

Social Thought & Research

A Continuation of the *Mid-American Review of Sociology*



Vol. 20, No. 1&2

MARS/
Social Thought & Research
Vol. 20, No. 1&2

Editors

Dan Krier Mark P. Worrell

Advising Editor

Jack Weller

Associate and Assistant Editors

Robert Futrell
June Leahy
George Lundskow
William Swart
Yuichi Tamura

Editorial Advisory Board

Kevin Anderson, Northern Illinois University
Robert J. Antonio, University of Kansas
Roslyn Wallach Bologh, CUNY Graduate School
Kang Chao, Tunghai University, Taiwan
Göran Dahl, Lund University, Sweden
Mark Gottdiener, SUNY at Buffalo
Carl-Göran Heidegren, Lund University, Sweden
Horst Helle, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Germany
Stephen Kalberg, Boston University
Manjur Karim, Culver-Stockton College
Neil McLaughlin, McMaster University, Ontario
Mehrangiz Najafizadeh, University of Kansas
Sean Noonan, Kansas State University
Harold L. Orbach, Kansas State University
David N. Smith, University of Kansas
Murray E. G. Smith, Brock University, Ontario
Jacob Als Thomsen, Roskilde University, Denmark
Carol A. B. Warren, University of Kansas

ISSN: 1094-5830

Social Thought & Research (ISSN 1094-5830) is published twice yearly (Spring and Fall). You may contact the journal at: Editors, The University of Kansas, Social Thought and Research, Department of Sociology, 716 Fraser Hall, Lawrence, KS 66045-2172. E-mail: mars@eagle.cc.ukans.edu

Subscription rates for 1997/1998

Individuals: \$30

Institutions: \$50

Subscriptions for addresses outside of the USA add \$10 for postage. All payments should be made to Social Thought & Research.

Manuscript submissions:

Format: format is not an initial concern; if your paper is considered for revision and resubmission then STR will advise author(s) regarding format.

Fees: \$10 must accompany all manuscript submissions; submit three (3) copies of the manuscript plus one (1) 3.5" floppy disk in WordPerfect or other standard software formats. Include a SASE or postcard.

Inquiries concerning business matters, permission to quote, subscriptions, changes of address, advertising rates, and claims should be directed to the above address.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Vol. 20, No. 1 & 2, 1997

From the Editors 1

Articles and Essays

Jacob Als Thomsen,
Carl Schmitt: the Hobbesian of the 20th Century?..... 5

Göran Dahl,
The Men of 1989: On the German "New Right" 29

Göran Dahl,
System-Integration and its Discontents:
A Reconsideration on what
Sociology can Learn from Psychoanalysis 37

Sharon Lord Gaber and Rodrigo Cantarero,
Hispanic Migrant Laborer Homelessness in Nebraska: Examining
Agricultural Restructuring as One Path to Homelessness..... 55

Marina A. Adler,
Feminist Cross-cultural Research: Observations
from a Research Project in Germany 73

Section on Social Movements

Jack Weller,
Editor's Introduction..... 85

Tom Foster,
American Culture Through Amish Eyes: Perspectives of an Anarchist
Protest Movement..... 89

Colleen Greer,
Ideology as Response: Cultural and Political Process in the
Sanctuary Movement..... 109

Robert Futrell,
Citizen-State Interaction and Technical Controversy:
The U.S. Army Chemical Stockpile Disposal Program..... 129

Yuichi Tamura,
The Continuity of Violence in the Stages of the Shi-Shi
Movement of Nineteenth-Century Japan 169

Books: Essays and Reviews

George Lundskow,
The People, the Enemy, and the Vision. A review essay of
Philip Lamy's *Millennium Rage*, Walter Laquer's *Fascism*, and Brandon
Stickney's *All-American Monster*..... 187

Carol A. B. Warren reviews Andrew Scull's
Masters of Bedlam..... 197

Donald D. Stull reviews *To Call it Home*
by Joseph A. Amato *et. AL*..... 201

Kevin Gotham reviews *Racism and Society* by John Solomos
and Les Back..... 204

Mark P. Worrell reviews Walter Grünzweig's
The German Walt Whitman..... 208

*Cover Photo by permission of the Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library,
University of Kansas*

FROM THE EDITORS

Thirty years have passed since the first issue of the Kansas Review of Sociology and twenty years since it became the Mid-American Review of Sociology. MARS has exposed a succession of editors to an important side of intellectual life and published worthy sociological thought and research. It is abstracted by Sociological Abstracts, and each quarter reprinted articles that have appeared in the journal earn a (small) royalty.

