

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-65002-2 - American Government: Enduring Principles, Critical Choices Third Edition

Marc Landy and Sidney M. Milkis

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

American Government

This book brings the study of American politics and government alive by presenting American politics as a dramatic narrative of conflict and change. It adopts an American political development approach to show how the past, present, and visions of the future interact to shape governing institutions and political forces. There is a strong emphasis on the role of ideas. Two key political development principles – path dependency and critical choice – are central to explaining how and why the past affects the present and future. Each chapter begins with an opening vignette that epitomizes the key themes of the chapter.

The book's developmental approach does not diminish the attention it gives to current matters, but it does provide a richer context for the appreciation and understanding of the whole gamut of attitudes, behaviors, organizational activities, and institutional relationships that comprise American political and governmental life.

Marc Landy is Professor of Political Science at Boston College and the winner of the 2009 Boston College Phi Beta Kappa Teaching Award, Phi Beta Kappa Omicron of Massachusetts. He graduated with a B.A., magna cum laude, from Oberlin College and has a Ph.D. in Government from Harvard. He teaches courses on American political development, the American presidency, and American federalism, and he is the former chair of the Political Science Department at Boston College. He also serves as Faculty Chair of the Boston College Irish Institute, coordinating the academic component of its executive programs on various topics in American government, most of which are sponsored by the U.S. State Department. He and Sidney M. Milkis coauthored *Presidential Greatness* (2000). He is also coauthor of *The Environmental Protection Agency from Nixon to Clinton: Asking the Wrong Questions* (1994) and the editor of *Creating Competitive Markets: The Politics of Regulatory Reform* (2007) and *Seeking the Center: Politics and Policymaking at the New Century* (2001).

Sidney M. Milkis is the White Burkett Miller Professor in the Department of Politics and a GAGE Faculty Associate at the Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia. His books include *The President and the Parties: The Transformation of the American Party System since the New Deal* (1993); *The Politics of Regulatory Change* (with Richard Harris, 1996); *Political Parties and Constitutional Government: Remaking American Democracy* (1999); *Presidential Greatness* (with Marc Landy, 2000); *The American Presidency: Origins and Development, 1776–2011, 6th edition* (with Michael Nelson, 2011); and, most recently, *Theodore Roosevelt, the Progressive Party, and the Transformation of American Democracy* (2009). He is the coeditor, with Jerome Mileur, of three volumes on twentieth-century political reform: *Progressivism and the New Democracy* (1999), *The New Deal and the Triumph of Liberalism* (2002), and *The Great Society and the High Tide of Liberalism* (2005). His articles have been published in *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *The Journal of Policy History*, *Studies in American Political Development*, and numerous edited volumes.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-65002-2 - American Government: Enduring Principles, Critical Choices Third Edition

Marc Landy and Sidney M. Milkis

Frontmatter

[More information](#)



Figure 0.1. "The Great Bartholdi Statue, Liberty Enlightening the World." Lithograph, 1885, by Currier & Ives. Image No. 0011724.

Source: The Granger Collection, NYC – All rights reserved.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-65002-2 - American Government: Enduring Principles, Critical Choices Third Edition

Marc Landy and Sidney M. Milkis

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

American Government

Enduring Principles, Critical Choices

Third Edition

Marc Landy

Boston College

Sidney M. Milkis

University of Virginia



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-65002-2 - American Government: Enduring Principles, Critical Choices Third Edition

Marc Landy and Sidney M. Milkis

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107650022

© Marc Landy and Sidney M. Milkis, 2004, 2008, 2014

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2004

Second edition 2008

Third edition 2014

Reprinted 2015

Printed in the United States of America by Sheridan Books, Inc.

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Landy, Marc Karnis.

American government: enduring principles, critical choices / Marc Landy, Boston College, Sidney M. Milkis, University of Virginia. – Third edition.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-65002-2 (pbk.)

1. United States – Politics and government. I. Milkis, Sidney M. II. Title.

JK276.L36 2014

320.973–dc23 2014002455

ISBN 978-1-107-65002-2 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-65002-2 - American Government: Enduring Principles, Critical Choices Third Edition

Marc Landy and Sidney M. Milkis

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	<i>page</i> vii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
1 Introduction	1
PART I Formative Experiences	
2 Political Inheritance and Political Culture	29
3 Contesting the Constitution	57
4 Political Development	83
PART II Pivotal Relationships	
5 Federalism	121
6 Political Economy	149
PART III Governing Institutions	
7 Congress	181
8 The Presidency	219
9 The Judiciary	258
10 Bureaucracy	298

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-65002-2 - American Government: Enduring Principles, Critical Choices Third Edition

Marc Landy and Sidney M. Milkis

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

vi Contents

PART IV Political Forces

11 Parties, Campaigns, and Elections	331
12 Participation, Public Opinion, and Media	376
13 Concluding Thoughts	420
<i>Index</i>	425

Preface

To understand contemporary American politics and government, students need to understand how political ideas, institutions, and forces have developed over time. In Chapter 1 we invoke that unsung political scientist, William Faulkner, who said, “the past is not dead, it is not even past.” Because the past shapes one’s ideas and sentiments, it is among the most important causes of how things happen in the present. This text uses the past to explain the present. In political science, this approach has come to be called American Political Development (APD). Delving into the past reveals what key political and governmental principles endure over time and what critical changes have occurred (hence the subtitle of this new edition). It was difficult to part with the previous subtitle, “Balancing Liberty and Democracy.” The tensions involved in maintaining that balance remain a critical theme of the book, but the new subtitle more accurately expresses its essential message and purpose.

