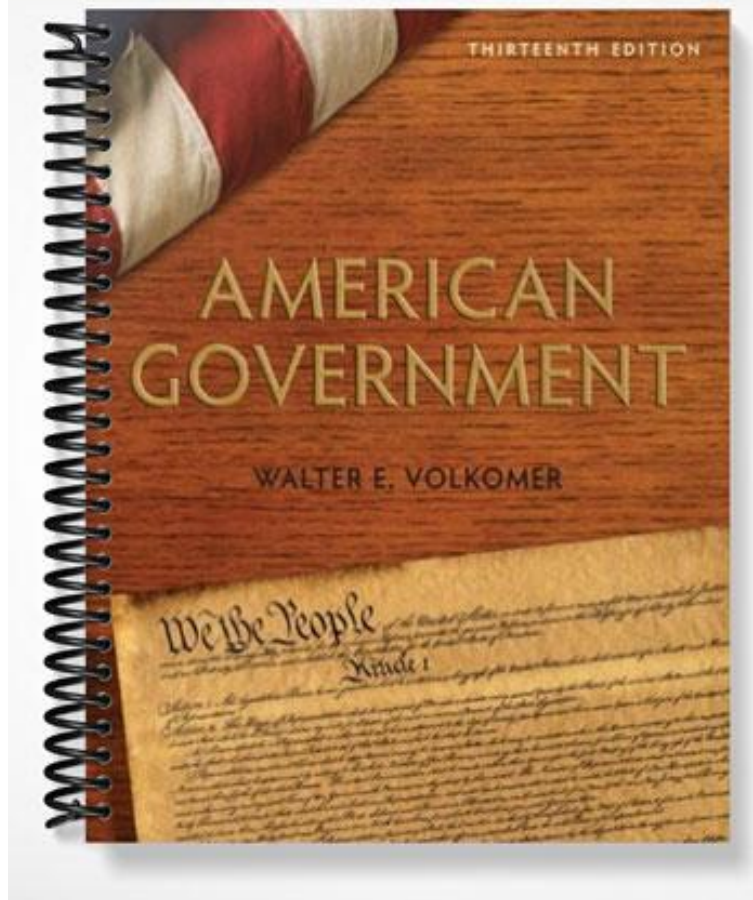


TEST BANK



Instructor's Resource Manual and Test Bank

to accompany

American Government

Walter E. Volkomer

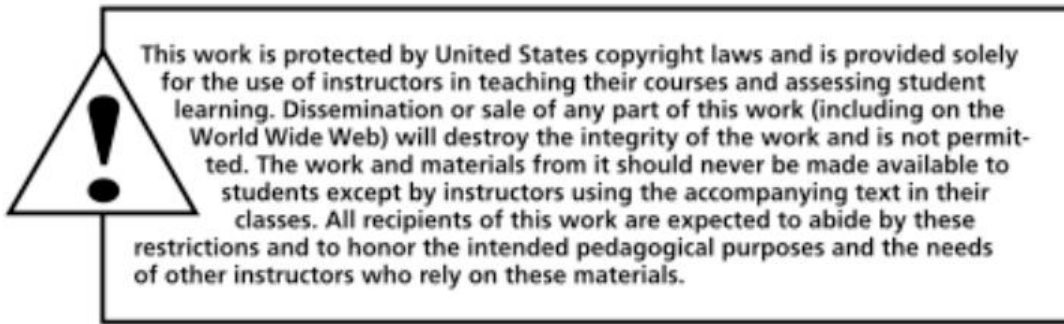
Thirteenth Edition

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Instructor's Resource Manual and Test Bank, Thirteenth Edition to accompany Volkmer *American Government, Thirteenth Edition*

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Chapter 1

Politics, Democracy, and the American People

Chapter Summary

Politics is an inescapable part of social interaction. Politics is the bargaining process by which decisions are made. Since no decision pleases everyone—meaning that there are typically winners *and* losers (persons or groups who feel they have been deprived of something)—politics is often viewed derisively. As Volkmer notes, “Politics has been defined as the art of governing humanity by deceiving it. It has also been seen as the conduct of public affairs for private advantage.” Not everyone has a cynical view of politics, however. Most people appreciate the role it plays in promoting a civil society.

This chapter begins with a discussion about the meaning of politics, its relationship to the concept of political power, and its impact upon governmental policy making. Next follows an exploration into the nature of our political system and the various philosophical principles upon which it is based. The chapter concludes with an overview of demographic changes in the United States, and the political consequences of these changes.

Learning Objectives

1. Define politics, political power, and government and assess the relationship between the three concepts.
2. Explain the sources of a government's legitimacy.
3. Compare and contrast direct and representative forms of democracy.
4. Define referendum, initiative, and recall.
5. Explain the contributions of John Locke, Baron Montesquieu, and James Madison to the philosophical principles of American government.
6. Outline the fundamental principles of American government.
7. Discuss the problems and contributions of diversity in a democratic society.

Chapter Outline

- I. The Nature of Politics
 - A. Politics and Power
 - B. The Bases of Political Power
 - C. Politics and Government
- II. The Meaning of Democracy
 - A. The Bases of Democracy
- III. Democracy and Diversity

Lecture Outline

I. The Nature of Politics

In a clinical sense, politics might best be defined as the bargaining process by which advantages and disadvantages are distributed. Since many political actions constitute zero-sum games, that is, outcomes in which there is a winner (the person or group that gains an advantage) and a nonwinner (the person or group that feels taken advantage of), many people view politics with cynicism and distrust. Media reports of the scandalous private lives of public officials and the occasional abuse of authority no doubt feed such derisive opinions. While the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 resulted in a dramatic shift of public opinion towards the government, this shift proved short-lived, and public trust in government has subsequently declined. The root of such widespread cynicism might lie in the inability to distinguish between politics and government.

A. Politics and Power

Harold Laswell's classic definition of politics posits three questions: "Who gets what, when, and how?" David Easton subsequently defined politics as the authoritative allocation of values. Thus politics is concerned with the authoritative decision-making process which defines the goals of a society, resolves societal conflicts, and determines who will receive the valued things of a society, and who will not. Government is both the forum within which such issues are debated and the organization used to enforce the final decision. The link is clear, but it is important to understand that politics and government are not the same thing.

The quintessential element in politics is power. Politics is all about power. So what exactly is power, and why is it so important? Like most concepts, *power* is subject to a number of interpretations. Essentially, power is the capacity to affect the conduct of individuals through the real or threatened use of rewards and punishments. Power is exercised over individuals and groups by offering them things they value, or by depriving them of those things. These values—which may include love, acceptance, sex, jobs, social recognition, knowledge, physical safety, health, wealth, and material possessions—constitute the power base. To exercise power one must possess the capacity to control those things that are valued in society.

So what is the relationship between power and politics? Politics may also be viewed as the organized dispute about power and its use; involving choice among competing values, ideas, persons, interests, and demands. The study of politics is concerned with the description and analysis of the manner in which power is obtained, exercised, and controlled, the purposes for which it is used, the manner in which decisions are made, the factors which influence the making of those decisions, and the context in which those decisions take place.

B. The Bases of Political Power

Political conflicts typically arise because of competing interests. Despite the variety and intensity of political conflict in the United States, and the large numbers of Americans who are dissatisfied with the performance of government officials and agencies, few question the fundamental institutional arrangement of American government or seriously challenge its legitimacy. Legitimacy is the sense that the government's laws should be obeyed. History is full of examples of governments that have attempted to enforce their laws by brute force, but such regimes have tended to be corrupt, unstable, and short-lived. Without a firmly rooted base of legitimacy, a government will never possess a genuine right to rule.

According to German sociologist Max Weber, there are three sources of legitimacy: tradition, charisma, and legality. Traditional authority is based on historical custom or loyalty to established patterns of social behavior. The Queen of England might be said to exercise traditional authority. Charismatic authority is based on the presumed special and extraordinary powers or qualities of some individual. The emphasis here is on the perception of unique qualities, irrespective of whether the person actually possesses them. Adolph Hitler, Mao Zedong, Nelson Mandela, and Fidel Castro exemplify charismatic leaders who have either exercised tremendous political authority in their respective countries, or, at a minimum, commanded reverence and sentimental respect. Charismatic authority is the most unstable type of governmental legitimacy, because when the leader dies or loses his appeal, the government may become directionless.

