally, he brings to light the story of his grandfather, Edwin Lyle Fisher, who had a major role in the postwar establishment of the CIA’s funding system as the GAO’s legal liaison to the CIA.

While the existence of the CIA’s clandestine funding is no secret, Fisher’s book is the first to trace its development and to show how the CIA’s covert financial system was allowed to develop in a democracy devoted to checks and balances.

Brad L. Fisher is a senior research scientist at Science Systems Applications, Inc.

NOVEMBER
320 pages, 1 figure, 6 x 9
Hardcover ISBN 978-0-7006-3795-9, $54.95 (x)
Ebook ISBN 978-0-7006-3796-6, $54.95

“Brad Fisher’s deeply researched and cogently written study of the origins and development of the CIA’s clandestine financial system fills an important gap in the field of intelligence literature. As in politics, money is the key factor in intelligence operations, and Fisher ably describes how the founders of the US intelligence establishment devised workable funding mechanisms for their worldwide operations in a complex and often hostile global environment. This book should be a part of any intelligence library.”


“Brad Fisher’s *Hidden Cost of Freedom* uniquely lays out, as best as it can be done, the funding mechanisms that enabled the CIA to carry out its highly secret activities. Fisher’s thorough research convinced me that he knows more about this topic than anyone, anywhere. Those who really want to understand the CIA of the early-to-middle-Cold War era will want to read this book.”

David Barrett, author of *The CIA and Congress: The Untold Story from Truman to Kennedy*
In **Policing Show Business**, Francis MacDonnell explores the starring role played by J. Edgar Hoover in the development of the Hollywood blacklist in the 1940s and 1950s. As director of the FBI, Hoover poured resources into scrutinizing show business, a policy choice unjustified by any corresponding threat to public security. He detailed agents to write regular reports on actors, screenwriters, lyricists, singers, and studio executives. His frequent handwritten comments on papers inside the files of film industry personalities demonstrate a level of interest bordering on obsession.

**Policing Show Business** is not just another book about the Hollywood blacklist. MacDonnell approaches the Red Scare through biography using FBI records on such luminaries as Marlene Dietrich, Walt Disney, Hedda Hopper, Adolphe Menjou, Lena Horne, Fredric March, Cecil B. DeMille, and Burl Ives to present in unexpected, surprising, and sometimes poignant ways the rich human dramas experienced by both targets of the bureau and its collaborators.

MacDonnell’s meticulously researched account, drawing on many newly available FBI files, evokes the passions and resentments; the courageous acts and calculated evasions; and the petty tyrannies and self-interested campaigns of an ignominious episode in the annals of American freedom.

Francis MacDonnell is emeritus professor of history, Southern Virginia University, and the author of *Insidious Foes: The Axis Fifth Column and the American Home Front*.

NOVEMBER
328 pages, 10 photographs, 6 x 9
Hardcover ISBN 978-0-7006-3793-5, $39.95 (s)

“**This is a superb book. MacDonnell has scoured the archives to give us the fullest account yet of J. Edgar Hoover’s role in the Hollywood blacklist. Crisply written, the book will appeal to everyone interested in America’s domestic Cold War. It also speaks to today’s debates about cancel culture.**”

Tony Shaw, author of *Hollywood’s Cold War*

“**Although there have been other books on the blacklist and the careers that it destroyed and derailed, *Policing Show Business* is the most authoritative... MacDonnell’s research is awesome but never overwhelming. If you are going to read any book on the blacklist, this is the one.**”

Bernard F. Dick, author of *The Anatomy of Film*

“This extremely well-researched book is a major contribution to blacklist history.”

Larry Ceplair, author of *The Hollywood Motion Picture Blacklist: Seventy-Five Years Later*
The Anti–Civil Rights Movement

Affirmative Action as Wedge and Weapon

Mike Steve Collins

In this deeply researched and powerfully written exposé, Mike Steve Collins pulls back the curtain on the networks of power and influence that are pulling the strings to undo progress toward a more just and equitable society. The efforts of this anti–civil rights movement, as Collins calls it, most recently came to a head on June 23, 2023, when the US Supreme Court effectively ended affirmative action in higher education and opened the door to even more regressive policies, laws, and bans. The ruling was the fulfillment of a decades-long battle by right-wing activists and their networks to divide the country.

