

AP United States Government and Politics
Summer Assignment
2023-2024

Welcome to AP United States Government and Politics! More than 200 years after the U.S. Constitution was ratified, the compromises necessary for ratification—which sometimes led to ambiguity—continue to fuel debate and discussion over how best to protect liberty, equality, order, and private property. Our first unit sets the foundation for the course by examining how the framers of the Constitution set up a structure of government intended to stand the test of time. Compromises were made during the Constitutional Convention and ratification debates, and these compromises focused on the proper balance between individual freedom, social order, and equality of opportunity. This summer assignment is to introduce you to the foundations on which this course will focus and will be **due by Friday of the first week of class. Be prepared for a quiz.**

Assignments

- Activity 1: Setting Up Your AP Binder
- Activity 2: Note-taking of AMSCO Chapter 1

Activity 1: Setting Up Your AP Binder

A successful AP student starts with a well-organized binder. Your AP binder will become the backbone of your work and your study. Why a binder and not a notebook? The binder allows you to move your notes around and organize them in a way that works for you. A notebook does not. Notes are written on the page they are written on and are stuck there. Sure, you can rip a page out, but now there's an increased chance of losing it, and once the page is gone, it's gone for good! So, get yourself a 2–3-inch binder and organize it in the following way:

- Fill the binder with college-ruled white-lined paper.
- Purchase binder dividers and divide your binder into five sections, one per unit we will be learning.

Activity 2: Note-Taking of AMSCO Chapter 1

All notes **MUST** be handwritten in Cornell note format. Use the Essential Question at the start of each section to help guide you. Use headings and subheadings to help you organize your notes. Use bullet points, sentence fragments, abbreviations, and diagrams when taking notes. There should be **NO FULL PARAGRAPHS**. Take a close look at the section “Reflect on the Essential Question” to ensure you have included the correct information in your notes. See the example provided for you.

Chapter 1.1: Ideals of Democracy

Essential Question: How are democratic ideals reflected in the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution?

Influence of Enlightenment Thought

- Enlightenment thinkers → natural God-given rights

*Enlightenment
Philosophers*

**Use the headings and subheadings to
organize your notes.**

**Use bullet points, abbreviations and graphic
organizers**

DO NOT copy full paragraphs or sentences

**Write a summary at the end of your notes. Your summary
is the answer to the essential question**

CHAPTER 1

Founding Principles

Topics 1.1–1.3

Topic 1.1 Ideals of Democracy

LOR-1.A: Explain how democratic ideals are reflected in the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution.

- Required Foundational Document:
 - Declaration of Independence

Topic 1.2 Types of Democracy

LOR-1.B: Explain how models of representative democracy are visible in major institutions, policies, events, or debates in the U.S.

- Required Foundational Documents:
 - *Federalist No. 10*
 - *Brutus No. 1*

Topic 1.3 Government Power and Individual Rights

CON-1.A: Explain how Federalist and Anti-Federalist views on central government and democracy are reflected in U.S. foundational documents.

- Required Foundational Documents:
 - *Federalist No. 10*
 - *Brutus No. 1*



Source: Wellcome Library, London

The Signers of the Declaration of Independence

Ideals of Democracy

"Britain is the parent country, say some. Then the more shame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor savages make war upon their families . . . Every thing that is right or natural pleads for separation. The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries, 'TIS TIME TO PART."

—Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*, 1776

Essential Question: How are democratic ideals reflected in the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution?

The ideals of American democracy are firmly rooted in the establishment of the United States after the Revolution of the late 1700s. More than a century before, however, American settlers began to define democracy and self-governance. When the Pilgrims landed in Massachusetts in 1620, they knew their survival depended on working together and forming a “civil body politic,” so they drafted a governing document, the Mayflower Compact. This agreement was grounded in Christian morals and the God-given right to self-rule, even while the Pilgrims remained British subjects. More than 150 years later, the Declaration of Independence, applying the principles of Enlightenment philosophy, provided a foundation for a government in which the people with protected rights, not monarchs, were the true source of governmental power. A decade later, the United States Constitution codified the ideals of self-government, consent of the governed, and representation into guidelines for a new nation.

