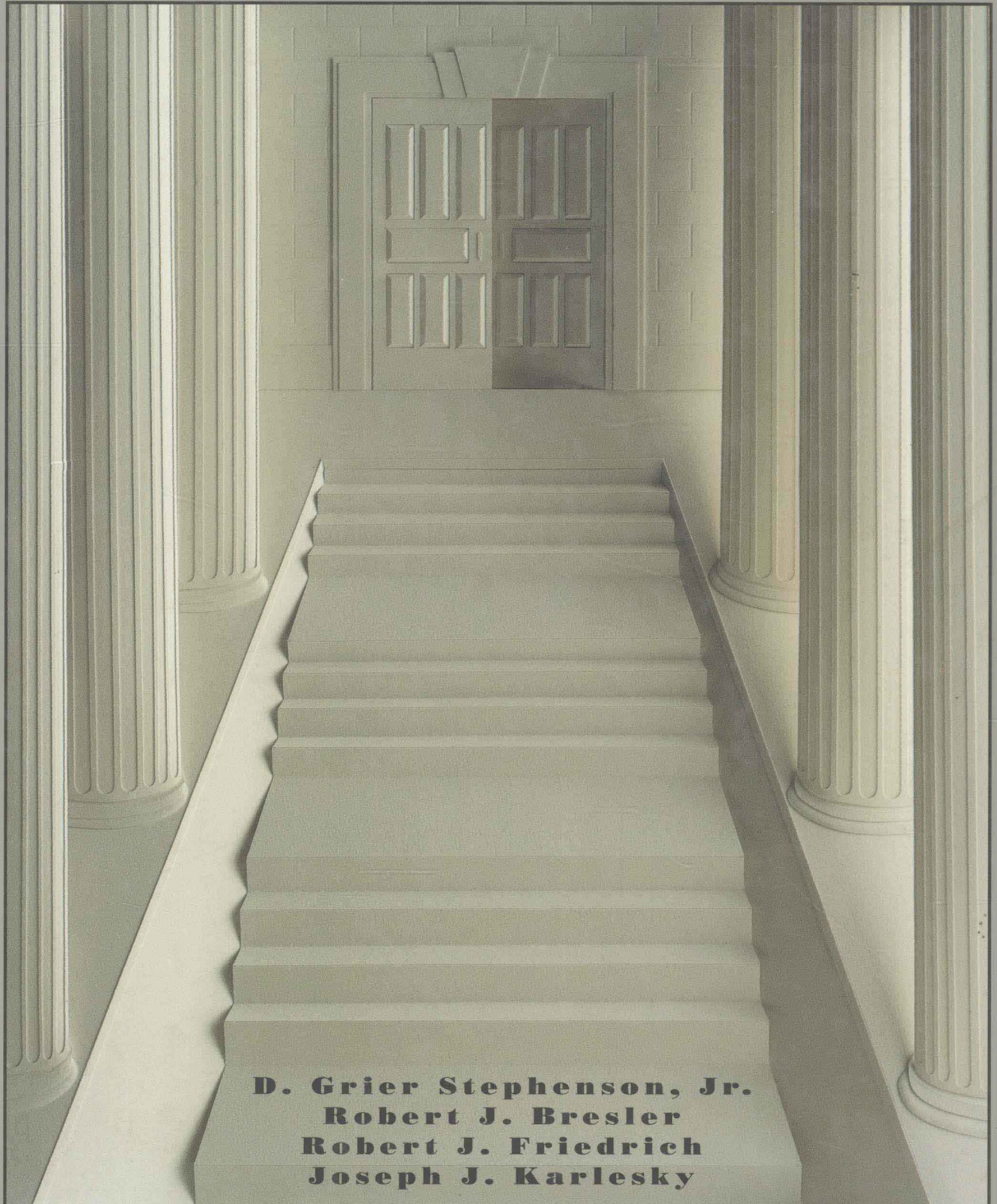


American Government

S E C O N D E D I T I O N



D. Grier Stephenson, Jr.
Robert J. Bresler
Robert J. Friedrich
Joseph J. Karlesky

Government

Second Edition

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D. Grier Stephenson, Jr.

