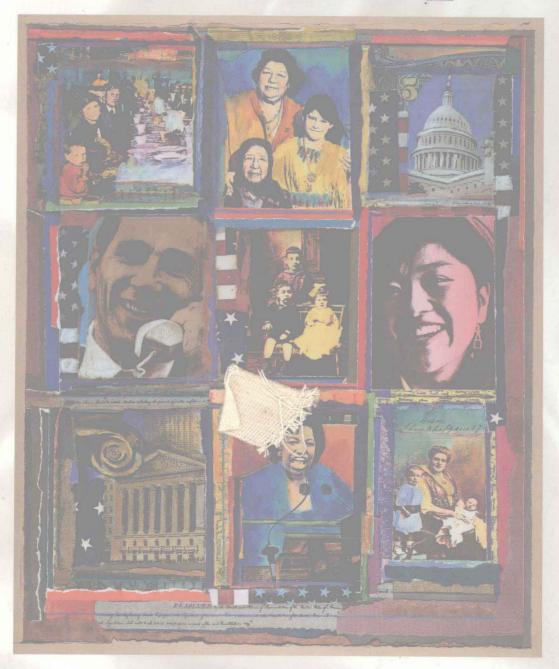
# Government by the People



NATIONAL VERSION

**BURNS • PELTASON • CRONIN • MAGLEBY** 

# Government By The People

# NATIONAL VERSION

Seventeenth Edition

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# A MESSAGE FROM THE AUTHORS

Constitutional democracy—the kind 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. 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 forces that have shaped our political and constitutional systems.

American politics is now in a volatile period, with voters willing to switch back and forth between parties, and with the parties trying to find a basis for a new and lasting majority coalition. Although our defense policy changed with the collapse of communism, the world has not suddenly become a safe place in which to live. Regional strife and terrorism continue, and the United States has entered a period of reassessment of its role in the world, in the United Nations, in regional defense organizations like NATO, and in its economic relations with other countries.

President Bill Clinton and the Republicans who control Congress in the late 1990s both cooperate and clash over domestic and economic priorities. Americans have never liked political parties, yet our parties do work, and they do offer choices. Campaign financing is the center of endless

debate and reform initiatives, and it remains one of our biggest challenges. Also hotly debated are how to improve educational opportunity, lessen crime and racism, promote trade, and encourage better paying jobs.

Although we constantly turn to government and elected officials with problems and requests, we are still highly critical of their shortcomings. A recurrent theme of this book is the absolute need for politics and politicians, despite the widespread tendency to criticize nearly everything political.

In the past, constitutional democracy has been the exception rather than the rule. Most people lived under autocratic or tyrannical regimes in which a small group imposed their will on everyone else. And even today, less than half of the nation-states around the globe exist as viable, healthy democracies. This is a testing time for new democracies as well as old ones. Contempt for government and politics is expressed here in the United States and abroad, yet politics and partisan competition are the life blood by which free people can achieve the ideals of a government by the people.

We hope you will come away from reading this book with a richer understanding of American politics, government, and the job of politicians, and we hope you will participate actively in making your constitutional democracy more vital and responsive to the urgent problems of the twenty-first century.

# Reviewers

The writing of this book has profited from the informed professional, and often sharp, critical suggestions of our colleagues around the country. This and previous editions have been considerably improved as a result of reviews by the following individuals, for which we thank them all:

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Our special thanks go to our superb production editor, Serena Hoffman, who once again guided us in the rewriting of this book. She is as close to being a coauthor as a production editor can be. We also thank our Prentice Hall friends: Phil

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Finally, we thank the students and professors who have sent us letters with suggestions for improving *Government By The People*. We welcome your notes, calls, and e-mail concerning any errors or ways we can further improve the book. Please write us care of the Political Science Editor at Prentice Hall, 1 Lake Street, Upper Saddle River, New Jersey 07458, or to us directly:

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# 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 capture American government and politics as the dynamic ventures they are.

