



Debating Democracy

A Reader in American Politics

SEVENTH EDITION

BRUCE MIROFF

State University of New York – Albany

RAYMOND SEIDELMAN

Sarah Lawrence College

TODD SWANSTROM

University of Missouri – St. Louis



WADSWORTH
CENGAGE Learning™



WADSWORTH
CENGAGE Learning

**Debating Democracy: A Reader
in American Politics,
Seventh Edition**
**Bruce Miroff, Raymond
Seidelman and Todd Swanstrom**

Publisher/Executive Editor:

Suzanne Jeans

Executive Editor: Carolyn Merrill

Acquisitions Editor: Edwin Hill

Development Editor: Lauren
Athmer

Assistant Editor: Kate MacLean

Media Editor: Laura Hildebrand

Marketing Manager: Amy
Whitaker

Marketing Coordinator: Josh
Hendrick

Marketing Communications
Manager: Heather Baxley

Content Project Management:
PreMediaGlobal

Art Director: Linda Helcher

Print Buyer: Fola Orekoya

Rights Acquisitions Specialist:
Katie Huha

Production Service:
PreMediaGlobal

Compositor: PreMediaGlobal

Cover Designer: Harold Burch

Cover Image: © Lee Lorenz

© 2012, 2009, Wadsworth Cengage Learning

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. No part of this work covered by the copyright herein may be reproduced, transmitted, stored, or used in any form or by any means graphic, electronic, or mechanical, including but not limited to photocopying, recording, scanning, digitizing, taping, Web distribution, information networks, or information storage and retrieval systems, except as permitted under Section 107 or 108 of the 1976 United States Copyright Act, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

For product information and
technology assistance, contact us at **Cengage Learning
Customer & Sales Support, 1-800-354-9706**

For permission to use material from this text or product,
submit all requests online at **www.cengage.com/permissions**.

Further permissions questions can be e-mailed to
permissionrequest@cengage.com.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2010928459

ISBN-13: 978-0-495-91347-4

ISBN-10: 0-495-91347-2

Wadsworth

20 Channel Center Street
Boston, MA 02210
USA

Cengage Learning is a leading provider of customized learning solutions with office locations around the globe, including Singapore, the United Kingdom, Australia, Mexico, Brazil and Japan. Locate your local office at **international.cengage.com/region**

Cengage Learning products are represented in Canada by
Nelson Education, Ltd.

For your course and learning solutions, visit **www.cengage.com**.

Purchase any of our products at your local college store or at our preferred online store **www.cengagebrain.com**.

Printed in the United States of America

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 14 13 12 11 10



In Memory

On October 30, 2007, Ray Seidelman, our coeditor and friend, died after a four-year battle with colon cancer. An incisive political thinker and inspiring teacher, Ray was also a model of the democratic intellectual who refuses to retreat into theory or succumb to cynicism.

*A graduate of the University of California–Santa Cruz, Ray earned his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Cornell University. For twenty-five years he taught at Sarah Lawrence College, where he held the Sarah Yates Exley Chair in Teaching Excellence. Devoted to his students, in 2002 Ray won the college’s Lipkin Prize for Inspirational Teaching. His 1985 book, *Disenchanted Realists*, critically examines the efforts of professional political scientists to marry the scientific study of politics to political reform.*

*In the summer of 1988 we joined Ray on a camping trip in the Catskills that ended up in a rundown motel room. Accompanied by the steady patter of rain on the roof, that night we came up with the idea for an introductory textbook in American politics that would draw its inspiration from the homegrown traditions of participatory democracy. The *Democratic Debate* is now in its fifth edition. Conceived as a companion to our textbook, *Debating Democracy* has taken on a life of its own, and this is its seventh edition.*

Ray loved political debate. Over the years the three of us argued long and loudly about what to include in the textbook and the reader. Ray always pushed us to go deeper in our analysis and to challenge students to think more critically. His sharp wit could penetrate the thickest skin and make you squirm. But he never came across as morally superior. You always had the feeling that Ray’s views were tentative, open to constant interrogation and change. Maybe that is why he was such a great teacher.

