

America's Democracy

THE IDEAL
AND THE REALITY

Third Edition

FRED R. HARRIS

美国政治学
——理想与现实

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Third Edition

FRED R. HARRIS

University of New Mexico

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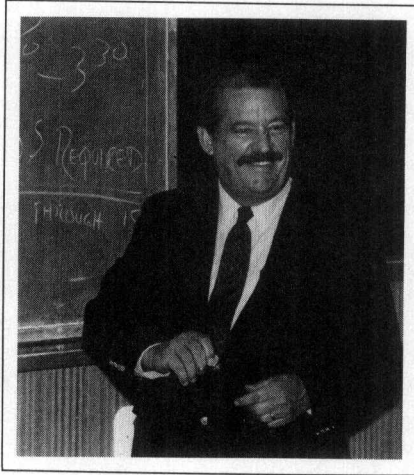
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—About the Author—



One of the University of New Mexico's most popular professors, Fred R. Harris came to the political science profession with unusually solid preparation. He has been a student of government and politics from both the inside and the outside. A member of Phi Beta Kappa and Order of the Coif, he holds a B.A. degree in political science from the University of Oklahoma (1952) and a J.D. degree "with distinction" from the same university (1954). He is the author of five books, co-author of a sixth, and editor of a seventh.

Upon graduation from law school, he practiced law and served as a member of the Oklahoma State Senate. Twice elected to the U.S. Senate (D., Okla.), he was a member of the powerful Finance Committee, as well as the Government Operations Committee. In 1967, he was the most influential member of the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission), and in 1969 and 1970 served as the reform-minded Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. He was an unsuccessful candidate for his party's nomination for President in 1976.

Professor Harris was a Fulbright Scholar for travel and research in Mexico in 1981, and, in 1982, was a Visiting Professor at the National University of Mexico, in Mexico City. He has been a guest lecturer at many U.S. and foreign universities and is a frequent panelist and discussant at professional political science meetings.

Preface

The late U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, who had suffered from polio when young and had overcome any lingering impairment through vigorous wilderness hiking, wrote in one of his books, *Go East, Young Man: The Early Years*, that one of his most proud accomplishments was his wilderness-survival ability. Douglas said that if he had been dropped down in a trackless wilderness, he could, in effect, live off the land—and make it.

Each of us *has* been dropped down into what is to the uninitiated a wilderness of sorts, the American political system. We can learn how to survive in this system and use it.

When the principal Soviet leader died in 1985, a group of high-level Russian officials were in Washington for meetings. They hurried home for the funeral and for the elevation of Mikhail Gorbachev to the supreme post. I noted that one member of that delegation was the Soviet Union's principal "Americanologist," Georgi Arbatov, with whom I had once had a spirited discussion in Moscow. I remembered that Arbatov had taken me to task for what he charged were serious political and economic failings in the American system. I probably knew more about the failings (and strengths) of our system than he did but didn't feel it was my proper role as a U.S. senator to travel around the world at taxpayers' expense to criticize my home country. So, partly to change the subject, I said, "You have me at a disadvantage, Mr. Arbatov. American scholars are not allowed to study the ways economic and political decisions are made in the Kremlin. Ours, on the other hand, is an *open* system, which you can and do study freely."

Arbatov paused only briefly. "That is no disadvantage to you," he said. "We study your system, and we still don't understand it!"

Growing up in the American political system, studying our country's history, and perhaps taking a government or civics course in high school, most of us probably feel that we know how American government works. It looks like a simple system, easy to understand. But, as Arbatov's comment indicated, if we want to go past the forms of American government and learn how things really work—and how to influence policymaking—we are faced with a labyrinth of complexity.

The great success of *America's Democracy* in its earlier editions confirmed the importance of the five goals I had in mind when I first wrote it. Now as achievements, rather than goals, they still are central to this much-improved third edition. First, it is a book that is readable and engaging. Second, it is a

book of fundamentals, with attention to their historical context and development. Third, it ties the fundamentals to present-day actors and events and the policy process, to show their immediacy and relevance for our lives today. Fourth, it is a book that not only explains "how" government policy is made, but also "why"—or "why not." Finally, *America's Democracy* emphasizes participation and the value of such participation, both for society and for the individual participants.

