The Contribution of the Political Parties in Conducting and Influencing the Political Arena in the U.S.A

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Dedication

I dedicate this special work to:

The man whose support has strengthened my will and lightened my way,

my dear father Mohamed

The symbol of kindness and love, my mother Djamila

My sisters: Selma, Asma, Imane, and my brother Akram

To all my lovely friends: Somia, Sabrina, Aouatef, Zoulikha

And to all those who love me

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*My endless thanks to my parents, who have been a source of reassurance and strength. My immense gratitude to my sisters: Selma, Asma, Imane, and my brother **Akram.***

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Abstract

This work deals with the issue of political parties as an essential part of the American political life, and as a significant element in conducting any democratic process and providing a vital link between the government and the governed. Also, it is an analysis of the political parties' role as a means that could bring candidates for office and secure their campaign through electing them under a common label.

Actually, the U.S.A political history is described according to its party organization which was characterized by a Two-Party system. Thus, this work surveys the development of political parties through periods of decline and resurgence, with a focus on its major parties, the Republican and the Democratic Party, in addition to the earliest first parties.

The Founding Fathers took a dim view of political parties. They regarded parties as selfish factions which sought to use governmental power to satisfy their own desires, while neglecting the legitimate interests of other citizens; a political party might even institute tyranny. In short, parties were viewed as divisive at a time when the country's greatest need was unity. Thus, this work, through the analysis of the parties' role, examines and testifies whether the Founders of this nation were right about their suspicion towards the parties.

ملخص

يتناول عملنا هذا موضوع الأحزاب السياسية في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية باعتبارها عنصرا هاما في ممارسة وإدارة أي نشاط ديمقراطي. فهي تخدم كالصلة الرئيسية بين الحكومة و الفرد. كما يتناول بالدراسة و التحليل الدور الذي تلعبه هذه الأحزاب في انتقاء و اختيار مرشحيها، وضبط برامجهم و حملاتهم الانتخابية، وتعبئتهم تحت لوائها و حمل شعاراتها، وإعدادهم لتحمل المسؤولية تشريعية كانت أو تنفيذية.

في الواقع، تتم رواية التاريخ السياسي الأمريكي باعتبار الأنظمة الحزبية. بناء على ذلك، يبين هذا العمل مراحل تطور الأحزاب في أمريكا و انهيارها وانبعاثها بالتركيز على أهم حزبين في التاريخ الأمريكي و هما الحزب الجمهوري والحزب الديمقراطي دون أن ننسى بالذكر أولى الأنظمة السياسية التي سبقتهما.

كانت لدى مؤسسي الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية نظرة مظلمة ومتشائمة اتجاه الأحزاب ، فقد اعتبروها على أنها مجموعات مصالح تطغى عليها الأنانية تستغل قوى الحكومة لتلبية مصالحها و إرضاء رغباتها مهملة بذلك كل الحقوق الشرعية لباقي المواطنين. لذلك فان الهدف من هذه الدراسة هو الوقوف عند هذه النظرة و الكشف عنها بتوضيح إذا ما كان مؤسسو الأمة الأمريكية على صواب لتشكيكهم في مصداقية هذه الأحزاب.

List of Abbreviations

DNC :   The Democratic National Committee

DCCC : The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee

DSCC: The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee

DLCC: The Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee

CDA: The College Democrats of America

YDA: The Young Democrats of America

DGA: The Democratic Governor Association

NAFTA: North American Free Agreement

CPC: The Congressional Progressive Caucus

GOP: Grand Old Party

WTO: World Trade Organization

RNC: Republican National Committee

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General Introduction

The history of democratic government is virtually synonymous with the history of parties. When the countries of Eastern Europe gained their freedom a few years ago, one of their first steps toward democracy was the legalization of parties. Two centuries ago when the United States was founded, the formation of parties was also the first step toward the erection of its democracy. The reason is simple, it the competition between parties that gives popular majorities a chance to determine how they will be governed. In the United States of America, This party competition narrows the citizens' options when they go to the polls to two, the Democratic and Republican parties, as they enables people with different opinions to render a common judgment.

Political parties are a universal and essential feature of western democratic system; they are usually recognized as providing a vital link between the government and the governed. They give direction and strength to the people's votes because due to their numbers, they give them the capacity to act together in order to have the potential for great influence. At first glance, American parties occupy the same place in the politics of the U.S.A as do their European counterparts in their own countries. Thus, for well over one hundred years, national and local elections have been dominated by the Democratic and the Republican Party.

By the time the first president George Washington left office in 1797, two parties had clearly emerged, each one believing that they were fighting to protect the values embodied in the constitution and offering their own plan for a better America. The antagonism between them was so deep that it contributed to an amendment to the constitution. Originally, the winner of the presidential election became president and

the runner-up became vice president. After the 12th Amendment was passed in 1804, the two positions were elected jointly.

The two parties that now dominate U.S.A politics were produced over the issue of slavery. The Republican Party was founded in 1854 primarily as anti-slavery party and they met first in San Diego; their 1996 platform included a constitutional ban on abortions, balanced federal budget, parental choice of school, business deregulation, and the assignment of a broad range of federal programs to state and local governments. However, Democratic Party, which had a much longer history, enjoyed support among poorer people in Northern cities in the South. The Democrat's lengthy platform included tax benefits for low and middle income families, protection of social security, and pledges to strengthen the nation's environmental, educational, and health systems.

Besides the party's lengthy plans, their major function is to provide candidates for office and to secure their election, to organize the electoral campaign, and to simplify the electoral process for the citizens in order to have a clear idea about whom they are going to chose as their president.

Despite all the effective functions the parties can provide, the Founding Fathers took a dim view of political parties. They regarded them as selfish factions which sought to use governmental power to satisfy their own desires while neglecting the legitimate interests of other citizens. If such a faction commanded the support of a majority of citizens, a political party might even institute tyranny. In short, parties were viewed as divisive at a time when the country's greatest need was unity.

The Federalist James Madison made clear both his negative view of factions and the ways in which the Constitution was designed to keep parties in check. Yet, despite

his best attempts to create what has been described as a 'Constitution against party', it was soon clear that Madison had failed. By the end of George Washington's presidency in 1797, the United States possessed its first party system, pitching the Federalists against the Jeffersonian Republicans. In his farewell address, Washington warned the country against 'the spirit of faction' that had arisen.

Therefore, in the light of what has been discussed previously, the current research will try to contribute to the understanding of the subject by giving an answer to the following question: To which extent the Founding Fathers were right in their suspicion about political parties?

At first, the current research aims to clarify the history of political parties since the formation of the United States, and explores background and forces that compelled their emergence. Secondly, it intended to bring into analysis the importance of parties in conducting social, economic, and particularly political issues such as the engagement in organizing campaign activities, as well as their influence on public opinion, shaping their political choices, and persuading citizens to vote in favor of them.

Because the United States of America has the most complex political system, the study of political parties will helps students and scholars to understand the nature of American politics, as it informs them about the functions the party can provide.

This research is intended to cover the period of development and decline in political parties through the United States' political history up to nowadays modern ones. We are expected to shed light on the two major political parties focusing on the functions they perform inside the political system either in positive or negative way.

Since Iam dealing with events and facts, the research will be conducted through the use of the historical method taking in consideration the crucial previous findings, it will base on reviewing the books and articles that deal with my course work. My research will depend on a critical and argumentative analysis of primary sources and studies made by historians and scholars relating to my subject.

The present work is intended to examine and evaluate the effect of political parties on conducting any democratic process. Many political scientists argued that the government is unthinkable without the existence of political parties. Thus, the research is divided into three chapters.

The first chapter records the historical background and development of political parties in the United States. First, we will deal with the first political systems that were emerged earlier during the United States' political history. Then, we shift to highlight on minor parties which were successful in formulating their own position in a political system that ignore and reject the rise of a third party.

The second chapter covers the modern American political system, which characterized by a two-system party through shedding light on the major dominant parties, the Republican and Democratic Party.

The last chapter deals with the different functions the political parties can perform. Then, we move to examine the structure of political organizations and it's in influence on citizens, persuading voters, and contacting them in order to participate in the political process. Indeed, this chapter demonstrates the weakening of political parties.