Legal authority depends upon laws and rules that define who possesses what type of power and over whom such power may be exercised. For example, the president of the United States has a great deal of authority, including the ability to send troops anywhere in the world and to recommend war. However, the authority to actually declare war is assigned to Congress. Executive privilege—a president's claim that his or her communications or records are confidential and beyond the reach of the other branches of government—gives the president a measure of power that few other American political figures hold. Yet, if the president pushes the boundaries of this privilege too far, he or she may be impeached and possibly removed from office. Because their power is rooted in the law, neither presidents nor any other elected official in the United States can pass their office on to their friends or offspring.

C. Politics and Government

In his book *Modern Political Analysis*, Robert Dahl writes,

Whenever a political [entity] is complex and stable, political roles develop.

Political roles are played by persons who create, interpret, and enforce rules that are binding on members of the political community. These roles are called offices, and the collection of offices in a political system constitutes the government of that system.

In other words, the government is a collection of political offices, each having the legitimate authority to resolve conflicts by creating rules, interpreting rules, and enforcing rules within a given society.

The offices which constitute a government are called political because the people who occupy them are making political decisions (resolving conflicts and allocating resources) that are binding on an entire community. The government is the only social institution which can enforce its rules on an entire community.

II. The Meaning of Democracy

Joseph Schumpeter once defined democracy as an “institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of competitive struggle for the people’s vote.” Despite Schumpeter’s assertion, democracy is not a rigidly fixed set of principles. It is a form of government in which policy decisions are based on the consent of those being governed. The form of democracy generally practiced in the United States is representative or indirect democracy—an arrangement in which policy decisions are made by a small number of individuals chosen by a larger body of citizens. This model can be contrasted with systems of direct democracy, under which each citizen participates directly and personally in the decision-making process.

Even though American democracy is primarily representative, three forms of direct democracy are common here: the referendum, the initiative, and the recall. Referendums permit voters to participate in the adoption of particular laws. An initiative (sometimes referred to as a ballot initiative) allows voters to place policy preferences directly on the ballot. A recall allows voters to remove a public official from office via a special election initiated by a petition signed by a specific number of registered voters. Some state and local governments permit referenda, initiative, or recall.

A. The Bases of Democracy

American democracy is based upon a number of underlying concepts and principles: self-government, social contract theory, majority rule, minority rights, limited government, democratic institutions, free elections, organized opposition, free expression of ideas, equality, and universal education.

1. Self-government

As articulated by the English political philosopher John Locke, there exists a *natural law* which provides *natural rights*—such as life, liberty and property—that cannot be altered or taken away by governments. Instead, governments exist to ensure that such natural rights are protected. Locke’s thinking on the basis of self-government is reflected in the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, and the writings of the founders.

2. The Social Contract

Locke argued that before the existence of society as we recognize it, human beings existed in a State of Nature, possessing natural rights of which they were fully cognizant, and governed only by natural law. But the State of Nature is also a State of War, as the strong may enslave or kill the weak. In order to protect their natural rights and settle disputes, people came together in a social contract—an agreement to form a civil society that would guarantee protection of the person and property. After the compact was formed, government was created to enforce the contract. The contract, therefore, comes before government. Thus, the government exists solely to enforce the contract—that is, to protect natural rights—and should have the necessary powers to properly do so. The protection of natural rights is the primary function of government. When government no longer fulfills this mission, the people are free to amend governmental powers as they see fit or to abolish it entirely. Locke's theory of the social contract strongly influenced Jefferson's thinking in the Declaration of Independence.

3. Majority Rule

In a free society where diverse views are freely expressed, the government must seek guidance from the largest number of people. In addition, there must be some agreed-upon method for selecting leaders and choosing amongst policy alternatives. The decision-making mechanism best suited for a democratic government is majority rule. Under this system the majority is allowed to rule through representatives who exercise power on its behalf. The danger, of course, is the ever-present threat to the rights and liberties of minorities—the “tyranny of the majority” of which de Tocqueville warned.

4. Minority Rights

The framers believed it was paramount that the new government include some protections for minority rights. A strong government in the hands of a majority could prove tyrannical if no safeguards prevented the abuse of unpopular rights.

To address the potential threat to minorities, majority rule is limited by constitutional guarantees of protections for individuals and minorities. Minorities are granted certain basic freedoms, among which are free expression, religious freedom, due process, and the right to associate—or not associate—with whomever one chooses.

5. Limited Government

Mistrust of government in the United States is a longstanding principle, tracing back to the founding of the country. The idea of limited government is associated with the principle of constitutionalism which holds that governmental powers should be clearly prescribed in a written document that would serve as the fundamental law. Any nation that observes such a set of restrictions is a constitutional state. Yet some

states often ignore their constitutions. The former Soviet Union had a written constitution, but because its rulers frequently ignored it, the Soviet Union could not be considered a constitutional state. By contrast, Great Britain has no single written document that could be identified as a constitution. Yet it has a collection of proclamations, legal precedents, parliamentary acts, and charters developed through centuries of struggle. Thus, Great Britain is a constitutional state. Every provision of the American Constitution makes clear the idea that governmental powers are not limitless. For that reason it has become a model for nations throughout the world.

Limited government is one solution to the problem of preserving minority rights. The Bill of Rights guards against governmental abuses of power. It guarantees certain rights that cannot be overturned by the majority.

6. Democratic Institutions

The American political system is a collection of democratic institutions, with power divided into three branches: the executive, legislative, and judicial. The executive and legislative branches are run by publicly chosen officials with specific terms of office. A complex system of checks and balances, the foundations of which were developed by French philosopher Montesquieu, keeps each branch from encroaching on the power of the others.

7. Free Elections

Free elections are essential to a democratic system. While the franchise was limited to white male property owners early in its history, the United States has gradually expanded suffrage to include nearly all citizens who are at least 18 years of age.

Elections give citizens the opportunity to express their policy preferences, select their official representatives, and encourage elected officials to respond to public pressure, all functions essential to the maintenance of a democratic polis.

8. An Organized Opposition

The American political system has historically been dominated by two major political parties. At any point in time, one serves as the organized opposition to the other, free to criticize the policies of the party in power. The two-party system has many critics, according to whom the two parties do not truly oppose one another. Yet, Volkmer notes, each party performs the invaluable service of keeping the other in check. Interest groups also serve this function.

9. Free Expression of Ideas

The U.S. Constitution guarantees Americans the free expression of ideas through speech, press, religion, petition, and assembly. None of these liberties is absolute, however; they are all subject to frequent challenges and judicial interpretation.

10. Equality

The ideal of equality holds that all individuals have moral worth, are entitled to fair treatment under the law, and should have equal opportunity for material gains and political influence. The history of America reveals that disadvantaged groups have rarely achieved legal equality without a prolonged struggle. Equality has rarely been summarily bestowed by the haves upon the have-nots, as evidenced by a cursory examination of the efforts of African Americans, women, Native Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, gays and lesbians, and other groups to achieve full equality.

11. Universal Education

Universal education is important to democratic government. Indeed, as Jefferson noted, a nation cannot be both ignorant and free. Rather, for Jefferson, education is the key to an informed citizenry, and an informed citizenry is the basis for a democratic polity. Democracy requires citizens to have some understanding of public issues and the opportunity to make electoral choices on the basis of that knowledge. It also requires tolerance, respect for the rights of others, and the ability to compromise on public issues. These attitudes are developed through education.

III. Democracy and Diversity

Diversity refers to the rich variety of individuals, groups, regions, and institutions that contribute to American political culture. It also encompasses the uneven distribution of wealth and power. Diversity helps explain the complexity of our political system as well as the political behavior of citizens, policymakers, and political institutions. Hispanics are the largest minority group in America, and within the past few years, the total minority population has surpassed 100 million, or about one-third of the nation's population. Because of human differences, diversity can create special problems for democracies. In fact, the history of America is the story of many nations attempting to become one while each struggles to maintain its unique identity.

Critical Thinking Exercises

1. The tension between majority rule and individual rights is a perennial issue in American politics. Students should debate the problem of reconciling majority rule and individual rights with respect to one or more of the following issues: affirmative action, same-sex marriage, religious freedom, gun control, freedom of expression.
2. The success of the social contract depends upon the willingness of citizens to obey the government's laws. But does the social contract justify citizens taking the law into their own hands? Is government failing to uphold its duty to protect natural rights when a citizen is a victim of a crime? It may also be interesting to examine the notion of tacit consent, and the right to resist unjust governments.
3. If students live in a locality in which there is representative democracy only, have them explore how governance under direct democracy might work in their community. How do direct democracy and representative democracy each reflect the will of the majority? How does each system protect the rights of the minority? What are the other advantages and disadvantages of both direct and indirect democracy?
4. Students can discuss potential policy debates in a minority-majority government. Under a Hispanic, African-American, and Asian president or Congress, what types of political issues might appear on the agenda? How do these issues compare with the types of issues that arise under white-majority government?

