

Burns Peltason Cronin Magleby

Brief Edition

Book Refund Policy

- 1. Full Refund Policy Attached To Receipt
- 2. Cash Register Receipt Recuired
- 3. No Marks in Books
- Price Must Not Be Removed
 Rams Book Store

GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE

James MacGregor Burns

Williams College

I. W. Peltason

University of California

Thomas E. Cronin

Whitman College

David B. Magleby

Brigham Young University



Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Government by the people / James MacGregor Burns . . . [et al.], — Brief ed., p. cm Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 0-13-147067-1 1. United States—Politics and government. I. Burns, James MacGregor. JK274.B8525 1994 320.973—dc20

93-40016 CIP

Editor-in-chief: Charlyce Jones Owen Acquisitions editor: Maria DiVencenzo

Editorial/production supervision: Shelly Kupperman

Copy editor: Nancy Velthaus

Design supervision: Anne T. Bonanno Interior design: Lydia Gershey Frontmatter design: Diane Shanian

Cover design: Jerry Votta

Photo editor: Lorinda Morris-Nantz Photo researcher: Rhoda Sydney

Marketing manager: Roland Hernandez Production coordinator: Mary Ann Gloriande Cover photo: Robert Peak—The Image Bank



© 1994 by Prentice-Hall, Inc. A Paramount Communications Company Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 07632

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, in any form or by any means, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Printed in the United States of America 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

ISBN 0-13-147067-1

Prentice-Hall International (UK) Limited, London Prentice-Hall of Australia Pty. Limited, Sydney Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., Toronto Prentice-Hall Hispanoamericana, S.A., Mexico Prentice-Hall of India Private Limited, New Delhi Prentice-Hall of Japan, Inc., Tokyo Simon & Schuster Asia Pte. Ltd., Singapore Editora Prentice-Hall do Brasil, Ltda., Rio de Janeiro

A MESSAGE FROM THE AUTHORS

The 1990s have become a testing time for new democracies as well as old ones. Contempt for government and politics is expressed all around us in the United States and all around the globe. Yet politics and partisan competition are the lifeblood by which free people can achieve the ideals of a government by and for the people.

Constitutional democracy—the kind of government we have in the United States—is exceedingly hard to win, equally hard to sustain, and often hard to understand without rigorous study. The form of constitutional democracy that has emerged in the United States requires continual participation by caring, tolerant, and informed citizens.

Even in the twentieth century, constitutional democracy has been the exception to the rule. In the past, most people lived under autocratic or tyrannical regimes in which a small group imposed their will on everyone else. Even now, in the 1990s, less than one-third of the nation-states around the globe exist as viable, healthy democracies.

The framers of our Constitution warned that we must be vigilant in safeguarding our rights, liberties, and political institutions. But to do this, we first have to understand these institutions and the political forces that have shaped the United States' political and constitutional systems.

We have written this brief edition of Government By The People with the added perspective of the 1992 election and the first year of the Clinton presidency. The candidacy of Ross Perot not only was important to the election but has remained a major political factor long after the Clinton victory. The election reflected a call for change in the composition of Congress and in limiting the number of terms legislators can serve. The Clinton Administration's agenda has included a range of seemingly intractable problems from the federal deficit to health care reform. Events in the Middle East, the former Yugoslavia, and elsewhere around the world continue to pose opportunities and challenges to the United States. In short, this is a time when our political institutions and policies are under constant debate. This book will help you understand both the political system and the debates about how government works and how it might be improved.

We want you to come away from reading this book with a richer understanding of American politics and government, and we hope that in the years to come many of you will help make our constitutional democracy more vital and more responsive to the urgent problems of the 1990s and the twenty-first century.

Acknowledgments

We wish to acknowledge the help we have received from our colleagues, reviewers, research assistants, and support staff who have helped each of us in the preparation of this brief edition.

We thank Pat Dennis and Patricia Pelfrey at the University of California for their creative, cheerful, and superbeditorial assistance. We are also indebted to Mary Barbeau, Professor Lois Lovelace Duke, Professor Patricia Hunt Perry, the Williams College faculty secretarial office, and the staff at the Jepson School of Leadership Studies at the University of Richmond. At Colorado College, we especially thank John A. Calhoon, Paul G. Pfeifer, Andrew Brown, Jeff Brune, Bob Shwed, and Jeffrey Tieman for their research assistance. At Brigham Young University we thank Scott Baxter, Camie Christiansen, Hal Gregory, Paul Hansen, Karl Huish, Quin Monson, Rebecca Noah, Paul M. Peterson, and Kevin Wilkinson for their research assistance.