Tenures of editorial leadership for MARS are unavoidably brief. The unpaid work is wedged into lives already full with the requirements of study and gainful employment. Understandably, in the last twenty years, the journal has occasionally lost momentum. Each time it has been revived by a new cohort of editors. This issue is the first product of another revitalization of the journal. MARS is at a point where innovation is needed to publish a stronger offering of sociological thought and research. We want to outline the changes being considered and to ask for your suggestions.

Content

There is some indication that past editors have thought to give the journal an identity by narrowing the content it carried. We have discussed this option, but realize that the next editors would more than likely be enthusiastic about different specialties than we. A specialized journal might attract a committed readership and contributors, but it would be unlikely to maintain editorial enthusiasm over the years. It should not exclude the interests of future potential editors and contributors. Our first resolve, then, is to reaffirm that this is a general journal; we seek diverse contents. We are committed to keeping the journal open to the full range of issues, specialties, and perspectives engaged by sociologists.

The journal also, however, must harness the particular enthusiasm and work through the personal network of each who are willing to give time as editors. We will farm out the editing of sections to persons who will seek and draw together contributions in the field they want presented in the journal. The sections will appear in the journal for one or a few succeeding issues and then give way to other sections organized by new editors. Presently, sections on "social movements," "authoritarianism," and "American social thought" are underway.

Social Thought and Research

Many who have learned and taught sociology at Kansas see it as a field of distinguished ideas. It makes sense for a journal associated with such a

department to emphasize social theory. We want to do so in a balanced way. We encourage submissions from writers and proposals from prospective editors of special sections which examine and extend social thought. We do not want, however, to discourage submissions of reports of empirical research. We hope to hear from writers who wish to convey empirical research results, including historical pieces, equally with those treating topics theoretically. We will signal this by asking the Department to rename the journal *Social Thought and Research*. Our intention is featured as a subtitle and running head in this issue.

Formats

We believe that opening the journal to unconventional formats will help to revitalize it. Certainly this will broaden the range of sociologists who will be in a position to make submissions to the journal. We believe that it will also make the journal more interesting and valuable to its readers. We suppose that a research report that meets all of the highest conventional expectations -- a razor-sharp problem, an up-to-date literature review, the most sophisticated appropriate techniques of analysis, a modest length -- probably will be submitted to *ASR* or *AJS* rather than to us. We are convinced, however, that there is sociological writing of substance that should be published even though it lacks some aspect of the appearance or format favored by "flagship" journals. By breaking out of typical molds of sociological publication, we hope such work will be submitted to us for review and publication.

We even suppose that truly useful sociological pieces already exist, but remain unpublished because they lack something insisted upon by emulators of the formats favored by *ASR*, *AJS*, and *ST*. A report of empirical research can be valuable even though it lacks a current or comprehensive literature review and sophisticated statistical analyses. Analytically-guided description that does not presume to test or propound generalizations still enriches sociological discourses. Clarity can be as valuable as novelty. We venture to think that most sociologists have written, thought through, or at least know of something of genuine interest and value that remains unpublished because it is not "finished" or is not expressed in a conventional journal-article format. And, we will do our best to have the imagination and flexibility to publish such unconventionally-packaged ideas and findings.

Sources

Informative, exciting sociology will be brought to print in several ways. Able advisors and teachers can speak well about what they think. We think that a judicious selection of interviews can give precious immediate access to scholarly observations and wisdom. For future issues, we have conducted

interviews with two distinguished scholars from Kansas State University -- Professor Harold Orbach talking about G. H. Mead and Professor Franz Samelson reflecting on authoritarianism. We would like to hear of your proposals for interview subjects, particularly people in or visiting our region.

The journal is in the position to publish informal essays on sociological standpoints, the significance of research findings, or the calling(s) of our discipline. We would like the opportunity to discuss, encourage, and review such essays for publication. Essays artfully clarifying what sociology was, is, can or should be and those conveying lessons to be drawn from a particular strand of research are equally solicited.