Chapter 2 **From Colonialism to Constitutionalism**

Chapter Summary

The colonial experience shaped the development of the American political system in profound ways. The early attempts at colonial governance set the stage for the Revolutionary War; independence from Great Britain led to a political system based on a philosophy of limiting the power of the central government, balancing powers among the branches of government, and establishing political legitimacy on popular sovereignty, all while ensuring that no “tyranny of the majority” would threaten minority rights. Such issues were at the heart not just of the Articles of Confederation, but also framed the debate at the Constitutional Convention and remain enduring themes reflected in the Constitution of the United States.

Learning Objectives

1. Explain the influence English legal and political traditions had upon the framers of the U.S. Constitution.
2. Describe the early attempts of the colonists to form a national government.
3. Explain the symbolic and political significance of the Declaration of Independence.
4. Explain common themes between the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation.
5. Compare and contrast the Articles of Confederation and the U.S. Constitution.
6. Assess the issues which divided delegates to the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention, and the mechanisms by which those differences were resolved.
7. State the philosophical differences between the Federalists and the Antifederalists.
8. Outline the fundamental principles of the Constitution which emerged from the Constitutional Convention.
9. Explain the formal and informal methods of amending the Constitution.

Chapter Outline

- I. The Road to Independence
 - A. Early Attempts at Cooperation
 - B. The First Continental Congress
 - C. The Revolution
 - D. The Declaration of Independence
- II. The Articles of Confederation
- III. The Constitutional Convention
 - A. The Delegates
 - B. The Issues
 - C. Ratification
- IV. The U.S. Constitution
 - A. Federalism
 - B. Separation of Powers
 - C. Checks and Balances: Shared Powers
 - D. Judicial Review
 - E. Popular Sovereignty
 - F. National Supremacy
- V. Constitutional Change and Development
 - A. Amending the Constitution
 - B. Other Means of Constitutional Development

Lecture Outline

I. The Road to Independence

A. Early Attempts at Cooperation

Early Americans did not think of themselves as one nation; the colonists originally identified themselves as members of their particular colony. The French and Indian Wars and the reign of George III helped the colonists develop a sense of their mutual interests and dependence. Still, the idea of an American nation took some time to evolve.

The outbreak of the Great Rebellion in 1642 allowed the colonies to grow and prosper with minimal interference from the British government. The most significant attempt to create a unified government during this period was the formation of the New England Confederacy in 1643. Designed primarily as a collective defense against the Dutch, French, and Native Americans, the New England Confederacy consisted of a board of commissioners representing Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven. Known as the United Colonies of New England, the alliance established a “firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity, for offense and defense, mutual advice and succor upon all just occasions.” Several boundary disputes between member colonies were resolved, as well as one with the Dutch. Provision was made for the capture and return of runaway slaves and indentured servants. Harvard College was established, and funds were set aside for the

conversion of Native Americans. Clearly, in purpose and language, the New England Confederacy was a precursor to the Articles of Confederation. Due to jealousies between the colonies, the New England Confederacy became inoperative when the Massachusetts charter was revoked in 1684. However, it continued to exist conceptually until 1691.

The New England Confederacy was typical of most early unification plans in that its primary focus was on military affairs. In 1764, a substantially different plan was offered when the Albany Congress introduced the Albany Plan of Union, constructed by Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Hutchinson. A president-general was to be appointed by the crown, and a grand council was to be selected by the colonial assemblies in proportion to their contribution to a common war chest. The president, with the advice of the grand council, would have sole jurisdiction over Indian affairs and the western territories. The Union would have the power to build forts, raise armies, equip fleets, and levy taxes. However, not one colony approved of the plan. They viewed it as a threat to their sovereignty, and the colonies were particularly opposed to relinquishing any of their exclusive taxing power.

The Galloway Plan of 1774 had much in common with earlier ones, but with several differences. This alliance would have created a constitutional bond between the colonies and Great Britain. There would have been, in effect, an American Parliament which was to have a veto on the specific acts of the British Parliament that affected the colonies. This was a departure from earlier plans which were simply unions for military purposes, but like the others, the Galloway Plan was also rejected by the colonies.

B. The First Continental Congress

Although the American colonists were British subjects, they enjoyed far more personal freedoms than their brethren in England. By 1763, Britain and the colonies had reached a compromise on the issue of colonial autonomy. American foreign affairs and foreign trade were controlled by the British government; the rest was left to home rule. The cost of administering the colonies was substantial, and since Americans benefited the most, the British government felt that the colonies should bear the burden of the costs. Taxing the colonists was the obvious way to meet these heavy administrative costs. Understandably, the colonists did not appreciate the idea of being taxed, especially by a distant parliament in which they lacked direct representation, and which they felt was unaccountable and unresponsive to their needs.

In 1772, Committees of Correspondence were formed to unite the colonies against Great Britain. This network provided a communications link for the colonies. Letters, reports, and decisions of one town or colony could be relayed to the next. The committees convened at a meeting of the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia in September of 1774. The objective of the gathering was to repair the testy relationship between Great Britain and the colonies. A leader, called the president, was elected. The delegates adopted a statement of rights and principles which proved to be a rough draft for the as of yet undeveloped Declaration of Independence. For example, the Congress claimed a right to life, liberty, and property, and a number of other civil liberties. Upon adjourning, the committee planned to meet again in May of 1775.

C. The Revolution

By early 1775, fighting had broken out between the colonists and the British. When the Second Continental Congress met, it quickly became an inter-colonial steering committee for coordinating the war effort. On June 7, 1776, the Virginia delegation called on the Congress to resolve

that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved.

D. The Declaration of Independence

A committee was appointed to prepare a proclamation stating the colonists' reasons for rebelling. Drafted by Thomas Jefferson, and borrowing heavily from the English political theorist John Locke, the major premise of the document was that the people have the right to revolt when they determine that the government is violating or not protecting their natural rights. On July 2, 1776, the Second Continental Congress voted for independence from Great Britain. The vote was by state, and the motion was carried unanimously. On July 4, 1776, the proclamation, the Declaration of Independence, was approved.

The War of Independence lasted longer than anyone expected. It began in a moment of confusion when a shot rang out while British soldiers approached the town of Lexington on the way to Concord, Massachusetts on April 19, 1775. It ended with Lord Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown, Virginia on October 19, 1781. The human costs of the war were enormous. There were more dead and wounded, in relation to the population, than in any conflict other than the Civil War more than eighty years later.

II. The Articles of Confederation

During the war, the colonies restructured themselves into sovereign states with governments uniformly characterized by written constitutions and a system of deputy representation. But given their experience under British rule, these new states remained fiercely protective of their sovereignty. In November of 1777, a five-member committee headed by John Dickinson of Delaware submitted a document to the state legislatures which proposed a unified government. The plan, entitled the "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union," did not create a unified state. The Articles merely put into writing powers the Continental Congress had already assumed, giving the assembly no new constitutional authority.

Under the Articles of Confederation, the powers of the national government were severely limited. Each state was represented in the Congress and had a single vote. Legislation had to be passed by a 9 to 13 majority, and the Congress lacked the power to regulate interstate commerce, tax, or draft citizens into a military. Amending the Articles required unanimity among the states—a condition that was almost impossible to meet. Yet some felt the Articles accurately represented embodied the popular concerns and skepticism of concentrated government power

expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Revolution. While the U.S. government under the Articles of Confederation had some successes in foreign policy, the domestic situation in the new republic was poor and the population was growing dissatisfied with the new government and the state of the economy. Indeed, with mortgage foreclosures peaking and the prisons full of debtors, the former Revolutionary War soldier-turned-farmer, Daniel Shays, led a rebellion in Massachusetts.

III. The Constitutional Convention

The Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia in 1787. Although the delegates were cognizant of the urgent necessity to establish a strong, truly national government, they were also aware that regional interests were key to acceptance of the new Constitution. Because each state wanted to protect its particular interests against infringement by either the central government or other state governments, disputes arose over the proper structure and powers of the new government. The large states aligned against the small states, merchant states were in conflict with agrarian states, and the southern slave states were distrustful of northern free states.

