

American Politics



William Lasser

American Politics

Institutions and Interconnections

William Lasser

Clemson University

D. C. HEATH AND COMPANY
Lexington, Massachusetts Toronto

Address editorial correspondence to

D. C. Heath and Company
125 Spring Street
Lexington, MA 02173

Acquisitions Editor: Paul Smith
Developmental Editor: Valerie Aubry
Production Editor: Karen Wise
Designer: Cornelia Boynton
Photo Researcher: Picture Research Consultants
Art Editor: Penny Peters
Production Coordinator: Richard Tonachel
Permissions Editor: Margaret Roll
Cover: George Obremski / Image Bank

Copyright © 1996 by D. C. Heath and Company.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Published simultaneously in Canada.

Printed in the United States of America.

International Standard Book Number: 0-669-32584-8

Library of Congress Catalog Number: 95-79629

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1



ABOUT THE AUTHOR

William Lasser is Professor of Political Science at Clemson University. A gifted teacher, he was recognized with Clemson University's Alumni Master Teacher Award in 1993. Professor Lasser is the author of *The Limits of Judicial Power: The Supreme Court and American Politics* (University of North Carolina Press, 1988); *Perspectives on American Government: A Comprehensive Reader*, Second Edition (D. C. Heath, 1996); and *Benjamin V. Cohen and the Spirit of the New Deal* (The Twentieth Century Fund, in progress).

Preface

Any introductory textbook—any introductory course, for that matter—must carve up a very large subject and present various slices of reality, hoping in the end to leave the student with a taste of the big picture and an appetite to learn more. Long-standing tradition in American Government courses leaves little doubt that textbooks should begin with a discussion of the principles of American political culture and constitutionalism; progress through a survey of the processes by which individuals and groups interact with their government; continue with an analysis of government institutions; and end with a discussion of various public policy issues. Minor variations are allowed, but the overall framework is as well established as that of American government itself.

The traditional approach has its virtues, and I make no attempt to deviate from it in the structure of this book, *American Politics: Institutions and Interconnections*. It conforms to our deep-seated notions about politics, which are grounded in the separation of powers and in the belief that individuals and groups can influence governmental institutions and thus public policy. It also fits with the divisions within the field of political science, allowing the professor to bring to bear the latest research findings of scholars of various subspecialties. And the divisions of the traditional course match up nicely with advanced offerings in most political science departments.

The established framework, however, suffers from a critical flaw. The division of material between various chapters and sections is highly artificial and does not reflect the reality of American politics as experienced by practitioners and pundits alike. In real life, American institutions, practices, and policies are delicately intertwined; actions by one institution affect others, and developments in one area create ripple effects everywhere.

Consider the most obvious example: the legislative and executive branches. Discussing Congress in one chapter and the presidency in another may be customary and convenient, and even inevitable; but in Washington the two institutions revolve around

each other like twin stars in a distant galaxy. No major legislation can be passed without at least considering the views of the White House. Will the president compromise? Can Congress override a veto? Will a Senate committee threaten to hold up the president's pet project? Likewise, no chief executive can undertake a significant operation at home or abroad without taking Congress into account. How will this play on the Hill? What does Senator So-and-So think? Can Representative Such-and-Such be kept on board?

The major events in American politics—a presidential election, a Supreme Court nomination, a fight over the federal budget—almost never involve just one process or one institution. The big story is found not by examining people and institutions in isolation but by understanding how they interact and how their concerns in one area constrain or condition their actions in others. American politics, like a Beethoven symphony, is more than just the sum of its parts; it is not enough for students to understand the role of the violins or trumpets if they lack an overall sense of the music itself.

Emphasizing the interconnectedness of American politics—without abandoning the traditional, familiar framework in which the subject is typically presented—is the approach of this book.