As Collins sees it, American society is trapped in a style of thinking and decision-making that makes bad choices seem rational. This way of thinking has led to policy choices that make everyone worse off, in part by creating hostility between communities that could productively work together and form powerful coalitions. The work of the anti–civil rights movement, led by figures such as Edward Blum and Christopher Rufo, has repeatedly found ways to undermine the shared interests of the American people by splitting coalitions and pitting marginalized groups against each other even while claiming and perhaps feeling the highest of motives. From racial segregation in the 1960s to the modern boogeyman of critical race theory, conservative elites have wielded cultural and political wedges to expand their power to set the political, educational, and legal agenda.

Affirmative action has long been a weapon of choice in conservatives’ arsenal against social progress, and few have leveraged it as successfully—and detrimentally—as Edward Blum. In 2014, the year after he helped gut the affirmative action aspect of the Voting Rights Act in Shelby County v. Holder, Blum created Students for Fair Admissions and brought a suit against Harvard University for discriminating against Asian Americans. A decade later, this latest effort in a long string of traps and dilemmas became the Supreme Court case that upended affirmative action.

Collins’s groundbreaking work is a field guide to the personalities, funding, and dilemmas that characterize the ongoing war between the civil rights movement and the anti–civil rights movement. This book will help readers better understand the battles that have been fought in the past, where the next fight might take place, and what will be necessary in order to win.

Mike Steve Collins is professor of English at Texas A&M University and the author of Understanding Etheridge Knight.

SEPTEMBER
368 pages, 2 photographs, 5 Figures, 6 x 9
Hardcover ISBN 978-0-7006-3714-0, $39.95 (s)

“The Anti–Civil Rights Movement follows the rise, expansion, and triumph of what Mike Steve Collins calls the anti–civil rights movement or, seen from my perspective, the construction of the hegemonic force now overthrowing affirmative action and more broadly endeavoring to outlaw any legal and civil awareness of racism in the United States.

Detailing the leaders, foot soldiers, advocacy groups, and funders, this book shows how the rather nasty sausage has been made behind the scenes and out in the open. Readers who haven’t delved into the history will be shocked by the human, informational, and financial resources poured into this retrograde project. Why are we blasted with so much raw hatred on race and now on other issues? What can be done to shift the discourse to compassionate problem-solving?”

Ellen Messer-Davidow, author of The Making of Reverse Discrimination: How DeFunis and Bakke Bleached Racism from Equal Protection
People are liars. Most of us tell multiple lies daily, and we fall for the lies others tell us. The vast majority of these falsehoods are harmless and perfectly legal. But when someone deceives another for material gain or profit, inflicting injury in the process, we give this kind of lie a special label: fraud.

Most people are familiar with the concept and understand that fraud is prohibited by law. What many fail to appreciate, however, is that the law does not treat all frauds equally. If you defraud an individual, you might end up in prison. On the other hand, if you defraud millions of people—what Wes Henricksen calls “fraud on the public”—you might end up wealthy or powerful, or even get elected president. In a perverse sense, the bigger the fraud, the more likely it is protected by the First Amendment and therefore legal. As a result, many of the largest and most destructive fraud schemes are allowed, encouraged, and richly rewarded.

Examples of fraud on the public are everywhere. The fossil fuel industry long used PR firms and lobbyists to spread disinformation about oil’s role in climate change. Sugar companies misled the public about the dangers of high-fructose corn syrup, redirecting the public’s attention to fat. Cigarette manufacturers famously lied about the risks of tobacco, and opioid makers lied about the effects of the drug. Social media influencers and fringe media outlets promoted false claims about the COVID-19 pandemic being a government hoax. Others claimed that vaccines were part of a sinister plot and had detrimental health effects. Politicians on both sides of the aisle lie with such regularity that people have become deeply cynical about whether to believe anything they say. Henricksen shows that large-scale fraud is carried out for many reasons beyond financial profit, including political gain, the prevention of justice, and the falsification of history.

In addition to exposing the depths of the problem, Henricksen gives readers a way forward. He proposes we call these massive deceit campaigns by their proper name; that we “de-weaponize” the First Amendment, which was never meant to shield swindlers; and that we enact new laws that protect the public from fraud. By revealing for the first time the root legal cause of the misinformation crisis and presenting novel solutions, In Fraud We Trust speaks to the present moment as it offers answers for the future.

