The New American Political System

Second Version

Anthony King, editor

THE AEI PRESS

Publisher for the American Enterprise Institute Washington, D.C.

Contents

| | Preface Anthony King | ix |
|---|--|----|
| | Contributors | xi |
| 1 | THE SEPARATED PRESIDENCY—MAKING IT WORK IN CONTEMPORARY POLITICS Charles O. Jones The Presidency as Separated 5 Reading the Returns—What the Elections Have Meant 7 Congressional Adjustment—Presuming to Govern from Capitol Hill 16 Agenda Control and the Separated President 19 Making It Work 23 Conclusion 26 | 1 |
| 2 | POLITICAL CHANGE AND THE CHARACTER OF THE CONTEMPORARY CONGRESS Nelson W. Polsby Continuity and Change—An Overview 29 The Contemporary Senate 33 The Contemporary House of Representatives 36 Congressional-Presidential Relations and the Growth of Congressional Staff 39 Five Stories about Change 42 Conclusion 45 | 29 |

| 3 | THE SUPREME COURT FROM EARLY BURGER TO EARLY REHNQUIST Martin Shapiro The Court as Enunciator of Diffuse Values 48 The Court as a Member of the National Governing Coalition 49 The Court as Effective Policy Maker 50 The Policy-making Process 53 The Warren Court 58 The Early Burger Court 58 The Mature Burger Court and the Early Rehnquist Court 60 The New Style 67 Conclusion 82 | 47 |
|---|---|-----|
| 1 | POLITICAL PARTIES—DECLINING, STABILIZING, OR | |
| 4 | RESURGING? | |
| | James W. Ceaser | 87 |
| | What Are Parties? 90 | |
| | A Realignment? 98 | |
| _ | The Party System as an Institution 102 | |
| | The Strength of Party Organizations 103 | |
| | The Strength of Parties in Presidential | |
| | Nominations 107 | |
| | The Strength of Parties in Presidential | |
| | Campaigns 114 | |
| | The Strength of Parties in Congressional | |
| | Races 118 The Strangth of Parties in Coverning 122 | |
| | The Strength of Parties in Governing 122 The Strength of Parties as Institutions 127 | |
| | The Degree of Party Centralization 129 | |
| | The Causes of Party Strength 135 | |
| | · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · | |
| 5 | FROM A PARTISAN TO A CANDIDATE-CENTERED | |
| | ELECTORATE | 120 |
| | Martin P. Wattenberg | 139 |
| | The New Nominating System 140 | |
| | Candidates' Popularity in Decline 143 Dealignment in the American | |
| | Electorate 145 | |
| | Licetorate 140 | |

.

| | The Era of Party Disunity 151 The Decline of Turnout 154 The Rise of Interest Groups in Electoral Politics 155 The New Republican Coalition 157 A More Conservative Electorate? 169 Political Polarization in the Candidate- centered Age 171 | : |
|---|---|-----|
| 6 | Broadcasting, Narrowcasting, and Politics Austin Ranney Politics in the Network Era, c. 1960– c. 1990 177 Politics in the Era of Narrowcasting, 1990–? 190 The Future 201 | 175 |
| 7 | THE PARADOX OF INTEREST GROUPS IN WASHINGTON—MORE GROUPS, LESS CLOUT Robert H. Salisbury Changes since 1960 204 The Fragmentation of Interest Sectors 208 Uncertain Structures of Power 212 Interest Group Adaptation 215 Conclusion 228 | 203 |
| 8 | FEDERALISM—THE GREAT "COMPOSITION" Richard P. Nathan The Importance of the State Role 233 Federal Aid Trends, Nixon to Reagan 236 Cycles of Federalism 241 Modern Theories of American | 231 |
| | Federalism 246 The Role of the Courts 245 The Sorting-out Approach 251 Reagan's Brand of "New Federalism" 252 | ž. |

A Synthesis 255

| Federalism and | the Urban Crisis | 256 |
|----------------|------------------|-----|
| Final Thoughts | 260 | |

`

| Ω | A World of Difference—The Public | |
|----|---|-----|
| 9 | PHILOSOPHIES AND POLITICAL BEHAVIORS OF | |
| | RIVAL AMERICAN CULTURES | |
| | Aaron Wildavsky | 263 |
| | Competitive Individualism versus | |
| | Egalitarian Collectivism 264 | |
| | Individualists Are Not Egalitarians 266 | |
| | Egalitarian Domestic Institutions and | |
| | Policies 270 | |
| | Bureaucracy without Authority 273 | • |
| | Egalitarian Opposition to Defense | |
| | Policy 276 | |
| | Alternative Futures 282 | |
| 10 | THE AMERICAN POLITY IN THE 1990s | |
| TO | Anthony King | 287 |
| | The New System 290 | |
| | Coalition Politics in Decline 295 | |
| | Envoi 303 | |
| | Notes | 307 |
| | 110165 | |
| | INDEX | 339 |