Franklin and Marshall College

Robert J. Bresler

Pennsylvania State University

Robert J. Friedrich

Franklin and Marshall College

Joseph J. Karlesky

Franklin and Marshall College



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About the Authors

D. Grier Stephenson, Jr. is Charles A. Dana Professor of Government at Franklin and Marshall College, where he has taught since 1970. He received his Ph.D. in politics from Princeton University in 1967. From 1968 to 1970 he served in the United States Army. Professor Stephenson is coauthor of *American Constitutional Law* (9th ed., 1990) and is both the editor of, and a contributor to, *An Essential Safeguard: Essays on the United States Supreme Court and Its Justices* (1991). His articles have appeared in journals such as the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, the *Journal of Supreme Court History*, the *American Bar Association Journal*, the *Virginia Law Review*, the *William and Mary Law Review*, and *The Urban Lawyer*. In 1990, he received the Editorial Award of the Supreme Court Historical Society and was included in *Who's Who in the East* (1991).

Robert J. Bresler received his Ph.D. in politics from Princeton University (1964), where he was a Woodrow Wilson National Fellow. He has since taught at the University of Wisconsin-Green Bay, the University of Delaware, and the U. S. Army War College. He is presently at Penn State University-Harrisburg, where he is Professor of Public Policy and Head of the Division of Public Affairs. Professor Bresler is also National Affairs Editor of *USA Today*, for which he writes a regular column on American politics. He was editor of the book *Power in America* (1968) and has published articles in such magazines and journals as *Political Science Quarterly*, *Arms Control*, *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, *Intelligence and National Security*, *Politics and Society*, *The Nation*, and *Commonweal*.

Robert J. Friedrich is Associate Professor of Government at Franklin and Marshall College, where he has taught courses in public opinion, political behavior, and political research methodology since 1976. He has also served as Director of Academic Computing there since 1984. His fields of interest are public opinion, political behavior, political psychology, campaigns and elections, politics and economics, police behavior, and political research methodology. His articles have appeared in the *American Journal of Political Science*, the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, and the *Journal of Higher Education*. He received his bachelor's degree from the University of Colorado (1968) and his master's (1970) and doctoral (1977) degrees from the University of Michigan.

Joseph J. Karlesky received his Ph.D. degree in public law and government from Columbia University in 1972. He has taught since 1970 at Franklin and Marshall College where he is now The Honorable and Mrs. John C. Kunkel Professor in the Department of Government. He has been a visiting scholar at the Brookings Institution. He is coauthor of *The State of Academic Science: The Universities in the Nation's Research Effort*. As a consultant to the Pennsylvania Department of Community Affairs, he has written *Home Rule and Optional Plans: A Guide for Pennsylvanians*. He has also served as a consultant to the State of Montana on science policy. At Franklin and Marshall College, he has served as Chair of the Government Department and as Associate Dean for Academic Affairs. He has regularly taught the introductory American government course to undergraduates for the past two decades. He is a recipient of the Lindback Award for Distinguished Teaching.

Preface

As the second edition of *American Government* went into production, the people of the United States simultaneously reflected on the meaning of their military victory in the Persian Gulf after 43 days of war with Iraq, commemorated the two-hundredth anniversary of the Bill of Rights, and prepared for the presidential election of 1992. No class and no instructor in American government and politics is immune to the political, ideological, and economic effects of events which combine influence of the past on the present, massive displays of destruction, and the perennial pursuit of power in a democracy. Nor is any class or instructor untouched by current problems ranging from education and the environment to unemployment and the underclass.

Contemporary observances of historical events like ratification of the Bill of Rights may present an opportunity to raise questions about why they occurred and to examine their meaning today, but alone they may generate little more than historical curiosity. Likewise, isolated events like the outbreak and cessation of armed conflict, and recurring events like the presidential election in 1992 and the midterm election in 1994, may spark a brief awareness of current affairs but only a fleeting interest in politics. Or, one may be aware of a social problem but know little about why it stubbornly persists. These occasions by themselves do not provide an understanding of American government. Instead, the responsibility of understanding falls to students as guided by their classroom instructors and readings. Perhaps at few times has there been a greater need for widespread mastery of the political system John Quincy Adams once described as “the most complicated on the face of the globe.”

The authors have sought in the second edition to offer today's students a grasp of the context, structure, and process of American politics. The book presents a comprehensive, readable, and balanced approach to the study of government and politics in the United States. In order to ensure a single voice in that presentation, one author has again served as a general editor.

The goals are knowledge of, and critical thinking about, American politics. To these ends, the authors have designed the book to encourage students to *engage* the material. Passive reading is not enough. Understanding the subject necessitates active intellectual involvement.