Chapter One: Historical Background of the U.S. Political Parties

1.1. Introduction

Before everything, we should know first about the factors that led to the rise of political parties in the United States. At first, economic activity on the South based mainly on agriculture and the farmers had a little need for an active federal government, while that of the Northeast who engaged in commerce required the national government to produce protective tariffs for American manufacturing. These issues quickly emerged as political conflicts when Hamilton presented his ideas to the Congress with the support of his apologist, the Federalist Jefferson and his followers formed a political party, the Republican, as a means for advancing their goals. This act created America's first competitive party system (David, R.Mayhew 146-147).

The second major reason for the rise of parties in the United States is the need to organize for competitive elections, and later turned to be the desire to captain of the presidency itself. This leads us to the third reason for the persistence of parties which is the separation of power that was constructed mainly to prevent the growth of parties (J.Mckever and Davies 146).

For something that was unintended by the Founders of this nation, political parties have been remarkably stable feature of the American political landscape. The United States political party system was characterized by the competition between two major parties for over 130 years, but there have been periods in the U.S.A history where one party have been dominant. After two centuries from the United States foundation, the formation of political parties was the first step toward the erection of democracy and the competition between them gives a chance to the public opinion to determine how they will be governed (E. Patterson 105).

1.2. History of the United States First Parties

1.2.1. The First Party System

By the end of George Washington's presidency in 1797, The United States possessed its first party system by putting the Federalists against the Jeffersonian Republicans. The Federalist Party grew from Washington's Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, who favored a strong united central government and commercial interest, close ties to Britain, an effective banking system, and close links between the government and men of wealth. The Democratic-Republican Party was founded by James Madison and by Washington's Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, a supporter of States' rights and small landowners who strongly opposed Hamilton's agenda (E. Diclerio and Hammock 206).

The First Party System did not last for long; there have been an era during the history of the United States parties called the Era of Good Feeling when parties come and gone, this era marked the end of the First Party System. After Jefferson's victory in the election of 1800, the elitism of the Federalists had diminished their appeal and their refusal to support the War of 1812 verged on secession, and was a devastating blow when the war ended well. Thus, the Federalists were finished as a political force of any consequence. The Era of Good Feelings under President James Monroe (1816-1824) marked a brief period in which partisanship was minimal. By the end of James Monroe's term, the Republicans had split because of policy differences and the dominant faction led by Andrew Jackson retained Jefferson's commitment to the interests of small farmers, tradesmen, and shopkeepers. This faction called itself Democratic Republican, later shortened to Democrats (History of U.S.A Parties).

1.2.2. The Second Party System

In 1828, The Second Party System saw a split of the Democratic-Republican Party into the Jacksonian Democrats, who grew into the modern Democratic Party, led by Andrew Jackson, and the Whig Party led by Henry Cly. Jackson's Democratic Party consisted of committees and clubs at the national, state, and local levels with membership open to all eligible voters. The Democrats supported the primacy of the Presidency over the other branches of government, and opposed the Bank of the United States as well as modernizing programs that they felt would build up industry at the expense of the taxpayer (The Second Party System).

In this period, a new opposition party, the Whigs, emerged to challenge the Democrats. The Whigs' followers were united not by a coherent philosophy of their own, but by their opposition for one reason or another to the philosophy and policies of the Jacksonian Democrats. They advocated the primacy of Congress over the executive branch as well as policies of modernization and economic protectionism (The Second Party System).

Competition between the Whigs and the Democrats was relatively short-lived. During the 1850s, the slavery issue began to tear both parties apart. In 1860, the Democratic Party gave the majority of its voters the choice to decide whether a new territory permitted slavery or not, while the Republicans called for the legalization of slavery in all territories. Thus, the Republicans had eclipsed the Whigs and became America's other major party. The 1850s saw the collapse of the Whig party largely as a result of deaths in its leadership, and a major intra-party split over slavery as a result of the compromise of 1850. In addition, the fading of old economic issues removed many of the unifying forces holding the party together. However, the United States

party system essentially collapsed in 1860 because the issue of slavery was too powerful to be settled through political compromise between political parties (Fiorina, Johnson, et al. 208).

1.2.3. The Third Party System

The Third Party System stretched from 1854 to the mid 1890s. It was characterized by the emergence of the anti-slavery Republican Party, which adopted many of the economic policies of the Whigs such as national banks, railroads, high tariffs, homesteads and aid to land grant colleges. Civil War and Reconstruction issues polarized the parties until the Compromise of 1877, which ended the latter. Thus, both parties became broad-based voting coalitions. The race issue pulled newly enfranchised African Americans (Freedmen) into the Republican Party while white southerners (Redeemers) joined the Democratic Party. The Democratic coalition also had conservative pro-business Bourbon Democrats, traditional Democrats in the North (many of them former copperheads), and Catholic immigrants. The Republican coalition also consisted of businessmen, shop owners, skilled craftsmen, clerks and professionals who were attracted to the party's modernization policies (Fiorina, Johnson, et al. 209).

1.2.4. The Fourth Party System

The Fourth Party System, 1896 to 1932, retained the same primary parties as the Third Party System, but saw major shifts in the central issues of debate. This period also corresponded to the Progressive Era, and was dominated by the Republican Party. It began after the Republicans blamed the Democrats on the Panic of 1893, which later resulted in William McKinley victory over William Jennings Bryan in the 1896 presidential election. The central domestic issues changed to government regulation of railroads and large corporations , the protective tariff, the

role of labor unions, child labor, the need for a new banking system, corruption in party politics, primary elections, direct election of senators, racial segregation, efficiency in government, women's suffrage, and control of immigration. Most voting blocs continued unchanged, but some realignment took place, giving Republicans dominance in the industrial Northeast and new strength in the Border States (Frymer and Paul 67).

1.2.5. The Fifth Party System

The Fifth Party System emerged with the New Deal Coalition beginning in 1933. The Republicans began losing support after the Great Depression, giving rise to Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the activist New Deal. They promoted America liberalism, anchored in a coalition of specific liberal groups, especially ethno-religious constituencies (Catholics, Jews, and African Americans), white Southerners, well-organized labor unions, urban machines, progressive intellectuals, and populist farm groups. Opposition Republicans were split between a conservative wing, led by Ohio Senator Robert A. Taft, and a more successful moderate wing exemplified by the politics of Northeastern leaders such as Nelson, Jacob Javits, and Henry Cabot Lodge (The Fifth Party System).

1.3. The Minor Parties

1.3.1. The Single-Issue Parties

Some minor parties form around single issue of overriding concern to their supporters, such as the present day Right-to-Life party, which was formed to oppose the legalization of abortion. Some single-issue parties have seen their policy goals enacted into law, for example, the Prohibition Party contributed to the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment which prohibited the manufacture, sale, and transportation

of alcoholic beverages. But usually, single-issue parties disbanded when their issues is resolved or fades in importance (E.Diclerio and Hamock 219).

1.3.2. The Ideological Parties

Other minor parties are characterized by their ideological commitment or belief in a radical philosophical position, such as redistribution of economic sources. Modern ideological parties include the Citizens Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Libertarian Party, each one operates on the fringe of the American politics.

One of the strongest ideological parties in the nation's history was the Populist Party. It began as an agrarian protest movement in response to an economic depression and the anger of small farmers over low commodity prices, tight credit, and high rates charged by railroad monopolies to transport farm goods. The Populists' ideological platform called for government ownership of the railroads, a graduated income tax, low tariffs on imports, and elimination of the gold standard. In 1896, The Populist party endorsed the Democratic presidential nominee, William Jennings Bryan, but its support hurt the Democrats nationally when large numbers of eastern Democrats abandoned their party's nominee in fear of the western Populists' radical ideas (E.Diclerio and Hammock 219).

1.3.3. The Factional Parties

The Republican and Democratic Parties are relatively skillful at managing internal divisions. Sometimes factional conflict within the major parties has led to the formation of minor parties. The most successful of these factional parties was Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose Party. In 1908, after Roosevelt declined to seek a third term, he handpicked William Howard Taft for the Republican nomination. When

Taft as president showed neither Roosevelt's enthusiasm for strong presidency nor his commitment to the goals of the Progressive movement, Roosevelt unsuccessfully challenged Taft for the 1912 Republican nomination, and led a progressive walkout to form the Bull Moose Party. Thus, the split within the Republicans enabled the Democrats to win the presidency (Storey 196-197).

