

Study Guide to Accompany

JOHN J. HARRIGAN

POLITICS

and the

AMERICAN FUTURE

Dilemmas of Democracy

• *fourth edition* •

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JOHN J. HARRIGAN
Hamline University

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**Study Guide to Accompany
Politics and the American Future:
Dilemmas of Democracy**

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NOTE TO THE READER

This study guide is a supplement to the text, **Politics and the American Future: Dilemmas of Democracy**, Fourth Edition. Its purpose is to help you use the text material in the most effective manner.

This guide is based on a philosophy of learning that seeks to engage you actively in the subject matter and to divide the subject matter into relatively small increments to be mastered. The first item in each chapter asks you to fill in your own substantive summary to the chapter outline rather than simply reading a prepared outline. The second item for each chapter specifies the learning objectives. You can use these in conjunction with the chapter previews and summaries in the text to help you divide the text materials and understand them in an organized way. The third item asks you to write a short identification of the significance of a limited number of important terms, concepts, and names that were used in the chapter. Again, this exercise is designed to engage you actively in the subject matter. The fourth items in each chapter consist of review questions in multiple choice, completion, and true-false format. These are followed by a review exercise that asks you to outline answers to several mastery questions. Correct responses to the multiple choice, true-false, and completion test items are provided at the end of each chapter.

Most chapters also contain a "Beyond the Text" exercise. Again, based on an active learning philosophy, these exercises are designed to accomplish two goals. First, they should help you apply some principles discussed in the chapters to real life contemporary situations. Second, they seek to familiarize you with some important resources for interpreting and understanding American politics. By applying textbook principles to real situations and by learning about political science resources, these "Beyond the Text" exercises should give you more tools and the confidence to explore the subjects on your own.

Many exciting things happen each year in the American political system. I hope this text and this study guide help to provide a meaningful context for understanding those events and seeing what makes American politics so fascinating.

John J. Harrigan
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St. Paul, Minnesota

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Chapter 1

DILEMMAS AND TRADE-OFFS IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Write a one-sentence summary of the materials found under each of the headings and subheadings in the text.

	PAGE
Preview	2
Introduction: The Dilemma of Democracy	3
America and the Dilemma of Democracy	5
The Trade-Offs of Democracy	5
American Capacities to Meet the Dilemma of Democracy	6
Declining Confidence in Government	6
Some Problems with the System	7
Dealing with Fundamental Political Change	10
Growing Separatism	10
The Plan of This Book	10
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LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 1 and doing the exercises in this study guide, you should be able to:

1. Describe the dilemma of democracy that is posed by the demand for efficacy and the demand for representativeness.
2. Show how dilemmas of democracy have surfaced in the American past.
3. Explain how American capacities to meet the dilemma of democracy are affected by: (a) the confidence gap, (b) some problems with the political system, (c) the issue of dealing with fundamental political change, and (d) the trend toward growing separatism among American sub-cultures.

IDENTIFICATION ITEMS

Write out a one- or two-sentence identification that gives the significance of the following terms or names to this chapter:

James Madison
Demand for efficacy
Demand for representativeness
Dilemma of democracy
Louis Farrakhan
David Duke
Sea change
Legitimacy
Separatism
World War II internment camps

Megatrends
Civil liberties
Habeas corpus
Charles Schultze
Lester Thurow
Trade-Off
Confidence gap
Efficacy-Representativeness trade-off

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Multiple Choice Questions

1. Who authored this statement? "In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself."
 - a. James Madison
 - b. Lester Thurow
 - c. Louis Farrakhan
 - d. Charles Schultze
2. If government as a whole fails to meet the demands of its people for effective action on fundamental governmental responsibilities:
 - a. democracy will flourish
 - b. nothing will happen in the long run
 - c. government will become more democratic
 - d. that government will not remain democratic very long
3. An example of government losing democracy because of governmental ineffectiveness in dealing with society's basic problems occurred in:
 - a. the Soviet Union in the 1990s
 - b. Germany in the 1930s
 - c. the United States in the 1930s
 - d. England in the 1960s
4. An example of demands for excessive representativeness undermining democracy could be seen:
 - a. in some Eastern European countries (such as Yugoslavia) in the 1990s
 - b. in Germany in the 1930s
 - c. in the United States in the 1930s
 - d. in England in the 1960s