The difficulties and time needed to transform some theses and dissertations into an article format is well known. Available abstracts only inconveniently lead us to dissertations which too often do not have the information we seek. We hope that opening the pages of the journal to extended précis and excerpts of dissertations (and theses) will tap a reservoir of informative sociology. If lacking the conventional article's concise, complete argument, the dissertation material we will seek to publish excerpts or overviews that coherently convey the sense of the larger manuscripts they represent. We also seek selections from or overviews of other sorts of unpublished manuscripts, including those of historical interest. We have obtained permission, for example, to excerpt in an upcoming issue an unpublished research report, "The World of Youthful Drug Use," written in 1967 by Herbert Blumer.

We also seek translations of previously untranslated texts by leading sociologists. Substantial work by Weber, Durkheim, Simmel and other well-known writers remains unavailable in English. Well framed by a translator's introduction, the work of less-well-known writers is just as welcome. We encourage the submission of translated articles or chapters and even fragments or letters addressing sociological issues.

We encourage proposals for review essays which treat several related publications. It is not essential that the works treated be recent publications. Reviews in the form of appreciations (or deprecations) of works (old or new) that have provided significant points of reference for the thinking of the writer are encouraged. Reconsiderations of good work insufficiently noted in present literatures also will be welcomed. From our standpoint, if it bears on important sociological issues, a critical review of a series of articles or even of one major article would be a valuable contribution to sociological discourse that we would be well-served to publish.

This journal can serve as a "first forum." We hope that it will be a place to publish early in the life of an idea, in the trajectory of a line of research or

in an academic career. Early versions of papers, perhaps of a form and length prepared for meeting presentation, can be published here before their heft and style are fully worked to ASR dimensions.

We ask for your help to bring good social thought and research from unconventional sources into print. Please excavate writings to submit, volunteer to draw together a section in your area of expertise, suggest a wise interviewee, propose a review, or tell a friend.

The editors would like to thank the faculty and graduate students at the University of Kansas, the editorial board members and the contributors to this issue for assisting in this transitional year. We would also like to thank Peggy Palmer at the University of Kansas Printing Services and Chanette Kirby, reference librarian at the University of Kansas for their assistance with this issue.

CARL SCHMITT - THE HOBBSIAN OF THE 20TH CENTURY?*

JACOB ALS THOMSEN
University of Roskilde, Denmark

MARS/Social Thought & Research, 1997, Vol. 20, No. 1-2

Introduction

Undoubtedly Carl Schmitt should be regarded as one on the most significant political thinkers of the twentieth century - and certainly one of the most controversial. As one of the leading legal scholars and most profound conservative intellectuals of Weimar Germany Schmitt enjoyed in the 1920s a reputation far beyond the borders of Germany. A brilliant stylist and a truly original thinker whose critique of the ideas and institutions of liberal democracy came to fascinate generations of political thinkers of the right as well as of the left, amongst others: Leo Strauss,¹ Hans J. Morgenthau² Walter Benjamin,³ Karl Mannheim, Otto Kirchheimer, Franz Neuman, Herbert Marcuse and Jürgen Habermas.⁴

* Direct all correspondence to Jacob Als Thomsen, Department of History and Social Theory, University of Roskilde, Denmark.

¹ On the relation between Leo Strauss and Carl Schmitt see Heinrich Meier, *Carl Schmitt and Leo Strauss: the hidden dialogue* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995).

² On Morgenthau's relation to Schmitt see "Fragment of an Intellectual Autobiography: 1904-1932," in Kenneth Thompson, Robert J. Myers (ed.), *Truth and Tragedy: A Tribute to Hans J. Morgenthau*, (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Books, 1984), pp. 15-16.

³ On Walter Benjamin's relation to Schmitt see Samuel Weber, "Taking Exception to Decision: Walter Benjamin and Carl Schmitt," in *diacritics* 22, nos. 3-4, Fall-Winter, 1992, pp. 5-18.

⁴ On Carl Schmitt's influence on the Frankfurter School, see Ellen Kennedy, "Carl Schmitt and the Frankfurter School," in *Telos*, Number 71, Spring 1987, pp. 37-66, and the comments to this article by Martin Jay, Alfons Söllner and Ulrich K. Preuss in the same issue. *Telos* made a following special issue on Schmitt (*Telos*, Number 72, Summer 1987).