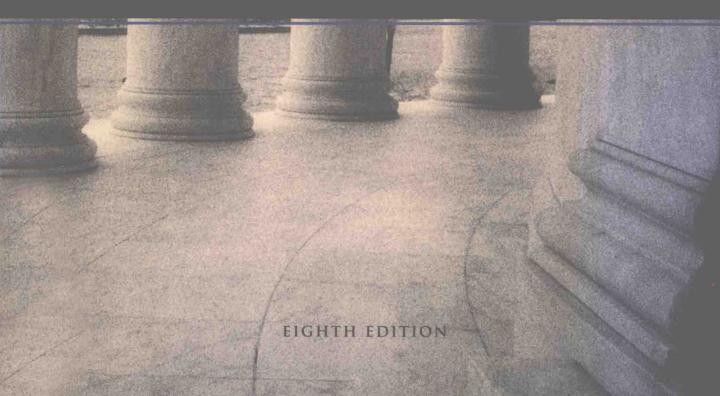


A M E R I C A N
G O V E R N M E N T
T H E E S S E N T I A L S

JAMES Q. WILSON JOHN J. DITULIO, JR.





The Essentials

EIGHTH EDITION

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American Government The Essentials



For Roberta, Matthew, Rebecca, Annie, and Bob. And Winston, Clementine, and Sarah. J.Q.W.

Dedicated to the memory of Aaron H. Crasner. J.J.D.

Preface

Books, like children, tend to grow. In preparing this edition, we have taken a look at how the book has grown in recent years and have tried to cut its length judiciously, without sacrificing any important content. We have also been alert to some major issues that have come to influence politics, analyzing some extensively and minimizing a few that, in retrospect, seem less important. In 1999, the press was devoted to the impeachment of President Clinton, and although we have described that event briefly, we have focused much more on things that will have more lasting importance. These include:

- The effort of the Supreme Court to reestablish the idea that the states have certain rights that cannot be trumped even with the use of the commerce clause of the Constitution.
- The devolution of the old Aid to Families with Dependent Children back to the states, a move that stimulated a remarkable variety of state approaches to welfare.
- The end, at least for the time being, of annual budget deficits so that politicians can now talk freely of what to do with the surplus.
- The renewed but difficult effort to find new ways of regulating campaign finance.
- The Supreme Court's continued but confused expansion of rules governing sexual harassment.
- The preoccupation of the mass media with any hint of sexual scandal to an extent not seen before.
- The continued polarization of opinion in Congress, especially in the House of Representatives.

While attending to all of this, we also brought the text up to date through the 2000 elections and the beginning of the Bush Administration.

These changes have not altered the essential structure or themes of the text. It remains an effort to show not only who governs but what difference—in policies adopted or rejected—it makes who governs. As always, we stress the historical evolution of our practices and institutions, focusing on the importance of the Constitution and American political culture in shaping governmental activities.

Features that have proved popular and useful have also been retained in this edition, such as "Politically Speaking" and "Trivia." Students seem to share our interest in knowing these interesting, often humorous aspects of political life. Other helpful features have been renamed as "The 'Rules' of Politics" and "How Things Work" in order to clarify their purpose. Finally, one feature has become so essential to instructors that we added more. There is now a "What Would You Do?" box in almost every chapter. These ask students to put themselves in the shoes of policymakers so that they can appreciate some of the tough decisions that have to be made.

Two new features are, we think, likely to prove very helpful to readers. First, to help students identify and remember the most important issues, each chapter now begins with a list of Enduring Questions. Second, almost every chapter now contains a list of related World Wide Web addresses that will enable students and professors to access political information online.

To help make the text shorter, we have combined into a single, briefer chapter the old chapters on foreign and military policy, and we have omitted the chapter on state and local government. However, for those instructors who wish it, that chapter, completely updated, is available as a free pamphlet that can be ordered with the text.

For the Instructor

The outstanding ancillary program that has always supported *American Government* has been improved and enlarged for the Eighth Edition.

The **Instructor's Resource Manual** helps instructors plan their course, lectures, and discussion sections. Professor MaryAnne Borelli (Connecticut College) has thoroughly integrated the IRM with the textbook so instructors can capitalize upon the richness of *American Government*. Elements new to this edition are summarized, and the resources and references sections have been thoroughly updated.

The **Test Item File**, revised by J. Edwin Benton (University of South Florida) contains over 4,000 questions. Each chapter has multiple choice, true/false, and essay questions. These test items are also available in electronic format for both Windows and Macintosh platforms. The **HM Testing** software provides a complete testing solution, with test generation, classroom administration, and online testing features.