Our very special thanks go to our production editor, Shelly Kupperman. We also thank our Prentice Hall friends Ed Stanford, Will Ethridge, and Charlyce Jones Owen for their unfailing encouragement. We must also thank the many other skilled professionals at Prentice Hall who assisted in the publication of this brief edition: Nancy Velthaus, our excellent copy editor; Anne T. Bonanno, Lydia Gershey, and Natasha Sylvester for their superb design and layout; Lorinda Morris-Nantz and Rhoda Sydney, photo researchers; and Marianne Gloriande, production coordinator.

Finally, we thank the dozens of students and professors who sent us letters with suggestions for improving *Government By The People*. We welcome your notes or calls concerning any errors or ways we can further improve the book. Please write us in care of the Political Science Editor at Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 07632, or to us directly.

A MESSAGE FROM THE AUTHORS

Reviewers

Each edition of Government By The People profits from the informed, professional, and often sharp critical suggestions of our colleagues around the country. This brief edition is no exception. We want to thank each of the individuals whose thoughtful reviews and suggestions were instrumental in the considerable improvements to the fifteenth edition upon which this book is based:

David Gray Adler, Idaho State University James Anderson, Tulane University David Barnum, De Paul University Robert Bartlett, Purdue University Robert C. Benedict, University of Utah Thad Beyle, University of North Carolina Leif Carter, University of Georgia Morgan Chawawa, DeKalb College Richard Chesteen, University of Tennessee Jeanne Clarke, University of Arizona Gary Cornia, Brigham Young University Cary Covington, University of Iowa Douglas Crane, DeKalb College Richard Davis, Brigham Young University Lois Lovelace Duke, Clemson University Pat Dunham, Duquesne University Robert Elias, University of San Francisco Steven Finkel, University of Virginia Mark Gibney, Purdue University

James MacGregor Burns Williams College Williamstown, MA 01267 J. W. Peltason University of California 300 Lakeside Drive Oakland, CA 94612

Paul Herrnson, University of Maryland Marjorie Hershey, Indiana University Ronald J. Hrebenar, University of Utah Donald F. Kettl, University of Wisconsin Ron King, Tulane University Fred Kramer, University of Massachusetts William Louthan, Ohio Wesleyan University Richard Matthews, Ursinus College Robert McCalla, University of Wisconsin David Nice, Washington State University Richard Pacelle, Indiana University Glen Parker, Florida State University George Pippin, Jones County College John Portz, Northeastern University David Rosenbloom, American University H. E. Scruggs, Brigham Young University Henry Shockely, Boston University Steven Shull, University of New Orleans Christine Marie Sierra, University of New Mexico Gregory W. Smith, Gettysburg College Richard Smolka, American University Neil Edward Snortland, University of Arkansas Roy Thoman, West Texas State University John Tierney, Boston College Richard Valelly, Massachusetts Institute of Technology R. Lawson Veasey, University of Arkansas

Thomas E. Cronin Whitman College Walla Walla, WA 99362 David B. Magleby Brigham Young University Provo, UT 84602

A MESSAGE FROM THE PUBLISHER

The gratifying success Government By The People has enjoyed over the years results from a distinguished authorship team, who always write a superb book with a distinctive combination of features. Treating each new edition as a fresh challenge—and, in many ways, a virtually new book—the authors strive to capture American government and politics as the dynamic ventures they are.

This new brief edition of Government By the People continues to provide the distinguished features of the Basic, National, and National, State and Local versions of the fifteenth edition. These features include:

Comprehensive and Balanced Presentation

Instructors have always been able to rely on the complete coverage and the balanced presentation that addresses differing sides of issues that is a distinguishing feature of *Government By The People*. Known for its superior coverage of constitutional principles, political processes, and central political institutions, this latest edition offers changes in content that include:

- A thematic examination of constitutional democracy
 —its ideals, its conditions, and the American struggle
 to realize its possibilities and potential. The American
 political experiment is frequently assessed in a compar ative light.
- A new chapter, called "The American Political Landscape," examines social and economic diversity in American society and some of the political consequences of living in an increasingly multicultural nation. This chapter provides the framework of the social fabric of our nation, which needs to be put in context before students can fully appreciate the role that public opinion, interest group politics, and voting behavior play in America.
- Innovative treatment of political ideology and culture, political participation and voting turnout, voting behavior, and campaign financing.
- Treatment of the changing character of U.S. foreign and defense policies and our greater involvement with

