

The fiscal crisis faced by the American federal government represents the end of a fiscal regime that began with the financing of World War II. In this volume, an interdisciplinary group of scholars explores the history of American taxation and public finance since 1941 in an attempt to understand the political, social, and economic forces that have shaped the current regime. Specifically, they examine the historical context of earlier tax programs and national crises; explore the ways post-1941 governments used taxation to finance war, social security, and economic stability; analyze the politics of post-1941 tax reform; and apply history to a consideration of the dynamics that are likely to characterize future tax regimes. The contributors recognize both the power of democratic forces outside the federal government and the influence of government institutions—the presidency, congressional leadership, professional experts within government, political partisanship, and constitutional strictures.



## **WOODROW WILSON CENTER SERIES**

Funding the modern American state, 1941-1995



#### Other books in the series

Michael J. Lacey, editor, Religion and Twentieth-Century American Intellectual Life

Michael J. Lacey, editor, The Truman Presidency

Joseph Kruzel and Michael H. Haltzel, editors, Between the Blocs: Problems and Prospects for Europe's Neutral and Nonaligned States

William C. Brumfield, editor, Reshaping Russian Architecture: Western Technology, Utopian Dreams

Mark N. Katz, editor, The USSR and Marxist Revolutions in the Third World Walter Reich, editor, Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind

Mary O. Furner and Barry Supple, editors, The State and Economic Knowledge: The American and British Experiences

Michael J. Lacey and Knud Haakonssen, editors, A Culture of Rights: The Bill of Rights in Philosophy, Politics, and Law-1791 and 1991

Robert J. Donovan and Ray Scherer, Unsilent Revolution: Television News and American Public Life, 1948-1991

William Craft Brumfield and Blair A. Ruble, editors, Russian Housing in the Modern Age: Design and Social History

Nelson Lichtenstein and Howell John Harris, editors, Industrial Democracy in America: The Ambiguous Promise

Michael J. Lacey and Mary O. Furner, editors, The State and Social Investigation in Britain and the United States

Hugh Ragsdale, editor, Imperial Russian Foreign Policy

Dermot Keogh and Michael H. Haltzel, editors, Northern Ireland and the Politics of Reconciliation

Joseph Klaits and Michael H. Haltzel, editors, The Global Ramifications of the French Revolution

René Lemarchand, Burundi: Ethnocide as Discourse and Practice James R. Millar and Sharon L. Wolchik, editors, The Social Legacy of Communism

James M. Morris, editor, On Mozart

Blair A. Ruble, Money Sings: The Changing Politics of Urban Space in Post-Soviet Yaroslavl

Theodore Taranovski, editor, Reform in Modern Russian History: Progress or Cycle?

Deborah S. Davis, Richard Kraus, Barry Naughton, and Elizabeth J. Perry, editors, Urban Spaces in Contemporary China: The Potential for Autonomy and Community in Post-Mao China

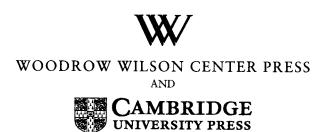
William M. Shea and Peter A. Huff, editors, Knowledge and Belief in America: Enlightenment Traditions and Modern Religious Thought



# Funding the modern American state, 1941–1995

The rise and fall of the era of easy finance

Edited by W. ELLIOT BROWNLEE





#### PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

#### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York NY 10011–4211, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

http://www.cambridge.org

© Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars 1996

This book 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 1996 First paperback edition 2002

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

> ISBN 0 521 55240 0 hardback ISBN 0 521 53114 4 paperback



# WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS

## **BOARD OF TRUSTEES**

Joseph H. Flom, Chairman; Dwayne O. Andreas, Vice Chairman.

Ex Officio Members: Secretary of State, Secretary of Health and Human Services, Secretary of Education, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Librarian of Congress, Director of the U.S. Information Agency, Archivist of the United States.

Private-Citizen Members: James A. Baker III, Joseph A. Cari, Jr., Jean L. Hennessey, Gertrude Himmelfarb, Carol Iannone, Eli Jacobs, Paul Hae Park, S. Dillon Ripley.

Designated Appointee of the President: Anthony Lake.

The Center is the living memorial of the United States of America to the nation's twenty-eighth president, Woodrow Wilson. Congress established the Woodrow Wilson Center in 1968 as an international institute for advanced study, "symbolizing and strengthening the fruitful relationship between the world of learning and the world of public affairs." The Center opened in 1970 under its own board of trustees, which includes citizens appointed by the president of the United States, federal government officials who serve ex officio, and an additional representative named by the president from within the federal government.

In all its activities the Woodrow Wilson Center is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization, supported financially by annual appropriations from Congress and by the contributions of foundations, corporations, and individuals.

### WOODROW WILSON CENTER PRESS

The Woodrow Wilson Center Press publishes books written in substantial part at the Center or otherwise prepared under its sponsorship by fellows, guest scholars, staff members, and other program participants. Conclusions or opinions expressed in Center publications and programs are those of the authors and speakers and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Center staff, fellows, trustees, advisory groups, or any individuals or organizations that provide financial support to the Center.

Woodrow Wilson Center Press Editorial Offices 370 L'Enfant Promenade, S.W., Suite 704 Washington, D.C. 20024–2518 telephone: (202) 287–3000, ext. 218



# Contents

	Foreword pag Michael J. Lacey	ge ix
	PART I. METHODOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION	
1	Reflections on the history of taxation W. Elliot Brownlee	3
2	Tax regimes, national crisis, and state-building in America  W. Elliot Brownlee	37
	PART II. TAXATION FOR WAR, SOCIAL SECURITY, AND ECONOMIC STABILITY	
3	Mass-based income taxation: Creating a taxpaying culture, 1940–1952  Carolyn C. Jones	107
4	Social security and the financing of the American state  Edward D. Berkowitz	148
5	The fiscal revolution in America, part II: 1964–1994  Herbert Stein	194
	PART III. TAX REFORM AND THE POLITICAL PROCESS	
6	Learning the ways and means: Wilbur Mills and a fiscal community, 1954–1964  Julian E. Zelizer	289
	vii	



viii Contents		
7	American business and the taxing state: Alliances for growth in the postwar period  Cathie Jo Martin	353
	PART IV. THE NEXT REVENUE REGIME	
8	Financing the American state at the turn of the century  C. Eugene Steuerle	409
	About the authors Index	445 447



## Foreword

This volume is a result of a series of Woodrow Wilson Center workshops on the growth of the U.S. national government in the twentieth century. A collaborative scholarly effort, it is intended not only to advance our knowledge of the dynamics of the developments discussed but also to contribute new insights that may be helpful to all those who are involved in today's momentous debates over the size of the federal government and the proper scope of its duties. Here, the starting point for inquiry was the question of how the rise of the modern state had been paid for and justified within the context of the special constraints and opportunities inherent in the nation's traditions of political belief, an interest that led to a broad reexamination of the history of both the thought and the practice of American public finance. All who participated in the project hope that the chapters in this book will contribute something useful for marking out the current state of scholarly understanding on the basic issues involved.

A word of thanks is due not only to those whose work appears in the book but also to those former Woodrow Wilson Center fellows and advisers who helped set up the terms of reference for the workshop and get it under way: Hugh Heclo, Paul Offner, James T. Patterson, Thomas J. Reese, Stanford G. Ross, and Herbert Stein. A special acknowledgment is in order for W. Elliot Brownlee, the volume's editor and principal contributor. His patient leadership was the key throughout.

Michael J. Lacey, Director
Division of United States Studies
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars