

Government/AmSts 4041/6121  
Elizabeth Sanders  
Fall 2011: Mon 2:30-4:25 White Hall B-14

Office hours (White 314):  
M:430-5:30+, W 4:30-5:30+; Th 1:30-2:45+  
(& by apt)

## AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

This course will examine the growth and change of the American national state from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the present era. It is concerned with the responses of the national government to changes and pressures originating in society, the economy and the international arena, as well as the state's effect on society, market, ideology, and world politics. The major contending approaches to an understanding of government growth and change see it either as a response to (1) societal pressures or demands via groups, movements, or cultural norms; (2) to changing ideas and cultural norms; (3) the need to rationalize and strengthen capitalism; or (4) a process by which officials within the government themselves craft policies to address emergent problems and build supporting coalitions around these policies. As we examine actual changes in public policy and institutions in reform periods, we will explore these pluralist, cultural, class-based, and state-centered approaches to see which provides a better "fit" with the data. The purpose of different approaches to understanding political change is to answer big questions: How has the distribution of participation and power in the U.S. changed since 1900? Of the commonly recognized major pathologies that political communities experience—economic stagnation, prejudice and discrimination, and war—how do political institutions contribute to the production of, or solution to, these pathologies? Is progress linear, or cyclical (or both)?

After the first two weeks, the course will be divided into three parts, focusing on the three major functions of the national state (whose expansion may prove to have quite different dynamics and supporting coalitions). In order of appearance, they are: the regulatory state, the social welfare state, and the national security state. The theory behind this three-fold segmentation is that the forces shaping regulatory, welfare, and military policy are very different. They enlist different groups in the population, and the agency of Congress, the president, and the courts varies significantly.

There is no final exam for those who keep up with the readings. In lieu of a final, students will write, **weekly, one and a half-two page** (dbl. sp) **essays on the week's readings**, which must be sent to me electronically by 5 pm Saturday night (earlier is fine, too!), and to the rest of the class by 7 pm on Saturday. These will be returned with my comments within the following week. You are allowed to be late with these papers TWICE, but should get them to me no more than a week later to receive credit on those two occasions. You can MISS turning in a paper ONE week, but must do the readings every week. Use your "free pass" wisely and advise me when you decide to take it. Anyone not meeting the weekly paper requirement more than twice will need to take a final in-class exam.

The purpose of the weekly papers is to demonstrate knowledge of, and critical reflection on the readings, in lieu of a comprehensive final; and also to get valuable practice in structured social science writing. (Your analytical writing ability will almost certainly improve substantially by the end of the semester). I will distribute Paper Writing and Essay Construction Pointers the first week. Some guides are already on Blackboard (BB). You should read the writing pointers VERY carefully.

**Class attendance** is required except in case of documented illness or serious personal crisis communicated to me at the time. In event of a serious crisis, call me at home since I might miss your email.

In addition to the weekly essays on the readings, there will be a **final paper of 10-15 pages** (for undergraduates; graduate students will do longer papers) on a topic developed in consultation with me, using both outside and relevant syllabus readings. It is due no later than the first day of final exams. You will need to meet with me (in the office) at least twice for this consultation. I need to know and discuss your topic no later than week 4.

The weekly commentaries on the readings will count for 30% of the grade; oral class participation, for 20%; and the longer paper, for 50%. For those who don't make the weekly paper requirement and thus have to take the final exam, that exam will count for 30% of the grade. Graduate students are expected to read more of the readings than the pages assigned for undergraduates, and/or to sample the optional readings. Undergraduates are **NOT** expected to read the optional works (but may want to consult them for the paper, where relevant).

Most of the readings are articles and chapters on Blackboard; these are indicated by **asterisks** and include some of the *optional* readings as well. **Two books are required:** Small Oxford Press books by Nugent and Rauchway, which were ordered at the book store, and since they are not on BB, they do not carry asterisks. A few copies of three *optional* little Oxford Press books-- Skidelsky on Keynes, Troy on Reagan, and McMahon on the Cold War were also ordered. Finally, I have ordered a few copies of the new Princeton Encyclopedia of American Political History, ed. By Michael Kazin, for optional purchase. For under \$35, you get 662 pages, by hundreds of leading historians/political scientists. Major books will also be on regular reserve at Uris library (look for book chapters under book author or editor's name). Reading is lighter in some weeks than others. Approximate pages of reading (rounded) are in brackets.

