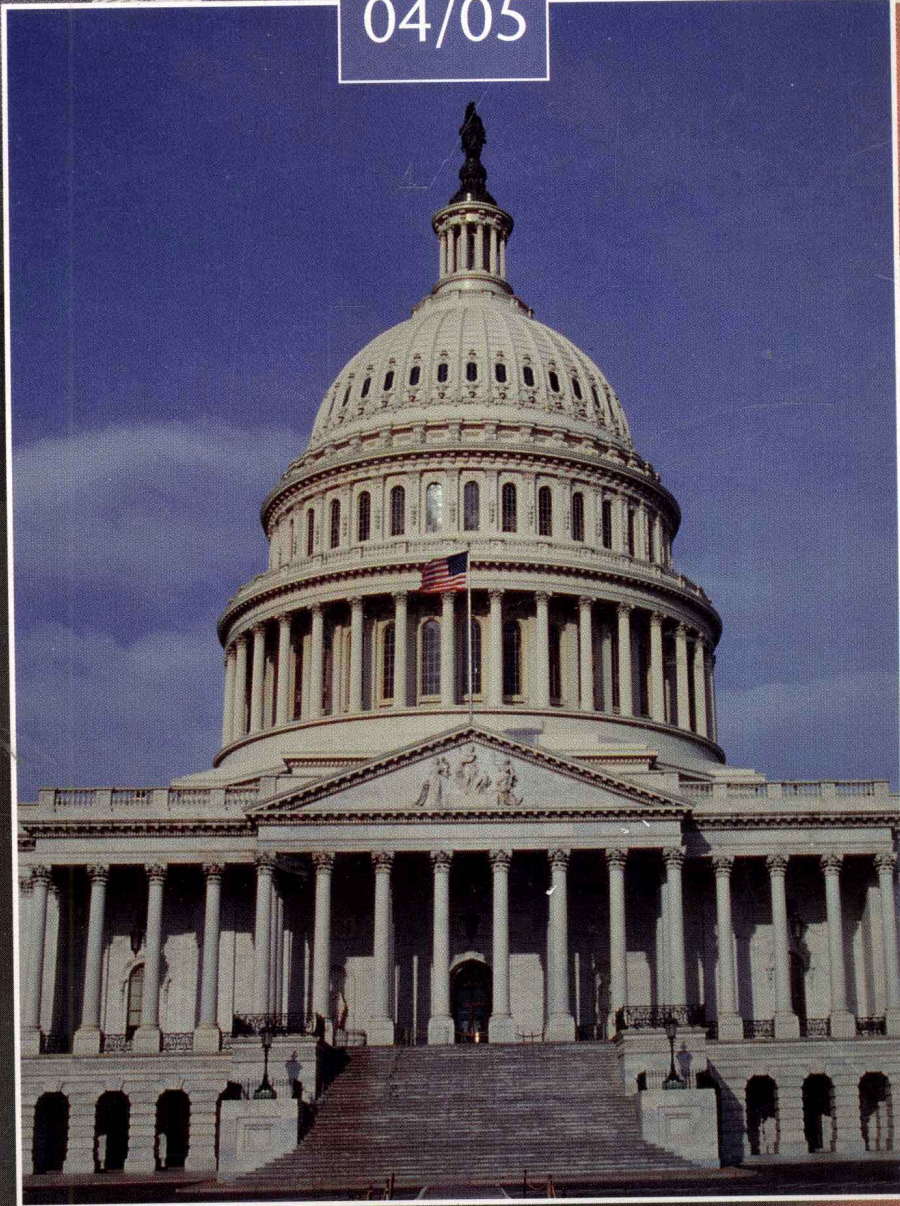


ANNUAL EDITIONS

American Government

04/05



A·N·N·U·A·L E·D·I·T·I·O·N·S

American Government

04/05

Thirty-Fourth Edition

EDITOR

Bruce Stinebrickner

DePauw University

Bruce Stinebrickner is the Frank L. Hall Professor of Political Science at DePauw University in Greencastle, Indiana, and has taught American politics at DePauw since 1987. He has also taught at Lehman College of the City University of New York (1974–1976), at the University of Queensland in Brisbane, Australia (1976–1987), and in DePauw programs in Argentina (1990) and Germany (1993). He earned his Ph.D. from Yale University in 1974. Having served two years as head of his department at the University of Queensland and nine years as chair of his department at DePauw, he began another term as department chair at DePauw in the 2002–2003 academic year.