A. The Delegates

The delegates who attended the Philadelphia convention represented the nation's economic and social elite. All of the delegates were white men, and all were selected by the state governments to represent the interests of their home states in the negotiations. Many had served in public office, the majority had attended college, and most were wealthy. Neither the middle class—shopkeepers, artisans, and successful farmers—nor the lower class—hunters, trappers, less successful farmers, and laborers—were represented at the convention.

B. The Issues

While the delegates to the Constitutional Convention were formally charged with the task of revising the Articles of Confederation, they quickly decided to move beyond that mandate to develop a totally new constitution. In doing so, they encountered a number of issues that required close scrutiny.

1. A National Government Versus States' Rights

Debate raged over whether there should truly be a national government or if the system should continue under the Articles of Confederation. This debate brought about the New Jersey Plan, proposing that Congress would consist of one house in which all states have equal representation. Congress would have to obtain the approval of the states to impose duties on foreign goods, regulate foreign and interstate commerce, and impose postal fees. The plan, under which states would continue to play the dominant role in the new government, was quickly defeated, as delegates expressed a desire to establish a national form of government with powers shared between the central government and the states.

The compromise reflected not just the differences between large and small states but the tensions between the commercial interests of the North and the agrarian interests of the

South. The national government would have the power to regulate commerce, but it could not tax exports. Furthermore, the states could not tax imports; some states would have been tempted to block imports from neighboring states as well as from foreign nations.

2. Large States Versus Small States

Two basic plans for government emerged during the convention: the Virginia Plan, which was favored by the large states, and the New Jersey Plan, favored by the small states. Delegates from the large states believed that representation should be apportioned on the basis of a state's population. Under the Virginia Plan there was to be a bicameral legislature. Representation in the lower house would be based upon a state's resident population. The upper house would be selected by the lower house. This arrangement would have given the large states a dominant role in the new government.

The New Jersey Plan would have allowed the original Confederation to remain pretty much intact with only a few amendments to increase the powers of the national government. Under the New Jersey Plan, a unicameral legislature would be created with each state having the same number of representatives regardless of its resident population. The plan also proposed that the legislature be authorized to request state revenues in proportion to the population of the states, and to regulate commerce among the states.

The convention nearly collapsed as a result of disputes between large and small states over the nature of representation in the new national government. In the end, the Connecticut Compromise afforded a mixed system of representation. Under the compromise plan, a bicameral legislature was formed and included a lower house—the House of Representatives—in which representation would be based on population, and an upper house—the Senate—in which each state would have equal representation. The compromise satisfied both sides and prevented the collapse of the convention.

3. North Versus South

Two other issues arose during the convention which centered on regional differences. Since most of the northern states were concerned with manufacturing, they needed to import raw materials for their factories. Consequently, they favored the removal of any barriers to imported goods. Southern planters, however, wanted the government to encourage exports, and to allow the continuation of slavery as a source of free labor, rendering their products attractive to overseas buyers. Clearly, it behooved each region to control governmental decisions relating to trade and taxes.

The South was also concerned with how slaves would be counted as part of a state's population. If slaves were not counted, and representation in Congress was based solely on a state's free white population, southern states would be at a clear disadvantage. Opinion among northern states, which had either few slaves or none at all, ranged from those who wanted slaves counted as property for tax purposes, to those who did not want slaves counted at all.

The debate over slavery was not solved in the Constitution. While the three-fifths compromise afforded Southern states greater representation in the House of Representatives by declaring that five slaves were equivalent to three free men (for purposes of calculating the number of representatives and determining direct taxes) the slave question itself remained unresolved—and would remain so until after the Civil War.

4. Selecting Government Officials

The question of how to select government officials was also considered by the delegates to the Constitutional Convention. They agreed on the need for a government based on the consent of the people, but had great difficulty agreeing on how that consent should be obtained. The tension centered on differences between those who favored a more democratic system, which would give more power to the people, and those who were afraid of the tyranny of the majority and the dangers of giving too much power to the people.

At the convention, there was overwhelming support for the idea of directly electing the members of the House of Representatives. However, there was little agreement on the standards for voter qualification. Consequently, it was left to the states to determine who could vote. A proposal to directly elect senators was quickly defeated, and instead it was decided that the states would appoint their own senators.

Plans were made for independent executive and judicial branches. Agreement was reached on how the executive branch would be chosen and what the term of office would be. The delegates rejected the idea of a popularly elected executive, distrusting the people's judgment. At the same time, representatives of the smaller states feared that election by the Congress would have given control of the executive to the larger states. They compromised by creating an election system that we know today as the Electoral College.

The Electoral College consists of a group of electors who are chosen for the sole purpose of selecting the president and vice president. Each state legislature would choose a number of electors equal to the number of representatives it had in Congress. Each elector would then vote for two people. The person with the greatest number of votes would become president, provided that this person received a majority of the votes; the person with the next greatest number of votes would become vice president. This procedure was changed in 1804 with the ratification of the Twelfth Amendment. From this point forward, the president and vice president were elected by two separate votes. Finally, the delegates agreed that the president's term of office should be four years, and that the president should be eligible for re-election.

C. Ratification

After being drafted and accepted by the delegates, the new Constitution faced a tough ratification battle. Ratification by nine states was required before the document could become effective. Conventions were called in twelve of the thirteen states between 1787 and 1788. However, ratification was not a foregone conclusion. While many of the smaller states were

satisfied with the new Constitution, the larger states were reluctant to sign on to the document, and public debates over the Constitution, centering on a series of editorials written by the Federalists and Antifederalists, occupied the public attention.

1. The Demand for a Bill of Rights

The original Constitution did not include many of the fundamental rights we take for granted today. While the document included some restrictions on the powers of the state, many Antifederalists were concerned that it granted the central government too much unchecked power. The Bill of Rights was the result of George Mason stating his displeasure with the Constitution. Mason believed that the Constitution did not adequately protect the people against the power of the central government and refused to sign the proposed Constitution until a bill of rights was included. The Bill of Rights was largely the result of demands by the Antifederalists as a precondition for accepting the new Constitution.

2. The Federalist Papers

The Federalist Papers were written as an argument in favor of ratification of the Bill of Rights. These papers criticized the Articles of Confederation and argued that small republics tend to squabble among themselves and can be easily dominated by foreign interests. *The Federalist Papers* argued for the importance of separation of powers and the system of checks and balances. The Anti-Federalists responded with their own essays in which they generally warned of the dangers of large national government and argued for retaining power with the states.

IV. The U.S. Constitution

In its final form, the new Constitution reflected a set of fundamental principles which the framers believed were vital for a government that was strong enough to govern effectively, yet remained completely in the hands of those being governed. These concerns were reflected in the principles of popular sovereignty, the idea that the people were sovereign, and national supremacy, the idea that when the national and state governments conflicted, the legal authority of the central government was supreme.

A. Federalism

Federalism is the division of power between a central government and regional or subnational units. The Constitution embodies a division of power but bestows substantial powers on the central government at the expense of the states. Thus, the central government is commonly referred to as the federal government. The Constitution lists the powers of the national government and the powers denied to the states. All other powers remain with the states. However, the Constitution does not clearly describe the spheres of authority within which these powers may be exercised.

B. Separation of Powers

Theoretically, separation of powers means that one branch cannot exercise the powers of the other branches. The idea of separation of powers, derived from Baron Montesquieu, was articulated by James Madison in *The Federalist Papers, No. 47*, in which he wrote that, "The accumulation of all powers...in the same hands...may justly be pronounced as the very definition of tyranny."

In the day-to-day operation of the government, however, complete separation of governing power is not only difficult, but impractical. Separation of powers is the distribution of the functions of making, interpreting, and enforcing the law to the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, respectively. Separation of powers ensures that all governing power or authority does not fall into the hands of a single institution, group, or individual.

C. Checks and Balances: Shared Powers

As stated above, the complete separation of the governing powers is a difficult, if not impossible, thing to do. Not only is it impractical, but without some sharing of functions, each branch would possess unlimited powers within its respective sphere. The Constitution grants each branch a specific set of powers which allows it to simultaneously scrutinize the other two branches while preventing one branch from encroaching upon the exclusive powers of the others. For example, only the president may nominate individuals to occupy certain executive and judicial posts, but these individuals must be confirmed by the Senate. Only Congress can pass legislation, but their efforts are wasted if the president refuses to sign the measure. The Supreme Court may interpret the Constitution any way it wishes, but its decisions mean absolutely nothing if neither of the other branches will cooperate with the appropriate action. In addition, the constitutional requirement that members of the different branches be elected or selected by different constituencies at different times, and serve different terms of office, prevents the government from being totally controlled by the results of any given election.