Listening to Ray criticize the distortions and elite manipulations of American democracy, you might have concluded that he was a cynic. You would have been wrong. Cynics don’t argue about global warming with strangers at a gas station. Cynics don’t accompany carloads of students to demonstrations against the war in Iraq. His views were not those of a cynic but of a lover of American democracy. Ray is greatly missed—not only by his family, friends, and students—but by supporters of democracy everywhere.

Bruce Miroff
Todd Swanstrom

However unwillingly a person who has strong opinion may admit the possibility that his opinion may be false, he ought to be moved by the consideration that, however true it may be, if it is not fully, frequently, and fearlessly discussed, it will be held as a dead dogma, not as a living truth.

John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (1859)



Contents

PREFACE xiii

INTRODUCTION: HOW TO READ THIS BOOK 1

Chapter 1 The Founding: Debating the Constitution 14

Federalist No. 10 16

James Madison

Anti-Federalist Paper, 18 October 1787 22

Brutus

Chapter 2 Democracy: Overrated or Undervalued? 29

Democracy's Romantic Myths 31

John Mueller

The Active Citizen 39

Paul Rogat Loeb

**Chapter 3 The New Federalism: Does It Create
Laboratories of Democracy or a Race
to the Bottom? 48**

Beyond the Beltway 51

William D. Eggers and John O'Leary

The Devil in Devolution 56

John D. Donahue

Chapter 4	Immigration: Does It Strengthen or Threaten American Democracy?	63
	<i>Immigration Strengthens American Democracy</i>	65
	Ben Wattenberg	
	<i>Patriotic Immigration</i>	71
	Newt Gingrich	
Chapter 5	Political Economy: How Democratic Is the Free Market Economy?	80
	<i>Capitalism and Freedom</i>	82
	Milton Friedman	
	<i>Corporate Capitalism Hurts American Democracy</i>	92
	Samuel Bowles, Frank Roosevelt, and Richard Edwards	
Chapter 6	Civil Liberties: Is Corporate Spending on Elections the Equivalent of Free Speech?	106
	<i>Corporate Spending on Elections Is Free Speech and Should Not Be Regulated</i> <i>(Excerpts from the Majority Opinion)</i>	108
	Justice Anthony Kennedy	
	<i>Corporate Spending on Elections Is Not Free Speech and Can Be Regulated</i> <i>(Excerpts from Minority Opinion)</i>	113
	Justice John Paul Stevens	
Chapter 7	Civil Rights: Debating Same-Sex Marriage	120
	<i>Same-Sex Marriage as a Constitutional Right</i>	122
	Evan Gerstmann	
	<i>Gay Marriage—and Marriage</i>	129
	Sam Schulman	
Chapter 8	Church–State Relations: Was the United States Founded as a Christian Nation?	140
	<i>The Centrality of Our Creator in Defining America</i>	142
	Newt Gingrich	
	<i>Our Godless Constitution</i>	147
	Brooke Allen	

Chapter 9	Digital Media: Do They Expand or Shrink Democracy?	155
	<i>The Daily We</i>	157
	Cass R. Sunstein	
	<i>Changing Citizenship in the Digital Age</i>	168
	W. Lance Bennett	
Chapter 10	Political Polarization: How Divided Are We?	181
	<i>Bipolar Disorder</i>	183
	Jonathan Rauch	
	<i>How Divided Are We?</i>	192
	James Q. Wilson	
Chapter 11	Campaigns and Elections: Do Negative Ads Damage Democracy?	203
	<i>Negative Ads Shrink and Polarize the Electorate</i>	205
	Stephen Ansolabehere and Shanto Iyengar	
	<i>The Need for Negativity</i>	212
	John G. Geer	
Chapter 12	The Federal Budget: Is the Deficit a Threat to the Nation?	222
	<i>The Federal Budget Deficit Is Not Necessarily a Threat to the Nation</i>	225
	Joseph Stiglitz	
	<i>The Federal Deficit Is a Threat to the Nation</i>	230
	Arthur B. Laffer and Stephen Moore	
Chapter 13	Congress: Can Our Representatives Serve the Public Good?	239
	<i>Congress Is the Broken Branch</i>	241
	Thomas E. Mann and Norman J. Ornstein	
	<i>Is Congress "The Broken Branch"?</i>	249
	David R. Mayhew	
Chapter 14	The Presidency: How Much Difference Does the Individual Make?	258
	<i>Lessons from the Modern Presidency</i>	260
	Fred I. Greenstein	