Influence of Enlightenment Thought

The leading revolutionaries were inspired by Enlightenment thinkers who championed natural, God-given rights and a social contract between a representative government and the people, the true source of power. They argued that if a government violated the understood compact, then the people could take that power back.

Enlightenment Philosophers

Advocates for freedom from British rule drew on Enlightenment political theory. It had been developed when the principles of rationalism that had unlocked doors to the natural world during the Scientific Revolution were

applied to the social world as well. Especially influential were the writings of English philosophers Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) and John Locke (1632–1704), Swiss-born philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), and French philosopher Montesquieu (1689–1755).

Thomas Hobbes and *The Leviathan* In his famous work *The Leviathan*, Hobbes argues that when humans live in “a state of nature” rather than in a governed state, the result is anarchy and war, and human life is “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.” A modern example is Somalia after the collapse of its repressive government in 1991. The resulting stateless society endured a long series of bloody civil wars.

The remedy for this condition, according to Hobbes, was for people to give up some of their rights, as long as others did so as well, and agree to live in peace. In his view, an absolute sovereign—the Leviathan referred to in the title—would hold society together, yet still honor a social contract, as long as the sovereign’s rule took the good of society into account.

John Locke and Natural Law John Locke, a British philosopher, argued in *Second Treatise of Civil Government* (1690) that **natural law** is the law of God and that this law is acknowledged through human sense and reason. In contrast to Hobbes, he proposed that under natural law—in a state of nature—people were born free and equal. According to this law, Locke reasoned, “No one can be . . . subjected to the political power of another, without his own consent.” Locke argued further that natural law not only entitled but actually obligated people to rebel when the rule of kings did not respect the consent of the governed.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau and *The Social Contract* Rousseau was much influenced by Locke. He spoke for those “intending their minds” away from an irrational and oppressive political order, away from a governmental theory that rested in the divine right of kings and clergy to rule and misrule. The opening sentence of his influential treatise, *The Social Contract*, dramatically lays out a key human problem: “Man was born free, and he is everywhere in chains.” The social contract Rousseau describes is the agreement of free and equal people to abandon certain natural rights in order to find secure protections for society and to find freedom in a single body politic committed to the general good. He envisioned **popular sovereignty**—the people as the ultimate ruling authority—and a government of officials to carry out the laws.

Baron de Montesquieu and *The Spirit of the Laws* French philosopher Montesquieu (1689–1755), like Rousseau, recognized in *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748) both the sovereign and administrative aspects of governmental power. He saw a republican form of government as one having defined and limited power while granting political liberty to citizens. Montesquieu argued for the separation of powers in the administrative government, comprised of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches.

Enlightenment thought was well known among English colonists in North America. According to historian Carl Becker, “Most Americans had absorbed

Locke's works as a kind of political gospel." The American revolutionaries believed that men were entitled to "life, liberty, and property" and that these cannot be taken away except under laws created through the consent of the governed. These beliefs formed the bedrock of the political ideology known as **republicanism**. In a republic, citizens elect leaders for a limited period of time; the leaders' job is to make and execute laws in the public interest. The lack of colonial representation in Parliament, such as taxation without consent and subsequent infringements of liberty, violated fundamental rights and the values of republicanism. These violations were remedied by the creation of an independent, limited, and representative government based on the ideas of natural rights, popular sovereignty, republicanism, and the social contract.



THINK AS A POLITICAL SCIENTIST: DESCRIBE POLITICAL PRINCIPLES IN DIFFERENT SCENARIOS

The United States is a **limited government**—one kept under control by law, checks and balances, and separation of powers. For example, although the government uses taxpayer money to fund large public projects, such as transportation systems and social safety nets, it cannot make those commitments unless representatives duly elected by the people agree on them. In a monarchy, in contrast, the government uses taxpayer money as it sees fit.

