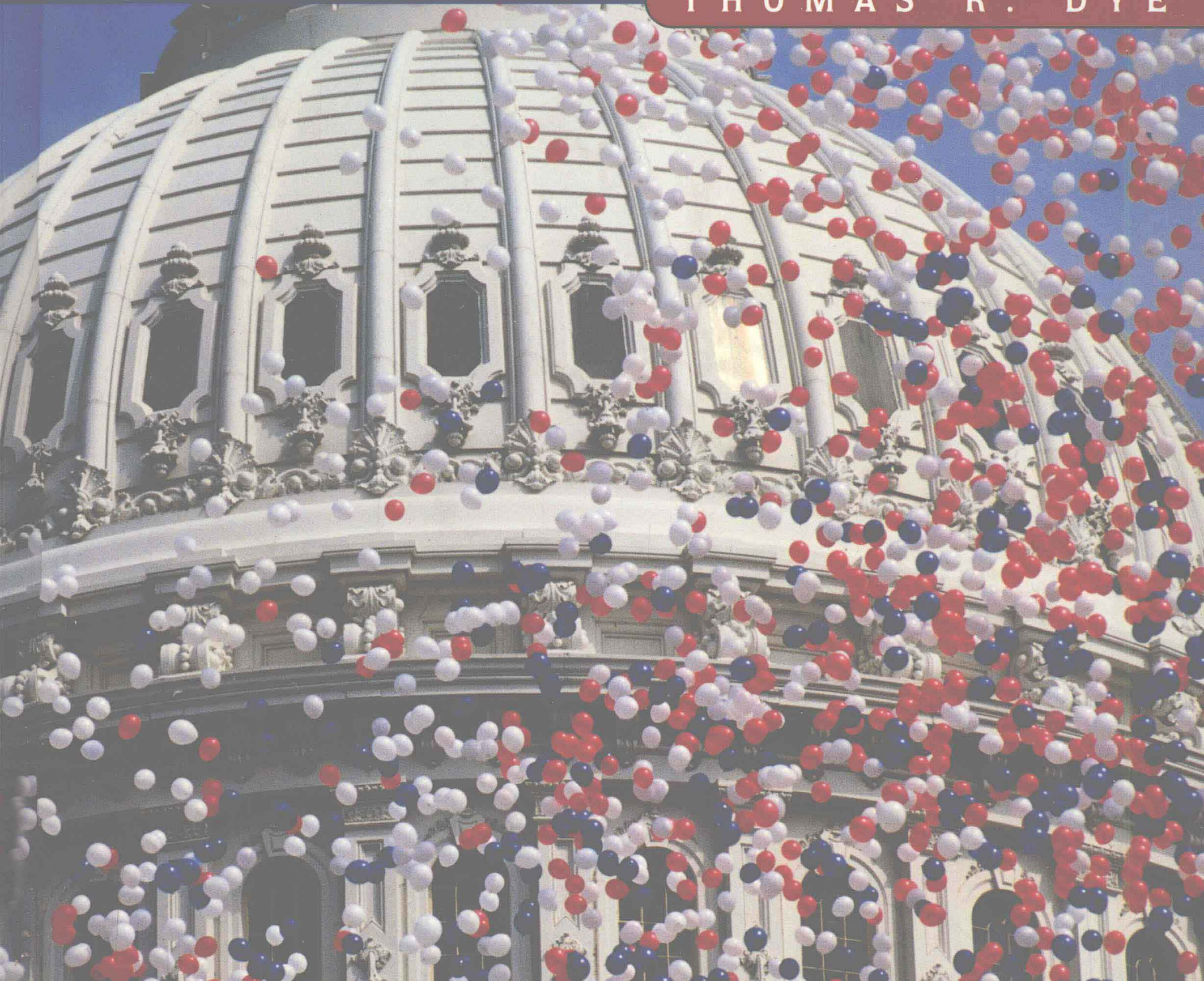


Second Edition

Politics

IN AMERICA

THOMAS R. DYE



Politics

IN AMERICA

SECOND EDITION

THOMAS R. DYE

Florida State University



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PREFACE

PERSPECTIVE

This second edition of *Politics in America*, although much changed in appearance and substantially revised to reflect the current political landscape, retains the organization and perspective of the first edition. It is about “who gets what, when, and how.” It relies on Harold Lasswell’s classic definition of politics to present a clear, concise, and stimulating introduction to the American political system.