	<i>The Changing Political Structures of Presidential Leadership</i>	268
	Stephen Skowronek	
Chapter 15	The Judiciary: How Should It Interpret Our Constitution?	286
	<i>Textualism and the Constitution</i>	288
	Antonin Scalia	
	<i>Active Liberty and the Constitution</i>	295
	Stephen Breyer	
Chapter 16	Economic Inequality: A Threat to Democracy?	304
	<i>Myths of Rich and Poor</i>	307
	W. Michael Cox and Richard Alm	
	<i>For Richer</i>	312
	Paul Krugman	
Chapter 17	Foreign Policy: Has the United States Become an Imperial Power?	323
	<i>The Limits of American Power</i>	325
	Andrew J. Bacevich	
	<i>The Case for Goliath</i>	334
	Michael Mandelbaum	
	CREDITS	343



Preface

We have been very pleased by readers' and reviewers' enthusiastic reactions to the previous editions of *Debating Democracy*. They warmly endorsed our belief in the need for a reader for courses in American politics that makes democracy its unifying theme. Of course, Americans agree in the abstract about democracy, but in practice we often disagree about democracy's meaning and implications. To explore these crucial disagreements, the seventh edition is constructed around a series of debates about democracy in America.

Special Features of *Debating Democracy*

Debating Democracy is different from other readers in American politics. The selections in our reader are organized around a common theme—the meaning and improvement of American democracy. Thus, reading through the selections has a cumulative effect, helping students to think more clearly and deeply about democracy.

Our experience as the teachers of introductory courses in American politics suggests that debate-type readers can leave students confused, wondering how to respond to a bewildering array of different arguments. Many students conclude that political debates are just a matter of opinion, that there is no cumulative knowledge generated by debating the issues. To prevent such confusion, we provide an introduction, praised by reviewers, that gives students a framework for evaluating democratic debates. This framework is designed to help students develop their own political philosophies and critical abilities for analyzing political issues. In the end, we believe, engaging students in these democratic debates will help them to understand that democracy is a complex and contested idea and that although there is no One Truth, the search for democratic truths is well worth the effort.

In order to engage students in the search for democratic truths, we have included lively and clearly written selections from political leaders, journalists, and scholars. In each case we have chosen two contrasting views on a controversial topic. To help students in evaluating the selections, we introduce each debate with a short essay that places the issue in a meaningful context and alerts the reader to be on the lookout for contrasting values and hidden assumptions.

Debating Democracy seeks to generate further debate. After each set of selections we include questions that can be used by readers to analyze the issues or by teachers to spark class discussions. We end with suggested readings and websites that students can use to pursue the topic further.

Each chapter in the book can be used as the basis for a structured in-class debate. Our own introductory lecture courses have included discussion sections of ten to twenty students led by teaching assistants. The TA divides the class in two and assigns each group one side in the debate. The students are asked to meet outside of class and prepare their arguments based on the readings. A session of the discussion section is then devoted to a formal debate. We do several of these structured debates in the course of a semester. Students enjoy these debates and often report that this is the high point of the course for them.

Following the formal debates, each student is required to write a short paper setting out the arguments of her or his side and rebutting the arguments of the other side. We are convinced that this exercise helps students to achieve what is often an important goal in introductory American politics courses: improving writing skills. Requiring students to take a stand on a political issue and develop a coherent argument for their position in a thematic essay is an effective way, we believe, to teach writing.

Structure of *Debating Democracy*

Debating Democracy has been structured to fit with almost all introductory texts in American politics. We cover topics usually covered in an introductory text, but we have also included debates on political economy, immigration, and religion because we believe these are important subjects for understanding contemporary American democracy.

The editors of this book make no claim to being impartial observers of democratic debates. We support the extension of democratic decision making into broader spheres of the economy and society with greater emphasis on equality and community. Our participatory democratic inclinations are evident in our textbook, *The Democratic Debate: American Politics in an Age of Change*, Fifth Edition (Cengage Learning 2010).