- the United Nations and other multinational peacekeeping organizations.
- Integrates the 1992 election results throughout, while addressing related topics such as the political policies of the current Clinton administration, Clinton's first year in office, how this election will affect party balance in Congress and the make-up of the Supreme Court, the implications of state and local results, and yoter turnout.
- Complete incorporation of 1990 census data. Once a decade we get a thorough examination of the American polity. These data are integrated where appropriate throughout the book.
- Fully updated and integrated analysis of recent Supreme Court cases. The changing makeup of the court, as well as recent events that affect it, are also thoroughly covered.

A Broad Range of Illustrative Examples

The examples in Government By The People are drawn from a wide range of current and historical sources. While fully reflecting current political events, examples are also included from earlier eras to provide the important historical context within which current events can be better understood. Complete lists of suggested readings and detailed footnotes at the end of each chapter highlight sources of lasting and recent importance.

Accessible and Engaging Features for the Student

Written with the student in mind by experienced scholars and teachers, the text has always been admired for its elegant, yet engaging narrative style. To assist accessibility, key terms appear on first use in the text in bold-faced type, followed by a precise definition. These terms are also listed in the full Glossary at the end of the book.

Of particular appeal to students will be the wealth of boxed material:

A MESSAGE FROM THE PUBLISHER

You Decide! This feature encourages critical thinking skills. A question is presented for students to think about on one page; on the facing page, there is a discussion of possible answers (although, as in real life, not all questions have definitive answers).

A Closer Look These boxes combine text, tables, photos, and cartoons on issues of high student appeal. Like a good lecture, they provide a pause in the narrative where appropriate, to allow the pursuit of a particular topic beyond the scope of the material at hand.

We the People These boxes are designed to reflect the concerns and experiences of minorities with the American government, including court cases, constitutional amendments, and representational changes.

These features, plus excellent charts and tables on key points, additional facts of interest, humorous asides, and thought-provoking political cartoons interspersed in the margins throughout the book all help make *Government By The People* a favorite of students.

Supplements Available for the Instructor

The text is the core of a complete learning package that includes a wide range of proven, as well as new, instructional aids. The supplements have been completely revised, not only to incorporate material new to the brief edition, but also to ensure the highest quality and accuracy possible.

Annotated Instructor's Edition Designed to expand and complement the student text, the AIE is a special version of the student text that provides additional resources at your fingertips. Annotations in the margin supply supplementary lecture material, insider information, extra credit projects, and interesting historical and current applications. The annotations were prepared by James V. Calvi of West Texas State University.

Instructor's Resource Manual Provides the following resources for each chapter of the text: chapter summary, review of major concepts, lecture suggestions and topic outlines, suggestions for classroom discussions, Political Science Today study assignments, and additional resource materials. The Instructor's Resource Manual was prepared by Michael F. Digby and Larry Elowitz of Georgia College.

Test Item File Thoroughly reviewed and revised to ensure the highest level of quality and accuracy, this file

offers over 2,000 questions in multiple choice, true/false, and essay format. The test bank was prepared by Anthony Eksterowicz of James Madison University, Hugh Arnold of Clayton State College, and Mildred Graham of San Francisco State University.

TestManager A computerized test bank containing the items from our Test Item File. The program allows full editing of questions and the addition of instructor-generated items. Other special features include random generation, scrambling question order, and test preview before printing. Available for IBM and Macintosh computers.

Telephone Test Preparation Service Prentice Hall will provide test preparation (with questions from our Test Item File) on bond paper or ditto master. We will send the exam, an alternate version if requested, and an answer key within 48 hours of your request.

GradeManager A computerized gradebook available for IBM PCs.

Color Transparencies Series II Over 75 full-color acetates, including graphics taken from the text as well as outside sources. Available free to adopters.

Instructor's Guide to Transparencies Brief descriptions, teaching suggestions, and discussion questions are provided for each transparency.

Teaching Political Science: A Guide for the New Instructor This guide serves as a useful primer for new teachers on the various aspects of teaching in general: organizing the classroom, testing, evaluating students—and teaching Political Science in particular: important journals in the discipline, articles on teaching American Government. This guide was prepared by Fred Whitford, Montana State University.