The Interconnections Theme

Each chapter provides a thorough introduction to a key part of the American political system before examining its relationship with other parts and to the system as a whole. Text discussions and feature boxes highlight how important relationships and interactions influence American politics and democracy. Five sets of interconnections receive particular emphasis throughout the text:

- *Interconnections between the people and their government.* In a democracy the relationship between the people and the government is of paramount importance. Boxes on the people and their government illustrate how individuals and

groups can make their influence felt and how (or whether) the government responds to their wishes.

- *Interconnections between the state and national governments.* The interplay between the local, state, and national governments is treated explicitly in the chapter on federalism. But it also shows up elsewhere—for example, in the discussion of political parties.
- *Interconnections among the branches of the federal government.* The discussion of Congress, for example, recognizes the president's role in the process of making the laws. The discussion of the federal bureaucracy, likewise, pays special attention to the interactions among the bureaucracy, the courts, and Congress.
- *Interconnections between America and the world.* Americans can no longer pretend that the United States operates in isolation from the rest of the world or that the rest of the world will dance to any tune we play. Worldwide economic and political developments affect American politics, just as our decisions affect life in other countries. America's relationships with foreign nations are discussed not only in the text but in special "Global Perspectives" boxes.
- *Interconnections between the parts and the whole.* No discussion of civil rights, for example, can proceed without some attention to economic issues. No adequate analysis of political parties is possible without an appreciation for the basic ideas and assumptions that shape our political culture. Theoretical issues must be constantly applied in practice; practical questions must be constantly related to theory.

These interconnections are presented in two ways. First, the text emphasizes the natural interconnections between the various parts of the American political system. This approach makes the individual chapters more interesting and encourages students not to lose sight of how diverse themes fit together. A discussion of presidential approval ratings, for example, provides the opportunity for consideration of how the White House uses the media; an examination of domestic policy making allows for a review of the role of interest groups in the American system. Such interconnections are presented naturally and unobtrusively, but the cumulative effect, I believe, is a richer and deeper understanding of American politics and government.

Second, the text discussions are supported by "Interconnections" boxes in every chapter, which highlight and illustrate the relationships between institutions, practices, and people. The "Interconnections" boxes provide more detailed examples than are possible in the text itself. They also keep students focused on the importance of relating diverse elements and are useful launching pads for class discussion.

Themes of the Book

Within the broad interconnections framework, this book develops two key themes. First, there is a continual emphasis on the relationship between theory and practice in American politics. Students are repeatedly challenged to compare and contrast the theoretical underpinnings of American politics with the practical realities of everyday life. Particular emphasis is placed on the political philosophy of the Framers and on the ongoing significance of the debate that surrounded the adoption of the Constitution of 1787.

Second, this book examines the fundamental question of how, and how well, popular government works in the United States. Students are challenged to understand the fundamental principles of democratic government, to define the nature of the public interest, and to examine political institutions, practices, and interconnections in light of these issues. They are also encouraged to understand how they can participate in the political process, and to what effect.

Two aspects of American democracy receive special attention: the need to balance majority rule and majority rights, and the relationship between self-government and the public interest. To illustrate the tension between majority rule and minority rights, the book emphasizes the history, practice, and theory of civil rights and civil liberties. To illustrate how Americans have debated the public interest over time, the text examines prominent debates and discusses periods of major political change, such as the New Deal, the 1960s and 1970s, and the 1994 midterm elections.

American Politics: Institutions and Interconnections is also marked by a number of other innovative features. Taken together, these features deepen and broaden the study of American politics and aim to increase students' interest in and enjoyment of their course:

- Humor and human interest. Boxes, quotes, sidebars, cartoons, and photographs capture the

many faces of American politics, from the humorous to the poignant. "Politics Light" boxes are aimed at entertaining students as well as giving them a new point of view. "People and Politics" boxes introduce students to the human side of the political equation.