1. Impeachment

The Constitution assigns the tasks of impeachment to the House of Representatives and the Senate. The president, vice president, federal judges, and other officials can be removed using this power. While the power has rarely been used, the act of impeachment proves the importance of the checks and balances system.

2. Bicameral Legislature

This two-house structure composed of two largely separate independent bodies serves to limit the power of each group and to serve as watchdogs of one another.

3. Selection of Public Officials

The three branches of government have differing ways of electing officials. Senators represent their states' citizens and serve six-year terms. Members of the House of Representative represent voters of smaller districts within a state and serve for two years.

The president represents the entire nation and is elected every four years. The staggering of terms is done to prevent the government from being totally controlled by officials chosen in any one year.

D. Judicial Review

Judicial review gives power to the courts to determine whether legislative and executive actions, or those of the states, are consistent with either the letter or spirit of the Constitution. There is no mention of this power in the Constitution. The Supreme Court, under Chief Justice John Marshall, claimed the power of judicial review for itself in its decision in *Marbury v. Madison* (1803).

E. Popular Sovereignty

The authors of the Constitution clearly rejected the idea that either states or the national government could be the final source of legal authority. Rather, popular sovereignty—the belief that the people are the source of all legal authority and have the ultimate governing authority, leaving citizens free to create, alter, or abolish government as they see fit—provides the framework for the exercise of sovereignty in the United States.

F. National Supremacy

While they may have had their differences on many issues, the delegates all agreed that national laws should supersede state laws. Consequently, Article VI, the supremacy clause, asserts that in the case of conflict, the Constitution, national law, and treaties take precedence over state and local laws. This stipulation is vital to the operation of federalism.

V. Constitutional Change and Development

A. Amending the Constitution

One of the major problems with the Articles of Confederation was the difficulty of adding amendments. In fact, because of the unanimity requirement, the Articles were never amended. The framers realized that any Constitution would require periodic changes and adjustments in order to remain relevant and effective. To that end they specified a formal amendment process outlined in Article V. Amending the Constitution would still be extremely difficult, but possible.

Amending the Constitution is a two-stage process. In the first step, an amendment is proposed, either by a two-thirds majority of both houses of Congress, or by a national convention called by the Congress at the request of the legislatures of two-thirds of the states. In the second step, the proposed amendment must be ratified, either by approval of the legislatures of three-fourths of the states or by specially elected ratifying conventions in three-fourths of the states. Because of the difficulty of the amendment process, the Constitution has been amended only twenty-seven times since 1791.

B. Other Means of Constitutional Development

There are many features of the American government which have no constitutional basis, but have had a profound impact on the political landscape. The Constitution makes no mention, for example, of the president's cabinet, political parties, or judicial review. Yet all are key elements of the American political system. Some constitutional provisions have lost their effectiveness. The Electoral College, for example, was designed to allow the electors to use their own judgment in selecting the president and vice president. Today the electors simply rubber-stamp the outcome of the elections within their various states. In addition, the framers clearly intended that Congress be the strongest branch of government. However, the power of the president has come to overshadow that of Congress. In responding to national crises, presidents continue to push the envelope, enlarging their powers and setting precedents for future executives. As a result, the Constitution should be viewed not just as a formal document or written text, but as the whole set of traditions, practices, customs, and understandings that continue to develop through practice and interpretation in the more than two centuries since its ratification in 1789.

Critical Thinking Exercises

1. One of the central problems that faced the national government under the Articles of Confederation was its relative weakness compared to the states. The Constitutional Convention established a new national government with significant powers. State the key differences between the Articles of Confederation and the U.S. Constitution. Which do you believe to be more democratic? Why?
2. Recall the most important divisions that plagued the Constitutional Convention: large states vs. small states, industrial vs. agricultural states, and slave-holding vs. states with few or no slaves. Imagine yourself at a national convention if one were held today. What factions would exist? How might such factions and issues be overcome today?
3. The power of judicial review is not explicitly granted in the Constitution, but was claimed by the Supreme Court in the *Marbury v. Madison* decision of 1803. How might the United States be different if the framers had given the Court the explicit authority to interpret the Constitution and an apparatus of some sort to enforce their opinions?
4. Should it be easier to amend the Constitution? Why or why not?
5. Americans often complain about the gridlock and inefficiency of government. Yet, through mechanisms like separation of powers, our political system was purposefully crafted to introduce gridlock and inefficiency. Should the American political system be made more efficient? How? What are the advantages and disadvantages of efficiency in political systems?

Chapter 1

Politics, Democracy, and the American People

Multiple Choice

1. According to the text, the American public's level of trust in their government
- has always been extremely low.
 - immediately declined as a result of the September 11 terrorist attacks.
 - immediately rose following the September 11 terrorist attacks but subsequently declined.
 - has never been higher than it is today.
 - cannot be accurately measured

Answer: C; Page Reference: 1; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

2. Alexis de Tocqueville was
- a British philosopher who argued against democracy.
 - a French aristocrat who visited America in the 1830s.
 - a Spanish political thinker who wrote a book on government in the twentieth century.
 - an American senator who was not fully trusted by the voters.
 - an Italian political philosopher who argued against direct democracy

Answer: B; Page Reference: 1, 7; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

3. Harold Lasswell defined politics as the study of
- who gets the support of elites.
 - who acquires the most political power in a community.
 - who gets what, based on how much they contribute to campaigns.
 - who gets what, when, and how.
 - a pattern of corrupt or unethical decision-making.

Answer: D; Page Reference: 2; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

4. Which of the following is NOT a basis of legitimacy, according to Max Weber?
- charisma
 - tradition
 - force
 - legality
 - none of the above

Answer: C; Page Reference: 3; Bloom's Category: Comprehension

5. Which of the following BEST defines democracy?
- Power is held by a small group of people.
 - Governmental powers are held by a single person or group.
 - Power is shared by all citizens.
 - Government is unnecessary.
 - Government consists of three branches: legislative, executive, judicial.

Answer: C; Page Reference: 4; Bloom's Category: Comprehension

6. The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. had many followers due to what source of legitimate power?
- charisma
 - tradition
 - force
 - legality
 - wealth

Answer: A; Page Reference: 3; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

7. *Government* and *politics* are not the same because *government* refers to
- the institutions and processes by which rules are made and enforced for all members of society.
 - the institutions that govern and how these institutions work in concert.
 - the institutions that govern and how citizens determine which ones can enforce the rules.
 - the rules made by citizens and enforced by representatives.
 - organizations that influence policymaking.

Answer: A; Page Reference: 4; Bloom's Category: Comprehension

8. Why isn't a labor union or a corporation considered to be a part of the government?
- Labor unions and corporations do not have elected officials.
 - Labor unions and corporations cannot enforce rules for all of society.
 - Labor unions and corporations cannot create any legitimate rules.
 - Labor unions and corporations rarely involve themselves in politics.
 - Labor unions and corporations do not support political candidates.

Answer: B; Page Reference: 4; Bloom's Category: Application

9. A New England town meeting is a form of
- direct democracy.
 - constitutional democracy.
 - representative democracy.
 - republican democracy.
 - collaborative democracy.

Answer: A; Page Reference: 4; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

10. When voters vote for or against the adoption of particular laws, they participate in a
- supposition.
 - referendum.
 - recall.
 - proposal.
 - veto.

Answer: B; Page Reference: 4; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

11. The procedure in some states that allows citizens to put proposed laws and constitutional amendments on the ballots to approve or reject legislative statutes is called
- referendum.
 - initiative.
 - recall.
 - proposition.
 - disposition.

