



Cigler | Loomis

American Politics


FIFTH EDITION

Classic and Contemporary Readings

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*Classic and
Contemporary
Readings*



Fifth Edition

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TOPIC CORRELATION CHART

Although the chapters of this book of readings have been organized to mesh with the coverage of most American government textbooks, many subjects receive attention in more than one chapter. The following chart permits students and instructors to locate relevant readings for twenty-six subjects, ranging (in alphabetical order) from bureaucracy to the Washington establishment.

Topic:	Covered in:
Bureaucracy	Chapter 12; 14.1
Campaigns and Elections	Chapter 7; 4.4; 8.3; 11.2
Clinton Presidency	4.2; 4.3; 11.3; 14.4
Congress	Chapter 10; 12.4
Constitution	Chapters 1, 3, and 13; 2.1, 2.2; 9.1
Domestic Policy	Chapter 14; 2.3; 2.4; 10.4; 12.1
Election 2000	1.5; 7.1; 7.2; 8.3
Federalism	Chapter 2; 1.1; 9.1
The Founding	Chapter 1; 9.1
Impeachment	4.2; 4.3; 11.3
Interest Groups	Chapter 9; 7.3; 7.4; 14.2; 14.3
Leadership	Chapter 11; 8.1; 14.2
Mass Media	Chapter 8; 4.4
Money and Politics	6.3; 7.3; 7.4; 9.2; 9.4
Participation	Chapter 5; 6.1; 7.4; 9.3
Policymaking Process	Chapter 14; 2.4; 7.3; 9.4; 10.4; 11.4
Political Culture	4.3; 5.2; 5.3; 7.2
Political Parties	Chapter 6; 5.1; 7.4; 10.3
Presidency	Chapter 11; 1.5; 8.1; 8.2
Public Opinion	Chapter 4; 5.1; 8.2

Reform	5.2; 6.1; 7.3; 8.3; 9.3
Representation	Chapter 9; 10.1; 10.4; 10.5
Separation of Powers	1.4; 10.3; 11.1; 11.4; 13.1
Supreme Court and the Judiciary	Chapters 3 and 13
Technology and Politics	3.4; 4.4
Washington Establishment	9.2; 11.1; 14.4

PREFACE

In the wake of the close election in 2000 and the unsuccessful impeachment of Bill Clinton in 1998–1999, the need to place American politics in a historic perspective has rarely been more important. We find that the framers of the Constitution continue to influence our political life, even as we race toward a global economy and continuous communication. Republicans have captured both the presidency and both houses of Congress for the first time since 1955, yet their margin of victory was extremely narrow—narrow to the point that George W. Bush received fewer popular votes than did Al Gore.

As in previous editions of this book, we have strived to assemble the best possible collection of articles—both established classics and important recent pieces—that will allow students to explore the complexities of American politics. The resulting set of fifty-seven articles (twenty-four of which are new) includes selections, like John Roche's, "The Founding Fathers: A Reform Caucus in Action" and Richard Neustadt's excerpt from *Presidential Power*, that are well-established "classics." Other selections, such as Kenneth Shepsle's "The Changing Textbook Congress" and Richard Posner's "What Am I? A Potted Plant?," have become "new classics" that will stand the test of time. Still other articles, like Allen Schick's "A Surplus, If You Can Keep It," reflects new work by veteran scholars.

We continue to work to make this volume both accessible and sophisticated, as well as to address the major issues of the day (impeachment, the electoral college). In an effort to maintain the essential argument of each selection, some readings may be longer than average. This limits the number of articles that we can incorporate into the book, but it does allow for a bit more depth per topic.

American Politics: Classic and Contemporary Readings, Fifth Edition, is divided into fourteen chapters that correspond with the organization of most American government texts. Each chapter begins with an essay that sets out the themes of that section, and a headnote introduces each selection, thus providing some context for the article. Following each article are "questions for discussion" that address issues raised in the piece.

The book includes two other, useful features. First, each selection is annotated, so that difficult terms and obscure historical references are clarified. Second, we have produced an extensive topic correlation chart, directly following the table of contents, that provides cross-references for twenty-six subjects, such as "impeachment" and "money in politics."

Complementing *American Politics* is an *Instructor's Resource Manual with Test Items*, written most capably by Professor Joel Paddock of Southwest Missouri State University. This manual includes article selection summaries, suggestions for classroom use, and sets of both multiple-choice and essay questions for all readings.

Since beginning this project in the 1980s, Houghton Mifflin has consistently obtained excellent reviewers for examining and reexamining the contents. We are in their debt, once again. They include:

Edmond Costantini, University of California–Davis
James W. Davis, Washington University
Robert Friedman, California State University
Dennis J. Goldford, Drake University
Ange-Marie Hancock, University of San Francisco
Mark S. Jendrysik, University of North Dakota
Mark Landis, Hofstra University
Brad Lockerbie, University of Georgia
Penny Miller, University of Kentucky
Bruce Oppenheimer, Vanderbilt University
Ronald Pynn, University of North Dakota
Robert Y. Shapiro, Columbia University
G. Michael Stathis, Southern Utah University
John W. Winkle III, University of Mississippi

As always, the Houghton Mifflin editors have worked diligently to help produce the very best book possible. Our thanks go to Tonya Lobato, Mary Dougherty, Heather Hubbard, and Jean Woy.

Somewhat to our amazement, as we edit our tenth book together, the authors continue to discover that we complement each other. Our spouses, Beth Cigler and Michel Loomis, long-suffering through all ten books, remain supportive nonetheless. And we continue to hope that, one year, Jayhawk basketball will meet our expectations. Maybe by the twentieth edition.

A. J. C.
B. A. L.

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Chapter 1

THE CONSTITUTION AND FOUNDING

The framing of the Constitution serves as one of the anchors of American politics. The Constitution was written, under pressure, by an extraordinary band of political leaders, whose accomplishments at the Philadelphia convention have proven so workable and lasting that it is difficult not to see them as mythical figures. Still, with the possible exception of George Washington, these were people, not demigods. And Washington's elevated status proved useful to the framers: As they devised the presidency and later pushed for ratification, they, along with the great body of citizens, could easily envision Washington as the first incumbent of the office.

It is difficult to exaggerate the scope of the problems the framers faced. They confronted a system of government under the Articles of Confederation that emphasized the sovereignty of the individual states at the expense of a coherent national identity and hindered the development of the nation. An armed insurrection in Massachusetts (Shays's Rebellion) demonstrated the weakness of the states in coming to terms with problems of commerce, currency, and credit. In addition, this uprising brought home the supposed dangers of the masses within a democratic state. The possible "tyranny of the majority" was a real fear. Domestic challenges were no greater than those from abroad. The United States may have won its war of independence, but European powers certainly did not see American sovereignty as immutable. Throughout the country's first few decades, there were numerous plots to compromise American independence (for example, the XYZ Affair and Aaron Burr's plan for a separatist state in the Southwest).

In writing the Constitution and securing its ratification, the framers proved themselves skillful political engineers and propagandists. As Jack Rakove points out, the framers had to "reconstitute" the government of the new nation by the very act of writing a constitution, and Rakove argues that they learned well from the Massachusetts experience of including "broad statements on the first principles of government" within the document. John P. Roche sees these individuals as a "reform caucus," a label that aptly captures the essentially political nature of their task. Nevertheless, their purposes were more radical than merely carrying out a set of reforms. As Roche notes, "The Constitutionalsists went forth to subvert the Confederation," not to enact some modest changes.