Ronald Reagan and the Firing of the Air Traffic Controllers

Andrew E. Busch

On August 3, 1981, over 12,000 members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Association (PATCO) walked off their jobs, striking for higher pay, shorter hours, and increased benefits. Unexpectedly, President Ronald Reagan decided to fire the strikers, prosecute their leaders, and decertify their union. This swift and unwavering decision was a shocking reversal of the sympathy and support Reagan showed PATCO during his campaign ten months earlier, which had earned him the union’s endorsement.

Andrew Busch, an expert on the Reagan presidency, explores this overlooked decision, showing the many ways that it set the tone for Reagan’s two terms in the White House. It was a contested decision both within the administration and in the public sphere, though it ultimately proved popular. Reagan’s action demonstrated his commitment to upholding federal labor law, limiting federal spending, and cutting inflation. He also modeled his management style of delegating to subordinates and supporting his guidance with decisive judgment when necessary.

More broadly, this decision had long-term significance that far exceeded its immediate importance. The response to the PATCO strike formed a pattern for future decisions and made a strong impression on foreign adversaries. It also contributed to the declining power of unions, marking a shift in labor politics that has continued to this day.

Andrew Busch brings a wealth of insight to this concise and accessible book, making it an ideal entry into understanding Ronald Reagan’s domestic policy and leadership, and a fine addition to the Landmark Presidential Decisions series.

Andrew E. Busch is Crown Professor of Government and George R. Roberts Fellow at Claremont McKenna College and the author of Reagan’s Victory and Truman’s Triumphs, both from Kansas.

Landmark Presidential Decisions

JULY
180 pages, 5½ x 8½
Hardcover ISBN 978-0-7006-3690-7, $69.95 (x)

“Ronald Reagan’s 1981 confrontation with the nation’s air traffic controllers looms as one of the most significant events in both labor and presidential history. In this compact and highly readable treatment, eminent political scientist Andrew Busch brings fresh analysis to this turning-point episode and illuminates why its influence still resonates more than four decades later.”

Joseph A. McCartin, author of Collision Course: Ronald Reagan, the Air Traffic Controllers, and the Strike that Changed America

“Busch has written an engaging and accessible case study that has great cross-discipline appeal. It’s a must-read for students of the US presidency!”


“A balanced and perceptive analysis of a pivotal moment in the Reagan presidency. With keen insight and thorough research, Andrew Busch tells why Reagan broke the PATCO strike, and how he made his decision stick.”

The 1976 House Majority Leadership Contest

Stepping Stone in the Transition to Conditional Party Government

Bruce I. Oppenheimer and Robert L. Peabody

In this book, Bruce I. Oppenheimer and the late Robert L. Peabody analyze the 1976 House majority leader race and present the result of their unrivaled insider access to this turning point in congressional history. This fierce contest among the Democratic leadership marked the transition of the House of Representatives into the party-dominated institution that is so familiar today.

The 1976 election, in which the Democrats consolidated the gains made in 1974, led to two important changes in House Democratic leadership. After Carl Albert’s retirement, Majority Leader Thomas “Tip” O’Neill, Jr., of Massachusetts advanced unopposed to the Speakership. This led to a contest between four formidable candidates for the position of majority leader: Rules Committee Spokesman Richard Bolling of Missouri, Caucus Chairman Phillip Burton of California, Majority Whip John McFall of California, and Representative James C. Wright, Jr., of Texas. It was arguably the most competitive contest for a major leadership position in congressional history. Ultimately, it took extensive campaigning and three ballots before Wright emerged victorious.

During the race, Oppenheimer and Peabody conducted lengthy interviews with the candidates and their principal supporters, resulting in their analysis of this contest as a key stepping stone between committee government and conditional party government in the House of Representatives that continues to the present day. The authors first presented their original research at the 1977 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. With that original groundbreaking paper at its core, this book adds new chapters by Oppenheimer that evaluate the accuracy of the study and provide richer historical context, showing how congressional politics changed in the years after the 1976 contest. Their original study was the result of the greatest access that political scientists have ever had to a congressional leadership race, and it has enduring value for understanding our current political crisis.

Bruce I. Oppenheimer is professor emeritus of political science at Vanderbilt University and author of Sizing up the Senate: The Unequal Consequences of Equal Representation.

