

American Government

02/03



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American Government

02/03

Thirty-Second Edition

EDITOR

Bruce Stinebrickner

DePauw University

Professor Bruce Stinebrickner teaches American politics in the Department of Political Science at DePauw University in Greencastle, Indiana. He has also taught American politics at Lehman College of the City University of New York, at the University of Queensland in Brisbane, Australia, and in a DePauw program for Argentine students in Buenos Aires. He received his Ph.D. from Yale University in 1974. In his courses and publications on American politics, Professor Stinebrickner brings valuable insights gained from living, teaching, and lecturing abroad.

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Members of the Advisory Board are instrumental in the final selection of articles for each edition of ANNUAL EDITIONS. Their review of articles for content, level, currentness, and appropriateness provides critical direction to the editor and staff. We think that you will find their careful consideration well reflected in this volume.

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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.

Annual Editions: American Government 02/03 is the thirty-second edition of a book that has become a mainstay in many introductory courses on the American political system. The educational goal is to provide a readable collection of up-to-date articles that are informative, interesting, and stimulating to students beginning their study of the American political system.

The inauguration of President George W. Bush in January, 2001, seemed to mark a new beginning for the American political system after the tumultuous events of the preceding few years. Receding into the past were the 2000 presidential election controversy that engulfed the nation for 5 long weeks before Bush emerged as president-elect; the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal that in 1998 led to the impeachment of an American president for only the second time in history; and the meteoric rise and fall of Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, who was at the forefront of American politics from 1994, when he led his Republican party to majority control of the House for the first time in 40 years, to late 1998, when he announced his decision to resign after disappointing results for his party in midterm House elections.

When President Bush took office, his Republican party controlled the presidency and both houses of Congress, albeit by narrow margins. The Senate was split 50-50 between Republicans and Democrats, but Vice President Dick Cheney's tie-breaking vote allowed Republicans to name the majority leader and the chairs of all committees. That arrangement changed abruptly in May, when Republican Senator Jim Jeffords of Vermont announced that he was becoming an independent, thus giving Democrats control of the Senate. In turn, Democrat Tom Daschle of South Dakota replaced Republican Trent Lott of Mississippi as Senate majority leader and every Senate committee chairmanship also changed hands.

As of early September, President Bush was still working to establish himself in his new political surroundings. Democrats remained buoyed by the turn of events in the Senate, and a host of critical budgetary and other decisions faced Congress and the president as Congress reconvened in Washington after its normal late summer recess. September promised to be a month in which Democrats and Republicans locked horns in Washington. The start of a new fiscal year on October 1 approached amid signs of a continuing economic slowdown, growing uncertainty about the wisdom of long-term tax cuts pushed through Congress by the Bush administration in spring 2001, and increasingly partisan disagreement about how to spend the anticipated, though dwindling, budgetary surplus.

Then came the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon! The world-and the world of American politics-turned topsy-turvy. Republican and Democratic members of Congress joined hands on Capitol Hill and sang "God Bless America" with tears in their eyes. President George W. Bush seized the reins of leadership in America's new "war on terrorism" and his public approval ratings soared above 90 percent, figures rivaled only once before, when his own father served as commander-in-chief during the Persian Gulf War in 1991.

The immediate aftermath of the shocking events of September 11 resulted in the start of U.S. military activities in Afghanistan in October. The ruling Taliban and the associated Al Qaeda terrorist network resisted briefly before giving way to the military onslaught. On the domestic front, anthrax mailings to several locations, including the Capitol Hill office of Senate Majority Leader Daschle, resulted in several deaths, the illness of others, and widespread fears among Americans. Concerns about maintaining a balanced budget, protecting Social Security, and passing year-end appropriations bills virtually disappeared. American unity and bipartisanship were the order of the day.

As this book goes to press in early 2002, President Bush's popularity remains at extraordinarily high levels. But differences between Democrats and Republicans on how to help the ailing economy are being aired, with Democrats loudly wondering about the long-term tax cuts enacted almost a year ago and Republicans hewing to the traditional line that helping businesses helps all Americans. In addition, the Enron bankruptcy and potential scandals associated with it are making headlines. With both houses of Congress closely divided between the two parties, American voters will have their say at mid-term Congressional elections in November, 2002.