The *who* are the participants in politics: voters, interest groups, parties, television and the press, corporations and labor unions, lawyers and lobbyists, foundations and think tanks, and elected and appointed government officials, including members of Congress, the president, judges, and bureaucrats. The *what* of politics are public policies: the decisions that governments make concerning social welfare, health care, national defense, law enforcement, the environment, and thousands of other issues that come before them. The *when* and *how* are the political process: campaigns and elections, political news reporting, television debates, fund raising, lobbying and logrolling in Congress, policy making in the White House and executive agencies, and decision making in the courts.

Politics is an activity by which people try to get more of whatever there is to get. It is the struggle over the allocation of values in society. There would be no politics if everyone agreed on who should govern, who should get what, what government should do, and who should pay for it. But conflicts arise from disagreement over these questions. Politics consists of all of the activities—reasonable discussion, impassioned oratory, campaigning, balloting, fund raising, advertising, lobbying, demonstrating, rioting, street fighting, and waging war—by which conflict is carried on. Managing conflict is the principle function of the political system.

Power is the goal of political activity—power to decide who gets what, when, and how. Power is an instrumental value. It allows its holders to decide about the distribution of other values, such as wealth, celebrity, respect, deference, safety, and well-being. But it is also an end value itself; to many, power is its own reward.

Politics in America, Second Edition, introduces students to the American political system by examining the struggle for power—the participants, the stakes, the processes, and the institutional arenas.

ORGANIZATION

Part I, “Politics,” begins with Laswell’s classic definition of politics and proceeds to describe the nature and functions of government and the meaning of democracy. It poses the question: How democratic is the American political system? It describes the American political culture: its contradictions between liberty and conformity, political equality and economic inequality, equality of opportunity and equality of results, cherished beliefs and actual conditions. It examines cultural conflict, immigration, and social mobility. It describes ideological conflict in American politics, laying the groundwork for understanding the struggle over who gets what.

Part II, “Constitution,” describes the politics of constitution making—deciding how to decide. It describes how the struggle over the U.S. Constitution reflected the distribution of power in the new nation. It focuses on the classic arguments of the Founders for limiting and dividing governmental power (“Ambition must be made to counteract ambition”) and the structural arrangements designed to accomplish this end. It describes the accumulation of power in Washington over two centuries and the efforts to “devolve” power to the states.

Part III, “Participants,” begins by examining individual participation in politics—the way people acquire and hold political opinions and act on them through voting and protest activity. It examines the influences of family, school, gender, and race in shaping political opinion. It describes the power of the mass media, particularly television, in setting the agenda for politics and policy making. It describes how organization concentrates power—to win public office in the case of party organizations, and to influence policy in the case of interest groups. It assesses the role of personal ambition in politics: in the decision to run for office, in the organization and conduct of political campaigns, and in the retention of office. And it focuses on the role of money in politics.

Part IV, “Institutions,” describes the various governmental arenas in which the struggle for power takes place—the Congress, the presidency, the bureaucracy, the courts. More important, it evaluates the power that comes with control of each of these institutions.

Part V, “Outcomes,” deals with public policies—the result of the struggle over the allocation of values. It is especially concerned with the two fundamental values of American society—liberty and equality. Each is examined in separate chapters, as are economic policies, welfare policies, and national security policies.

INSTRUCTIONAL FEATURES

Politics in America, Second Edition, is written to be lively and absorbing, reflecting the teaching philosophy that stimulating students’ interest in politics and public affairs is the most important goal of an introductory course. The struggle for power in society is not a dull topic, and textbooks should not make it so.