A limited government also respects people's individual liberties and steps in only when necessary to resolve conflicts when individual liberties collide with some opposing force—another individual's liberties or the public interest, for example.

Practice: Describe how the principle of limited government applies to each of the following scenarios.

1. The state government establishes laws governing the legal age to drive.
2. A case before the Supreme Court determines whether a person can be fired for being LGBTQ.
3. The United States Department of Agriculture issues nutritional guidelines.

Declaring Independence

American-British tensions rose to new heights in the early 1770s. Colonists protested Parliament's taxing them without consent or representation. To enforce the tax laws and to quiet the discontent in America, the British government sent a military force to the colonies. Friction between the soldiers, trying to instill order, and the colonists, trying to enjoy their liberty, resulted in a decade of conflict that further divided the two sides.

British suppression of self-rule, economic punishments, and unfair trials and imprisonments finally brought the two sides to blows. In fact, the battles of

Lexington and Concord had already taken place by the summer of 1776 when the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia. Virginia delegate Richard Henry Lee offered a short motion declaring American independence and the authority of this Congress to vote to officially end the relationship with Great Britain. Delegates from the colonies debated the motion for days before breaking the session to allow some delegations to travel back to their legislatures to make sure they were adequately representing them. The same gathering, before it temporarily adjourned, commissioned a committee of five men—**Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin**, Roger Sherman, and Robert Livingston—to draft a full, more official statement to summarize the colonists' views.

On June 11, the five men met at Franklin's lodgings and planned the document's content and shape. When Franklin declined the invitation to draft it because of his shaky health, they handed the assignment to Thomas Jefferson. The Second Continental Congress reconvened on July 1 to debate the enhanced resolution. Over the next two days, Jefferson and the committee made 85 revisions or deletions. The full body debated and then voted on July 4, 1776, to approve the document, which became the **Declaration of Independence**. It provided a moral and legal justification for the rebellion.



FOUNDATIONAL DOCUMENTS: *DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE*

The Declaration of Independence drew from Locke and other Enlightenment philosophers, upholding popular sovereignty. It explained how abuses by the too powerful British Crown violated natural rights and self-rule, justified the colonists' separation from Britain, and defined the newly independent states' relationship. Following are key excerpts from the Declaration.

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another . . . they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, —That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it. . . .

The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations . . . he has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good . . . he has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant . . . he has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people . . . he has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people. . . .

[For these reasons], these united colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States. . . . And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred honor.

Political Science Disciplinary Practices: Analyze the Declaration of Independence as Argument

The Declaration of Independence is widely regarded as an outstanding example of classic argument—a written or spoken effort to persuade people to adopt a certain point of view or take a certain action. When you analyze an argument, you take it apart to understand its elements. You identify the author’s *claims*—statements asserted to be true—and the reasoning the author uses to support those claims. For example, the Declaration asserts that governments derive their power from the consent of the governed, establishing the basis for popular sovereignty. The Declaration also claims that people have the right to alter or abolish a government that is destructive to people’s rights.

Apply: Explain how these claims relate to Enlightenment thought and republican ideals. Then read the full Declaration of Independence on pages 696–699, and answer the questions that follow it for an in-depth analysis of the argument in this founding document.

The Revolutionary War intensified, and the Continental Congress sent diplomats to foreign countries and military generals to lead the fight. The colonies-turned-states created a more official government under the Articles of Confederation, the nation’s first constitution. (See Topic 1.4.) The war raged on until General George Washington’s army defeated the British at Yorktown, Virginia, in 1781. In 1783, the Treaty of Paris officially ended the war.