### Comprehensive and Balanced Presentation

Known for its balanced coverage of constitutional principles, political processes, and political institutions, this latest edition offers the best of previous editions and exciting 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 comparison with other nations.
- A unique chapter, "Making Social Policy" (Chapter 20), covers past policy initiatives, such as the New Deal and the Great Society, as well as current debates over welfare reform, health care, crime control, and education policies, and whether the responsibility belongs in Washington or in the states and local communities.
- A informative chapter, "The American Political Landscape" (Chapter 8), 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 the United States.
- Extensive coverage of the 1996 election, including data from the National Election Study, analysis of the presidential race, and further interpretation of the revolutionary 1994 election.
- Discussion of the current Supreme Court (Chapter 16), including the politics of selection and confirmation, with full updates and integrated analysis of recent Supreme Court decisions.
- Substantially revised policy chapters reflect current policy initiatives and the priorities of the president and Congress.

- Complete incorporation of 1990 census data. Once a decade we get a thorough examination of the American polity, and these data are integrated where appropriate throughout the book.
- Much revised treatment of the presidency (Chapter 15), Congress (Chapter 14), and the bureaucracy (Chapter 17) to reflect current issues, including Bill Clinton's second term initiatives, the rise and decline of Newt Gingrich, and the emphasis on downsizing and privatization of government functions.
- Innovative treatment of political ideology and culture, political participation, voting turnout, voting behavior, and campaign financing.
- Expanded coverage of state and local politics in the National, State, and Local Version and the Texas Version, including full updates on 1996 election results and, in the Texas Version, eight chapters devoted to government and politics in the state of Texas.
- The examples in Government By The People are drawn from a wide range of current and historical sources.
   While fully reflecting recent 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 at the end of each chapter and detailed footnotes at the back of the book highlight sources of lasting and recent importance.

### **New Internet Activities**

 Politics Online New end-of-chapter Internet exercises are designed to engage and educate students about the vast potential of the Internet. The exercises present information, pose questions, and provide guidance on accessing Internat resources that offer information and solve problems.

### Prentice Hall Web Companion Site

http://www.prenhall.com/burns

This free site allows students to fully access the power of the World Wide Web. Available to the students are interactive multiple choice, true/false, and essay questions. Also, we have a bulletin board and an area for breaking news to help the book and the students stay current. Accessible and Engaging Features for the Student

Written with the student in mind by experienced scholars and teachers, *Government By The People* has always been admired for its elegant, yet engaging narrative style. To assist comprehension, key terms appear on first use in the text in boldfaced type, with 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 features. Boxes in the margins provide amusing anecdotes and historical, biographical, and demographic facts of interest about American politics that will enhance student learning.

You Decide! This participatory question-and-answer feature is designed to strengthen students' critical thinking skills as well as introduce interesting and challenging issues and ideas about American politics for students to ponder. A question is presented on the left page, and on the facing page a Thinking It Through discussion examines possible answers (although, as in real life, not all questions have definitive answers). This unique feature has long been a favorite among the many students who have used it.

A Closer Look These journalistic-style boxes combine text, tables, photographs, and art on relevant 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 text. Some of the topics include: "Rap Lyrics and Free Speech," "Juries on Trial," "The New African American Electorate," "Religion and Politics," "Money and Congressional Campaigns," and "How Americans Define Their Ideology."

We the People These unique boxes are designed to reflect the concerns and experiences of ethnic and minority groups in American politics. Some of the topics include: "How Representative Are Our Presidents?" "Portrait of the Electorate," "Distribution of Education in the United States," "Problems Faced by Women Bureaucrats," and "Equal Justice." The We the People feature, plus Chapter 8 on "The American Political Landscape" and the many instances in the text where ethnic and minority concerns, histories, and stories are told have made *Government By The People* the strongest and most complete text available that integrates all Americans into the story of American politics.

From Coast to Coast This collection of four-color maps provides state-by-state comparisons on a broad range of topics, such as "The Uninsured," "Average Turnout in General Elections," "Party Control of State Legislatures," "Fiscal Capacity to Raise Revenue Through Taxes," and "Unequal Welfare Benefits in the States." The comparisons give students the opportunity to understand the different factors that affect state functions and performance.

### Supplements for the Instructor

Government By The People 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 this edition, but also to ensure the highest quality and accuracy possible.

Instructor's Resource Manual This supplement provides the following resources for each chapter of the text: summary, review of major concepts, lecture suggestions and topic outlines, suggestions for classroom discussions, additional resource materials, and a detailed content outline for lecture planning. A guide to media resources section in each chapter identifies specific transparencies, video clips, laserdisk segments, and/or simulations available with the text that are appropriate for the content of that chapter. The Instructor's Resource Manual was prepared by Michael F. Digby and Larry Elowitz, both of Georgia College.

