



B R I E F

NINTH EDITION

Democracy Under Pressure

*An Introduction to the
American Political System*



MILTON C. CUMMINGS, JR.
DAVID WISE

Democracy Under Pressure

*An Introduction to the
American Political System*

BRIEF NINTH EDITION

2002 ELECTION UPDATE

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The Johns Hopkins University

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS



MILTON C. CUMMINGS, JR. is an award-winning educator who received his undergraduate degree from

Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania. After two years of graduate study in England, where he was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University, he earned a Ph.D. in political science at Harvard University.

Professor Cummings worked for six years at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C., where he did research and writing on American government and politics. He then joined the political science faculty at The Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland. For 15 years, he also served as a consultant on NBC News, where he specialized in the network's television coverage of United States congressional elections. He is also a member of the Research Advisory Council of the Center for Arts and Culture.

At Johns Hopkins, Professor Cummings has been honored with numerous awards. These include the George Owen Teaching Award, the Edward H. Griffin Award, and several other citations for outstanding teaching. He has also received fellowships and grants for research from the Social Science Research Council, the National Science Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Guggenheim Foundation.

Professor Cummings is the author or editor of an extensive number of scholarly articles and books, including *The Image of the Federal Service; Congressmen and the Electorate; The Patron State: Government and the Arts in Europe, North America, and Japan*; and, of course, *Democracy Under Pressure*.



DAVID WISE is a political writer based in Washington. He is the author or coauthor of ten books on government

and politics and is a leading writer on intelligence, espionage, and government secrecy. His articles have appeared in *The New York Times Magazine* and many other major publications.

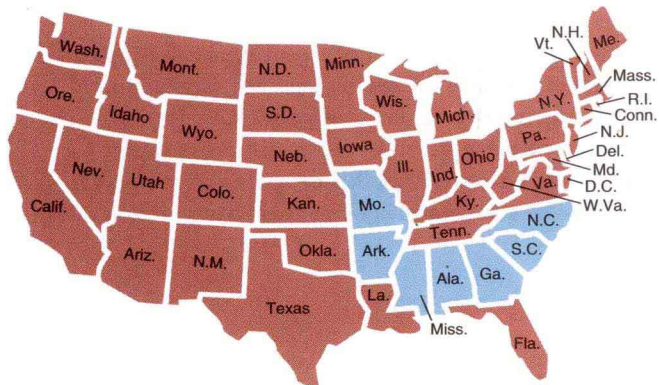
He is former chief of the Washington bureau of the *New York Herald Tribune* and was a regular weekly commentator on CNN for six years.

A native New Yorker and graduate of Columbia College, he joined the *Herald Tribune* in 1951 and served as the newspaper's White House correspondent before becoming chief of the Washington bureau. He is a former Fellow of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C., and for two years he lectured in political science at the University of California at Santa Barbara.

His recent book, *Spy: The Inside Story of How the FBI's Robert Hanssen Betrayed America* (Random House, 2002), received high praise from reviewers. He is also the author of *Nightmover: How Aldrich Ames Sold the CIA to the KGB for \$4.6 Million*, which was excerpted in *TIME* magazine. He is coauthor of *The Invisible Government*, a number-one best-seller about the Central Intelligence Agency that has been widely credited with bringing about a reappraisal of the role of the CIA in a democratic society.

He has received several awards, including, in 1974, the George Polk Memorial Award for his book *The Politics of Lying*. He is married and has two sons.

1956

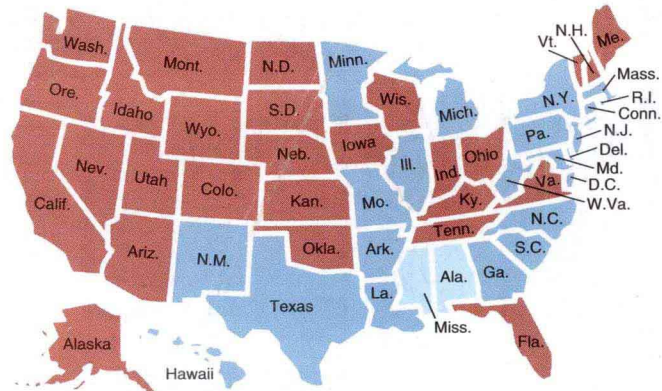


Electoral votes*

Stevenson (D) 74
Eisenhower (R) 457

*An Alabama Democratic elector cast his vote for Walter Jones, making the official count: Eisenhower, 457; Stevenson, 73; Jones, 1.

