



WOODROW WILSON
INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS

JAMES H. BILLINGTON, DIRECTOR

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION BUILDING WASHINGTON D.C. 20560
TELEPHONE 202/381 5613 CABLE WILCEN

October 10, 1974

Re: Dr. Peter H. Smith

Lic. Danial Cosio Villegas
Apartado Postal M-2123
Mexico, 1, D.F. MEXICO

Dear Lic. Villegas:

The person named above has applied for a fellowship at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars to undertake the attached study proposal and has submitted your name as one well qualified to evaluate the application.

We would appreciate it if you would write to us, confidentially, and as fully as you are willing, with your opinions of the applicant's intellectual capacity, experience and ability to accomplish the proposed study; of the likelihood that the applicant would contribute personally to the creation of a lively center; and of the importance of the work which is proposed.

The advisers and trustees responsible for the final selection of fellows to whom appointments will be offered will be most grateful for your help.

Sincerely,

Michael J. Lacey
Assistant Director

Enclosure

P.S. We are on a very tight schedule, and your prompt reply would be much appreciated.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

William J. Baroody, Chairman Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Vice Chairman
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WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION BUILDING WASHINGTON D.C. 20560 U.S.A.

PHONE: (202) 381-5613

CABLE: WILCEN

APPLICATION FOR FELLOWSHIP

PLEASE TYPE OR PRINT THROUGHOUT

PERSONAL DATA

1 SMITH Peter Hopkinson
LAST NAME FIRST MIDDLE

2 1806 Jefferson St. Madison Wisconsin 53711
NUMBER AND STREET CITY STATE ZIP CODE

USA (608)255-0501 (608)263-2339
COUNTRY HOME TELEPHONE (U.S.A.) OFFICE TELEPHONE (U.S.A.)

3 34 1/17/40 Brooklyn NY USA
AGE DATE OF BIRTH PLACE OF BIRTH CITIZENSHIP

4 If English is not your native language, (it is)
(a) indicate your degree of fluency in English, using Excellent, Good, Fair or Poor:

READING SPEAKING WRITING

(b) What language would you use in writing the final product proposed in this application?

(c) If answer to (b) is language other than English, would you be willing to prepare an article-length English summary of your work?

FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

5 Fellowship desired from 1975 August to 1976 August
YEAR MONTH YEAR MONTH

6 Give capsule summary of project you wish to undertake at WWICS:

A study of the social background and career patterns of political leaders (or "elites") in Mexico since 1900, data which I would interpret as a case study for the illumination of (a) the character and dynamics of a stable one-party regime and (b) the process and results of mass-based revolution. I plan to employ two analytical perspectives -- historical and cross-national. A critical part of the project, as explained in the accompanying description, entails a systematic comparison of elite structures in Mexico with those of Spain, Turkey, and possibly other countries.

7 A full description of proposed project should be typed on separate sheets (single-spaced, with applicant's name at top of each page) and appended to this application. This description should be concise but of sufficient length to convey (a) background, nature and importance of the study, (b) specific objectives, (c) methods to be employed, (d) relevance of Washington area resources, and (e) any public policy implications. Applicants should bear in mind that proposals may be reviewed by persons who have no special expertise in subject under discussion. Accordingly, it is important that project descriptions be formulated in the clearest possible way. Specialized concepts should be defined and technical terminology kept to a minimum.

8 What portion of the project you describe would you expect to complete at WWICS? Completion of research and all the writing; I hope to finish a book-length manuscript by the end of the year.

PROFESSIONAL/OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 9 List current position first. If title does not convey nature of responsibilities, describe these briefly. If necessary, continue on separate sheet.