Week 1 **Approaches, Concepts, and Goals in APD**

- \*Edward Greenberg, "State Change," Greenberg and Thomas F Mayer, Changes in the State, 11-34 [20]
- \*William Domhoff, "Wealth, Income, and Power," 1-16 (Optional: \*Interview with Domhoff also on BB)  
<http://sociology.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica/power/wealth.html> (retrieved December 15, 2010) [17]
- \*James A. Morone, Hellfire Nation, 1-33, 277-mid 283, 328 (bottom)-331 (top) [40]
- \*Imperialism as Manliness? (with the connivance of female consumers); H-diplo Review [7]
- \*Elizabeth Sanders, Roots of Reform, 1-6 [5]
- \*John Gerring, Party Ideologies in America 3-31 [30]
- \*Herbert Stein, The Fiscal Revolution in America, "Struggle for the Soul of FDR," 91-133 (skim 91-98) [35]

These works introduce varied approaches to the study of APD. Obviously, a field of study that includes all political development will contain a multitude of diverse theoretical perspectives. The seven selections above explain APD as a result of the economic requirements of capitalism and elite interests; an exceptionally religious culture; gender imperatives; social movements interacting with state officials; ideology; and ideas (in the Stein reading, Keynesianism). In your essay, give at least brief notice to all readings, but you may concentrate on a few that most interest you. It is good to compare and contrast the perspectives, and to comment on methods and data used to back up the author's claims. Be skeptical of those claims and evidence. In subsequent essays, recall these different approaches.

Optional Theoretical Readings for Week 1:

- \*Karen Orren & Stephen Skowronek, The Search for American Political Development, 1-13, 19-26 [grads]
- \*Robert Skidelsky, Keynes: The Return of the Master, xv-xxii-28; his conclusion, "Keynes for Today," is also interesting. OR you may want to read more in two other excellent new books on Keynes and the influence of his ideas: Skidelsky's little Oxford paperback, *Keynes: A Very Short Introduction*; or British historian Peter Clarke's *Keynes: The Rise, Fall, and Return of the 20th Century's Most Influential Economist (if you read one of these, you can skip Stein or Morone)*.
- \*Elizabeth Sanders, "Historical Institutionalism," in R. A. W. Rhodes, Sarah A. Binder, and Bert A. Rockman, The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions (Oxford University Press: 2006)
- \* Kristin L. Hoganson, Fighting for American Manhood, 1-29
- \*David B. Robertson, The Constitution and America's Destiny (fine anal. of the founding; pp 1-29 on BB )
- \* Keith Whittington, Political Foundations of Judicial Supremacy (at least xi-27, 124-34, 285-96)

- \*Paul Pierson, "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics," *APSR*, June, '00, 251-66
- \*Robert Higgs, *Crisis and Leviathan*, 3-34 (interesting early statement of the "crisis ratcheting" effect)
- \*Thomas R. Dye, *Who's Running America* (2002 ed.), 1-18, 135-39, 172-75, 182-83, 210-11

**Week 2            After Leviathan: The Legacy of the Civil War for the American State**

- \*Joseph Lowndes, Julie Novkov, Dorian Warren, eds., *Race and American Political Development*, 1-21 [20]
- \*Brian Balough, *A Government Out of Sight*, 1-17 [20]
- \* Dennis W. Johnson, "The Promise of Land," in *Laws that Shaped America*, 75-104 [30]
- \*Richard Bense, *Yankee Leviathan*, 1-17, 114, 303-12; and  
     \**The Political Economy of American Industrialization*, xvii-xxii, 1-18 [40]
- \*Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State*, 39-46 [5]
- \* William Novak, "The Myth of the Weak American State," *Am. Historical R* (June 08), 752-72 [20]

Optional Reading:

- \*Charles W. McCurdy, "Justice Field and the Jurisprudence of Government-Business Relations," *Journal of American History* 61 (1975), 970-1105.