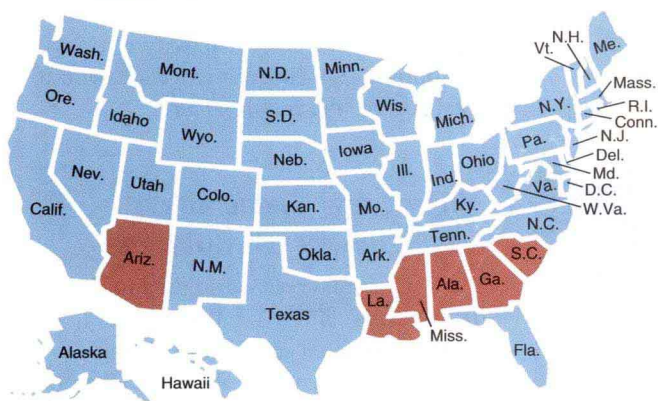
1960



Electoral votes

Kennedy (D) 303
Nixon (R) 219
Byrd (D) 15

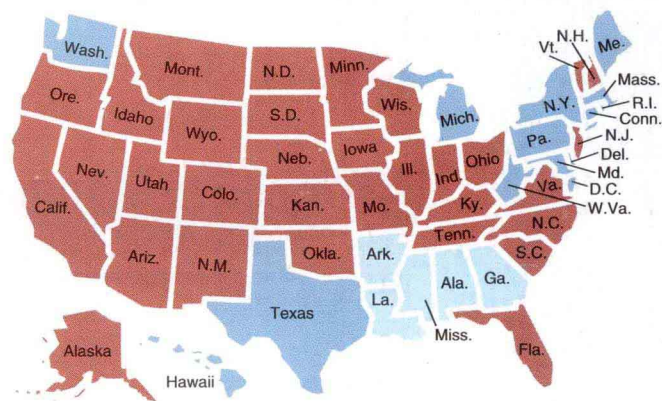
1964



Electoral votes

Johnson (D) 486
Goldwater (R) 52

1968



Electoral votes†

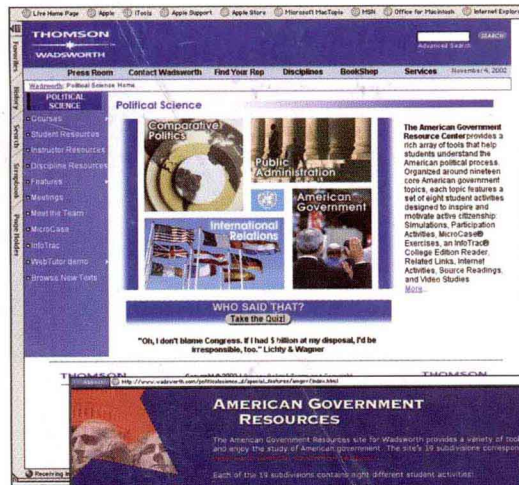
Humphrey (D) 191
Nixon (R) 302
Wallace (American Independent) 45

†A North Carolina Republican elector cast his vote for George Wallace, making the official count: Nixon, 301; Humphrey, 191; Wallace, 46.

Study Smart with interactive online tools at THE NEW AMERICAN GOVERNMENT RESOURCE CENTER

<http://politicalscience.wadsworth.com/amgov/>

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With the tools included on this exceptional class-tested site, you'll experience the excitement and satisfaction of participating in government and politics. By linking each of nineteen core American government topics to eight engaging types of activities, this new site actively involves you in the course—and in civic participation at the grass-roots level!

SIMULATIONS . . . YOU ARE THERE!

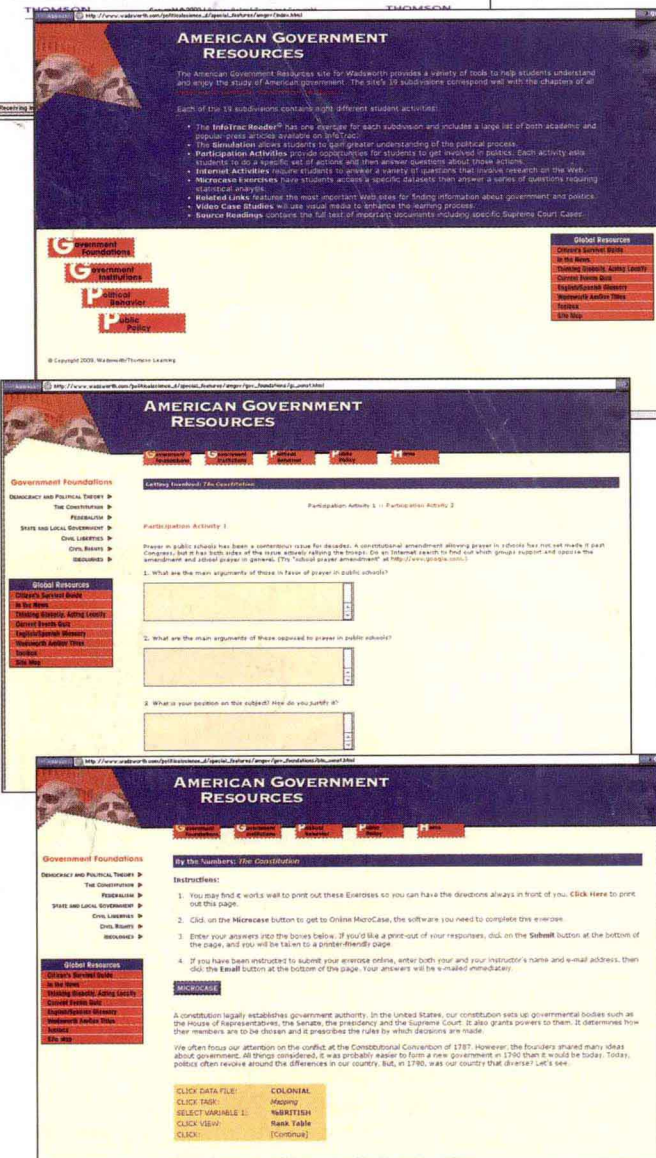
These *Simulations* place you in a variety of roles and help you develop your critical thinking and decision-making skills. You'll role-play as a state senator, an adviser to a president who must appoint a new member of the Supreme Court, a lawyer who must determine his client's rights, an adviser to a presidential candidate, and other political roles.

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You'll work on a political campaign, help an interest group, lobby Congress, and become an activist as you participate in these activities. Once you complete an activity, a series of questions about the experience asks you if you feel you've "made a difference."

MICROCASE® EXERCISES . . . ANALYZING BY THE NUMBERS

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NEW AMERICAN GOVERNMENT RESOURCE CENTER

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InfoTrac® COLLEGE EDITION READER

Also located at the American Government Resource Center, this reader is updated every semester and organized by core American government topics—featuring exercises that guide you to current articles in the InfoTrac College Edition online library. Access to the library is FREE when you buy this text. See page 9 of this Preview for details.

SOURCE READINGS

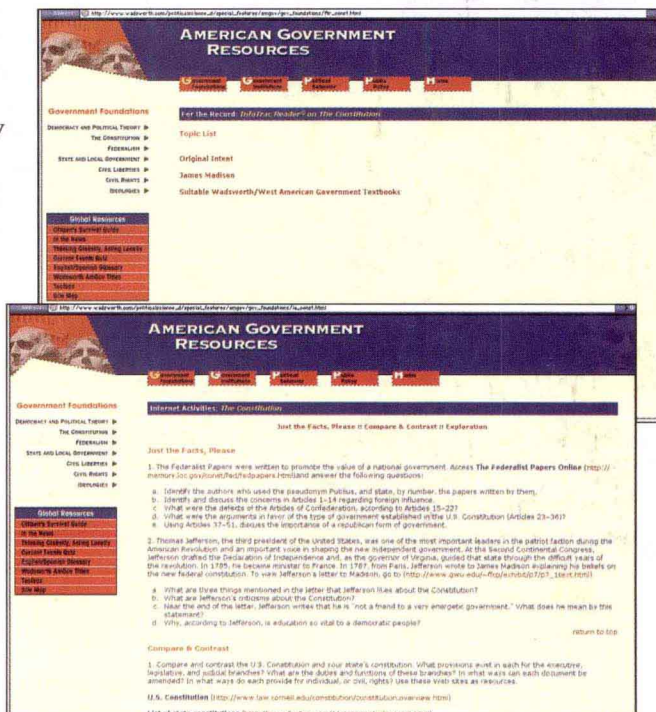
This section of the Web site contains important primary and secondary source documents, including Supreme Court cases. You also have access to political and historical contexts.

