

**American Government
and Politics Today:
THE ESSENTIALS ■ 1996-1997 EDITION**



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American Government and Politics Today: The Essentials



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Preface

At a point in its history when the United States has one of the strongest economies in the world and its former adversary, the Soviet Union, no longer exists, it is surprising that the nation has such an uncertain outlook for its future. Clearly aware that the United States is the sole remaining military superpower, the American people and their leaders seem unable to decide on what role we should play on the world stage.

The domestic political arena also appears to be unsettled and unpredictable, with both political parties striving to create new majorities. The 1992 election of Bill Clinton, who defeated both the incumbent president George Bush and the independent candidate Ross Perot, was widely seen as the beginning of a new political age, one that would be dominated by the demands and experiences of a new generation of leadership. Clinton's reputation as a moderate southern governor, his vice-presidential choice, Al Gore, Jr., and his young campaign team brought a freshness to American politics. He promised a "new covenant" with the American people. Clinton's victory, however, may have had within it the seeds of the 1994 electoral defeat for the Democratic party. Nineteen percent of the voters in 1992 cast their ballots for Ross Perot, the independent candidate for president who promised a totally new style of politics. The voters who were swayed by Perot were young, not affiliated with either party, and very unhappy with politics as usual.

Clinton's first two years in office were quite successful—apart from his initiative to reform the health-care system. The majority Democratic Congress passed a number of bills that Bush had vetoed, including the Brady Bill, the Family and Medical Leave Act, and a deficit-reduction bill that raised the taxes on upper-income Americans. Bill and Hillary Clinton, however, made health reform the centerpiece of their first two years. After a year of congressional hearings and consideration of the Clinton plan and many other plans, health-care reform was dropped from the agenda because there was no emerging consensus on how to reform such a massive sector of the nation's economy.

The 1994 congressional elections astonished most observers. The Republicans swept seats at every level of government, gaining control of both the House and the Senate, as well as many state governorships and legislatures. A fairly unknown firebrand Republican named Newt Gingrich became speaker of the House of Representatives, and, by enforcing party discipline, brought to the floor of the House all of the bills he had included in the Contract with America. The same observers who hailed the Clinton election as the beginning of a new age of moderate Democratic politics wondered if the American public was, instead, embracing the anti-government sentiments of the conservative Republicans. Is it possible that the Republicans

will become the majority party, a place they have not held since the 1920s? Only future elections will tell.

It may seem paradoxical that although the American people and their political leaders are at present unable to find a consistent direction on many national issues, the degree to which people support certain basic political principles and get involved in local politics is unchanged. Most studies show that the majority of Americans are extremely patriotic and wish to see their nation, their states, and their local communities prosper. How the American people will be able to channel their desires and demands for political action through the political system is one of the topics addressed in this book.

A TOTAL LEARNING/TEACHING PACKAGE

This text, along with its numerous supplements, constitutes what we believe to be a total learning/teaching package. Specifically, the text itself contains numerous pedagogical aids and high-interest additions, such as the following:

1. *A Preview of Contents to Each Chapter.* To give the student an understanding of what is to come, each chapter starts out with a topical outline of its contents.

2. *What If . . .* To stimulate student interest in the chapter topics, each chapter begins with a hypothetical situation that we call *What If . . .* Some important *What If . . .* examples follow:

- “What If . . . The Constitution Were Easier to Amend?” (Chapter 2)
- “What If . . . We had Unrestricted Immigration?” (Chapter 5)
- “What If . . . Independent Voters Were the Majority?” (Chapter 8)
- “What If . . . Congresspersons Were Limited to Two Terms?” (Chapter 10)

3. *Margin Definitions.* Because terminology is often a stumbling block to understanding, each important term is printed in boldface, and a definition of the term appears in the margin adjacent to the boldfaced term. To help students locate these important terms quickly when reviewing the chapter materials, we list each boldfaced term and the page number on which it can be found in the *Key Terms* list at the end of the chapter. Additionally, all of the boldfaced terms and their definitions are contained in the *Glossary* at the end of the text, in which the terms are listed alphabetically.