- *"Issue and Debate" boxes.* Controversial issues are presented in "Issue and Debate" boxes, which provide arguments on both sides of a question and encourage students to challenge their existing viewpoints. These boxes are particularly suited for stimulating formal or informal class discussions.
- *"Global Perspectives" boxes.* Comparisons of American institutions and practices with those of other nations allow students to grasp more firmly how their system works and to acquire a better understanding of the international community.
- *"Taking Part" boxes.* Students are given the opportunity to learn how they can get involved in the political system through these features, which include behind-the-scenes advice from a journalist on how to write an effective letter to the editor, as well as a guide to how to find political information on the Internet.
- *"Careers in Politics" boxes.* These brief features present interviews with men and women working in and around government, giving students a sampling of the wide range of career options available in the field of politics.
- *"Economics and Politics" boxes.* The relationship between economics and politics is highlighted in these boxed features, which include such topics as an examination of the economic origins of the Constitution and a discussion of cost-benefit analysis.
- *A variety of other pedagogical devices,* including questions for thought and discussion at the beginning of each chapter; charts, graphs, and photographs throughout the text; summaries, key terms, review questions, and suggested readings at the end of each chapter; appendixes; and a glossary.

Chapter Structure

All chapters follow a consistent format. Such consistency makes it easy for students to approach the text and simplifies the professor's task of choosing which

material to emphasize most specifically. The pattern of the chapters is as follows:

1. *A brief, captivating introduction* is designed to grab students' attention and to provide a focal point for the introduction of the major themes of the chapter. These "teasers" frequently involve key constitutional questions.
2. *Questions to keep in mind* make the themes and goals of the chapter explicit, make review easier, and foster students' critical thinking skills.
3. *Basic concepts* quickly run through the "nuts and bolts" that students are expected to learn and that they must understand in order to grasp fully the more thematic material that follows.
4. *Several thematic sections* go beyond the essential material and explore various themes of importance from a theoretical and institutional perspective. Interconnections themes are emphasized.
5. *Chapter summary, review questions, and suggestions for further reading* give students the opportunity to consolidate what they have learned and to explore further material.

Supplements

A comprehensive supplements package accompanies this text:

- *Instructor's Guide.* This helpful manual includes suggested lecture topics, discussion topics, in-class activities, student papers, and lists of supplementary readings, videos, films, and software for each chapter.
- *Test Item File.* The *Test Item File* includes more than 1,000 multiple-choice and true/false questions. It is available in print or on disk for MS-DOS and Macintosh.
- *Study Guide.* A learning aid designed for students using *American Politics*, this guide complements each chapter by providing learning objectives, a chapter summary, explanations of key interconnections, multiple-choice and true/false self-test questions, and a glossary.
- *Transparencies.* Approximately 50 full-color transparencies are drawn from the exciting illustration program of *American Politics*.

- **Free Subscription Offer.** When students purchase their copy of *American Politics*, they will automatically receive a free eight-week subscription to *Newsweek* magazine.
- **Congress Tutor Software for MS-DOS.** Updated to include the 104th Congress, this innovative new software by Richard Davis of Brigham Young University allows students to search and analyze congressional voting records. Students gain insights into the real workings of Congress by correlating search data of an individual, an issue, or a state with an assortment of factors, among them gender, religious affiliation, and receipt of PAC money.
- **Studying American Government: A Vade Mecum.** Designed for beginning students by Kenneth M. Holland of Memphis State University, this helpful guide to doing college-level work in political science covers reading and study strategies, library research, and writing assignments and is available for student purchase—for only \$1 over the cost of *American Politics*!
- **Media Policy.** D. C. Heath will offer adopters of *American Politics* an array of media supplements for classroom use, including various software and video options.

Acknowledgments

It is a cliché to suggest that a book could not have been completed without the help and support of one's editors, colleagues, students, friends, and family. But some clichés are true, and none more so than this one.

Paul Smith, my editor at D. C. Heath, has been a constant source of encouragement, support, and, when necessary, reassurance. I deeply value his professional judgment and his friendship. I am also thankful to Valerie Aubrey, for her careful and tireless editing, and to Karen Wise, who pulled together the pieces and who never lost her good humor—even when I lost something for the third or fourth time. Many others at Heath also contributed to the final result, and I am indebted to all of them.