Another example of strong factional parties is the States' Right Party, and George Wallace's American Independent Party. These parties were formed by Southern Democrats who were angered by Northern Democrats' support of racial desegregation (E. Diclerio and Hammock 219-220).

1.4. Conclusion

Although the U.S.A electoral system discourages the formation of third parties, the nation has always had minor parties. But only one minor party, the Republican Party, has ever achieved majority status. Minor parties in the United States have formed to advocate positions that their followers believe are not being represented by either of the two major parties, they are forced to pay attention to the problems that are driving people to look outside the two-party system for leadership. Strong support for a minor party has encouraged the major parties to try to capture its supporters. Minor parties formed in response to the emergence of a single controversial issue, out of a commitment to a certain ideology, or as a result of a split within one of the major parties.

Chapter Two: The Modern U.S.A political party system

2.1. Introduction

The modern political party system in the United States is two-party system dominated by the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. These two parties have won every United States Presidential election since 1852 and have controlled the United States Congress since at least 1856. Political parties serve to link the public with its elected leaders. In the United States, this linkage is provided by a two-party system; only the Republican and the Democratic parties have the chance of winning control of government. The fact that the United States has only two major parties is explained by several factors: an electoral system characterized by single-member districts that makes it difficult for third parties to compete for power; each party's willingness to accept differing political views; and a political culture that stresses compromise and negotiation rather than ideological rigidity.

In spite of the fact that the American constitution did not mention it, political parties were a part of the American political system which characterized by a history of two major parties. The Republican and Democratic Party, each one believing in different concepts and thought and they represent a diverse range of people, also each one has his own main aims and plans, but they have something in common. Political Parties aims to develop broad policy and leadership choices and then presents them to the voting public to accept or reject. This process is what gives the citizens an opportunity, through election, to influence how they will be governed. The political scientist E.E.Schattschneider once wrote « It is the competition of political organization that provides the people with an opportunity to make a choice, without this opportunity popular sovereignty amounts to nothing».

Political party is an ongoing coalition of interests jointed together in an effort to get its candidates for public office elected under a common label. A theme of this chapter is that Party organization are alive, well, and effective in America, actually the American political history is described according to the party organization.

The United States Constitution has never formally addressed the issue of political parties. The Founding Fathers did not originally intend for American politics to be partisan. In Federalist Papers No. 9 and No. 10, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, respectively, wrote specifically about the dangers of domestic political factions. In addition, the first President of the United States, George Washington, was not a member of any political party at the time of his election or throughout his tenure as president. Furthermore, he hoped that political parties would not be formed, fearing conflict and stagnation. Nevertheless, the beginnings of the American two-party system emerged from his immediate circle of advisers, including Hamilton and Madison.

2.2. The Democratic Party

The Democratic Party is one of two major political parties, the oldest one in the United States, and among the oldest in the world. The Democratic Party evolved from Anti-Federalist factions that opposed the fiscal policies of Alexander Hamilton in the early 1790s. It traces its origins to the inspiration of Democratic-Republican Party, founded by Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and other influential opponents of the Federalists in 1792. The party favored states' rights and strict adherence to the constitution; it opposed a national bank and wealthy, moneyed interests. That party also inspired the Whigs and modern Republicans. Organizationally, it arose in 1828 in conjunction with the presidential candidacy of

General Andrew Jackson, their campaign focused on promoting Jackson as a personality. Since the division of the Republican Party in the election of 1912, the Democratic Party has consistently positioned itself to the left of the Republican Party in economic as well as social matters. Democrats succeeded in building the first mass popular party in the United States as they enjoyed support among poorer people in the Northern cities and in the South (History of the Democratic Party).

After the War of 1812, Democratic-Republicans split over the choice of a successor to President James Monroe, and the party faction that supported many of the old Jeffersonian principles, led by Andrew Jackson and Martin Von Buren , became the Democratic Party. Along with the Whig Party, the Democratic Party was the chief party in the United States until the Civil War. The Whigs were a commercial party, and usually less popular, if better. The Whigs divided over the slavery issue after the Mexican-American War and faded away. In the 1850s, under the stress of the Fugitive Slave Law and the Kansas-Nebraska Act, anti-slavery Democrats left the party. Joining with former members of existing or dwindling parties, the Republican Party emerged (William 214-215).

The Democrats split over the choice of a successor to President James Buchanan along Northern and Southern lines, while the Republican Party gained ascendancy in the election of 1860. As the American Civil War broke out, Northern Democrats were divided into War Democrats and Peace Democrats. Most War Democrats rallied to Republican President Abraham Lincoln and the Republicans' National Union party in 1864, which put Andrew Johnson on the ticket as a Democrat from the South. Johnson replaced Lincoln in 1865 but stayed independent of both parties (214-215).

The Democrats remained competitive. The party was dominated by pro-business Bourbon Democrats led by Samuel J. Tilden and Grover Cleveland, who opposed imperialism and overseas expansion; fought for the gold standard; opposed bimetallism; and crusaded against corruption, high taxes, and tariffs. The Democrats took control of the House in 1910 and elected Woodrow Wilson as president in 1912 and 1916. Wilson effectively led Congress to put to rest the issues of tariffs, money, and antitrust that had dominated politics for 40 years with new progressive laws. The Great Depression in 1929 that occurred under Republican President Herbert Hoover and the Republican Congress set the stage for a more liberal government; the Democrats controlled the House of Representatives nearly uninterrupted from 1931 until 1995 and won most presidential elections until 1968 (Vile 147)

Until the period following the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which was championed by a Democratic president but faced lower Democratic than Republican support in Congress. The Democratic Party was primarily a coalition of two parties divided by region. Southern Democrats were typically given high conservative ratings by the American Conservative Union, while northern Democrats were typically given very liberal ratings. Southern Democrats were a core bloc of the bipartisan conservative coalition which lasted through the Reagan-era. The economically left-leaning philosophy of Franklin D. Roosevelt, which has strongly influenced American Liberalism, has shaped much of the party's economic agenda since1932, and served to tie the two regional factions of the party together until the late 1960s (Storey 168-169-170).

The issues facing parties and the United States after World War II included the Cold War and the Civil Rights Movement. Republicans attracted conservatives and white Southerners from the Democratic coalition with their resistance to New

Deal and Great Society liberalism and the Republicans' use of the Southern strategy. African Americans, who traditionally supported the Republican Party, began supporting Democrats following the ascent of the Franklin Roosevelt administration, the New Deal, and the Civil Rights movement. The Democratic Party's main base of support shifted to the Northeast, marking a dramatic reversal of history. Bill Clinton was elected to the presidency in 1992, governing as a New Democrats. The Democratic Party lost control of Congress in the election of 1994 to the Republican Party that Re-elected in 1996; Clinton was the first Democratic President since Franklin Roosevelt to be elected to two terms. Following twelve years of Republican rule, the Democratic Party regained majority control of both the House and the Senate in the 2006 elections. In 2004, it was the largest political party, with 72 million voters (42.6% of 169 million registered) claiming affiliation. The president of the United State, Barak Obama, is the 15th Democrat to hold the office, and since the 2006 midterm election, the Democratic Party is the majority party for the United States Senate (Michael 30).

Some of the party's key issues in the early 21st century in their last national platform have included the methods of how to combat terrorism, homeland security, and expanding access to health care, labor rights, environmentalism, and the preservation of liberal government programs. In the2010 election, the Democratic Party lost control of the House, but kept a small majority in the Senate (reduced from the 111th Congress). It also lost its majority in state legislatures and state governorships (Smith 55).

2.2.1. Current Structure of Democratic Party

The Democratic National Committee (DNC) is responsible for promoting Democratic campaign activities and for overseeing the process of writing the Democratic Platform. The DNC is more focused on campaign and organizational strategy than public policy. In presidential elections, it supervises the Democratic National Convention, which is subject to the charter of the party, the ultimate authority within the Democratic Party when it is in session with the DNC running the party's organization at other times (History of the Democratic Party).