Source: Library of Congress
Declaration Committee (left to right): Thomas Jefferson, Roger Sherman, Benjamin Franklin, Robert R. Livingston, and John Adams

The U.S. Constitution: A Blueprint for Government

After experimenting with a decentralized federal government under the Articles of Confederation, the Confederation Congress called a convention in Philadelphia for the sole purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation. In May 1787, delegates began to arrive at Independence Hall (the Pennsylvania State House) to get an early start on improving national governance. Thirty-six-year-old **James Madison** was among the first to arrive. The Virginia lawyer was well prepared for the deliberations. His friend Thomas Jefferson served in Paris as the U.S. ambassador to France and sent Madison books on successful and

unsuccessful governments. Madison's influence in creating the plan for the new government and his stalwart support of it during the ratification process (see Topic 1.5) earned him the nickname "Father of the Constitution."

The delegates elected **George Washington** as president of the Convention. He presided as a calming force during heated debate. In fact, Washington's participation alone elevated the validity of the endeavor. **Alexander Hamilton's** intellect, drive, and quest to elevate the nation made him instrumental in shaping the new design. Benjamin Franklin, the elder statesman at age 81, offered his experience as one who had participated in the drafting of the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Treaty of Paris with Britain. He also held distinction in discovery, invention, and civic endeavors, embodying Enlightenment ideals.

In addition to these leading statesmen, states sent representatives with significant experience in public affairs—some who became future Supreme Court justices, Cabinet members, and notable congressmen—intent on creating outcomes beneficial to their state. All were well versed in Enlightenment political thought and had served the Revolutionary cause.

The delegation decided on procedural matters and formed the **Grand Committee**. The committee was made up of one delegate from each of the states represented at the convention. George Mason, William Paterson, and Benjamin Franklin were among those on the Grand Committee. The Grand Committee was instrumental in forging the compromises needed to work out the many conflicting interests as the new form of government took shape. (See Topic 1.5 for more about the constitutional compromises.)

An Enlightened Constitution

When the delegates completed their work on September 17, 1787, they had created a blueprint for a unique form of political democracy. They recognized, as did Hobbes, the need for a strong executive, but they discarded his idea that such a person should have absolute power, as a monarch would. Instead, they created an executive branch headed by an elected president, ultimately subject to the will of the people. Like Locke and Rousseau, they believed that people committed to a social contract by giving up some individual rights in exchange for the benefits of a government that sought justice and preserved fairness. Like Montesquieu, they supported the separation of powers.

BIG IDEA The U.S. Constitution establishes a system of checks and balances among branches of government and allocates power between federal and state governments. This system is based on the rule of law and the balance between majority rule and minority rights. The plan for government under the new constitution included three separate branches—legislative, executive, and judicial—each having unique powers and each able to block the others from gaining too much power. Congress as the legislative branch could tax, borrow money, and regulate commerce. The president would serve as commander in chief. The judicial branch included a Supreme Court and a plan to create lower courts. The Constitution also outlined a system to elect the president.

A Representative Republic

The framers wanted the citizen representation of a democracy, but on a national level, so they created a **representative republic**, a collection of sovereign states gathered for the national interest, national needs, and national defense. To promote popular sovereignty, the framers required popular elections every two years for members of the House of Representatives, but those were the only popular elections they put in the original Constitution. State legislatures elected their senators until 1913. The state legislatures named their electors (done today by citizen voters), and then the Electoral College elects the president.

REFLECT ON THE ESSENTIAL QUESTION

Essential Question: *How are democratic ideals reflected in the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution? On separate paper, complete a chart like the one below.*

Democratic Ideals	Examples in the Founding Documents

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

Adams, John	Montesquieu, Baron de (<i>The Spirit of the Laws</i>)
Declaration of Independence	natural law
Franklin, Benjamin	popular sovereignty
Grand Committee	representative republic
Hamilton, Alexander	republicanism
Hobbes, Thomas (<i>The Leviathan</i>)	Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (<i>The Social Contract</i>)
Jefferson, Thomas	U.S. Constitution
limited government	Washington, George
Locke, John (<i>Second Treatise of Civil Government</i>)	
Madison, James	

Types of Democracy

“To secure [our inherent and inalienable] rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.”

