Chapter 1 The Constitution 1

I Foundations 2

1.1 Federalist No. 10 4
James Madison
“A zeal for different opinions concerning religion, concerning government, and many other points . . . have, in turn, divided mankind into parties, [and] inflamed them with mutual animosity.”

1.2 Federalist No. 47 9
James Madison
“In the extent and proper structure of the Union . . . we behold a republican remedy for the diseases most incident to republican government.”

1.3 Federalist No. 48 12
James Madison
“Will it be sufficient to mark, with precision, the boundaries of these departments in the constitution of the government, and to trust to parchment barriers against the encroaching spirit of power?”

1.4 Federalist No. 51 14
James Madison
“Ambition must be made to counteract ambition.”

1.5 The Address and Reason of Dissent of the Minority of the Convention of Pennsylvania to Their Constituents 18
“We entered on the examination of the proposed system of government, and found it to be such as we could not adopt, without, as we conceived, surrendering up your dearest rights.”

II American Politics Today 27

1.6 Second Thoughts on the Second Amendment 27
Wendy Kaminer
“The tension at the heart of the Second Amendment, which makes it so difficult to construe, is the tension between republicanism and liberal individualism.”

III The Comparative Context 33

1.7 How Ideas Travel: Rights at Home and Abroad 34
A. E. Dick Howard
"Americans have good cause to celebrate two hundred years of the Bill of Rights. They likewise have every reason to hope for the principles of that document to take root in the lands now free of tyrannical rule."

IV View from the Inside 39

1.8 The Founding Fathers: A Reform Caucus in Action 39
John P. Roche
"There is a common rumor that the Framers divided their time between philosophical discussions of government and reading the classics in political theory. Perhaps this is as good a time as any to note that their concerns were highly practical . . . ."

Chapter 2 Federalism 48

I Foundations 49

2.1 What the Antifederalists Were For 51
Herbert Storing
"Federalism means that the states are primary . . . and that they possess the main weight of political power. The defense of the federal character of the American union was the most prominent article of Anti-Federalist conservative doctrine."

2.2 Federalist No. 39 56
James Madison
"The proposed Constitution . . . is, in strictness, neither a national nor a federal Constitution, but a combination of both."

2.3 Federalist No. 45 61
James Madison
"The powers delegated by the proposed Constitution to the federal government are few and defined. Those which are to remain in the State governments are numerous and indefinite."

II American Politics Today 65

2.4 The War Between the States . . . and Washington 65
Garry Wills
"On a whole range of . . . issues, the states have been out ahead of Federal programs, reversing a long-term trend. . . . [P]eople with new ideas and a passion for public policy are turning away from Washington and attacking social issues at the state and local levels. This shift raises deep questions about the virtues of direct democracy, the merits of federalism and the possibility of isolating states from the national society."

III The Comparative Context 73

2.5 If You Sincerely Want to Be a United States . . . 73
The Economist
"[The job of] the people now charged with trying to create a political union in Europe . . . is not different in kind from that which faced America's constitutional convention [in 1787] . . . . Might the most mature and successful constitutional settlement in the world have some lessons for those European parvenus?"

IV View from the Inside 79

2.6 The Taming of Texas 79
Jonathan Walters
"Ask George W. Bush how hard it is to govern Texas, and he’s glad to tell you. He swings his arms wide to denote the vastness of the domain that he can’t control. ‘You don’t get everything you want,’ he says, understating the case considerably. ‘A dictatorship would be a lot easier.’"

Chapter 3 Civil Liberties 85

I Foundations 86

3.1 On Liberty 86
John Stuart Mill
"The object ‘towards which every human being must ceaselessly direct his efforts . . . is the individuality of power and development’ . . . for this there are two requisites, ‘freedom and variety of situations.’"

II American Politics Today 93

3.2 Roe v. Wade 94
Justice Harry A. Blackmun
"We do not agree that, by adopting one theory of life, Texas may override the rights of the pregnant woman that are at stake."

3.3 Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey 98
Justice Sandra Day O'Connor
"A decision to overrule Roe’s essential holding would address error, if error there was, at the cost of both profound and unnecessary damage to the Court’s legitimacy, and to the Nation’s commitment to the rule of law. It is therefore imperative to adhere to the essence of Roe’s original decision. . . ."

III The Comparative Context 102

3.4 The Universal Declaration and the U.S. Constitution 103
Louis Henkin
"The U.S. Constitution, and the constitutional culture it engendered, were a principal conduit for the idea of rights later espoused by the Universal Declaration [of Human Rights], and a principal source of many—not all—of the rights recognized in the Declaration."
Chapter 4 Civil Rights 117

I Foundations 118

4.1 Plessy v. Ferguson 119
Justice Henry B. Brown
Justice John Marshall Harlan, dissenting
“The object of the [Fourteenth] Amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but... it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social... equality.”

