

Political Science 778-421
Professor Bibby

Fall 1998
M-W, 11:30 a.m.-12:45 p.m.
Bolton B79

PARTY POLITICS IN AMERICA

Required Texts

John F. Bibby, Politics, Parties, Politics, and Elections in America, 3rd Edition

L.Sandy Maisel (ed.), The Parties Respond: Changes in American Parties and Campaigns, 3rd Edition

John F. Bibby and L. Sandy Maisel, Two Parties Or More? The American Party System

[**Note:** Any royalties received by the instructor because of his books being required for the course will be donated to the UWM Foundation to support student scholarships.]

Goals of the Course

Students of politics have traditionally assigned to political parties a critical role in the successful functioning of western democracies. Thus in his classic 1944 study, E.E. Schattschneider boldly asserted this claim.

The rise of political parties is indubitably one of the principal distinguishing marks of modern government. The parties, in fact, have played a role as makers of modern government, more especially they have been the makers of democratic government...political parties created democracy and modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of parties (emphasis added).

Although most political scientists still ascribe an essential role for political parties in a democratic order, the cultural, legal, and political environment of the United States has been less than hospitable for parties. Like George Washington, most Americans are suspicious of parties and they have been less and less guided by partisanship in making election day choices. Parties also operate under severe statutory regulations that restrict their operations. In addition, powerful organizations--PACs, interest groups, consultants, and candidate organizations--complete with parties for electoral and governing influence even though they are frequently a part of each party's network. By the standards of most European political systems,

American political parties are comparatively weak within the government and in their ability to control policy making.

Despite the constraints under which they operate and the rapidity of economic, social, and political change in the post-World War II years, American parties have demonstrated an amazing level of adaptability and durability. Party organizations, which were thought by many informed observers to be withering away in the 1960s and 1970s, today are in showing renewed signs of vitality. In Congress, partisanship has intensified to its highest level since World War II and in the House of Representatives Speaker Newt Gingrich has emerged as the most powerful Speaker since the legendary Joseph ("Uncle Joe") Cannon at the turn of the century.

Even though there are these positive indicators of party strength, there are also worrisome signs for the Democratic and Republican parties and the two party system. In 1992, an independent candidate, H. Ross Perot, received 19% of the vote--the highest percentage since Theodore Roosevelt won 27% in 1912. Polls in 1996 showed that a majority of the public wanted to have a third party choice on the ballot. Parties also face the challenge of having their organizations come under increasing influence from allied groups, which have policy agendas that have the potential to drive away the parties' traditional constituencies and middle of the road voters.

This semester begins in the midst of the 1998 midterm elections in which an especially intense battle is being fought for control of the U.S. House of Representatives. In addition one-third of the Senate seats are at stake along with 36 governorships and control of legislative chambers in most of the states.

We will be paying special attention to the midterm elections and the role of parties in these contests. In addition, we will be seeking answers to why the elections turned out as they did and what the consequences of these elections are likely to be.

We will begin by briefly examining the nature of politics and the role of parties in an open and pluralistic society. We will then consider the history, organization, nominating practices, and electoral role of American parties. Finally, we will analyze the role of parties within the legislative and executive arenas of governmental decision-making.

Reading Assignments

Required readings are listed on the attached course outline. It is assumed that all students will do the assigned readings prior to class.

Only in this way can lectures and class discussions be of maximum value. Additional readings containing recent research findings and material on current political developments may be assigned on selected topics as they become available.

Term Paper Requirement

A term paper is required for the course. The nature of the paper will be described in class and in materials that will be distributed to each student. Because the semester coincides with the 1998 midterm elections, the term paper assignment will focus upon the elections. However, term papers may be on alternative topics, provide prior approval of the instructor is received.