Strategies for Teaching American Government: A Guide for the New Instructor This unique guide offers a wealth of practical advice and information to help new instructors face the challenges of teaching courses in American Government. From setting course goals, conducting the class, constructing and evaluating tests or written assignments, to advising students, many of the issues and questions related to teaching are covered. The guide was written by Fred Whitford, Montana State University.

Test Item File The seventeenth edition test item file has been thoroughly reviewed and revised to ensure the highest level of quality and accuracy. Over 2,000 questions in multiple choice, true/false, and essay format are provided, covering factual, conceptual, and applied material from the text.

**Prentice Hall Custom Test** A computerized version of the test item file, this 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.

American Government Transparencies, Series III, IV, and V These sets of 75 to 100 four-color transparency acetates reproduce illustrations, charts, and maps from the text as well as from additional sources.

Instructor's Guide to American Government Transparencies, Series III, IV, and V This brief guide provides descriptions, teaching suggestions, and discussion questions for each transparency. There is a separate guide for each set of transparencies.

ABC News/Prentice Hall Video Libraries Prentice Hall and ABC News bring this innovative video collection to your classroom. This video library brings chapter concepts to life by illustrating them with newsworthy videos.

- Images in American Government shows the conflicts of past presidential campaigns and elections plus segments on current issues.
- Issues in American Government provides multiple segments on issues such as health care and welfare reform, environment, crime and violence, foreign policy, the federal budget, and government waste.

Instructor's Guide to ABC News/Prentice Hall Video Libraries Provides a brief synopsis and discussion questions for each segment in the video libraries.

### Supplements for the Student

Study Guide Each chapter includes outlines, study notes, a glossary, practice tests, Political Science Today study assignments, and data analysis worksheets that reinforce student learning. The guide was prepared by Dorothy Palmer of Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

Government By The People on CD-ROM Through the Power CD technology of Zane Publishing, this CD will be compatible with both Mac and IBM. It will contain the complete text, multimedia chapter overviews, video, Multimedia Study Guide, glossary, and a full dictionary.

Multimedia Guide to American Government This unique resource provides text, video, simulations, images, and study guide tools in a CD-ROM format. Available on Windows and Macintosh platforms. Prepared by G. David Garson, North Carolina State University.

American Government Simulation Games, Series II Seven unique simulations engage students in various roleplaying situations: Bill of Rights, House of Representatives, Presidential Budget, Secretary of State, Supreme Court, Washington Ethics, and Crime and Social Policy. Available for DOS, Windows, and Macintosh platforms and in CD-ROM format. The simulations were created by G. David Garson, North Carolina State University, and programmed by Electronic Courseware Systems, Inc., Champaign, Illinois.

A Guide to Civic Literacy This brief booklet provides suggestions for getting students involved in politics. It includes nine political activities for individuals or groups on agenda building, coalition building, registering and mobilizing voters, education, and increasing accountability. The guide was written by James Chesney and Otto Feinstein, both of Wayne State University.

The Write Stuff: Writing as a Performing and Political Art, Second Edition This brief booklet, written by Thomas E. Cronin, provides ideas and suggestions on writing style and methods in Political Science.



Themes of the Times Supplement Prentice Hall and The New York Times expand students' knowledge beyond the classroom and into the world we live in. Users of Government By The People can receive a complimentary

newspaper supplement containing recent articles pertinent to American Government. These articles, featuring the best in reporting and journalistic integrity associated with *The New York Times*, update the text material and contribute real-world applications to the topics covered in the course.

Political Science on the Internet This timely supplement provides an introduction to the Internet and the numerous political sites on the World Wide Web. Describes e-mail, list servers, browsers, and how to document sources. It also includes Web addresses for the most current and useful political Web sites. Can be shrinkwrapped to the text free of charge.

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James MacGregor Burns is a Senior Scholar, Academy of Leadership, University of Maryland, College Park, and Woodrow Wilson Professor Emeritus of Government at Williams College. He has written numerous books, including The Power to Lead (1984), The Vineyard of Liberty (1982), Leadership (1979), Roosevelt: The Soldier of Freedom (1970), The Deadlock of Democracy: Four-Party Politics in America (1963), and Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox (1956). His most recent book is A People's Charter: The Pursuit of Rights in America (1991), which he wrote with his son, Stewart Burns. Burns is a past president of the American Political Science Association and winner of numerous prizes, including the Pulitzer Prize in History.

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