The **Transparency Package** contains fifty fullcolor transparencies from the illustration program of *American Government*, Eighth Edition.

New! The illustrations in the transparency package are also available as **PowerPoint Slides**, downloadable from the *American Government*, Eighth Edition web site **Instructor's Resource Page** (go to http://www.college.hmco.com). Adopters of the text may obtain the password for this page from their Houghton Mifflin sales representative.

New! For instructors who wish to include a unit on state and local politics in their course, a chapter-length **State and Local Government Supplement** may be packaged with the text at no extra cost.

New! The American Government, Eighth Edition **WebCT Webcourselet** and **Blackboard Course Cartridge** provide text-specific student study aids in customizable, Internet-based education platforms. Both platforms provide a full array of course management features for instructors who wish to incorporate educational technology in their traditional classrooms or for those who are creating distance learning courses.

For the Student

New! Each new copy of the Eighth Edition comes packaged with a free **Real Deal UpGrade CD-ROM.** Designed to enhance students' understanding of their textbook, this CD contains chapter outlines, learning objectives, study skills tips, self-tests, primary source documents, web links, video clips, and footage of nine key campaign advertisements with activities that help students analyze the ads.

The **Student Handbook** has been thoroughly updated by J. Edwin Benton (University of South Florida) to help students using *American Government* master the facts and principles introduced in the text and prepare for examinations. For each chapter, the handbook includes focus points, a study outline, key terms, notes about possible misconceptions, a data

check, practice exam questions, and special application projects, as well as answers to all chapter exercises (excluding the essay questions).

The American Government, Eighth Edition Web Site, accessible via the Houghton Mifflin College Division web site at http://www.college.hmco.com, contains other student study aids, including chapter outlines, ACE self-quizzes, What Would You Do? Interactive simulations, additional "Trivia" features, and chapter-specific web links. The Eighth Edition web site also links to Political SourceNet, Houghton Mifflin's American Government resource, containing primary source documents, Internet exercises, and Crosstabs 4.0. Crosstabs allows students to cross-tabulate survey data on the 1996 Presidential election and the 105th Congress voting records in order to analyze voter attitudes and behavior.

Acknowledgments

A number of scholars reviewed the Seventh Edition and made many useful suggestions for the Eighth. They include John R. Baker, Wittenberg University; Evelyn Ballard, Houston Community College; Donald Brand, College of the Holy Cross; Gary Bryner, Brigham Young University; Mark Byrnes, Middle Tennessee State University; Mike Caldwell, University of Illinois; Anita Chadha, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga; David E. Dupree, Victor Valley College; John Gerring, Boston University; Eugene R. Goss, Long Beach City College; W. Gary Howard, University of West Florida; E. Terrence Jones, University of Missouri-St. Louis; John R. Kayser, University of New Hampshire; Gary Malecha, University of Portland; Bonnie G. Mani, East Carolina University; Don Melton, Arapahoe Community College; Keith Nicholls, University of South Alabama; Steven Puro, St. Louis University: James A. Rhodes, Luther College; James M. Scott, University of Nebraska at Kearney; Sanford R. Silverburg, Catawba College; Robert L. Silvey, John Jay College; Morton Sipress, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire: and Bedford Umez, Lee College.

In producing this edition, we are especially grateful to our research assistants: Erin Architzel, Christopher Blunt, Russell Burgos, and Sean Trende.

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He is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a member of the American Philosophical Society. When not writing, teaching, or advising, he goes scuba diving. He says that it clears the brain.



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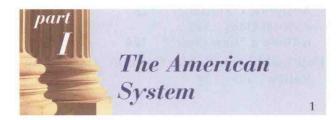
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In 1995 the Association of Public Policy Analysis and Management conferred on him the David N. Kershaw Award for outstanding research achievements by a scholar under age 40, and in 1987 he received the American Political Science Association's Leonard D. White Award in public administration. In 1991–1994 he chaired the latter association's standing committee on professional ethics. He spends all his free time with family and old friends from Philadelphia.