The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) assists party candidates in House races; its current chairman (selected by the party caucus) is Rep. Steve Israel of New York. Similarly, the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC), currently headed by Senator Patty Murray of Washington raises large sums for Senate races. The Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee (DLCC), currently chaired by Mike Gronstal of Iowa, is a smaller organization with much less funding that focuses on state legislative races. The DNC sponsors the College Democrats of America (CDA), a student-outreach organization with the goal of training and engaging a new generation of Democratic activists. Democrats Abroad is the organization for Americans living outside the United States; they work to advance the goals of the party and encourage Americans living abroad to support the Democrats. The Young Democrats of America (YDA) is a youth-led organization that attempts to draw in and mobilize young people for Democratic candidates, but operates outside of the DNC. In addition, the recently created branch of the Young Democrats, the Young Democrats High School Caucus, attempts to raise awareness and activism amongst teenagers to not only vote and volunteer, but participate in the future as well. The Democratic Governor Association (DGA), chaired by

Governor Martin O'Malley of Maryland, is an organization supporting the candidacies of Democratic gubernatorial nominees and incumbents. Likewise, the mayors of the largest cities and urban centers convene as the National Conference of Democratic Mayors (Johnson 215).

Each state also has a state committee, made up of elected committee members as well as ex-officio committee members (usually elected officials and representatives of major constituencies), which in turn elects a chair. County, town, city, and ward committees generally are composed of individuals elected at the local level. State and local committees often coordinate campaign activities within their jurisdiction, oversee local conventions and in some cases primaries or caucuses, and may have a role in nominating candidates for elected office under state law. Rarely do they have much funding, but in 2005, DNC Chairman Dean began a program (called the "50 State Strategy") of using DNC national funds to assist all state parties and paying for full-time professional staffers (215).

2.2.2. Political Ideology of the Democratic Party

Since the 1890s, the Democratic Party has favored liberal positions (the term "liberal" in this sense describes social liberalism, not classical liberalism). In recent exit polls, the Democratic Party has had broad appeal across all socio-ethno-economic demographics. Historically, the party has favored farmers, laborers, labor unions, religious and ethnic minorities; it has opposed unregulated business and finance, and favored progressive income taxes. In foreign policy, internationalism (including interventionism) was a dominant theme from 1913 to the mid-1960s. In the 1930s, the party began advocating welfare spending programs targeted at the poor. The party had a fiscally conservative, pro-business wing, typified by Grover Cleveland and Al Smith, and a Southern conservative wing that shrank after

President Lyndon B. Johnson supported the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The major influences for liberalism were labor unions (which peaked in the 1936–1952 era), and the African American wing, which has steadily grown since the 1960s. Since the 1970s, environmentalism has been a major new component (E.Patterson 208-209)

In recent decades, the party has adopted a centrist economic and socially progressive agenda with the voter base having shifted considerably. Today, Democrats advocate more social freedoms, affirmative action, balanced budget, and a free enterprise system tempered by government intervention (mixed economy). The economic policy adopted by the modern Democratic Party, including the former Clinton administration, has been referred to as the "Third Way". The party believes that government should play a role in alleviating poverty and social injustice and use a system of progressive taxation. The Democratic Party, once dominant in the Southeastern United States, is now strongest in the Northeast (Mid-Atlantic and New England), Great Lakes region, and the Pacific Coast (including Hawaii). The Democrats are also very strong in major cities (208-209).

2.2.3. Liberalism and the Democratic Party

Social liberals (modern liberals) and progressives constitute roughly half of the Democratic voter base. Liberals form the largest united typological demographic within the Democratic base. According to the 2008 exit poll results, liberals constituted 22% of the electorate, and 89% of American liberals favored the candidate of the Democratic Party. White-collar college-educated professionals were mostly Republican until the 1950s; they now compose perhaps the most vital component of the Democratic Party. A large majority of liberals favor universal health care, with many supporting a single-payer system. A majority also

favor diplomacy over military action, stem cell research, the legalization of same-sex marriage, secular government, stricter gun control, and environmental protection laws as well as the preservation of abortion rights. Immigration and cultural diversity is deemed positive; liberals favor cultural pluralism, a system in which immigrants retain their native culture in addition to adopting their new culture. They tend to be divided on free trade agreements and organizations such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Most liberals oppose increased military spending and the display of the Ten Commandments in public buildings (Vile 51).

2.2.4. Progressive Democrats of America

Many progressive Democrats are descendants of the New Left of Democratic presidential candidate Senator George McGovern of South Dakota; others were involved in the presidential candidacies of Vermont Governor Howard Dean and U.S. Representative Dennis Kucinich of Ohio. The Congressional Progressive Caucus (CPC) is a caucus of progressive Democrats, and is the single largest Democratic caucus in the House of Representatives. Its members have included Dennis Kucinich of Ohio, John Conyers of Michigan, Jim McDermott of Washington, John Lewis of Georgia, Barbara Lee of California, the late Senator Paul Wellstone of Minnesota, and Sherrod Brown of Ohio, now a Senator. America Votes and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights are liberal umbrella organizations that push for progressive causes (Mckeever and Davies 150).

2.2.5. Libertarian Democrats

Some libertarians also support the Democratic Party because Democratic positions on such issues as civil rights and separation of church and state are more closely aligned to their own than the positions of the Republican Party. They oppose

gun control, the "War on Drugs," protectionism, corporate welfare, government debt, and an interventionist foreign policy. The Democratic Freedom Caucus is an organized group of this faction. Some civil libertarians also support the party because of their support of habeas corpus for unlawful combatants, opposition to torture of suspected terrorists, extraordinary rendition, warrantless wiretapping, indefinite detention without trial or charge, the Patriot Act, the Guantanamo Bay Naval Base and what they see as the erosion of the protections of the Bill of Rights (Storey 175).

2.2.6. Conservative Democrats

The Pew Research Center has stated that conservative Democrats represent 15% of registered voters and 14% of the general electorate. In the House of Representatives, the Blue Dog Coalition, a caucus of fiscal and social conservatives and moderates forms part of the Democratic Party's current faction of conservative Democrats. They have acted as a unified voting bloc in the past, giving its forty plus members some ability to change legislation and broker compromises with the Republican Party's leadership. Historically, southern Democrats were generally much more ideologically conservative. In 1972, the last year that a sizable number of conservatives dominated the southern wing of the Democratic Party, the American Conservative Union gave higher ratings to most southern Democratic Senators and Congressmen than it did to Republicans (Storey 173).

2.3. The Republican Party

The United States Republican Party is the second oldest currently existing political party in the United States after its great rival, the Democratic Party. It emerged in 1854 to combat the Kansas Nebraska Act which threatened to extend

slavery into the territories, and to promote more vigorous modernization of the economy. It had almost no presence in the South, but in the North it enlisted most former Whigs and former Free Soil Democrats to form majorities by 1858 in nearly every Northern state. At first, the party was established as anti-slavery party but later on it enjoyed large support in the Northern States. After the Civil war, the party that helped slaves to become citizens turned to be the party of business and middle class. Also, the Republicans had built successful political party by combining moral and political visions with the self-interest of large section of lower class Americans (Mckeever and Davies 148-149).

With the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 and its success in guiding the Union to victory and abolishing slavery, Republicans came to dominate the national scene until 1932. The Republican Party was based on northern white Protestants, businessmen, professionals, factory workers, wealthier farmers, and blacks. It was pro-business, supporting banks, the gold standard, railroads, and high tariffs to protect heavy industry and the industrial workers. Under William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt, the party emphasized an expansive foreign policy. The GOP ("Grand Old Party"), as it is often called, became a minority after failing to reverse the Great Depression in 1932. The New Deal Coalition led by Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt came to power in 1933-1945. When that coalition collapsed in the middle 1960s, Republicans came back winning seven of the 10 presidential elections 1968 to 2004 (Bibliography of the Republican Party).

The GOP relied increasingly on its new base in the white South after 1968, especially because of its new strength among evangelical Protestants. The key leader in the late 20th century was Ronald Reagan, whose conservative pro-business policies

for less government regulation, lower taxes, and an aggressive foreign policy still dominate the party.