4. *Did You Know . . . ?* Throughout the text, in the margins, are various facts and figures that we call *Did You Know . . . ?* They add relevance, humor, and a certain amount of fun to the student’s task of learning about American government and politics. The following are examples of this feature:

- Did You Know . . . That the Democrats and Republicans each had exactly one woman delegate at their conventions in 1900? (Chapter 8)
- Did You Know . . . That in 1962, Representative Clem Miller, a California Democrat, was reelected to his congressional seat over challenger Don Clause despite the fact that Miller had died more than a month earlier in a plane crash? (Chapter 9)
- Did You Know . . . That in 1994, 1,500 civil servants in Charleston County, South Carolina, opened their tax information envelopes and discovered that they were legally dead because of a computer error, thereby

leaving only a half a dozen people deemed alive in that county's government? (Chapter 14)

■ **Did You Know . . .** That including those killed in the Civil War, more than one million American soldiers have been killed in the nation's wars? (Chapter 15).

5. Profiles. Every chapter is enlivened with a profile of a key individual who has made unique contributions to the American political system. These features are labeled *Politics: The Human Side*.

6. Politics and . . . Every chapter is further enlivened with special features entitled *Politics and . . .*, in which we take a closer look at some of the interesting aspects of topics discussed in the chapter. The following list shows some of these boxes:

- *Politics and Cultural Diversity: The Impact of Immigration* (Chapter 1).
- *Politics and Race: From Integration Back to Segregation* (Chapter 5).
- *Politics and Political Parties: The Republican Wave of 1994* (Chapter 8).
- *Politics and People: Attacking the Federal Government* (Chapter 12).

7. Getting Involved. Because we believe that the best way for students to get a firmer understanding of the American political system is by direct participation, we offer suggestions on ways for them to get involved in the system. At the end of each chapter, there are suggestions on where to write, whom to call, and what to do. Some examples of this feature follow:

- *Your Civil Liberties: Searches and Seizures* (Chapter 4).
- *Be a Critical Consumer of Opinion Polls* (Chapter 6).
- *Influencing the President* (Chapter 11).

8. Point-by-point Chapter Summaries. At the end of each chapter, the essential points in the chapter are presented in a point-by-point format for ease of review and understanding.

9. Questions for Review and Discussion. To elicit student interest and discussion in and out of class, there are two to five questions for review and discussion at the end of each chapter.

10. Logging On—Suggestions for Using the Internet. In keeping with the electronic age, we are providing students with suggestions on how to access the “information superhighway” by using the Internet. We describe the Internet and how it can be accessed in the *Logging On* feature at the end of Chapter 1. Then, in the *Logging On* section at the end of each subsequent chapter, we give appropriate suggestions for how to find information on special topics covered in the chapter.

11. Selected References. Important and understandable references are given at the end of each chapter. Each reference is annotated to indicate its usefulness and the area that it covers.

12. Tables, Charts, and Photographs. As you can readily see, the text uses tables and charts, as well as photographs, to summarize and illustrate important institutional, historical, and economic facts.

EMPHASIS ON CRITICAL THINKING

Whenever feasible, we have gone beyond mere factual narrative to discuss the rationale underlying specific political decisions and the likely conse-

quences of those decisions in the future. For example, in Chapter 3, when discussing fiscal federalism, we not only describe federal mandates but also analyze the effects of unfunded federal mandates on already strained state budgets. This analysis provides a background for understanding the significance of the legislation enacted by Congress in 1995 to curb such mandates. As another example, in Chapter 14, on the politics of economic and domestic policymaking, we analyze policy problems in terms of which groups in society receive the benefits of particular policy decisions.

If the student uses our accompanying booklet, *Handbook on Critical Thinking and Writing in American Politics*, with the exercises in critical thinking, he or she will have a strong basis for analyzing not only American politics but all other college subjects as well.

THE ANNOTATED U.S. CONSTITUTION AND OTHER APPENDICES

So that this book can serve as a reference, we have included important documents for the student of American government to have close at hand. Of course, every college American government text includes the U.S. Constitution. We believe that this document—and students' understanding of it—is so important that we have included a fully annotated U.S. Constitution as Appendix B. Although our brief summaries of constitutional provisions should not be thought of as a substitute for a word-for-word analysis, they will help the student understand the finer points within each part of our Constitution.

