

K.C. Wheare, Legislatures (Oxford UP, NY, 1963)

W

He agrees with me on an interesting point:

¶ 441-43: He talks about the role of legislatures in making them govt's behave.

He says that "non-responsible" criticism (US & France) may be more effective than "responsible" criticism — (UK, too cautious)

¶ 442 UK: "At times the two front benches, one on each side of the House, may seem in closer sympathy with each other than either is with at least some of its followers on the back benches. Experience of office or expectation of office can make an opposition well behaved to make the government behave."

¶ 443: "By contrast you can get much freer use of criticism, not only from the side of the party which does not hold the presidency, but also from the President's own party."

Conrad D. White, The Republican Era: 1869-1901 (NY, Macmillan, 1958)

He agrees that the breaking of approps → problems

¶ 65: "Such a disintegration of fiscal control was fatal to balancing income & outgo"

And generally,

¶ 66: "An unreasonable parsimony often controlled Congress when faced with the major supply bills, and departmental operations were often seriously handicapped by lack of adequate resources. On the other hand, Congress was openhanded in authorizing large sums for local improvements until the annual river and harbors bill became a public scandal."

¶ 72: a long para by a McCoyman on what circumstances he had to do.

Morton White, Science & Sentiment in America
(Oxford - NY - 1972)

Can all men perceive the right truths, ethics, morals, religion, politics?
= is it a deductive enterprise?

~~Scientific judgments~~

~~Coherent judgments~~

Walter Dill Scott "All Congressional Poll - and Non-Poll"

pp. 390-400 in Edward C. Dreyer + Walter A. Rosenbaum (eds),
Political Opinion + Electoral Behavior (Wadsworth, Belmont Calif, 1966)

390-391 - Usage of polls is going up — (This paper was written in 1965)

391 - In this survey 27% of those members definitely use polls, but the figure may be as high as 50%

390 - "Use of polls by congressmen is increasing in quantity but there is little evidence of an increase in quality."

P398 - How many people reached

"Thus, using minimum figures, the communications contacts come to some 7,000,000 per year + it is probably much higher."

He's going by cong. responses to a mail questionnaire here

Generally, this points to the multiple purposes of polls, & shows that they're widely used.

— Can't go beyond that.

Wildavsky on ABM
NOV 69 Committee

Aaron Wildavsky, The Politics of the Budgetary Process...

Appropriations members. Yes, they cut, but....

p. 49. "Where their constituencies are affected, appropriations committee members use all the vast leverage over men and money which their positions give them to secure favorable outcomes.

p. 50. "Then there was Representative Ivor Fenton's tenacious campaign to have an anthracite laboratory located in Schuylkill Haven instead of Hazleton, Pennsylvania. Fenton said that he got no action until he got on the Appropriations Committee. At that time he accused the Secretary of the Interior of 'the cheapest kind of politics' and decided 'that no funds now available for the laboratory be obligated until this matter is clarified to the satisfaction of the Appropriations Committee.' The funds were denied. In the other chamber, Senator Myers spoke of 'exceptional energy on the part of one of the subcommittee members in seeking to establish some sort of political plot to locate the laboratory in a district other than his.' The law that was passed specified that the laboratory had to be built in Schuylkill Haven."

In general: cite this book as an example of my kind of literature. There are sections on calculations and strategies.

Philip Williams, Politics in Post-War France: Parties and the Constitution in the Fourth Republic (Longmans Green & Co., NY, 1958) PSRL 0961095446
1947-53 = pd covered

— a quite heavy emphasis on parties here (probably too heavy)

Q 154 - on the 3rd Republic: "And the single member constituency enabled the deputy to submerge himself in his own district and acquire a personal position which was very difficult to shake."

Q 155 (3rd): "The threat of expulsion from the party and the nomination of a rival official candidate held no terrors for a deputy whose following was largely personal and who, if he could distance the intruder on the first ballot, would recover the latter's vote on the second."

Q 203 4th: "Parliamentary bills play a much more important part in France than they do in Britain."

Williams 4th #2

Q 205: "The deputy maintains very close contact with his constituency: he receives on the average about thirty constituents' letters a day, and may devote as much as half his working time to dealing with them. Parliament members usually spend the weekend in their departments, and often the weekend is a long one, from Friday to Tuesday."

Q 207 "Because of its unwillingness to accept the leadership of any authority, the Assembly is in constant danger of falling into chaos."

Q 209 "In refusing to accept a minimum of discipline in the conduct of parliamentary business, the deputies stultify themselves. Their attention is constantly distracted to minor matters instead of being concentrated on the main aspects of policy, which in practice frequently escape from their control."

Q 209 "The impression with which the Assembly insists that its affairs shall be managed."

Williams 4th #3

Q 237 - Strong committees in Nat Assembly.