—Declaration of Independence, 1776

Essential Question: How are models of representative democracy visible in U.S. institutions, policies, events, and debates?

The Declaration of Independence laid the foundation for a new government to replace Britain’s oppressive rule. The Constitution, formally adopted in 1788, became the permanent plan for government with a workable balance between the states and the federal government and between individual freedoms and government power. The result was a **representative democracy**—a government in which the people entrust elected officials to represent their concerns.

Three Forms of Representative Democracies

Representative democracies can take a number of forms. The structure and principles of the Constitution allow for the following types, among others.

Participatory Democracy

In its purist form, a **participatory democracy** depends on the direct participation of many, if not most, people in a society, not only in government but in public life as well. Participatory democracy emphasizes broad involvement of citizens in politics. Most important, citizens vote directly for laws and other matters that affect them instead of voting for people to represent their interests.

However, a pure form of participatory democracy is unwieldy. Even in Ancient Greece, the birthplace of democracy, only those who had the time and resources took an active part in government. The larger the population, the more difficult it is to involve everyone in decision making in a timely manner.

The framers believed that such a large, diverse country as the United States was too big to function as a participatory democracy. Yet they left room for the individual to exercise self-representation at state and local levels. Small towns and villages hold town hall meetings with occasional votes to establish local policy. Cities and school districts hold votes among the entire local electorate to determine property tax rates and whether or not to construct new public buildings. In many states, the voting populace can establish state law or alter state constitutions.



Source: David Shankbone, 2011, Wikimedia Commons

The Occupy Wall Street movement (2011), modeled on a participatory approach, used bottom-up rather than top-down policymaking. However, its participatory nature made decision making slow and action agendas hard to develop.

Pluralist Democracy

In a **pluralist democracy**, people with widely varying interests find others who share their interests and organize and unite into nongovernmental groups to exert influence on political decision making. These **interest groups** (see Topic 5.6) compete in the “marketplace of ideas” and look for access points at the local, state, and federal levels to persuade policymakers. Groups form along a spectrum of interests, from associations of business executives pressuring the government to reduce environmental regulations on business to associations of environmentalists pressuring the government to preserve natural resources and combat climate change. Because of the competition among interests and the need for bargaining, the process of changing policy is usually slow. However, a pluralist democracy allows many people to voice their interests, preventing the wealthy and elite from grabbing all the power.

The founders knew such varying interests would dominate government, so they created structures to limit their influence. For example, they assumed each state would constitute an interest. In the House and Senate, states have representatives, yet these bodies are composed of so many members from across a broad geography and diversity of views that factions within these bodies often limit the dominance of any single interest. The system of the Electoral College—having electors vote independently while isolated in their state capitals on the same day—would prevent an overpowering influence fueled by interest.

Elite Democracy

The Electoral College demonstrates an elite element in the United States government. In an **elite democracy**, elected representatives make decisions and act as trustees for the people who elected them. Elite democracy recognizes an inequity in the spread of power among the general populace and the elites: People with resources and influence dominate. Despite the inequality of power, some people argue that the elected representatives are well equipped to secure the rights of the individual. They tend to have the necessary skills and education to represent the governed. Proponents of an elite democracy argue that elite leaders can prevent popular but possibly unwise positions from forcing their way into policy.

Elite democratic models are in all three branches of government. The most democratic of them, the House of Representatives, is composed of members elected directly by the people. They have short, two-year terms and represent a geographic constituency. The Senate, originally elected by state legislators, was another step removed from the citizenry, still representative, but more elite. And several appointees in the federal government—Cabinet officials and judges, for example—are appointed, the latter for life.

Tension Over the Models of Democracy

The Constitution and the subsequent spirited ratification debate reflected the tension between the broad participatory model and the more filtered participation of the pluralist and elite models. The central question was, “What is the best way for citizens to participate in government?”

