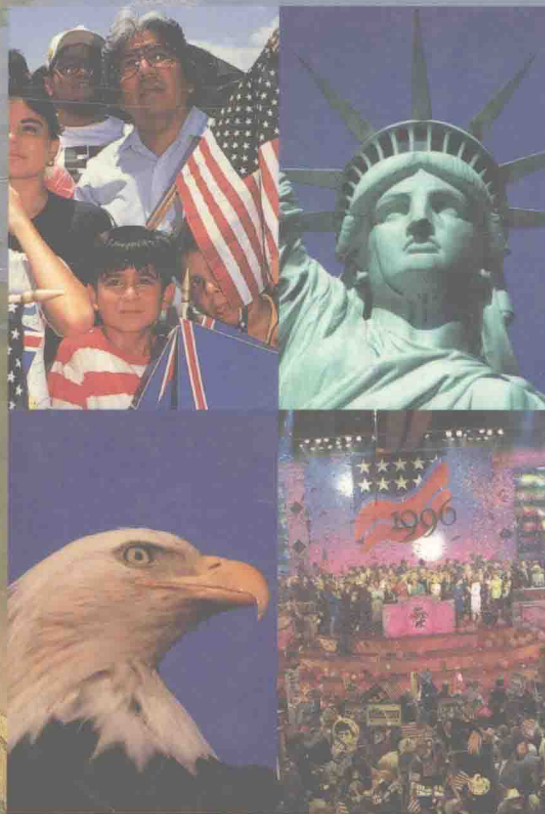


# American Government and Politics Today: The Essentials



1998-1999 EDITION

Barbara A. Bardes Mack C. Shelley II Steffen W. Schmidt

# American Government and Politics Today: The Essentials

1998-1999 EDITION

**BARBARA A. BARDES**

University of Cincinnati

**MACK C. SHELLEY II**

Iowa State University

**STEFFEN W. SCHMIDT**

Iowa State University




**West / Wadsworth**

I(T)P® An International Thomson Publishing Company

---

Belmont, CA • Albany, NY • Bonn • Boston • Cincinnati • Detroit •  
Johannesburg • London • Madrid • Melbourne • Mexico City • New York • Paris  
Singapore • Tokyo • Toronto • Washington

EDITOR:	Clark Baxter		<i>This book is printed on acid-free recycled paper.</i>
EDITORIAL ASSISTANT:	Amy Guastello		
SENIOR DEVELOPMENT EDITOR:	Sharon Adams Poore		
MARKETING MANAGER:	Jay Hu		
PRODUCTION, ART, AND DESIGN:	Bill Stryker		
PRINT BUYER:	Barbara Britton		
PERMISSIONS EDITOR:	Veronica Oliva		
COPY EDITOR:	Pat Lewis		
COVER PHOTOGRAPHS:	Background © Carr Clifton; upper left © Ira Wyman, Sygma; upper right © PhotoDisc; lower left © PhotoDisc; lower right © Rick Friedman, Black Star		
TEXT PHOTOGRAPHS:	Credits appear on page 621		
COMPOSITOR:	Parkwood Composition Service		
PREPRESS:	H & S Graphics, Inc.		
PRINTER:	Banta/Menasha		

COPYRIGHT © 1998 by Wadsworth Publishing Company  
A Division of International Thomson Publishing Inc.  
ITP® The ITP logo is a registered trademark under license.

Printed in the United States of America  
2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

For more information, contact Wadsworth Publishing Company, 10 Davis Drive, Belmont, CA 94002, or electronically at <http://www.thomson.com/wadsworth.html>

International Thomson Publishing Europe  
Berkshire House 168-173  
High Holborn  
London, WC1V 7AA, England

International Thomson Editores  
Campos Eliseos 385, Piso 7  
Col. Polanco  
11560 México D.F. México

Thomas Nelson Australia  
102 Dodds Street  
South Melbourne 3205  
Victoria, Australia

International Thomson Publishing Asia  
221 Henderson Road  
#05-10 Henderson Building  
Singapore 0315

Nelson Canada  
1120 Birchmount Road  
Scarborough, Ontario  
Canada M1K 5G4

International Thomson Publishing Japan  
Hirakawacho Kyowa Building, 3F  
2-2-1 Hirakawacho  
Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 102, Japan

International Thomson Publishing GmbH  
Königswinterer Strasse 418  
53227 Bonn, Germany

International Thomson Publishing Southern Africa  
Building 18, Constantia Park  
240 Old Pretoria Road  
Halfway House, 1685 South Africa

All rights reserved. No part of this work covered by the copyright hereon may be reproduced or used in any form or by any means—graphic, electronic, or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, taping, or information storage and retrieval systems—without the written permission of the publisher.