2.3.1. Ideological Beginnings

It began as coalition of anti-slavery "Conscience Whigs" and Free Soil Democrats opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, submitted to Congress by Stephen Douglas in January 1854. The Act opened Kansas Territory and Nebraska Territory to slavery and future admission as slave states, thus implicitly repealing the prohibition on slavery in territory north of 36° 30′ latitude, which had been part of the Missouri Compromise. This change was viewed by Free-Soil and Abolitionist Northerners as an aggressive, expansionist maneuver by the slave-owning South. The Act was supported by all Southerners and by Northern "Doughface" (pro-Southern) Democrats, and by still other northern Democrats persuaded by Douglas' doctrine of "popular sovereignty". In the North the old Whig party was almost defunct. The opponents were intensely motivated and began forming a new party. The new party went well beyond the issue of slavery in the territories. It envisioned modernizing the United States emphasizing giving free western land to farmers ("free soil") as opposed to letting slave owners buy up the best lands, expanded banking, more railroads, and factories. They vigorously argued that free-market labor was superior to slavery and the very foundation of civic virtue and true republicanism - this is the "Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men" ideology (The History of Republican Party).

The Republicans absorbed the previous traditions of its members, most of whom had been Whigs; others had been Democrats or members of third parties (especially the Free Soil Party and the American Party or Know Nothings). Many Democrats who joined up were rewarded with governorships or seats in the U.S.A Senate or House of Representatives. Since its inception, its chief opposition has been

the Democratic Party, but the amount of flow back and forth of prominent politicians between the two parties was quite high from 1854 to 1896. Historians have explored the ethnocultural foundations of the party, along the line that ethnic and religious groups set the moral standards for their members, who then carried those standards into politics. The churches also provided social networks that politicians used to sign up voters. The pietistic churches emphasized the duty of the Christian to purge sin from society. Sin took many forms like alcoholism, polygamy and slavery became special targets for the Republicans (Jhonston 82).

The Yankees, who dominated New England, much of upstate New York, and much of the upper Midwest were the strongest supporters of the new party. This was especially true for the pietistic Congregationalists and Presbyterians among them and (during the war), the Methodists, along with Scandinavian Lutherans. The Quakers were a small tight-knit group that was heavily Republican. The liturgical churches (Roman Catholic, Episcopal, German Lutheran) by contrast, largely rejected the moralists of the Republican Party; most of their adherents voted in favor of the Democratic Party (82).

2.3.2. Organizational Beginning

The first "anti-Nebraska" meeting where "Republican" was suggested as a name for a new anti-slavery party was held in a Ripon, Wisconsin schoolhouse on March 20, 1854. The first statewide convention that formed a platform and nominated candidates under the name "Republican" was held "under the oaks" on the outskirts of Jackson in Michigan on July 6, 1854. It declared their new party opposed to the expansion of slavery into new territories and selected a state-wide slate of candidates. The Midwest took the lead in forming state party tickets, while the eastern states lagged a year or so. There were no efforts to organize the party in the South, apart

from St. Louis and a few areas adjacent to Free states. The party initially had its base in the Northeast and Midwest (Bibby, Wayne, et al 24).

2.3.3. Establishing a National Party

The party launched its first national convention in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in February 1856, with its first national nominating convention held in the summer in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. John C. Frémont ran as the first Republican nominee for President in 1856, using the political slogan: "Free soil, free silver, free men, Frémont". Although Frémont's bid was unsuccessful, the party showed a strong base. It dominated in New England, New York and the northern Midwest and had a strong presence in the rest of the North. Republicans had almost no support in the South, where it was roundly denounced in 1856-60 as a divisive force that threatened civil war (Johnston 205).

2.3.4. The Civil War and an era of Republican Dominance

The election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 ended the domination of the fragile coalition of pro-slavery southern Democrats, and conciliatory northern Democrats which had existed since the days of Andrew Jackson. Instead, a new era of Republican dominance based in the industrial and agricultural north ensued. Republicans sometimes refer to their party as the "party of Lincoln" in honor of the first Republican President. The Third Party System was dominated by the Republican Party (it lost the presidency in 1884 and 1892). Lincoln proved brilliantly successful in uniting the factions of his party to fight for the Union. However he usually fought the Radical Republicans who demanded harsher measures. Most Democrats at first were War Democrats, and supportive until the fall of 1862. When Lincoln added the

abolition of slavery as a war goal, many war Democrats became "peace Democrats."(Mckeever and Davies 149).

Most of the state Republican parties accepted the antislavery goal except Kentucky. In Congress, the party passed major legislation to promote rapid modernization, including a national banking system, high tariffs, the first temporary income tax, many excise taxes, paper money issued without backing ("greenbacks"), a huge national debt, homestead laws, railroads, and aid to education and agriculture. The Republicans denounced the peace-oriented Democrats as disloyal Copperheads and won enough War Democrats to maintain their majority in 1862. In 1864, they formed a coalition with many War Democrats as the National Union Party which reelected Lincoln easily. During the war, upper middle-class men in major cities formed Union Leagues, to promote and help finance the war effort (150).

2.3.5. The Republican Party during the Era of Construction

During the Reconstruction, how to deal with the ex-Confederates and the freed slaves, or freedmen, were the major issues. By 1864, Radical Republicans controlled Congress and demanded more aggressive action against slavery, and more vengeance toward the Confederates. Lincoln held them off, but just barely. Republicans at first welcomed President Andrew Johnson; the Radicals thought he was one of them and would take a hard line in punishing the South. Johnson however broke with them and formed a loose alliance with moderate Republicans and Democrats. The showdown came in the Congressional elections of 1866, in which the Radicals won a sweeping victory and took full control of Reconstruction, passing key laws over the veto. Johnson was impeached by the House, but acquitted by the Senate. With the election of Ulysses S. Grant in 1868, the

Radicals had control of Congress, the party and the Army, and attempted to build a solid Republican base in the South using the votes of Freedmen, Scalawags and Carpetbaggers, supported directly by U.S. Army detachments. Republicans all across the South formed local clubs called Union Leagues that effectively mobilized the voters, discussed issues, and when necessary fought off Ku Klux Klan (KKK) attacks (Fiorina, Mouris B, et al 14).

Grant supported radical reconstruction programs in the South, the Fourteenth Amendment, and equal civil and voting rights for the freedmen. Most of all he was the hero of the war veterans, who marched to his tune. The party had become so large that factionalism was inevitable; it was hastened by Grant's tolerance of high levels of corruption typified by the Whiskey Ring (14).

Reconstruction came to an end when the contested election of 1876 was awarded by a special electoral commission to Republican Rutherford B. Hayes who promised, through the unofficial Compromise of 1877, to withdraw federal troops from control of the last three southern states. The region then became the Solid South, giving overwhelming majorities of its electoral votes and Congressional seats to the Democrats until 1964. In terms of racial issues, "White Republicans as well as Democrats solicited black votes but reluctantly rewarded blacks with nominations for office only when necessary, even then reserving the more choice positions for whites. The results were predictable: these half-a-loaf gestures satisfied neither black nor white Republicans. The fatal weakness of the Republican Party in Alabama, as elsewhere in the South, was its inability to create a biracial political party and while in power even briefly; they failed to protect their members from Democratic terror. Alabama Republicans were forever on the defensive, verbally and physically (David 75).

2.4. Realignments and the Enduring Party System

The notion of realignment views American electoral history in cyclical terms. It argues that one party dominates elections for both the presidency and the Congress and often state elections for several decades. It dominates the political agenda and normally can rely upon a majority of the electorate to support it. Then, because new issues arise that cut across previous party loyalties, a critical election occurs which transfers dominance to the opposition party. Until the contemporary electoral era cast doubt upon it, realignment theory seemed a useful way of understanding changes in the fortunes of the main political parties (J. Mckeever and Davies 152).

After the Civil War, the U.S.A experienced heavy competition between the Republican and Democratic Party that has ever been noticed since its formation. After the signing of the Civil Right Act in 1964, African-American who had previously supported the Republican Party switched their support to the democrats, and whites in the south began to contemplate the possibility of voting for the party of Abraham Lincoln (Storey 173).

During that time, the U.S.A Parties' power to last for long time is not because of their ideological consistency, but due to their ability to adapt during time of crisis. After the end of these crucial times when everything back to its previous balance, both parties re-established themselves with new bases of support, new policies. This great political change known as "realignment", it involves deep change in the party system that affects not just the recent election, but later ones as well. (E.Diclerico and Hammock 208-209).