I am grateful to my colleagues at Clemson University, especially Chuck Dunn, Tim O'Rourke, Marty Slann, and Dave Woodard, who were always willing to lend an ear or a book; to the many professors, journalists, and government officials who graciously

answered my many questions about the intricacies of the political process; to those who allowed me to interview them for the "Careers in Politics" and "Taking Part" features; to my research assistants, Alison Stinnett, Alyson Price, Don Burgess, Noelle Cavey, Allen Leland, and Beth Warren; and to the countless authors of books, journal articles, and magazine and newspaper pieces whose insights and ideas have contributed to my understanding of American politics.

Thanks are also due to the many scholars who reviewed the manuscript in whole or in part, and who worked on the various supplementary materials that accompany the text. These include Sharon Z. Alter, William Rainey Harper College; John Francis Burke, University of Houston; John C. Domino, Sam Houston State University; Peter F. Galderisi, Utah State University; Kristina Gilbert, Riverside Community College; Daniel P. Gregory, El Camino College; Wanda Lee Hill, Tarrant County Junior College; Rod O. Julander, Weber State University; Donald Kettl, University of Wisconsin; Donald G. Lamkin, Meramec Community College; David Lanoue, University of California at Riverside; Sue Lee, North Lake College; Fred R. Mabbutt, Rancho Santiago Community College; Dick Mahood, University of Memphis; Marilyn Mertens, Midwestern State University; Michael L. Mezey, DePaul University; Rex C. Peebles, Austin Community College; James W. Peterson, Valdosta State University; Charles Press, Michigan State University; Russell D. Renka, Southeast Missouri State University; Ronald Rubin, Borough of Manhattan Community College; Gregory D. Russell, California State University; Michael Sanera, Northern Arizona University; Christine Schultz, Santa Monica College; Charles Sewall Jr., Robert Morris College; Ian Shapiro, Yale University; Mark Shroder, Department of Housing and Urban Development; Latane Thrash Speer, Kilgore College; David Sutton, Appalachian State University; Sylvia Ann Thompson, University of Miami; Merle Treusch, Kean College of New Jersey; Marcella G. Washington, Florida Community College at Jacksonville; and Michael Yates, Missouri Southern State College.

Finally, I thank my wife, Susan J. S. Lasser, whose love is an unending source of joy and comfort; and our son, Max, who has watched with enthusiasm as "Daddy's book" has grown up with him. Max, this book's for you.

William Lasser

Contents

PART ONE

The Nature of American Democracy 1

1 INTRODUCTION 2

- The View from the 1990s 4
- Understanding American Democracy 5
 - Defining Politics 5
 - Defining Democracy 6
 - Democracy and the Public Interest 7
- Four Models of Democracy 7
 - The Pure (or Direct) Democracy Model 8
 - The Representative Democracy Model 9
 - The Pluralist Model 10
 - The Elite Model 11
- The Challenges of American Politics 12
 - Winning the Right to Govern 12
 - Harnessing the Power of Government 13
 - Controlling the Majority and the Government 14
 - The Fragmentation of Popular Authority 14
 - The Challenges of Modern Democracy 15
- American Democracy in Practice 15
- A Final Word 17

2 THE CONSTITUTION 20

- Basic Concepts 23
 - Origins of the Constitution 23
 - Key Principles and Provisions of the Constitution 30
 - Amending the Constitution 34
- The Framers and Their Ideas 36
 - Federalists and Antifederalists 36
 - The Federalists' Vision 39
 - The Antifederalists: Defeat But Not Oblivion 43
- Economics and Politics: An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution 38
- Interconnections: The Legislative Veto 42