Bardes, Barbara A.

American government and politics today, the essentials /Mack C. Shelley II,  
Steffen W. Schmidt, 1998-1999 ed.

Includes index.

ISBN: 0-534-53901-7

ISSN: 1084-9742

1998-1999 Essentials Edition

1. United States—Politics and government. I. Shelley, Mack C. 1950– II. Schmidt, Steffen W. III. Title

JK274.S428 1998

320.973-dc20



**t h o m s o n • c o m**

changing the way the world learns<sup>SM</sup>

To get extra value from this book for no additional cost, go to:

**<http://www.thomson.com/wadsworth.html>**

*thomson.com* is the World Wide Web site for Wadsworth/ITP and is your direct source to dozens of on-line resources. *thomson.com* helps you find out about supplements, experiment with demonstration software, search for a job, and send e-mail to many of our authors. You can even preview new publications and exciting new technologies.

***thomson.com:*** *It's where you'll find us in the future.*



# Preface

As the twentieth century draws to a close, American voters and political leaders face a host of challenging questions: How can the high cost of government be reduced? What programs will have to be sacrificed in the process? Is turning responsibility over to the states for certain programs, such as welfare, really a solution? Other questions are equally pressing: What can or should be done to halt the continued unequal treatment of women and various minority groups in our society, given the growing perception that affirmative action is not the solution? How can soaring campaign costs be contained so that we can avoid the prospect of a government by the wealthy few? How can the government control crime and terrorism without restraining our civil rights and liberties to an unacceptable degree? What laws should be devised to regulate electronic communications in the age of the Internet?

There are no easy answers to these and other questions facing American society today. But then, there were no easy answers to questions that were equally challenging for Americans in the past. How major political issues in the past were resolved has had a lasting impact on American society. So will the ways in which some of today's important issues are resolved.

Readers of this text will learn about these issues and the government institutions and processes that have framed—and continue to frame—their outcomes. Students will come to understand that politics is not an abstract process but a very human enterprise, one involving interaction among individuals from all walks of life. They will be encouraged to think critically about issues facing American government and society today and consider how alternative outcomes of these issues will affect their lives—including their civil rights and liberties, their employment opportunities, their economic welfare, and their ability to participate in the American political system. Finally, they will learn how they themselves can become active, informed participants in the political process—which is the ultimate aim of this book. As you will see, many of the special features and pedagogical elements described in the remaining pages of this Preface were designed with this ultimate goal in mind.

## 1996 ELECTION RESULTS INCLUDED AND ANALYZED



Because we believe that students respond positively to up-to-date information about political events, we have included the latest presidential, congressional, and state election results from November 1996. These results are discussed throughout the book but particularly in those chapters that most directly relate to campaigns and elections or their outcomes. For example, in Chapter 9 ("Campaigns, Elections, and the Media"), we look closely at the 1996 elections with respect to campaign expenses, the candidates who ran, voting behavior, and media coverage. In Chapter 10 ("The Congress"), we examine how the elections affected Congress, including the changes in committee chairs that resulted from the elections.

New to this edition are special features highlighting the 1996 elections. These features, which are entitled *Elections '96*, relate to topics covered in the chapters. For example, in Chapter 3 ("Federalism"), the feature discusses the implications of the 1996 elections for the new federalism; in Chapter 5 ("Civil Rights"), the feature deals with the topic of political leadership by women with reference to the 1996 elections; in Chapter 6 ("Public Opinion"), the feature looks at the gender gap in the 1996 elections; and so on. These features offer students the latest, most up-to-date information in those areas that are most strongly affected by the outcomes of the elections.

## SPECIAL PEDAGOGICAL AIDS AND HIGH-INTEREST FEATURES



The 1998–1999 Edition of *American Government and Politics Today: The Essentials* contains numerous pedagogical aids and high-interest features to assist both students and instructors in the learning/teaching process. The following list summarizes these special elements.