**The Regulatory State**

**Week 3            Progressive Era State Building**

- Walter Nugent, *Progressivism: a Very Short Introduction*, 1-107, 120-27 (skimming 56-73) [c.120]
- \*Daniel Carpenter, *The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy*, 1-25 (subhead), 255-270 sh [40]
- \*Robert G. McCloskey, *The American Supreme Court*, 91-120 [30]

Optional Reading:

- \*Keith E. Whittington and Daniel P. Carpenter, "Executive Power in American Institutional Development," *APSR* Sept. 2003, 495-513
- \*Elizabeth Sanders, "Congress and Regulation in the Progressive Era," in Julian Zelizer, ed., *The American Congress*, 337-55

**Week 4            The New Deal**

- Eric Rauchway, *The Great Depression and the New Deal*, 8-131 [123]
- \*Ira Katznelson, Kimberly Geiger, and Daniel Kreider, "Limiting Liberalism: The Southern Veto in Congress," *PSQ*. 108 #2 ('93), 283-306 [20]

Optional Reading

- William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*
- \*Theda Skocpol and Kenneth Feingold, "State Capacity and Economic Intervention in the Early New Deal," *Political Science Quarterly* (PSQ), 97 (Summer, 1982), 255-277.
- \*Elizabeth Sanders, "Business, Bureaucracy, and the Bourgeoisie" in Alan Stone and Edward Harpham, *The Political Economy of Public Policy*, 115-141.
- \*John Maynard Keynes, letter to Franklin Roosevelt
- \*Joseph J. Thorndike, *The Fiscal Revolution and Taxation...1929-38* <http://law.duke.edu/journals/lcp>

Week 5-6 [2 wks] The Regulatory Surge of the 1970s...and Deregulation

- \*Paul Charles Milazzo, Unlikely Environmentalists 120-31 and 150-60 [22]
- \*Elizabeth Sanders, "The Regulatory Surge of the 1970s in Historical Perspective," in Elizabeth Bailey, ed., Public Regulation, 117-150 [35]
- \*David B. Robertson, ed., Loss of Confidence, 1-18 [20]
- \*Louis Galambos, "Paying Up: The Price of the Vietnam War," in Brian Balogh, ed., Integrating the Sixties, Special Issue, Journal of Policy History 8, #1 (1996), 166-79. [20]
  
- \*Thomas S. Langston, Ideologues and Presidents, xi-21; end at subhead [25]
- \*Peter M. Benda and Charles H. Levine, "Reagan and the Bureaucracy", in Charles O. Jones, The Reagan Legacy, 102-42 [40]
- \*Byron Daynes and Glen Susman, White House Politics and the Environment, 173-206 [33]
- \*Simon Johnson and James Kwak, Thirteen Bankers, 70-102 (*Optional*: 3-38) [30]
- \* David M. Herszenhorn, "Bill Passed in Senate Broadly Expands Oversight of Wall St.," NYT May 20, 2010

Optional Reading:

- \*Steven Teles, The Rise of the Conservative Legal Movement 1-5, 22-57
- \*Robert Collins, Transforming America 1-27
- \*Marc Eisner, "Presidential Control versus Bureaucratic Power," Am. J. Pol. Sci 34 #1 (1990), 269-87
- \*Charles W. Calomiris, Bank Deregulation in Historical Perspective, xi-xxvii, 334-47
- \*Philip J. Cooper, The War against Regulation (esp. 1-13, 46-169)
- \*Richard A. Harris and Sidney Milkis, The Politics of Regulatory Change, 11-18, 225-77, 336-47

### The Welfare State

Week 7

- \*Rick Ungar, "Congress Passes Socialized Medicine and Mandates Health Insurance -In 1798" [5]
- \*Theda Skocpol, Protecting Soldiers and Mothers, 1-12, 40-41 (skim 13-39 subheads) [15]
- \*Suzanne Mettler, "Social Citizens of Separate Sovereignities," in Sidney M. Milkis and Jerome M. Mileur, The New Deal and the Triumph of Liberalism, 231-71 [40]
- \*Jason Scott Smith, Building the New Deal, 1-20, 232-4, 258-63 [30]
- \*Suzanne Mettler, Soldiers to Citizens , 1-14, 106-20 [30]
- \*Jacob S. Hacker, Divided Welfare State, 1-21, 291-301, 312-14}[change to 1-21, 85-95, 121-23] [35]

Optional Reading:

- \*Eric Rauchway, "Was the New Deal Un-American?" in <http://www.slate.com/formatdynamics/CleanPrintProxy.aspx?unique=1312752514780&pfurl=http://www.slate.com/id/2169744/>
- \*Robert Lieberman, "Private Power & American Democracy: The EEOC & Civil Rights Enforcement"
- \*Ann Shola Orloff, "The Political Origins of America's Belated Welfare State," in Margaret Weir et al, The Politics of Social Policy in the United States, 37-79
- \*Mary Poole, The Segregated Origins of Social Security ( esp. 30-53, on BB)
- Christopher Bonastia, Knocking on the Door: The Fed. Govt's Attempt to Desegregate the Suburbs

Week 8

- \*Paul Frymer, "Acting When Elected Officials Won't," *APSR* 97 (Aug. 2003), 483-99 [35]
- \*Brian D. Feinstein and Eric Schickler, "Platforms and Partners: The Civil Rights Revolution Reconsidered," *Studies in Am. Pol. Dev.* 22 (Spring, 2008), 1-27 [25]
- \*Mary Dudziac, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 1-17, + mid 178-202 [40]
- \*Martha Derthick, "Crossing Thresholds: Federalism in the 1960s." in Brian Balogh, ed., *Integrating the Sixties*, [*Journal of Policy History* 8, #1 (1996), 64-80]. [15]

Optional Reading:

- \* Gerald Rosenberg, *the Hollow Hope*, 39-71, 138-40, 167-69
- \*Kenneth Kersch, *Constructing Civil Liberties* (esp. ch. 3, Labor Rights to Civil rights)
- \*David L. Chappell, "Niebuhrisms and Myrdalities: Intellectual Roots of the CR Mmt..." in Ted Ownby, ed., *The Role of Ideas in the Civil Rights South*, 3-18

Week 9

- \*Edward Berkowitz, "The Great Society," in Julian Zelizer, ed., *The American Congress* 566-83 [20]
- \*Francis F. Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Regulating the Poor*, 183-199, 228-47 [35]
- \*Herbert Stein, *Presidential Economics* cptr 4, 89-122 ("Kennedy & Johnson... Exhausted") [30]
- \*Charles Murray, *Losing Ground*, 56-83, 124-33 [40]
- \* John O'Connor, "US Social Welfare Policy: The Reagan ...Legacy," *Jnl.Soc.Pol* 27('98), 37-61 [25]
- \*Jacob S. Hacker, "the Road to Somewhere: Why Health Reform Happened..." *Perspectives on Politics* v.8 (Sept 2010) 861-76 [15]

Optional Reading:

- \*Andrea Campbell, "Self-Interest, Social Security, and the Distinctive Participation Patterns of Senior Citizens," *American Political Science Review* 96 (Sept., '02), 565-74.
- \*Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding*, 75-100, 128-41, 150-54
- Judith Russell, *Economics, Bureaucracy, and Race* (browse)
- Kevin K. Yuill, *Richard Nixon and the Rise of Affirmative Action* (")

**The National Security State**

Week 10 ( Nov 14)

- \*Skowronek, *Building a New American State*, 213-34 [20]
- \*Bartholomew H. Sparrow, *The Insular Cases*, 1-9 (top) [10]
- \*Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire*, 1-14 [15]
- \*Paul T. McCartney, *Power and Progress*, 182-98 [15]
- \*Michael J. Hogan, *A Cross of Iron*, 1-21, 291-301, 312-14 (can substitute Logevall & Craig) [35]
  
- \*Douglas A. Stuart, "Ministry of Fear: The 1947 National Security Act in Historical & Institutional Context," *International Studies Perspectives*, vol. 4, issue 3 (August 2003), 293-313 [20]
- \*Amy Zegart, "Sept 11 and the Adaptation Failure of Intell. Agencies," *IS* v. 29 (Spr. 2005) [20]

Optional Reading:

Campbell Craig and Fredrik Logevall, *America's Cold War*, esp. chs 1-2.