ABC News/Prentice Hall Video Libraries This three-volume library of videos—1992 Primaries, 1992 Election, and Issues in American Government—consists of featured segments from such award-winning ABC News programs such as "Nightline," "20/20," and "This Week with David Brinkley" that cover the initial 1992 campaign and primaries, the convention and election, and key issues of American politics.

A MESSAGE FROM THE PUBLISHER

Instructor's Guide to the ABC Video Libraries This helpful guide includes a brief description and set of discussion questions for each video to help make incorporating the libraries into the classroom easy and effective. This guide was prepared by Joel Lieske, Cleveland State University.

Laserdisks This three-volume series includes the 1992 Primaries and 1992 Election videos from the video library and Images of American Government, which includes over 200 graphs, charts, tables, and photographs in addition to 60 minutes of video clips. The Images in American Government laserdisk was prepared by Larry Elowitz, Georgia College.

American Government Simulation Games Six simulations designed to allow students to experience American government include activities on the Supreme Court, the Presidency, the House of Representatives, the Budget, the office of Secretary of State, and Ethics. Available for IBM PCs and Macintosh. This software was prepared by J. David Garson, North Carolina State University.

Annenberg Audio Cassette Series Twelve half-hour audio programs feature distinguished guests who are actively engaged in national political life. One 12-tape set is free to adopters.

Supplements Available for the Student

The Write Stuff, 2nd edition Written by Thomas E. Cronin, this booklet provides a brief, pithy, and sometimes humorous guide to good writing skills and style.

Study Guide Includes chapter outlines, study notes, a

glossary, and practice tests to increase student preparedness. Written by Raymond L. Lee and Dorothy Palmer, both of Indiana University of Pennsylvania, and Larry Elowitz of Georgia College.

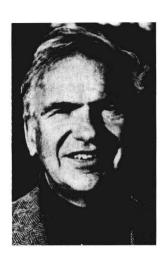
Study Manager An interactive computerized study guide that generates random quizzes, provides text page references for review, and prints the corrected quiz for further study and/or submission to the instructor. All objective questions correspond to material found in the Student Study Guide. Available for IBM PCs.



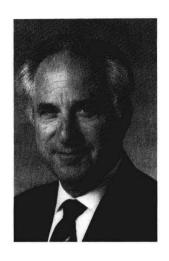
The New York Times and Prentice Hall Program: (1) The 1992 Election; (2) American Government Prentice Hall joins forces with the premier news publication, The New York Times, to bring you and your students a unique collection of articles relative to contemporary issues of American Politics. Each student will receive a free newspaper supplement containing recent articles pertaining to: (1) the 1992 elections; and (2) a collection of time-sensitive articles designed to enhance student access to current information on American Government. Instructors will receive a free one-semester subscription to The New York Times. Special reduced rates are also available for students who wish to subscribe. One copy free for every text purchased from Prentice Hall.

Critical Thinking Audio Cassette A sixty-minute audio cassette to help students develop better thinking and study skills.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS



James MacGregor Burns, a lifelong resident of Massachusetts, is Woodrow Wilson Professor Emeritus of Government at Williams College and Senior Scholar at the Jepson School of Leadership Studies at the University of Richmond. He has written several books, including The Power to Lead (1984); The Vineyard of Liberty (1982); Leadership (1979); The Deadlock of Democracy: Four-Party Politics in America (1963); Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox (1956); and Roosevelt: The Soldier of Freedom (1970). His most recent book is A People's Charter: The Pursuit of Rights in America (1991) with Stewart Burns. Active in professional and civic life, Burns is a past president of the American Political Science Association. His major love is writing, for which he has won numerous prizes, including the Pulitzer Prize.



I. W. Peltason is a leading scholar on courts, judicial process, and public law. Educated at the University of Missouri and Princeton University, he is President of the University of California and Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Irvine. As Chancellor Emeritus of the University of Illinois and past president of the American Council on Education, Peltason has represented higher education before Congress and state legislatures. His writings include Federal Courts in the Political Process (1955); Fifty-Eight Lonely Men: Southern Federal Judges and School Desegregation (1961); and Understanding the Constitution (1991). Among his awards are the James Madison Medal from Princeton University (1982) and the American Political Science Association's Charles E. Merriam Award (1983).



