

Annual Editions

# AMERICAN GOVERNMENT



93/94

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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 you'll find their careful consideration well reflected in this volume.

# To the Reader

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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. Within the articles, the best scientists, practitioners, researchers, and commentators draw issues into new perspective as accepted theories and viewpoints are called into account by new events, recent discoveries change old facts, and fresh debate breaks out over important controversies.

Many of the articles resulting from this enormous editorial effort 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*. Under the direction of each volume's Editor, who is an expert in the subject area, and with the guidance of an Advisory Board, we seek each year to provide in each ANNUAL EDITION a current, well-balanced, carefully selected collection of the best of the public press for your study and enjoyment. We think you'll find this volume useful, and we hope you'll take a moment to let us know what you think.

*American Government 93/94* is the twenty-third edition of a book that has become a mainstay in many introductory courses on American politics. 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.

In January 1993, Bill Clinton succeeded George Bush as president of the United States. Although President Bush had been considered a strong favorite to be reelected, he lost in what proved to be an interesting and unpredictable election year. For one thing, Bill Clinton became the Democratic presidential nominee despite disclosures and allegations that many observers thought would end his candidacy. For another, Texas businessman Ross Perot became a third-party presidential candidate. By June 1992, Perot's standing in public opinion polls rivaled that of Bush and Clinton. He then dropped out of the race, returned as a candidate in October, and received 19% of the popular vote in November, the strongest showing by a third-party candidate since Theodore Roosevelt in 1912. Bush, though a veteran campaigner, ran what many observers saw as an ill-focused, lackluster campaign. In contrast, Clinton, a newcomer to the national political scene, effectively emphasized the state of the economy and the need for change.

In addition to the Clinton-Gore victory, an unusually high number of new members, 110, were elected to the House of Representatives. The new Congress has a significant increase in the number of women, African Americans, and other minorities elected. Democrats will remain comfortably in the majority in both the House and Senate, and, for the first time since Ronald Reagan took office in 1981, the president and a majority of members in each house of Congress will be affiliated with the same party. It should also be mentioned here that voters in 14 states approved term limits on legislators, even though the constitutionality of this action by individual states remains questionable.

Bill Clinton promises to bring a new style and a greater emphasis on economic and domestic issues to the White House. The shape of a new presidency and the accomplishments of a new president, however, are not wholly in the hands of whoever gets elected. Not only does the U.S. economy sometimes seem to have a mind of its own, but frequently unforeseen domestic events such as the April 1992 Los Angeles riots demand a president's attention. On the international scene, the breakup of the Soviet Union has dramatically altered the role that the United States can play in world affairs. Warfare in what used to be Yugoslavia and starvation in Somalia are but two recent examples of crises that can influence a president's agenda.

In this issue of *American Government*, 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. Unit 3 covers the "input" or "linkage" mechanisms of the system—parties, elections, pressure groups, and news media. Included is a special section on the 1992 campaigns and elections. The fourth and concluding unit shifts the focus to policy choices that confront the government in Washington and resulting "outputs" of the political system.

Each year thousands of articles about American politics are published, and deciding which to reprint in a collection of readings such as this is not always easy. Criteria for selecting each article include the topic treated, the approach taken, and the level of analysis used. How well an article stands alone and how well it complements other likely selections are also taken into account.

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

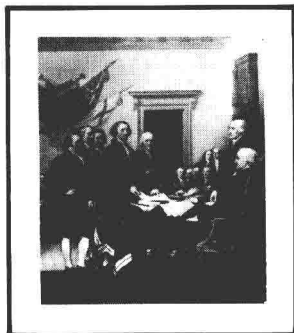


Bruce Stinebrickner  
Editor

# Topic Guide

This topic guide suggests how the selections in this book relate to topics likely to be treated in American politics textbooks and courses. The guide is arranged alphabetically according to topic, and the selections that give substantial coverage to each topic are named. Most of the topics in the topic guide come from the italicized terms in the brief descriptions of each selection that appear in the table of contents.

TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN:	TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN:
<b>Abortion</b>	15. On the Origins of Privacy	<b>Elections and Nominations</b>	21. Long March for Term Limits 33. Why Americans Don't Vote 34. Money in Politics 35. Damned Spots 36. Party Pooper 42. Clinton Picks the GOP Lock 43. Another Electoral College Graduation 44. Test-Marketing a President 45. Sound-bitten 46. Realignment? Where Are the Issues?
<b>Budget/Budget Deficit</b>	49. Seven Ways to Cut the Deficit 52. Balancing Act		
<b>Bureaucracy</b>	22. Crumbling Committees 31. Regulations That Work 32. Misuse of the I.R.S. 48. America: A Repair Guide	<b>Federalism</b>	2. Constitution of the United States 3. Size and Variety of the Union 20. In Whose Court? 50. Federal Government Mandates
<b>Bush, George</b>	18. History May Not Long Remember 19. Character of Presidents 30. High Stakes, Low Courts 42. Clinton Picks the GOP Lock	<b>Feminism</b>	see Gender/Gender Discrimination
<b>Clinton, Bill</b>	19. Character of Presidents 42. Clinton Picks the GOP Lock 44. Test-Marketing a President 45. Sound-bitten 46. Realignment? Where Are the Issues?	<b>Foreign and Defense Policy</b>	54. America First—Past and Present 55. Foreign Policy: Repairing the Damage
<b>Congress</b>	21. Long March for Term Limits 22. Crumbling Committees 23. Extensive Reform Proposals 24. Capitol Hill 20510 25. Big House 26. Crashing the Locker Room	<b>Fourteenth Amendment</b>	12. Race and the Constitution 26. Crashing the Locker Room
<b>Constitution</b>	3. Size and Variety of the Union 4. Checks and Balances 5. Judiciary 12. Race and the Constitution 14. Time for a Second Bill of Rights 15. On the Origins of Privacy 28. Brennan's Revolution 52. Balancing Act	<b>Gender/Gender Discrimination</b>	12. Race and the Constitution 26. Crashing the Locker Room
		<b>Historic Perspectives</b>	1. Declaration of Independence 2. Constitution of the United States 3. Size and Variety of the Union 4. Checks and Balances 5. Judiciary 6. What Is a Nation? 8. Don't Blame the Great Society 9. Shifting Sands of Public Opinion 18. History May Not Long Remember



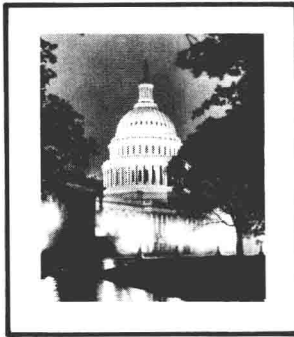
## Unit 1

### Foundations of American Politics

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

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Overview	4
<b>A. BASIC DOCUMENTS</b>	
1. The Declaration of Independence, 1776.	6
This document formally announces that 13 former British colonies have become the free and independent United States of America, and eloquently identifies certain <b>historical principles</b> on which their claim to independence rests.	
2. The Constitution of the United States, 1787.	7
The Constitution provides an organizational blueprint for the national government and for the <b>federal</b> relationship between the national government and the states. In addition, the first 10 amendments, commonly known as the <b>Bill of Rights</b> , 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.	
3. The Size and Variety of the Union as a Check on Faction, James Madison, <i>The Federalist Papers</i> , No. 10, 1787.	15
James Madison argues in support of the union of the 13 states under the new <b>Constitution</b> . According to Madison, a system of representative democracy governing a large territory and many people will help control the undesirable effects of "faction."	
4. Checks and Balances, James Madison, <i>The Federalist Papers</i> , No. 51, 1787.	19
According to James Madison, both the <b>separation of powers</b> among three branches of government and the <b>division of powers</b> between the states and the central government will help preserve representative democracy under the new <b>Constitution</b> .	
5. The Judiciary, Alexander Hamilton, <i>The Federalist Papers</i> , No. 78, 1787.	22
Alexander Hamilton discusses the federal <b>judiciary</b> to be established under the new <b>Constitution</b> . He emphasizes the crucial role of the courts in a system of limited government with a written Constitution.	
<b>B. CONTEMPORARY VIEWS AND VALUES</b>	
6. What Is a Nation? Robert B. Reich, <i>Political Science Quarterly</i> , Volume 106, No. 2, Summer 1991.	26
Robert B. Reich argues that, from an economic perspective, high-income earners in the United States have been seceding from the rest of the nation. This gradual and sometimes unwitting process of withdrawal has consisted of a <b>shift in tax burden</b> from wealthier to poorer Americans and a <b>decline in government programs and services</b> that would help poorer people to be more productive.	
7. The Contradictions of an Advanced Capitalist State, James Q. Wilson, <i>Forbes</i> , September 14, 1992.	36
James Wilson argues that many of the most prominent political and cultural problems of advanced capitalist countries, such as the United States, stem from prosperity, <b>freedom</b> , and <b>democracy</b> .	
8. Don't Blame the Great Society, Roger Wilkins, <i>The Progressive</i> , July 1992.	41
Roger Wilkins reviews several major <b>Great Society</b> programs begun in the 1960s and suggests that, flaws and all, they did a considerable amount of good. By the mid-1970s, most of the programs had ended—with disastrous results for <b>African Americans</b> .	