Each chapter opens with a brief poll, called “Ask Yourself About Politics,” that alerts students to the crucial issues the chapter covers and the impact of those issues on their lives. The body of each chapter is divided into *text* and *features*. The text provides the framework for understanding American politics. In each chapter it begins with a brief discussion of power in relation to the subject matter of the chapter; for example: limiting governmental power (Chapter 3, “The Constitution”), dividing governmental power (Chapter 4, “Federalism”), the power of the media (Chapter 6, “Mass Media”), the power of organizations (Chapter 7, “Political Parties”), the power of Congress (Chapter 10, “Congress”), presidential power (Chapter 11, “The President”), bureaucratic power (Chapter 12, “The Bureaucracy”), judicial power (Chapter 13, “Courts”), power and individual liberty (Chapter 14, “Politics and Personal Liberty”), and power among nations (Chapter 18, “Politics and National Security”). It then proceeds to discuss the central participants, institutions, and outcomes in the American political system. It concludes with a concise summary and suggestions for further reading. A *running glossary* in the margin helps students master important concepts.

The *features* in each chapter parallel the text material and provide timeliness, relevance, stimulation, and perspective. They are designed to capture student interest and attention.

- **“What Do You Think?”** These features pose controversial questions to students and provide national opinion survey data on them. They cover a wide range of interests. Examples include: “Can You Trust the Government?” “Is Government Run by a Few Big Interests Looking Out for Themselves?” “Are You a Liberal or a Conservative?” “Should We Amend the Constitution to Balance the Budget?” “What Forms of Protest Are Acceptable?” “Should the Media Report on the Private Lives of Public Officials?” “Should We Mix Politics and Religion?” “Term Limits for Elected Officials?” “How Would You Rate the President?” “Do Bureaucrats in Washington Have Too Much Power?” “What Constitutes Sexual Harassment?” “Are the Police and Courts Tough Enough?” “Should We Enact a Flat Tax?”
- **“A Conflicting View”** These features challenge students to rethink conventional notions about American politics. They are designed to be controversial. “Politics as Violence,” for example, briefly summarizes the view that much of American political development has been accompanied by violence. Other “Conflicting View” features include: “An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution,” “Objections to the Constitution by an Anti-Federalist,” “The Dark Side of Federalism,” “Muzzle the Media and Win the War,” “Trash the Two-Party System,” “The War on Drugs as a Threat to Liberty,” “Bureaucratic Rules Are Suffocating America,” “Government Programs as a Cause of Poverty,” and “Legalize Drugs to Reduce Crime.”
- **“Compared to What?”** These features provide some perspective on the United States by comparing it with other nations; for example, “Freedom and Democracy in the World” and “Authoritarianism and Totalitarianism.” Others compare nations on such characteristics as political culture, written constitutions, federal unions, voter turnout, television culture, political parties, women in power, the size of government, crime and punishment, tax burdens, and health care.
- **“People in Politics”** These features are designed to personalize politics for students, to convince them that the participants in the struggle for power are real people. They discuss where prominent people in politics went to school, how they got started in politics, how their careers developed, and how much power they came to

possess. Some of these features focus on important historical figures; for example Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, James Madison, George Washington, and Martin Luther King, Jr. Others focus on contemporary political figures; for example, Bill Clinton, Bob Dole, Newt Gingrich, Sonny Bono, Larry King, Rush Limbaugh, Ron Brown, Ross Perot, Ralph Nader, Henry Cisneros, Sandra Day O'Connor, Hillary Rodham Clinton, Christine Todd Whitman, Carol Moseley Braun, and Colin Powell. Some of these features deliberately focus on people whose political influence is significant, yet less visible; for example, William Rehnquist, P. J. O'Rourke, Alan Greenspan, and Marian Wright Edelman.

- **“Up Close”** These features illustrate the struggle over who gets what. They range over a wide variety of current political conflicts, such as: “Ideology on Campus: Students versus Professors,” “Think Tanks: The Battle of Ideas,” “ERA—Three States Short,” “Abortion: The Hot-Button Issue,” “Television: The Dominant Medium,” “The Hollywood Liberals,” “Popular Images of the Democratic and Republican Parties,” “EMILY’s List,” “Dirty Politics,” “AARP—The Nation’s Most Powerful Interest Group,” “The Christian Coalition: Organizing the Faithful,” “The Keating Five: Service to Constituents for a Price,” “Iran-Contra and the White House Staff,” “Al Gore, Reinventing Government,” “The Confirmation of Clarence Thomas,” “Privacy, Abortion, and the Constitution,” “Black and White Opinion on Affirmative Action,” “Entitlements Drive Government Spending,” “Homelessness in America,” and “The Use of Force: Operation Desert Storm.”
- **“Across the USA”** These features provide maps that summarize important statistical and demographic information relevant to American politics.