Thomas E. Cronin is a leading student of the American presidency, national leadership, and policy-making processes. In 1993, he became President of Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington. Cronin earned his doctorate at Stanford University and served as a White House Fellow and White House staff aide. Cronin is a recipient of the American Political Science Association's Charles E. Merriam Award (1986). His writings include The State of the Presidency (1980); U.S. v. Crime-inthe-Streets (1981); Direct Democracy: The Politics of Initiative, Referendum, and Recall (1989); and Colorado Politics and Government (1993). Cronin is president of the Western Political Science Association and appears often as a political analyst on major television discussion programs.



David B. Magleby, nationally recognized for his expertise on direct democracy, voting behavior, and campaign finance, is Professor of Political Science and department chair at Brigham Young University. He received his doctorate from the University of California, Berkeley, and has taught at the University of California, Santa Cruz, and the University of Virginia. He has received numerous teaching awards, including commendation from the Carnegie Endowment for the Advancement and Support of Education. His writings include Direct Legislation (1984); The Money Chase: Congressional Campaign Finance Reform (1990); and The Myth of the Independent Voter (1992). He is currently president-elect of Pi Sigma Alpha, the national political science honor society.

A Message from the Authors xi

A Message from the Publisher xiii			
About the Authors xvi			
Part One: Constitutional Principles 1 Constitutional Democracy 1 Defining Democracy Democracy as a System of Interacting Values Democracy as a System of Interrelated Political Processes Democracy as a System of Interdependent Political Structures Conditions Conducive to Constitutional Democracy The Philadelphia Convention, 1787	2 2 3 4 5 6	Congressional Elaboration Presidential Practices Custom and Usage Judicial Interpretation A Rigid or Flexible Constitution? Changing the Letter of the Constitution Proposing Amendments Ratifying Amendments Summary 25/For Further Reading 26 The Constitution of the United States of America 2 American Federalism 27	20 21 22 22 22 23 23 24
The Delegates Consensus	6 7		28
Conflict and Compromise	8	Defining Federalism Alternatives to Federalism	29
To Adopt or Not to Adopt?	10	Why Federalism?	31
Federalists versus Antifederalists	10	The Constitutional Structure of	0.1
The Politics of Ratification	11	American Federalism	32
The Living Constitution	13	Powers of the National Government	33
Checking Power with Power	13	Powers of the States	35
Separation of Powers	14	Constitutional Limits and	
Checks and Balances: Ambition to		Obligations	36
Counteract Ambition	15	Horizontal Federalism: Interstate	
Judicial Review and the "Guardians		Relations	37
of the Constitution"	16	The Politics of Federalism	38
Marbury versus Madison (1803)	17	The Growth of Big Government	38
Checks and Balances: Does the		The Great Debate—Centralists	
System Work?	18	versus Decentralists	39
Modifications of Checks and	1.0	The Role of the Federal Courts	41
Balances	19	McCulloch versus Maryland	41
The Constitution as an Instrument	0.0	An Expanding Role for the Federal	4.0
of Government	20	Courts	43

	A Message from Garcia: Federalism		Telephones, Fax, and the Electronic	71
	as a Political and Not a Legal	4.4	Revolution	74
	Constraint	44	Handbills, Sound Trucks, and	7.
	Federalism and the Use of Federal		Billboards	75
	Grants	45	Picketing	75
	Goals and Types of Federal Grants	45	Commercial Speech	75
	The Politics of Federal Grants	46	Expressive Conduct	76
	Regulatory Federalism and Federal		Nonprotected Speech	77
	Mandates	47	Libel	77
	New Techniques of Federal Control	47	Obscenity	78
	Politics and Federalism: A Look to		Pornography	79
	the Future	50	Fighting Words	80
	The Rise—and Fall—of "Crazy-		Right to Assemble and to Petition	
	Quilt" Federalism	50	the Government	81
	The Reemergence of the States	52	Freedom of Assembly	81
	The Future of Federalism	52	Freedom of Association	83
	Summary 53/For Further Reading 54		Seditious Speech	84
			Summary 86/For Further Reading 86	
Dar	t Two: Rights and Libertie		. ,	
_		4	Equal Justice Under the Law	87
3	First Amendment Freedoms	55		
			The Office of Citizenship	88
	The Nationalization of the Bill of	F. (How Citizenship Is Acquired and	0.0
	Rights	56	Lost	88
	Congress Shall Make No Law		Rights of American Citizens	89
	Respecting an Establishment of	=0	Equality and Equal Rights	90
	Religion	58	The Rational Basis Test	90
	Parochial School Aid	60	Suspect Classifications and Strict	
	Right to Worship as One Chooses	61	Scrutiny	91
	Free Speech and Free People	63	Quasi-Suspect Classifications and	
	Historical Constitutional Tests	64	Heightened Scrutiny	91
	Current Constitutional Tests	65	Fundamental Rights and Strict	
	Who Decides?	67	Scrutiny	92
	Freedom of the Press	68	Proving Discrimination	92
	The Student Press	68	The Life and Death of Jim Crow	
	Does the Press Have a Right to		Education	93
	Know?	68	Segregation, Discrimination, and	
	Free Press versus Fair Trials	70	Plessy v. Ferguson	93
	Other Media and Other Messages	71	The End of Separate but Equal:	
	The Mails	71	Brown v. Board of Education	93
	Motion Pictures and Plays	71	Busing	94
	Radio and Television	72	Barriers to Voting: Getting around	
	Cable Television and the Right of		the Fourteenth and Fifteenth	
	Access	73	Amendments	94