9. **The Shifting Sands of Public Opinion: Is Liberalism Back?** William G. Mayer, *The Public Interest*, Spring 1992. 43  
William Mayer reports on trends in **public opinion** since 1960. He suggests that, after an initial period of relative stability, public opinion became more liberal, then more conservative, and then, in the 1980s, more liberal again. He also discusses the connection between the **Reagan** presidency and the public opinion trends that he reports.
10. **An American Melting Plot**, Mickey Kaus, *The Washington Monthly*, July/August 1992. 50  
In America today, **class segregation** is caused by income differences or ethnic background. This article discusses what might be done to end this segregation.
11. **The Virtue of Modest Accomplishments**, Alan Ehrenhalt, *Governing*, April 1992. 56  
People who govern are often urged by their peers and their own sense of the ideal to attempt the impossible. **An officeholder's "success"** can be defined as attempting to do something worthwhile even though it is not really possible. All too often this is the case today.
- C. **CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL MATTERS**
12. **Race and the Constitution**, Thurgood Marshall, *Social Policy*, Summer 1987. 58  
Supreme Court justice Thurgood Marshall argues that the **Constitution** as written in 1787 contained many defects, including several provisions that supported the continuation of slavery. He suggests that the Constitution has evolved in desirable ways since originally being written, but he notes that there is room for more progress in certain spheres.
13. **Nothing in Moderation**, Fred Siegel, *The Atlantic*, May 1990. 60  
According to Fred Siegel, the **politics of rights** has damaged the American democratic process. **Constitutional** and legal claims have undermined the politics of persuasion, deliberation, and compromise, and court decisions have replaced legislative enactments in some policy areas.
14. **Time for a Second Bill of Rights**, Paul Savoy, *The Nation*, June 17, 1991. 62  
Paul Savoy argues for the enactment of an **economic bill of rights**. The existing **Bill of Rights** protects citizens from government, but fails to impose affirmative obligations on government. An economic bill of rights would remedy this shortcoming in the **Constitution**.
15. **On the Origins of Privacy**, Melvin L. Wulf, *The Nation*, May 27, 1991. 65  
Melvin Wulf notes that the **Supreme Court's** decision in *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 landmark decision on **abortion rights**, rests heavily on the **right to privacy**. He tells how this right came to be identified for the first time in the 1965 Supreme Court's *Griswold v. Connecticut* decision.
16. **Of Rights and Choices**, Lino A. Graglia, *National Review*, February 17, 1992. 69  
Lino Graglia argues that the expansion of **rights**, and especially **constitutional rights**, is not necessarily desirable. In so doing, he identifies and evaluates two explanations commonly offered for constitutional limitations on **democratic self-government**.



# Unit 2

## Structures of American Politics

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

Overview	72
A. THE PRESIDENCY	
17. Why Great Men Are Not Chosen Presidents, Stephen Hess, <i>Society</i> , July/August 1988.	74
Stephen Hess considers the types of individuals who seek and who are selected to be <b>president</b> . He argues that changes in the <b>presidential nominating process</b> are not likely to result in the likelihood of "great presidents."	
18. History May Not Long Remember . . . Bush's 'Era of Good Feeling,' Burt Solomon, <i>National Journal</i> , August 17, 1991.	81
Burt Solomon offers a preliminary estimate of how historians will judge the <b>presidency of George Bush</b> . He suggests that Bush's performance will be remembered as neither particularly good nor particularly bad.	
19. The Character of Presidents, E. L. Doctorow, <i>The Nation</i> , November 9, 1992.	83
On the premise that the character of <b>presidents</b> is important, E. L. Doctorow examines the character of Presidents Nixon, Carter, Ford, <b>Reagan</b> , and <b>Bush</b> . After assessing the character of each of these men, the author offers his view of the character that a president should have.	
20. Reconsidering Presidential Power, Terry Eastland, <i>The American Enterprise</i> , May/June 1992.	86
Terry Eastland considers how to achieve "energy in the executive," that is, energetic and effective presidential power under the terms of the <b>Constitution</b> . He discusses a number of ways that can help a president, liberal or conservative, to be successful in wielding power.	
B. CONGRESS	
21. A Long March for Term Limits, W. John Moore, <i>National Journal</i> , November 14, 1992.	90
W. John Moore describes the opposition to <b>term limits</b> that exists on Capitol Hill. He concludes that, notwithstanding the success of every term limit initiative that appeared before voters in November, 1992, the odds are that <b>congressional</b> term limits will not come into effect.	
22. Crumbling Committees, Richard E. Cohen, <i>National Journal</i> , August 4, 1990.	91
Richard Cohen examines the decline in the power and importance of committees in <b>Congress</b> . He discusses reasons for the change and the implications for the careers of individual senators and representatives, as well as for the <b>policy-making process</b> in <b>Congress</b> as a whole.	
23. Extensive Reform Proposals Cook on the Front Burner, Janet Hook, <i>Congressional Quarterly</i> , June 6, 1992.	96
Janet Hook describes various forces that are working to make members of <b>Congress</b> institute <b>reforms</b> of its institution. She also summarizes previous overhauls of Congress in this century and common complaints heard about the way Congress currently operates.	
24. Capitol Hill 20510, Christopher Georges and Katherine Boo, <i>The Washington Monthly</i> , October 1992.	104
The authors suggest a number of tactics that members of <b>Congress</b> , even relatively unknown newcomers, can use to get exposure in the <b>news media</b> . Most of the tactics seem unrelated to productive public service on Capitol Hill.	