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

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

- "What If . . . Citizens' Militias Were Banned?" (Chapter 4).
- "What If . . . There Were No More PACs?" (Chapter 7).
- "What If . . . Some Agencies were Privatized?" (Chapter 12).

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

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

- Did You Know . . . That the Pledge of Allegiance was written by two journalists as a promotional stunt for a children's magazine, *Youth's Companion*, to be recited by children on Columbus Day in 1892? (Chapter 1).
- Did You Know . . . That 64 percent of Americans believe that the Constitution declared English as the national language of the United States? (Chapter 2).

- Did You Know . . . That the federal Helium Program was started in 1924 to keep our blimps afloat, and that thirty-two billion cubic feet of helium are still stored today in Amarillo, Texas? (Chapter 12).

5. *Thinking Politically about . . .* Most chapters in this edition contain a special new feature entitled *Thinking Politically about . . .* This feature is designed to help the student think critically (and politically) about contemporary political issues or events. Each of these features concludes with a *For Critical Analysis* question. The following examples indicate the kinds of issues and topics treated in these features:

- “Thinking Politically about the Right to Bear Arms” (Chapter 2).
- “Thinking Politically about School Vouchers” (Chapter 4).
- “Thinking Politically about Foreign Aid” (Chapter 18).

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

- *Politics and Information*: The Internet and Views on Civil Liberties (Chapter 4).
- *Politics and the Constitution*: The Changing Meaning of Equal Protection (Chapter 15).
- *Politics and Ethics*: The Demands of Ethnic Nationalism (Chapter 15).

7. *Politics and the Fifty States*. Any text on American government and politics necessarily must focus on laws and developments affecting all of the states. To offset somewhat this broad emphasis on national events, in addition to the extensive coverage of state and local law in Chapter 19, we have included in this edition a new feature, called *Politics and the Fifty States*, that focuses solely on state issues. Listed here are some examples of the topics covered in this feature.

- “The Impact of Immigration” (Chapter 1).
- “The Death Penalty” (Chapter 4).
- “Campaigning for Electoral Votes” (Chapter 11).

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

- Your Civil Liberties: Searches and Seizures (Chapter 4).
- Be a Critical Consumer of Opinion Polls (Chapter 6).
- Communicating with the White House (Chapter 11).

9. *Concept Overviews*. New to this edition are *Concept Overviews*, which summarize some of the key changes that have occurred over time with respect to the law or political practices discussed within the chapters. For example, in Chapter 3 (“Federalism”), a *Concept Overview* lists some of the ways in which the relationship between the states and the national government has changed during the course of the twentieth century.

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

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

**12. Logging On.** In keeping with the electronic age, we provide students with suggestions on how to access information on the Internet that relates to topics covered in the chapters. For this edition, students and professors will find additional instructional materials about American government and politics on our home page, which is frequently updated. The Uniform Resource Locator (URL) for this home page is given at the top of each *Logging On* feature.

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

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



## EMPHASIS ON CRITICAL THINKING

Whenever feasible, we have gone beyond mere factual narrative to discuss the rationale underlying specific political decisions and the likely consequences of those decisions in the future. For example, in our discussion of interest groups in Chapter 7, we not only describe how interest groups function in the American political system but also examine the potential consequences of interest-group politics for a representative democracy. As another example, in Chapter 14, when discussing welfare reform, we look at the controversy surrounding the welfare reform bill of 1996 and at some of its potential consequences for state governments.

Special features in the 1998–1999 Edition also emphasize critical thinking. The features entitled *Thinking Politically about . . .* mentioned earlier in this Preface were designed specifically to engage the student in critical thought concerning contemporary political issues. Furthermore, we have expanded the number of questions *For Critical Analysis* for this edition. *Every feature in the text now concludes with one or more of these questions.* Finally, if the student uses our accompanying booklet, *Handbook on Critical Thinking and Writing in American Politics*, with the exercises in critical thinking, he or she will have a strong basis for analyzing not only American politics but all other college subjects as well.