DATES	ORGANIZATION	LOCATION	POSITION/ACTIVITY
1972-present	Univ. of Wisconsin	Madison WI	Professor of History
1969-1972	Univ. of Wisconsin	Madison WI	Associate Professor
1968-1969	Univ. of Wisconsin	Madison WI	Assistant Professor
1966-1968	Dartmouth College	Hanover NH	Assistant Professor
1972-73	Institute for Advanced Study	Princeton NJ	Visiting Member
1969-70	El Colegio de México	Mexico City	Visiting Researcher

- 10 Would you return to your present position following a fellowship appointment? yes
- If not, please explain _____

PUBLICATIONS/WRITINGS

- 11 List books (title, publisher and date), articles and other writings (full reference). Indicate which of these publications or writings you consider most pertinent to this application. Use and attach separate sheet if necessary. If possible, forward one or two samples of writings most pertinent to this application.

See attached sheet. Copies of the most pertinent writings are enclosed.

EDUCATION/HONORS

- 12 List in reverse chronological order all educational and professional schools attended above the secondary school level.

INSTITUTION	DEGREE(S)	DATE	FIELD OF SPECIALIZATION
Inter-University Consortium for Political Research	none	6/68-8/68	Quantitative historical data analysis
Columbia University	MA, PhD	9/61-12/66	Latin American history, Latin American studies
University of California (Berkeley)	none	6/64-8/64	Latin American studies
Harvard College	BA	9/57-6/61	History and literature (US)

- 13 List academic/scientific and other honors received. (excluding doctoral fellowships)

DATE	HONOR(S)
6/61	Harvard BA magna cum laude
1967 and 1969-70	Research grants from the Social Science Research Council and American Council of Learned Societies
1969 and 1974	Research grants from the American Philosophical Society
1969	William Henry Kieckhofer Memorial Teaching Award, University of Wisconsin
1972-73	Research grants from the American Council of Learned Societies, the Institute for Advanced Study, and the National Endowment for the Humanities
1973	Elected to Board of Editors, <u>Hispanic American Historical Review</u>
1974	Appointed to SSRC/ACLS Joint Committee on Latin American Studies

FAMILY

- 14 Would members of your immediate family accompany and stay with you in Washington? yes
If so, list name and citizenship of spouse and/or name and citizenship of accompanying children.
Non-U.S. applicants should also list date and place of birth of accompanying dependents.

NAME	PLACE OF BIRTH	CITIZENSHIP	DATE OF BIRTH
Mary Grant Smith	Denver, Colorado	USA	6/6/40
Jonathan Yeardley Smith	Madison WI	USA	11/28/68
Peter Hopkinson Smith II	Madison WI	USA	1/21/72

ELITES, REVOLUTION, AND AUTHORITARIANISM:
POLITICAL RECRUITMENT IN MEXICO, 1900-1971

One of the most pervasive phenomena in the modern political world is authoritarianism -- regimes characterized by "limited pluralism," identifiably and analytically distinct from democratic or totalitarian types of rule.¹ Well over a third of the contemporary nation-states, mostly in the developing regions, fall into the authoritarian category² -- and this fact alone would seem to call for intensive research. Nevertheless, despite the obvious importance of the problem, we know relatively little about the origins, dynamics, and stability (or instability) of such regimes. There is a particularly urgent need for empirical research to test, refine, and amplify hypotheses that now exist.

Toward this end I propose to study the process of political transition in twentieth-century Mexico. The country and the period offer two major advantages. First, Mexico provides an opportunity to explore the creation and operation of a dominant-party authoritarian regime that appears to be both stable and under civilian control -- a conspicuous exception to political patterns elsewhere in Latin America, and possibly a prototype for changes in other parts of the world.³ Second, the Mexican system developed in the aftermath of an extended, violent, ultimately mass-based Revolution (1910-20). It is therefore possible to examine, with considerable perspective, the results of revolution, and thus investigate dynamic processes of change. In sum, my research proposal concentrates on two related themes: (1) the origins and character of authoritarianism, and (2) the political sociology of postrevolutionary society.

The empirical part of my research would focus on a central question: Who rules? If authoritarianism consists of limited pluralism, it then becomes necessary to determine who falls on which side of the limits -- who does (and does not) have the functional right to organize and compete for power.⁴ A straightforward way of confronting this issue is to examine the structure and composition of dominant elites. Who belongs to the elites? What is the basis of power? And how has the make-up of the elites changed over time?

Applying these questions to Mexico, I plan to utilize three distinct analytical strategies: statistical measurement of trends over time, detailed explication of selected individual careers, and cross-national comparison.

Strategy 1 (Statistical Analysis)

The first approach involves an empirical study of the social background and career patterns of 6,302 people who held national political office in Mexico at any time between 1900 and 1971. The data, which I gathered in 1969-71 and have since put into machine-readable form, contains (incomplete) information on such items as: date of birth, place of birth, level of education, place of education, occupation(s), and the character and sequence of political offices held. I would employ the data in roughly the following fashion:

7. RESEARCH PLANS (cont.)

Peter H. Smith

Q₁ : What have been the social prerequisites for gaining high political office in Mexico, and how have they changed over time? To pinpoint the chronology of change (if any), I would trace secular trends in the incidence of salient characteristics (e.g., urbanization of birthplace, educational background, occupations) of officeholders under each presidential regime. More important, I would also compare the social attributes of three officeholding cohorts -- the "prerevolutionary generation" (1900-10), the "revolutionary generation" (1917-40), and the "postrevolutionary generation" (1946-71) -- with the literate adult male population as depicted in appropriate national censuses.

Q₂ : Among the people who have gained entrance to the national elite, what have been the social correlates of success? Have individuals from certain kinds of backgrounds tended to get higher on the political ladder than others, and has this relationship changed over time? Correlation coefficients and path analysis (an extension of the statistical technique known as multiple regression) should furnish clear evidence here.

Q₃ : Have political offices been linked into institutional pathways to power, and have the routes to relative prominence changed over time? What have been the modal shapes of political careers? For this problem I plan to study interpositional transition matrices, drawing upon elementary Markov-chain models and probability techniques.

Q₄ : Once people gain access to the political elites, how long have they stayed? Has the rate of continuity changed over time? There are various ways of measuring continuity -- most simply, perhaps, by the percentage of people in specific elites who had appeared in previous elite cohorts. I have already utilized this method.⁵

Strategy 2 (Individual Careers)

In view of the expectedly weak connection between social background and success in achieving high office and the ambiguous relationship between interpositional mobility and high office (already documented for the post-1946 generation),⁶ I suspect that an understanding of the means to power requires a different form of analysis -- specifically, intensive examination of the background and careers of selected individuals who appear to represent major political types (the typology as yet to be constructed). This way I would hope to uncover the factors of political mobility which lie outside the realm of my statistical data, discern the varied bases of political authority (or success), and explore the mechanisms of political ascent. I intend to survey the varied and changing roles of several crucial elements: friendships, real or fictive kinship networks, marital patterns, economic ties, non-elite support, and the multiple uses of violence (or threats of violence). This would be a new phase of research, not yet begun, and I would expect to rely on diverse sources: biographies, memoirs, newspapers, and, if I am able to make a trip to Mexico, personal interviews with active and retired politicians.

Strategy 3 (Cross-national Comparison)

With the findings on Mexico in hand, I would then like to make some cross-national comparisons in order to isolate, and hopefully explain, similarities and differences in the processes of political recruitment and promotion. Does Mexico represent a truly "unique" case, as some observers

have implied? Do political elites in Mexico share common characteristics with dominant groups in other authoritarian regimes? How do recruitment and promotion processes in authoritarian polities differ from those in democratic and totalitarian systems?

In keeping with the conceptual intent of my proposal, I plan to locate cases for comparison along two separate dimensions: the occurrence of a modern, popular revolution and the type of political system. Aside from Mexico, my tentative choices include: the twentieth-century United States; Spain under Franco; Argentina since 1930; Turkey, primarily under Ataturk; postwar Yugoslavia; and the Soviet Union, especially during the Stalinist era. The rationale for selection is set forth in the following table:

<u>Type of System</u>	<u>Popular Revolution</u>	
	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>
Democratic	USA	--
Authoritarian	Spain, Argentina	Mexico, Turkey, Yugoslavia
Totalitarian	--	USSR

Of course the categorization is crude, and there is room for disagreement on the location of individual countries. (Spain's Civil War might have been tantamount to "revolution." Turkey has moved from one-party rule to a multi-party system with many "democratic" features; but why Turkey and not Mexico?) The resulting comparisons would not provide rigorous controls on all likely intervening variables. And it may prove necessary to reduce the number of countries, in which case I would probably pick Turkey and Spain. Despite these and other difficulties, however, I firmly believe the attempt should be made; it could become the most important part of my project.