25. **The Big House**, Michael Merrill and Sean Wilentz, *The New Republic*, November 16, 1992. 111  
The merits of enlarging the House of Representatives to 870 members are presented in this article. This alternative to **term limits** would, according to the authors, make **Congress** more efficient, less dependent on staff, and less susceptible to lobbyists.
  26. **Crashing the Locker Room**, Wendy Kaminer, *The Atlantic*, July 1992. 113  
Wendy Kaminer asks why there are so few women in **Congress**. She calls attention to the attitudes of voters and party officials, difficulties in fund-raising, and a legacy of failed candidacies.
- C. JUDICIARY
27. **What Am I? A Potted Plant?** Richard A. Posner, *The New Republic*, September 28, 1987. 123  
Richard Posner argues that judges, no matter what approach to **constitutional** interpretation they espouse, inevitably exercise discretion and take consequences into account in reaching judicial decisions.
  28. **Brennan's Revolution**, Wallace Mendelson, *Commentary*, February 1991. 126  
Justice William Brennan served on the **Supreme Court** from 1956 to 1990 and wrote a number of landmark decisions. Wallace Mendelson criticizes Brennan's view of how the Supreme Court should interpret the **Constitution**, and he argues that many of his decisions frustrated the democratic process.
  29. **In Whose Court?** W. John Moore, *National Journal*, October 5, 1991. 130  
State legislatures and state courts as well as **Congress** can make decisions that counter **Supreme Court** rulings, and sometimes the Supreme Court deliberately leaves room for policy questions to be handled by other institutions of government. In this selection, the author examines interactions between the current Supreme Court and other institutions.
  30. **High Stakes, Low Courts**, Tony Mauro, *The Washington Monthly*, July/August 1992. 135  
Tony Mauro calls attention to the hundreds of federal court **judges** that Presidents **Reagan** and **Bush** have appointed. He also explains the great impact on judicial decisions that the conservative appointments have had.
- D. BUREAUCRACY
31. **Regulations That Work**, David Bollier and Joan Claybrook, *The Washington Monthly*, April 1986. 139  
The authors argue that many government **regulations** have been very beneficial to American citizens, and they identify 10 noteworthy examples.
  32. **Misuse of the I.R.S.: The Abuse of Power**, David Burnham, *The New York Times Magazine*, September 3, 1989. 145  
David Burnham discusses the enormous power of the **Internal Revenue Service (I.R.S.)** and the opportunities to misuse that power in the tax collection process.

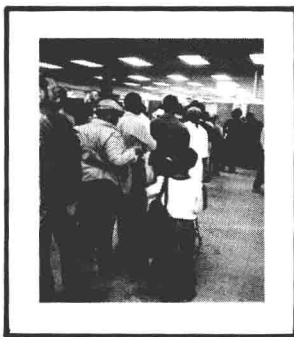


# Unit 3

## Process of American Politics

The fifteen articles in this unit review how parties, voters, election processes, interest groups, and the news media work in the process of American politics.