## INTERNATIONAL COVERAGE INTEGRATED THROUGHOUT



In addition to the chapter covering foreign policy, numerous features throughout the text focus on global issues or on political developments, events, or structures in other nations of the world. Some examples of some of the features discussing international affairs or political issues or institutions in other countries are the following:



- Chapter 2 ("The Constitution") includes a special feature, in the section discussing the Bill of Rights, that examines the controversy over whether Britain needs a bill of rights.
- Chapter 13 ("The Judiciary") has a feature introducing the student to the civil law system characteristic of many nations and comparing the civil law system to the common law system.
- Chapter 14 ("The Politics of Economic and Domestic Policymaking") contains a feature comparing the tax burden in the United States with that of other countries.

## THE ANNOTATED U.S. CONSTITUTION AND OTHER APPENDICES



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

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

- *The Declaration of Independence.*
- *The Presidents of the United States.*
- *Federalist Papers Nos. 10, 51, and 78.*
- *How to Do Research in Political Science.*
- *Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court in the Twentieth Century.*
- *Party Control of Congress in the Twentieth Century.*
- *Spanish Equivalents for Important Terms in American Government and Political Science.*

## A SPECIAL APPENDIX ON SURVIVAL SKILLS



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

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

## A FULL SUPPLEMENTS PACKAGE



In conjunction with a number of our colleagues, we have developed numerous supplementary teaching materials to accompany *American Government and Politics Today: The Essentials*, 1998–1999 Edition. The text, along with the supplements listed below, constitutes a total learning/teaching package that we believe is the best available today. For further information on these supplements, contact your Wadsworth/ITP sales representative.

## Printed Supplements

- *Study Guide*.
- *Instructor's Manual* (also available in computerized form).
- *Test Bank* (also available in computerized form).
- *Logging On: Internet Exercises*.
- *Handbook of Selected Legislation and Other Documents*.
- *Readings in American Government and Politics Today*, 1998–1999 Edition.
- *A Handbook on Critical Thinking and Writing*.
- *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Union, 1917–1991*.
- *Handbook of Selected Court Cases*.
- *College Survival Guide*.
- *Transparency Acetates*.
- *The 1996 Elections: In Divided Government We Trust*.

## Multimedia Resources

- CD-ROM Resources to Accompany *American Government and Politics Today*, 1997–1998 Edition.
- A computerized version of the *Instructor's Manual*; available in ASCII format.
- A computerized version of the *Test Bank*; available for IBM PCs and compatible computers or for the Apple Macintosh family of microcomputers.
- Videos of the Dallas County Community College District telecourse "Government by Consent."
- *West's American Government Videodisc*.
- The Lecture Builder™—Software to accompany *West's American Government Videodisc*.
- An interactive videodisc covering two lessons—interest groups and political action committees (PACs).
- Interactive software that allows students to interact with the interactive videodisc.
- Your Research Data Analysis for *American Government and Politics Today*.



## FOR USERS OF PREVIOUS EDITIONS

As always, we want to thank you for your past support. Here we wish to let you know what changes have been made in the 1997–1998 Edition. Of course, all textual materials—text, figures, tables, features, and so on—have been revised as necessary to reflect the political developments that have occurred since the last edition. In addition, we have rewritten many sections in the text, added numerous new features, and updated the text extensively to reflect the results of the November 1996 elections. We summarize here the features and other elements that we have added to the 1997–1998 Edition, as well as the most significant changes in chapter coverage.

1. Generally, we have employed a more analytical approach to political issues and events.

2. New special features added to this edition include the following, each of which has already been described in this Preface:

- *Thinking Politically about . . .*
- *Elections '96*.
- *Concept Overviews*.
- *Politics and the Fifty States*.

3. For *Critical Analysis* questions now conclude each feature in the text.

4. The following *What If . . .* features are new:

- “What If . . . Every Citizen Used the Internet?” (Chapter 1).
- “What If . . . Federally Owned Lands Were Given to the States?” (Chapter 3).
- “What If . . . Citizens’ Militias Were Banned?” (Chapter 4).
- “What If . . . A Moratorium Were Placed on All Immigration?” (Chapter 5).
- “What If . . . The Government Regulated the Polling Industry?” (Chapter 6).
- “What If . . . There Were No More PACs?” (Chapter 7).
- “What If . . . There Were Three Parties?” (Chapter 8).
- “What If . . . Members of Congress Were Required to Spend Six Months Each Year in Their Districts?” (Chapter 10).
- “What If . . . The First Lady Were a Paid Government Employee?” (Chapter 11).
- “What If . . . Some Agencies Were Privatized?” (Chapter 12).
- “What If . . . Supreme Court Justices Were Elected?” (Chapter 13).
- “What If . . . Welfare Programs Were *Completely* Controlled by the States?” (Chapter 14).