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Thirty-Fourth Edition

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To the Reader

In publishing ANNUAL EDITIONS we recognize the enormous role played by the magazines, newspapers, and journals of the public press in providing current, first-rate educational information in a broad spectrum of interest areas. Many of these articles are appropriate for students, researchers, and professionals seeking accurate, current material to help bridge the gap between principles and theories and the real world. These articles, however, become more useful for study when those of lasting value are carefully collected, organized, indexed, and reproduced in a low-cost format, which provides easy and permanent access when the material is needed. That is the role played by ANNUAL EDITIONS.

As the 03/04 edition of this book went to press early in 2003, I wrote in the preface that “war with Iraq seems to be weeks, or at most months, away.” Less than two months later, in March 2003, President Bush ordered the invasion of Iraq and U.S. forces quickly overthrew the regime of Saddam Hussein. Now, almost a year later, the prospects for genuine stability and self-governance in Iraq remain uncertain as violent resistance to the extensive U.S. presence there continues.

A year ago I also wrote that “the economic prosperity of the 1990s and the accompanying budgetary surpluses in the latter years of the Clinton presidency have disappeared into the past.” In February 2004, government economists forecast a budgetary deficit of approximately 500 billion dollars in the next fiscal year and a string of deficits in the years to come. And a number of prominent individuals have begun to call renewed attention to the looming retirements of the baby boomer generation. They have noted with alarm that baby boomers’ Social Security and Medicare entitlements will make unprecedented demands on the national treasury that must be taken into account *now*.

After a couple of years of very high presidential approval ratings and a sense that President Bush’s re-election in November 2004 was almost a foregone conclusion, early 2004 has brought a change in the prevailing conventional wisdom. The early months of this year have seen the candidacy of an unlikely “frontrunner” for the Democratic presidential nomination, Howard Dean, collapse on the heels of unexpectedly weak showings in Iowa and New Hampshire. In turn, Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts emerged as the new frontrunner and as of this writing seems almost certain to be his party’s presidential nominee. And the conventional wisdom now says that the November election between Republican Bush and Democrat Kerry will be closer and more hard fought than almost anyone would have thought only a few short months ago. On the other hand, continued Republican control of both the House of Representatives and the Senate after the November 2004 elections seems very likely.



Bruce Stinebrickner
Editor

Topic Guide

This topic guide suggests how the selections in this book relate to the subjects covered in your course. You may want to use the topics listed on these pages to search the Web more easily.

On the following pages a number of Web sites have been gathered specifically for this book. They are arranged to reflect the units of this *Annual Edition*. You can link to these sites by going to the DUSHKIN ONLINE support site at <http://www.dushkin.com/online/>.

ALL THE ARTICLES THAT RELATE TO EACH TOPIC ARE LISTED BELOW THE BOLD-FACED TERM.

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- 28. Washington's Mega-Merger
- 29. Turkey Farm
- 31. Compete, or Else

Bush, George W.

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- 15. The Accidental Radical
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- 17. Packaging the President
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- 31. Compete, or Else

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- 41. The Short, Unhappy Life of Campaign Finance Reform

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- 27. One Branch Among Three

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- 1. The Declaration of Independence, 1776

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- 50. No, It's Not Vietnam

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- 28. Washington's Mega-Merger
- 31. Compete, or Else
- 36. Leaders Should Not Follow Opinion Polls

Public opinions, polls, and political culture

- 8. Party On, Dudes! Ignorance Is the Curse of the Information Age
- 11. Upon Further Review
- 17. Packaging the President
- 35. Running Scared
- 36. Leaders Should Not Follow Opinion Polls

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- 12. Winks, Nods, Disguises—and Racial Preference
- 34. Republicans, Democrats, and Race: An Uneasy History
- 47. The O'Connor Project

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- 10. Rights, Liberties, and Security: Recalibrating the Balance After September 11
- 11. Upon Further Review
- 12. Winks, Nods, Disguises—and Racial Preference
- 25. Sandra's Day
- 26. A Judge Speaks Out
- 27. One Branch Among Three
- 47. The O'Connor Project

September 11, 2001

- 5. Why Don't They Like Us?
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- 10. Rights, Liberties, and Security: Recalibrating the Balance After September 11
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- 25. Sandra's Day
- 27. One Branch Among Three
- 39. The Redistricting Wars
- 47. The O'Connor Project

Welfare policy

- 46. Liberal Lessons From Welfare Reform

World Wide Web Sites

The following World Wide Web sites have been carefully researched and selected to support the articles found in this reader. The easiest way to access these selected sites is to go to our DUSHKIN ONLINE support site at <http://www.dushkin.com/online/>.