- \*Shane J. Maddock, Nuclear Apartheid: The Quest for Atomic Supremacy From World War II to the Present (Review/Discussion at <http://www.h-net.org/~diplo/ISSF> | <http://www.issforum.org> )
- \*Theda Skocpol et al, "Patriotic Partnerships," in Ira Katznelson and Martin Shefter, eds., Shaped by War and Trade, 134-71 (scan notes and appendix)
- \*John Fousek, To Lead the Free World: American Nationalism and the Cultural Roots of the Cold War Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 1-25
- \*James T. Sparrow, "Buying Our Boys Back: WWII and the Origins of Fiscal Citizenship"

Week 11

- \*Richard M. Fried, Nightmare in Red, 171-92 [20]
- \*William W. Keller, The Liberals and J. Edgar Hoover, 160-75, 28-36 [25]
- \*Kenneth Osgood, Total Cold War: Eisenhower's Secret Propaganda Battle..., 1-9, 32-53, 366-69 [35]
- \* Jeffrey A. Smith, War and Press Freedom 169-94 [25]
- \*W. Lance Bennett et al, When the Press Fails, 14-29, 48-57 [send class the pdf; BB won't load] [25]
- \*James Pfiffner, Power Shift, 1-12, 67-83 [20]

Optional:

- \* Laura A. Belmonte interview re her book, Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War
- \*Gene Healy, The Cult of the Presidency, 1-33 (skim, as intro to this section) [34]
- Andrew D. Grossman, Neither Dead Nor Red, preface, 1-67, 91-92, 107-29
- \*Marie Gottschalk, "The Prison and the Gallows," 1-17; or Mary F. Katzenstein, et al. "The Dark Side of American Liberalism and Felony Disenfranchisement." *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (2010): 1035-1054.
- Dee Garrison, Bracing for Armageddon

- Week 12
- \*Gregory Hooks, Forging the Military Industrial Complex 1-7, 229-57, 264 [25]
  - \*John Barnard, "American Workers, the Labor Movement and the Cold War" in Robert H. Bremner and Gary W. Reichard, Rehaping America, 115-top 135 [20]
  - \*Kenneth M. Jones, "The Government-Science Complex" in ibid, 326 (third paragraph)-337 [10]
  - \*Daniel Wirls, Buildup, 11- mid 40, 46-55 [40]
  - \*Richard D. Bingham, Industrial Policy American Style , 106-26 [20]
  - \* William Keller, Arm in Arm, 8-15, 84-94 [20]

\*"Top 100 Defense Contractors 2007" <http://www.govexec.com/features/0807-15/080715s3s1.htm>

Optional:

- Peter W. Singer, Corporate Warriors
- \*Aaron L. Friedberg, "Why Didn't the United States Become a Garrison State?" International Security 16, #4 (Spr. 1992), 109-42

- Week 13
- \*John Prados, Presidents' Secret Wars, 9-11, 92-107, 315-24 (top), 396-418, 480-87 [50]
  - \*Daniel Wirls, "Between the Wars," WPSA paper, March, 2005 [skip 11-14] [15]
  - \*"The Dark Side" by Jane Mayer (Rev. by historian Alan Brinkley)
  - \*Sheldon D. Pollack, War, Revenue, and State Building, 257-69, 298-99 [10]
  - \*Stephen M. Walt, "Defense Spending and National Well-Being," Foreign Policy Feb.2, 2011
  - \*Bruce Ackerman, The Decline and Fall of the American Republic, 1-12 [10]

Optional:

\*Rodri Jeffreys-Jones, The CIA and American Democracy, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., preface-23, 229-41

\*David F. Schmitz, Thank God They're on Our Side, 3-8, 144-57, 293-303

Louis Fisher, The Consitution and 9-11, esp. chapters 6-10

Jonathan Mermin, Debating War and Peace;, intro & cptrs. on 1<sup>st</sup> Gulf war

James Bamford, A Pretext for War, 254-408

The USA Patriot Act <http://www.epic.org/privacy/terrorism/usapatriot/> (skim)

National Commission on Terrorist Attacks on the United States, Final Report, at

<http://www.gpoaccess.gov/911/index.html> (skim)

A very good link to APD bibliography and resources (from David Robertson, U. MO):

<http://www.umsl.edu/~poldrobe/sy431bib.html> . See also the UVA Miller Center resources:

<http://www.millercenter.virginia.edu/>, and the Wilson Center site: <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topic/cold-war>

Class attendance is required. If you are ill, and have a confirming note from Gannet, of course you need not come to class; however, the paper on the readings is still required when you are sufficiently recovered.

Feel free to talk to me in confidence about any situation that is interfering with your performance in this class.