Organization

The general outline of the book is straightforward and traditional. Part One reviews the **constitutional framework** of American government, including chapters on the development of the Constitution and the federal system. Contemporary questions of civil liberties and civil rights are presented in two separate chapters in order to provide comprehensive treatment. Part Two, on the **political process**, includes the standard subjects of public opinion, interest groups, political parties, and elections, as well as a unique chapter on political ideologies and a separate chapter on the

mass media. Part Three covers the principal **political institutions** of American national government: Congress, the president, the bureaucracy, and the Supreme Court. Part Four examines the **policy process**, with a new chapter (20) on science, technology, and regulation plus chapters on public policy analysis, economic policy, taxation and the budget, social welfare, and foreign and defense policy. Each part begins with an introductory essay which encourages students to synthesize the material that follows.

Ideological Balance and Historical Perspective

American Government emphasizes the importance of politics and political involvement but does not embrace any ideological perspective. It does not attempt to make its readers Democrats or Republicans, liberals or conservatives. Rather, the text presents thorough coverage of the traditional topics of American government, setting them against the major political events and problems of the 1990s. Complex and persistent issues are therefore placed in their historical and institutional context for a generation of students who may lack an understanding of the nation's past. No knowledge of events like Watergate or the Vietnam War is assumed. Instead, the text makes a special effort to define or explain recent historical events that continue to influence contemporary leaders, attitudes, and institutions. Clarified with examples, the issues dominating today's politics are made comprehensible to undergraduates.

Emphasis on Economics and Ideology

The text highlights the importance of economics and ideology in the study of American politics. Both have occupied the attention of students and politicians for at least two centuries. The relationship between politics and *economics* is emphasized throughout the text in "Politics and Economics" boxes as well as in several chapters. Students see how economic decisions have political consequences and how political decisions affect the economy. Chapter 17, for instance, explores the economic basis of politics and traces economic questions from the debate between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton to contemporary controversies over the role of government in promoting economic prosperity. Assuming no prior knowledge of economics, the chapter explains economic theories and terms so that students will understand debates over Keynesian and supply-side policies, for example, or grasp the political significance of budget deficits and interest rates. This is essential information in a day when economic topics frequently dominate the front page and the television news.

Chapter 18, also economics-related, builds on its predecessor, reviewing the national budget as a document reflecting political choices and their accompanying economic consequences for the national agenda. Chapter 19 analyzes the intricacies of social welfare policies in an era when all levels of government have assumed at least some responsibility for the economic well-being of their citizens. Yet the chapter recognizes that controversy still swirls around the proper size and definition of government's future social welfare role.

Understanding the differences among political beliefs is essential in an age when the labels "liberal" and "conservative" are hurled about. These terms can be confusing,

particularly because their meaning has not been constant. Consequently the text also emphasizes the importance of *political ideology*—the ideas people have about what government should or should not do and what kind of government they should have. This emphasis is seen throughout in the “Politics and Ideas” boxes and in several specific chapters. The text contains a separate chapter (7) on public opinion and the formation of political attitudes. Two additional chapters (4 and 5) probe the ideological divisions among Americans on civil liberties and civil rights. Especially distinctive in *American Government* is Chapter 6, on political ideologies: It draws a virtual road map to guide the reader through the intellectual debates, past and present, in American politics. Surveying the spectrum of political ideas encourages students to comprehend points of view other than their own, enabling them to gain further insight into the political differences that exist nationwide.

Distinguishing Features

To accomplish our goals *American Government* incorporates several important features.

- **Politics and Ideas** boxes appearing throughout the text explore in greater depth ideological topics like the exclusionary rule or conflicts in foreign policy. They show how ideological divisions produce different political consequences.
- **Politics and Economics** boxes also appearing throughout the text examine special economics topics such as comparable worth and media monopolies.
- Most chapters include a series of close-up examinations of **Contemporary Controversies**, such as congressional ethics, drug law enforcement, and nuclear power. These political issues show how the subject matter in each chapter carries over into many of the disputes that divide the nation. These issues typically reflect conflicts over political ideas and the allocation of economic resources.
- All Politics and Ideas, Politics and Economics, and Contemporary Controversies boxes conclude with **study questions** designed to encourage further inquiry.
- Most chapters contain **personality profiles** that introduce major political figures of the past and present (John Marshall and William Rehnquist, for example). They convey a sense of how these individuals became important politically, following educational and professional paths that are sometimes common and sometimes unique.
- **Making Connections**, a new feature which appears near the end of each chapter, poses a question to the readers to stimulate reflection on a current problem in light of the material they have read.
- The origins of many political terms, especially the most colorful, are explored in the feature **Why It's Called. . . .**
- **Conflicting Perspectives** follow a number of chapters (3, 5, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15) and reinforce the book's objective to promote critical thinking. The perspectives are short essays written by journalists, public officials, and scholars who take opposite positions on a topic of contemporary public importance.
- A **comparative perspective** containing references to governments in other countries is found interspersed in both some special features and in the regular text material of most chapters.