This third edition builds on those achievements while retaining certain unique features. There is a separate chapter on *direct* citizen participation through such nonelectoral vehicles as boycotts, tenants' organizations, and co-operatives. Three chapters are devoted to the policy process, using discussions of environmental, economic, and foreign and national security policy as illustrations. "Viewpoint" inserts on particular subjects appear within the chapters; they are separated from the main text and are intended to spark thought and discussion. These have been updated in the third edition, and ten new ones have been added, dealing with a wide range of subjects—from "Should We Keep the Civil Service?" to "Environmental Policy Under Reagan."

Another popular feature, the "How to" mini-manuals, have been retained in the third edition. They have been updated, too, and eight new ones have been added, from "How to . . . Get a Job in the Federal Government" to "How to . . . Become a Lawyer."

There is a comprehensive discussion of contemporary democratic theory, which is centered on the question of whether more participation is desirable, and an Epilogue which outlines methods for increasing participation. Finally, at the end of the book, as in earlier editions, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are printed in full.

Done especially for this edition are six part-opening interviews with people who help explain, firsthand, how America's democracy works and thus make it come alive for students. In this distinguished group are former Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart; CBS Television journalist Bill Moyers; Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole; Secretary of Transportation Elizabeth Dole; and *Foreign Policy* Editor Charles William Maynes. I am pleased to be included with this group and am most grateful for their participation.

The third edition contains a new chapter on federalism, which includes a concise overview of state and local government. There is expanded treatment of the media throughout the book, especially in Chapter 6, "Public Opinion and the Media." This chapter combines separate earlier chapters on political socialization and public opinion, eliminating unnecessary detail while adding more current material.

There is complete coverage and analysis of the 1984 congressional and presidential elections in Chapter 9, including discussion of campaign financing and the role of interest groups and the media. Chapter 7 on interest groups has substantial new and updated material, and a clearer and more easily understood classification of such groups. There has been considerable revision of Chapter 8 on political parties which includes the recently debated question of party realignment. The chapters on government institutions—Congress, the Presidency, the bureaucracy and the courts—also contain much current material.

A new design and an updated photograph and illustration program make this edition even more appealing and engaging. The glossary at the end of the book has been improved and is keyed to the pages in the text where the boldfaced terms appear.

Of especial importance for this third edition are the supplementary materials. Paul Chardoul and Jack Van Aartsen, of Grand Rapids Junior College, and Wendell Mott, of Ferris State College, have written an excellent, all-new Study Guide. Also new is the Instructor's Manual, prepared by R. H. Payne and James Carter, of Sam Houston State College. A comprehensive Test Item File has been prepared by Larry Buys, Northwestern Michigan College; James Duke, Richland College; Stephen Haag, Austin Community College; and Helen Ridley, Kennesaw College.

No book of this scope can be produced without the help of a great many people. A number of teachers and political scientists reviewed all or a part of this third edition. Others reviewed chapters of the second edition. They are listed alphabetically:

Don Alper, Western Washington University
James V. Calvi, West Texas State University
Daniel E. Farlow, Southwest Texas State University
Dean B. Flippo, Monterey Peninsula College
Loren Gresham, Bethany Nazarene College
Lauren Holland, University of Utah
Marilyn Hoskin, State University of New York at Buffalo
Ted G. Jelen, Illinois Benedictine College
Robert Lively, Bethany Nazarene College
Neil C. Lucas, College of Alameda
William S. Maddox, University of Central Florida
James Malachowski, University of Kentucky
R. H. Payne, Sam Houston State College
Robert H. Petty, Oscar Rose State College
Ron Perrin, University of Montana
George E. Pippin, Jones Junior College
Helen Ridley, Kennesaw College
Debra C. Rosenthal, University of New Mexico
John S. Shockley, Western Illinois University
Edward I. Sidlow, Miami University
Neil Snortland, University of Arkansas, Little Rock
J. Soule, San Diego State University
Joel Verner, Illinois State University

I also appreciate the help I received from Laura Harris and the outstanding research assistance of Jonathan Eldredge. I am grateful, too, for the encouragement of my wife, Margaret S. Elliston.