INTERNET ACTIVITIES

Divided into three groups—"Just the Facts, Please," "Compare and Contrast," and "Exploration"—these activities ask you to answer a variety of questions that involve research on the Web.

RELATED LINKS

These useful links for each core topic keep you informed and include the most important informational Web sites for government and politics.



Plus these important resources



Global Resources
Citizen's Survival Guide
In the News
Thinking Globally, Acting Locally
Current Events Quiz
English/Spanish Glossary
Wadsworth AmGov Titles
Toolbox
Site Map



Also available . . . this book's Companion Web Site

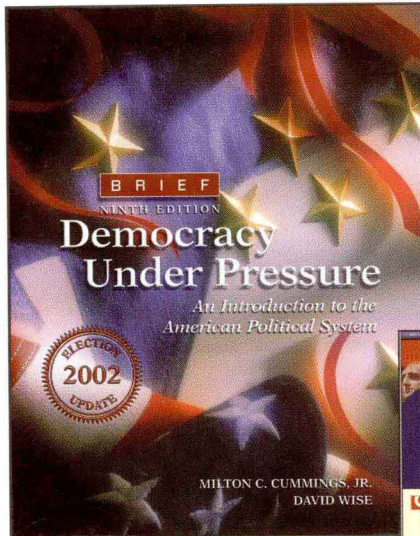
AT THE WADSWORTH POLITICAL SCIENCE RESOURCE CENTER

<http://politicalscience.wadsworth.com/cummingsbr9/update/>

Designed exclusively for this Ninth Edition 2002 Election Update, the book's Companion Web Site is fully integrated with the textbook, and takes you to the most current information on the Web, through major election coverage sites, news sources, political organizations, and other resources related to the

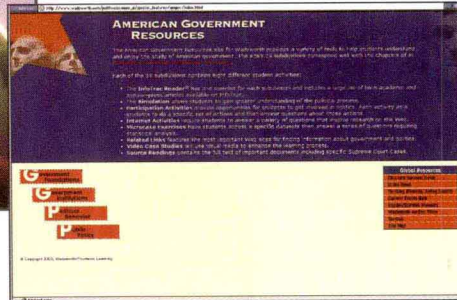
American government course. It includes chapter-by-chapter links to the sites referenced in the textbook's Web icons and to other sites directly related to text material. You'll also find the glossary from the textbook and a selection of self-assessment questions from the printed *Study Guide*. New InfoTrac College Edition activities are provided for each chapter of the book.

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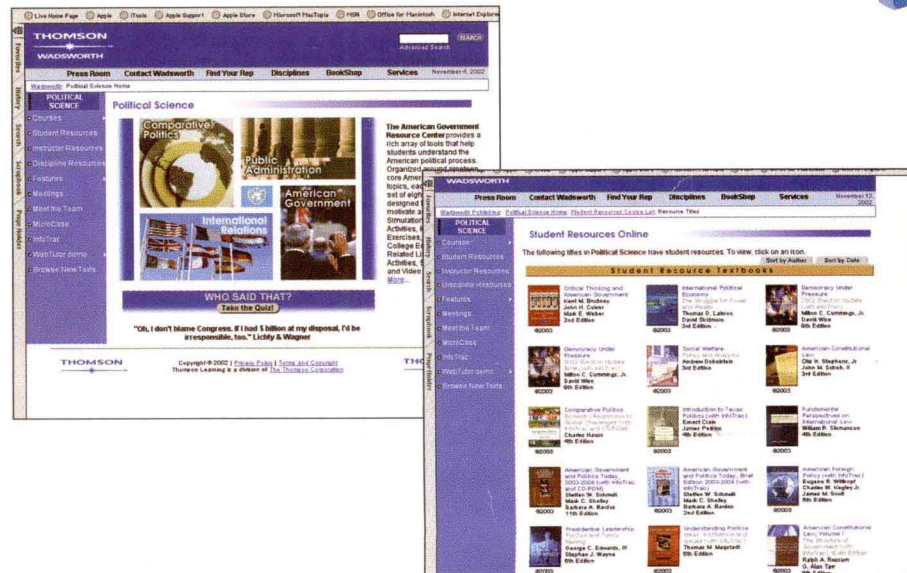
This book will capture your interest, inspire you to participate, and steer you toward success in your American government course



Join more than one million students who have mastered the fundamentals of American government from this remarkable book! Milton C. Cummings, Jr. and David Wise's respected **Democracy Under Pressure: An Introduction to the American Political System, Ninth Edition, 2002 Election Update** includes the latest 2002 congressional election results, as well as a comprehensive examination of the impact and effects of September 11th on the various institutions and policies of American government. You won't find a more interesting presentation or more current, accurate scholarship than in this best-seller!

In a time of rapid change, the authors continue to focus not only on the very considerable achievements of the American system of government but on its shortcomings too—giving you a look at the reality as well as the rhetoric of American democracy. Cummings and Wise focus on the gaps, where they exist, between American myths and American realities and the political system's promise and performance. Connected *page-by-page* to many great technological tools that are yours FREE when you buy this book, *Democracy Under Pressure* includes:

- ★ InfoTrac® College Edition (See page 8)
- ★ The American Government Resource Center (see pages 2 – 3)
- ★ The book's companion Web site (see page 3)

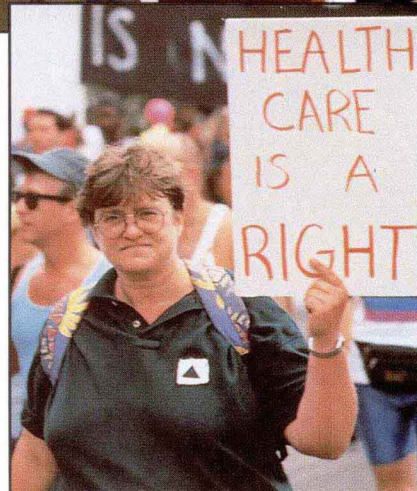


This **LIVELY, ENGAGING** book is as **CURRENT** and **TIMELY** as an American Government text can possibly be...