Like Strategy 2, this phase of the research would be entirely new. I have begun to build up a bibliography in this area, and the amount of available literature is impressive, but that is all I have done at this time:

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This would be primarily an academic study. Its policy implications would be both modest and indirect -- but also profound. For in a way, the project would help establish a basis for evaluating and anticipating (a) the outcomes of revolution and (b) the durability of authoritarian regimes. The sheer frequency of these phenomena, if nothing else, should furnish self-explanatory evidence for the need to comprehend them.

What I am seeking in this application is a chance to do research and writing. Washington would be an excellent place for the research, especially regarding the cross-national comparisons. And the Woodrow Wilson Center offers an ideal environment for writing, discussion, and the development of ideas. Given the opportunity, I believe I could finish a book manuscript by August 1976.

NOTES

1. See Juan J. Linz, "An Authoritarian Regime: Spain," most easily consulted in Mass Politics: Studies in Political Sociology, ed. Erik Allardt and Stein Rokkan (New York: The Free Press, 1970), pp. 251-83 and 374-81.
2. According to Jean Blondel, who does not follow Linz's definitions, about 30 percent of the world's political systems were "authoritarian" as of 1972 -- and another 30 percent were "populist" (including Mexico). Blondel, Comparing Political Systems (New York: Praeger, 1972), Appendix.
3. See Melvin Croan, "Is Mexico the Future of East Europe: Institutional Adaptability and Political Change in Comparative Perspective," in Authoritarian Politics in Modern Society: The Dynamics of Established One-Party Systems, ed. Samuel P. Huntington and Clement H. Moore (New York: Basic Books, 1970), pp. 451-83.
4. Juan Linz has based a typology of authoritarian regimes upon this same question. Linz, "Notes toward A Typology of Authoritarian Regimes," paper presented at the 1972 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association (Washington, D.C.).
5. Peter H. Smith, "Continuity and Turnover within the Mexican Political Elite," paper presented at the IVth International Congress of Mexican Studies, October 1973 (Santa Monica, California).
6. Peter H. Smith, "Making It in Mexico: Aspects of Political Mobility since 1946," paper presented at the 1974 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association (Chicago, Ill.).

Books

Politics and Beef in Argentina: Patterns of Conflict and Change (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1969); and Spanish translation under the title Carne y política en la Argentina (Buenos Aires: Editorial Paidós, 1969).

Argentina and the Failure of Democracy: Conflict among Political Elites, 1904-1955 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974). Spanish translation forthcoming.

New Approaches to Latin American History, coedited with Richard Graham (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974); includes own chapter on "Political Legitimacy in Spanish America."

Chapters in Books

"Academia and Politics: The Roles of U.S. Universities," in David S. Smith, ed., Prospects for Latin America (New York: International Fellows Program Policy Series, Columbia University, 1970), 35-87; and Spanish translation under the title "El papel de las universidades norteamericanas en Latinoamérica," Anglia, (1971), 93-132.

"History," in Robert S. Byars and Joseph L. Love, eds., Quantitative Social Science Research on Latin America (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973), 14-61.

"The Making of the Mexican Constitution," tentatively scheduled for publication in William O. Aydelotte, ed., The Dimensions of Parliamentary History (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975?).

Articles

"Politics and Sainthood: Biography by Cotton Mather," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., 20, no. 2 (April 1963), 186-206.

"Development and Dictatorship in Nicaragua, 1950-1960," The American Economist, 7, no. 1 (June 1963), 24-32.

"The Latin American Press and the Space Race," Journal of Inter-American Studies, 6, no. 4 (October 1964), 549-572.

