

The
POLITICS
of
AMERICAN
GOVERNMENT



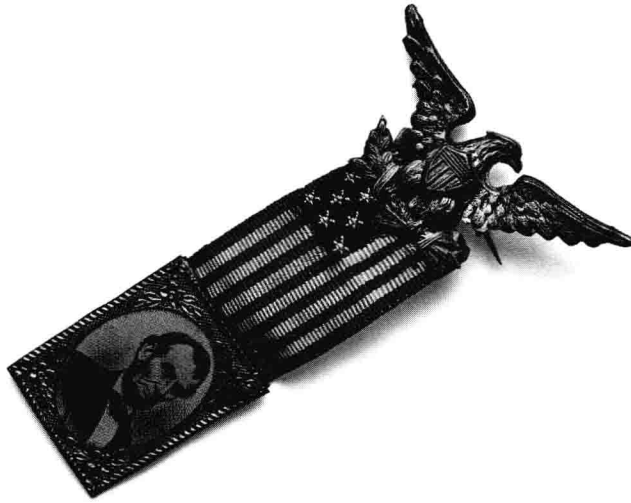
Basic Edition

★ WAYNE ★ MACKENZIE ★

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The
POLITICS
of
AMERICAN
GOVERNMENT

Foundations, Participation, and Institutions



BASIC EDITION

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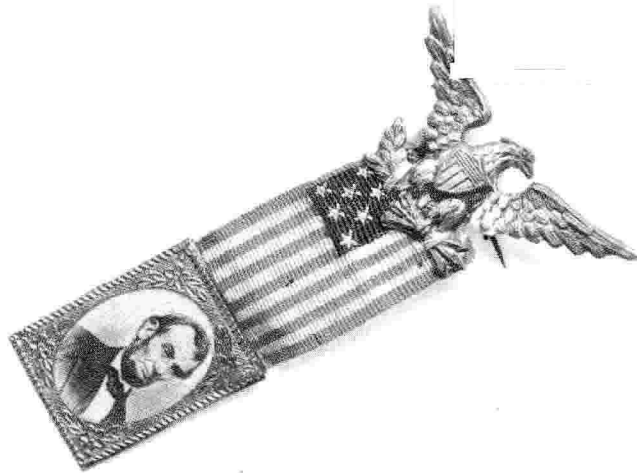
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of
AMERICAN
GOVERNMENT



BASIC EDITION

Dedication

These pages bear the fruits of our country's proud
political tradition. Enjoy them. Improve them. Live them.
And give them to your children.

To

Jonathan C. Cole
Mary Ashley Cole
Andrew C. Mackenzie
Peter W. Mackenzie
Rebecca M. Knight
Benjamin M. O'Brien
Sara A. O'Brien
Talía M. O'Brien
Jared B. Wayne
Jeremy B. Wayne

Preface



As our title indicates, this is a book about politics. We chose to emphasize politics because we believe it is the lifeblood of government—its dynamic, living quality. We view politics as the process or struggle among people to better themselves, to pursue their own interests within society. That pursuit, of course, cannot go completely unrestrained. It is the job of government to condition and constrain political activities. It is the responsibility of government to try to resolve the issues that underlie and energize people in their pursuit of economic, social, and personal goals. Thus politics and government are closely and inevitably interrelated. This book is the story about that interrelationship: how politics influences government—and how government influences politics.

In placing the focus of the book on the drama of American political life, we do not argue that politics is good or bad, but rather that it is an important—necessary—means for the expression of needs and desires, both of individuals and of groups. In emphasizing politics, we have tried to maintain a perspective that is realistic but not cynical. We hope that our description of how politics affects people in their daily lives will lead students to see that they should become politically active, for their own sakes as well as for the sake of their country.

One objective of our book is to address legitimate concerns that all of us have as citizens: to live in a peaceful society, to be secure in our homes and communities, to enjoy the blessings of liberty and the protection of our basic rights, to have a secure economic future, and, above all, to be able to shape our own destinies by influencing the decisions and actions of government. Another goal is to make the study of politics and government lively and accessible to everyone, particularly to those who may not see what difference the political system makes to them. The decisions of government have a direct or indirect impact on all of us, whether or not we choose to participate in the process which affects those decisions.

In making its decisions and in determining public policy, government may not have an answer to all or even most of the problems of society, but it still has an important role to play in determining whether conditions get better or worse. The way government handles conflicts among contending groups will help determine whether discord in society will be exacerbated or ameliorated.