Politics in America, Second Edition, is designed for courses that reserve classroom time to discuss politics—to spark interest in public affairs, to argue and debate issues, to take exception to public opinion or to the conflicting views set forth in the features. Students can be asked to come to class prepared to set forth their own views about the features. Classroom time can be used to ensure student understanding of text material and, perhaps more important, to stimulate student interest in politics and public affairs.

UP-TO-DATE ELECTION COVERAGE

Politics in America, Second Edition, focuses attention on the 1996 presidential election. It sets the scene by reporting on the surprising Republican victory in the 1994 congressional election, the battles over the “Contract with America,” and the struggles between Congress and the president over the budget. It describes the political milieu—the nation’s distrust of government and cynicism toward politics, the disaffection toward parties, the influence of Christian conservatives, the role of organized interest groups, the chase for money, and the appeal of independents and Washington “outsiders.” It tracks opinion polls during the campaign, assesses the strategies of the Clinton and Dole campaigns, and analyzes the election outcome. Special attention is given to the media-centered nature of the campaign, including the influence of TV talk shows, talk radio, “horse-race” news coverage, negative advertising, “dirty politics,” and the all-important presidential debates.

BIAS

Politics in America, Second Edition, strives for a balanced presentation, but “balanced” does not mean dull. It does *not* mean the avoidance of controversy; it does *not* mean that every sentence is laden with modifying clauses and softening adjectives, or that every paragraph is laced with tedious platitudes. Liberal and conservative arguments are set forth clearly and forcefully. Race and gender are given particular attention, not because it is currently fashionable to do so, but because American politics has long been driven by these factors. Features on controversial topics—for example, violence, civil disobedience, free speech, abortion, the confirmation of Clarence Thomas, the right to bear arms, affirmative action, spending and deficits, poverty and homelessness, the use of military force—are designed to stimulate argument, not to soothe feelings. All political institutions come under very critical scrutiny—the mass media, political parties, interest groups, Congress, the presidency, the bureaucracy, and the courts. And government policies—on civil liberty and civil rights issues, on the economy and social welfare, and on international affairs—are subject to critical review. Indeed, if there is a bias in *Politics in America*, Second Edition, it is against the uncritical acceptance of prevailing political culture and the unthinking approval of institutional power.

SUPPLEMENTS AVAILABLE FOR THE INSTRUCTOR

- **Instructor's Manual** (0-13-258310-0) For each chapter, a summary, review of concepts, lecture suggestions and topic outlines, and additional resource materials—including a guide to media resources—are provided.
- **Strategies for Teaching American Government: A Guide for the New Instructor** (0-13-339003-9) This unique guide offers a wealth of practical advice and information to help new instructors face the challenges of teaching American government. It addresses a wide range of issues, including setting course goals, conducting the class, constructing and evaluating tests or written assignments, and advising students.
- **Test Item File** (0-13-258351-8) Thoroughly reviewed and revised to ensure the highest level of quality and accuracy, this file offers over 1800 questions in multiple choice, true/false, and essay format with page references to the text.
- **Prentice Hall Custom Test** A computerized test bank contains the items from the Test Item File. The program allows full editing of questions and the addition of instructor-generated items. Other special features include random generation, scrambling question order, and test preview before printing. Available in DOS and Macintosh versions.
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- **American Government Transparencies, Series III and Series IV** These sets of 75 to 100 four-color transparency acetates reproduce illustrations, charts, and maps from the text as well as from additional sources.
- **Instructor's Guide to American Government Transparencies, Series III and IV** This brief guide provides descriptions, teaching sug-

gestions, and discussion questions for each transparency. There is a separate guide for each set of transparencies.



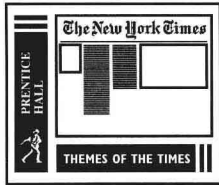
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- **Prentice Hall Laserdisk** Images in American Government (0-13-075565-6) The story of American government is vividly illustrated with this exciting technology. This disk contains approximately 200 still images and over one hour of moving images to support the concepts in the text. Accompanying manuals are provided.