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 Barriers to Public Accommodations, Jobs, and Homes The Civil Rights Act of 1964 Housing: The Civil Rights Acts of 1966, 1968, and 1988 Affirmative Action: Constitutional Issues Property Rights Due Process	95 98 99 100 100 104 104	Liberalism Conservatism Socialism and Libertarianism A Word of Caution Ideology and the American People Ideology and Tolerance Summary 144/For Further Reading 14	130 133 133 139 140 142
Privacy Rights Rights of Persons Accused of Crimes	106	The American Political Landscape 145	
Freedom from Arbitrary Arrest and Questioning Wire Tapping and Electronic Surveillance The Miranda Warning Rights in the Original Constitution The Writ of Habeas Corpus Ex Post Facto Laws and Bills of Attainder The Short and Not Too Happy Life of John Crook How Just Is Our System of Justice? Too Many Loopholes Too Unreliable Too Discriminatory The Supreme Court and Civil Liberties Summary 119/For Further Reading 12	108 110 110 111 111 112 112 116 116 117 117 118	The Ties of Ethnicity Gender Religion Wealth and Income Occupation Social Class Age Education Unity in a Land of Diversity	146 148 148 153 156 157 166 166 166 170 2
Part Three: The Political	7	Political Parties and Interest Groups 173	
Process 5 Political Culture and Ideology 121 The American Political Culture Shared Values Political and Economic Change The American Dream Ideology and Public Policy	121 122 125 129 130	What Parties Do for Democracy Party Functions Why Two Parties? Third Parties: Persistence and Frustration American Parties Today Parties as Institutions Parties in Government	173 174 176 177 178 179 180

	Interest Groups and Social		Voting Behavior in the United	
	Movements	187	States	216
	Mischiefs of Faction	190	Partisan Identification	216
	A Nation of Interests	191	Candidate Appeal	217
	Economic Interest Groups	191	Voting on the Basis of Issues	218
	Ideological Interest Groups	193	Elections: The Rules of the Game	219
	Public Interests	193	Regularly Scheduled Elections	219
	Foreign Policy Interest Groups	194	Fixed and Staggered Terms	219
	Government and Other Interest		Winner Takes All	220
	Groups	194	The Electoral College	221
	Characteristics and Power of		Running for Congress	222
	Interest Groups	194	The House of Representatives	223
	Size and Resources	195	The Senate	225
	Cohesiveness	195	Running for President	225
	Leadership	196	Winning Delegates	225
	Techniques of Interest Groups	196	Capturing the Convention	227
	The Influence of Lobbyists	198	Campaigning in the Fall	228
	Who Are the Lobbyists and What		Improving Elections	229
	Do They Do?	198	Reforming the Nominating Process	229
	Interest Group Money and Politics	199	Reforming the Electoral College	230
	The Growth of PACs	200	Reforming Campaign Finance	232
	How PACs Invest their Money	200	Interpreting the 1992 Elections	233
	Curing the Mischiefs of Faction:		Summary 234/For Further Reading 2	34
	Two Hundred Years Later	200		
	Federal and State Regulation	201		
	To Reform Further? Summary 204/For Further Reading 2	$\frac{202}{04}$		
	bullinary 204/101 runner Routing 2	04	Politics 235	
			The Power of the Media	236
3	Public Opinion, Voting,		Television's Pervasiveness	237
	and Elections 205		The Continuing Importance of	
			Newspapers	237
	Public Opinion	206	A Linking Mechanism	238
	What Is Public Opinion?	206	The Rise of Media Power	238
	How We Get Our Political Beliefs,		The Rise of an Autonomous Press	238
	Opinions, and Values	207	A New Mediator in American	
	Stability and Change in Public	• • •	Politics	242
	Opinion	209	The Media and Public Opinion	243
	Awareness and Interest	210	Audience	243
	Participation: Translating Opinions		Bias	246
	into Action	211	Public Opinion	248
	Why Is Turnout So Low?	213	Regulation	248
	Who Votes?	215	The Media and Elections	249
	Other Forms of Participation	215	The Electoral Campaign	250