For example, The Civil War realignment brought deep changes in the party system. The Republicans were the dominant party in the larger and more populous

North; the Democratic Party was left with strong hold in what became known as the "Solid South". Beside this, the 1896 resulted in further realignment of both parties. Three years earlier, the circumstances that resulted from a bank collapse worked to the advantage of the Republicans by holding the presidency and wining the majority in the Congress (E. Diclerico and Hammock 210).

2.5. The Party Decline

By the 1950s, the tensions within the Democratic Party in particular were evident around the world. Until the 1990s there was wide agreement that political parties were of declining significance in American politics because since the 1960s, social, technological and institutional changes had undermined the importance of parties in their two main spheres of operation: elections and government. Before that, parties dominated not only the electoral process, but they provided a reasonably effective means of ensuring cooperation between different offices of government, and then they followed a sharp decline in many aspects of party influences leading many analysts to write the obituary for the American party system. However, parties have made a determined effort to regain some of their lost influence. While this has not been successful in all respects, parties are no longer in danger of extinction and they play a significant, though not dominant, role in both the electoral process and government (Mckeever and Davies 153).

By the early 1970, political commentator among them David Broder argued that the party system in the U.S.A was failing to fulfill the role it should play in a healthy democracy. Normally, political parties should provide the electorate with choices about how the country should be governed, while the two major dominant parties do not play such significant role. They were seen by commentators as offering no other different choices (Storey 171).

2.6. Conclusion

Although the framers of the Constitution thought political parties to be harmful to the political process, the United States quickly developed a two-party system. This was because parties performed useful tasks, such

as representing interests, organizing elections and coordinating government within and between Congress and the presidency. However, because of the great size and diversity of the nation, parties have been based   as much on coalitions of interest as they have been on ideology. This has been a factor in weakening party discipline, as has the more recent advent of media coverage of elections and interest-group funding of elections. Elections in America are candidate-centered, rather than party-centered, something which applies as much to voters as it does to candidates themselves.

Although the strength of party ties has grown since the 1990s, it still remains the case that politicians and voters alike will break with their party when reasons to do so present themselves.

Chapter Three: the U.S.A parties' Role in Society and Politics

3.1. Introduction

Parties do not make any threat as corruption problems; instead, they are essential agents for competition, organization, mobilization, and accountability in which they try to establish democracy and make it more interesting and fun for citizens and grave it into the nation's daily life.

They do not just contest for elections, but also to mobilize and organize the social forces that energize democracy. Indeed, political parties connect leaders with their followers and simplify political choices for them, without them citizens and societies will have few authentic democratic alternatives.

Many thinker and political scientists asserts the vital role of political parties in the United States' political life. The politician E.E Schattschneider devoted most of his life evaluating the crucial role of parties, he mentioned in the introduction of his book « The Party Government » that « political parties created democracy and…..modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of the parties ».

In every political system, especially in the American context, political parties perform vital function; they are necessary part of the democratic process. Thus, the objective of this chapter is to demonstrate the worthwhile significant role of parties. The statement of political principles made by Michigan's Democratic Governor Jennifer Granholm in 2006 emphasized the positive contribution of parties:

> I'm a proud Democrat because our party has the right economic plan
> and the right priorities for Michigan. We fght for jobs, because a good
> job is the foundation of a good life. We fght for education, because we

believe every child should have the opportunity to succeed. We fght for

health care, because we know there are too many people in our state who

don't have it and can't afford it. We fght to preserve our middle class way

of life, because it's a way of life our families have worked so hard to build

We're a party with a plan and we're putting it to work for our families.

3.2. The Function of Political Parties

3.2.1. Aggregation of Demands

Any social groups have particular interests to promote and defend, this need some means whereby their demands can be aggregated and addressed to the government. Political parties have performed this function since their association with specific social group, region, or religion.

In the United States, parties have acquired such associations. Hence, the Democrats became the party of Southern interests and by the 1930s they had also become the party of Northern industrial workers. The Republicans were originally the anti-slavery party of the North, but eventually developed into the party of national unity and later became identified as the party most interested in free enterprise and corporate power. Generally, parties in the United States have not been exclusively associated with one social group, class, or one geographical region, instead they tend to be coalitions of interests aggregating demands on behalf of a member of social groups and regional interests (Gerald. M 80-81).

3.2.2. *Conciliation of groups in society*

Good and strong government should work effectively more than carrying out the demands of different groups, because answering some contradictory interests simultaneously need some sort of compromises. Thus, even in the most divided society some conciliation between competing or conflicting interests is required if government is to operate efficiently. Political parties often help this conciliation process by providing united platforms for the articulation of diverse interests. In the United States and in recent history, the Democrats have attempted in reconciling a rural segregationists of the South with the interests of urban industrialist of the North. (Gerald. M 81-82).

In 1960, Democratic presidential candidate John F. Kennedy managed to appeal both the Catholic voters of the North and Southern Protestants. By 1980, the Republican had created a new coalition consisting of a regional component (the North and the South), a religious moral component (the Christian right), and an economic ideological component (the middle class and supporters of free enterprise). Clearly, political parties have to implore to a number of competing and potentially conflicting interests if they are eager to succeed in a country as diverse and complex as the United States. Also, if they are really wanted to win elections, they will always move toward the median voters (81-82).

3.2.3. *Staffing the Government*

Political parties organize and coordinate the work of many governmental employees as they arrange different activities across the government's levels. In the United States, the executive officers relay on the support of their party members in the legislative branch as this latter trust and have faith in the information they get from

their colleagues in the executive branch. For instance, in 1995 the Democrats convinced some members of the Congress to support their long-range social restoration proposition. The U.S.A government mostly looks unorganized, but many politicians believe that it would be in extreme chaos without parties (Fiorina, Johnson, et al. 200).

In a modern complex society as it is the United States, parties are necessary link between government and people. But if they are perceived to be failing to held accountability for their actions, people can always replace them at election time. Thus, parties provide the public with focus on accountability. As the party is rooted in society via party organizations, staffing the government through party helps to ensure an intimate link between the implementation of policies and public preference (Gerald. M 82).

3.2.4. The Coordination of Government Institutions

As it has already known that the American government is fragmented because the power is separated from each other. For example, national legislature is separated from the executive and the Federalism adds a further fragmenting influence by giving state government considerable independence from the federal authorities. In such system of centralized government, parties clearly dominate the institutions, in Britain for example, powerful political party organizations nominate candidates, fight election, and form the government out of a majority in the House of Commons. In this sense party is hardly needed as a coordinating influence because a new system of party government prevails (William 61).

In contrast, America's separated power and federal government highly compound problems of coordination, and as many American political scientists

argued that party is the main method to coordinate the formulation and instruments of a policy in disparate institutions. As well as a common party label can provide means of communication and coordination between different constituencies. Certainly there have been periods in the American history when relations between Congress and president have been greatly aided by political party ties. More recently, President Franklin Roosevelt and Lyndon Johnson use party ties to boost their relations with Congress and thus to erect major new social programmes. During the periods of 1969-1977 and 1981-1993, Republican presidents faced a Congress dominated by Democrats, although the Republican held the Senate. So, a divided government prevailed when the Republicans controlled the Congress and the Democrats dominated the presidency (Johnston 200).

Decades after the Civil War, the coordinating function of party has taken a new form when a massive waves of immigrants came from Europe to the new world. Hopelessly, divided and fragmented institutionally and politically local government could do little to improve transport, housing, and other urban facilities. Political parties compensated this incompetence through the reaction of the political machine- an informal government- based on patronage, bribery, and corruption. Officials in the legitimate government gained through this process and the party was given a guarantee of political power in return (Gerald. M 82).

