I. Introduction: The independence of Senator James Jeffords & Representative Bernard Sanders of Vermont
   A. Realignment of the northeast from solidly Republican to a pro-Democratic tilt
   B. Dominance of Republican party by the conservative wing and the decline of the progressive wing that was influential from T. Roosevelt through Nelson Rockefeller

II. The third-party paradox
   A. Although the two-party system has endured, there have been several times when one party or another has been
      1. Demoted from dominant or competitive status to minority status
         a. Federalists in 1800
         b. Democrats in 1860
         c. Democrats in 1896
         d. Republicans in 1932
      2. Eliminated and replaced
         a. Federalists in 1816 (supporters merged with Democratic-Republicans)
         b. Whigs in 1860 (supporters merged with Republicans)
   B. There are signs that third parties might become more important players in the Information Age
      1. Independent governors
         a. Lowell Weicker (CT)
         b. Angus King (ME)
         c. Jesse Ventura (MN)
      2. Ross Perot, 19% in 1992, 8% in 1996 = largest back-to-back percentages in 20th presidential contests
      3. Ralph Nader won only 2.7%, but tipped election to Bush in 2000
   C. Types of 3rd parties in multi-party systems
      1. Hinge (centrist)
      2. Marginal (ideologically extreme)
      3. Detached (regionally based or single-issue)
   D. Examples of 3rd parties in 2-party systems (single-member district, plurality vote systems)
      1. Liberal Democrats in UK (merger of Liberals & Social Democrats)
      2. New Democrats and Reform Party in Canada

III. Institutional barriers
   A. Winner-take-all arrangements (U.S. & U.K.) with no payoff for coming in second (Single-member districts with a plurality-vote requirement)
   B. Electoral College
      1. Winner-take-all translation of the popular vote into the electoral vote (except for ME & NE)
         a. Only candidates likely to win electorate votes are
            (1) Ex-presidents
               (a) Millard Fillmore in 1856 (22%)
               (b) T. R. Roosevelt in 1912 (27%)
            (2) Regionally based candidates
               (a) “Fighting Bob” LaFollette in 1924 (17%)
               (b) Strom Thurmond in 1948 (%)
               (c) George Wallace in 1968 (%)
            b. But other candidates with wider appeal are unlikely to do as well in winning electoral votes
               (1) Henry Wallace in 1948 (%)
               (2) John Anderson in 1960
               (3) Ross Perot in 1992 & ’96
               (4) Ralph Nader & Pat Buchanan in 2000
      2. Majority of electoral votes required to win presidency (270 out of 538)
      3. If no majority, then a runoff in the U.S. House with one vote per state (1824)
C. Ballot-access restrictions (costly petition-signature requirements)
D. Multiparty nomination (fusion ballot) restrictions in all but 8 states
E. Direct primary system (allows dissident voters to support maverick candidates without leaving the party)
F. Presidential campaign public-funding eligibility rules
   1. 5% threshold rule
   2. Post-election payment
G. Presidential debate eligibility rules

IV. American political culture
A. Definitions:
   1. Political culture: a set of beliefs and values about the proper means that government should use to pursue its ends
      a. Authoritarian or totalitarian (extreme) means
      b. Constitutionally limited (moderate) means
   2. Political ideology: a set of beliefs and values about the proper ends of government – balancing:
      a. Individual liberty versus government-guaranteed order
      b. Individual liberty versus government-guaranteed equality
B. American political culture tends to reinforce moderate or centrist thinking on both political culture and political ideology
C. Media influences
   1. News media ignores third-party and independent candidates or emphasizes their horse-race disadvantages
      [Box 10.2, pp. 323-25]
   2. Entertainment media often demonizes those not in the mainstream

V. The momentum of history
A. Nature of change in U.S. politics:
   1. More evolutionary (incremental), e.g., early development of two-party system (1790s-1830s), the New Deal of the 1930s
   2. Than revolutionary (climactic), e.g., Civil War

VI. Significant third parties in American history
A. Anti-Mason
B. Free-Soil
C. American (Know-Nothing)
D. Greenback and Populist (People’s)
E. Progressive: 1912-24
   [Box 10.3, p. 331]
F. Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party of 1948
G. States’ Rights (Dixiecrat) Party of 1948
H. American Independent of 1968
I. Reform
J. Green
   [Box 10.4]
K.

VII. Third parties in the Information Age
A. An explosion of minor parties
   [Table 10.2, p. 340]
B. Changes in voter attitudes toward minor parties
   [Table 10.3, p. 342]
C. Minor parties and the Internet
   [Box 10.5, pp. 346-47]

VIII. Jefferson, Hamilton, and the future of third parties in America