Robert L. Peabody was a professor of political science at Johns Hopkins University and author of Leadership in Congress: Stability, Succession, and Change.

JULY
232 pages, 6 figures, 11 tables, 6 x 9
Hardcover ISBN 978-0-7006-3695-2, $49.95 (x)
The Gulf War

George H. W. Bush and American Grand Strategy in the Post–Cold War Era

Spencer D. Bakich

President George H. W. Bush assumed office at a critical juncture, as the Cold War came to an end and the world shifted to a new era of international relations. In The Gulf War, Spencer Bakich argues that Bush fashioned a grand strategy to bring about a New World Order designed to transform international politics by focusing on great power cooperation through the United Nations. The Persian Gulf War became the chance for Bush to put his strategy into action. This volume offers a fresh and concise look at President Bush's strategic decision making and his choice to wage war against Iraq.

Bakich traces the ideas and actions of Bush's New World Order strategy between 1989 and 1991, which had a profound impact on the diplomacy of Desert Shield and the warfighting of Desert Storm. Bush's strategic beliefs contained core elements of Wilsonian internationalism—specifically its goals of promoting democracy, conducting multilateral diplomacy through international institutions, and transforming the United Nations into the collective security institution that its founders envisioned. His “New World Order” was not mere political sloganeering intended to bolster support for the Persian Gulf War among a skeptical American public. Rather, Bush intended the Gulf War to exercise and firmly establish the UN's collective security function in the post–Cold War era.

Bakich challenges conventional wisdom, arguing that Bush's New World Order was carefully defined and had a comprehensive logic. He shows how Bush's strategic beliefs oriented American statecraft in peace and war. Bush's grand strategy was remarkably coherent, powerfully affecting how his administration decided to go to war to evict Iraq from Kuwait, how it waged war in the Persian Gulf, and ultimately the reasons why the fighting was terminated before the coalition's war aims were completely achieved. In the end, the Gulf War's outcome exposed faulty assumptions about the international system that underpinned the strategy, weakening the president's fidelity to his own approach. The Gulf War did usher in a New World Order, but not the one Bush had envisioned.

Spencer D. Bakich is professor of international studies and director of the National Security Program at the Virginia Military Institute, senior fellow at the University of Virginia's Miller Center, and author of Success and Failure in Limited War: Information and Strategy in the Korean, Vietnam, Persian Gulf, and Iraq Wars.

Landmark Presidential Decisions

AUGUST
160 pages, 5½ x 8½
Hardcover ISBN 978-0-7006-3687-7, $69.95

“Spencer Bakich brightly illuminates two central realities of one of America’s most important foreign engagements of the twentieth century. First, he shows that President Bush not only put together an all-star team of national security experts—Baker, Cheney, Scowcroft, Powell, and Gates—the president personally provided the bold strategic leadership and political backbone indispensable to their success. Second, Bakich elaborately demonstrates how the liberation of Kuwait was central to Bush's conception of a New World Order. . . . An eminently readable and convincing account.”

Russell L. Riley, author of Inside the Clinton White House: An Oral History and coeditor of 43: Inside the George W. Bush Presidency
At the end of World War I, parts of the defeated Ottoman Empire were seized and partitioned by the Allied Powers. In response, the newly formed Turkish National Movement waged a military campaign to win Turkey’s independence, eventually leading to the declaration of the Republic of Turkey in 1923.

In *Facing the Victorious Turks*, Andrew Orr argues that French military, intelligence, and diplomatic officials’ Orientalism and racism led them to misinterpret the Turkish War of Independence by placing Europeans at the center of their analysis of the Middle East. French observers’ flawed understanding of Muslims and Islam fed conspiracy theories that distorted their understanding of Germany, the emerging Soviet Union, Middle Eastern politics, and colonialism. It allowed them to perceive and report the danger of Middle East–wide revolts without questioning whether it was European rule itself that was causing the political turmoil. French military leaders were thus able to escape the sort of self-reflection that might have exposed the exploitative nature of colonialism and pushed them to question the moral and strategic justifications for colonial rule.

Orr’s study draws on French and British military, diplomatic, and intelligence documents, published Turkish sources, journalistic accounts, and combatants’ and aid workers’ journals. It also takes advantage of US intelligence and diplomatic papers that included correspondence with French military and diplomatic officials in Constantinople.