AE: American Government 04/05

The following sites were available at the time of publication. Visit our Web site—we update DUSHKIN ONLINE regularly to reflect any changes.

General Sources

The Federal Web Locator

<http://www.infoctr.edu/fwl/>

Use this site as a launching pad for the Web sites of U.S. federal agencies, departments, and organizations. It is well organized and easy to use for informational and research purposes.

John F. Kennedy School of Government

<http://www.ksg.harvard.edu>

Starting from Harvard University's KSG page, you will be able to click on a huge variety of links to information about American politics and government, ranging from political party and campaign data to debates of enduring issues.

Library of Congress

<http://www.loc.gov>

Examine this Web site to learn about the extensive resource tools, library services/resources, exhibitions, and databases available through the Library of Congress in many different subfields of government studies.

National Center for Policy Analysis

<http://www.ncpa.org>

Through this site access discussions on an array of topics that are of major interest in the study of American government, from regulatory policy and privatization to economy and income. The Daily Policy Digest is also available.

UNIT 1: Foundations of American Politics

American Studies Web

<http://www.georgetown.edu/crossroads/asw/>

This eclectic site provides links to a wealth of Internet resources for research in American studies, including agriculture and rural development, government, and race and ethnicity.

Federalism: Relationship Between Local and National Governments

<http://www.infidels.org/~nap/index.federalism.html>

Federalism versus states' rights has always been a spirited debate in American government. Visit this George Mason University site for links to many articles and reports on the subject.

National Archives and Records Administration (NARA)

<http://www.nara.gov/nara/welcome.html>

This official site, which oversees the management of all federal records, offers easy access to background information for students interested in the policy-making process, including a search of federal documents and speeches, and much more.

Opinion, Inc.: The Site for Conservative Opinion on the Web

<http://www.opinioninc.com>

Open this site for access to political, cultural, and Web commentary on a number of issues from a conservative political viewpoint. The site is updated frequently.

Scanned Originals of Early American Documents

<http://www.law.emory.edu/FEDERAL/>

Through this Emory University site you can view scanned originals of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. The transcribed texts are also available, as are *The Federalist Papers*.

Smithsonian Institution

<http://www.si.edu>

This site provides access to the enormous resources of the Smithsonian, which holds some 140 million artifacts and specimens in its trust for "the increase and diffusion of knowledge." Here you can learn about American social, cultural, economic, and political history from a variety of viewpoints.

UNIT 2: Structures of American Politics

Department of State

<http://www.state.gov>

View this site for understanding into the workings of a major U.S. executive branch department. Links explain exactly what the department does, what services it provides, and what it says about U.S. interests around the world, along with much more information.

Federal Reserve System

<http://www.federalreserve.gov>

Consult this page to learn the answers to FAQs about the Fed, the structure of the Federal Reserve System, monetary policy, and more. It provides links to speeches and interviews as well as essays and articles presenting different views on the Fed.

Supreme Court/Legal Information Institute

<http://supct.law.cornell.edu/supct/index.html>

Open this site for current and historical information about the Supreme Court. The LII archive contains many opinions issued since May 1990 as well as a collection of nearly 600 of the most influential decisions of the Court.

United States House of Representatives

<http://www.house.gov>

This Web page of the House of Representatives will lead you to information about current and past House members and agendas, the legislative process, and more. You can learn about events on the House floor as they happen.

United States Senate

<http://www.senate.gov>

This U.S. Senate Web page will lead to information about current and past Senate members and agendas, legislative activities, and committees.

UNIT 3: Process of American Politics

The Henry L. Stimson Center

<http://www.stimson.org>

The Stimson Center, a nonprofit and self-described nonpartisan organization, focuses on issues where policy, technology, and politics intersect. Use this site to find assessments of U.S. foreign and domestic policy and other topics.