SUPPLEMENTS AVAILABLE FOR THE STUDENT

- **Study Guide** (0-13-258369-0) Includes chapter outlines, study notes, a glossary, and practice tests designed to reinforce information in the text and help students develop a greater understanding of American government and politics.
- **A Guide to Civic Literacy** (0-13-304015-1) Written by James Chesney and Otto Feinstein, both at Wayne State University, this brief booklet provides ideas and suggestions for students to get involved in politics. It includes nine political activities on topics such as agenda building, coal-

tion building, registering, educating and mobilizing voters, and increasing accountability.

- **Prentice Hall Critical Thinking Audio Cassette** (0-13-678335-X) A 60-minute cassette teaches students how to develop their critical thinking and study skills. The first 50 minutes concentrate on critical thinking skills, specifically on how to ask the right questions. The final 10 minutes offer helpful tips on how to study, take notes, and be a more active, effective learner.



The New York Times/Prentice Hall Themes of the Times Prentice Hall joins forces with the premier news publication, *The New York Times*, to provide a student

newspaper supplement containing recent articles pertinent to American government. These articles augment the text material and provide real-world examples. Updated twice a year.

- **American Government Simulation Games, Series III** 3.5" DOS (0-13-566282-6); Windows (0-13-566308-3); Macintosh (0-13-566332-6). Seven simulations engage students in various role-playing situations: Bill of Rights; House of Representatives; Presidential Budget; Secretary of State; Supreme Court; Washington Ethics; and Crime and Social Policy. Developed by G. David Garson, North Carolina State University.
- **Multimedia Guide to American Government** Windows (0-13-340456-0). This unique student resource provides text, video, simulations, quizzes, timelines, and study guide tools in CD-ROM format to engage students in the study of government and politics. Developed by G. David Garson, North Carolina State University.
- **Web Site** Students and professors can now take full advantage of the World Wide Web to enrich the study of American Government through the *Politics in America* Web site. This resource correlates the text with material available on the Internet. Featured on the Web site are chapter objectives, study questions, and news updates, as well as links to information from other sites on the Web that reinforce the content of each chapter. Address: <http://www.prenhall.com/dye>