- The importance of *state and local governments* and their leaders is highlighted throughout the text in many of the special feature boxes described above.
- Numerous *color tables*, *graphs*, and *maps* appear throughout the text to display both quantitative and conceptual data. Some illustrations present new data, while others summarize information covered in the body of the chapter.
- Each chapter includes a **preview**, a summary, a list of **key terms**, and a list of annotated **suggested readings**. The preview briefly introduces the topics to be covered in each chapter, while the summary contains in numbered form the main points presented in the chapter. *Key terms*, in boldface, are defined in the chapter as well as in the *glossary* at the end of the book. Suggested readings are widely available secondary sources that students may want to consult in pursuing topics in the chapter.
- Each of the four parts of the book begins with an **introductory essay** designed to alert students to the subject matter that follows.

Supplements

To achieve our goal of facilitating learning, we have developed support materials for both students and instructors.

For the Instructor

Instructor's Manual

One of the text authors, D. Grier Stephenson, has compiled a manual that is an innovative resource for both new instructors and harried veterans. Features of the manual include chapter objectives, glossary terms, a listing of the special pedagogical features in the text, an annotated outline, lecture and discussion topics, projects, and resources materials, with a separate listing of all sources. The appendix contains a copy of the Articles of Confederation, a table of Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court, and a table of delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

Test Bank

For instructors, we offer a test bank of 2,000 questions. In addition to 75 multiple-choice questions per chapter, we have added 20 true–false questions and 3–5 essay questions per chapter to provide instructors with a greater variety of testing materials. Prepared by James Davis of Oklahoma State University, the test bank includes answers, text page references, and indication of difficulty level.

Transparencies

Transparency acetates are available free to adopters to facilitate the integration of student assignments with classroom lectures. These 60 full-color transparencies are organized by the major topics covered in this course.

Media

Laser Disc

American Government: Issues and Images is a two-sided video disk developed in consultation with American Government professors and a multimedia courseware developer. Also available on video tape, it contains 46 motion picture excerpts from network news, newsreel collections, cable archives, and state historical societies. The video disc has been specifically designed for classroom use, and includes pedagogically focussed clips from campaign commercials, convention debates, and both historic and recent footage of domestic and foreign policy issues. With the press of a single button, the disk can instantly display the moment of political or government history that will best illustrate the points in your lecture.

Media Program

HarperCollins has made available a wide selection of films and videos for instructors to integrate into their course material. The *Media Handbook for American Government* outlines various audio-visual options available from HarperCollins and suggests follow-up discussion questions. In addition, the handbook provides information on films and videos available from outside institutions and makes recommendations for which will be most effective in the classroom.

Instructors may choose from many excellent programs. *The Power Game*, Herdrick Smith's popular four-part PBS documentary on the elected (and unelected) government in Washington, and *Eyes on the Prize*, the award-winning six-part series on the civil rights movement, are both available through our media policy. Also available is "The Thirty-Second President," Bill Moyers' examination of the office in an age of soundbites, from his PBS series *A Walk Through the Twentieth Century*. *The Challenge of the Presidency*, a one-hour videotape, combines David Frost's thoughtful interviews of former presidents Reagan, Carter, Ford, and Nixon. Adopters of *American Government* may also receive a unique *Newsreel Video*, a selection of authentic newsreel footage that captures the key American political events of the past six decades.

Software

Testmaster

In addition to the traditional printed format, the complete Test Bank is also available free of charge on *Testmaster*, HarperCollins's computerized test-generating system. Flexible and easy to use, *Testmaster* may be obtained for use both with the IBM-PC and most compatibles, and with the Macintosh.

