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Government and Politics of the United States

Third Edition

Nigel Bowles

and

Robert K. McMahon

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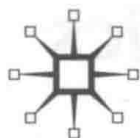
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**Government and Politics of the
United States**



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Dedicated to the memory of

Gavin F. Cameron
1969–2007

Reader in Macroeconomics, University of Oxford
Friend and Scholar

List of Abbreviations

AAA	Agricultural Adjustment Act
AARP	American Association of Retired Persons
ABA	American Bar Association
ABM	Anti-Ballistic Missile
ACA	Affordable Care Act
ACDA	Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
AFDC	Aid to Families with Dependent Children
AFL-CIO	American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
AHIPAC	American Hellenic Institute Public Affairs Committee
AID	Agency for International Development
AMA	American Medical Association
APSA	Parties Committee of the American Political Science Association
ARRA	American Recovery and Reinvestment Bill
ATRA	American Taxpayer Relief Act
BCRA	Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform Act
BICA	Budget and Impoundment Control Act
BOB	Bureau of the Budget
CBO	Congressional Budget Office
CEA	Council of Economic Advisors
CEQ	Council on Environmental Quality
CINC	Commanders-in-Chief
CPG	Conditional Party Government
CPSC	Consumer Product Safety Commission
CREEP	Committee to Re-elect the President
DEA	Drug Enforcement Administration
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
DNC	Democratic National Committee
DNI	Director of National Intelligence
DPC	Domestic Policy Council
ECV	electoral college vote
EEOC	Equal Employment Opportunities Commission
EOA	Economic Opportunity Act
EOP	Executive Office of the President
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
EPC	Economic Policy Council

ESEA	Elementary and Secondary Education Act
FAA	Federal Aviation Administration
FAS	Foreign Agricultural Service
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FCC	Federal Communications Commission
FDA	Food and Drug Administration
FDIC	Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation
FEC	Federal Election Commission
FECA	Federal Election Campaign Act
FNSEA	Fédération Nationale des Syndicats d'Exploitants d'Agricoles (National Federation of Agricultural Holders' Unions)
FOMC	Federal Open Market Committee
FSO	Foreign Service Officer
GAO	Government Accountability Office
GDP	gross domestic product
GNP	gross national product
GOP	Grand Old Party
GPRA	Government Performance and Results Act
GRS	General Revenue Sharing
GS	General Schedule
HAVA	Help America Vote Act
HUD	Housing and Urban Development
ICC	Interstate Commerce Commission
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service
IRS	Internal Revenue Service
JCS	Joint Chiefs of Staff
LIBOR	London Interbank Overnight Lending Rate
MBA	Master's in Business Administration
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored Persons
NAM	National Association of Manufacturers
NCLB	No Child Left Behind Act
NDAA	National Defense Authorization Act
NDCP	Office of National Drug Control Policy
NEA	National Educational Association
NEC	National Economic Council
NGA	National Governors' Association
NOW	National Organization for Women
NPR	National Performance Review
NRA	National Rifle Association
NSA	National Security Adviser
NSC	National Security Council
NSS	National Security Staff

NYA	National Youth Administration
OA	Office of Administration
OASDI	Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance system
OBRA	Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act
OEO	Office of Economic Opportunity
OMB	Office of Management and Budget
OPM	Office of Personal Management
OHSA	Occupational Health and Safety Administration
OSTP	Office of Science and Technology
PAC	political action committee
PACE	Professional Administrative Career Examination
PBO	performance-based organization
PWA	Public Works Administration
RNC	Republican National Committee
SALT I	Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty
SEC	Securities and Exchange Commission
SES	Senior Executive Service
TANF	Temporary Aid to Needy Families
TARP	Troubled Assets Relief Programme
TVA	Tennessee Valley Authority
UAW	United Automotive Workers
UCA	unanimous consent agreement
USAF	United States Air Force
USCC	United States Catholic Conference United States Chamber of Commerce
USIAUS	Information Agency
USNCB	US National Central Bureau
USTR	Office of the United States Trade Representative
VP	Vice-President
WHO	White House Office
WTO	World Trade Organization

Preface to the Third Edition and Acknowledgements

Three years ago Nigel Bowles generously allowed me to begin work on an updated version of his book. His editor at Palgrave, Steven Kennedy, suggested it would be no more than a 'light revision'. I offer my gratitude to Nigel for his constant support both as friend and mentor, and for his patience in reading many versions of every chapter in this book. I remain hugely grateful to Steven for his invaluable editorial advice, encouragement and support (despite his idea of a 'light revision' differing vastly from mine). I would also like to thank the patient and very helpful anonymous review employed by the publishers for all of his or her excellent advice on earlier drafts of the chapters.

The biggest debt owed is to my wife Claire for her constant love and encouragement, especially during the many evenings when she had to put our four children to bed because 'Daddy is working'. Without her help, and the welcome distractions from Molly, Oran, Noah and Jonah, this book would never have been finished. We make a very good team in which I seem to sit down quite a bit more than she does, and where she keeps all of us moving forwards.

In Oxford, Desmond King has been a mentor since 1994 when I sat in his M.Phil seminars, and a friend since 2003 when Molly McMahon and Samuel King were born. Other friends have supported me in numerous ways and they include: David Myatt and Charlotte Vinnicombe, Christopher Wallace, Stephen Fisher and Heather Hamill, Richard and Maria Nichol, and Trevor McCrisken.