The systems approach provides a rough organizational framework for this book. The first unit focuses on ideological and constitutional underpinnings of American politics, from both historical and contemporary perspectives. The second unit treats the major institutions of the national government. The third covers the "input" or "linkage" mechanisms of the system: political parties, elections, interest groups, and media. The fourth and concluding unit shifts the focus to policy choices that confront the government in Washington and resulting "outputs" of the political system. Also included in the book is a list of related *World Wide Web* sites and a *Topic Guide*, which can be used to explore particular areas in greater depth.

Each year thousands of articles about American politics are published, and deciding which to reprint in a collection of readings such as this can be difficult. Since no position on the political spectrum has a monopoly on truth, articles are chosen with an eye toward providing viewpoints from left, right, and center. Substantially more than half of the selections in this book are new to this year's edition, and a good number of them factor the events of September 11 into attempts to describe and understand contemporary American politics.

Next year will bring another opportunity for change, and you, the reader, are invited to participate in the process. Please complete and return the postpaid *article rating form* on the last page of the book, and let us know your reactions and your suggestions for improvement.



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.

Appointment process

- 23. Fixing the Appointment Process

Bill of Rights

- 2. The Constitution of the United States, 1787
- 30. A Judge Speaks Out

Bureaucracy

- 32. Turkey Farm
- 33. Reforming U.S. Intelligence After the Terrorist Attack
- 34. Police Blotter

Bush, George W.

- 21. The Art of Compromise
- 22. Leakproof?
- 36. Family Tree, Party Roots

Campaign finance reform

- 6. Which America Will We Be Now?
- 26. Feingold's Crusade
- 40. Follow the Money
- 42. Soft Money Unleashed

Clinton, Bill

- 18. Hooked on Polls
- 19. When Presidents Speak

Congress

- 2. The Constitution of the United States, 1787
- 3. The Size and Variety of the Union as a Check on Faction
- 12. Insurance Against the Once Unthinkable
- 13. Overruling the Court
- 17. Gone Are the Giants
- 24. Crackup of the Committees
- 25. Can It Be Done?
- 26. Feingold's Crusade
- 27. John Dingell's Staying Power
- 28. Of Judges and Senators
- 29. Uninsured Americans Linger on Congress' Waiting List

Constitution

- 2. The Constitution of the United States, 1787
- 3. The Size and Variety of the Union as a Check on Faction
- 4. Checks and Balances
- 12. Insurance Against the Once Unthinkable
- 14. The 28th Amendment
- 15. Immigrants for President

Declaration of Independence

- 1. The Declaration of Independence, 1776

Elections

- 25. Can It Be Done?
- 26. Feingold's Crusade
- 31. Reconsidering "Bush v. Gore"
- 35. Running Scared
- 39. Making Every Vote Count

- 40. Follow the Money
- 41. No Need to Repeal the Electoral College
- 47. The Media and Politics: It's More Than the News
- 49. Echo Chamber of Horrors

Electoral college

- 25. Can It Be Done?
- 41. No Need to Repeal the Electoral College

Federal government

- 2. The Constitution of the United States, 1787
- 4. Checks and Balances

Federalism

- 2. The Constitution of the United States, 1787
- 3. The Size and Variety of the Union as a Check on Faction

Health care issues

- 29. Uninsured Americans Linger on Congress' Waiting List

Historic perspectives

- 1. The Declaration of Independence, 1776
- 2. The Constitution of the United States, 1787
- 3. The Size and Variety of the Union as a Check on Faction
- 4. Checks and Balances

Homeland and national security

- 33. Reforming U.S. Intelligence After the Terrorist Attack
- 34. Police Blotter
- 53. Now Do You Believe We Need a Draft?
- 54. Immigration and Terrorism

Interest groups

- 3. The Size and Variety of the Union as a Check on Faction
- 43. Government's End
- 44. Associations Without Members
- 45. The World According to AARP

Judicial system

- 2. The Constitution of the United States, 1787
- 16. Guns and Tobacco: Government by Litigation
- 30. A Judge Speaks Out

Media

- 30. A Judge Speaks Out
- 46. Journalism and Democracy
- 47. The Media and Politics: It's More Than the News
- 48. The Making of a Movement: Getting Serious About Media Reform
- 49. Echo Chamber of Horrors
- 50. The Two-Bucks-a-Minute Democracy

Nominations

- 25. Can It Be Done?
- 28. Of Judges and Senators
- 35. Running Scared
- 39. Making Every Vote Count

Political parties

- 7. “We”—Not “Me”
- 36. Family Tree, Party Roots
- 37. The Politics of Welfare Reform
- 38. Who Needs Political Parties?