4.2 Brown v. Board of Education 123
Chief Justice Earl Warren
“In the field of education the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.”

4.3 Bolling v. Sharpe 126
Chief Justice Earl Warren
“In view of our decision that the Constitution prohibits the states from maintaining racially segregated public schools, it would be unthinkable that the same Constitution would impose a lesser duty on the Federal Government.”

II American Politics Today 127

4.4 Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson 128
Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist
“Without question, when a supervisor sexually harasses a subordinate because of the subordinate’s sex, that supervisor discriminate[s] on the basis of sex.”

4.5 Tales From the Front Line of Sexual Harassment 131
Margot Slade
“Sexual harassment laws have always been notoriously confusing, so there was much cheering when the Supreme Court clarified things by issuing new rulings [in 1998].... Here are case studies drawn from the files of consultants and interpreted in light of the Supreme Court’s new rulings.”
III The Comparative Context 135

4.6 Multicultural Citizenship 135
Will Kymlicka
"I believe it is legitimate, and indeed unavoidable, to supplement traditional human rights with minority rights. A comprehensive theory of justice in a multicultural state will include both universal rights, assigned to individuals regardless of group membership, and certain group-differentiated rights or 'special status' rights for minority cultures."

IV View from the Inside 143

4.7 Serving in Silence 144
Margarethe Cammermeyer
"I took a breath; a little moment passed. Up to a few years before, I wouldn't have been hesitant. I would have affirmed my heterosexuality and the interview would have proceeded without a hitch. But I had changed... I said, 'I am a lesbian.'"

Chapter 5 Political Culture and Public Opinion 149

I Foundations 150

5.1 Democracy in America 151
Alexis de Tocqueville
"The social condition of the Americans is entirely democratic."

II American Politics Today 160

5.2 A Question of Values 160
David S. Broder and Richard Morin
"The sharply divided public reaction to the impeachment of President Clinton has provided a dramatic showcase of a struggle for American values that goes back to the 1960s and remains unresolved today."

III The Comparative Context 165

5.3 American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword 166
Seymour Martin Lipset
"Other countries' senses of themselves are derived from a common history... In Europe, nationality is related to community, and thus one cannot become un-English or un-Swedish. Being an American, however, is an ideological commitment. It is not a matter of birth. Those who reject American values are un-American."

IV View from the Inside 172

5.4 The Power of the Presidents' Pollsters 172
Michael Barone
"Polling is a tool, not magic; and political pollsters at their best are inspired mechanics... They are not—certainly they are not yet—our masters."
Chapter 6  **Interest Groups**  178

I  **Foundations**  179

6.1  **The Scope and Bias of the Pressure System**  179  
E. E. Schattschneider

"Pressure politics is essentially the politics of small groups. . . . [I]t is a selective process ill designed to serve diffuse interests. The system is skewed, loaded, and unbalanced in favor of a fraction of a minority."

II  **American Politics Today**  186

6.2  **Interest Groups, PACs, and Campaigns**  187  
Paul S. Herrnson

"Individual citizens . . . are not the only ones who use the electoral connection to express their views about politics. Businesses, labor unions, professional associations, and a variety of other groups—some of which are at best only loosely organized—also use elections to influence public policy."

III  **The Comparative Context**  198

6.3  **The Japanese Lobby in Washington**  199  
Ronald J. Hrebenar and Clive S. Thomas

"The Japan lobby has become a symbol of 150 years of distrust and misunderstanding between Japan and the United States. In fact, however, Japan's lobbying efforts appear to be commensurate to the stakes it holds in its relations with the United States."

IV  **View from the Inside**  206

6.4  **A New Form of Lobbying Puts Public Face on Private Interest**  207  
Alison Mitchell

"In their million-dollar costs and in their reliance on television, polling and grass-roots constituency building . . . [modern lobbying efforts] most resemble Presidential campaigns. And they are now so pervasive and sophisticated that it has become difficult to distinguish between a lobbying effort, an issue advocacy campaign and a citizens' movement."

Chapter 7  **The Media**  214

I.  **Foundations**  215

7.1  **New York Times Co. v. United States**  216  
Justice Hugo L. Black

"In the First Amendment the Founding Fathers gave the free press the protection it must have to fulfill its essential role in a democracy. The press was to serve the governed, not the governors. The Government's power to censor the press was abolished so that the press would remain forever free to censure the Government."
II American Politics Today 218

7.2 Monicanomics 219
John Cassidy
"[In early 1998] the big media companies launched a new product that they were enormously excited about—the Monica Lewinsky story—only to run into a lack of enthusiasm from customers."

III The Comparative Context 223

7.3 Foreign News: Who Gives a Damn? 224
James F. Hoge, Jr.
"Except for the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989-90, the coverage of . . . international news in American media has steadily declined since the late seventies, when the cold war lost its sense of imminent danger."

