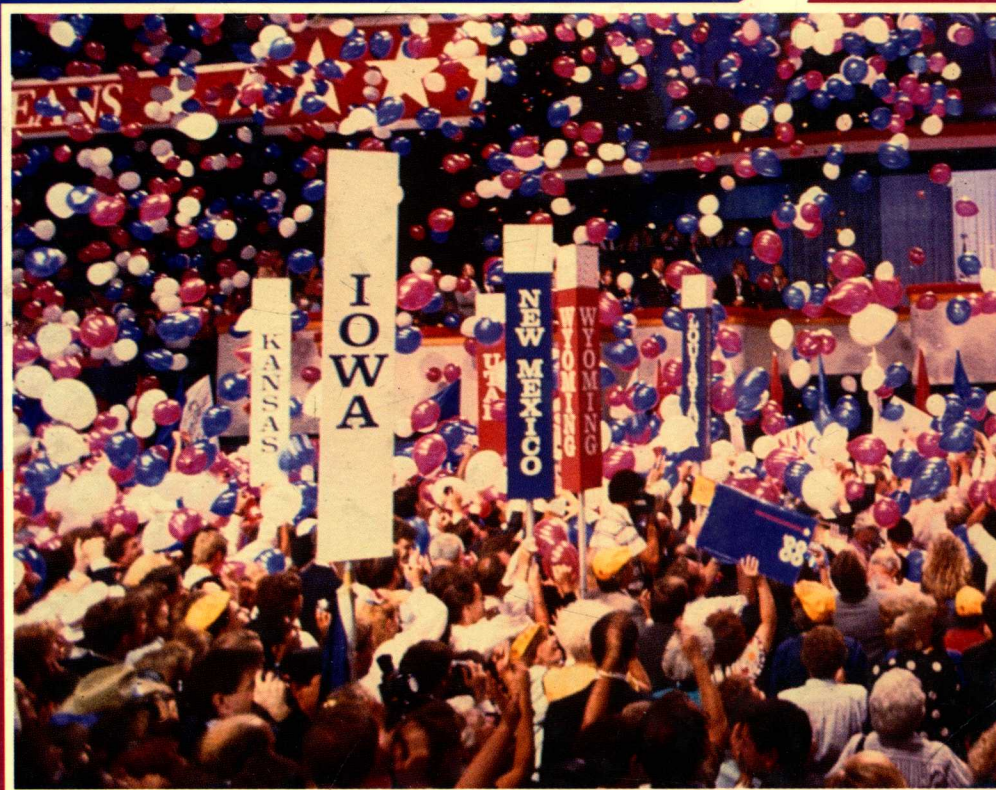


*Sixth Edition*

# DEMOCRACY UNDER PRESSURE

*An Introduction to the  
American Political System*



CUMMINGS | WISE

*Sixth Edition*

# DEMOCRACY UNDER PRESSURE

*An Introduction to the American Political System*

**Milton C. Cummings, Jr.**

*The Johns Hopkins University*

**David Wise**

*Author and political analyst*

HBJ

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# PREFACE

There is, without doubt, no better experience than revising a college text in government and politics to remind one of the astonishing pace of change that takes place within the American political system.

The election of George Bush marked an end to the Reagan presidency, although it symbolized continuity as well, since Bush had served for eight years as Ronald Reagan's vice-president and endorsed many of his programs and policies.

The Reagan era in many respects marked a sharp departure from the concept of the role of government that had prevailed in America for almost half a century. This edition has been extensively revised to assess the effects of the "Reagan revolution" and the changes it wrought, or attempted to bring about—as well as the problems that accompanied those changes.

The 1988 election; George Bush's victory; the televised debates between Bush and Dukakis and their vice-presidential running mates, Senator Dan Quayle of Indiana and Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas; the 1988 primary campaigns; the Republican challenge by Senator Robert J. Dole of Kansas; the large field of Democratic candidates; and the strong showing of the Reverend Jesse L. Jackson—all are here, along with a detailed case study of the presidential campaign and an analysis of significant trends in the 1988 elections.

With the publication of this Sixth Edition early in 1989, it has been almost two decades since *Democracy Under Pressure* first made its appearance. And what extraordinary years they have been: the end of the long war in Vietnam; the Watergate trauma and the impeachment inquiry; the resignation and pardon of the president of the United States; the inflation and unemployment of the 1970s and early 1980s; the Carter years; the energy crisis; the seizure of the American hostages in Iran; the Soviet

invasion of Afghanistan and the Soviet withdrawal almost a decade later; the nation's post-Vietnam foreign policy; the election and reelection of Ronald Reagan, a conservative Republican president pledged to increasing the nation's military strength while cutting a broad range of social programs; the Iran-contra affair; the recapture of the Senate by the Democrats in 1986; and the dramatic shift toward more cordial relations between the United States and the Soviet Union in the twilight months of the Reagan presidency.

This Sixth Edition of *Democracy Under Pressure* has been thoroughly and extensively revised not only to reflect these kaleidoscopic events, but to focus as well on the broader trends and on the newer interpretations of the American political system.