Take a look through the pages of this remarkable text...

on every page, in every discussion, you will find thoughtful analysis and the latest information on the most hotly debated issues facing our nation today!

- ★ Full coverage of the 2002 congressional elections
- ★ Exploration of the potential impact of these elections on American politics, government, and the 2004 presidential race
- ★ Discussion of a wide range of events related to the terrorist attacks of September 11th and the resulting war in Afghanistan, and the long-range war on terrorism
- ★ Discussion of the general impact of terrorism on foreign policy and domestic security
- ★ Analysis of the latest economic developments, including the recent recession and recovery, the impact of the September 11th attacks on travel-related industries, the funding of the ongoing war on terrorism, the passage of major tax cuts and their impact on the federal budget, and the general crisis of confidence experienced in the business community as a result of the Enron scandal
- ★ The latest information on anthrax attacks on the Capitol and elsewhere, violence in the Middle East, campaign finance reform, and the proposed privatization of Social Security



Your Quick Start for Studying Smart

WEB RESOURCES linked to every chapter of this book help you expand your learning online!

The 2002 Election Update connects you to its multimedia teaching and learning tools with total integration! Throughout the book, you'll find Web icons in the margins that direct you to Web sites related to specific topics, issues, or individuals presented in the text.



and that it could rise to more than 300 million after 2015.¹¹

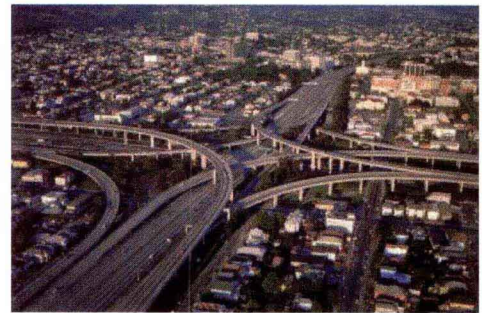
According to one study of population patterns in the United States, if the projections of some experts were realized, "we would have close to one billion people in the United States one hundred years from now."¹² Although the authors of the study added that birth control and other factors made it unlikely that such a staggering total will be reached by that time, they estimated that the United States could support a population of a billion without people pushing one another into the oceans.

How the nation has expanded from a population of about 4 million in 1790, and what the future may hold, can be charted with Census Bureau statistics and projections to 2025, as shown in Table 1-1. This dramatic increase in numbers of people—the "population explosion"—is taking place around the world. It raises questions that governments must ponder: Will there be enough food to eat? Enough room to live? Enough oil and water and other natural resources to meet humanity's future needs? Will the environment be destroyed?



For more information about Census Bureau statistics, see: www.census.gov

An interesting profile of the American public can be sketched with statistics, as presented in Table 1-2, that answer the question "Who are we?" A portrait of national origins can also be drawn. The great successive waves of immigration placed a stamp of diversity on America; even third- and fourth-generation Americans may think of themselves as "Irish" or "Italian."



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An earlier census survey indicated that the ancestry groups of Americans included the following: German, 23.3 percent; Irish, 15.6 percent; English, 13.1 percent; African American, 12 percent; Hispanic, 8.6 percent; Italian, 6.0 percent; French, 4.1 percent; Polish, 4.0 percent; Asian Americans, 2.9 percent; Dutch, 2.5 percent; Scottish, 2.2 percent; and Native American, 0.08 percent.¹³ The United States is also a nation of more than 87.4 million Protestants, 61.2 million Catholics, 5.5 million Muslims, 5.3 Eastern Orthodox church members, 4 million Jews, and 1.3 million Hindus.¹⁴

¹³The Census Bureau does not ask the religion of Americans in the decennial census, which is taken every 10 years that end in zero, but religious groups estimate their own membership. These are rounded figures based on *The World Almanac and Book of Facts 2000*, pp. 692-693.

KEY TERMS

public opinion, p. 170
political opinion, p. 171
political socialization, p. 171
reference groups, p. 176
primary groups, p. 176
secondary groups, p. 176
exit polls, p. 178
universe, p. 179
random sample, p. 179
cluster sampling, p. 180
quota sample, p. 180
bandwagon effect, p. 181
political culture, p. 182

CHAPTER HIGHLIGHTS

- ♦ Public opinion is the expression of attitudes about government and politics. All governments are based, to some extent, on public opinion.
- ♦ Political socialization is the process by which a person acquires a set of political attitudes and forms opinions about political and social issues.
- ♦ Many factors influence the opinions people hold. Among the most important are differences in social class, occupation, and income; religion, sex, race, and ethnic factors; sectional and geographic differences; and the views of reference groups. There are two kinds of reference groups: primary groups (such as friends, office associates, or a social club) and secondary groups (such as labor unions or fraternal, professional, or religious groups).
- ♦ In addition, mass media—television, radio, newspapers, the Internet, online computer service providers, and other media—have a major impact on public opinion.
- ♦ The qualities of public opinion—direction, intensity, and stability—may be measured by political polls.
- ♦ Political polls, often useful as a guide to voter sentiment, are a standard part of political campaigns. They measure opinion by taking a random sample of a larger population, or universe. Due to the mathematical law of probability, the results of a poll usually reflect the opinions of the larger group. Although generally reliable, polls are sometimes wrong and do not necessarily predict the outcomes of elections.
- ♦ In presidential elections, often only a little more than half the people of voting age—and sometimes less than half—bother to vote. In off-year elections for Congress, usually well under half of the voting-age population votes.
- ♦ Americans have not always sought to express their opinions or to bring about political change through lawful or peaceful means. If the political system fails to respond to the demands placed on it, or if participation is slow to bring about change, individuals or groups may vent their anger against the system in violent ways.
- ♦ Modern political candidates and leaders are highly attuned to techniques for measuring and influencing public opinion. Political polls, television commercials, Internet Web sites, and professional campaign

managers are all part of the efforts at mass persuasion employed today.

- ♦ Public opinion in a democracy may be seen as a broad but flexible framework for policy making, setting certain limits within which government may act.

SUGGESTED WEB SITES

<http://www.gallup.com>
The Gallup Organization
Since 1935 the Gallup Organization has conducted surveys to measure public opinion on various issues. Its polls cover five subject areas: Politics and Elections, Business, Social Issues and Policy, Managing, and Lifestyle.