3 FEDERALISM 47

- Basic Concepts 50
 - The Meanings of Federalism 50
 - Federalism and Its Alternatives 50
 - Federalists and Antifederalists 50
 - Models of Federalism 51
 - Federalism under the Constitution 53
- A History of Federalism under the Constitution 55
 - The Marshall Era and the Foundations of National Power 55
 - The Challenge to National Power 57
 - The Struggle for National Supremacy 58
 - Federalism Since the New Deal 60
- Federalism Today: Cooperation and Conflict 66
 - Primarily Local Functions 66
 - Shared Functions 67
 - Primarily Federal Functions 68
- Does Federalism Matter? 69
 - Advantages of Federalism 69
 - Disadvantages of Federalism 72
- Interconnections: The States as Laboratories 54
- People and Politics: Director, Office of State-Federal Relations 62
- Issue and Debate: Should Welfare Be Turned Over to the States? 71

4 CIVIL LIBERTIES 78

- Basic Concepts 81
 - Definition of Civil Liberties 81
 - Civil Liberties and the Constitution 83
 - Liberty and Community: Two Conceptions of Rights 86
- The Politics of Civil Liberties 88
 - The Supreme Court and Civil Liberties 88
 - The Lower Federal Courts 89
 - Congress 89
 - The Executive Branch 91
 - The States 91
 - Interest Groups 92

What Rights Do I Have? What Rights Do Others Have? 92

Freedom of Speech

Freedom of Religion 97

Freedom of Assembly 100

Criminal Law 101

Privacy 104

Interconnections: How Congress Can Help Itself by Promoting Free Speech 90

Global Perspectives: Human Rights and American Foreign Policy 100

People and Politics: Who Was Jane Roe? 108

5 CIVIL RIGHTS 112

Basic Concepts 115

Definition of Civil Rights 115

The Constitution and Equality 115

The Perennial Challenge of Race Relations in America 116

Race Relations Before the Civil War 116

Race Relations After the Civil War 118

The Dismal Era: 1876 to 1932 119

Small Signs of Progress: 1933 to 1953 121

Brown v. Board of Education 122

The Civil Rights Movement and Southern Resistance 125

From Desegregation to Affirmative Action 128

Forty Years of Civil Rights 130

The Civil Rights Movement Extended 131

Women 131

Native Americans 133

Latinos 135

Asian Americans 138

Nontraditional Minority Groups 140

The New Controversy: Affirmative Action 141

Constitutionality of Affirmative Action 141

Economics and Politics: The Racial Income Gap 124

Interconnections: Civil Rights Law: The Work of All Three Branches 129

Global Perspectives: Immigration and Civil Rights 138

Issue and Debate: Affirmative Action 142



PART TWO

The People and Their Government 147

6 POLITICAL CULTURE 148

Basic Concepts 151

Definition of Political Culture 151

Cultures and Subcultures 152

Is America Different? 153

The American Creed 154

American Political Ideologies: Liberalism and Conservatism 161

The Dark Side of American Politics 169

Intolerance and the Pressure to Conform 169

Distrust 170

Paranoia and Conspiracy 171

Multiculturalism and American Political Culture 171

The Melting Pot 172

The Idea of Multiculturalism 173

A Liberal Multiculturalism? 175

Interconnections: Public Policy and Political Culture 162

People and Politics: Peace Corps Volunteer and Press Officer 165

Global Perspectives: *God's Country and Mine: A Mid-Twentieth Century View of American Democracy* 174

7 PUBLIC OPINION 178

Basic Concepts 181

The Concept of Public Opinion 181

Political Socialization 182

Public Opinion and Democracy 187

Public Opinion and Political Participation 189

American Public Opinion: A Snapshot	190
Political Knowledge and Awareness	190
Liberals and Conservatives	193
Attitudes By and About Race	194
The Gender Gap	196
Religion, Age, and Income	197
Tracking Public Opinion: The Power of Political Polling	198
Why Polls Works	198
Why Polls Go Wrong	201
People and Politics: Governor Pardons Boy Who Lied to His Parents	183
People and Politics: Politics on the Internet	185
Global Perspectives: Public Opinion Around the World	192
Interconnections: Public Opinion and Elections	200