- **Political Science on the Internet** (0-13-266594-8) This brief guide introduces students to the origin and innovations behind the Internet and provides clear strategies for navigating the complexity of the Internet and World Wide Web. Exercises within and at the end of the chapters allow students to practice searching for the myriad of resources available to the student of political science. This 48-page supplementary book is free to students when purchased as a package with *Politics in America*, Second Edition.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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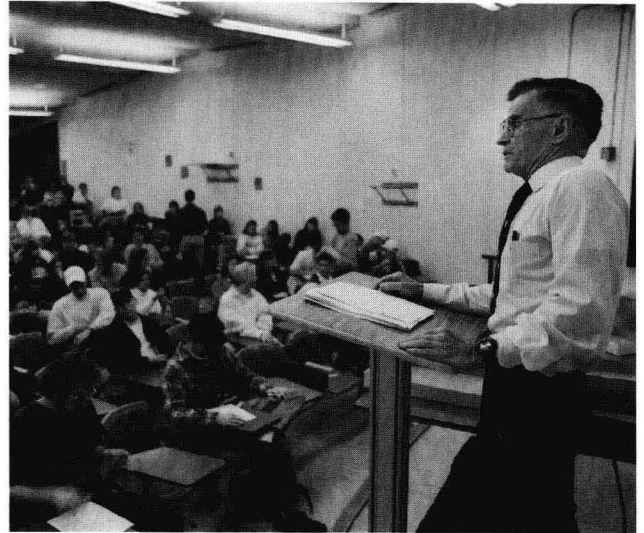
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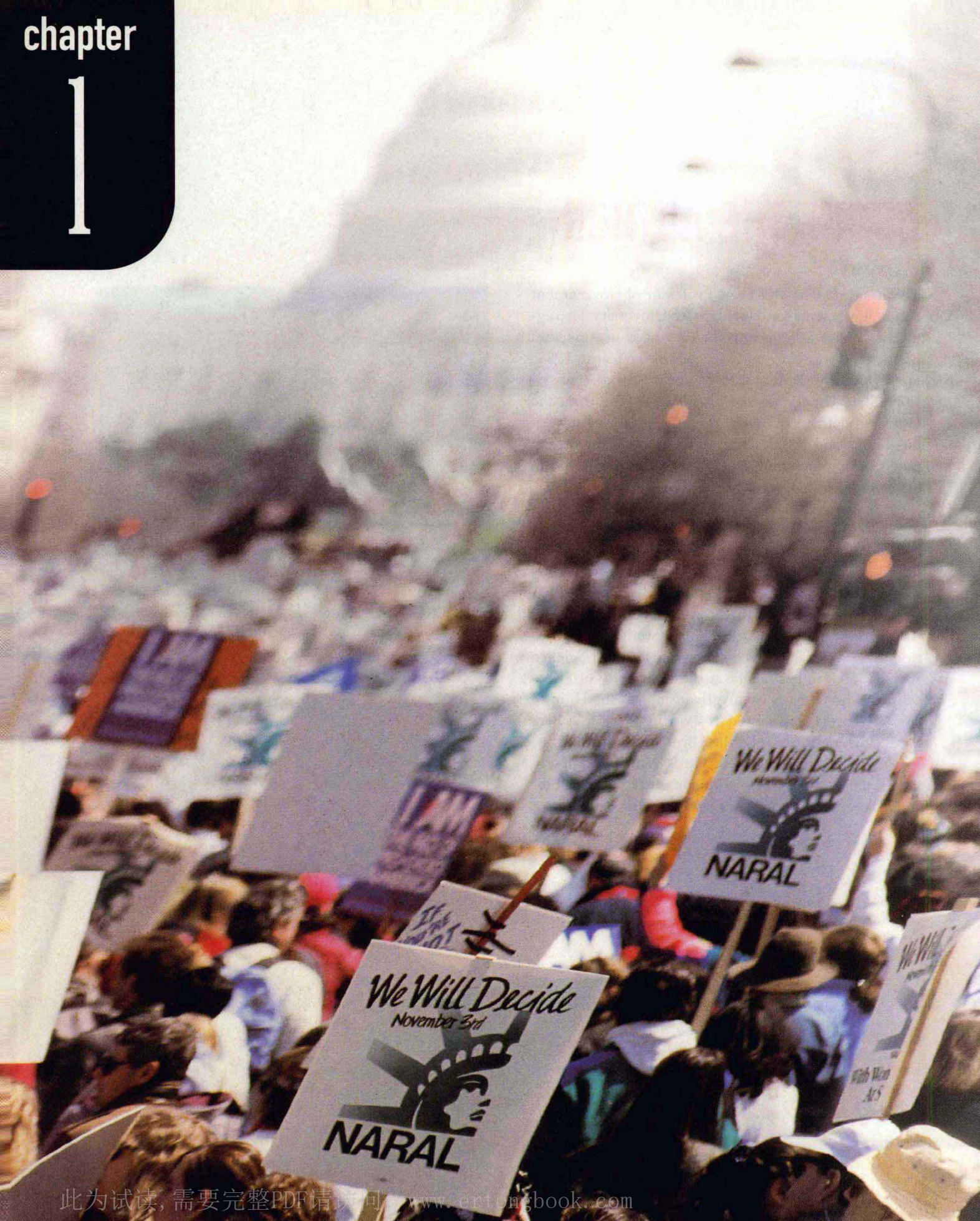
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Florida State University Teacher of the Year, 1987



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The study of politics is the study of influence and the influential. . . .

The influential are those who get the most of what there is to get.

Those who get the most are elite; the rest are mass.

Harold Lasswell

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PART II CONSTITUTION

*The ascendancy of any elite depends upon the success of the practices it adopts. . . .
The Constitution, written and unwritten, embodies the practices which are deemed
most fundamental to the governmental and social order.*

Harold Lasswell

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People strive for power—to get the most of what there is to get.
Harold Lasswell

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Authority is the expected and legitimate possession of power.
Harold Lasswell

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