At Radley College (where acronyms rule) I have been supported by Andrew Reekes over many years, and by Angus McPhail who has fostered a spirit of intellectual energy in which staff and students can thrive. SR, PRW, TGE, PWG, SRG, ISY, DP, SB and KAM have provided intellectual support in many ways. I remain particularly grateful to TSJ for her constant help, and to my friends and comrades in the Politics Department – Mark Jewell, Timothy Lawson and Matthew Walker (who has been a fantastic addition to the self-labelled 'Dream Team'). David Anderson has built a new Politics Department of which even my good friend Jesse Knight at Charterhouse would be envious. Gareth Hughes and Rachel Batley were kind enough to arrange their wonderful wedding in July 2013 to give Claire and me a weekend away from the children – for which we are grateful (and WOCM ensured that the music worked well).

My parents Rita and Kieran, Theresa and Bart, Rebecca and Rachel, and my brother Richard, have always supported me (and one of them let me drive a JCB at the age of six). Without them I would not have had the confidence to write anything at all. I must also thank Claire's parents, Monica and Colin Castling, who have supported us both these last fourteen years in so many ways.

This book is dedicated to the memory of Dr Gavin Fraser Cameron, friend from Nuffield College days, Fellow of Lady Margaret Hall and Reader in Macroeconomics at Oxford who died from Cystic Fibrosis in 2007 while awaiting a lung transplant. As his obituary in the *RES Newsletter* of January 2008 so beautifully explained, Gavin was a brilliant scholar and a brilliant friend, and among the people who knew him well 'he was not only respected but loved'. We miss him.

If your editor suggests a 'light revision' be afraid, be very afraid ...

New Year's Eve 2013

ROBERT K. MCMAHON

The authors and publishers would like to thank Voteview.com for kindly giving permission for the use of copyright material for Figure 3.1.

Preface to the First Edition and Acknowledgements

Shortly before the publication of his own textbook, my former supervisor directed me in colourful terms never to agree to write one of my own. Textbooks, he insisted, were regarded by colleagues who had written one of their own as unwelcome competition; by those who had not, as intrinsically unscholarly; and by students, degradingly and dispiritingly, as cribs. Many years later, a senior colleague asked me to write a textbook on United States government. Recalling the warning which I had received some years before from my supervisor, I demurred, but the pugnacious reply suggested that it would be unwise to decline. I warmly acknowledge my great debt to Vincent Wright, (then) editor of the series in which this book appears, former supervisor, unembarrassed purveyor of conflicting advice, friend, and colleague. Without his early warning about the pitfalls of writing a textbook, I should have enjoyed his invitation to write it less than I did. Without his steady guidance and patience over the four years that the book has taken to complete, it would not have appeared. Without his unstinting intellectual support, it would be more deeply flawed than it is.

I am also greatly indebted to Katharine Ellis, David Goldey and Desmond King for their intellectual support, friendship, and many kindnesses. All three read the entire text, and the final draft was immeasurably improved by their critical but constructive observations. Desmond generously read several chapters in more than one draft, for which I am particularly grateful. Alan Ware read the full second draft, and made many helpful suggestions; I thank him most warmly, as I do Malcolm Anderson, Roger Crisp, Ruth Deech, and Michael Hart, each of whom read individual chapters. I also thank Herb Alexander for his assistance with campaign finance data. I am also grateful to other colleagues in the Sub-faculty of Politics at Oxford, especially Tim Hames, Gillian Peele, and Byron Shafer, for the intellectual stimulation of their company and conversation. I also thank Mark Habeeb and Richard Hodder-Williams, from whose writings and conversation on American politics over many years I have gained greatly. Warm thanks are also due to Steven Kennedy at (Palgrave) Macmillan for his professionalism and patience.

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for me some of the questions addressed in this book. I am very grateful to them.

Most of the work for the book was undertaken at Oxford in the libraries of Rhodes House, St Anne's College, and the Law Faculty Library; my thanks are due to the staff of all three libraries, especially to Alan Bell and David Smith, for their kindness and professionalism. I am grateful to the Principal and Fellows of St Anne's College, Oxford, for creating a supportive and stimulating environment in which to read, think and write. In particular, I express my warm thanks to my colleagues in the PPE School, Gabriele Taylor and Terry O'Shaughnessy, for their support. Terry drew my attention to Keynes's note of a conversation with President Roosevelt in 1941; I thank him for it.

Thanks are due to many others but there is space to mention just two. Both, sadly, have departed: Tony Allt, who first introduced me to American political history, and Philip Williams, whose knowledge and understanding of this vast subject were profound, and whose enthusiasm for it was inspirational.

Responsibility for errors of fact or interpretation is mine alone.

NIGEL BOWLES

'The other main criticism ... relates to the organs of government. To the outsider it looks almost incredibly inefficient. One wonders how decisions are ever reached at all. There is no clear hierarchy of authority. The different departments of the Government criticise one another in public and produce rival programmes. There is perpetual internecine warfare between prominent personalities. Individuals rise and fall in general esteem with bewildering rapidity. New groupings of administrative power and influence spring up every day. Members of the so-called Cabinet make public speeches containing urgent proposals which are not agreed as Government policy ... Nothing is ever settled in principle. There is just endless debate and endless sitting around ... Suddenly some drastic, clear-cut decision is reached, by what process one cannot understand, and all the talk seems to have gone for nothing, being a fifth wheel to the coach, the ultimate decision appearing to be largely independent of the immense *parlez-vous*, responsible and irresponsible that had preceded it. Nothing is secret, nothing confidential. The President laughed when I said his method of deceiving the enemy was apparently to publish so much vital information that they would not have the time to read it.'

(John Maynard Keynes, *Collected Writings*, vol. XXIII,
105-k, July 1941)



Map of the United States: State Boundaries and Major Cities



0 100 200 300 miles

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