8 INTEREST GROUPS 209

Basic Concepts	212
Definition of Interest Groups	212
The Origins of Interest Groups	212
Types of Interest Groups	213
Why Do People Join Interest Groups?	220
What Do Interest Groups Do?	222
The Changing Character of Interest Groups	227
Responses to the Expansion of Federal Power	227
Responses to Increased Complexity and Decentralization	228
Responses to the Declining Strength of Political Parties	229
Responses to Advances in Technology	229
The Bureaucratization of Interest Groups	229
Interest Groups and Ethics	232
Lobbying and Money	232
The Revolving Door	233
Interest Groups and the Public Interest	234
Interest Groups As Factions: Madison Revisited	234
Pluralists and Elitists	236

People and Politics: Citizen Lobbyists	217
Economics and Politics: Astroturf Lobbying	224
Interconnections: Interest Groups and Federalism	231
People and Politics: Lobbying for Civil Rights	223

9 POLITICAL PARTIES 240

Basic Concepts	243
Definition of <i>Political Party</i>	243
The Idea of a Party System	243
The American Party System	246
Parties in the American Political System	253
Parties and Party Systems in American History	254
The Idea of Realignment	254
The First Party System	255
The Second Party System	257
The Third and Fourth Party Systems	259
The Fifth (or New Deal) Party System	262
The New American Party System	263
Democrats and Republicans Today	266
The Realignment of the 1990s?	269
Interconnections: Parties and Interest Groups	244
Global Perspectives: Two-Party Versus Multiparty Systems	247
People and Politics: Working on a Political Campaign	265

10 CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS 274

Basic Concepts	277
Why Elections?	277
General Elections and Primary Elections	277
The Right to Vote	278
One Person, One Vote	278
Presidential Elections: The Long and Winding Road	280
Congressional, State, and Local Elections	288

Modern Campaign	290
Money	291
Media	297
Voters	302
Voter Turnout	303
Voting Behavior	309
Global Perspectives: Elections in Other Democracies	289
People and Politics: The Ultimate Nonpolitician Politician	292
Interconnections: Campaigning and Governing	298
Economics and Politics: The Political Business Cycle	311

11 THE MEDIA 316

Basic Concepts	319
Scope and Structure of the American Media	319
Political Roles of the Media	323
The Constitution and the Press	330
Prior Restraints	332
Libel	332
Special Access and Privileges	334
Electronic Versus Print Media	335
The Media and the Government: Watchdog or Lapdog?	336
Media Versus Government	336
Government Versus Media	338
Are the Media Biased?	343
A Liberal Bias?	344
A Conservative Bias?	345
Pack Journalism	345
People and Politics: Writing a Letter to the Editor	331
Interconnections: The Press and the Right to a Fair Trial	333
People and Politics: Domestic News Producer	341

≡ PART THREE Political Institutions 349

12 CONGRESS 350

Basic Concepts	354
Structure and Makeup of Congress	354
How a Bill Becomes a Law	360
Budget and Revenue	364
Representing the People	366
The Electoral Connection	368
Who Sits in Congress?	368
Congressional Voting	369
Representation and Casework	370
How Congress Really Works	373
The Modern Congress in Context	373
The Death and Revival of Congressional Leadership	375
Committee and Subcommittee Government	379
Overseeing the Bureaucracy	382
Evaluating the Modern Congress	384
Is Congress Representative?	385
Can Congress Govern?	386
Interconnections: Term Limits	367
People and Politics: Writing a Letter to Your Congressional Representative	374

13 THE PRESIDENCY 390

Basic Concepts	393
The Framers and Executive Power	393
Constitutional Powers of the Presidency	393
Extraconstitutional Powers of the President	397
Informal Powers and Presidential Leadership	400
The Evolution of the American Presidency	405
The Traditional Presidency: Low Expectations, Low Performance	405

- The Rise of the Imperial Presidency: High Expectations, High Performance 406
- The Postmodern Presidency: High Expectations, Low Performance 408
- The President and the Administrative Process 411
 - Organizing the White House 413
 - The Nonmanagerial Presidency 415
- The President and the Legislative Process 415
 - Agenda-Setting: The Power to Propose 417
 - Lobbying 418
- The White House and the People 421
- Interconnections: The Iran-Contra Affair 396**
- People and Politics: White House Aide 412**
- Global Perspectives: Presidential Versus Parliamentary Systems 419**
- Issue and Debate: Should Presidents Serve a Single Six-Year Term? 422**