Q 237 Finance + Foreign Affairs the 2 most important.

Q 238 Spending + expenditure as a custom.

Q 238 Committees frequently conflict with govt (even tho parties are very influential on them)

Q 240 "To-day the committee still provides an institutional framework for the operation of pressure groups. Each of them attracts members whose constituents are particularly interested in the subject with which it deals."

Q 241 "The labour committee presses in season and out of season the grievances of the town workers; the agriculture committee concerns itself with the demands of the peasants." etc.

Q 241 "The pressure groups function of the committees becomes particularly evident as a general election approaches." And he gives some examples.

Q 243 Finance Committee: "Indeed, the institutional barriers set up by the Assembly against irresponsible expenditure are wholly dependent for their effectiveness on the attitude of the Finance Committee. One function of the latter is therefore a dual one: in some respects it is the most 'governmental' of committees, but at the same time it is the one whose opposition is most dangerous."

Budgetary in the 3rd Republic:

p 252. "In the Chamber, individual deputies (unlike their British counterparts) had the right to propose expenditure for the benefit of their electors. Log-rolling (deputies voting for one another's constituency interests) was common - attempts to check it had been frequent since 1900, but not very effective."

p 252: "The budget was invariably voted late, and frequently unbalanced."

p 253: he says this helped to produce an inflationary bias in France.

Budgetary in the 4th Republic: better, he says

p 257. He says that the PR system reduced pressure for constituency expenses in the 4th. "Much larger constituencies reduce the electoral impact of local services. Voting for lists instead of individuals makes the member's fate depend much more than it did on the general popularity of his party, and less on his personal record as a constituency rep. The imperative demagoguery of the parties constitutes a much greater threat to the budget than the whole sum of proposals to benefit particular constituencies."

P. Williams 4th #5

p 257 FN: "In the first year of the 1951 Assembly, the subjects upon which most parliamentary bills and resolutions were introduced were, notably: budgetary matters; applications for authority to prosecute deputies; bills to protect local groups or products (from wireworkers to seaweed and from cauliflower-growers to the sandal-makers of Oloron); bills in the interest of the wine industry; demands for compensation for storm or flood; tax exemption proposals; protests against the closing of local railway lines; and bills on housing."

p 258-59 - The Govt in 4th has various devices it can use vs. heavy roads -

p 261: "The unwillingness of the deputies to vote for higher taxes was only equalled by their reluctance to accept reductions in expenditure. Ministers + Independent Members were in helpful agreement that the members of parliament wanted abstract economies and concrete expenses, a reduction in the total of state expenses but increases in the individual items."

P. Williams 4th #6

p 261 In the interim years, the custom grew of giving govt's (for specified periods) the power to make "decree-law" - eg, to raise taxes.

p 262 "Deputies thus acquired the habit of waiving their responsibilities, especially financial ones, and passing them on to the government."

The same happened in 4th

Electoral systems:

3rd - generally single district - 2 ballots
4th - generally PR.

Hard to say how PR affects my arguments.

Pressure groups:

p 328-29 - In the 4th: "The abolition of scrutin d'arrondissement, and the adoption of the department as the constituency, weakened parish-pump politics by making it electorally unprofitable. Formerly the deputy, concentrating all his efforts on a limited area, could feel that to some extent his debt was directly due to his activities, and he acquired popularity as a result of them. Now that these efforts had to be spread over a whole dept., their effect was diluted. The members no longer take the same pride in them, nor expect the same gratitude for them."

p 329

"But the decline of parish-pump politics did not reduce the pressure, it merely shifted the incidence - from village affairs to deptal or regional ones, from the individual politician to his party, from petty local groups to orgs operating on a national scale."
- eg, Colliery Church, School teachers, Civil servants, Trade unions.

p 346 Electors in 4th - shift to lists has not by any means eliminated personal politics. Party leaders cut a big swath in full depts, and make votes accordingly

p 349 "Voting for party lists, then, has by no means eliminated personal factors and individual interests from the electoral scene, but it has done PC to limit their scope. Even this is doubtful where the local factors are concerned. These are of least importance in the large towns and in the unbalanced depts, but even here they cannot be wholly neglected: The deputy for the first North constituency must be active in well-doing on behalf of Drunkirk port.
→ It is not the large towns, however, which dominate British politics; and in the countryside defence of the interests of his constituency and region remains the first duty of the member."

p 349 "The burden of constituency duties has not been lightened by the change. Some politicians even believe that the provincial deputy is the slave of his electors to a greater extent. He has a far larger area to cover, and may well be obliged to spend every weekend, instead of only occasional ones, in his dept. Even so, his personal acquaintance with his constituents is inevitably slighter, while the burden of their demands upon him may be even greater. Local councillors are as active as ever in using the members of parliament to put pressure on the administration over purely local affairs."