Influence at Work

<http://www.influenceatwork.com>

This commercial site focuses on the nature of persuasion, compliance, and propaganda, with many practical examples and applications. Students of such topics as the roles of public opinion and media influence in policy making should find these discussions of interest. The approach is based on the research and methods of influence expert Dr. Robert Cialdini.

LSU Department of Political Science Resources

<http://www.artsci.lsu.edu/pol/>

This extensive site will point you to a number of resources for domestic and international political and governmental news, including LSU's Political Science WWW Server, which is maintained by a dedicated group of professionals.

NationalJournal.com

<http://nationaljournal.com>

This is a major site for information on American government and politics. There is discussion of campaigns, the congressional calendar, a news archive, and more for politicians and policy makers. Membership is required, however, to access much of the information.

Poynter Online

<http://www.poynter.org>

This research site of the Poynter Institute for Media Studies provides extensive links to information and resources about the media, including media ethics and reportage techniques. Many bibliographies and Web sites are included.

RAND

<http://www.rand.org>

RAND is a nonprofit institution that works to improve public policy through research and analysis. Links offered on this home page provide for keyword searches of certain topics and descriptions of RAND activities and major research areas.

UNIT 4: Products of American Politics

American Diplomacy

<http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/>

American Diplomacy is an online journal of commentary, analysis, and research on U.S. foreign policy and its results around the world.

Cato Institute

http://www.cato.org/research/ss_prjct.html

The Cato Institute presents this page to discuss its Project on Social Security Privatization. The site and its links begin from the belief that privatization of the U.S. Social Security system is a positive goal that will empower workers.

Foreign Affairs

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org>

This home page of the well-respected foreign policy journal is a valuable research tool. It allows users to search the journal's archives and provides indexed access to the field's leading publications, documents, online resources, and more. Links to dozens of other related Web sites are possible from here.

The Gallup Organization

<http://www.gallup.com>

Open this Gallup Organization home page for links to an extensive archive of public opinion poll results and special reports on a variety of topics related to American society, politics, and government.

International Information Programs

<http://usinfo.state.gov>

This wide-ranging page offered by the State Department provides definitions, related documentation, and a discussion of topics of concern to students of American government. It addresses today's hot topics as well as ongoing issues that form the foundation of the field. Many Web links are provided.

STAT-USA

<http://www.stat-usa.gov/stat-usa.html>

This essential site, a service of the Department of Commerce, contains daily economic news, frequently requested statistical releases, information on export and international trade, domestic economic news and statistical series, and databases.

Tax Foundation

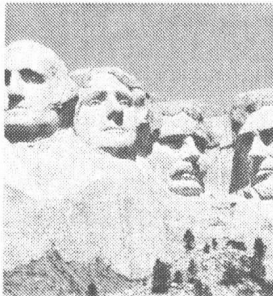
<http://www.taxfoundation.org/index.html>

Ever wonder where your taxes go? Consult the site of this self-described "nonprofit, nonpartisan policy research organization" to learn the history of "Tax Freedom Day," tax burdens around the United States, and other information about your tax bill or taxes in general.

We highly recommend that you review our Web site for expanded information and our other product lines. We are continually updating and adding links to our Web site in order to offer you the most usable and useful information that will support and expand the value of your Annual Editions. You can reach us at: <http://www.dushkin.com/annualeditions/>.

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UNIT 1 Foundations of American Politics

The thirteen selections in this unit outline the foundations of American politics. In addition to primary documents, there are discussions of contemporary political ideas and viewpoints as well as recent commentaries on constitutional issues.