Presidency

- 2. The Constitution of the United States, 1787
- 17. Gone Are the Giants
- 18. Hooked on Polls
- 19. When Presidents Speak
- 20. The Imperial Presidency
- 21. The Art of Compromise
- 23. Fixing the Appointment Process

Public opinion

- 7. “We”—Not “Me”
- 8. America’s Ignorant Voters
- 18. Hooked on Polls
- 50. The Two-Bucks-a-Minute Democracy

Race

- 9. The Black-White Wealth Gap

Reagan, Ronald

- 19. When Presidents Speak

Rights

- 1. The Declaration of Independence, 1776
- 11. Speech Isn’t Cheap
- 13. Overruling the Court

September 11, 2001

- 5. Why Don’t They Like Us?
- 7. “We”—Not “Me”
- 10. Don’t Treat Innocent People Like Criminals
- 33. Reforming U.S. Intelligence After the Terrorist Attack
- 34. Police Blotter
- 53. *Now* Do You Believe We Need a Draft?
- 54. Immigration and Terrorism

Social Security

- 52. Social Security

State government

- 2. The Constitution of the United States, 1787
- 4. Checks and Balances

Supreme Court

- 13. Overruling the Court
- 31. Reconsidering “Bush v. Gore”

Terrorism

- 5. Why Don’t They Like Us?
- 54. Immigration and Terrorism

Welfare policy

- 37. The Politics of Welfare Reform
- 51. What Next for 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 02/03

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.

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.

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.

The Written Word

<http://www.mdle.com/WrittenWord/>

This is an online journal of economic, political, and social commentary, primarily from a center or left-of-center viewpoint. The site provides links to governmental and political Web resources.

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://woodrow.mpls.frb.fed.us/info/sys/index.html>

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.

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.

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.

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 historical 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/poli/>

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.

Marketplace of Political Ideas/University of Houston Library

<http://info.lib.uh.edu/politics/markind.htm>

Here is a collection of links to campaign, conservative/liberal perspectives, and political party sites. There are General Political Sites, Democratic Sites, Republican Sites, Third Party Sites, and much more.

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/>.

UNIT 1

Foundations of American Politics

Unit Selections

1. **The Declaration of Independence, 1776**, Thomas Jefferson
2. **The Constitution of the United States, 1787**, The Constitution of the U.S.
3. **The Size and Variety of the Union as a Check on Faction**, James Madison
4. **Checks and Balances**, James Madison
5. **Why Don't They Like Us?** Stanley Hoffmann
6. **Which America Will We Be Now?** Bill Moyers
7. **"We"—Not "Me"**, Stanley B. Greenberg
8. **America's Ignorant Voters**, Michael Schudson
9. **The Black-White Wealth Gap**, Dalton Conley
10. **Don't Treat Innocent People Like Criminals**, Stuart Taylor Jr.
11. **Speech Isn't Cheap**, Wendy Kaminer
12. **Insurance Against the Once Unthinkable**, William Schneider
13. **Overruling the Court**, Leon Friedman
14. **The 28th Amendment**, Robert P. George
15. **Immigrants for President**, John J. Miller
16. **Guns and Tobacco: Government by Litigation**, Stuart Taylor Jr.

Key Points to Consider

- What do you think would surprise the Founders most about the values and ideals held by Americans today?
- Which ideals, ideas, and values seem likely to remain central to American politics, and which seem likely to erode and gradually disappear?
- To what rights do you think all Americans are entitled? Do all Americans have these rights now? If not, why not?
- What makes constitutional interpretation and reinterpretation necessary in the American political system?
- Do you consider yourself a conservative, a liberal, a socialist, a reactionary, or what? Why?



Links: www.dushkin.com/online/

These sites are annotated in the World Wide Web pages.