Answer: B; Page Reference: 4; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

12. Representative democracy differs from direct democracy in that in the former, citizens transfer their _____ power to people whom they elect to represent them.
- a. implied
 - b. natural
 - c. participation
 - d. decision-making
 - e. constitutional

Answer: D; Page Reference: 5; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

13. Locke believed that government's primary role was to
- a. help individuals fulfill their potential.
 - b. develop the moral character of its citizens.
 - c. protect the life, liberty, and property of those it governs.
 - d. preserve the social morality.
 - e. create an all-powerful central government

Answer: C; Page Reference: 7; Bloom's Category: Comprehension

14. Which of the following is NOT a basic principle of American democracy?
- a. self-government
 - b. majority rule
 - c. an organized opposition
 - d. economic equality
 - e. government regulation of the economy

Answer: D; Page Reference: 7-11; Bloom's Category: Comprehension

15. According to the text, Thomas Hobbes and David Hume
- a. agreed with John Locke about natural law.
 - b. were skeptical of human reason.
 - c. did not think that people were passionate enough about freedom.
 - d. were influenced by the thinking of James Madison.
 - e. were influenced by the thinking of Alexis de Tocqueville

Answer: B; Page Reference: 6; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

16. What doctrine is an extension of Locke's idea that people are able to make rational decisions and that they understand what policies would best serve their interests?
- a. minority rights
 - b. majority rule
 - c. separation of powers
 - d. limited government
 - e. checks and balances

Answer: B; Page Reference: 7; Bloom's Category: Application

17. John Locke wrote that civil society was created by an agreement among citizens in which they accepted existing law and penalties as binding. This agreement was called
- a. the social contract.
 - b. majority rule.
 - c. direct democracy.
 - d. constitutional democracy.
 - e. representative democracy.

Answer: A; Page Reference: 7; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

18. Who expressed concern about a “tyranny of the majority”?

- a. John Locke
- b. David Hume
- c. Thomas Jefferson
- d. Alexis de Tocqueville
- e. James Madison

Answer: D; Page Reference: 8; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

19. The filibuster, which permits a few U.S. Senators – or even one – to indefinitely postpone or delay a vote in the Senate, is an example of:

- a. minority rights.
- b. limited rights.
- c. majority rights.
- d. basic rights.
- e. civil rights.

Answer: A; Page Reference: 9; Bloom's Category: Application

20. A government that places written legal limits on the power of the majority to act is often referred to as a

- a. representative democracy.
- b. constitutional democracy.
- c. limited democracy.
- d. republican democracy.
- e. collaborative democracy.

Answer: B; Page Reference: 9; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

21. The written language of the U.S. Constitution can only be altered by

- a. holding a referendum and requiring a majority vote of citizens.
- b. the approval of the United Nations, the president, and Congress.
- c. a formal amendment process as stated within the document.
- d. writing a totally new constitution that includes the desired changes.
- e. the approval of all the state legislatures.

Answer: C; Page Reference: 9; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

22. The principle that holds that the powers of government should be limited and embodied in a basic written law is referred to as

- a. liberty.
- b. the social contract.
- c. majority rule.
- d. constitutionalism.
- e. equality.

Answer: D; Page Reference: 9; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

23. The Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Amendments grant important rights to people who are accused of having committed crimes. These rights are examples of

- a. democratic rules.
- b. majority rules.
- c. civil liberties.
- d. civil rights.
- e. social contracts.

Answer: C; Page Reference: 10 Bloom's Categories: Knowledge

24. According to the text, free elections:
- a. force citizens to express their preferences for public policy.
 - b. ensure that public officials are responsive to the desires of minorities.
 - c. give citizens a chance to select policy-making officials.
 - d. encourage violence as a means of replacing leaders.
 - e. allow political candidates to raise unlimited amount of money.
- Answer: C; Page Reference: 10; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*
25. Elections for members of the House of Representatives are held every
- a. two years.
 - b. three years.
 - c. four years.
 - d. six years.
 - e. year.
- Answer: A; Page Reference: 10; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*
26. In the U.S. Constitution, freedom of speech is protected under the
- a. First Amendment.
 - b. Fifth Amendment.
 - c. Fourteenth Amendment.
 - d. Twenty-first Amendment.
 - e. Third Amendment.
- Answer: A; Page Reference: 11; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*
27. What type of equality did Thomas Jefferson stress in the Declaration of Independence?
- a. religious equality
 - b. moral equality
 - c. political equality
 - d. economic equality
 - e. racial equality.
- Answer: B; Page Reference: 12; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*
28. Jefferson's concept of equality did NOT apply to
- a. black slaves or women.
 - b. people who did not own land.
 - c. individuals who were born with few talents.
 - d. citizens who practiced different religions than his.
 - e. citizens of different colonies.
- Answer: A; Page Reference: 12; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*
29. What basic principle of American democracy has been a source of conflict since the nation's founding?
- a. equality
 - b. private property
 - c. limited government
 - d. majority rule
 - e. universal education.
- Answer: A; Page Reference: 11-12; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*

30. According to the text, who was an early advocate of public education, defending the cost of such a system on the basis that it would instill the value of democracy?
- John Locke
 - James Madison
 - Baron Montesquieu
 - Thomas Jefferson
 - David Hume

Answer: D; Page Reference: 13; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

31. The Census Bureau estimates that the American population will
- decline suddenly after 2075.
 - hit over 500 million by 2025.
 - jump to a billion by 2100.
 - reach about 300 million by 2010.
 - decline sharply beginning in 2020.

Answer: D; Page Reference: 13; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

32. What two regions of the United States have recently had the largest increase in population?
- the Northeast and the West
 - the South and the Midwest
 - the West and the South
 - the Midwest and the West
 - the Northeast and the Midwest

Answer: C; Page Reference: 13; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

33. According to the U.S. Census, what is the largest minority group within the U.S. population today?
- Asian Americans
 - Hispanics or Latinos
 - African Americans
 - American Indians
 - Eastern European immigrants

Answer: B; Page Reference: 15; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

34. Diversity poses challenges to a democracy as it leads to wide differences of opinion thereby making it difficult to
- survey public opinion.
 - propose solutions to political problems affecting the elites.
 - acquire support for minority candidates.
 - obtain agreement on proposed solutions to political problems.
 - win elections.

Answer: D; Page Reference: 15; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

True or False

- Political power is the ability to influence the political behavior of others.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 2; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
- Ordinary people exercise political power through voting or interest group membership.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 2; Bloom's Category: Application

3. The United States is primarily a direct democracy.
Answer: False; Page Reference: 4; Bloom's Category: Comprehension
4. According to German sociologist Max Weber, legitimacy in politics can be derived through the use of force.
Answer: False; Page Reference: 3; Bloom's Category: Comprehension
5. Government and politics are synonymous.
Answer: False; Page Reference: 4; Bloom's Category: Comprehension
6. Natural law is an agreement among members of society in which they accept existing laws and penalties as binding.
Answer: False; Page Reference: 6; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
7. If citizens obtain enough signatures on a petition, a vote is then held deciding whether or not an official may continue to hold office. This is known as a recall.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 4-5; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
8. The idea of self-government originated with Thomas Jefferson.
Answer: False; Page Reference: 6; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
9. One of the rights protected by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is the right to petition the government.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 9-10; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
10. Alexis de Tocqueville claimed that a nation cannot be both ignorant and free.
Answer: False; Page Reference: 13; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
11. The total number of poor people in the United States rose sharply between 1996 and 2003.
Answer: False; Page Reference: 11-12; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
12. Adopted in 1791, the Bill of Rights sought to protect the individual against abuses of power by the government.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 9; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
13. In terms of population, the fastest growing states are in the Northeast.
Answer: False; Page Reference: 15; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
14. Majority rule always prevents tyranny.
Answer: False; Page Reference: 7-8; Bloom's Category: Analysis
15. An example of a civil liberty is the freedom to worship or not worship as one chooses.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 9; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
16. The United States is referred to as a constitutional democracy, meaning it places written legal limits on the power of the majority to act.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 9; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
17. The Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Amendments grant important rights to people who are accused of having committed crimes.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 10; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

18. 18-year olds did not get the right to vote until 1919.
Answer: False; Page Reference: 10; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
19. Presently, African-Americans are the largest minority group.
Answer: False; Page Reference: 15; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
20. Jefferson believed that economic equality is necessary for the existence of a democratic society.
Answer: False; Page Reference: 12; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

Essay

1. What might Locke and Tocqueville say about American government and politics today? Where might they agree and disagree?
Page Reference: 1, 6-9; Bloom's Category: Application
2. Assess social contract theory as the basis for government. In what ways is the theory reflected in the structure of the U.S. government?
Page Reference: 6-7; Bloom's Category: Comprehension
3. Which of the "Bases of Democracy" (i.e., self-government, majority rule, limited government) is most important? Support your choice by explaining why you selected this "base of democracy.;" Page Reference: 6-13; Bloom's Category: Analysis
4. Compare and contrast Weber's three sources of legitimacy. Which do you think is the most important in contemporary democratic political systems? Why?
Page Reference: 3; Bloom's Category: Analysis
5. According to Volkomer, "Diversity creates special problems for a democracy." Assess Volkomer's assertion with reference to the contemporary demographic shifts taking place in the United States today. Is Volkomer correct in his assertion? Why or why not?
Page Reference: 13-15; Bloom's Category: Application

Chapter 2

From Colonialism to Constitutionalism

Multiple Choice

1. The Magna Charta and the English Bill of Rights both:
 - a. promoted equality and expanded rights.
 - b. expanded Parliament's power at the expense of the American colonists.
 - c. imposed additional taxes and responsibilities upon English subjects.
 - d. altered the procedures for electing new members of Parliament.
 - e. restricted the colonies from forming their own governments.