*Facing the Victorious Turks* is valuable reading for anyone interested in nationalism and imperialism, intelligence studies, French involvement in the Middle East, and modern Turkish history.

Andrew Orr is professor of history at Kansas State University. He is the author of *Women and the French Army during the World Wars, 1914–1940* and *The Gay Girl in Damascus Hoax: Progressive Orientalism and the Arab Spring*.

**Modern War Studies**

OCTOBER

256 pages, 1 map, 6 x 9

Hardcover ISBN 978-0-7006-3777-5, $49.95 (X)

A Tale of Two Fronts
A German Soldier’s Journey through World War I

Hans Schiller
Edited by Frederic Krome and Gregory Loving
Translated by Karin Wagner | Foreword by Brian K. Feltman

In 2013, while helping her mother, Ingrid, comb through family possessions, Karin Wagner came across a large folio handwritten in German in the back of a dresser drawer. When Karin asked her mother what the document was, Ingrid replied, “Oh, that is your grandfather’s Great War memoir.”

Schiller was a seventeen-year-old student in Bromberg, Prussia, when World War I broke out in August 1914. He enlisted in the German army and was assigned to an artillery unit on the Eastern Front. From 1915 to 1917, Schiller saw action in what is now Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland. After the Bolshevik Revolution in October 1917 and Russia’s withdrawal from the war, Schiller was transferred to the Western Front. He arrived in time for Germany’s last great offensive in the west, where the attempt to break the Allied lines included what is believed to be the single greatest artillery bombardment in human history up to that point. After the German retreat and Armistice, Schiller reentered military service in the Freikorps, German mercenary groups fighting in former German territory in Eastern Europe, where the conflict dragged on even after the Treaty of Versailles. Schiller left military service in May 1920.

Hans Schiller’s Kriegserinnerungen (literally, “memories of war”) was written in 1928 and based on diaries, since lost, that Schiller kept during the war. A Tale of Two Fronts, an edition of the memoir with historical context and explanatory notes, provides a vivid first-person account of German army life during World War I.

Frederic Krome is professor of history, University of Cincinnati Clermont College, author of The Jewish Hospital and Cincinnati Jews in Medicine, and editor of Fighting the Future War.

Gregory D. Loving is professor of philosophy, University of Cincinnati Clermont College. His articles have appeared in Philosophical Studies in Education, Academe, Interdisciplinary Humanities, and other publications.

Karin Wagner is CEO, founder, and executive director of the Neigh Savers Foundation, a horse rescue organization in California.

Brian K. Feltman is associate professor of history, Georgia Southern University, a specialist in Germany in the World War I era, and the author of The Stigma of Surrender.

NOVEMBER
224 pages, 41 photographs, 2 maps, 6 x 9
Hardcover ISBN 978-0-7006-3800-0, $34.95 (s)

“An extremely valuable account of World War I written by a German who principally served on the Eastern Front and went on to serve in the postwar chaos in Germany’s eastern borderlands. Alongside the horrors of this world war, the plight of civilians are to the fore, notably starvation.”

Jeremy Black, author of A Short History of War

“A major discovery, Schiller’s engaging and vivid memoir is historically important for three reasons: first, it provides a rare, first-person glimpse of German army life on the Eastern Front during the Great War; second, it offers an insider’s account of the 1918 attack on the Chemin des Dames, Germany’s last and best hope for victory in the west; and, third, it captures the chaos and brutality of the European ‘long war,’ fueled by revolution and ethnic hatred, that extended beyond the armistice of November 11, 1918, and well into the early 1920s. The section on Schiller’s service in the Freikorps, which involved little-known operations against Russian Bolsheviks and Poles, is exceptionally valuable.”

Steven Trout, author of The Vietnam Veterans Memorial at Angel Fire: War, Remembrance, and an American Tragedy
A Debt of Gratitude
How Jimmy Carter Put Vietnam Veterans’ Issues on the National Agenda
Glenn Robins

On December 15, 1972, as rumors swirled of a pending peace agreement between the United States and North Vietnam, Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter issued an executive order creating the Georgia Advisory Committee on Vietnam Veterans. His reasoning was simple: “the citizens of the state of Georgia and of the United States of America owe a debt of gratitude to these veterans who have served the nation in an unpopular war.” Carter’s efforts followed trends occurring across the country as a host of states contemplated their responsibilities to Vietnam veterans. Through his words and actions, Carter joined this broader debate regarding society’s obligation to Vietnam veterans.