As in the past, the making of public policy is discussed throughout the book (and particularly in Part Three, "The Policymakers"), but a section introducing the student to policy analysis is included in Chapter 1. This introduction to the policy process follows, in logical progression, the discussion of the concept of a political system.

A number of new topics are incorporated in this edition. Among them are the major revision in the nation's welfare program, with the new emphasis on job training for welfare recipients; the abolition of the "fairness doctrine" by the Federal Communications Commission; the unusual investigation and resignation of an attorney general, Edwin Meese III; the passage of immigration reform legislation and its impact on illegal aliens; the growing problem of international drug trafficking; the passage of the Tax Reform Act of 1986; the effect of the explosion of the space shuttle Challenger on America's space program; action by Congress to overturn the Supreme Court's decision in the *Grove City* case; the problem of



AIDS; the stock market crash of October 1987; the concept of "issue networks" in the formation of public policy; the increase in "social regulation" by the federal government; the continued ineffectiveness of the War Powers Resolution; the bombing of Libya by the Reagan administration; the Pentagon contracting scandal; and the vanishing ozone layer and the "greenhouse effect."

The impact of single-issue groups in American politics and the continuing rise in the number, influence, and expenditures of political action committees (PACs) are treated in detail, and we have broadened the discussion of flaws in the federal campaign-reform law. The importance of retrospective voting, the decline of party allegiance, and the impact of party reforms are discussed as well.

Our treatment of economic issues has been expanded with new emphasis on the economic dimension of foreign policy, including such subjects as import quotas, domestic content legislation, and other trade restrictions; interest rates; and the veto and eventual passage of the trade bill of 1988.

The results of cutbacks in social programs by the Reagan administration are discussed, along with the serious problem of budget deficits during the Reagan presidency, the efforts to pass a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget, the passage of the Gramm-Rudman act, President Reagan's plea for an item veto, the economic difficulties of farmers, the impact of the Reagan cuts in the states and communities, and the end of general revenue sharing. Included as well is a discussion of the continuing deregulation of some industries.

The status of blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, and other minorities is examined in detail, along with the appointment of the first woman to the Supreme Court and such social issues as school prayer and abortion.

The changing nature of Congress and the impact of technology on Congress are discussed in this edition, along with the subcommittee explosion and the growth of congressional staffs. The extraordinary battles over Reagan's effort to place more conservatives on the Court are recounted, including the controversies over Judge Robert H. Bork and Judge Douglas H. Ginsburg and the appointments of Antonin Scalia and Anthony M. Kennedy. The direction of the Rehnquist Court in the 1980s is analyzed, and important new cases summarized. Among them are the decisions that a state may not require the teaching of "creation science" in the public schools, that school administrators may censor a high school newspaper and similar activities, that a public figure is not protected against satire, that New Jersey may not require a moment of silence in its public schools, and that police may search through a homeowner's trash without a warrant.

Finally, we have revised and expanded the discussion of foreign policy to describe how the tension between the United States and the Soviet Union that characterized the first Reagan term gave way to summit meetings and warmer relations between President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Discussed as well are the covert war in Nicaragua and the role of the Central Intelligence Agency; the problem of international terrorism; the dispatch and recall of the marines in the Middle East; the "Star Wars" strategic defense initiative (SDI); the reconvening of the Geneva disarmament talks in 1985; and finally, the historic Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty of 1988 that for the first time actually eliminated an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons.

Several structural features introduced in earlier editions have been retained. A Perspective at the end of each chapter, beginning with Chapter 2, provides a summary of key points for the reader. Important terms are defined in a Glossary. The Constitution is included, along with the Declaration of Independence, as well as a list of the presidents of the United States and the vote they received.

Once again, a study guide and a testbook keyed to the text are available for those who wish to use them. They have been revised and updated to parallel the changes in the content of the Sixth Edition.

As the title of this book indicates, the authors recognize that the American political system is under pressure, that its ability to cope with the problems facing the nation is being questioned by many individuals and groups in our society. In such a time, we continue to believe it useful to provide a book that focuses not only on the very considerable achievements of the American system of government but on its shortcomings too—a book that focuses on the reality as well as the rhetoric of American democracy. We have tried to do this in a textbook designed for today.

In writing this book, we set three goals. First, we believe that a textbook should be lively and stimulating to read. So we have attempted to provide a text that is as clear and readable as possible without sacrificing scholarship or content.

Second, although we present American governmental and political institutions in their historical context, we have sought to relate politics and government to contemporary issues. At the same time, we have attempted to relate those contemporary issues to larger concepts. We also have included case studies on a number of topics.

Third, as we have indicated, we have attempted to focus on the gaps, where they exist, between American myths and American realities, between the political system's promise and its performance. Students and other citizens may not be disillusioned with the principles of American democracy; however, they do ask that the political system practice those principles.