For this reason, we take a careful look at the outputs of government—its authoritative decisions and actions and their consequences for society. Who gains, and who loses? Are the same people benefited or disadvantaged most of the time? The answers to these questions affect the equity of the system, its capacity to be fair and just to everyone. Equity is a critical issue for a democratic political system, for a system that is based on political equality.

Our interest in equity also applies in our examination of the input to government, input that different political actors have through elections and their access to policy makers. That input is not equal. Some groups seem to exercise more influence than others by virtue of their reputations, resources, and leadership capabilities. Identifying such influential groups, understanding their sources of power, and evaluating their motivations and strategies for affecting public policy will enable us to determine how fairly and responsively the democratic process is working in the United States. Our interest in equity includes those who have long played a major role in the American political process as well as those who are approaching the system from the perspective and experience of outsiders.

Although the pursuit of economic interests within the political process is an important subject, we must be just as concerned with identifying the ideas and ideals that individuals and groups bring to the rough-and-tumble of politics. Economic, social, and political beliefs, ideas, and interests often intertwine and reinforce each other. Conflict within the political system often centers on whose moral and social values should prevail in society at large. We see this with issues concerning the environment or health care, where disagreement involves ethical and moral judgments, as well as, possibly, the profits and losses of the participants. Thus, we need to examine the impact that ideas, ideology, traditions, and values have on the politics of American government.

In short, we examine the broad range of interests that underlie the activities of those who participate in the American political process. We discuss outsiders and insiders, average citizens and political leaders. We examine their activities as they try to influence government officials and affect policy decisions. We examine those decisions in terms of their impact on contemporary society as well as on the continuing saga of American politics.

Pedagogy

To bring its subject into sharp focus, each chapter begins with an engaging, real-life story about politics. Throughout the text, other general-interest boxes reinforce our politics theme. Four other kinds of boxes appear in most chapters:

- *Becoming Political* boxes provide students with resources and data they can use to get information about federal, state, and local government and become more involved in issues that are important in their lives.
- *People in Politics* essays provide brief biographies of people who have made a difference in American political life—people who span the political spectrum from Ruth Bader Ginsburg to Colin Powell, from Ralph Nader to John Dingell, from LaDonna Harris to Anne Richards.
- *Constitutional Conflict* essays examine the core constitutional issues that are involved in contemporary debates in American government.

- *Case Studies* analyze current issues, pose questions for discussion, and highlight our focus on the drama of politics.

The Ancillary Package

We are proud to have assembled a complete and purposeful ancillary program. Each piece in our program is designed to make teaching more effective and to heighten students' interest in American government and, particularly, their American government course.

The largest work in our program is the *Instructor's Resource Manual*. This looseleaf binder contains a *Teacher's Guide*, written by an experienced teacher and text publisher, Herbert M. Levine. For each chapter of our book, the guide includes an outline and overview, learning objectives, key terms and concepts, recommended assignments, and discussion exercises. Following the *Teacher's Guide* are *Lecture Outlines and Lectures*, written by Paul Benson of Tarrant County Junior College. The outlines list topics that follow the major headings of each chapter of the textbook; they also suggest a range of supplementary topics and issues that relate to, but do not repeat, material in the text. The lectures provide topical narratives of two to three pages that can be expanded into 50-minute lectures. These outlines and lectures are also available on floppy disks, for both IBM-compatible and Macintosh computers. The disks let instructors rearrange, delete, add, and print material at will.

The *Instructor's Resource Manual* also includes a section called *Documents*. These primary sources include excerpts from *The Federalist*, Supreme Court cases, and political speeches. The documents can be copied and given to students either for homework assignments or for advance preparation for classroom discussion. In addition, the Manual offers a *Student Survey of Political Attitudes*, which has been adapted for use in introductory American government classes by Clyde Wilcox of Georgetown University and Elizabeth Adell Cook of American University. The survey can be used at the beginning of the course or in conjunction with Chapter 7, Public Opinion. The survey results allow students to explore the relationship between their political identification and their perspectives on contemporary issues. Students can compare their political attitudes with the attitudes of classmates or of various national samples. Survey responses can be tabulated and analyzed with or without a computer—we provide complete instructions for both methods.