IV View from the Inside 229

7.4 The Master of Spin 230
Howard Kurtz
"One thing about [White House Press Secretary] Mike McCurry, he knew how to play the game . . . . McCurry was a spinmeister extraordinaire, deflecting questions with practiced ease, sugar-coating the ugly messes into which the Clintonites seemed repeatedly to stumble. . . . He was walking the tightrope, struggling to maintain credibility with both the press and the president, to serve as an honest broker between the antagonists."

Chapter 8 Parties and Elections 238

I Foundations 239

8.1 Towards a More Responsible Two-Party System 239
The APSA Committee on Political Parties
"In brief, our view is this: The party system that is needed must be democratic, responsible and effective—a system that is accountable to the public, respects and expresses differences of opinion, and is able to cope with the great problems of modern government."

II American Politics Today 245

8.2 The Mighty Middle 246
John B. Judis
"[In 1998, the] Democrats did much better than expected precisely because the public identified them with a cautious, liberal centrism. Those Republicans who did particularly well . . . were also identified with this kind of political approach. The real losers in the election were right-wing Republicans."

8.3 The Southern Captivity of the GOP 250
Christopher Caldwell
"The Republican Party is increasingly a party of the South and the mountains. . . . There is a big problem with having a southern, as opposed to a midwestern or a California, base. Southern interests diverge from those of the rest of the country, and the southern presence in the Republican Party has passed a 'tipping point,' at which it began to alienate voters from other regions."

III The Comparative Context 256

8.4 Breaking the Two-Party Monopoly 257
Douglas J. Amy

"Americans have suffered under our two-party system for so long that we tend to view its problems and limitations as unfortunate but inevitable. . . . In reality, . . . the adoption of proportional representation in the United States would go a long way toward addressing many of these shortcomings."

IV View from the Inside 263

8.5 Trail Fever 264
Michael Lewis

"I watch [Steve] Forbes deliver the same speech half a dozen times before I get close enough to find evidence to support my hunch—or perhaps my hope—that a perfectly strict routine is not as straightforward as it appears . . . I assumed that he read from the same written text but to my amazement see that he actually uses loose notes, as if he had just thought up his speech in the car on the way over."

Chapter 9 The Congress 269

I Foundations 270

9.1 Federalist No. 55 271
James Madison

"Had every Athenian citizen been born a Socrates, every Athenian assembly would still have been a mob."

9.2 Federalist No. 57 274
James Madison

"Such will be the relation between the House of Representatives and their constituents. Duty, gratitude, interest, ambition itself, are the cords by which they will be bound to fidelity and sympathy with the great mass of the people."

II American Politics Today 276

9.3 Party Leaders and the New Legislative Process 277
Barbara Sinclair

"[T]he how-a-bill-becomes-a-law diagram that is a staple of American government textbooks in reality describes the legislative process on fewer and fewer of the major measures Congress considers."
III The Comparative Context 283

9.4 Changing Perceptions of the British System 284
Leon D. Epstein
"Since the development of their academic discipline over a century ago, American political scientists have treated British parliamentary democracy as a benchmark in evaluating the American system. . . . My perspective combines respect for the British political system with a disbelief in the suitability of its parliamentary institutions for the United States."

IV View from the Inside 288

9.5 Women on the Hill 289
Clara Bingham
"In the House . . . the congresswomen dominated the family-leave debate . . . . Their speaking styles were personal and powerful. Patri-cia Ireland, president of the National Organization for Women, ap-plauded them, noting that their performances were emblematic of the difference women were making on the Hill: 'Women bring a differ-ent set of priorities,' she said."

Chapter 10 The Presidency 295

I Foundations 296

10.1 Federalist No. 68 297
Alexander Hamilton
"Talent for low intrigue, and the little arts of popularity, may alone suffice to elevate a man to the first honors of a single State; but it will require other talents . . . to establish him in the esteem and con-fidence of the whole Union."

10.2 Federalist No. 70 299
Alexander Hamilton
"Energy in the executive is a leading characteristic of good government."

10.3 Presidential Power 302
Richard Neustadt
"A President's authority and status give him great advantages in dealing with the men he would persuade . . . . [A] President may need them all."

II American Politics Today 304

10.4 Presidential Paradoxes 305
Thomas E. Cronin and Michael Genovese
"Our expectations of, and demand on, the president are frequently so contradictory as to invite two-faced behavior by our presidents. Presidential powers are often not as great as many of us believe, and the president gets unjustly condemned as ineffective. Or a president
will overreach or resort to unfair play while trying to live up to our demands.”