Following Political Developments in the Media

It is strongly recommended that students regularly watch a national newscast on television and read local newspaper coverage of national and state politics. Other papers with which you should become familiar and read as frequently as possible include: The New York Times, The Washington Post, and The Wall Street Journal. Each is available in the periodical room of the UWM Library and the NYT and WSJ are available at local news stands, including the UWM Bookstore.

Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report and the National Journal are national news weeklies which are widely read within the Washington community. You should become familiar with both of these publications which are available in the periodical room of the UWM Library. In addition, Time, Newsweek, U.S. News, and The Economist also contain analyses of political developments.

Media Websites: In addition to the above published sources of political news/information, a number of major media outlets provide up-to-date coverage on their websites. Among the better websites are the following.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

<http://www.washingtonpost>

<http://www.allpolitics.com> (This is a CNN-Time magazine website.)

Since we will be focusing particular attention on the 1998 midterm elections, students should pay special attention to media coverage of the campaigns and election.

L. Sandy Maisel (ed.), Political Parties and Elections in the United States: An Encyclopedia, 2 Volumes (an encyclopedic treatment of important aspects of American party politics--institutions, organizations, leaders, elections)

Congressional Quarterly, Inc., Guide to Elections, 3rd Edition

Wisconsin Bluebook (The Bluebook, which is published every 2 years contains a compendium of data on Wisconsin elections and politics.)

National Journal, The Almanac of American Politics, 1998 (a compendium of data and informed commentary about the politics of each state, congressional districts, and incumbent members of the House and Senate)

COURSE OUTLINE AND READING ASSIGNMENTS: POL.SCI. 421

Note: Readings marked with an asterisk (*) are on reserve in the UWM Library.

I. Introduction: Politics and Parties in America

Bibby, Politics, Parties and Elections in America, 3rd Edition, Chapter 1.

II. Political Parties in American History

Bibby, Chapter 2
L. Sandy Maisel (ed.), The Parties Respond, 3rd Edition, Chapter 1

For Further reading (not required)

David R. Mayhew, Placing Parties in American Politics
A. James Reichley, The Life of the Parties: A History of American Political Parties
Richard L. McCormick, The Party Period and Public Policy: American Politics from the Age of Jackson to the Progressive Era
Nicol C. Rae, Southern Democrats
Nicol C. Rae, The Decline and Fall of the Liberal Republicans

III. The American Elections of 1900s

A. The 1992 Election

*Everett Carll Ladd, "The 1992 Vote for President Clinton: Another Brittle Mandate," Political Science Quarterly, 108 (Spring 1993), pp. 1-28.

B. The 1994 Elections

*Gary C. Jacobson, "The 1994 House Elections in Perspective," Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 11, (Summer 1996), 203-224.

C. The 1996 Election

*Michel Nelson, The Election of 1996, Chapters 3, 7

or

*Everett Carll Ladd, "1996 Vote: The 'No Majority' Realignment Continues," Political Science Quarterly Vol. 112 (Spring 1997), pp.1-28.

For Further Reading (Not Required)

Paul R. Abramson, John H. Aldrich, and David W. Rohde, Change and Continuity in the 1996 Elections

IV. Characteristics of the American Party System

Bibby, Chapter 3

For Further Reading

Leon D. Epstein, Political Parties in the American Mold (the most complete and insightful analysis of American parties available)

V. Third Parties in American Politics: Is the Two-Party System Threatened?

Bibby and Maisel, Two Parties Or More?

For Further Reading

J. David Gillespie, Politics at the Periphery: Third Parties in Two-Party America

John C. Green and Paul Herrnson (eds.), Multi-Party Politics and American Democracy

Abramson, Paul R., et al., "Third Party and Independent Candidates: Wallace, Anderson, and Perot," Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 110 (Fall, 1995), 349-367.