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Part A. Basic Documents

- 1. The Declaration of Independence, 1776,** Thomas Jefferson, *The Declaration of Independence*,
This document formally announces that 13 former British colonies have become the free and independent United States of America. It eloquently identifies certain **historic principles** on which their claim to independence rests. **2**
- 2. The Constitution of the United States, 1787,** *The Constitution of the U.S.*,
The Constitution provides an organizational blueprint for the national government and for the **federal** relationship between the national government and the states. In addition, the first 10 amendments, commonly known as the **Bill of Rights**, spell out limits on what the government can do. A commentary accompanying the actual document provides a brief account of the writing of the Constitution and also notes some of its significant features. **4**
- 3. The Size and Variety of the Union as a Check on Faction,** James Madison, *The Federalist Papers*, No. 10, 1787
James Madison argues in support of the union of the 13 states under the new **Constitution**. According to Madison, a system of **representative democracy** governing a large territory and many people will help control the undesirable effects of "**faction**." **15**
- 4. Checks and Balances,** James Madison, *The Federalist Papers*, No. 51, 1787
According to James Madison, both the **separation of powers** among three branches of government and the **division of powers** between the states and the central government will help preserve **representative democracy** under the new **Constitution**. **19**

Part B. Contemporary Views and Values

- 5. Why Don't They Like Us?,** Stanley Hoffmann, *The American Prospect*, November 19, 2001
In the wake of September 11, 2001, Stanley Hoffmann explores the factors that have led to various strands of **anti-Americanism** around the globe. He also suggests ways of addressing legitimate grievances against the contemporary world's sole **superpower**. **21**

6. The Death of Horatio Alger , Paul Krugman, <i>The Nation</i> , January 5, 2004 Paul Krugman summarizes economic data to support his argument that fewer and fewer Americans rise above the economic status into which they were born. He suggests that government in the U.S. is pursuing policies that contribute to the decline in socioeconomic mobility among Americans.	25
7. Coming Out Ahead: Why Gay Marriage is on the Way , Ramesh Ponnuru, <i>National Review</i> , July 28, 2003 Ramesh Ponnuru reports and explains the evolution of Americans' increasing support for gay rights in the last two decades. He suggests that public policy will likely continue to evolve in the same general direction, even including gay marriage .	27
8. Party On, Dudes! Ignorance Is the Curse of the Information Age , Matthew Robinson, <i>The American Spectator</i> , March/April 2002 Matthew Robinson provides a current update on the state of political knowledge —and ignorance—among Americans.	30
9. Federalism's Ups and Downs , Carl Tubbesing, <i>State Legislatures</i> , February 2002 Using the views of Alexander Hamilton, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Benjamin Franklin as references, Carl Tubbesing explores three explanations for the growth of the national government's power at the expense of the states.	35
Part C. Constitutional and Legal Matters	
10. Rights, Liberties, and Security: Recalibrating the Balance After September 11 , Stuart Taylor Jr., <i>Brookings Review</i> , Winter 2003 Stuart Taylor argues that the post-9/11 United States needs to recalibrate the balance between civil liberties and government security measures. He favors increasing government powers in thoughtful, measured ways to combat the threat of terrorism .	39
11. Upon Further Review , Ken Paulson, <i>American Journalism Review</i> , August/September 2003 Ken Paulson reports and analyzes recent polls surveying what Americans think about various components of the First Amendment and related government policies.	45
12. Winks, Nods, Disguises—and Racial Preference , Carl Cohen, <i>Commentary</i> , September 2003 Carl Choen critically assesses the 2003 landmark rulings of the Supreme Court about the constitutionality of two affirmative action admission programs used by the University of Michigan.	52
13. Guns and Tobacco: Government by Litigation , Stuart Taylor Jr., <i>National Journal</i> , March 25, 2000 Stuart Taylor identifies what he sees as a disturbing new trend: making public policy through litigation in the courts instead of in Congress and the executive branch of government.	56



UNIT 2

Structures of American Politics

Eighteen articles in this unit examine the structure and present status of the American presidency, Congress, the judiciary, and bureaucracy.

Unit Overview

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Part A. The Presidency

14. **The Return of the Imperial Presidency?**, Donald R. Wolfensberger, *The Wilson Quarterly*, Spring 2002

Donald Wolfensberger reviews the concept of the **imperial presidency** and explores the extent to which it has returned in the aftermath of the **September 11, 2001**, terrorist attacks.

60

15. **The Accidental Radical**, Jonathan Rauch, *National Journal*, July 26, 2003

Jonathan Rauch argues that **George W. Bush** has made bold, even radical, moves as president. He suggests that many of his moves have been risky and that they will likely lead to either **success** like that of **President Franklin Roosevelt** or **failure** like that of **President Lyndon Johnson**.