In *A Debt of Gratitude*, Glenn Robins examines Carter’s role in the creation of Vietnam veterans’ issues as a national agenda item. Covering virtually the entire decade of the 1970s, from Carter’s single terms as governor to president of the United States, Robins demonstrates that, throughout this period, Carter distinguished himself as one of the country’s most important decision-makers concerning Vietnam veteran policy. By addressing Vietnam veterans’ issues and by communicating his positions and views, Carter made a substantial political investment in moving these items from the level of public debate to the level of policy prescriptions, thereby raising awareness, generating concern, and promising government attention to honor and thank Vietnam veterans.

Glenn Robins is professor of history, Georgia Southwestern State University, author of *The Longest Rescue: The Life and Legacy of Vietnam POW William A. Robinson*, and editor of *They Have Left Us Here to Die: The Civil War Prison Diary of Sgt. Lyle G. Adair, 111th U.S. Colored Infantry*.

**Modern War Studies**

NOVEMBER
192 pages, 6 x 9
Hardcover ISBN 978-0-7006-3783-6, $49.95 (x)

“Glenn Robins’s *A Debt of Gratitude* joins the growing body of well-researched scholarly books that set the record straight about the presidency and legacy of Jimmy Carter. It not only reveals in convincing detail both Carter the politician and Carter the humanitarian at work, it demonstrates how the often-maligned veterans earned and deserved the gratitude that the thirty-ninth president offered them.”


“Based on prodigious archival research, Glenn Robins details how Jimmy Carter grappled with the complex issue of Vietnam veterans, ultimately to his political detriment. *A Debt of Gratitude* expertly uncovers Carter’s motivations and his efforts on behalf of the veterans of an unpopular war while simultaneously providing an intriguing window into US presidential politics and sociocultural mores in the aftermath of the Vietnam conflict.”

**Andrew Johns,** author of *The Price of Loyalty: Hubert Humphrey’s Vietnam Conflict*
America’s First Wartime Election

James Madison, DeWitt Clinton, and the War of 1812

Donald A. Zinman

As the heir apparent to the presidency in 1808, James Madison had a substantial reputation and an impressive list of credentials, including having cofounded the Democratic-Republican party with Thomas Jefferson and serving as Jefferson’s secretary of state. Despite this, Madison’s presidential victory in 1808 was hardly uncontested as he faced internal opposition from supporters of James Monroe and Vice President George Clinton. In 1812, then, it was by no means a sure thing that Madison would secure a second term, and that uncertainty grew substantially after Madison essentially asked Congress for a declaration of war on June 1, 1812, mere months before the election.

Donald A. Zinman’s America’s First Wartime Election focuses on an overlooked moment in political history. The War of 1812 has generated a significant amount of attention, overshadowing the election that took place in the early stages of the conflict. As the United States and Great Britain clashed on the battlefield, President James Madison was challenged by DeWitt Clinton, who held a base of Democratic-Republican support in New York where many in his party opposed the war. Many New Yorkers also resented Virginia’s domination of the presidency going back to George Washington’s tenure. Other Democratic-Republicans supported the war but faulted Madison for his poor preparations and early battlefield setbacks. United in their opposition to the war, Federalists joined forces with Clinton, but the alliance was tardy, disorganized, and awkward.

The story of this election is also a tale of weak political parties. The Federalist party had lost strength since the election of Jefferson in 1800, and the Democratic-Republican party was still a young and fractious coalition. In order to sustain the party that he had helped to start, Madison needed to secure his reelection and successfully conduct the war. Red-hot passions over the divisive War of 1812 overlapped with a presidential election that became a referendum on the conflict itself. Momentum is important in politics—a principle that was just as important over 200 years ago as it is today.

Donald A. Zinnman is professor of political science at Grand Valley State University and author of The Heir Apparent Presidency, also from Kansas.

American Presidential Elections

OCTOBER
280 pages, 6 x 9
Hardcover ISBN 978-0-7006-3779-9, $49.95 (X)

“In the literature on the War of 1812, little attention has been given to the presidential election of that year. Donald Zinman has remedied that deficiency by a skillful use of a multiplicity of newspaper reports and voting returns. Readers will benefit greatly from Zinman’s accounts of the fumbling and fruitless attempts of Madison’s opponents to defeat him. It is now clear that Madison’s re-election was in less jeopardy than many scholars had believed.”