14 THE BUREAUCRACY 426

- Basic Concepts 429
 - Characteristics of Bureaucracy 429
 - Growth and Reform of the Federal Bureaucracy 431
 - The Federal Bureaucracy under the Constitution 438
- What the Bureaucracy Does and How It Does It 441
 - Administering the Law and Managing Programs 441
 - Policy Development 443
 - Rule Making and Regulation 443
 - Interpreting and Applying the Law 444
 - Going to Court 445
 - Program Evaluation 445
- Disadvantages and (Surprise!) Advantages of Bureaucratic Power 445
 - Problems with Bureaucracy 446
 - Benefits of Bureaucracy 450

- Controlling the Bureaucracy: A Job for All Three Branches 451
- The View from the White House 451
- Congress and the Bureaucracy 453
- Law, Courts, and Agencies 453

Economics and Politics: Cost-Benefit Analysis 442

Interconnections: Agencies, Courts, and the Interpretation of Federal Law 454

15 THE COURTS 458

- Basic Concepts 461
 - The American Judicial System 461
 - Selection of Judges 465
 - How the Supreme Court Works 470
- The Supreme Court and Judicial Review 474
 - The Origins of Judicial Review 474
 - The Supreme Court and the States 478
- The Courts in American Government 480
 - Statutory Interpretation 480
 - Watchdog on the Bureaucracy 482
- The Courts and the Democratic Process 482
 - The Courts and Minority Rights 482
 - The Courts and Majority Rule 484
 - Democracy and the Courts: An Assessment 486
- People and Politics: Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg 473**
- Issue and Debate: Should the Supreme Court Follow the "Original Intent" of the Framers? 476**
- Interconnections: Does the Supreme Court Follow the Election Returns? 483**



PART FOUR

Public Policy

491

16

DOMESTIC POLICY

492

Basic Concepts 494

What Governments Do 494

Debating Social and Economic Policy 496

Factors Influencing Policy 497

Hard Choices 498

Economic Policy 502

Monetary Policy 503

Fiscal Policy 504

Supply-Side Economics 506

Industrial Policy 507

Taxation 507

Regulation of Business 508

Corporate Welfare 509

Social Welfare Policy 510

Goals of American Social Welfare Policy 510

Social Security 511

Programs for the Needy 514

Welfare for the Rich 515

Education Policy 515

Health Policy 518

The State and Federal Governments' Current Roles
518

Reform Efforts 519

Public Policy and the Public Interest 521

Interconnections: Public Policy and Interest Groups: The
Alar Case 495

Issue and Debate: School Choice 516

17

FOREIGN AND MILITARY POLICY

525

Basic Concepts 529

The Constitution and Foreign Policy 529

The Evolution of the Foreign Policy Power 530

Managing Foreign Affairs in the Modern Era 537

The Substance of American Foreign Policy 538

Isolation and Intervention 538

Foreign Policy and the "New World Order" 541

American Foreign Policy: To What Ends? 542

Deciding How to Intervene 544

Foreign Policy and Public Opinion 548

The People and Foreign Policy 548

The Public's View of Foreign Policy 549

Striking a Balance 551

Issue & Debate: Does the President Have the Authority to
Make War Without Congressional Approval? 532Interconnections: Television and Foreign Policy: The Case of
the Cuban Missile Crisis 546