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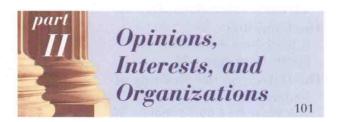
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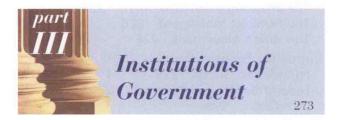
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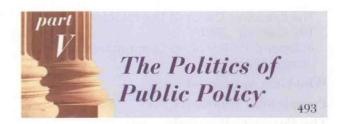
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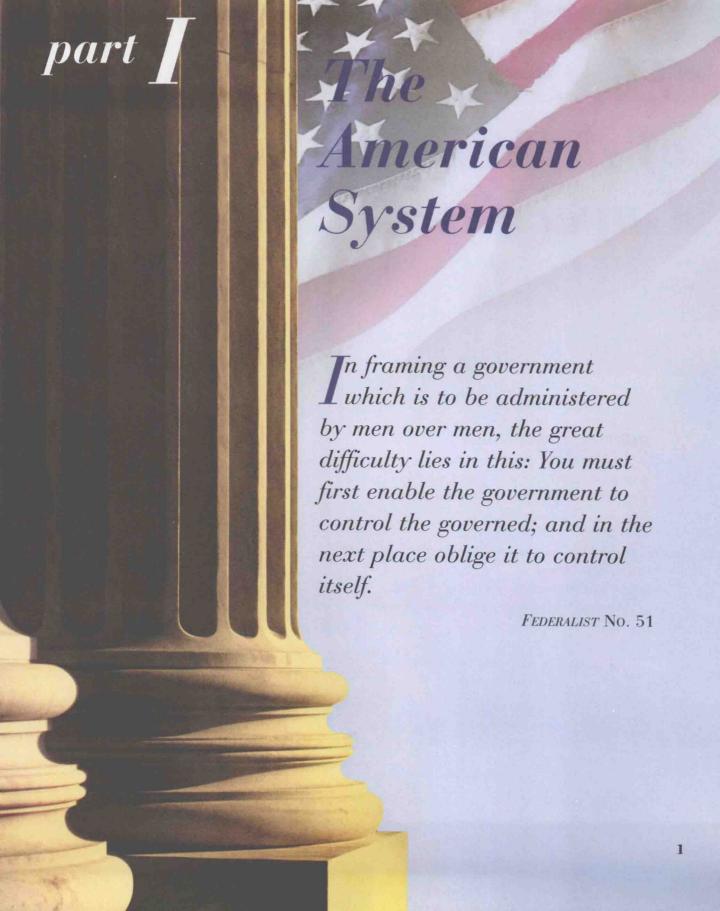
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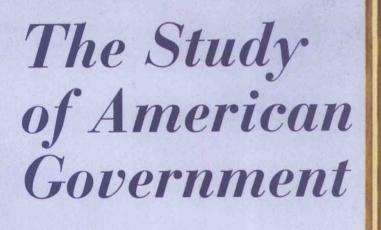
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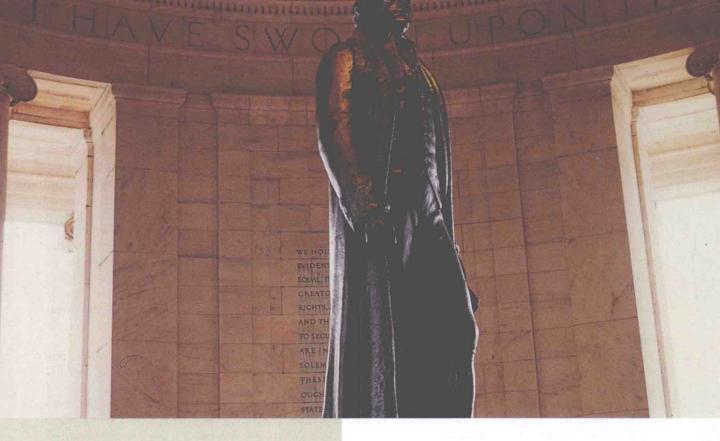
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Enduring Juestions

- 1. If average citizens are fit to select their leaders (representative democracy), how can they be unfit to govern themselves directly (direct democracy)?
- 2. What is political power, and how is it actually distributed in America?
- 3. Why does government expand and contract, and what accounts for major political change?



What Is Political Power?
What Is Democracy?
Direct Versus Representative Democracy:
Which Is Best?
How Is Power Distributed in a Democracy?
Four Theories of Who Governs
Political Change
Finding Out Who Governs

here are two questions about politics: Who governs? To what ends? We want to know the answer to the first question because we believe that those who rule-their personalities and beliefs, their virtues and vices-will affect what they do to and for us. Many people think they already know the answer to the question, and they are prepared to talk and vote on that basis. That is their right, and the opinions they express may be correct. But they may also be wrong. Indeed, many of these opinions must be wrong because they are in conflict. When asked, "Who governs?" some people will say "the unions" and some will say "big business"; others will say "the politicians," "the people," or "the special interests." Still others will say "Wall Street," "the military," "crackpot liberals," "the media," "the bureaucrats," or "white males." Not all these answers can be correct—at least not all of the time.

The answer to the second question is important because it tells us how government affects our lives. We want to know not only who governs, but what difference it makes who governs. In our day-to-day lives we may not think government makes much