American Studies Web

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

Federalism: Relationship Between Local and National Governments

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

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

<http://www.opinioninc.com>

Scanned Originals of Early American Documents

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

Smithsonian Institution

<http://www.si.edu>

The Written Word

<http://www.mdle.com/WrittenWord/>

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UNIT 1 Foundations of American Politics

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

Unit Overview	xvi
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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. Which America Will We Be Now?, Bill Moyers, *The Nation*, November 19, 2001**
In the context of September 11, 2001, Bill Moyers argues for improving democracy in the United States by **campaign finance reform**, more penetrating coverage of politics by **news media**, a fairer tax system, and recognition of the important contributions of firefighters, police officers, and other **public servants**. 25

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

7. “We”—Not “Me”, Stanley B. Greenberg, <i>The American Prospect</i> , December 17, 2001 Stanley Greenberg reports post–September 11 changes in <i>American public opinion</i> . He identifies four patterns in the public’s emerging mood and suggests that traditional Democratic Party values may fit better with the new sentiments than those of the Republican Party.	28
8. America’s Ignorant Voters , Michael Schudson, <i>The Wilson Quarterly</i> , Spring 2000 Michael Schudson describes the low levels of <i>political knowledge</i> among average Americans and notes the remarkable stability in these levels over the past half-century. Schudson also discusses how these levels of political knowledge can be reconciled with the ideals of <i>American democracy</i> .	31
9. The Black-White Wealth Gap , Dalton Conley, <i>The Nation</i> , March 26, 2001 Dalton Conley argues that gaps between the net worth of blacks and whites are telling indicators of continuing <i>racial inequality</i> in the United States.	36
Part C. Constitutional and Legal Matters	
10. Don’t Treat Innocent People Like Criminals , Stuart Taylor Jr., <i>National Journal</i> , December 8, 2001 Stuart Taylor discusses and criticizes the preventive detention measures implemented by the <i>Bush administration</i> after the <i>September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks</i> .	39
11. Speech Isn’t Cheap , Wendy Kaminer, <i>The American Prospect</i> , July 31, 2000 Wendy Kaminer explores the connection between <i>money and freedom of expression</i> in the United States. She concludes that enacting limits on so-called <i>independent expenditures</i> will weaken American democracy.	41
12. Insurance Against the Once Unthinkable , William Schneider, <i>National Journal</i> , November 3, 2001 William Schneider discusses a proposed <i>constitutional amendment</i> to allow governors to fill vacancies in the <i>House of Representatives</i> in the special circumstances that may result from a terrorist attack.	43
13. Overruling the Court , Leon Friedman, <i>The American Prospect</i> , August 27, 2001 Leon Friedman notes that Congress can take action to “overrule” <i>Supreme Court</i> decisions interpreting congressional statutes. He argues that <i>Congress</i> should do so with respect to several <i>civil rights laws</i> that have been narrowly interpreted by the Court.	45
14. The 28th Amendment , Robert P. George, <i>National Review</i> , July 23, 2001 Robert George discusses a proposed <i>constitutional amendment</i> that would incorporate the traditional understanding of marriage as a union between a man and a woman and thus prevent any state from legitimating <i>same-sex marriages</i> .	47
15. Immigrants for President , John J. Miller, <i>National Review</i> , August 6, 2001 John Miller explains why he favors a <i>constitutional amendment</i> that would permit an <i>immigrant</i> who becomes a citizen to become <i>president</i> of the United States.	50
16. 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 <i>public policy through litigation</i> in the courts instead of in Congress and the executive branch of government.	52



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.

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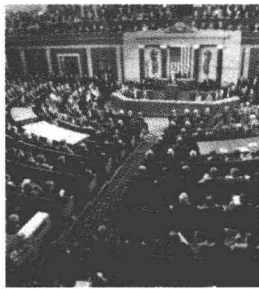
Part A. The Presidency