"The Image of a Dictator: Gabriel García Moreno," Hispanic American Historical Review, 45, no. 4 (February 1965), 1-24; republished in Lewis Hanke, ed., Readings in Latin American History (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1966), II, 180-198.

"Los radicales argentinos y la defensa de los intereses ganaderos, 1916-1930," Desarrollo económico, 7, no. 25 (abril-junio de 1967), 795-829.

"Social Mobilization, Political Participation, and the Rise of Juan Perón," Political Science Quarterly, 84, no. 1 (March 1969), 30-49.

"Notes on Quantitative History: Federal Expenditure and Social Change in Mexico since 1910," co-authored with Thomas E. Skidmore, Latin American Research Review, 7, no. 1 (Spring 1970), 71-85.

"The Social Base of Peronism," Hispanic American Historical Review, 52, no. 1 (February 1972), 55-73.

"La política dentro de la Revolución: el congreso constituyente de 1916-1917," Historia Mexicana (87), 22, no. 3 (enero-marzo 1973), 363-95. Originally presented, in English, at the December 1971 meeting of the American Historical Association, New York.

"Quantification and Latin American History," Historical Methods Newsletter, 6, no. 2 (March 1973), 53-62.

"Inferencia ecológica y las elecciones argentinas de 1946," Desarrollo económico, 14, no. 54 (julio-setiembre 1974).

Papers

"A Political Perspective: The Argentine Beef Industry, 1909-1933," presented at the Agricultural History Conference of the American Historical Association convention in New York, December 1966.

"The Breakdown of Democracy in Argentina, 1916-1930," presented at the Seventh World Congress of Sociology, Varna, Bulgaria, September 1970; revised version presented to follow-up conference at Yale University, December 1973, and tentatively scheduled for publication in a book to be edited by Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan.

"Perón Confronts the U.S.: Some Implications of Diversified Dependency," presented at the Symposium on Argentine-United States Relations in the 1970's, University of Nebraska, October 1973.

"Continuity and Turnover within the Mexican Political Elite, 1900-1971," presented at the IVth International Congress of Mexican Studies, Santa Monica, California, October 1973; scheduled for publication in the conference proceedings.

"Making It in Mexico: Aspects of Political Mobility since 1946," presented at the 1974 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, August-September 1974.

Book Reviews

Have reviewed books for the American Historical Review, Computers and the Humanities, Desarrollo económico, Foro internacional, the Hispanic American Historical Review, the Journal of Economic History, and the Political Science Quarterly.

Mr. Michael J. Sacey
Woodrow Wilson International
Center for Scholars
Smithsonian Institution Building
Washington D.C. ~~20560~~ 20560.
E. U. A.

Dear Mr. Sacey:

As I was traveling in the U. S.
your letter of October 20 reached me
only today.

Peter H. ✓ I know very well Profes-
sor Smith since he comes often to
Mexico and he always calls at El
Colegio de Mexico, an institution I am
associated with. I have known Professor
Smith's research project during ^{all} ~~its~~

different stages.

So, I can ^{assure} ~~assure~~ you the

Certainly deserves the fellowship he (2)
has applied for, not only because he
is a serious ^{and} ~~and~~ hard working reaser-
cher, but because his project will be
of great importance to both fields.
I am an North American ~~historian~~
historian and political scientist,

Sincerely,

R.C.V.

a panther —

México, D.F., October 28, 1974.

Mr. Michael J. Lacey
Woodrow Wilson International
Center for Scholars
Smithsonian Institution Building
Washington, D.C. 20560
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Lacey:

As I was traveling in the U. S. your letter of October 10 reached me only today.

I know very well Professor Peter H. Smith since he comes often to Mexico and he always calls at El Colegio de México, an institution I am associated with. I have known Professor Smith's research project during all its different stages.

So, I can assure you he certainly deserves the fellowship he has applied for, not only because he is a serious and hard working researcher, but because his project will be of great significance to both Mexican and North American historians and political scientists.

Sincerely,

Daniel Cosío Villegas
Apartado Postal M-2123
México 1, D.F.

DCV/meh.-