Overview	150
<b>A. ELECTIONS AND NOMINATIONS</b>	
33. <b>Why Americans Don't Vote</b> , Robert Kuttner, <i>The New Republic</i> , September 7, 1987.	152
Robert Kuttner compares <b>voting turnout</b> patterns in the United States with those of Western European democracies. He explains why American turnout rates are low and suggests <b>reforms</b> that would probably get more Americans to vote.	
34. <b>Money in Politics: Campaign Finance Reform</b> , Norman Ornstein, <i>Current</i> , October 1992.	155
Norman Ornstein identifies three major problems in the way <b>campaigns for public office are financed</b> . He then proposes a number of reforms to make the system better, including tax credits, lower limits on <b>PAC</b> contributions, and restrictions on "soft money."	
35. <b>Damned Spots</b> , Stephen Bates and Edwin Diamond, <i>The New Republic</i> , September 7 and 14, 1992.	161
The authors adopt an unconventional position with respect to 30-second campaign advertisements. They argue that such advertisements are beneficial, and they refute several common complaints about them.	
<b>B. PARTIES, PUBLIC OPINION, AND INTEREST GROUPS</b>	
36. <b>Party Pooper</b> , Matthew Levie, <i>The New Republic</i> , January 6 and 13, 1992.	163
Matthew Levie notes that the United States is unusual among the world's advanced democracies in that it has but two major parties from which to choose. He identifies several factors that inhibit the formation of viable <b>third parties</b> in the United States.	
37. <b>The Party Crasher</b> , Theodore J. Lowi, <i>The New York Times Magazine</i> , August 23, 1992.	165
Theodore Lowi argues that Ross Perot's strong showing in the <b>1992 presidential election</b> signaled the beginning of the end of the U.S. <b>two-party system</b> . In addition, Lowi explains why he thinks that the emergence of a <b>third party</b> would benefit the entire political system.	
38. <b>How Public Opinion Really Works</b> , Daniel Yankelovich, <i>Fortune</i> , October 5, 1992.	168
Daniel Yankelovich, a noted public opinion pollster, suggests that <b>public opinion</b> takes years to develop on a particular issue. To illustrate the seven stages through which public opinion develops, he spotlights the rising cost of health care in the United States.	
39. <b>Old Money</b> , Christopher Georges, <i>The Washington Monthly</i> , June 1992.	172
Christopher Georges describes the activities of a powerful interest group, the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP). He suggests that AARP has become more of a business than an effective, grass-roots <b>lobbying group</b> .	
<b>C. NEWS MEDIA</b>	
40. <b>The Idiot Culture</b> , Carl Bernstein, <i>The New Republic</i> , June 8, 1992.	177
Carl Bernstein laments the tendency of the <b>press</b> to continue to engage in self-congratulation about its role in uncovering the <b>Watergate scandal</b> 20 years ago. Bernstein argues that journalists have been contributing to the triumph of what he calls the <b>idiot culture</b> .	
41. <b>Confessions of an Investigative Reporter</b> , Christopher Georges, <i>The Washington Monthly</i> , March 1992.	181
Christopher Georges admits that investigative reporters seldom expose major institutional scandals within government and business. Government investigators have been far more successful than journalists in uncovering such scandals in recent years.	



## Unit 4

### Products of American Politics

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

#### D. THE 1992 CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS

42. **Clinton Picks the GOP Lock on the Electoral College**, 188  
Rhodes Cook, *Congressional Quarterly*, November 7, 1992.  
Rhodes Cook describes and analyzes **Bill Clinton's victory** in the 1992 presidential election. He identifies various factors and various groups of voters that contributed to the defeat of President George Bush.
43. **Another Electoral College Graduation**, Jack W. Germond and Jules Witcover, *National Journal*, December 19, 1992. 195  
This article recounts the role that the **Electoral College** played in the selection of Bill Clinton as **president** of the United States. The authors conclude that the Electoral College is not likely to be abolished in the foreseeable future.
44. **Test-Marketing a President**, Elizabeth Kolbert, *The New York Times Magazine*, August 30, 1992. 196  
Elizabeth Kolbert reports a relatively new and increasingly important campaign technique, the use of **focus groups**. How the campaigns of both George Bush and Bill Clinton relied on them in 1992 is presented.
45. **Sound-bitten**, Mickey Kaus, *The New Republic*, October 26, 1992. 201  
Mickey Kaus describes how the major television networks changed their approach to covering **presidential campaigns** in 1992. In general, the networks provided more issue "analysis" and interviews and less direct coverage of what the candidates themselves were doing.
46. **Realignment? Where Are the Issues?** Jack W. Germond and Jules Witcover, *National Journal*, November 21, 1991. 203  
The authors consider whether **Bill Clinton's** election signaled the start of a **realignment** of the electorate. They conclude that the general decline of party affiliation makes the very notion of a realignment somewhat beside the point.
47. **Four More Years**, *The Progressive*, December 1992. 205  
As President Bill Clinton begins his term, the challenges are considerable. This article looks at what **the Clinton/Gore administration** must face in both the domestic and foreign arenas.

#### Overview 208

#### A. DOMESTIC AND ECONOMIC POLICY

48. **America: A Repair Guide**, Charles Peters and James Bennet, *The Washington Monthly*, July/August 1991. 210  
The authors propose 16 reforms aimed at bettering the lives of Americans and the functioning of the political system. The proposals address **campaign finance reform**, the **civil service system**, legal rules and procedures, **public schooling**, the **health care system**, and **government finances and regulation**.
49. **Seven Ways to Cut the Deficit . . . Easier Said Than Done**, George Hager, *Congressional Quarterly*, May 2, 1992. 216  
This article identifies and evaluates seven alternative ways to cut **the national government's budget deficit**. George Hager's analysis of each alternative leads to the conclusion that eliminating or even reducing the deficit is not going to be easily done.

50. <b>Federal Government Mandates: Why the States Are Complaining</b> , Martha Derthick, <i>The Brookings Review</i> , Fall 1992.	219
Martha Derthick identifies four main ways in which the national government influences state governments. In this context, she discusses affirmative commands—that is, <b>mandates</b> —from the national government to the states and evaluates their implications for <b>federalism</b> in the United States.	
51. <b>The Tyranny of America's Old</b> , Lee Smith, <i>Fortune</i> , January 13, 1992.	223
According to Lee Smith, more than twice as much is spent on every American over age 65 as for those under 18, which represents a drastic change from earlier proportions. Ways to minimize this imbalance so that the young get a larger share of government resources is explored.	
52. <b>Balancing Act</b> , Stephen Moore, <i>National Review</i> , June 8, 1992.	226
Stephen Moore discusses the pros and cons of a <b>balanced budget</b> amendment to the <b>Constitution</b> . Moore examines how balanced budget amendments work in the states, while also noting why the states' fiscal experiences may not be relevant to what happens or might happen at the national level.	
53. <b>Lessons Across Six Decades as Clinton Tries to Make Jobs</b> , Steven Greenhouse, <i>The New York Times</i> , November 24, 1992.	228
The challenge of <b>creating legitimate jobs</b> for the large number of the unemployed is an enormous task. This article examines what this might entail.	
<b>B. FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY</b>	
54. <b>America First—Past and Present</b> , Alan Tonelson, <i>Society</i> , September/October 1992.	232
Alan Tonelson contrasts the approach of the U.S. <b>foreign policy establishment</b> to that of the reemerging "America First" movement. He argues that the America First approach is more sensible, more conventional, and more likely to further U.S. interests in the post-Soviet world.	
55. <b>Foreign Policy: Repairing the Damage, Rethinking the Mandate, Rewriting the Law</b> , Peter Faesch Schaefer, <i>The American Enterprise</i> , November/December 1992.	235
Peter Schaefer reviews the U.S. modern <b>foreign aid</b> program, which began in 1961. He says that the program has not been successful in helping recipient nations out of poverty; that the program, once it was started, has been difficult to <b>reform</b> to meet changing needs; and that there are a number of factors that account for these problems.	
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# AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

## 93/94

Twenty-Third Edition

**Annual Editions**  
A Library of Information from the Public Press

**Editor**

**Bruce Stinebrickner**  
DePauw University

Professor Bruce Stinebrickner teaches American politics and chairs 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, for one semester, 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 to bear valuable insights gained from living and teaching abroad.



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# Topic Guide

This topic guide suggests how the selections in this book relate to topics likely to be treated in American politics textbooks and courses. The guide is arranged alphabetically according to topic, and the selections that give substantial coverage to each topic are named. Most of the topics in the topic guide come from the italicized terms in the brief descriptions of each selection that appear in the table of contents.

TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN:	TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN:
<b>Abortion</b>	15. On the Origins of Privacy	<b>Elections and Nominations</b>	21. Long March for Term Limits 33. Why Americans Don't Vote 34. Money in Politics 35. Damned Spots 36. Party Pooper 42. Clinton Picks the GOP Lock 43. Another Electoral College Graduation 44. Test-Marketing a President 45. Sound-bitten 46. Realignment? Where Are the Issues?
<b>Budget/Budget Deficit</b>	49. Seven Ways to Cut the Deficit 52. Balancing Act		
<b>Bureaucracy</b>	22. Crumbling Committees 31. Regulations That Work 32. Misuse of the I.R.S. 48. America: A Repair Guide		
<b>Bush, George</b>	18. History May Not Long Remember 19. Character of Presidents 30. High Stakes, Low Courts 42. Clinton Picks the GOP Lock	<b>Federalism</b>	2. Constitution of the United States 3. Size and Variety of the Union 20. In Whose Court? 50. Federal Government Mandates
<b>Clinton, Bill</b>	19. Character of Presidents 42. Clinton Picks the GOP Lock 44. Test-Marketing a President 45. Sound-bitten 46. Realignment? Where Are the Issues?	<b>Feminism</b>	see Gender/Gender Discrimination
		<b>Foreign and Defense Policy</b>	54. America First—Past and Present 55. Foreign Policy: Repairing the Damage
<b>Congress</b>	21. Long March for Term Limits 22. Crumbling Committees 23. Extensive Reform Proposals 24. Capitol Hill 20510 25. Big House 26. Crashing the Locker Room	<b>Fourteenth Amendment</b>	12. Race and the Constitution 26. Crashing the Locker Room
		<b>Gender/Gender Discrimination</b>	12. Race and the Constitution 26. Crashing the Locker Room
<b>Constitution</b>	3. Size and Variety of the Union 4. Checks and Balances 5. Judiciary 12. Race and the Constitution 14. Time for a Second Bill of Rights 15. On the Origins of Privacy 28. Brennan's Revolution 52. Balancing Act	<b>Historic Perspectives</b>	1. Declaration of Independence 2. Constitution of the United States 3. Size and Variety of the Union 4. Checks and Balances 5. Judiciary 6. What Is a Nation? 8. Don't Blame the Great Society 9. Shifting Sands of Public Opinion 18. History May Not Long Remember

TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN:	TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN:
<b>Interest Groups</b>	3. Size and Variety of the Union 29. In Whose Court? 34. Money in Politics 39. Old Money	<b>Reform</b>	23. Extensive Reform Proposals 33. Why Americans Don't Vote 48. America: A Repair Guide 55. Foreign Policy: Repairing the Damage
<b>News Media</b>	24. Capitol Hill 20510 40. Idiot Culture	<b>Regulation</b>	31. Regulations That Work 48. America: A Repair Guide
<b>Nominations/ Nominating Process</b>	see Elections and Nominations	<b>Rights</b>	12. Race and the Constitution 13. Nothing in Moderation 14. Time for a Second Bill of Rights 15. On the Origins of Privacy 16. Of Rights and Choices 28. Brennan's Revolution 29. In Whose Court?
<b>Parties</b>	36. Party Pooper 37. Party Crasher		
<b>Presidency</b>	17. Why Great Men Are Not Chosen Presidents 18. History May Not Long Remember 19. Character of Presidents 20. Reconsidering Presidential Power 43. Another Electoral College Graduation	<b>Separation of Powers</b>	4. Checks and Balances 20. Reconsidering Presidential Power
		<b>Sex/Sex Discrimination</b>	see Gender/Gender Discrimination
<b>Public Opinion</b>	9. Shifting Sands of Public Opinion 38. How Public Opinion Really Works	<b>Supreme Court</b>	5. Judiciary 28. Brennan's Revolution 29. In Whose Court?
<b>Race/Racial Discrimination</b>	8. Don't Blame the Great Society 12. Race and the Constitution	<b>Term Limits</b>	21. Long March for Term Limits 25. Big House
<b>Reagan, Ronald</b>	19. Character of Presidents 30. High Stakes, Low Courts		

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# Foundations of American Politics

- Basic Documents (Articles 1–5)
- Contemporary Views and Values (Articles 6–11)
- Constitutional and Legal Matters (Articles 12–16)

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

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

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

The first section includes several historic documents from the eighteenth century. The first is the Declaration of Independence. Written in 1776, it proclaims the Founders’ views of why independence from England was justified and, in so doing, identifies certain “unalienable” rights that “all men” are said to possess. The second document, the Constitution of 1787, remains in effect to this day. It provides an organizational blueprint for the structure of American national government, outlines the federal relationship between the national government and the states, and expresses limitations on what government can do. Twenty-seven amendments have been added to the original Constitution in two centuries. In addition to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, the first

section includes three selections from *The Federalist Papers*, a series of newspaper articles written in support of the proposed new Constitution. Appearing in 1787 and 1788, *The Federalist Papers* treated various provisions of the new Constitution and suggested that putting the Constitution into effect would bring about good government.