3.2.5. *Promotion of Political Stability*

In many countries, parties do not always promote political stability, but instead they organize movements against existing regimes and are a major force in changing it. In a multi-party system as it is in Western Europe, parties do anything to promote stability and help to socialize citizens into an acceptance of the regime by legitimizing

national parliament and assemblies and facilitating the peaceful transfer of power from one government to another. America's two- party system has proved resilient with the result that the country has never suffered from the problems linked with a proliferation of organized parties. American political parties have helped to promote political stability, for example, political movements outside the mainstream of American political life have had their policies pre-empted by one of the leading parties. This happened to the Populists during the 1890s, when much of their programme was adopted by the Democrats. Moreover, two most significant third parties grew out of existing parties which eventually reincorporated into them (the Progressive and the American Independent party). The issues under which both movements were inspired are the dispute over the federal government's role in economy and society, the racial integration of the South, and which of the existing parties could not accommodate. Unfortunately, all these crucial points did not lead to a permanent shift in party alignment. Instead, both the Democrats and Republicans adapted to the new demands or the movements themselves and were reincorporated into the mainstream once the protest had been made (Johnson and Michael 41).

The constantly impressive ability of American political parties to absorb potentially destabilizing social movement has no doubt contributed to the stability of the system, although we can note that the two major parties have been able to perform this function only because there have been a few deep divisions in the American society. More divided society could not possibly sustain such monopoly of power shared by two such amorphous and adaptable parties; this is clear when the United States is compared with divided societies like Canada or Belgium (Gerald. M 82-83).

3.2.6. Strengthening party leadership

The party believes that the federal government's role should be quite limited in domestic matters, limited in foreign affairs in the Washingtonian sense, and they hold that these positions are required by the constitution. They support enforcement of laws against illegal immigration, and on constitutional and economic grounds, they seek to end the United States' involvement with the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and World Trade Organization (WTO). The America First party opposed the 2003 invasion and subsequent occupation of Iraq, and refers to the Iraq war as unconstitutional. On constitutional grounds, the party calls for an end to all foreign aid without exception and they supports transferring more resources to United States National Guard personnel to patrol the U.S-Mexico border (Gerald. M 83-84-85).

3.2.7. Seeking Small Federal Government

The party seeks to eliminate several Cabinet departments within the Executive branch of the United States federal government, such as the departments of Housing and Urban Development and Education. The party also seeks to eliminate all federal funding for schools, believing that federal government money has led to more federal control over schools; the party believes they should rest in the hands of local governments (Party Functions//Wikipedia).

3.2.8. Defending religious issues

The party opposes the idea that the Constitution bars expressions of religious faith in the public square. It supports allowing mandated organized prayer in public places especially in public schools, as well as allowing displays of religious icons

(such as tablets of the Ten Commandments) by the government on public property (Campbell and David E 22).

3.2.9. Reforming the Taxes

The party believes that the 16th Amendment was never properly ratified and must be repealed. The income tax would then be replaced by half of Federal revenue coming from excise taxes and tariffs, and the other half coming from usage fees and a National Retail Sales Taxes. (They oppose having both an income tax and a sales tax simultaneously). Political Parties performs many other essential functions. It is quite true that the American political system has had a history of two major parties nominating the most qualified candidates and presenting voters with the most meaningful policy choices. The two major parties have also provided most voters with their electoral decision-making cues. Once the election is over, these parties have organized the government, promoted majority rule, translated public opinion into public policy, helped to centralize power within a fragmented political system, worked to sustain a moderate and inclusive style of politics, and provided a measure of political accountability to voters. The parties have also acted as stabilizing and socializing forces in politics (Party Functions).

3.3. The Party Organizations

The Democratic and Republican Parties have organizational units at the national, state, and local levels. These Party Organizations engage in a variety of activities, but their main purpose is the contesting of elections.

3.3.1. The Structure and Role of Party Organization

Although the influence of party organization has declined, parties are not about to die out. Political leaders and activists need a stable organization through which they can

work together, and the parties serve that purpose. Moreover, certain activities, such as voter registration drives and get-out the vote efforts on Election Day, benefit all of a party's candidates and are therefore more efficiently conducted through the party organization. Indeed, National and State party organization in particular have developed the capacity to assist candidates with fund-raising, polling, research, and media production, which are essential ingredients of a successful modern campaign (Michael 223).

Structurally, U.S.A parties are loose associations of national, state, and local organizations. The national party organizations cannot dictate the decisions of the state organizations, which in turn do not control the activities of local organizations. However, there is communication between the levels, which have common interests in strength the party's position (223).

3.3.1.1. Local Party Organization

There are about 500,000 elective offices in the United States where fewer than 500 are contested statewide, and only the presidency and vice- presidency are contested nationally. All the rest are local offices, at least 95 percent of party activists work within local organizations. Local parties vary greatly in their structure and activities. Today, only fewer local parties, including the Democratic organizations, bear any resemblance the old time party. But local parties tend to be strongest in urban areas and in the Northeast and Midwest, where parties traditionally have been more highly organized. Local parties tend to specialize in elections that coincide with local electoral boundaries. Campaigns for mayor, city council, state legislature, country offices, and the like motivate most local parties to a greater degree than do congressional, statewide, and national contests (E. Dilerico and Hammock 223).

In most urban areas, the party organizations do not have enough workers to staff even a majority of local voting districts on an ongoing basis. However, they do become active during campaigns, when they open campaign headquarters, conduct voter registration drives, send mailings or deliver leaflets to voters, and help get out the vote. The importance of these activities should not be underestimated; the party's backing of a candidate can make a vital difference (223).

3.3.1.2. State Party Organizations

In recent decades, the state parties have expanded their budget and staffs considerably and, therefore, have been able to ply more active electoral role. In contrast, thirty years ago about half of the state party organizations had no permanent staff at all. The increase in state party staff is largely due to the improvements in communication technology which have made it easier for political parties to raise funds. After having acquired the ability to pay for permanent staffs, state parties have used them to expand their activities, which range from polling to issues research to campaign management (E. Dilerico and Hammock 224-225).

State Party Organizations concentrate on statewide races, including those for governor and U.S.A senator, and also focus on races for the state legislature. They play smaller role in campaigns for national or local offices, and in most states, they do not endorse candidates in statewide primary contests (E. Dilerico and Hammock 225).

3.3.1.3. National Party Organizations

The national party organizations have a national committee, a national party chairperson, and a support staff. The national headquarter for the Republican and Democratic parties are located in Washington, D.C. Although the national parties are

run by their committees, neither the Democratic National Committee (DNC) nor the Republican National Committee (RNC) has great power. They are too cumbersome to act as deliberative bodies, and their power is largely confined to setting organizational policy, such as determining the site of the party's presidential nominating convention, and the rules governing the selection of convention delegates. The DNC and the RNC have no power to decide nominations or to determine candidates' policy positions (225).

The national party organizations tend to focus on a permanent staff that concentrates on providing assistance in presidential and congressional campaigns. This focus began when Republican leaders decided that a new national party organization could play a contributing role in today's campaigns. The RNC developed campaign management for candidate and their staffs provided massive amount of computer-based electoral data, sent field representatives to help state and local party leaders in modernizing their operations, and established a media production division. The type of services that the RNC provides is substantial, for example, the RNC's televised coverage of congressional debate can instantly retrieve the statement of any speaker on any issue. Republican challengers use this material to create attack advertisement directed at Democratic incumbents, while Republican incumbents use it to show themselves acting forcefully on issues of concern to their constituents (Vile 62).

The DNC followed the Republicans' example, but its later start and less available followers have kept the Democrats behind because modern campaigns are based on a "cash economy", and Democrats are relatively cash-poor. The Republican model has also percolated to the state Republican and Democratic Party Committee,

which provide the types of media, data-research, and educational services that the national committees offer (E. Dilerico and Hammock 225-226).

3.3.2. The Weakening of Party Organizations

Until the early twentieth century, nomination, this refers to the selection of who will run as the party's candidate in the general election, was the responsibility of party organizations. This situation allowed party organization to acquire campaign workers and funds, but also enabled unscrupulous party leaders to extort money from those seeking political favors. Progressives of the party argued for party democracy, claiming that the party organizations should operate according to the same principle that governs elections; power should rest with ordinary voters rather than the party bosses. Also, the emergence of primaries (primary election) creates the most serious impediment to the strength of the party organization. Without primaries, candidates would have to work through party organizations in order to gain nomination, and they could be denied renomination if disloyal to the party's goals. Because of primaries, candidates have the option of seeking offices on their own without the party's help, and once they elected, they can build an independent electoral base that effectively place them beyond the party's direct control (Vile 64).