64

16. **Uncivil Liberties**, Carl M. Cannon, *National Journal*, September 20, 2003

Carl Cannon recalls **presidential candidate George W. Bush's** promise to "change the tone" in Washington if he became president. Cannon identifies six reasons why that promise has not been fulfilled.

69

17. **Packaging the President**, Todd S. Purdum, *The New York Times Upfront*, February 7, 2003

Todd Purdum explains how the **White House staff** works to insure that only the most **flattering visual portrayals** of the **president** reach the American public.

74

18. **A Partner in Shaping an Assertive Foreign Policy**, Elisabeth Bumiller, *The New York Times*, January 4, 2004

Elisabeth Bumiller describes the role that **national security advisor** Condoleezza Rice plays in the making of **foreign policy** in the **Bush administration**.

75

Part B. Congress

19. **The State of Congress**, Richard E. Cohen, Kirk Victor, and David Baumann, *National Journal*, January 10, 2004

The authors identify various **institutional trends** that capture how the operation of **Congress** has changed in recent decades and especially in recent years.

78

20. **The High Costs of Rising Incivility on Capitol Hill**, Sheryl Gay Stolberg, *The New York Times*, November 30, 2003

Sheryl Gay Stolberg discusses both the **decrease in civility** among members of the House and Senate and the adverse consequences of this development for the **functioning of Congress**.

83

21. **Legislative Season Drawn in Solid Party Lines**, John Cochran, *CQ Weekly*, January 3, 2004

John Cochran reports that **roll-call voting** in Congress in 2003 showed that Congress is more **polarized along party lines** than at any time in the past half-century.

85

22. **On Their Own Terms**, Martha Angle, *CQ Weekly*, December 28, 2002

Martha Angle introduces the 60-odd **women** who serve in the **108th Congress**. She suggests that they are mostly a different breed from their congressional predecessors.

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The concepts in bold italics are developed in the article. For further expansion, please refer to the Topic Guide and the Index.

23. **The Price of Power**, David Grann, *The New York Times Magazine*, May 11, 2003
David Grann recounts the sorts of behavior that helped Republican Senator **Bill Frist** of Tennessee become **Senate Majority Leader**. 91
24. **John Dingell's Staying Power**, Brody Mullins, *National Journal*, July 28, 2001
Brody Mullins describes the powerful role that Congressman John **Dingell**, Democrat of Michigan, plays in the **House of Representatives**. Despite Dingell's nearly 50 years in the House, he remains energetic and formidable. 99

Part C. The Judiciary

25. **Sandra's Day**, Ramesh Ponnuru, *National Review*, June 30, 2003
Ramesh Ponnuru analyzes the role that Justice **Sandra Day O'Connor** has played on the **Supreme Court** and explains why she is rightly considered the **most powerful justice**. 103
26. **A Judge Speaks Out**, H. Lee Sarokin, *The Nation*, October 13, 1997
H. Lee Sarokin, a former federal judge, argues that the recent **politicization of the judiciary** by politicians and **news media** alike is undermining the **rule of law** in the United States. He explains why he thinks it is crucially important for judges to uphold various controversial provisions of the **Bill of Rights**. 106
27. **One Branch Among Three**, Ramesh Ponnuru, *National Review*, July 29, 2002
Ramesh Ponnuru argues that **courts** have become too powerful in the American political system and points out a relatively simple method that **Congress** can use to remedy the situation. 109

Part D. Bureaucracy

28. **Washington's Mega-Merger**, *The Economist*, November 23, 2002
This selection reviews the details and the rationale for the establishment of the **Department of Homeland Security** as a reaction to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. 112
29. **Turkey Farm**, Robert Maranto, *The Washington Monthly*, November 1999
Robert Maranto examines the difficulties of firing an unproductive **civil servant**, the problems posed for the operation of **government bureaucracy** as a whole, and the possibilities for remedying the situation. 115
30. **Time for a Rethink**, *The Economist*, April 20, 2002
This selection describes the complicated and unwieldy organizational structure that characterizes **U.S. Intelligence** and suggests what **reforms** ought to be undertaken. 118
31. **Compete, or Else**, John Maggs, *National Journal*, July 12, 2003
John Maggs explores a little-noticed initiative of the current **Bush administration**, a plan aimed at making government bureaucracies compete against private contractors by bidding to perform particular tasks. Maggs suggests that this plan may turn out to be one of the Bush presidency's **most important legacies**. 122



UNIT 3

Process of American Politics

In this unit, thirteen articles review how political parties, voters, election processes, interest groups, and the media work within the process of American politics.