<http://dailynews.yahoo.com/h3/nnm/>
Yahoo! Public Opinion Headlines
Yahoo! and Reuters news service list and provide the text of stories that report public opinion on topics ranging from politics to everyday life.

<http://www.msnbc.com>
MSNBC Opinions
Provides viewers with opinion articles and transcripts of programs, and allows visitors to the Web site to participate in MSNBC polls and to register their views on a Bulletin Board System (BBS) or through the MSNBC chat room.

SUGGESTED READING

- Bennett, Linda, and Bennett, Stephen. *Living with Leviathan: Americans Coming to Terms with Big Government* (University of Kansas Press, 1990) A detailed examination of Americans' changing attitudes toward the expanding role of government in social and economic life.
- Bennett, Stephen, and Rademacher, Eric, eds. *After the Boom: The Politics of Generation X* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1997). A series of essays, including several by members of Generation X, examining the social and political thought and behavior of a younger segment of the population that will be increasingly important in the coming years.
- Cantril, Albert H., and Cantril, Susan Davis. *Reading Mixed Signals: Ambivalence in American Public Opinion About Government* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999) An insightful study of the seemingly paradoxical attitudes toward government in the United States: Americans express distrust for government, and say that its size should be reduced, but when it comes to concrete issues, such as the environment, care for the elderly and young, and health care, they believe that government should be doing more.

	Projected				
	1980	1990	1998	2010	2025
226.5	249.4	270.5	297.7	335	
167	187	NA	NA	NA	
60	62	NA	NA	NA	
32	40.7	47.5	58.2	72.8	
195	208.7	223	239.5	262.2	
30	33	35.2	37	38	
45	46	53	NA	NA	
10	13.8	14.7	NA	NA	

Department of Education. Projected totals are the most

eratic Government and a Changing Society 19

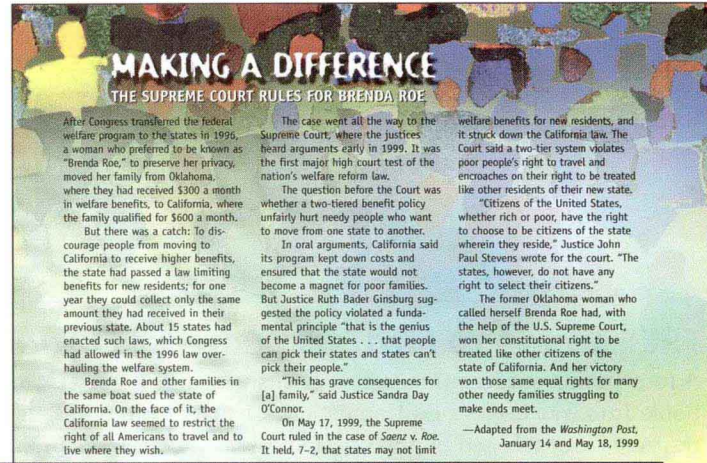


In addition, an annotated list of significant Web resources appears at the end of every chapter.

The political process, history, and the importance of participation . . .

IT'S ALL HERE IN THE 2002 ELECTION UPDATE

You'll get inspired with the *Making a Difference* boxes which urge you to participate in your government. These insightful and motivating features provide real-world examples of how individual initiative can change the political process for the better.



MAKING A DIFFERENCE

THE SUPREME COURT RULES FOR BRENDA ROE

After Congress transferred the federal welfare program to the states in 1996, a woman who preferred to be known as "Brenda Roe," to preserve her privacy, moved her family from Oklahoma, where they had received \$300 a month in welfare benefits, to California, where the family qualified for \$600 a month.

But there was a catch: To discourage people from moving to California to receive higher benefits, the state had passed a law limiting benefits for new residents; for one year they could collect only the same amount they had received in their previous state. About 15 states had enacted such laws, which Congress had allowed in the 1996 law overhauling the welfare system.

Brenda Roe and other families in the same boat sued the state of California. On the face of it, the California law seemed to restrict the right of all Americans to travel and to live where they wish.

The case went all the way to the Supreme Court, where the justices heard arguments early in 1999. It was the first major high court test of the nation's welfare reform law.

The question before the Court was whether a two-tiered benefit policy unfairly hurt needy people who want to move from one state to another.

In oral arguments, California said its program kept down costs and ensured that the state would not become a magnet for poor families. But Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg suggested the policy violated a fundamental principle "that is the genius of the United States . . . that people can pick their states and states can't pick their people."

"This has grave consequences for [a] family," said Justice Sandra Day O'Connor.

On May 17, 1999, the Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Saenz v. Roe*. It held, 7-2, that states may not limit

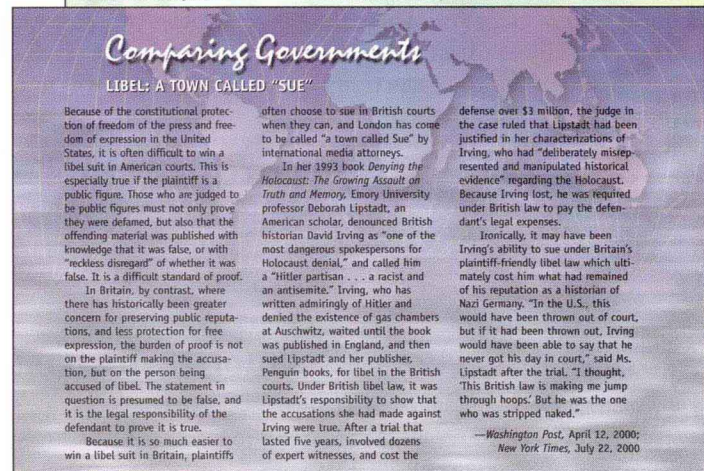
welfare benefits for new residents, and it struck down the California law. The Court said a two-tier system violates poor people's right to travel and encroaches on their right to be treated like other residents of their new state.

"Citizens of the United States, whether rich or poor, have the right to choose to be citizens of the state wherein they reside," Justice John Paul Stevens wrote for the court. "The states, however, do not have any right to select their citizens."

The former Oklahoma woman who called herself Brenda Roe had, with the help of the U.S. Supreme Court, won her constitutional right to be treated like other citizens of the state of California. And her victory won those same equal rights for many other needy families struggling to make ends meet.