APPENDIX

The Declaration of Independence A2

The Constitution of the United States A5

The Federalist No. 10 A20*The Federalist No. 51* A25

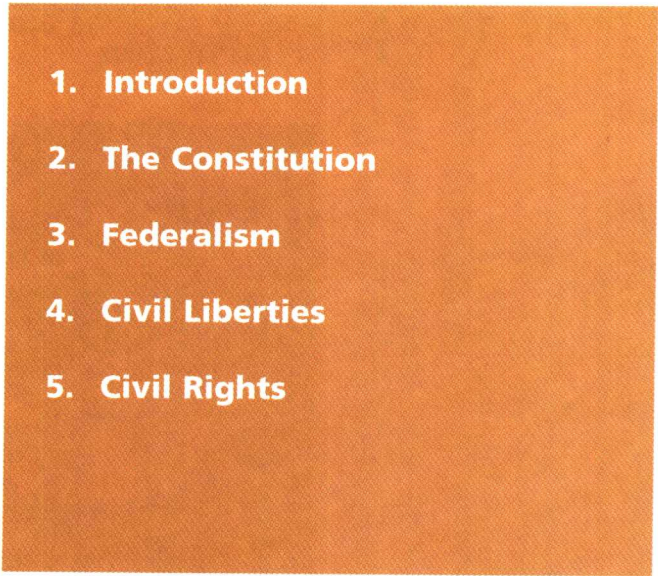
Presidents and Congresses, 1789–1995 A28

Photo Credits A31

Glossary A33

Index A49

PART ONE *The Nature
of American
Democracy*

- 
1. Introduction
 2. The Constitution
 3. Federalism
 4. Civil Liberties
 5. Civil Rights

1



Introduction

- ★ THE VIEW FROM THE 1990s
- ★ UNDERSTANDING AMERICAN DEMOCRACY
 - Defining Politics • Defining Democracy • Democracy and the Public Interest
- ★ FOUR MODELS OF DEMOCRACY
 - The Pure (or Direct) Democracy Model • The Representative Democracy Model
 - The Pluralist Model • The Elite Model
- ★ THE CHALLENGES OF AMERICAN POLITICS
 - Winning the Right to Govern • Harnessing the Power of Government •
 - Controlling the Majority and the Government • The Fragmentation of Popular Authority • The Challenges of Modern Democracy
- ★ AMERICAN DEMOCRACY IN PRACTICE
- ★ A FINAL WORD



Long ago—before soap operas, professional football, or MTV—politics was America's favorite spectator sport. Famous orators attracted listeners by the thousands, endearing themselves to the crowds with their passionate eloquence, not to mention free food and drinks. In bars and taverns, across dinner tables, and on cross-country train trips, Americans talked and argued endlessly about politics.

In part, of course, our ancestors were obsessed with politics because there was so little else to do for relaxation and recreation. Until this century, there was no television or radio, no movies, not even recorded music. Americans enjoyed plays, concerts, ball games, and prize fights, but mostly they found amusement in books and newspapers, and with each other. Politics and current events became topics of choice almost by default.

The American love affair with politics was not merely a product of necessity, however. Americans (or at least those allowed to participate in politics) took the idea of democracy seriously, and regarded their participation in self-government as both a right and a duty. More than that, many actually found enjoyment in politics. Everyone likes a good fight, and politics is essentially a contest—a war with words instead of bullets. Whether participating in the battle or merely cheering the troops, Americans found politics a healthy way to vent their aggressions and emotions.

Besides, politics could be fun, and politicians could be funny. Everyone could appreciate a good

political joke, usually told at the politicians' expense, or a clever political quip. Political poetry and song writing have been around since before the American Revolution, and lawyer jokes are as old as the law itself.

Some politicians were actually famous for their humor, none more so than Abraham Lincoln. During his first congressional race, Lincoln was repeatedly accused of lacking religious faith. At one meeting his opponent asked everyone in the crowd who didn't want to go to hell to stand up. Everyone but Lincoln got up. "May I inquire of you, Mr. Lincoln, where are you going?" the candidate asked. Lincoln replied, "I am going to Congress."



Politics in the late nineteenth century offered many opportunities for free entertainment. In this painting, a Chicago crowd enjoys the scene as two local politicians settle a bet. The Republican had offered to pull his Democratic friend in a horse cart if Grover Cleveland beat the Republican candidate in the 1892 presidential election.