Unit Overview 126

Part A. Political Parties

32. **The Chieftains and the Church**, Ted Halstead, from *The Atlantic Monthly*, January/February 2004
Ted Halstead engages in what he calls "an intellectual audit" of **America's two major parties**, and arrives at an interesting distinction between the two parties that is reflected in the title of this selection. 129
33. **America as a One-Party State**, Robert Kuttner, *The American Prospect*, February 2004
Robert Kuttner argues that **Republicans** who today control the White House and both houses of Congress are taking unprecedented steps to enable their party to dominate American government for years to come. 134
34. **Republicans, Democrats, and Race: An Uneasy History**, Robin Toner, *The New York Times Upfront*, February 21, 2003
Robin Toner traces the pivotal role that **race** has played in **party politics** in the United States since 1948. 140

Part B. Politicians, Voters, Public Opinion, and Interest Groups

35. **Running Scared**, Anthony King, *The Atlantic Monthly*, January 1997
Anthony King argues that the American political system is anchored in what he considers to be a **permanent election campaign**. In turn, according to King, American politicians are "hyper-responsive" and American government suffers accordingly. 142
36. **Leaders Should Not Follow Opinion Polls**, Robert Weissberg, *USA Today Magazine (Society for the Advancement of Education)*, May 2002
Robert Weissberg argues that **government leaders** should not follow **public opinion polls** for several reasons, including the absence of satisfactory participatory standards and the quality of advice obtained in polls. 152
37. **Government's End**, Jonathan Rauch, *National Journal*, January 8, 2000
Jonathan Rauch explains why the **U.S. government** has reached a state of **perpetual stalemate**. He describes the situation as one in which the government cannot become either much smaller or much larger and in which there is very little opportunity for change. 155
38. **Associations Without Members**, Theda Skocpol, *The American Prospect*, July/August 1999
Theda Skocpol outlines the ways that Americans' civic and political associations have changed since the 1960s from **traditional membership organizations** to **advocacy groups**. 161

Part C. The Conduct of Elections

39. **The Redistricting Wars**, Sasha Abramsky, *The Nation*, December 29, 2003
Sasha Abramsky describes and criticizes the **unprecedented timing** of Republican state legislators' **redistricting** of their states' congressional seats. He also notes the important role that newly available **redistricting software** has played in the process. 167

40. **A Better Way?**, Alan B. Morrison, *National Journal*, January 4, 2003
Alan Morrison identifies several problems with the way our *Electoral College* system works and suggests ways that each problem can be resolved. 170
41. **The Short, Unhappy Life of Campaign Finance Reform**, Paul Taylor, *Mother Jones*, March/April 2003
Paul Taylor identifies the many opponents of the *McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform law* of March, 2002, and suggests that they are likely to be successful in undermining the objectives of those who supported the law. 174

Part D. Media

42. **Journalism and Democracy**, Bill Moyers, *The Nation*, May 7, 2001
Bill Moyers outlines what he seeks as the key role of *journalism* in the practice of *American democracy*. He also gives several examples of how powerful interests have tried to discredit important stories or even prevent them from appearing. 176
43. **The Making of a Movement: Getting Serious About Media Reform**, Robert W. McChesney and John Nichols, *The Nation*, January 7, 2002
The authors note how the current ownership structure of major media outlets distorts *news reporting* in the United States. They suggest how major reform might occur and what the goals of a *media reform movement* should be. 180
44. **Politics After the Internet**, Yuval Levin, *The Public Interest*, Fall 2002
Yuval Levin suggests that the coming of the *Internet* may lead to greater intellectual isolation, downgrading the political importance of size and place and quickening the pace of politics. But he also writes that *American democracy* can and will continue to exist. 186



UNIT 4

Products of American Politics

Six selections in this unit examine the "products" of the American government: the domestic, economic, foreign, and defense policies that are generated by the administration and implemented by the bureaucracy.