In addition to the U.S. Constitution and a special new appendix on survival skills (see the next section), we have also included the following appendices:

- *The Declaration of Independence.*
- *The Presidents of the United States.*
- *Federalist Papers #10 and 51.*
- *How to Do Research in Political Science.*
- *Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court.*
- *Spanish Equivalents for Important Terms in American Government and Political Science.*

A SPECIAL APPENDIX ON SURVIVAL SKILLS

Students, as citizens, need certain survival skills. We include in this edition a special appendix called *A Citizen's Survival Guide*. It contains the following sections:

- You and the Political System.
- You and the Justice System.
- You and Your Personal Protection.
- You and Your Employer.

A FULL SUPPLEMENTAL PACKAGE

In conjunction with a number of our colleagues, we have developed a supplementary teaching materials package that we believe is the best available today.

Study Guide

The student *Study Guide* was written by James McElyea of Tulsa Junior College, Tulsa, Oklahoma. Each chapter provides learning objectives, a topical outline, a list of terms and concepts, and a variety of self-study questions. The *Study Guide* also contains an essay describing how students can develop and improve their study skills for the American government course. The *Study Guide* is available for student purchase.

Instructor's Manual

The *Instructor's Manual* was written by Michael Dinneen of Tulsa Junior College, Tulsa, Oklahoma, and includes learning objectives and annotated chapter outlines, as well as numerous teaching suggestions, examples, ideas for presentation, and supplemental lecture ideas. In the *Instructor's Manual* are suggested answers to the exercises in critical thinking found at the end of each *Critical Perspective* in the text.

Test Bank

The test bank was written by Michael Dinneen of Tulsa Junior College, Tulsa, Oklahoma. It contains over 1,300 test items. The test items are a mixture of multiple-choice, short-answer, and essay questions. Answers to the test items are page referenced.

Computerized Instructor's Manual

The entire *Instructor's Manual* is now available on disk in ASCII format. It can be coded for practically any word-processing program that you are using. You can modify the *Instructor's Manual* to meet your own needs and specifications.

Computerized Testing

A computerized testing program, WESTEST, containing the test questions from the test bank, is available with this text. WESTEST may be obtained for the IBM PC and compatible computers or the Apple Macintosh family of microcomputers. WESTEST allows instructors to create new tests, modify existing tests, change the questions from West's original test bank, and print tests in a variety of formats. Instructors can add questions of their own to the test bank. Instructors should contact their West sales representative to inquire about acquiring WESTEST.

A Book of Readings

Accompanying the book is a reader consisting of nineteen chapters keyed to the book's topics. Each chapter has from two to four short, interesting, timely, and thought-provoking articles taken from recent sources. The articles focus on subjects discussed in the book and provide the students with additional depth on these topics. Examples include political correctness and free speech, euthanasia, the influence of the media, and health-care reform. Each section has a short introduction that provides the student with a summary and overview. There are also study and discussion questions at the end of each chapter.

A Handbook on Critical Thinking and Writing

In keeping with the emphasis on critical thinking in this edition, we have written a handbook entitled *An Introduction to Critical Thinking and Writing in American Politics*. This handbook introduces students to a series of critical-thinking techniques that will allow them to make better use of the information they receive about the political sphere from campaign speeches, the mass media, and privately sponsored publications. Although the examples used in the handbook relate specifically to American politics, the techniques in critical thinking presented can be of value to the students in all their college courses, as well as in their day-to-day activities.

Handbooks of Selected Court Cases and Legislation

The decisions of the United States Supreme Court play an important role in American political developments, and for that reason, numerous significant Supreme Court decisions are discussed or cited in *American Government and Politics Today*. To further the student's understanding of the Supreme Court's reasoning, a special supplement on Supreme Court cases accompanies the 1996–1997 edition. The *Handbook of Selected Court Cases*, which contains thirty-two of the Supreme Court cases mentioned in the text, allows students to read the Court's own words on selected issues. Each case in the *Handbook* opens with a brief statement, in the author's own words, that describes the essential issue or issues before the Court. Then a summary of the case as it appears on WESTLAW is presented. Following this summary appear the actual words of the Court, excerpted directly from the Court's written opinion on the case. To assist the student in deciphering the meaning of certain legal terms and case citations, a preface to the *Handbook* provides a guide to legal citations and terminology.