J. C. A. Stagg, author of The War of 1812: Conflict for a Continent and an editor of The Papers of James Madison project

“Political campaigns are routinely characterized as ‘war,’ but they turn particularly divisive and consequential when a presidential election takes place during military conflict. In 1812, the young United States was mired in a war declared by the closest congressional vote in its history. Donald Zinman has produced a thorough and insightful account of this election and the political tensions of a country still finding its equilibrium after winning one war for independence only to have to fight another.”

Walter R. Borneman, author of 1812: The War That Forged a Nation
When president Woodrow Wilson spoke in Topeka on February 2, 1916, in favor of a stronger military, he faced skepticism and outright opposition from many Kansas residents—including Governor Arthur Capper and University of Kansas chancellor Frank Strong. But when war against Germany was declared two months later, Kansans joined forces to lend support in money and manpower.

In *Kansas and Kansans in World War I*, Blake Watson helps readers understand how World War I affected Kansas and its residents, and how Kansans in turn had an impact on the outcome of the Great War. Through thorough and extensive use of letters, newspapers, and other documents, Watson brings individual soldiers’ service to life, using their own words to describe their attitudes and experiences. Watson also looks at Kansans’ service and support on the home front, chronicling Kansans’ participation in initiatives such as Liberty Loan bonds, newspapers’ publication of military service honor rolls and soldiers’ letters from abroad, and the xenophobia and hysteria that confronted Mennonites—who were pacifists—and German Americans.

Finally, Watson describes postwar efforts to honor Kansas veterans and fallen soldiers with commemorations and memorials, including Haskell University’s Memorial Arch, the University of Kansas’s Memorial Stadium and Memorial Union, and Kansas State University’s Memorial Stadium.

Blake A. Watson, a former attorney with the US Justice Department, is Samuel A. McCray Chair in Law, University of Dayton School of Law. He is the author of *Buying America from the Indians: Johnson v. McIntosh and the History of Native Land Rights*. One of the soldiers featured in the book, Ralph Nichols of Oskaloosa, is Watson’s great-uncle. Nichols’s brothers Arvil and Charles also served. Watson’s relatives have lived in twenty counties in Kansas.
Arc of Power
Inside Nancy Pelosi's Speakership, 2005–2010
John A. Lawrence

“Lawrence’s book gives us rare insights into the personality, leadership style, and power dynamics that have driven Pelosi’s historic run as arguably the most significant American leader of the last twenty years.” — Congress & the Presidency

“For anyone who is fascinated by how power operates at the top level, this book is a compelling read.” — Washington Monthly

“As one who attended many of the meetings and events John Lawrence describes, I can say they vividly capture the scenes, personalities, and especially the leadership of Nancy Pelosi. There have been and will continue to be many books about Pelosi. Written from the inside, this volume is indispensable to understanding her.” — Steve Israel, former US representative from New York

John A. Lawrence is visiting professor at the University of California, Washington Center.

SEPTEMBER
384 pages, 6 x 9
Paperback ISBN 978-0-7006-3805-5, $29.95 (s)

Donkey Work
Congressional Democrats in Conservative America, 1974–1994
Patrick Andelic

“A welcome contribution to studies of Congress, the Democratic Party’s evolution, and the behavior of a party in opposition.” — Political Science Quarterly

“Andelic has written a readable, well-researched, and convincing history of congressional Democrats from 1974 to 1994.” — H-Net Reviews

“Provides insightful lessons.” — Choice

Patrick Andelic is lecturer in American history at Northumbria University at Newcastle upon Tyne, United Kingdom. His work has appeared in the Journal of Policy History and The Historical Journal.

SEPTEMBER
304 pages, 6 x 9
Paperback ISBN 978-0-7006-3809-3, $29.95 (x)
Uniting the Tribes

The Rise and Fall of Pan-Indian Community on the Crow Reservation

Frank Rzeczkowski

“This work leaves the reader with a sense of both the complexity of the concept of Crow tribal identity in the reservation era as well as the humanity of the individuals who lived and built families during this time. It is a necessary addition to the library of any scholar interested in the formation of today’s Crow tribe.”—*Montana The Magazine of Western History*

“Deeply researched and clearly written, this important book deserves wide readership, both for its methods and its message.”—*Journal of American History*

Frank Rzeczkowski is visiting assistant professor of history at Xavier University.