Unit Overview 192

Part A. Economic and Social Welfare Policy

45. **The Tax-Cut Con**, Paul Krugman, *The New York Times Magazine*, September 14, 2003
Paul Krugman says that a *tax-cut crusade* has dominated the last quarter-century of American politics. He examines the motives of those supporting that crusade and critically assesses its effects on American government both now and in the future. 194
46. **Liberal Lessons From Welfare Reform**, Christopher Jencks, *The American Prospect*, Summer 2002
Christopher Jencks examines the effects of the *1996 welfare reform act*. He suggests several reasons why it has worked out better than liberal critics had expected. 202
47. **The O'Connor Project**, Lisbeth B. Schorr, *The American Prospect*, January 2004
Lisbeth Schorr argues that *racial disparities* and *racial discrimination* in the United States can be ended. She then calculates the costs of doing so. 206

Part B. National and Homeland Security

48. The New Rome Meets the New Barbarians, Joseph Nye, <i>The Economist</i> , March 23, 2002 Joseph Nye suggests that the <i>foreign policy challenges</i> facing the United States in the coming decades are best understood in the context of the three different <i>dimensions of power</i> that he identifies.	209
49. The Compulsive Empire, Robert Jervis, <i>Foreign Policy</i> , July/August 2003 Robert Jervis identifies the factors that seem to lead the United States, almost inexorably, to <i>imperialist aspirations</i> and deeds.	212
50. No, It's Not Vietnam, James Kitfield, <i>National Journal</i> , November 22, 2003 James Kitfield identifies various factors that make the <i>war in Iraq</i> very different from the <i>Vietnam War</i> three decades ago.	215
Index	218
Test Your Knowledge Form	222
Article Rating Form	223

This unit treats some of the less concrete aspects of the American political system—historic ideals, contemporary ideas and values, and constitutional and legal issues. These dimensions of the system are not immune to change. Instead, they interact with the wider political environment in which they exist, and they are modified accordingly. Usually this interaction is a gradual process, but sometimes events foster more rapid change.

Human beings can be distinguished from other species by their ability to think and reason at relatively high levels of abstraction. In turn, ideas, ideals, values, and principles can and do play important roles in politics. Most Americans value ideals such as democracy, freedom, equal opportunity, and justice. Yet the precise meanings of these terms and the best ways of implementing them are the subject of much dispute in the political arena. Such ideas and ideals, as well as disputes about their “real” meanings, are important elements in the practice of American politics.

Although the selections in this unit span more than 200 years, they are clearly related to one another. Understanding contemporary political viewpoints is easier if the ideals and principles of the past are also taken into account. In addition, we can better appreciate the significance of historic documents such as the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution if we are familiar with contemporary ideas and perspectives. The interaction of different ideas and values plays an important part in the continuing development of the “foundations” of the American political system.

The first section of this unit includes several historic documents from the eighteenth century. The first is the Declaration of Independence. Written in 1776, it proclaims the Founders' views of why independence from England was justified and, in so doing, identifies certain “unalienable” rights that “all men” are said to possess. The second document, the Constitution of 1787, re-

mains in effect to this day. It provides an organizational blueprint for the structure of American national government, outlines the federal relationship between the national government and the states, and expresses limitations on what government can do. Twenty-seven amendments have been added to the original Constitution in two centuries. In addition to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, the first section includes two selections from *The Federalist Papers*, a series of newspaper articles written in support of the proposed new Constitution. Appearing in 1787 and 1788, *The Federalist Papers* treated various provisions of the new Constitution and argued that putting the Constitution into effect would bring about good government.

The second section treats contemporary political ideas and viewpoints. As selections in this section illustrate, efforts to apply or act on political beliefs in the context of concrete circumstances often lead to interesting commentary and debate. “Liberal” and “conservative” are two labels often used in American political discussions, but political views and values have far more complexity than can be captured by these two terms.

Selections in the third section show that constitutional and legal issues and interpretations are tied to historic principles as well as to contemporary ideas and values. It has been suggested that throughout American history almost every important political question has at one time or another appeared as a constitutional or legal issue.

The historic documents and the other selections in this unit might be more difficult to understand than the articles in other units. Some of them may have to be read and reread carefully to be fully appreciated. But to grapple with the important material treated here is to come to grips with a variety of conceptual blueprints for the American political system. To ignore the theoretical issues raised would be to bypass an important element of American politics today.