Answer: A;; Page Reference: 20; Bloom's Category: Comprehension
2. Benjamin Franklin proposed the Albany Plan in an effort to
 - a. create friction between the colonies and British rulers.
 - b. find a way for colonies to cooperate with their British rulers.
 - c. devise a secession plan for Albany leaders.
 - d. devise a secession plan for the colonies.
 - e. end slavery in the colonies.

Answer: B; Page Reference: 20 Bloom's Level: Knowledge
3. The English Bill of Rights of 1689
 - a. established the right of freedom of speech.
 - b. guaranteed the right to trial by jury.
 - c. bound the nobility to respect the authority of the king.
 - d. bound the king to respect the rights of the nobles.
 - e. established a right to habeas corpus.

Answer: B; Page Reference: 20; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
4. With the passage of the Sugar Act, Parliament ignored a fundamental freedom extended to English citizens and to colonists until that point. What fundamental right was ignored?
 - a. Taxes could only be imposed on citizens by popular election.
 - b. Taxes could only be imposed on citizens by elected representatives with the king's consent.
 - c. Taxes could only be imposed on citizens by elected representatives.
 - d. Taxes could only be imposed on citizens by the king.
 - e. taxes could be imposed by anyone in government for any reason.

Answer: C; Page Reference: 21; Bloom's Category: Comprehension
5. While colonists agreed that Parliament could make some laws for them, they claimed that Parliament did not have the
 - a. power to pray without citizens' blessing.
 - b. power to tax without citizens' consent.
 - c. power to tax without citizens' setting the tax rate.
 - d. power to make laws without citizens' taxes being collected.
 - e. power to regulate trade between colonies.

Answer: B; Page Reference: 21; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

6. What was the primary purpose of the First Continental Congress?
- a. to establish an international identity
 - b. to adopt the Declaration of Independence
 - c. to coordinate a joint response to the actions of the British
 - d. to coordinate a colonial response to England's declaration of war
 - e. to set new tax rates in the colonies in response to a request from Parliament.
- Answer: C; Page Reference: 21; Bloom's Category: Comprehension*
7. Colonist _____ wrote the famous pamphlet _____, which is credited with turning the tide of public opinion in favor of a formal break with England.
- a. Benjamin Franklin, *Common Decency*
 - b. James Madison, *Revolutionary Sense*
 - c. Thomas Jefferson, *Common Independence*
 - d. Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*
 - e. Alexander Hamilton, *Federalist Papers*
- Answer: D; Page Reference: 22; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*
8. The skirmish between British soldiers and Massachusetts minutemen at Lexington in 1775 catalyzed what important meeting?
- a. the Second Continental Congress
 - b. the Constitutional Convention
 - c. the First Continental Congress
 - d. the New England Confederation
 - e. the Washington Convention
- Answer: A; Page Reference: 21; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*
9. What was the main purpose of the "committees of correspondence"?
- a. to plan secret attacks on British soldiers
 - b. to organize the first battles of the revolution
 - c. to have a forum for colonists to voice dissent
 - d. to establish a network of communication between the colonies
 - e. to improve communication between the colonists and Parliament.
- Answer: D; Page Reference: 21; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*
10. Which one of the following best explains why the Articles of Confederation purposely created a weak national government?
- a. the Articles were based on a theory of state sovereignty.
 - b. the Articles were intended to not offend Parliament and King George III.
 - c. the Articles separated power into three distinct branches: executive, legislative, judicial.
 - d. the Articles were actually intended to create a very powerful central government.
 - e. the Articles intended for a strong executive branch but weak judicial and legislative branches.
- Answer: A; Page Reference: 23; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*

11. The inability of the central government to tax individuals and the lack of power to regulate commerce rendered the _____ ineffective.
- American Revolution
 - Articles of Confederation
 - Virginia Plan
 - United Colonies
 - Albany Plan of Union

Answer: B; Page Reference: 24; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

12. What two primary factors led to the calling of a constitutional convention?
- economic distress and centralized national power
 - centralized national power and inflation
 - oppression by the British government and inflation
 - economic distress and the inability of the new government to deal with problems
 - the presence of British soldiers in the colonies and economic distress

Answer: D; Page Reference: 24; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

13. Shays's Rebellion came about because
- the federal government was imposing unfair taxes on farmers.
 - the tariffs on trade between states was becoming too steep.
 - laborers felt they were not being paid well enough.
 - Massachusetts was taxing its citizens too heavily.
 - Parliament imposed new taxes without the colonists' consent.

Answer: D; Page Reference: 24; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

14. Daniel Shays was a(an)
- farmer and Revolutionary War veteran.
 - anarchist opposed to the establishment of any government.
 - merchant who supported stronger anti-trust laws.
 - delegate to the Second Constitutional Convention.
 - traitor and secret supporter of Parliament and the King.

Answer: A; Page Reference: 24; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

15. What was the single most important decision made at the Philadelphia Convention?
- to amend the Articles of Confederation
 - to reject independence and seek assistance from other countries
 - to reject a monarchy, replacing it with a nationally elected president and vice president
 - to nullify the Articles of Confederation and write a new constitution
 - to adopt the Articles of Confederation and form a new government.

Answer: D; Page Reference: 26; Bloom's Category: Comprehension

16. One of the prominent features of the New Jersey Plan was
- a single-house national legislature based on the population of each state.
 - state representation in a bicameral Congress based on the population of each state.
 - a single house in which all states would be represented equally.
 - a national government composed of legislative, executive, and judicial branches.
 - establishing judicial review for the judicial branch.

Answer: C; Page Reference: 27; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

17. The Virginia Plan envisioned
- a single-house national legislature based on the population of each state.
 - state representation in a unicameral legislature based on equal representation.
 - a single house in which all states would be represented equally.
 - a strong central government composed of legislative, executive, and judicial branches.
 - a weak national government with a unicameral legislative branch and no power to tax.
- Answer: D; Page Reference: 26; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*
18. The Connecticut Compromise prevented the collapse of the Constitutional Convention by resolving which fundamental conflict between the Virginia and New Jersey Plans?
- the conflict between members who wanted a strong federal government and those wanting strong states' rights
 - the deep political division between James Madison and Alexander Hamilton
 - the disagreement among members about representation in the national legislature
 - the problem between those who favored a bill of rights and those who opposed it
 - the problem of trade between northern states and southern states
- Answer: C; Page Reference: 27; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*
19. What is the importance of the fraction three-fifths when discussing the compromises made between states during the Philadelphia Convention?
- A slave would be worth three-fifths of a full vote for purposes of allocating seats in the House of Representatives.
 - Congress would need a three-fifths majority to overturn a presidential veto.
 - A candidate would need three-fifths of the popular vote to be elected president.
 - A three-fifths majority of the delegates would be needed to approve the Constitution.
 - A president could be impeached with three-fifths majorities in each house of Congress.
- Answer: A; Page Reference: 28; Bloom's Category: Comprehension*
20. Which amendment to the Constitution abolished slavery?
- Eighth
 - Thirteenth
 - Fourteenth
 - Twenty-first
 - Twelfth
- Answer: B; Page Reference: 29; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*
21. What is the main argument of Federalist 51?
- Separation of powers and checks and balances are necessary.
 - Factions undermine popular sovereignty and threaten governments.
 - A Bill of Rights was not necessary in the Constitution.
 - The executive should be chosen directly by the people, not legislatures.
 - A unicameral legislature is more democratic than bicameralism.
- Answer: A; Page Reference: 32; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*

22. The 1787 convention delegates decided that the proposed Constitution would be ratified when approved by
- seven of the states.
 - nine of the states.
 - twelve of the states.
 - all of the states.
 - any three states.