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

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

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

## Looking Ahead: Challenge Questions

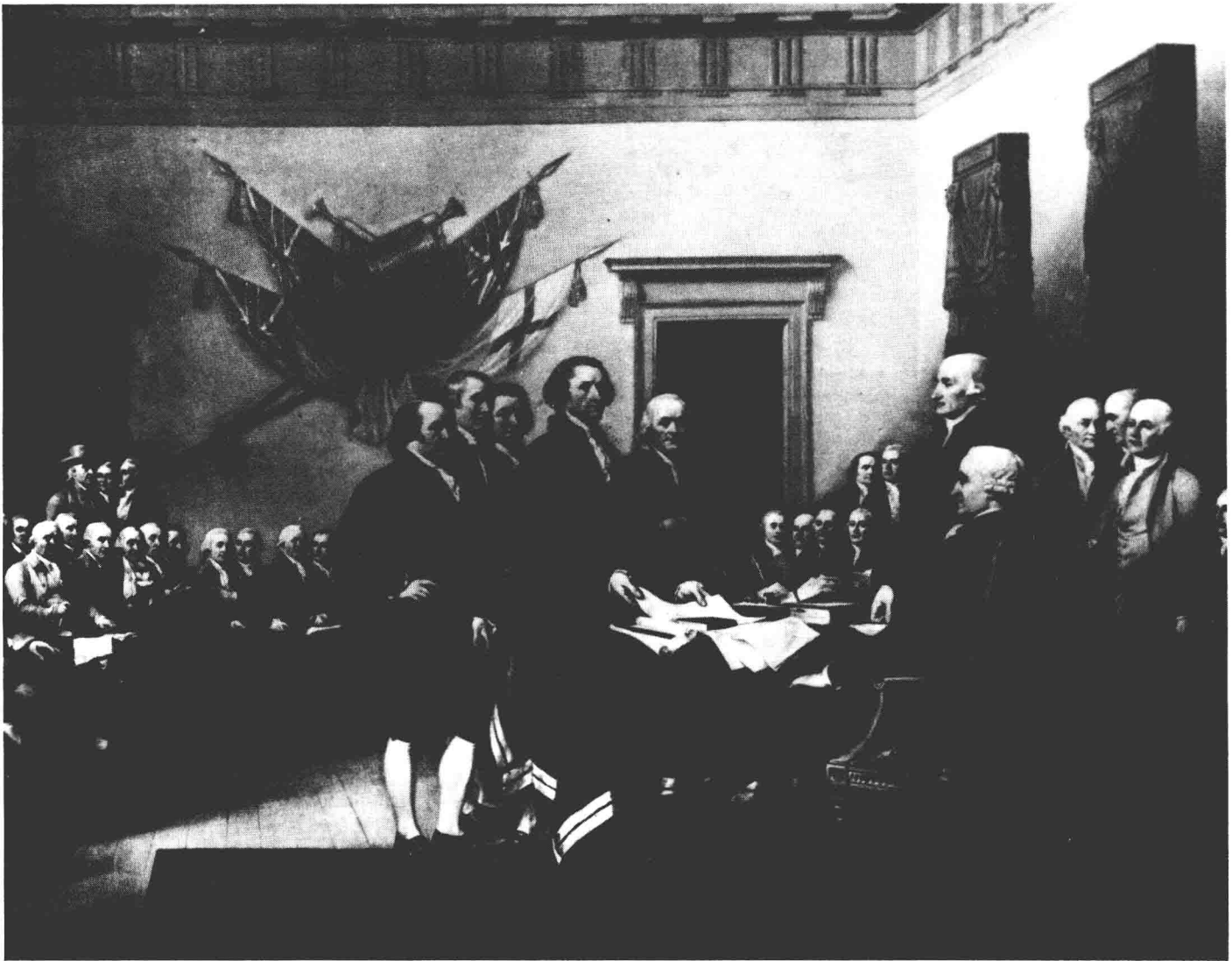
What do you think would surprise the Founding Fathers most about the values and ideals held by Americans today?

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 they all have these rights now?

What provisions of the United States Constitution do you think are particularly wise and desirable? Which provisions, including ones that have been superseded by amendments, seem unwise and undesirable?





What makes constitutional interpretation and reinterpretation necessary in the American political system? Why, at the same time, do the very words of the Constitution remain a respected foundation of the entire system of government?

What groups seem most likely to become visible, active forces on the American political scene in the way that blacks and women have in the recent past? Why?

Do you consider yourself a conservative, a liberal, a socialist, a reactionary, or what? Why?