III The Comparative Context 314

10.5 Presidents and Prime Ministers 315
Richard Rose
“There are diverse ways of organizing the direction of government, not only between democracies and authoritarian regimes, but also among democracies. Switzerland stands at one extreme, with collective direction provided by a federal council whose president rotates from year to year. At the other extreme are countries that claim to centralize authority, under a . . . parliamentary system or in a . . . presidential system.”

IV View from the Inside 325

10.6 Public Acts, Private Moments 326
Robert D. McFadden, John Kifner, and N. R. Kleinfield
“It was not a routine Wednesday for Mr. Clinton because a budget impasse with Congress had shut down the Federal government. . . . The President . . . had meetings with aides, as well as with three Senators and a group of farmers. He had an appropriations bill and several proclamations to sign and an interview with a television network. . . . At 1:30 P.M. . . . [Monica] Lewinsky entered the White House.”

Chapter 11 The Bureaucracy 333

I Foundations 334

11.1 Bureaucracy 335
Max Weber
“Bureaucracy offers above all the optimum possibility for carrying through the principle of specializing administrative functions according to purely objective considerations.”

II American Politics Today 338

11.2 Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It 339
James Q. Wilson
“When we denounce bureaucracy for being inefficient we are saying something that is half true. . . . The only way to decide whether an agency is truly inefficient is to decide which of the constraints affecting its action ought to be ignored or discounted.”

III The Comparative Context 347

11.3 The Distinctive Nature of American Public Administration 347
Gerald E. Caiden, Richard A. Lovard, Thomas J. Pavlak, Lynn F. Sipe, and Molly M. Wong
"The scope of American public administration is distinct [from that of Europe] in at least ten ways."

IV View from the Inside 351

11.4 Locked in the Cabinet 351
Robert Reich
"I take the elevator to floors I've never visited. I wander to places in the department I've never been. I have a spontaneous conversation with employees I'd never otherwise see. Free at last... Kitty discovers I'm missing... The alarm is sounded: Secretary loose! Secretary escapes from the bubble! Find the Secretary!"

Chapter 12 The Judiciary 360

I Foundations 361

12.1 Federalist No. 78 362
Alexander Hamilton
"The judiciary... has no influence over either the sword or the purse; no direction either of the strength or the wealth of society; and can take no active resolution whatever. It may truly be said to have neither FORCE nor WILL but merely judgment."

12.2 Marbury v. Madison 367
Chief Justice John Marshall
"If an act of the legislature, repugnant to the constitution, is void, does it, notwithstanding its invalidity, bind the courts, and oblige them to give it effect?"

II American Politics Today 371

12.3 The Jurisprudence of the Rehnquist Court 371
Kathleen M. Sullivan
"[T]he Rehnquist Court, while it has undoubtedly turned rightward, has never turned as starkly rightward as predicted... even though Presidents Reagan and Bush between them filled five seats on the Court... Why might this be so?"

III The Comparative Context 380

12.4 Judicial Activism in Canada and the United States 381
Mark C. Miller
"The legal systems of Canada and the United States share many common characteristics. Both have their roots in British Common Law. Legal training is similar, and both countries draw their judges primarily from the practicing bar. But despite their similarities, Canadian and U.S. judges have approached their policy-making roles quite differently."
IV View from the Inside 387
12.5 Closed Chambers 387
Edward Lazarus
"In the Blackmun chambers, each outgoing clerk designated two
days to train his or her successor. I remember that time as a giant
blur, a jumble of shorthand explanations of procedures I couldn't
quite grasp, mixed in with a number of don't worry, you'll figure it
out as you go alongs."

Chapter 13 Public Policy 395
I Foundations 396
13.1 Domestic Policymaking 396
Roger H. Davidson and Walter J. Oleszek
"Policies can be regarded as reflecting 'who gets what, when, and
how in society.' A more serviceable definition of policy [is that] . . .
policy is what the government says and does about perceived prob-
lems."

II American Politics Today 401
13.2 Nine Misconceptions About Social Security 402
Dean Baker
"In fact the demographics of the Baby Boom have very little to do
with the long-range problems of Social Security. The main reason
the fund will run into deficits in future years is that people are living
longer."

III The Comparative Context 408
13.3 Ideas, Institutions, and the Policies of Government:
A Comparative Analysis 409
Anthony King
"The State plays a more limited role in America than elsewhere be-
cause Americans, more than other people, want it to play a limited
role."

IV View from the Inside 416
13.4 "Mr. Chairman, We've Got a Problem" 417
Colin Powell
"George Bush sat like a patron on a bar stool coolly observing a
brawl while his advisors went hard at it. [National Security Adviser]
Brent Skowcroft . . . wanted to leave the President with no comfort-
able illusions: 'There are going to be casualties. People are going to
die,' Skowcroft said. . . . The questions continued. . . . [T]hen
Bush, after everyone had had his say, gripped the arms of his chair
and rose. 'Okay, let's do it,' he said. 'The hell with it.'"