17. **Gone Are the Giants**, Burt Solomon, *National Journal*, May 27, 2000
Burt Solomon argues that relatively unimpressive individuals—and not political “giants”—have come to occupy all **three branches of government** in recent decades. He also explores why this trend has occurred. 56
18. **Hooked on Polls**, Carl M. Cannon, *National Journal*, October 17, 1998
Carl Cannon chronicles the way that **presidents** have used **public opinion polls** to determine their courses of action. He laments the increasing influence of polls on what presidents do. 61
19. **When Presidents Speak**, Michael J. Lewis, *Commentary*, June 2001
Michael Lewis critically assesses the speaking styles of former presidents **Ronald Reagan** and **Bill Clinton**. 65
20. **The Imperial Presidency**, *The Economist*, November 3, 2001
This selection suggests that, in the aftermath of September 11, 2001, the American political system is experiencing a dramatic expansion in **presidential power** that is reminiscent of what historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. called the **“imperial presidency.”** 68
21. **The Art of Compromise**, James A. Barnes, *National Journal*, August 18, 2001
James Barnes views **President Bush’s** decision about **stem cell research** to be a masterful compromise that reflects well on the president. 70
22. **Leakproof?**, Byron York, *National Review*, October 1, 2001
Byron York compares the **Bush administration** with its predecessors and concludes that the current administration has been unusually successful in avoiding **leaks**. 72
23. **Fixing the Appointment Process**, Alvin S. Felzenberg, *Brookings Review*, Spring 2001
Alvin Felzenberg reviews problems that have plagued the **appointment process** in U.S. government and discusses seven ways suggested by various bodies to streamline and improve that process. 74

Part B. Congress

24. **Crackup of the Committees**, Richard E. Cohen, *National Journal*, July 31, 1999
Richard Cohen chronicles the decline in the power of **congressional committees** on Capitol Hill. Suggesting that the decline has been gradual and deliberate, he discusses the implications for the way Congress functions. 78
25. **Can It Be Done?**, Richard E. Cohen and Louis Jacobson, *National Journal*, November 18, 2000
The authors of this report explore the prospects for abolishing the **Electoral College** in the aftermath of the 2000 presidential election. They conclude that various factors make enactment of such a proposal in **Congress** unlikely. 85

26. **Feingold's Crusade**, Kirk Victor, *National Journal*, March 24, 2001
Kirk Victor portrays Democratic **Senator Russell Feingold** of Wisconsin as an independent-minded populist who has teamed with Republican **Senator John McCain** of Arizona in the cause of **campaign finance reform**. 90
27. **John Dingell's Staying Power**, Brody Mullins, *National Journal*, July 28, 2001
Brady 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. 95
28. **Of Judges and Senators**, Ramesh Ponnuru, *National Review*, June 11, 2001
Ramesh Ponnuru explores the Senate's handling of the **judicial nominations** of President Bill Clinton and President George W. Bush. In particular, he notes that hypocrisy often rears its head in heated discussions about how the **Senate** ought to proceed. 99
29. **Uninsured Americans Linger on Congress' Waiting List**, Mary Agnes Carey, *CQ Weekly*, September 9, 2000
Establishing **a health plan that would be of benefit to all Americans** is a daunting task that is greatly complicated by political agendas, lobbyists, and the natural momentum of the existing medical system. 101
- Part C. The Judiciary**
30. **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**. 105
31. **Reconsidering "Bush v. Gore"**, Gary Rosen, *Commentary*, November 2001
Gary Rosen weighs the implications of the involvement of the **U.S. Supreme Court** and other courts in resolving the **presidential election of 2000**. He suggests that the exercise of **judicial restraint** would have been the best course of action. 108
- Part D. Bureaucracy**
32. **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. 113
33. **Reforming U.S. Intelligence After the Terrorist Attack**, Craig R. Eisendrath and Melvin A. Goodman, *USA Today Magazine (Society for the Advancement of Education)*, November 2001
The authors chronicle intelligence failures by U.S. government agencies in recent decades, including failure to detect the **terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001**. They suggest a number of **reforms**, including closer **oversight** by both the president and Congress. 116
34. **Police Blotter**, Jason Zengerle, *The New Republic*, December 31, 2001/January 7, 2002
Jason Zengerle assesses significant changes in antiterrorist tactics introduced by the **FBI** since the **September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks**. He concludes that the new antiterrorist approach is a mistake and explains why. 120



UNIT 3

Process of American Politics

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

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Part A. Politicians, Parties, and Voters

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.

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36. **Family Tree, Party Roots**, Carl M. Cannon, *National Journal*, July 21, 2001
Carl Cannon traces the **evolution of the Republican Party** since the 1950s by examining the evolution of three generations of politicians from the **Bush family**: U.S. Senator Prescott Bush of Connecticut; his son, George H. W. Bush, who served one term as the 41st president of the United States; and his grandson, George W. Bush, the current president.

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37. **The Politics of Welfare Reform**, Tom Downey, *Brookings Review*, Summer 2001
Tom Downey, a self-described "charter member of the Democratic left," discusses the prospects for effective **welfare reform** in the **Bush administration**. He suggests that President Bush has given reason to think that "**compassionate conservatism**" may reflect a genuinely held set of worthwhile principles that will hold both America's poor and the **Republican Party** in good stead.