Available as a separate bound book is a *Test Item File*, which contains over 1,200 multiple-choice, fill-in, essay, and true-false questions. In addition, we offer, free to adopters, a *State and Local Government Supplement*, authored by Richard L. Cole, and a set of over fifty color transparencies, which are enlarged versions of illustrations included in the text.

A unique print ancillary for our book is *Ralph Nader Presents, Practicing Democracy: A Guide to Student Action*. This resource, authored by Katherine Isaac of the Center for the Study of Responsive Law, provides students with the basic tools for citizen participation, detailing the ways in which students can lobby, use the initiative and referendum processes, boycott, and educate the public to produce change. The supplement gives students a history of how citizens have used such techniques to advance their causes. Introductory essays by Paul Wellstone and Richard Bond provide personal accounts of two indi-

viduals who left private life to become active participants in the political system, one as a Democratic senator from Minnesota, the other as a campaign manager for George Bush and later as chair of the Republican National Committee.

Our software ancillaries include the aforementioned lecture outlines and lectures on disk, which is titled *Teaching The Politics of American Government: Outlines and Lectures on Disk*. Our *Computerized Test Item File* contains over 1,200 questions in a format that allows full randomization and authoring capabilities, as well as the selection of test questions according to low, moderate, or high difficulty. A useful adjunct to this testing software is *Micrograde*, a program for record keeping and tracking student grades. Adopters of our book may also send for *Presidential Campaign*, by David Garson of North Carolina State University. This software program allows a student to run a simulated presidential campaign from April to November, as a challenger or an incumbent, and as a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent.

Additionally, we offer four videos that St. Martin's Press has developed for use in college classrooms. These include four separate works: "Women and Politics," "Interest Groups in America," "Presidential Leadership," and "The Selection and Confirmation of Supreme Court Justices." Each video runs for approximately 25 minutes and can be used in a single class section, with time for instructors to include their own prefatory and concluding remarks—and to stop the tape for comment. An accompanying *Video Guide* includes, for each video, a summary of the text, a copy of the narrator's script, test and discussion questions, and a list of supplemental classroom activities.

Finally, a *Study Guide* is available for sale to students. This includes introductory essays about how to study and how to do a research paper on American government. Each chapter includes an interactive review section (chapter overview, learning objectives, outline, and matching exercises for key terms); practice tests (multiple-choice, true-false, and essay questions); and an in-depth assignment.

For information about these ancillaries—and about special packages and discounts for those who want to use *The Politics of American Government* with other readers and topical books published by St. Martin's Press—please contact your local St. Martin's sales representative, or call or write to St. Martin's Press, College Desk, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010 (phone: 1-800-221-7945).

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Don Reisman, Executive Editor, has orchestrated the project at St. Martin's from beginning to end. He has done so with skill and imagination, never losing sight of our basic objective and his—to excite and educate students about American politics, to show them how they can make a difference. A big, big job—well done, Don.

Caroline Smith, the first developmental editor at St. Martin's to tackle our prose and organization, was truly a remarkable "wordsmith." We greatly

appreciate her efforts as well as her continuing interest in the project even after she changed jobs. Cheryl Kupper, who became the principal developmental editor for the project, converted our manuscript into the form you are about to read. Cheryl, a true professional, improved the book on almost every page. We are indebted to her for her skill, dedication, and hard work. Doug Bell completed the editorial phase of this project, met the elusive deadlines, and made improvements and updates throughout. We particularly thank Doug for his consideration of our wishes and his tremendous efforts to bring the project to its conclusion.

Thanks also to Joanne Daniels, Barbara Heinssen, Rochelle Diogenes, Bob Weber, Frances Jones, Mary Hugh Lester, Kenny Nassau, Janice Wiggins, and others at St. Martin's Press who have contributed so much to the editing, production, and marketing of this book.

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We want to thank our assistants who helped us with research and graphics: Lisa Prenaveau Andrzejewski, Geertruida C. Degoe, Mark Drozdowski, Caroline Jesky, Cathy Naff, Janet Newcity, Eric Pages, Fengyan Shi, and Molly Sonner.

We cannot close without saying how much we have appreciated the sacrifices and adjustments our families have made as we worked on this book. Our children especially have patiently endured our weekend writing. We have dedicated this book to them, not only because of their patience but also because they (and their peers who will read this book) embody the hopes and hold the keys to the strength, endurance, and vitality of our political system.

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BASIC EDITION

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