JULY

294 pages, 20 photographs, 4 maps, 6 x 9
Paperback ISBN 978-0-7006-3802-4, $29.95 (x)

Voices from Haskell

Indian Students between Two Worlds, 1884–1928

Myriam Vučković

“An important addition to the literature on the history of American Indian education. . . . Should appeal to scholars and graduate students as well as general readers with an interest in Native American history.”—*Reviews in American History*

“An important contribution to American Indian history, colonial studies, the history of education, and the history of the Progressive Era. . . . A thoughtful, important book.”—*Journal of American Ethnic History*

Myriam Vučković became interested in Haskell while pursuing her doctoral degree at the University of Kansas. She is an associate professor in the International Health Department at Georgetown University.

OCTOBER

330 pages, 25 photographs, 6 x 9
Paperback ISBN 978-0-7006-3684-6, $32.95 (x)
The Courts, the Ballot Box, and Gay Rights
How Our Governing Institutions Shape the Same-Sex Marriage Debate
Joseph Mello

“By focusing on opponents of same-sex marriage and institutional contexts, Mello’s book makes a much-needed contribution to the scholarship on lesbian, gay bisexual, and transgender politics in the United States.”—Political Science Quarterly

“A model of lucid, accessible prose . . . Mello gives his audience an excellent example of a mixed methodology in practice and sheds light on important issues of interest to legal scholars, sociologists, and political scientists alike.”—American Review of Politics

Joseph Mello is associate professor of political science at DePaul University in Chicago.

AUGUST
240 pages, 7 figures, 6 x 9
Paperback ISBN 978-0-7006-3807-9, $27.95 (x)

A Terrible Thing to Waste
Arthur Fletcher and the Conundrum of the Black Republican
David Hamilton Golland

“A thorough account of Fletcher’s life and what it tells us about the history of the Republican Party’s relationship to its African American loyalists, especially those, like Fletcher, who were major advocates for civil rights. Golland interlaces the biography with scenes from the fierce battle for the soul of the party waged between its conservative and liberal wings. And while the history of conservative ascendancy is by now well-trod territory, with a number of excellent studies on what that transformation meant for African Americans, Golland adds to the literature by bringing that narrative well into the 1980s and 1990s.”—Journal of Southern History


AUGUST
400 pages, 24 photographs, 6 x 9
Paperback ISBN 978-0-7006-3061-5, $32.95 (x)
When a Dream Dies
Agriculture, Iowa, and the Farm Crisis of the 1980s
Pamela Riney-Kehrberg

Winner of the Dorothy Schwieder Excellence in Research Award from the State Historical Society of Iowa

“This volume will become the standard analysis of the Iowa Farm Crisis.”
—Middle West Review

“This is a thorough and well-written treatment of the struggles farm families endured in a time period that is very different from our own, yet one that shares many characteristics with our present condition.”
—Annals of Iowa

“Riney-Kehrberg does an excellent job covering macroeconomic issues while seasoning the text with poignant individual, family, and community illustrations.”—Choice

Pamela Riney-Kehrberg is Distinguished Professor of History at Iowa State University and a fellow of the Agricultural History Society.

SEPTEMBER
304 pages, 20 photographs, 6 x 9
Paperback ISBN 978-0-7006-3804-8, $29.95 (x)

God Hates
Westboro Baptist Church, American Nationalism, and the Religious Right
Rebecca Barrett-Fox

“Barrett-Fox gives us the first full-scale examination of Westboro, and it makes for fascinating and horrifying reading.”—Journal of American History

“Barrett-Fox’s contribution to our understanding of Westboro Baptist Church is significant. She carefully explores the rhetoric and practice of the church while also providing a useful history of where the church came from.”—Journal of Religion

Rebecca Barrett-Fox is visiting assistant professor of sociology at Arkansas State University, Jonesboro.

OCTOBER
270 pages, 15 photographs, 6 x 9
Paperback ISBN 978-0-7006-3808-6, $27.95 (s)
Taliban Safari
One Day in the Surkhagan Valley
Paul Darling

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