5. Japanese-Americans were forced into internment camps during:
 - a. World War I
 - b. the Korean War
 - c. World War II
 - d. the Vietnam War
6. The Russian leader who precipitated the breakup of the Soviet empire by announcing that the Soviet Union would no longer use military force to put down rebellions in the Communist nations of Eastern Europe was:
 - a. Boris Yeltsin
 - b. Adolph Hitler
 - c. Joseph Stalin
 - d. Mikhail Gorbachev
7. Hitler was able to gain power in 1933 primarily because:
 - a. his predecessor, Mikhail Gorbachev, refused to use military force to put down political rebellions in Eastern Europe
 - b. his predecessor, James Madison, failed to recognize the importance of efficacy in government
 - c. his predecessor government, the Weimar Republic, had failed to meet the demand for efficacy
 - d. his predecessor government, the Roosevelt New Deal, had failed to meet the demand for representativeness
8. In the United States, the economic catastrophe of the Great Depression of the 1930s spawned demagogic initiatives from all of the following except:
 - a. Huey Long
 - b. Franklin Roosevelt
 - c. Father Joseph Coughlin
 - d. Dr. Francis E. Townsend
9. According to economist Lester Thurow, the "root cause" of America's economic problems is:
 - a. interest group representation
 - b. poor leadership
 - c. governmental complexity
 - d. Soviet competition
10. Contemporary American politics have seen demagogic appeals from:
 - a. Louis Farrakhan
 - b. David Duke
 - c. both of the above
 - d. none of the above
11. The illustration in Figure 1.1 in the text shows that:
 - a. as efficacy decreases, the danger of despotism grows
 - b. as efficacy increases, the danger of anarchy increases
 - c. as representativeness decreases, the danger of despotism grows
 - d. as representativeness increases, the danger of anarchy decreases
12. The illustration in Figure 1.1 shows that in the clash between the demands for pure efficacy and pure representativeness:
 - a. democracy is not possible
 - b. there is a trade-off zone where democracy is possible

- c. the inevitable outcome is despotism
 - d. the inevitable outcome is anarchy
13. The illustration in Figure 1.1 shows that excessive concern for pure efficacy is likely to lead to:
- a. despotism
 - b. anarchy
 - c. democracy
 - d. none of the above
14. The illustration in Figure 1.1 shows that excessive concern for representativeness is likely to lead to:
- a. social peace
 - b. democracy
 - c. despotism
 - d. anarchy
15. To describe the people's willing acceptance of the government's right to govern we use the concept:
- a. despotism
 - b. anarchy
 - c. legitimacy
 - d. democracy
16. For many years the Gallup Poll has tracked people's responses to the question: "In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the United States at this time?" The graph of people's responses to this question can be described as:
- a. the confidence gap
 - b. the democratic trade-off
 - c. the democratic dilemma
 - d. legitimacy
17. Newspapers and television tend to examine America's leadership problems in terms of:
- a. structural defects
 - b. institutional capacities
 - c. historical trends
 - d. personalities
18. The idea that American society is being transformed today by fundamental forces for change was articulated by the book:
- a. *Despotism*
 - b. *The Confidence Gap*
 - c. *The Federalist Papers*
 - d. *Megatrends*
19. The proliferation of highly charged political movements in recent years has led to a growing drive toward:
- a. *e pluribus unum*
 - b. separatism
 - c. legitimacy
 - d. efficacy

20. Highly charged political movements have sprung up in recent years over all the following except:
- feminism
 - civil rights
 - governmental legitimacy
 - gay rights

Completion Questions

- Who wrote this statement? "In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself: _____".
- The Hitler regime in Germany was preceded by the _____ Republic.
- After Mikhail Gorbachev announced that he would no longer use military force to put down political rebellions in Eastern Europe, Soviet control over Eastern Europe collapsed. The text attributed this to a lack of _____ in Eastern Europe under the Soviet System.
- Demagogic appeals by Fr. Joseph Coughlin and Huey P. Long in the 1930s were in no small measure a consequence of the economic catastrophe called _____.
- To describe the people's willing acceptance of the government's right to govern, we use the term _____.
- What was a major excess of the demand for efficacy and a major assault on the principle of representativeness that was committed during World War II? _____.
- When more people express dissatisfaction with things in the United States than express satisfaction, the result is a _____.
- An economist who blamed America's root problems on the system of interest group representation in governmental decision making was _____.
- Since the 1960s, confidence in America's public institutions has gone _____.
- The book _____ argued that American society is being transformed today by fundamental forces for change.