Although we make no claim to impartiality, we have made every effort in the chapters that follow to select the strongest arguments on both sides of the issues. The reader can be used with any textbook in American government, no matter what the political inclinations of the professor. The reader can also stand by itself as an introduction to the critical issues facing American democracy at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

New to the Seventh Edition

The seventh edition contains twelve new selections, comprising nearly 35 percent of the book. Several of the new chapters address profound issues currently facing American democracy, including the debates over corporate spending in elections, same-sex marriage, and negative campaigning.

There are four new chapters:

- Chapter 6 Civil Liberties and Elections: Is Corporate Spending on Elections the Equivalent of Free Speech?
- Chapter 7 Civil Rights: Debating Same-Sex Marriage
- Chapter 11 Campaigns and Elections: Do Negative Ads Damage Democracy?
- Chapter 12 The Federal Budget: Is the Deficit a Threat to the Nation?

In addition, we have one or two new selections in three chapters continued from the previous edition:

- Chapter 9 Digital Media: Do They Expand or Shrink Democracy?
- Chapter 13 Congress: Can Our Representatives Serve the Public Good?
- Chapter 17 Foreign Policy: Has the United States Become an Imperial Power?

Many of the essays in the book have been written by leading figures in political science, law, journalism, and politics. We are grateful to two leading scholars of the presidency, Fred Greenstein and Stephen Skowronek, for updating their essays in Chapter 14 specially for this edition in order to incorporate the presidency of Barack Obama.

Acknowledgments

We are grateful to all of those who helped us to carry forward our original hopes for *Debating Democracy*. At SUNY, Albany, skillful research assistance was supplied by Molly Flynn, Paul Goggi, Timothy Gordinier, Christopher Latimer, Liu Runyu, Jordan Wishy, Christopher Witko, and Fred Wood. At Saint Louis University, Allan Lamberg, Ann Robertson, and Scott Krummenacher provided invaluable help. Jennifer Edwards and Bruce Hanebrink at the University of Missouri, St. Louis skillfully helped with the seventh edition. We would like to thank the outside reviewers who have reviewed *Debating Democracy* in all its forms over the years. Their incisive suggestions led us to change some selections, add new subjects, and improve our pedagogical framework.

Scott Adler, University of Colorado at Boulder

John L. Anderson, University of Nebraska at Kearney

Juan Arroyo, Ithaca College
Stephen C. Baker, Jacksonville University
Alan Beck, Santa Fe College
Matthew H. Bosworth, Winona State University
Max Brown, Willamette University
Jerry Calvert, Montana State University
Stefanie Chambers, Trinity College
Edmond Costantini, University of California at Davis
Jennifer Disney, John Jay College of Criminal Justice
Thomas P. Dolan, Columbus State University
Keith Rollin Eakins, University of Central Oklahoma
Dana K. Glencross, Oklahoma City Community College
Eric Grulke, Wright State University
James R. Harrigan, State University of New York – Oswego
Joseph P. Heim, University of Wisconsin – LaCrosse
Thomas Hensley, Kent State University
William J. Hughes, Southern Oregon University
Ronald King, San Diego State University
Fredrick Paul Lee, Winona State University
William R. Lund, University of Idaho
Suzanne Marilley, Capital University
Christopher McDonald, Lincoln Land Community College
Philip Meeks, Creighton University
Noelle Norton, University of San Diego
Paula L. O'Loughlin, University of Minnesota at Morris
David J. Olson, University of Washington
Marvin L. Overby, University of Mississippi
Travis N. Ridout, Washington State University
Delbert J. Ringquist, Central Michigan University
Gregory G. Rocha, University of Texas at El Paso
Stuart W. Schulman, Drake University

Larry Schwab, John Carroll University

Dennis Shea, State University of New York College at Oneonta

James R. Simmons, University of Wisconsin–Oshkosh

Kevin Smith, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

Donna J. Swarthout, Montana State University

Robert C. Turner, Skidmore College

Linda O. Valenty, San Jose State University

Bruce Wallin, Northeastern University

Kenneth F. Warren, Saint Louis University

Stephen Wiener, University of California at Santa Barbara

Finally, we continue to depend on the love, the support, and especially the patience of our families: Melinda, Nick, and Anna; Fay, Eva, and Rosa; Katie, Jessica, Madeleine, and Eleanore.

B. M.

R. S.

T. S.