—Adapted from the *Washington Post*, January 14 and May 18, 1999

Comparing Government boxes will help you understand and appreciate the American political system as they illustrate alternative approaches to common processes, institutions, and issues.



Comparing Governments

LIBEL: A TOWN CALLED "SUE"

Because of the constitutional protection of freedom of the press and freedom of expression in the United States, it is often difficult to win a libel suit in American courts. This is especially true if the plaintiff is a public figure. Those who are judged to be public figures must not only prove they were defamed, but also that the offending material was published with knowledge that it was false, or with "reckless disregard" of whether it was false. It is a difficult standard of proof.

In Britain, by contrast, where there has historically been greater concern for preserving public reputations, and less protection for free expression, the burden of proof is not on the plaintiff making the accusation, but on the person being accused of libel. The statement in question is presumed to be false, and it is the legal responsibility of the defendant to prove it is true.

Because it is so much easier to win a libel suit in Britain, plaintiffs often choose to sue in British courts when they can, and London has come to be called "a town called Sue" by international media attorneys.

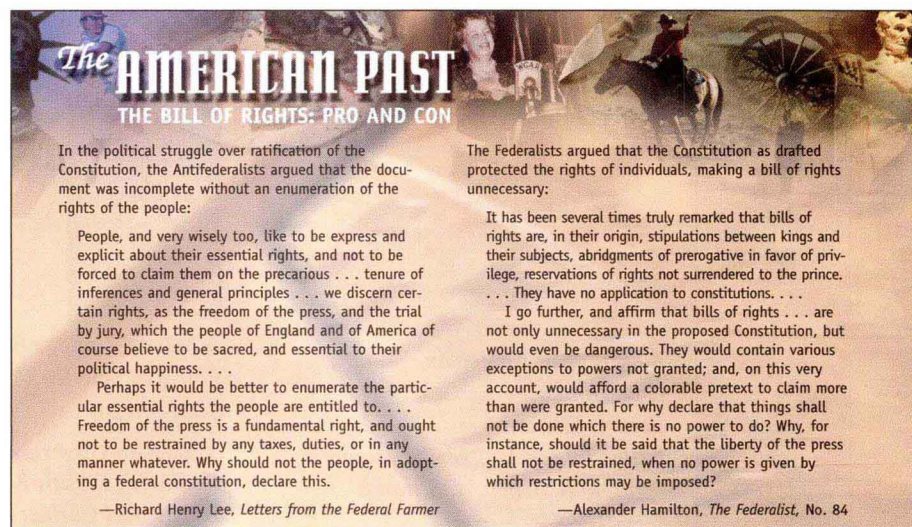
In her 1993 book *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory*, Emory University professor Deborah Lipstadt, an American scholar, denounced British historian David Irving as "one of the most dangerous spokespersons for Holocaust denial," and called him a "Hitler partisan . . . a racist and an antisemite." Irving, who has written admiringly of Hitler and denied the existence of gas chambers at Auschwitz, waited until the book was published in England, and then sued Lipstadt and her publisher, Penguin books, for libel in the British courts. Under British libel law, it was Lipstadt's responsibility to show that the accusations she had made against Irving were true. After a trial that lasted five years, involved dozens of expert witnesses, and cost the

defense over \$3 million, the judge in the case ruled that Lipstadt had been justified in her characterizations of Irving, who had "deliberately misrepresented and manipulated historical evidence" regarding the Holocaust. Because Irving lost, he was required under British law to pay the defendant's legal expenses.

Ironically, it may have been Irving's ability to sue under Britain's plaintiff-friendly libel law which ultimately cost him what had remained of his reputation as a historian of Nazi Germany. "In the U.S., this would have been thrown out of court, but if it had been thrown out, Irving would have been able to say that he never got his day in court," said Ms. Lipstadt after the trial. "I thought, 'This British law is making me jump through hoops.' But he was the one who was stripped naked."

—*Washington Post*, April 12, 2000;
—*New York Times*, July 22, 2000

As you study, you'll enjoy the *American Past* boxes which will give you the historical context essential for understanding the origin and evolution of the institutions and the controversies we inherit today.



The AMERICAN PAST

THE BILL OF RIGHTS: PRO AND CON

In the political struggle over ratification of the Constitution, the Antifederalists argued that the document was incomplete without an enumeration of the rights of the people:

People, and very wisely too, like to be express and explicit about their essential rights, and not to be forced to claim them on the precarious . . . tenure of inferences and general principles . . . we discern certain rights, as the freedom of the press, and the trial by jury, which the people of England and of America of course believe to be sacred, and essential to their political happiness. . . .

Perhaps it would be better to enumerate the particular essential rights the people are entitled to. . . . Freedom of the press is a fundamental right, and ought not to be restrained by any taxes, duties, or in any manner whatever. Why should not the people, in adopting a federal constitution, declare this.

—Richard Henry Lee, *Letters from the Federal Farmer*

The Federalists argued that the Constitution as drafted protected the rights of individuals, making a bill of rights unnecessary:

It has been several times truly remarked that bills of rights are, in their origin, stipulations between kings and their subjects, abridgments of prerogative in favor of privilege, reservations of rights not surrendered to the prince. . . . They have no application to constitutions. . . .

I go further, and affirm that bills of rights . . . are not only unnecessary in the proposed Constitution, but would even be dangerous. They would contain various exceptions to powers not granted; and, on this very account, would afford a colorable pretext to claim more than were granted. For why declare that things shall not be done which there is no power to do? Why, for instance, should it be said that the liberty of the press shall not be restrained, when no power is given by which restrictions may be imposed?

—Alexander Hamilton, *The Federalist*, No. 84

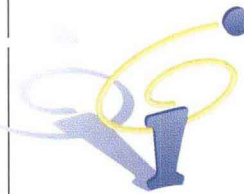
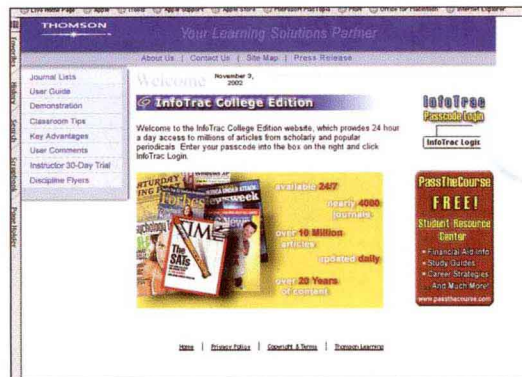
states that "Congress shall make no law" abridging First Amendment freedoms, the Supreme Court has interpreted this to mean that state and local authorities cannot do so, either.)