This new edition represents a total reworking of the text. It is much more concise. Authors love their words, and in the previous edition we loved them too much. The text was too long and discursive. This edition is roughly one-third shorter. It is also much more focused analytically. It more systematically ties the past to the present. Each chapter now begins with a contemporary portrait of the particular aspect of politics or government that is the subject of that chapter. This portrait grounds the students in the most important facts and analytic principles regarding the chapter subject. Taken together, these portraits comprise a brief guide to current politics and governments.

The next section of each chapter, entitled “Political Development,” delves into the past to render the contemporary portrait more comprehensible and meaningful. For example, we do not simply discuss public opinion in terms of the current, and therefore transitory, state of opinion on various issues of the day. We examine how the very idea of public opinion came into being in reaction to the Federalist efforts to limit political participation and how this concept was understood and used by Lincoln and subsequently transformed by the Progressives. Thus, students do not merely learn about current public opinions, which may well have shifted by the time they read this book; they also learn about the efforts to restrict and expand the role

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-65002-2 - American Government: Enduring Principles, Critical Choices Third Edition

Marc Landy and Sidney M. Milkis

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

of public opinion that have affected the political institutions and dynamics with which they live. Likewise, the discussion of the media's role in politics is informed by an understanding of how that role has evolved, beginning with the creation of a party press in the 1790s. The discussion also includes Theodore Roosevelt's use of the newly created mass-circulation national newspapers to popularize his messages to Congress, Franklin Roosevelt's mastery of radio in his fireside chats, and John F. Kennedy's ingenious use of television to expand the audience for his news conferences – to appeal over the heads of journalists and speak directly to the tuned-in public.

This edition also adds a comparative dimension. It points out similarities and differences between American political ideas, institutions, and practices and those of other developed countries. Such comparisons should help students think about which aspects of American political life are shared widely among prosperous nations and which are truly exceptional.

The text contains no separate chapters about civil rights, civil liberties, or public policy, because these subjects are so integral to American politics that we use them as key threads to be woven into the fabric of the entire book. On the other hand, we devote an entire chapter to political economy (Chapter 6). We believe that such a chapter is necessary because so much of the substance of political discussion, partisan conflict, and policy making is about economics. As the name implies, this chapter highlights the political forces that have shaped the institutional and legal framework in which economic activity takes place. Throughout the book, students are made aware that what they are learning in their history courses complements their political science understanding, and vice versa. Chapter 6 shows them how the study of economics and that of political science inform one another as well.

This book grows out of a friendship that developed from a deep intellectual affinity. We met in 1984 when we were put on the same panel at the American Political Science Association meeting. We found that we were both preoccupied by the New Deal. Sid was trying to understand how it gave rise to the modern administrative state. Marc was trying to figure out how Franklin Roosevelt both embraced the labor movement and staved off the transformation of the Democratic Party into a British-style Labor party. Soon after, Sid came to Brandeis University, where Marc had become a Fellow of the Gordon Public Policy Center. We had adjoining offices at the center and were able to continue our conversations over lunch and coffee and at the center's seminars. We discovered that our common interests were not limited to Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal; we had both come to believe that the study of political science had been severed from its historical roots, and that our job was to graft the study of contemporary politics back on to those roots. Both of us were already doing this in our American politics teaching, with very good results. We saw that students developed a much keener and firmer grasp of current matters when they became aware of the intellectual and institutional connections that the contemporary issues and events had with the past. Sid applied this approach to his book

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-65002-2 - American Government: Enduring Principles, Critical Choices Third Edition

Marc Landy and Sidney M. Milkis

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

The President and Parties and to the textbook he coauthored with Michael Nelson, *The American Presidency: Origins and Development*. Marc applied the approach to essays about the labor movement's impact on the development of American politics. Together we drew on the American political development framework in our investigations for our book *Presidential Greatness* and our chapter, "The Presidency in the Eye of the Storm," in Michael Nelson's edited volume, *The Presidency and the Political System*. In the meantime, our devotion to connecting past and present came to appear less eccentric; many other scholars also began to find greater meaning and interest in bringing history to bear on the study of American politics. APD has now established itself as one of the most active and intellectually vibrant movements within political science. We are delighted to be part of this fruitful and stimulating scholarly effort and hope that this book can convey its insights to a new generation of beginning students.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-65002-2 - American Government: Enduring Principles, Critical Choices Third Edition

Marc Landy and Sidney M. Milkis

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-65002-2 - American Government: Enduring Principles, Critical Choices Third Edition

Marc Landy and Sidney M. Milkis

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

We thank Ed Parsons who helped us develop a strategy for the thoroughgoing revision of the previous edition that this new edition represents. Lew Bateman, the editor of this edition, has been immensely helpful in seeing this project through. The three anonymous readers of a draft of this edition provided very useful suggestions and criticisms. Likewise the careful reading of the draft by Dennis Hale and Gregory Burnep of Boston College and Stephen Thomas of Ohio Dominican led to very important corrections and improvements. We are deeply grateful to Rachel Pagano of Boston College for her indispensable help in finding and choosing the illustrations and for her other editorial help as well.