VI. Party Organizations

Bibby, Chapter 4

Maisel, The Parties Respond, 3rd Edition, Chapters 2,3

For Further Reading

Philip Klinkner, The Losing Parties: Out-Party National Committees, 1956-1993

Mayhew, David R., Placing Parties in American Politics
Anthony Gierzynski, Legislative Campaign Committees in the American States

Grimshaw, William J. Bitter Fruit: Black Politics and the Chicago Machine, 1931-1991

Anne Freedman, Patronage: An American Tradition

VII. Parties in Wisconsin

*Bibby, "Political Parties and Elections in Wisconsin," in Crane and Hagensick's Wisconsin Government and Politics, 6th Edition, Ronald E. Weber (ed.), Chapter 4

For Further Reading

William F. Thompson, The History of Wisconsin, Vol. VI: Continuity and Congress, 1940-1965 (contains a detailed history of Wisconsin politics)

Leon D. Epstein, Politics in Wisconsin

Frank J. Sorauf, "Extra-Legal Parties in Wisconsin," American Political Science Review, 48 (Sept. 1954), 692-704.

VIII. Nominations for State and Congressional Offices

Bibby, Chapter 5

Maisel, Chapter 7

For Further Reading

Leon Epstein, Political Parties in the American Mold, Chapter 6

Malcolm E. Jewell, Parties and Primaries: Nominating State Governors

IX. Presidential Nominating Politics

Bibby, Chapter 5

Maisel, Chapter 8

For Further Reading

Nelson Polsby and Aaron Wildavsky, Presidential Elections: Contemporary Strategies of American Electoral Politics, 10th Edition, Chapter 3

Nelson W. Polsby, The Consequences of Party Reform

Byron E. Shafer, Bifurcated Politics: Evolution and Reform in the National Party Convention

William G. Mayer (ed.), In Pursuit of the White House: How We Choose Our Presidential Nominees

X. Campaigns and Elections

A. Rules, Money, PACs, Campaign Strategy and Impact

Bibby, Chapter 7
 Maisel, Chapters 10, 9, 11

For Further Reading

Thomas M. Holbrook, Do Campaigns Matter?
 Frank J. Sorauf, Money in American Politics
 Frank J. Sorauf, Inside Campaign Finance
 Martin P. Wattenberg, The Rise of Candidate-Centered
 Politics
 Robert Biersack, Paul S. Herrnson, and Clyde Wilcox
 (eds.), Risky Business: PAC Decisionmaking in
 Congressional Elections
 Darrell West, Air Wars: Television Advertising in
 Election Campaigns, 1952-1996
 Elizabeth Drew, Whatever It Takes: The Real
 Struggle for Political Power in America

B. The Party in the Electorate

Bibby, Chapter 8
 Maisel, Chapters 5, 6

For Further Reading

Paul R. Abramson, John H. Aldrich, and David W.
 Rohde, Change and Continuity in the 1996
 Elections
 William H. Flanigan and Nancy Zingale, Political
 Behavior of the American Electorate, 9th Edition
 Ruy Teixeira, The Disappearing American Voter
 Bruce E. Keith, et al., The Myth of the Independent
 Voter
 Martin P. Wattenberg, The Rise of Candidate-
 Centered Politics

C. Parties and Congressional Elections

Bibby, pp. 283-297 (review)

For Further Reading

Gary Jacobson, The Politics of Congressional
 Elections, 4th Edition
 Paul S. Herrnson, Congressional Elections, 2nd Edition

XI. Political Parties and Governing

A. An Overview

Bibby Chapter 9

B. The Party in the Executive

Maisel, Chapter 14

For Further reading

Charles O. Jones, The Presidency in a Separated System

C. The Party in Congress

Bibby, pp. 337-359 (review)

Maisel, Chapters 12, 13

For Further Reading

David Rohde, Parties and Leaders in the Postreform House

Barbara Sinclair, The Transformation of the U.S. Senate

Gary W. Cox and Mathew D. McCubbins, Legislative

Leviathan: Party Government in the House

XII. Parties in Perspective: Toward the Future

Bibby, Chapter 10

Maisel, Chapters 15, 16