Just after WWII the position of party orgs was at its maximum, but since then the power over deputies has relaxed.

p 355 - "In the countryside in particular - and the thoroughly unbalanced depts return barely a quater of the deputies - the member has a good chance of building up, by assiduous personal activity and attention to local interests, a position difficult to shake."

Philip H. Williams, The French Parliament: Politics in the Fifth Republic (Chicago, NY, 1968)
PSAL Qtd 38-968W (before the 1968 crash)

- 14-15 - 4th better than 3rd, he says, for various reasons, in generally responsible govt.
p 15 'eg, "The depressed govt of 1947-50 wanted at high political cost on keeping up the level of investment despite the demagogic cubing several responsible opponents..."
p 14 'eg - a March 1958 budget abandoned altogether as it to propose public expenditures.
p 15 'et: "The regime failed because it was incapable of providing a govt with authority."

Some 5th Republic changes:

- p 18 "A series of elaborate devices ensured that only a determined majority of the whole house could remove the govt, which was carefully protected from the guerrilla tactics by which opposition used to harass ministers on minor points until they became vulnerable to a direct assault."

Williams 5th #2

p 19 - Fifth changes (contd):

— Cabinet was now presented over parl. timetable.

Committee
weaker
"Now the minister piloted his bill through the house in the form in which he introduced it, and the committee was obliged to move amendments — and amendments not previously discussed in committee were (in theory) disallowed. Moreover, the minister was well protected against any attack, for he could refuse to allow a separate vote on awkward clauses or amendments, and insist on a 'package vote' on a revision of the whole measure in a form acceptable to him. The govt could even carry a bill without any vote at all by making it a matter of confidence, in which case it passed unless the oppo ed found a clear majority of the entire house to drive the ministry out."

p 20 "The members' right to propose public expenditure greatly curtailed during the Fourth Republic, was wholly abolished in the Fifth. The budget, which had taken so long before the reform of 1956, was now subjected to a rigid timetable and might even be enforced by the govt on its own authority of Parliament was dictatorial."

P. Williams 5th #3

Q24 - electoral arrangements in 5th: PR abolished, back to single district with 2d vote (with some variations).

Q27 5th - many fewer private members' bills are considered + passed.

Q66) Minister's "most useful procedural weapon" - he can call for a "package vote," i.e., a vote on a whole bill (modified if he wishes), "without a separate vote on any of the potentially difficult clauses or amendments."
"In the new regime the package vote obliges members to pronounce on a given clause or amendment in the context of the bill as a whole." ~~While the vote of confidence, was reserved for a vote~~

ie, this allows a minister to require an up-or-down vote on a measure as it stands (or with amendments he accepts)

P. Williams 5th #4

Budgeting: Govt has strong control of timetable.

Q81- "Perhaps the most spectacular of all the financial changes is contained in Article 40 of the constitution, which forbids private members' proposals to increase public expenditure or reduce revenue." This is a culmination of reforms during the 4th.

James Q. Wilson, "If every criminal knew he wd be punished if caught"

NYT Mag Jan 28, 1973.

956 is the relevant part. — a last para where he says we
have explanations ~~for~~ of crime handling
that don't make sense —

Woodrow Wilson, Congressional Govt

This was a pic of Congress of 20 yrs between Lincoln Cleveland ✓

p 76. He laments the absence of joined debate

"Some people who live very far from Washington may imagine that the speeches which are spread at large in the columns of the 'Congressional Record', a which their representatives send them in paginated form were actually delivered in Congress; but every one else knows that they were not; that Congress is constantly granting leave to its members to insert in the official reports of the proceedings speeches which it never heard and does not care to hear, but which it is not averse from printing at the public expense, if it is desirable that constituents & the country at large should read them."

p 81 - "... very few of the measures which come before Congress are party measures ..."

Indeed, only a very slight examination of the measures which originate with the Committees is necessary to show that most of them are framed with a view to securing their easy passage by giving them as neutral & unpartisan character as possible. The manifest object is to dress them to the liking of all factions."

WWI/Sm # 2

p 111-112 - He says that ^{the House} Congress is of too fragile; its strong sentiment overrules exec needs.

p 113-114 - But Senate is more extravagant

114-12 even then, he says, the House cut estimates, & the Senate raised them (almost to exec level)

p 115 - "under-appropriation to which Congress seems to have become addicted" (→ deferring approp bills)

p 116 These result from the "closefistedness" of the H App C.
"It is as if Congress had designedly established the plan of making semiannual appropriations" (with its deferring bills) ✓

p 119 - But, Com on Rivers & Harbors is separate (created 1883)

(The "American system" of ^{disturbance} Congressional system, maybe? see Judson Cleveland!)

R+H is its own executive outfit, as of 1883. - He says the internal improvement business was repressed by earlier constitutional crises, but now it's in full bloom.
"He veto has never been allowed to peek out single features in the act submitted to the executive eye ..."