Grades

Grade-keeping and classroom-management software, free to instructors, maintains data sets for up to 200 students. It is suitable for use with the IBM-PC and most compatibles.

For the Student

Study Guide

The study guide by Charles Matzke provides reinforcement of the text discussions to help improve understanding of American government and politics. Each chapter of the guide includes learning objectives, an outline and summary, a listing of key terms, concepts and personalities that are cross-referenced to the text, and research topics and practical applications. End-of-chapter exercises include multiple-choice, true-false, statement-completion, and essay questions. Answers to all questions are provided at the end of each chapter.

Thinking About the Environment

One of the text authors, Joseph Karlesky, has drawn on his years of classroom experience and his research in science policy to write a supplement on environmental policy. The supplement highlights the importance the authors place on *American Government's* new chapter (20) on science and technology. In addition to an environmental policy awareness test, this guide includes four case studies which try to get students to think about the questions environmental policy issues raise. This ancillary is available free of charge to students.

Contemporary Controversies: A Debate Supplement

This reader by text author Robert Bresler is built around the Contemporary Controversies boxes in several chapters. The readings, selected from recent magazines, of opinion, op-ed pieces, books, and journals, take opposing sides of the issues, which are highlighted in the boxes. Each chapter includes a brief introductory essay explaining the background and the importance of each controversy. In addition, the reader includes a brief bibliography at the end of every chapter of key books and essays on the subject. Topics include, "Does Affirmative Action Help Minorities?", "Should Reporters be Permitted to Follow Troops in Combat?", and "Is Nuclear Power a Serious Threat to our Environment?"

Practicing Political Science

Neal Tannahill of Houston Community College has prepared a student supplement that incorporates a series of learning skills and development projects with critical thinking exercises. Topics include "Using Graphs to Present and Analyze Data," "Separating Fact from Opinion," "Using Library Resources," and "Studying the Constitution." The supplement is provided free to students.

Election '92

Each of the authors will contribute to *Election '92*, a supplement to be made available in early 1993 analyzing the previous year's presidential and congressional elections and their results.

Software

American Government Computer Simulations

Created by Intentional Educations, *Democracy in Action: American Government Simulations* teaches students the inner workings of government by challenging them to make real-life political decisions. It focuses on topics of key importance such as the judiciary, interest groups, Congress, and federalism. In each simulation, students assume a different role (e.g., Supreme Court justice, state budget director, PAC leader, member of Congress), as they face the same questions and problems as these political figures. The simulations are divided into three parts: a short introduction detailing important background information; a glossary defining key terms; and the simulation itself, the section in which the students take on the roles and learn the outcomes of their decisions. With color screens and graphics and simple directions, each simulation in *Democracy in Action* also has a number of variations, so the exercises can be used more than once. The simulations may be obtained for use both with the IBM-PC and most compatibles and with the Macintosh.

Supershell Student Tutorial Software

A computerized Student Tutorial Guide, written by Robert England of Oklahoma State University and David Billeaux of Corpus Christi State University, is also provided free of charge to instructors. *Supershell* was developed to help students retain the key concepts and ideas they have read. This versatile drill-and-practice software contains multiple-choice, true-false, and short-answer questions for each chapter in the text. Diagnostic graphics provide immediate student reinforcement and make recommendations about areas in which further study might prove beneficial. Students may print out narrative chapter outlines or consult an easy-to-use tutorial guide. In addition, a flash card program is included to drill students on the terms in the text's glossary.

Harper Data Analysis Package

William Parle of Oklahoma State University has prepared a student data analysis package for the IBM-PC which performs several basic statistical functions, including univariate frequency distributions, bivariate frequency distributions, and bivariate frequency distributions controlling for the effects of a third variable. Free to instructors, the package comes with a "real world" data set which allows for a realistic program demonstration, a complete "Help" menu and "Help" files, a data dictionary, a set of screen instructions, and a User's Manual.

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D. Grier Stephenson, Jr.
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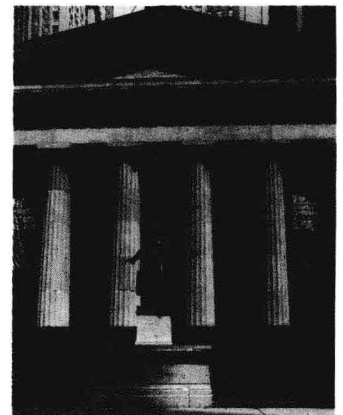
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