Image Making Media Consultants	251 251	11 The Presidency: The Leaders Branch? 289	hip
Voter Choice	252	What Do We Look for in Presidents?	289
The Media and Governance	254	The Job of the President	291
Political Institutions and the Press	255	The Original Intent	291
The Media and Constitutional		The Politics of Shared Power	292
Democracy	256	The Roots of Divided Government	292
Summary 257 / For Further Reading 2	58	The Extension of Executive Power	295
		Presidents as Crisis Managers	297
		Presidents as Morale Builders	298
		Presidents as Recruiters	299
			477
Part Four: Policy-Making		Presidents as Priority and Agenda	300
Institutions		Setters	300
2110 010 010		Presidents as Legislative and Political Coalition Builders	200
10 Congress: The People's			302
Down 1.2 0.50		The Presidential Veto	304
Branch? 259		The Item Veto Debate	305
Congressional Elections	260	Presidents and Public Opinion	307
Districting and Apportionment	260	Presidents as Administrators	308
A Profile of Members of Congress	260	The Vice-President	311
The Structure and Powers of		Constraints on the President	312
Congress	261	The Media	312
The Powers of Congress	261	Cultural Challenges	314
The House of Representatives	263	International Constraints	315
The Senate	265	Presidential-Congressional Relations	315
Congress as a Place to Work	268	Leadership in a Constitutional	
Legislators as Representatives	269	Democracy	316
Legislators as Lawmakers	271	Summary 318/For Further Reading 31	18
The Legislative Obstacle Course	275		
Authorization and Appropriation	277	10	
The Importance of Compromise	277	12 The Judiciary: The Balancin	g
Committees: The Little Legislatures		Branch 319	
Committee Structure and	270	The Scope of Judicial Power	320
Organization	278	Do Judges Make Law?	320
Choosing Committee Members	279	Adherence to Precedent	321
Seniority Rule	280	Federal Justice	321
Investigations and Oversight	281	Federal Courts of General	021
Conference Committees	282	Jurisdiction	322
Congress: An Assessment and a	202	State and Federal Courts	324
View on Reform	283	Prosecution and Defense	325
Criticisms of Congress	284	Federal Lawyers	325
A Defense		Prosecutors and the Solicitor	023
	287	General	325
Summary 288 / For Further Reading 2	ÖŎ	General	040

	Federal Defense Lawyers	326	Administrators in Action: Case	
	The Politics of Judicial Selection	326	Studies	362
	The Senate: Advice and Consent	328	Three Generalizations	366
	The Role of Party, Race, and Sex	328	What the Public Thinks of	
	The Role of Ideology	329	Bureaucrats and the Bureaucracy	367
	Judicial Philosophy: Restraint		"Red Tape" and Waste	368
	versus Activism	330	A Positive Perspective	371
	Judicial Longevity and Presidential		Bureaucratic Responsiveness	372
	Tenure	331	Standard Operating Procedures	372
	Four Cases	332	Privatization	373
	Reforming the Selection Process	334	Bureaucratic Accountability	374
	Changing the Numbers	335	To the President	374
	Changing Jurisdiction	336	To Congress	377
	How the Supreme Court Operates	336	Reform and Reorganization	378
	Which Cases Reach the Supreme		Summary 380/For Further Reading 3	
	Court?	336	a recommendation of the second	
	The Briefs and Oral Argument	337		
	Behind the Curtains: The			
	Conference	338		
	Opinions	340	14 Economic and Social Policy	201
	The Powers of the Chief Justice	343	14 Economic and Social Policy	301
	The Rise of the Law Clerks	343	Making Public Policy	382
	After the Lawsuit Is Over	343	Stages in the Policy-Making Process	382
	Judicial Power in a Constitutional		The Budget: Policy Blueprint	383
	Democracy	344	Where the Money Comes From	383
	The Great Debate over the Proper		Where the Money Goes	385
	Role of the Courts	345	The Budget Process	386
	The People and the Court	346	The Politics of Taxing and Spending	387
	Summary 349 / For Further Reading 34		The Tax Burden	387
	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,		The Deficit	388
			The Balanced Budget Amendment	389
			Managing the Economy	389
13	The Bureaucracy: The Real		Government Subsidies: How and Why	391
	Power? 351		Promoting Commerce	392
	An Overview of the Federal		Free Trade or Protectionism?	393
	Bureaucracy	352	Helping People	394
	Who Are the Bureaucrats?	352	Government Regulation of Business	395
	What Do Bureaucrats Do?	353	Types of Regulation	395
	How Is the Bureaucracy Organized?	355	, -	
	How Did the Bureaucracy Evolve?	357	The Growth of Regulation	396
	The Bureaucracy in Action	358	Regulating Business and Labor	396
	The Classical or Textbook Model	358	Antitrust Policy	397
			Protecting Workers and Permitting	200
	Some Realities	360	Unions	398