WWI/Sm # 3

p 120 - Big jump in R+H just after 1870, he says.

p 120 - Internal improvements: "They have thus culminated with the culmination of the protective tariff, and the so-called 'American system' of protective tariffs and internal improvements has thus ^{at least} obtained to its perfect work."

R+H: same negotiations as H App C. - "It is a special standing committee with its own key to the Treasury."

120-121 - Other pressure comes, he says, from Com on Pensions, Com Naval Affairs, and Com Military Affairs (any of + reforms).

p 121 - Hence "log rolling" (on appropriations)
"Of course the chief scene of this sport is the private room of the Com R+H, & the season of its highest excitement, the hours spent in the passage of the River & Harbor Bill."

p 121 Revenue: tariffs.

p 123 "The object of our financial policy, however, has not been to equalize receipts and expenditures, but to foster the industries of the country."

"The resources of the govt are made incidental to the industrial investments of private citizens."

p 124 → "rare surpluses"

W Wilson #4

~~(Review)~~

125ff He goes on, as usual, about the lack of relation between taxes & expends policies -
p 131ff Again - The pattern is one of confusion, lack of plan, hence lack of accountability

p 132: "The constituencies can hardly tell whether the works of any particular Congress have been good or bad . . ."

p 133 - Lobbyist access to committees is maximized.

W. Wilson #5 - Senate

p 149 - He mentions "these days when frequent mails + tireless diligence of telegraphy bring every constituency within easy earshot of Washington!"

Raymond E. Wolfinger, Barbara Wolfinger, James Anderson, Peter A. Bagatelos, Frank Carrasco, Sue Neil, Robin Smith, and Valerie Westen, "Popular Support for the British Party System," 1970 APSA convention paper

ample survey of 426 voters in an English town, on support for specific features of the UK party system....

p. 11. "When asked, 'On the whole, do you think an MP should vote the way his party wants him to, or the way the people in his district want him to,' two-thirds of our sample said 'the people in his district,' and only 21 per cent chose the party line." (others not easily classifiable)

p. 11. 71% thought mps should live in their constituencies!

p. 11 He reports a receptiveness to the idea of constituency servicing, though there's no clear quote usable here (or question usable).

p. 12 "Fully 85 per cent of our sample knew the name of their MP." !

True, he was a former Cabinet member; but Butler and Stokes turn up a general figure of 79%!

(Of course, they have to know in order to vote; and there's only one choice

pp. 16-18. Generally speaking, people high in income and ed show more favor for the general UK political formula (with its various ramifications).

p. 19 One conclusion: "It is risky to infer popular support for political practices from the mere existence of those practices."

Harold Wolman, The Politics of Federal Housing HD7293 W65 (LC)

ch. 5, "The Substantive Legislative System" is sort of conventional. It gives a rundown of HUD-~~CASSED~~ type bills passed under late Johnson. With pressures here & there, etc. Shdn't have its case distorted. Sees all this as "redistributive" legislative accomplishment. (Little on actual programmatic carry-through)

p. 109. "Yet, it is the mood of the constituency itself which serves as one of the limits on the legislative system. If a complex housing program (and very few are not complex) such as rent supplements becomes publicly identified as a form of 'socialized housing,' there is little Congressmen can do to dispel such a belief though rent supplement is a program highly praised by the private housing groups."

pp. 117-122. The Housing Subcom of House BC--a rundown of it under Barrett. There's a clear case that he's a weak. chmn. This can be cited.

pp118: "The technique the chairman uses (this is Barrett) (DRM) to pursue the Administration's ends is the omnibus bill, the traditional vehicle for logrolling-- a process whereby support for a piece of legislation is obtained by the simple expedient of allowing each supporter to add his own pet proposal to the legislation [obviously the proposals must not be mutually exclusive if logrolling is to occur]. Most housing legislation has been in the form of omnibus bills, and the support of crucial members is enlisted by allowing them to add their own provisions or sweeteners to the bill already before the committee."

Wolman #2

pp. 143-44. Model cities program, appropriations process, 1967. The list of cities ~~XXXXXXXX~~ to be chosen for grants was issued after model cities appropriations was approved by the House. Inference: p. 143-44: "Overall ~~sixty~~-three cities received grants out of approximately 200 applicants. About half of the Congressmen whose districts included applicant cities saw at least ~~one~~ one city in their district awarded money. Yet, six of the seven members of the House Independent Offices Subcommittee whose districts included or were encompassed in applicant cities received the grants." The 6: Evins (Smithville, Tenn Pryor (Texarkana), Wyman (Manchester), Jona (Charlotte), Giaimo, Boland (Spfld).
p. 144. "It seems fair to speculate that HUD was making attempts to build support for future model cities appropriations....")