Also included as a supplement for this edition is a separate *Handbook of Selected Legislation*. This pamphlet contains excerpts from many of the statutes referred to in this text.

College Survival Guide

The *College Survival Guide*, written by Bruce Rowe, offers tips for students on how they can succeed in college. The guide includes suggestions on how to finance an education, manage time effectively, prepare for and take examinations, improve concentration, and use the credit/no-credit option. The

author also discusses cooperative-education programs and the importance of a liberal arts education. The *College Survival Guide* is especially helpful for first-year college students, students who are reentering college, and students from other countries.

An Analysis of the Breakup of the Soviet Union: *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Union, 1917–1991*

To give students the background that they need to understand the challenges that face the United States in carrying out a foreign policy, a free student booklet about the dissolution of the Soviet Union is available to adopters. It is called *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Union, 1917–1991*.

Videotapes

We are pleased to announce that *American Government and Politics Today* was selected as the recommended text for the Dallas County Community College District telecourse “Government by Consent,” which began in 1990. The telecourse is distributed through Dallas Telecourse and the PBS Adult Learning Service to educational institutions.

All qualified adopters of *American Government and Politics Today* are able to select three special half-hour videotapes from this exciting telecourse. The program is devoted to topics central to the study of American government and includes interviews with major contemporary decision makers. Qualified adopters may also choose videos from West’s Political Science Video Library. A list of tapes is available upon request.

Videodisc

The latest teaching technology involves the use of the videodisc. Similar to the familiar compact disc, a videodisc allows you to find instantly material that you need to illustrate points in the lecture. You can easily go exactly to the spot on the disc that you want. You can also still-frame for as long as you wish. *West’s American Government Videodisc* includes, for example, Bill Moyers talking about the Bill of Rights and then interviewing citizens to get their opinions about that important document (in Unit Two) and David Frost interviewing past presidents (in Unit Five).

In addition to the motion sequences, there are hundreds of still frames that can be used in place of overhead transparencies. *West’s American Government Videodisc* also has accompanying software, called The Lecture Builder™, as mentioned below.

Interactive Videodisc Learning—Interest Groups and Political Action Committees

A special interest for student learning is the interactive videodisc that we offer. It covers two lessons—interest groups and political action committees (PACs). Students can interact with the videodisc by answering questions at appropriate spots in the motion-video sequences. This system can be used with any videodisc player that can be controlled by one of the numerous consumer computer systems.

Software

Three software systems are available for the 1996–1997 edition of this text.

Your Research: Data Analysis for American Government and Politics Today. Prepared by Eric Plutzer and Kenneth Heinz, this special software package can be used either by instructors for classroom demonstration or by students in conjunction with their homework. The software provides students with an opportunity to analyze political data in a user-friendly format.

The Lecture Builder™. Those who use *West's American Government Videodisc* will find that The Lecture Builder™ software allows for complete customization of each separate lecture.

Interactive Software. Interactive software allows students to interact with the videodisc that covers interest groups and political action committees.

Transparency Acetates

A set of approximately fifty full-color transparency acetates of key graphs, tables, and diagrams found in the text is available to adopters of this text.

FOR USERS OF PREVIOUS EDITIONS

As always, we want to thank you for your past support. Here we wish to let you know what changes have been made in the 1996–1997 edition. Basically, we have rewritten and updated more materials in this edition than in any other. You will find throughout, in every chapter, that the references to examples and political analysis reflect the work that has been done by our colleagues in the 1990s. We, of course, have replaced many of the features with new ones. The following summarizes the changes for this edition:

1. International coverage is integrated throughout the text.
2. There is even more political analysis.
3. The *Politics and . . .* (with some of the listings already given in this Preface) emphasize more political analysis than in the last edition.
4. The following *What If . . .* features are new:
 - “What If . . . We Had an Electronic Direct Democracy?” (Chapter 1).
 - “What If . . . The Constitution Were Easier to Amend?” (Chapter 2).
 - “What If . . . Independent Voters Were the Majority?” (Chapter 8).
 - “What If . . . The Federal Income Tax Became a Consumption Tax?” (Chapter 14).

Of course, all of the remaining *What If . . .* features from the previous edition have been updated.