	The Taft-Hartley Act	399	The United Nations	420
	Regulatory Outcomes and Issues	400 402	The Politics of Defense Policy	421
	The Deregulation Debate	402	U.S. Security and Defense	401
	Transportation	402	Objectives	421
	Banking and the Savings & Loans Evaluating Deregulation	403	Defense Department Leadership	400
	Summary 405/For Further Reading		Structure	422
	Summary 405/ For Further Reading	405	Defense Organization	422
			The Confederational Nature of the	40.0
			Defense Bureaucracy	423
15	T	407	Strengthening the Joint Chiefs	424
LU	Foreign and Defense Policy	407	Providing for Conventional Forces The All-Volunteer Force	424
	Vital Interests in the Post-Cold		Women in the Military	425
	War World	408	and in Combat	40.5
	Defining Our Vital Interests	408	The Gay Ban Controversy	425
	New Foreign Policy Challenges	409	The Politics of Defense Spending	426 427
	Key Players in Foreign Policy	410	Pressures to Maintain Defense	42/
	The President's Foreign Policy		Spending	428
	Advisors	411	A "Military-Industrial Complex"?	428
	The National Security Council	411	Weapons Systems and Defense	420
	The State Department	412	Cutbacks	429
	The Foreign Service	412	Post-Cold War Issues	429
	Intelligence and the CIA	413	Security and Liberty: Not by Force	429
	The Politics of Making Foreign		Alone	430
	Policy	414	Summary 431/For Further Reading 4	
	Public Opinion and Foreign Policy	414	Summary 451/161 Further Reduing 4	32
	Special Interests	415		
	Foreign Countries and Foreign			
	Companies	416	Appendix	
	Political Parties	416	The Declaration of Independence	422
	Congress and Foreign Policy	416	The Federalist, No. 10	433 434
	The Potential for a Democratic		The Federalist, No. 51	434
	Foreign Policy	416	The Federalist, No. 78	439
	Foreign Policy Strategies	417	The redefanst, No. 78	439
	Conventional Diplomacy	417	37	
	Foreign Aid	418	Notes 442	
	Economic Sanctions	419	Glossary of Key Terms 458	
	Political Coercion	419	Photo Credits 468	
	Covert Operations	419		
	Military Intervention	420	Index 469	

BOXED FEATURES

A CLOSER LOOK

The Curtailment of Federal Aid	51
Fulfilling the Promise of the Voting Rights Act of 1965	96
Ideology and the American People	141
Religion and Politics	160
Income Distribution in the United States	162
Party Differences	184
Campaign Finance Reform	231
"Values" and the Media	244
The Great Debate over the Proper Role of the Courts	339
The Bureaucrats: Paper Shufflers or Empire Builders?	370
We The People	
Where We Learn the American Political Culture	130
Differences in Political Ideology: Conservative,	
Moderate, Liberal	137
Missing Persons	153
Women's History Is Half of History	188
Some Facts about Interest Groups	195
Voter Turnout by Demographic Factors	215
Who Follows the News?	243
Profile of the 103rd Congress, 1993–1995	262
Minority Judges	328
Problems Faced by Women Bureaucrats	367
People in Poverty, 1990	397