Yet the courts have frequently placed limits on speech. Several types of expression do not enjoy constitutional immunity from government regulation. These

sion, Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., had established the classic **clear and present danger** test to define the point at which speech loses First Amendment protection:

The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theater and causing a panic.

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Also available to help you excel . . . these additional resources

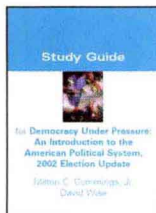
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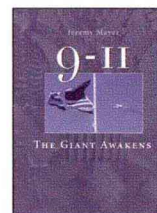
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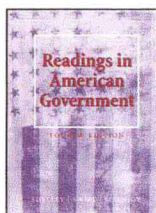
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There is, without doubt, no better experience than revising a college text in government and politics to remind one of the astonishing pace of change that takes place within the American political system.

This revised ninth edition 2002 election update of *Democracy Under Pressure* reflects that rapid pace of change both at home and abroad. Since the publication of the ninth edition two years ago, the nation has experienced the horrors of the 9/11 terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, the war in Afghanistan, the debate over Iraq, a decline in economic conditions, and a sharp drop in the stock market. All of these developments are discussed in this 2002 election update, along with other important changes in American politics and government.

The startling events that occurred in just two years affected the outcome of the congressional elections of 2002, in which control of the Senate and the House of Representatives were at stake. These midterm elections are reported and analyzed in this new edition.

Even before 9/11, the changes in American society and in the political landscape were remarkable. Since the publication of the eighth edition six years ago, America had moved into a new century, survived both the millennium and the impeachment and acquittal of President William Jefferson Clinton, elected a new president in the year 2000, only after a post-election trauma finally settled by the United States Supreme Court, and experienced something like a digital revolution, as the use of the Internet increased exponentially and cell phones, laptop computers, and e-mail became a normal part of the lives of millions of Americans.

The nation's political tides changed as well with the election of George W. Bush as president. The election of Bill Clinton in 1992 had marked an end to 12 years of Republican rule in the White House. At the time, it appeared that the election of a Democratic president and Congress also meant an end to divided government. Yet within two years, the Republicans had rebounded to capture control of both the House and Senate for the first time in 40 years. Then, in 2001, the switch of a single senator returned control of the Senate to the Democrats until the Republican victory in 2002.

By 1996, Clinton, although the Democratic heir to the New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt, had moved markedly toward the center. A little more than two months before the election, he signed into law the Republican bill that ended the largest federal welfare program, imposed a work requirement for recipients, and shifted responsibility for welfare to the states. Republicans argued that Clinton was trying to join the GOP.

Then in 1998, the Democrats, instead of losing House seats as would normally be the case in an off-year election, actually gained five seats, and suffered no

net loss in the Senate. Not since 1934 and the administration of FDR had the president's party gained seats in a midterm election, a feat the GOP matched in 2002.

In the wake of the Republican losses, the Republican House speaker Newt Gingrich, who had been rebuked by his colleagues over ethical lapses, resigned as speaker and left Congress. Two years later came the extraordinarily close 2000 presidential election campaign as Vice President Al Gore and Governor George W. Bush of Texas battled for the undecided voters in a handful of key states.

The presidential race took place against a background of unprecedented prosperity, even as ordinary Americans, investing in much greater numbers in the stock market, wondered and worried whether the good times would continue to roll. They were concerned as well about the state of the nation's public schools, the high cost of prescription drugs for seniors, and the power of HMOs over the lives of millions of people.

All of these swift currents and shifts in political power are charted in this edition, which also includes a detailed case study of the presidential campaign, an analysis of significant trends in the 2000 elections, and a discussion of the turbulent aftermath, as Vice President Al Gore and George W. Bush battled for Florida's crucial 25 electoral votes—and the White House—a struggle finally brought to an end by the 5–4 decision of the Supreme Court.

As America moved into the 21st century, the world had changed as well. International terrorism posed a new danger to peace and security at home and abroad. A decade earlier, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Communist system, the danger of nuclear holocaust had receded. But the United States had been drawn into regional conflicts, from the Middle East to Bosnia and Kosovo. Nuclear proliferation also remained a danger to peace as more nations acquired weapons of mass destruction. NATO had engaged in its first military action when American and allied warplanes bombed Yugoslavia in 1999.

All of these issues, both domestic and international, are explored in this edition, including: the 2000 primary campaigns; the dramatic challenge to George W. Bush by Senator John McCain; the televised presidential debates and the use of television and the Internet in the campaigns; the role of professional campaign managers; and how “soft money,” later banned by law, made a mockery of campaign finance laws.

With the publication of this ninth edition 2002 election update, it is more than three decades since *Democracy Under Pressure* first made its appearance. And what extraordinary years they have been: the end of the long war in Vietnam; the Watergate trauma and impeachment inquiry; the resignation and pardon of the

president of the United States; the energy crisis; the Carter years; the seizure of American hostages in Iran and in Lebanon; the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and its withdrawal almost a decade later; the election and reelection of Ronald Reagan, a conservative Republican president pledged to increasing the nation's military strength while cutting a broad range of social programs; the Iran-contra affair; the first George Bush's one-term presidency; his triumph in the Persian Gulf War, forcing Iraq's Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait; the failed coup attempt against Soviet president Mikhail S. Gorbachev, and, only four months later, Gorbachev's resignation and the end of the Soviet Union—and with it, the end of the Cold War; the rise of Boris N. Yeltsin and then Vladimir Putin as the leader of Russia; that country's first free presidential elections; the continuing search for peace in the Middle East; the assassination of Israel's prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin; in the United States, the advent of domestic terrorism in Oklahoma City; the Clinton scandals, the president's impeachment, trial, and acquittal; and the dramatic economic expansion and prosperity at home, followed by recession and economic difficulties, and the 9/11 terrorist attack on America.

The Ninth Edition, 2002 Election Update

This ninth edition election update of *Democracy Under Pressure* has been revised not only to reflect many of these kaleidoscopic events, but also to focus on the broader trends and on newer interpretations of the American political system.

As in the past, the making of public policy is discussed throughout the book (and particularly in Part Three, "The Policymakers"), and a section introducing the student to policy analysis is included in Chapter 1. This introduction to the policy process follows, in logical progression, the discussion of the concept of a political system.