5. We have made hundreds of changes and updates to the chapters of this book for the 1996–1997 edition. Here we list just a few of these revisions:

- Chapter 1 (“America in a World of Change”) has been substantially rewritten to include information on the changing makeup of the U.S. population and the various political subcultures.
- Chapter 2 (“The Constitution”) contains a substantially revised discussion of the Articles of Confederation and a new section on the national convention as a means of amending the Constitution.
- Chapter 3 (“Federalism”) presents an updated discussion of federal mandates, their cost to the states, and recent legislation curbing unfunded federal mandates. A new exhibit on federal grants-in-aid is also included.
- Chapter 4 (“Civil Liberties”) now offers a clearer distinction between civil liberties and civil rights, contains additional information on the clear and present danger test and prior restraint, and includes a discussion of the 1988 Indian Gaming Regulatory Act and gambling on Indian reservations.
- Chapter 5 (“The Rights of Minorities and Women”) includes a virtually rewritten section on busing and a more thorough treatment of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 and discrimination in housing. The chapter also has been thoroughly revised to update and expand the discussions of sexual harassment, age discrimination in employment, the civil rights of juveniles, and the rights of gay males and lesbians.
- Chapter 10 (“The Congress”) has been substantially revised to reflect the impact of the 1994 elections on the makeup of Congress. A new feature has been added examining the “winners” and the “losers” of the 1994 elections, and a new section analyzes the accomplishments of the Republican-controlled Congress during the “first one hundred days.” The names of party leaders and committee chairs in the 104th Congress are also included. Additionally, the chapter presents a substantially rewritten section on “How a Bill Becomes a Law,” using the Brady Bill (the Handgun Violence Prevention Act of 1993) as an example, and an expanded discussion of redistricting and the courts’ scrutiny of this issue.
- Chapter 11 (“The Judiciary”) contains a new section dealing with the powers of the courts (in addition to the power of judicial review) and information on recent appointments to the United States Supreme Court.
- Chapter 14 (“The Politics of Economic and Domestic Policymaking”) has been extensively revised and now presents a substantially rewritten section on the policymaking process, using the 1994 crime bill to illustrate the process; a new section on crime (“The Cold War of the 1990s”), including an examination of the prison “population bomb”, extensively revised sections on taxes subsidies, and proposed balanced-budget amendments.

6. We have added to this edition a new chapter-ending feature. At the end of each chapter, we indicate to the student that politics is a process rather than a set of facts and institutions. Consequently, we have labeled these chapter-ending sections “America’s Politics: Unfinished Work”; “The Constitution: Unfinished Work”; “Federalism: Unfinished Work”; and so on. These sections are forward looking in that they present ideas to the student-reader about what problems have yet to be solved in these various areas.

7. In this edition, we have listed (with page references) at the end of each chapter the terms that were boldfaced and defined in the margins of the chapter pages. The *Key Terms* list appears just before the *Chapter Summary*.

8. *Logging On* sections have been added at the end of each chapter in the 1996–1997 edition. These sections, which appear just before the *Selected*

References, give students suggestions on how they can use the Internet to access information on a wide variety of topics.

9. The following appendices are new to this edition:

- *Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court.*
- *Spanish Equivalents for Important Terms in American Government and Political Science.*
- *A Citizen's Survival Guide.*

10. The *College Survival Guide*, a new supplement accompanying the 1996–1997 edition.

11. The new supplement entitled *Handbook of Selected Legislation*.

12. A new software program—Your Research: Data Analysis for *American Government and Politics Today*—also accompanies the 1996–1997 edition.

Of course, all textual materials—text, figures, tables, features, and so on—have been revised as necessary to reflect the political developments that occurred since the last edition. This book has also been extensively updated to reflect the results of the November 1994 election and the impact of a Republican-controlled Congress on policymaking.

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The 1996–1997 edition of this text is the result of our working closely with reviewers who each offered us penetrating criticisms, comments, and suggestions for how to improve the text. Although we haven't been able to take account of all requests, each of the reviewers listed below will see many of his or her suggestions taken to heart.

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Any errors that remain are our own. We welcome any and all comments from instructors and students alike. Comments that we have received on previous editions have helped us improve this text. Nonetheless, we know that we need to continue to make changes as the needs of instructors and students change.

Barbara Bardes
Mack Shelley
Steffen Schmidt

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