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38. **Who Needs Political Parties?**, Richard M. Valelly, *The American Prospect*, August 14, 2000
Three different perspectives by contemporary political scientists on the **two-party system** in the United States are identified by Richard Valelly in this essay. He explains and assesses each one.

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Part B. The Conduct of Elections

39. **Making Every Vote Count**, Lani Guinier, *The Nation*, December 4, 2000
Lani Guinier discusses some basic questions about elections in the United States: who votes, how they vote, for whom they vote, how their votes are counted, and what happens after the voting.

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40. **Follow the Money**, Jay Mandle, *Commonweal*, July 13, 2001
Jay Mandle argues on behalf of **public financing of elections**. He suggests that any other financing alternative inevitably leads to a political system that is overly responsive to the wealthy.

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41. **No Need to Repeal the Electoral College**, Norman Ornstein, *State Legislatures*, February 2001
Norman Ornstein explores the history and functioning of the **Electoral College**. He argues that reform in the administration and financing of **presidential elections** is needed, but that the Electoral College should not be repealed.

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42. **Soft Money Unleashed**, Brody Mullins and Charles Mitchell, *National Journal*, February 17, 2001
In this report, the authors detail the great increase in **soft money** contributions during the 1999–2000 election cycle.

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Part C. Interest Groups

43. **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. 163
44. **Associations Without Members**, Theda Skocpol, *The American Prospect*, July/August 1999
Theda Skocpol outlines the way that Americans' civic and political associations have changed since the 1960s from **traditional membership organizations** to **advocacy groups**. 169
45. **The World According to AARP**, Steven A. Holmes, *New York Times*, March 21, 2001
Steven Holmes examines the AARP, a well-known **interest group** for older Americans that has a large membership, a big budget, and a great deal of influence. More than 40 years after its founding, it also faces problems and challenges. 175

Part D. Media

46. **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. 178
47. **The Media and Politics: It's More Than the News**, Steve Bell, *USA Today Magazine (Society for the Advancement of Education)*, March 2001
Steve Bell argues that **media** are more diversified than ever. He examines how that diversity significantly affected the roles that media played in the **2000 presidential election campaign**. 182
48. **The Making of a Movement: Getting Serious About Media Reform**, Robert W. McChesney and John Nichols, *The Nation*, January 7/14, 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. 186
49. **Echo Chamber of Horrors**, Scott Stossel, *The American Prospect*, December 18, 2000
In the context of now infamous mistakes by **news media** in reporting **2000 presidential election** results, Scott Stossel suggests how media coverage has often come to resemble an **"infinite feedback loop."** 192
50. **The Two-Bucks-a-Minute Democracy**, Michael Lewis, *New York Times Magazine*, November 5, 2000
A new **Internet-based polling operation** developed by two Stanford University political scientists is described by Michael Lewis in this article. He discusses its implications for our conceptions of how **American democracy** should function. 197



UNIT 4

Products of American Politics

Four selections in this unit examine the domestic, economic, foreign, and defense policies that American government produces.

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Part A. Social Welfare Policy

51. **What Next for Welfare Reform?**, Wendell Primus, *Brookings Review*, Summer 2001

Summarizing the results of the 1996 **welfare reform law** so far, Wendell Primus sets forth considerations for improving current welfare policies when the law comes up for extension sometime in 2002.

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52. **Social Security**, Maya MacGuineas, *The Washington Monthly*, April 2001

Maya MacGuineas explores the possibilities of **privatizing social security**, in whole or in part. She concludes that partial privatization is the wisest course to pursue.

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Part B. Homeland and National Security

53. **Now Do You Believe We Need a Draft?**, Charles Moskos and Paul Glasstris, *The Washington Monthly*, November 2001

Charles Moskos and Paul Glasstris argue that the national government should reinstitute a draft to ensure an adequate supply of manpower for traditional **military service** as well as for **homeland defense**.

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54. **Immigration and Terrorism**, Robert McChesney, *America*, October 29, 2001

Robert McChesney explores contemporary U.S. public policy toward **immigration** and **terrorism**. He argues that, in the wake of the events of September 11, 2001, we need to distinguish the two carefully when formulating public policy.

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