The many new features, boxes, and Web sites incorporated in this edition, as well as the extensive additional resources available to instructors and students, are described elsewhere, in the special section at the beginning of the book. The Constitution is included, along with the Declaration of Independence, and two essays from *The Federalist*, as well as a list of the presidents of the United States and the votes they received.

Near the start of each subsequent chapter after the introductory one, we have included a key question designed to stimulate critical thinking on the part of the student. In addition, other basic questions about the workings of the American political system are posed near the beginning of each chapter. The book does not, in every case, provide ready answers to those questions, but it raises them for the student's consideration and, if desired, for classroom discussion.

Many new topics and events are also explored in this edition. We discuss and explain the recent series of Supreme Court decisions giving more power to the states within the federal system. Included as well are the historic 7–2 decision upholding the 1966 *Miranda* decision, and other significant Supreme Court decisions, such as the ruling that states may not ban partial-birth abortion, that the Boy Scouts of America have the constitutional right to bar gay members, and that the federal government may place computers and other instructional equipment in parochial schools. We have also expanded our discussion of capital punishment, and the growing reevaluation of the death penalty.

We have revised and expanded our discussion of the many barriers women still face in American society, and of the bias experienced by many minority groups, including African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, gays and lesbians, and disabled persons. We have covered as well the controversy over affirmative action and the plans inaugurated in Florida, Texas, and California to open the state university systems to more students.

Our chapter on public opinion includes a discussion of the controversy over exit polls, the increased percentage of Americans willing to vote for minority candidates for president, and the lack of knowledge of many voters about political matters. Our chapter on the media and politics includes a new discussion of the multibillion-dollar mergers among the media giants, and the potential impact on society. The chapter on political parties reflects how national conventions have to an even greater extent become scripted, controlled, made-for-television events now that the spring primaries in effect choose the nominees long before the conventions ratify them.

The examination of the 2000 presidential campaign and its dramatic aftermath includes extensive data on money and politics, the power of television commercials, and how and why major candidates now vie for time on television talk shows and nighttime comedy hours. The chapter on voting and elections includes new data on Supreme Court decisions affecting the blanket primary and gerrymandered congressional districts, the "gender gap," and new statistics on the correlation between demographics and voting choices.

Our review of Congress has been updated to reflect the changes discussed above, and the growing importance of "holds" placed on legislation or other action in the Senate. The chapter on the presidency includes a detailed case study of President Clinton's difficulties, including the Monica Lewinsky and Paula Jones scandals, the investigation by independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr, and the impeachment drama.

Finally, in the complete, hardcover version of the book, we have revised and expanded the discussion of foreign policy to examine the importance of terrorism, globalization, the role of the United Nations in its peace-

keeping missions, the expansion of NATO, the bombing of Kosovo, the renewed violence in the Middle East, and global issues including overpopulation, famine, disease, and ethnic and religious conflicts.

Goals of the Book

As the title of this book indicates, the authors recognize that the American political system is under pressure, that its ability to cope with the problems facing the nation is being questioned by many individuals and groups in our society. In such a time, we continue to believe it useful to provide a book that focuses not only on the very considerable achievements of the American system of government but on its shortcomings too—a book that focuses on the reality as well as the rhetoric of American democracy. We have tried to do this in a textbook designed for today.

In writing this book, we set three goals. First, we believe that a textbook should be lively and stimulating to read. So we have attempted to provide a text that is as clear and readable as possible without sacrificing scholarship or content.

Second, although we present American governmental and political institutions in their historical context, we have sought to relate politics and government to contemporary issues. At the same time, we have attempted to relate those contemporary issues to larger concepts.

Third, as we have indicated, we have attempted to focus on the gaps, where they exist, between American myths and American realities and the political system's promise and its performance. Students and other citizens may not be disillusioned with the principles of American democracy, but they do ask that the political system practice those principles.

In examining the structure and processes of American politics and government, we have tried to ask: How is the political system supposed to work? How does it actually work? What might be done to make it work better? At the same time, the book emphasizes the importance of each individual citizen for the quality of American society and American government. It emphasizes how one person can make a difference. It provides examples of participation in the political process by students and other citizens. It examines the responsibilities as well as the rights of citizens in a democracy.

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Milton C. Cummings, Jr.
David Wise

CONTENTS IN BRIEF

Preface v

PART ONE THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY 1

CHAPTER 1	Government and People	2
CHAPTER 2	The Constitutional Framework	28
CHAPTER 3	The Federal System	58
CHAPTER 4	Civil Liberties and Citizenship	86
CHAPTER 5	The Struggle for Equal Rights	122

PART TWO POLITICS AND PEOPLE 167

CHAPTER 6	Public Opinion	168
CHAPTER 7	Interest Groups	192
CHAPTER 8	The Media and Politics	214
CHAPTER 9	Political Parties	246
CHAPTER 10	Political Campaigns and Candidates	280
CHAPTER 11	Voting Behavior and Elections	324

PART THREE THE POLICYMAKERS 371

CHAPTER 12	The Congress	372
CHAPTER 13	The President	406
CHAPTER 14	The Bureaucracy	454
CHAPTER 15	Justice	488

Appendix	A-1
Endnotes	N-1
Glossary	G-1
Credits	C-1
Index	I-1

Preface v

PART ONE THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY 1

CHAPTER 1 Government and People 2

The American Past: George Washington: His High Mightiness? 7

The Reciprocal Nature of Democratic Power 10

The Impact of Government on People 11

The Impact of People on Government 11

Voting 12

Party Activity 12

Public Opinion 12

Interest Groups 13

Direct Action 13

What Is Government? 14

Government 14

Politics 14

Power 15

Democracy 15

The Concept of a Political System 16

A Dynamic Approach 16

Inputs, Outputs, and Feedback 17

Public Policymaking 17

Democratic Government and a Changing Society 18

275 Million Americans 18

The Mobile Society 20

Making a Difference: American Indians: A Federal Official Speaks Out 21

Technological, Economic, and Social Change 21

The Consent of the Governed 25

Key Terms 26

Suggested Web Sites 26

Suggested Reading 26

CHAPTER 2 The Constitutional Framework 28

The Constitution and the Declaration of Independence 30

The Constitution Today 30

We Hold These Truths . . . 31

The American Past: Thomas Jefferson Becomes President 32