5. We have made hundreds of changes and updates to the chapters of this book for the 1998–1999 Edition. Here we list just a few of these revisions:

- Chapter 1 (“Politics and American Government: Stability and Change”) has been revised to emphasize not only the continuity of American political institutions but also some new elements in the contemporary political landscape that pose challenges for our society and political leaders. These elements include a growing underclass of Americans who are alienated from the political process, a decline in the influence of the two major political parties, ethnic divisiveness, and terrorism at home and abroad.
- Chapter 3 (“Federalism”) has been significantly revised, and many sections have been completely rewritten. The chapter now presents a more streamlined and up-to-date presentation of the evolution—and recent “devolution”—of national government powers.
- Chapter 4 (“Civil Liberties”) includes substantially revised sections on the incorporation issue, commercial advertising, school prayer and aid to public schools, and privacy issues (including the courts’ current positions on abortion and assisted suicide).
- Chapter 5 (“Civil Rights”) now offers a thoroughly revised and expanded discussion of gender discrimination and other topics relating to the status of women in American society. The sections on the rights of older Americans, persons with disabilities, and gays and lesbians have been virtually rewritten and discuss the latest developments in these areas.
- Chapter 6 (“Public Opinion”) contains new textual discussions and features on developments in polling techniques, including “push polls” and “deliberative polls.” The discussion of the media’s influence on the formation of public opinion has been rewritten to reflect the growing influence of the media, particularly TV, on younger Americans.
- Chapter 7 (“Interest Groups”) opens with a discussion of the 1996 farm bill and the role interest groups played in the process of passing that legislation. A new section and a special feature analyze the question of whether civic participation is declining in America. Another new section examines the issue of pluralism in the context of a representative democracy.
- Chapter 9 (“Campaigns, Elections, and the Media”) includes coverage of the 1996 campaign as well as the latest developments in campaign financing, including the extensive use of “soft money” and “bundling” to raise funds.
- Chapter 10 (“The Congress”) has been updated to include a discussion of

term limits and the Supreme Court's position on this issue. The chapter also describes recent developments with respect to race-based congressional redistricting.

- Chapter 13 ("The Judiciary") has been significantly revised and rewritten. The chapter now includes a restructured discussion of the sources of American law and expanded coverage of jurisdictional requirements. A new section on the role of the judiciary in American government incorporates the topic of judicial review and includes a new subsection on judicial interpretation of the laws. Generally, more emphasis is placed on the policymaking role of the judiciary, particularly the Supreme Court, and the impact of Supreme Court decisions on American society.

- Chapter 14 ("The Politics of Economic and Domestic Policymaking") now contains a substantially revised discussion of the policymaking process and new sections dealing with the welfare reform bill of 1996 and immigration. The section on crime has been updated to include the latest data on this issue.

6. The following appendices are new to this edition:

- Appendix D—*Federalist Papers* Nos. 10, 51, and 78 (*Federalist Paper* No. 78 was added for this edition).
- Appendix G—Party Control of Congress in the Twentieth Century.

7. New supplements for the 1998–1999 Edition include the following:

- *Logging On: Internet Activities.*
- *Handbook of Selected Legislation and Other Documents.*
- *The 1996 Elections: In Divided Government We Trust.*



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Since we started this project a number of years ago, a sizable cadre of individuals has helped us in various phases of the undertaking. The following academic reviewers offered numerous constructive criticisms, comments, and suggestions during the preparation of all previous editions:

**Danny M. Adkison**  
Oklahoma State University

**Sharon Z. Alter**  
William Rainey Harper College, Illinois

**William Arp III**  
Louisiana State University

**Kevin Bailey**  
North Harris Community College,  
Texas

**Dr. Charles T. Barber**  
University of Southern Indiana,  
Evansville, Indiana

**Clyde W. Barrow**  
Texas A&M University

**Lynn R. Brink**  
North Lake College, Irving, Texas

**Barbara L. Brown**  
Southern Illinois University at  
Carbondale

**Kenyon D. Bunch**  
Fort Lewis College, Durango, Colorado

**Ralph Bunch**  
Portland State University, Oregon

**Carol Cassell**  
University of Alabama

**Frank J. Coppa**  
Union County College, Cranford,  
New Jersey

**Robert E. Craig**  
University of New Hampshire

**Doris Daniels**  
Nassau Community College, New York

**Carolyn Grafton Davis**  
North Harris County College, Texas

**Marshall L. DeRosa**  
Louisiana State University,  
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

**Michael Dinneen**  
Tulsa Junior College, Oklahoma

**Gavan Duffy**  
University of Texas at Austin

**George C. Edwards III**  
Texas A&M University

**Mark C. Ellickson**  
Southwestern Missouri State University,  
Springfield, Missouri

**John W. Epperson**  
Simpson College, Indianola, Indiana

**Daniel W. Fleitas**  
University of North Carolina at  
Charlotte

**Elizabeth N. Flores**  
Del Mar College, Texas

**Joel L. Franke**  
Blinn College, Brenham, Texas

- Barry D. Friedman**  
North Georgia College
- Robert S. Getz**  
SUNY-Brockport, New York
- Kristina Gilbert**  
Riverside City College
- William A. Giles**  
Mississippi State University
- Donald Gregory**  
Stephen F. Austin State University,  
Nacogdoches, Texas
- Forest Grieves**  
University of Montana
- Dale Grimmritz**  
Normandale Community College,  
Bloomington, Minnesota
- Stefan D. Haag**  
Austin Community College, Texas
- Jean Wahl Harris**  
University of Scranton,  
Scranton, Pennsylvania
- David N. Hartman**  
Rancho Santiago College,  
Santa Ana, California
- Robert M. Herman**  
Moorpark College, California
- Richard J. Herzog**  
Stephen F. Austin State University,  
Nacogdoches, Texas
- Paul Holder**  
McClennan Community College,  
Waco, Texas
- Michael Hoover**  
Seminole Community College,  
Sanford, Florida
- J. C. Horton**  
San Antonio College, Texas
- Willoughby Jarrell**  
Kennesaw College, Georgia
- Loch K. Johnson**  
University of Georgia
- Donald L. Jordan**  
United States Air Force Academy,  
Colorado
- John D. Kay**  
Santa Barbara City College, California
- Charles W. Kegley**  
University of South Carolina
- Bruce L. Kessler**  
Shippensburg University, Pennsylvania
- Nancy B. Kral**  
Tomball College
- Dale Krane**  
Mississippi State University
- Samuel Krislov**  
University of Minnesota
- Harry D. Lawrence**  
Southwest Texas Junior College,  
Uvaide, Texas
- Ray Leal**  
Southwest Texas State University,  
San Marcos, Texas
- Sue Lee**  
Center for Telecommunications, Dallas  
County Community College District
- Carl Lieberman**  
University of Akron, Ohio
- Orma Linford**  
Kansas State University
- Eileen Lynch**  
Brookhaven College
- James D. McElyea**  
Tulsa Junior College, Oklahoma
- William P. McLauchlan**  
Purdue University, Indiana
- William W. Maddox**  
University of Florida
- S. J. Makielski, Jr.**  
Loyola University, New Orleans
- Jarol B. Manheim**  
George Washington University
- J. David Martin**  
Midwestern State University, Texas
- Bruce B. Mason**  
Arizona State University
- Steve J. Mazurana**  
University of Northern Colorado
- Thomas J. McGaghie**  
Kellogg Community College, Michigan
- Stanley Melnick**  
Valencia Community College, Florida
- Robert Mittrick**  
Luzerne County Community College,  
Pennsylvania
- Helen Molanphy**  
Richland College, Texas
- Keith Nicholls**  
University of Alabama
- Stephen Osofsky**  
Nassau Community College, New York
- John P. Pelissero**  
Loyola University of Chicago
- Neil A. Pinney**  
Western Michigan University
- Michael A. Preda**  
Midwestern State University, Texas
- Charles Prysby**  
University of North Carolina
- Donald R. Ranish**  
Antelope Valley College, California
- Curt Reichel**  
University of Wisconsin
- Russell D. Renka**  
Southeast Missouri State University
- Paul Rozycki**  
Charles Stewart Mott Community  
College, Flint, Michigan
- Eleanor A. Schwab**  
South Dakota State University
- Len Shipman**  
Mount San Antonio College, California
- Scott Shrewsbury**  
Mankato State University, Minnesota
- Gilbert K. St. Clair**  
University of New Mexico
- Carol Stix**  
Pace University, Pleasantville,  
New York
- Gerald S. Strom**  
University of Illinois at Chicago
- John R. Todd**  
North Texas State University
- Benjamin Walter**  
Vanderbilt University, Tennessee
- B. Oliver Walter**  
University of Wyoming
- Thomas L. Wells**  
Old Dominion University, Virginia
- Jean B. White**  
Weber State College, Utah
- Allan Wiese**  
Mankato State University, Minnesota
- Robert D. Wrinkle**  
Pan American University, Texas