Party Organizations also lost the influence over elections because of a decline in patronage. When a party won control of government century ago, it also gained control of public jobs which were doled out to loyal party workers. However, as government jobs shifted from patronage to the merit system, the party organizations lost control of many of these positions. Today, most of the workers are more indebted to an individual politician than to party organizations. For example, the people who work for members of Congress are all patronage employees, but they owe their jobs

and loyalty to their senator or representatives and not to their party. Century ago, most campaign funds passed through the hand of the party leaders, but today more than 85 percent of the money spent on congressional and presidential campaigns goes to the candidates without passing first through the parties (E. Dilerico and Hammock 221).

3.4. The Influence of Parties on Campaign Engagement and Public Opinion

3.4.1. Campaign Services and Organization

Political parties characterized by engaging in a great deal of activities especially during the election time. As well as the parties' partially revitalized role in funding elections, they have also become more energetic in providing their candidates with various services. Thus, with the ratification on the new campaign finance law in 1970, the court gave the parties unlimited opportunity to rise and spend campaign funds. They have provided help for their candidates in campaign planning, polling and the production of campaign advertisements (Farrell, Schmitt-Beck, et al 183).

The parties' major role in campaign is the rising and spending of money, the Republican National Committee and Democratic National Committee are major sources of campaign funds. Although competition between the Democratic and the Republican Party provides the backdrop to today's campaign, campaigns themselves are resolutely candidate-centered and controlled. Even though some candidates still rise through the rank of the party, most of them tend to be self-starters. They have their own strategists, media consultants, pollsters and managers. Moreover, besides to the rise in non- party sources of finance that stimulated this independence, the development of the electronic media has eliminated much of the parties' role in communicating with the voters. But the link between candidates and parties are stronger than they were in 1970; however, in the key elements of nominations,

finance, organization and communication, parties play at best a secondary role (Mckeever and Davis 152).

The parties' alliance with the candidates is more of a service relationship than a power relationship, they offers help to any of its candidates who has a chance of victory, but they have little choice to embrace nearly all candidates who run under its banner because parties do not have the ability to control the nominating process (156).

The influence of party contacting on campaign may be conditioned by the different incentives that face political parties. For example, when the party system is highly fragmented and ideologically polarized, their mobilization efforts will be less costly as voter will be more committed to a particular party. Thus, the effectiveness of being contacted by a party lead to an increased impact on campaign activity (J. Dalton and J. Anderson 62).

3.4.2. Shaping Public Opinion

People look to political leaders and institutions, particularly the presidency and the political parties, as guides to opinion who play significant role in shaping political debates and opinion through the symbols and slogans they use. For instance, President Bill Clinton's proposed policy, which would have given nearly every American provided health care, gained the support of 70 percent of the public; however, opponents had convinced most Americans that the plan was too costly, and would jeopardize the quality of their medical care. Thus, the support for the plan had fallen to 40 percent. As the Clinton health plan illustrates, people look to leaders for guidance but tend to judge the options in the context of their own lives and values (E. Patterson 161-162).

The people's sense of loyalty toward a political party is known as "party identification", it is not formal membership in a party rather an emotional attachment to it, and the feeling that "Iam a Democrat" or "Iam a Republican", this tendency affects how people perceive and interpret events. For most people, political parties facilitate participation by encouraging citizens to become engaged in the political process, also a greater supply of parties increase the chances that citizens come into contact with political parties, but it is equally possible that citizens may refrain from engaging in political debates when parties are far from one another. Party's effort to mobilize voters do not only influence campaign activity, but also increase voter turnout. They develop strong attachment with voters who are more likely interested in politics and more likely to vote, having this policy connection between the party and voters can increase the likelihood of participating (J. Dalton and J. Anderson 56-57).

In contacting potential voters, parties will devote resources either to mobilize those who are already predisposed to support them or to expand their base by converting other citizens to support their cause. Of the two strategies, party mobilization to increase turnout or generate campaign activity is generally a more effective strategy since converting voters generally requires more re-sources. It is far easier to get citizens to the polls or active in the campaign when they are inclined to support a party, rather than converting voters who prefer another party. Moreover, parties generally target their own supporters in order to ensure that they show up at the polls. Thus, Cross-national studies demonstrate that party contacting does increase the probability of citizens voting. Other studies demonstrate that party mobilization can extend beyond voting to other campaign activities (J. Dalton and J. Anderson 61).

In particular, when people are contacted by a party, they try to persuade others as well as participating in campaign activities; however, the possibility to persuade

others is higher only when voters are choosing between candidates rather than political parties. Consequently, the number of choices offered to the voters is important contributing factors in determining the citizens' participation (61)

The differences between parties or even among the same party affect citizens' willingness to engage in the activities that are intended to change the minds of others. Besides that, when the party positions are polarized and commitments are strong, people may want to avoid conflict or may feel an inhibition about expressing opinions that might be contrary to those around them (J. Dalton and J. Anderson 74).

3.5. Conclusion

Because the United States has only two major parties, each one seeks to gain majority support. America's party organizations are relatively weak, they lack control over nominations and elections because candidates can bypass the party organization and win nomination through primary election.

Despite the essential functions that the parties provide, Americans do not show much respect for them, also they are secondary to candidates as the driving force in contemporary campaign. For the most part, candidates for the presidency raise their own funds, form their own campaign organization and choose for themselves the issues on which they will run. Parties still play an important indispensable role in these elections, they fought frequently for political sovereignty and engage in a variety of activities, but their main purpose is the contesting of elections.

Political parties recruit candidates, raise money, develop policy position, and canvass for votes, but they do not control these activities to the degree they once did. For the most part, these activities are now dominated by the candidates themselves and the parties' campaign role is secondary to that of the candidates.

In most towns, the party's role is less substantial. The parties exist organizationally but typically have little money and few workers; hence they cannot operate effectively as electoral organizations. The candidates must carry nearly the entire burden. At a minimum, the party has a chance to gain congressional majority and acquire control of the committees and top leadership position in addition to acquire some additional loyalty from officeholders as a result of the contribution it makes to their campaign. But since the party is more or less willing to support any

candidates, whatever his or her policy position, its money does not give it much control over how party member conduct themselves after they take office.

General Conclusion

America's parties are decentralized, fragmented organizations. The national party organization does not control the policies and activities of the state organizations, and they in turn do not control the local organizations. Traditionally, the local organizations have controlled most of the party's work force because most elections are contested at the local level. However, local parties vary markedly in their vitality and whatever their level, America's party organizations are relatively weak. They lack control over nominations and elections because candidates can bypass the party organization and win nomination through primary elections.

Recently, the state and national party organizations have expended their capacity to provide candidates with modern campaign services. Nevertheless, party organizations at all level have few ways of controlling the candidates who run under their banner; they assist candidates with campaign technology, workers, and funds, but cannot compel candidates' loyalty to organizational goal. The parties' influence decreased because most candidates are self-starters who build their personal organizations around pollsters, media producer, and election consultants.

The Founding Fathers were extremely suspicious of political parties, fearing that they would be divisive and promote the interests of their supporters at the expense of the wider community. The emergence of two major parties, each representing a diverse range of people, appeared to ensure that this would not happen. However, this led to policy being made through deals struck between competing groups who tended to marginalize the poor (who had little with which to bargain), and benefited the wealthy and powerful.

Thus, the rise of 'factions' since the early 1990s in the form of political parties promoting a narrow partisan interest has not necessarily proved to be the cause for concern that the Founding Fathers anticipated. Along with the growing ideological cohesion of US politics, there has been a notable rise in political participation, especially in elections, with people demonstrating an intense determination to remove from office those who use their power in ways with which they disagree.

All in all, although the framers of the Constitution thought political parties to be harmful to the political process, the United States quickly developed a two-party system. This was because parties performed useful tasks, such as representing interests, organizing elections and coordinating government within and between Congress and the presidency. However, because of the great size and diversity of the nation, parties have been based as much on coalitions of interest as they have been on ideology. This has been a factor in weakening party discipline, as has the more recent advent of media coverage of elections and interest-group funding of elections. Also, elections in America are candidate-centered rather than party-centered.

Although the strength of party ties has grown since the 1990s, it still remains the case that politicians and voters alike will break with their party when reasons to do so present themselves.

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