Again, the people of Scott, Foresman and Company have been wonderful to work with. Bruce Borland was among those who helped guide work on the earlier editions. I am grateful for this help on the third edition, also. Others—such as Scott Hardy, Paula Fitzpatrick, and Ginny Guerrant in editorial; Ellen

Pettengell in design; Arlene Hagan, the picture researcher; Victoria Moon, production coordinator; Meredith Hellestrae who supervised the brochure work; Iris Ganz, who helped with retyping; and, in marketing, many great friends such as Greg Odjakjian, Jane Gunton, Tana Vega-Romero, Ben Whitney, Robert Johnson, and Charles Dawkins—have contributed so much to make this a book that we hope students will want to read and study—and keep.

I dedicate this book to students. I have seen great numbers of them, in lots of places. I like them. They are serious and concerned about their futures. They want to understand themselves and their world better. America's system is not the only way—or even the most usual way—a democracy can be organized. It is not a simple system. Further, our government is not neutral. It takes sides. And it is more likely to take the side of those who understand how it works and participate in its processes. I hope this book will make understanding easier and participation more attractive, to the end that students, like William O. Douglas in a wilderness, will learn how to survive in our system—and prosper.

FRED R. HARRIS
Albuquerque, New Mexico

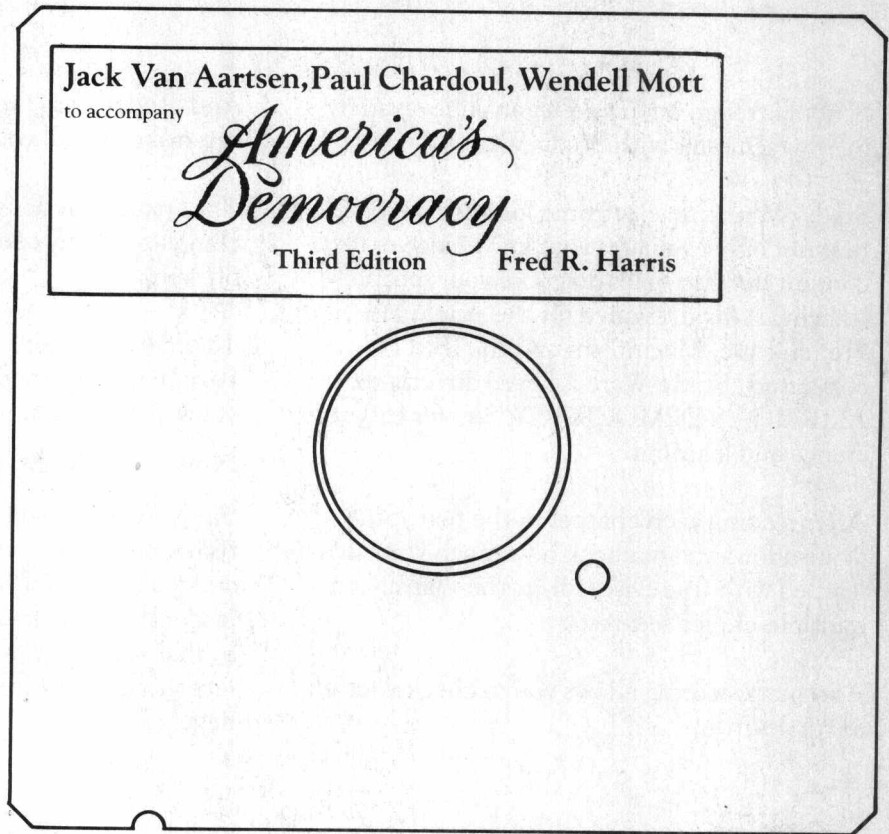
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