In examining the structure and processes of American politics and government, we have tried to ask: How is the political system supposed to work? How does it actually work? What might be done to make it work better? Each chapter is organized around a series of basic questions about the workings of the political system. The book does not, in every case, provide ready answers to those questions, but it raises them for the student's consideration and, if desired, for classroom discussion. At the same time, the book emphasizes the importance of each individual citizen for the quality of American society and American government. It provides examples of participation in the political process by students and other citizens. It examines the responsibilities as well as the rights of citizens in a democracy.

The authors deeply appreciate the assistance of the many people who helped to produce this book. We must begin with the talented Robin G. Colucci, who provided expert research and editorial assistance at every stage in the preparation of the revised manuscript for this Sixth Edition. Her efforts in the face of constant deadlines were steadfast and her contribution invaluable. We also wish to thank our research assistants for previous editions: Norma W. Batchelder and Thomas A. Horne, for the First Edition (1971); Freda F. Solomon, for the Second Edition (1974); Nancy D. Beers, for the Third Edition (1977); M. J. Rusk-Pierce, for the Fourth Edition (1981); and Jessica Tolmach, for the Fifth Edition (1985). We wish to express our appreciation to Amy Oberdorfer, who kept our reference files up-to-date; to Wayne P. Kelley, executive editor and publisher of *Congressional Quarterly*; to Joanne D. Daniels, director of the Congressional Quarterly Press; and to John Fox Sullivan, publisher of the *National Journal*.

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Finally, we wish to express our thanks to members of the College Department of Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., beginning with Drake Bush, the acquisitions editor who supervised this edition and the last and provided invaluable editorial guidance. We shall always owe a special debt of gratitude to the late William A. Pullin, senior editor, who first proposed this project to us and gave it his continued support; to Virginia Joyner, our manuscript editor for the first two editions; and to Harry Rinehart, designer for the first four editions. For this new edition, we are deeply grateful to Margie Rogers, our tireless manuscript editor, and Kay Kaylor, our production editor; both worked with enormous dedication and talent. Art editor Maggie Porter and her able associate, Susan Holtz, supervised the selection of the many photographs and cartoons in this edition with great skill, patience, and unfailing good humor. They were helped in that task by assistant art editor Stacy Simpson. Production manager Lesley Lenox efficiently saw the book through the various stages of production. And designer Cheryl Solheid and design assistant Kay Faust applied their creative talents to integrate the whole, type and graphics, into a result that captures in visual form the spirit and purpose of our examination of *Democracy Under Pressure*.

Milton C. Cummings, Jr.  
David Wise



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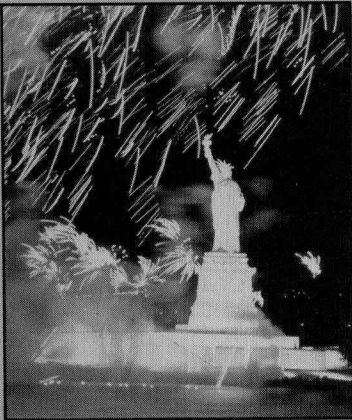
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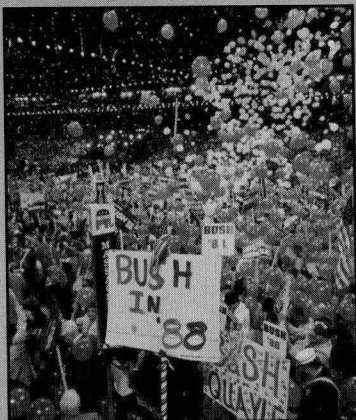
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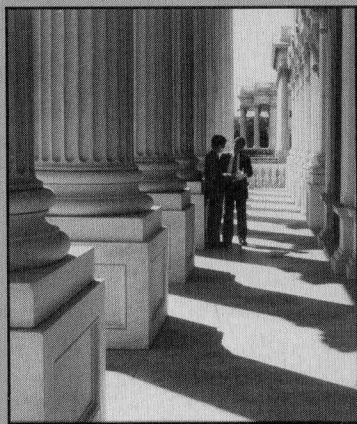
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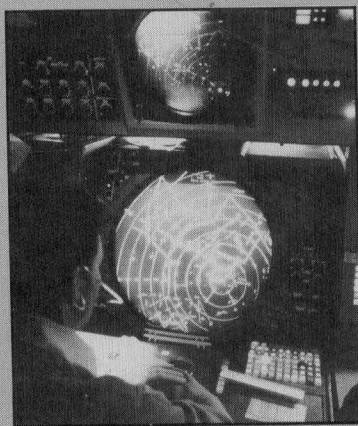
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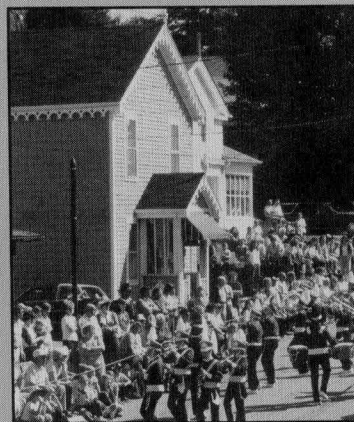
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