True-False Questions

- T F 1. The difficulty of finding a trade-off zone for the democratic dilemma today is made more difficult by the growing trend toward separatism.

- T F 2. As the number of quasi-ideological movements has grown in recent years, each movement makes its own demands on government, and government has found it increasingly easy to accommodate all of these demands.
- T F 3. For democracy to survive, the text argued that it is more important for the government to accommodate demands for representativeness than it is to accommodate demands for efficacy.
- T F 4. Just as Hitler blamed the Jews for Germany's problems in the 1930s, demagogues today seek to find scapegoats for America's contemporary problems.
- T F 5. After forty years of virtually absolute control in Eastern Europe, the Communist Party had failed to give the people of the typical Eastern European nation the sense that Communist government represented their best interests.
- T F 6. Public confidence in governmental institutions is higher today than it was in the 1960s.
- T F 7. The dilemma of democracy requires trade-offs to be made between the demands for efficacy and representativeness.
- T F 8. The Great Depression of the 1930s spawned numerous demagogues.
- T F 9. Louis Farrakhan is a racist, anti-black politician in Louisiana.
- T F 10. Each generation must make its own compromises and find its own trade-off points in coping with the dilemmas of democracy.

Mastery Questions

Outline a response to each of the following:

1. What aspects of the efficacy-representativeness trade-off are illustrated by Nazi Germany and the breakup of the Soviet empire?
2. Explain Figure 1.1, the efficacy-representativeness trade-off.
3. Describe the dilemma of democracy in America today.
4. Cite instances in which America has had to cope with its own demagogues.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS (WITH PAGE NUMBERS)

Multiple Choice

- | | |
|-------------|--------------|
| 1. a, p. 3 | 11. c, p. 6 |
| 2. d, p. 4 | 12. b, p. 6 |
| 3. b, p. 4 | 13. a, p. 6 |
| 4. a, p. 5 | 14. d, p. 6 |
| 5. c, p. 7 | 15. c, p. 5 |
| 6. d, p. 5 | 16. a, p. 8 |
| 7. c, p. 4 | 17. d, p. 7 |
| 8. b, p. 5 | 18. d, p. 10 |
| 9. a, p. 7 | 19. b, p. 10 |
| 10. c, p. 4 | 20. c, p. 10 |

Completion

1. James Madison, p. 3
2. Weimar, p. 4
3. representativeness, p. 5
4. the Great Depression, p. 5
5. legitimacy, p. 5
6. Japanese internment camps, p. 7
7. confidence gap, p. 8
8. Lester Thurow, p. 7
9. down, p. 6
10. *Megatrends*, p. 10

True-False

- | | |
|-------------|-------------|
| 1. T, p. 10 | 6. F, p. 6 |
| 2. F, p. 10 | 7. T, p. 7 |
| 3. F, p. 5 | 8. T, p. 5 |
| 4. T, p. 5 | 9. F, p. 4 |
| 5. T, p. 5 | 10. F, p. 6 |

Chapter 2

CONSTITUTIONAL CONSTRAINTS AND THE AMERICAN FUTURE

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Write a one-sentence summary of the materials found under each of the headings and subheadings in the text.

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Moving toward a Constitutional Convention	19
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Charles Beard's Thesis: The Constitution as Antidemocratic	20
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Ratification	27
Changing the Constitution	28
Formal Amendment	29
Change through Interpretation	30
Principles Underlying the Constitution	31
Limited Government	32
Separation of Powers/Checks and Balances	34
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A Quasi-Parliamentary Approach as an Alternative	
to the Separation of Powers/Checks and Balances	37
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LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 2 and doing the exercises in this study guide, you should be able to:

1. Explain the relative weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation vis-a-vis the strengths of the Constitution.
2. Elaborate upon the fundamental compromises and/or plans which were agreed to by the Founding Fathers at the Constitutional Convention.
3. Review the basic assumptions of the Beard thesis and the critical arguments against the thesis.
4. Discuss the concept of limited government derived from European philosophers and describe how the following constitutional provisions are relevant to limited government: federalism, the Bill of Rights, separation of powers, checks and balances.
5. Describe the procedures for amending the Constitution and cite examples of specific amendments.
6. Discuss how the efficacy-representativeness trade-off is central to America's constitutional experience.