The 1998–1999 Edition of this text is the result of our working closely with reviewers who each offered us penetrating criticisms, comments, and suggestions for how to improve the text. Although we haven't been able to take account of all requests, each of the reviewers listed below will see many of his or her suggestions taken to heart.

**David C. Benford, Jr.**  
Tarrant County Junior College

**John A. Braithwaite**  
Coastline College

**Frank J. Coppa**  
Union County College

**Larry Elowitz**  
Georgia College

**Donald Gregory**  
Stephen F. Austin State University

**Robert Jackson**  
Washington State University

**William W. Lamkin**  
Glendale Community College

**Stanley Melnick**  
Valencia Community College

**George E. Pippin**  
Jones County Community College

**Walter V. Powell**  
Slippery Rock University

**John D. Rausch**  
Fairmont State University

**Michael W. Sonnlitner**  
Portland Community College

**Ron Velton**  
Grayson County College

**Mark J. Wattier**  
Murray State University

**Lance Widman**  
El Camino College

**J. David Woodard**  
Clemson University

Many individuals helped during the research and editorial stages of this edition. We wish to thank William Eric Hollowell, Sherry Downing-Alfonso, Cara Bardes, Lavina Miller, Suzanne Jasin, and Roxie Lee. Clark Baxter, our editor at Wadsworth/ITP offered strong support and guidance. Our project editor, Bill Stryker, helped us in this new design and photo research program. He remains the object of our sincere appreciation, as does Jan Lamar for her extensive developmental guidance and her ability to get all of the teaching supplements out on time.

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

Barbara Bardes  
Mack Shelley  
Steffen Schmidt

# Contents in Brief

## PART ONE



### **The American System 1**

#### CHAPTER 1

#### **American Government and Politics: Stability and Change 3**

#### CHAPTER 2

#### **The Constitution 31**

#### CHAPTER 3

#### **Federalism 65**

## PART TWO



### **Civil Rights and Liberties 97**

#### CHAPTER 4

#### **Civil Liberties 99**

#### CHAPTER 5

#### **Civil Rights 135**

## PART THREE



### **People and Politics 191**

#### CHAPTER 6

#### **Public Opinion 193**

#### CHAPTER 7

#### **Interest Groups 225**

#### CHAPTER 8

#### **Political Parties 257**

## CHAPTER 9

**Campaigns, Elections,  
and the Media 291**

## PART FOUR

**Political Institutions****345**

## CHAPTER 10

**The Congress 347**

## CHAPTER 11

**The Presidency 389**

## CHAPTER 12

**The Bureaucracy 423**

## CHAPTER 13

**The Judiciary 451**

## PART FIVE

**Public Policy****483**

## CHAPTER 14

**The Politics of Domestic and  
Economic Policymaking 485**

## CHAPTER 15

**Foreign and Defense Policy 527**

## APPENDIX A

**The Declaration of Independence 559**

## APPENDIX B

**The Constitution of the United States of America 561**

## APPENDIX C

**Presidents of the United States 580**

## APPENDIX D

***Federalist Papers* No. 10, No. 51, and No. 78 583**

## APPENDIX E

**How to Do Research in Political Science 593**

## APPENDIX F

**Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court in the Twentieth Century 598**

## APPENDIX G

**Party Control of Congress in the Twentieth Century 601**

## APPENDIX H

**Spanish Equivalents for Important Terms in American Government 603**

## APPENDIX I

**A Citizen's Survival Guide 609**

PHOTO CREDITS 621

GLOSSARY G-1

INDEX I-1