Answer: B; Page Reference: 30; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

23. The Antifederalist arguments are important because they
- articulate the core principles of American constitutional theory.
 - support the notion of the "divine right of kings."
 - articulate the inherent dangers of a centralized government.
 - argue that the colonies should maintain strong ties to the British government.
 - argue in favor of strong armed forces.

Answer: C; Page Reference: 30-31; Bloom's Category: Comprehension

24. The inclusion of a Bill of Rights in the U.S. Constitution was the direct result of the
- demands of the Antifederalists.
 - foresight of George Washington.
 - demands of the state governments.
 - interpretation of the Constitution by the first Supreme Court.
 - Shays's Rebellion.

Answer: A; Page Reference: 31; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

25. Which of the following statements regarding *The Federalist Papers* is TRUE?
- They have played a central role in American constitutional history.
 - Although they shaped debate at the time they were published, they are of little importance today.
 - They were never more than historical curiosities.
 - They were not important at the time they were published, but have gained importance since then.
 - Many of their arguments were rejected when the Constitution was ratified.

Answer: A; Page Reference: 31-32; Bloom's Category: Evaluation

26. Who was a leading spokesman for the Antifederalists?
- James Madison
 - John Jay
 - George Mason
 - Alexander Hamilton
 - Daniel Shays

Answer: C; Page Reference: 31; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

27. Which of the following devices used to restrain the power of government is NOT expressly stated in the Constitution?
- judicial review
 - federalism
 - checks and balances
 - separation of powers
 - impeachment

Answer: A; Page Reference: 32-35; Bloom's Category: Comprehension

28. The federal courts can interpret the meaning of laws and of the Constitution, but they are limited by the broad authority of Congress to shape the structure of the federal judicial system and to define the types of cases courts can hear. This illustrates what constitutional device?

- a. federalism
- b. judicial review
- c. checks and balances
- d. separation of powers
- e. national supremacy

Answer: C; Page Reference: 34; Bloom's Category: Application

29. What is the main purpose of checks and balances?

- a. to limit the power of government by making each branch dependent on the others
- b. to limit the power of government by dividing it along geographic lines
- c. to hold each branch of government accountable to the voters
- d. to prevent one branch of government from interfering in the affairs of another branch
- e. to create and implement obstacles to efficient governmental decision-making

Answer: A; Page Reference: 34; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

30. The president has the power to negotiate treaties with foreign nations but such agreements on behalf of the United States must be approved by

- a. a two-thirds vote of each house of the Congress.
- b. a majority vote of the House of Representatives.
- c. a two-thirds vote of the U.S. Senate.
- d. a majority of the president's cabinet.
- e. two-thirds of the states.

Answer: C; Page Reference: 34; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

31. President Bill Clinton was impeached by

- a. the House of Representatives.
- b. the Senate.
- c. Chief Justice William Rehnquist.
- d. his cabinet.
- e. the Supreme Court.

Answer: A; Page Reference: 34; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

32. Federal judges are assigned to life tenure in order to

- a. free them from public opinion.
- b. give more power to the political parties.
- c. handle the increasing workload of federal cases.
- d. ensure that minorities and women are adequately represented.
- e. save money in the federal budget.

Answer: A; Page Reference: 35; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

33. The power of courts to declare legislative action unconstitutional is called

- a. federalism.
- b. judicial review.
- c. checks and balances.
- d. separation of powers.
- e. judicial pre-emption.

Answer: B; Page Reference: 35; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

34. Popular sovereignty implies that the final source of legal authority rests with the
- president.
 - state governments.
 - federal government.
 - people.
 - political parties.
- Answer: D; Page Reference: 36; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*
35. Separation of the three branches of government, legislative, judicial, and executive, was secured by the
- judicial review.
 - U.S. Constitution.
 - Bill of Rights.
 - Federalist Papers*.
 - Articles of Confederation.
- Answer: B; Page Reference: 34; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*
36. What principle holds that the U.S. Constitution and all federal laws and treaties are superior to conflicting provisions of state constitutions and laws?
- federalism
 - national supremacy
 - popular sovereignty
 - separation of powers
 - checks and balances
- Answer: B; Page Reference: 36; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*
37. Amending the Constitution is a two-stage process of
- referendum and initiative.
 - advice and consent.
 - checks and balances.
 - proposal and ratification.
 - initiative and review.
- Answer: D; Page Reference: 37; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*
38. The main principles in the national supremacy clause of the Constitution (Article VI) were originally proposed by the
- New Jersey Plan.
 - Articles of Confederation.
 - Albany Plan.
 - members of Congress.
 - Virginia Plan
- Answer: A; Page Reference: 36; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*
39. The most recent amendment dealt with
- the voting right for 18-year-olds.
 - presidential succession.
 - salary increases for members of Congress.
 - voting in presidential elections for Washington, D.C.
 - term limits for members of Congress.
- Answer: C; Page Reference: 37; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*

40. How many amendments proposed by Congress since the Civil War have been ratified by the states?
- a. 10
 - b. only half
 - c. 75
 - d. almost all
 - e. one
- Answer: D; Page Reference: 38; Bloom's Category: Knowledge*

True or False

1. The American Revolution began on April 19, 1775.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 22; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
2. For over 200 years, the U.S. Constitution has served as the basic instrument of government for the United States.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 40; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
3. The doctrine of popular sovereignty makes American federalism possible.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 36; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
4. According to the Magna Charta, the King was bound by the law and had to respect the rights of his subjects.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 20; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
5. The Declaration of Independence was signed on July 4, 1776.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 22; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
6. The American Legal System is based on English Common Law.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 20; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
7. The Articles of Confederation created a strong national government with the power to tax.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 23; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
8. The delegates to the Constitutional Convention hailed from and represented the nation's middle classes.
Answer: False; Page Reference: 26; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
9. The main purpose of checks and balances is to limit the power of government by making each branch dependent on the other.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 34; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
10. The Senate is given the sole power to impeach but the House alone has the authority to convict and remove the accused person.
Answer: False; Page Reference: 34; Bloom's Category: Comprehension
11. Shays's Rebellion lasted for five years and ended with the death of Daniel Shays at the hands of one of his officers.
Answer: False; Page Reference: 24; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

12. At the Constitutional Convention, sessions were open to the public.
Answer: False; Page Reference: 25; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
13. The theory of state sovereignty was the impetus behind the writing of the U.S. Constitution.
Answer: False; Page Reference: 24-25; Bloom's Category: Comprehension
14. The New Jersey Plan included a proposal that a national government, consisting of a supreme legislative branch, executive branch, and judiciary branch, ought to be established.
Answer: False; Page Reference: 27; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
15. *The Federalist Papers* argued in favor of a weak national government.
Answer: False; Page Reference: 32; Bloom's Category: Comprehension
16. Federalism is a system for organizing government that is based on a geographic division of power.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 33; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
17. The Connecticut Compromise was a proposal that called for the number of representatives in the House to be determined by population and giving each state equal representation in the Senate.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 27; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
18. The Supreme Court's power of judicial review extends not only to the actions of the United States Congress and the president, but also to acts of the state governments.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 36; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
19. Under the Electoral College system, the number of electors is equal to the total number of representatives in the House of Representatives.
Answer: False; Page Reference: 29-30; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
20. The two steps required to amend the Constitution are proposal and ratification.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 37; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
21. A constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery was not ratified until after the Civil War.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 37; Bloom's Category: Knowledge
22. Specially-elected ratifying conventions in each of the states have been used to ratify only the Twenty-first Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.
Answer: True; Page Reference: 37; Bloom's Category: Knowledge

Essay

1. In what ways are the U.S. Constitution and the Articles of Confederation similar? How are they different?
Page Reference: 22-24, 32-37; Bloom's Category: Analysis
2. Assess the development of the Constitution over the past 200 years. In what ways does it fulfill the framers' intent, and in what ways may it differ from their intent?
Page Reference: 32-40; Bloom's Category: Analysis

3. Compare and contrast the assumptions the Federalists and Anti-Federalists held about government and political power.
Page Reference: 30-32; Bloom's Category: Analysis
4. Assess the impact of the colonial and revolutionary experience on the structure of the U.S. Constitution. In what ways might the Constitution be viewed as a product of the historical struggle against British colonialism?
Page Reference: 20-22, 32-38; Bloom's Category: Analysis
5. Identify the most important debates at the Constitutional Convention and explain the ways in which they were resolved.
Page Reference: 24-32; Bloom's Category: Comprehension