IDENTIFICATION ITEMS

Write out a one- or two-sentence identification that gives the significance of the following terms or names to this chapter:

James Madison	Parliamentary government
Alexander Hamilton	Balanced budget amendment proposal
Charles Beard	Fundamental law
Baron de Montesquieu	Change through interpretation
George Washington	<i>Spirit of the Laws</i>
Thomas Jefferson	<i>Federalist Papers</i>
John Jay	<i>Treatise on Civil Government</i>
John Locke	<i>An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution</i>
Gouverneur Morris	Enumerated powers
Daniel Shays	Delegated powers
Virginia Plan	Reserved powers
New Jersey Plan	Three-fifths compromise
Judicial review	Necessary-and-proper clause
Great (Connecticut) Compromise	Civil liberties
National supremacy clause	Limited government
Federalism	Balanced budget amendment proposal
Separation of powers	Fundamental law
Checks and balances	Statutory law
Madisonian model	Articles of Confederation
Gridlock	

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Multiple Choice Questions

1. The "father of the Constitution" was:
 - a. Thomas Jefferson
 - b. Alexander Hamilton
 - c. George Washington
 - d. James Madison
2. How many delegates actually attended the Constitutional Convention?
 - a. 74
 - b. 55
 - c. 39
 - d. 47
3. Which of the following was not wanted by the conservatives at the Constitutional Convention?
 - a. protection of United States securities
 - b. protection of investments in western lands
 - c. sovereignty of state legislatures
 - d. all of the above *were* wanted by the conservatives
4. Which of the following powers was denied to Congress under the Articles of Confederation?
 - a. the power to regulate commerce
 - b. the power to raise money through taxation
 - c. both a and b
 - d. the power to pass laws
5. The state which had the *most extreme* inflationary environment during the period of the Articles of Confederation was probably:
 - a. Rhode Island
 - b. Massachusetts
 - c. Virginia
 - d. Georgia
6. Which of the following leaders did not attend the Constitutional Convention?
 - a. John Adams
 - b. Thomas Jefferson
 - c. John Hancock
 - d. None of these attended
7. If a state has two senators and six representatives, its total number of electoral votes will be:
 - a. eight
 - b. six
 - c. two
 - d. four
8. If a state in the South had 100,000 slaves in its population during the period before slavery was eradicated, how many slaves would be counted in determining that state's number of seats in the House of Representatives?
 - a. 50,000
 - b. 60,000
 - c. 80,000
 - d. 100,000

9. Anti-Federalists objected to the Constitution because the document:
- a. slighted the judicial branch
 - b. lacked a Bill of Rights
 - c. had been drafted in total secrecy
 - d. strengthened the states
10. "Ambition must be made to counteract ambition" is a famous saying by:
- a. Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence
 - b. James Madison in *The Federalist Papers*
 - c. Alexander Hamilton in the Articles of Confederation
 - d. Benjamin Franklin in *Poor Richard's Almanac*
11. Which political philosopher and/or statesman is associated with the concept of the separation of powers?
- a. Locke
 - b. Jefferson
 - c. Rousseau
 - d. Montesquieu
12. Constitutional proposals for alleviating gridlock in government included all of the following except:
- a. make the president more independent of Congress
 - b. give Congress members a four-year term of office
 - c. allow Congress members to be members of the president's cabinet
 - d. allow elections to be called when the president and Congress are deadlocked
13. According to John Locke, natural rights:
- a. were granted to the people by the government
 - b. could be withdrawn from the people without their consent under certain circumstances
 - c. were granted to people by the Constitution's Bill of Rights and could be withdrawn only by Congress
 - d. were superior to governmental rights and thus could not be withdrawn by governments
14. The statement "The government which governs best governs least" is attributed to:
- a. Thomas Paine
 - b. Thomas Jefferson
 - c. John Locke
 - d. Alexander Hamilton
15. Of the over 5,000 proposals for constitutional amendments that have been introduced in Congress since 1789, how many have been duly initiated and ratified?
- a. 100 initiated; 32 ratified
 - b. 15 initiated; 10 ratified
 - c. 26 initiated; 19 ratified
 - d. none of the above is correct
16. The Equal Rights amendment proposal fell how many states short of ratification?
- a. thirteen
 - b. six
 - c. three
 - d. twenty-five
17. Supporters of the Separation of Powers principle argue that:
- a. significant legislation gets passed during periods of divided government just as it does during