Tensions Within the Constitution The Constitution reflects a balance between citizen participation and a strong central government of representatives. The document and the national policies properly created under it are the supreme law of the land, but it also allows states to retain rights that are not in conflict with federal law. The strong central government reflects an elite model of democracy, since elected representatives have the power to represent their constituents. In fact, in the original Constitution, elected members of the state legislatures elected their U.S. senators. They are now elected directly by the people.

At the same time, the freedom of states to make their own decisions (as long as they are not in conflict with federal law) reflects the possibility for participatory democracy. Elected representatives serve at all levels of state and local governments, but states and the cities and towns that comprise them have the freedom to encourage widespread participation.

The lawmaking process outlined in the Constitution recognizes the necessity of finding agreement within pluralism. Representatives and senators from all regions of the country, representing a wide variety of views, negotiate agreements to pass laws.

Tensions Between Political Beliefs Those who supported the proposed constitutional structure, a strong federal government, and full ratification became known as **Federalists**. Federalist Alexander Hamilton, aware of anti-Constitution sentiment in his home state of New York, recruited James Madison and John Jay to help write and publish 85 essays supporting the Constitution and explaining the government it created. These authors adopted the pen name “Publius” after an ancient Roman who toppled a king and set up a republic. The *Federalist Papers* were the most comprehensive commentary designed to sell ratification. Their influence peaked as Virginia and New York ratified with slim margins. One of the more celebrated arguments is found in *Federalist No. 10*.

“By enlarging too much the number of electors, you render the representatives too little acquainted with all their local circumstances and lesser interests; as by reducing it too much, you render him unduly attached to these, and too little fit

to comprehend and pursue great and national objects. The federal Constitution forms a happy combination in this respect; the great and aggregate interests being referred to the national, the local and particular to the State legislatures."
—*Federalist No. 10* (See Topic 1.3 for a more in-depth look at *Federalist No. 10*.)

Strong, vocal opposition to the Constitution came about as quickly as the document was unveiled. Those who opposed the consolidation of the states under a federal government were known as **Anti-Federalists**. They, too, had well educated leaders, including New York delegates Robert Yates and William Lansing, who wrote newspaper articles to sway people's decisions to adopt or reject the Constitution. Anti-Federalists described what they saw as the impossibility of truly representing constituents' views in a large republic. A series of essays appeared in the *New York Journal* from October 1787 until April 1788 under the pseudonym Brutus, which evoked images of the heroic Roman republican who killed the tyrant Caesar. Brutus wrote 16 total essays, which in many ways paralleled the meticulous analysis of the Federalists from the other side.

"In every free government, the people must give their assent to the laws by which they are governed. This is the true criterion between a free government and an arbitrary one. The former are ruled by the will of the whole, expressed in any manner they may agree upon; the latter by the will of one, or a few . . . Now, in a large extended country, it is impossible to have a representation, possessing the sentiments, and of integrity, to declare the minds of the people, without having it so numerous and unwieldy, as to be subject in great measure to the inconveniency of a democratic government." —*Brutus No. 1* (See Topic 1.3 for a more in-depth look at *Brutus No. 1*.)

MODELS OF REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY		
	Reflected in the Constitution	Reflected in Ratification Debates
Participatory	States are free to determine how to allow for direct citizen involvement.	Anti-Federalists feared in the large United States too many people with too many different views to be adequately represented, so they favored smaller units of government more responsive to local needs.
Pluralist	The lawmaking process requires compromise within a wide range of competing interests.	Federalists argued competing interests are unavoidable, but they prevent one single viewpoint from dominating.
Elite	Elected representatives are charged with representing their constituencies. The Electoral College enables elites to determine the president.	Federalists desired representative government and trusted the process of regular elections to remove representatives when they do not meet the needs of their constituents. Anti-Federalists argued only smaller units of government can represent their constituents.

Representative Democracy in the United States Today

The three models of representative democracy continue to be reflected in contemporary institutions and political behavior.

Examples of Participatory Democracy One way in which citizens can participate directly is through state and local ballot initiatives. **Initiatives** give the people the power to place a measure on the ballot for a popular vote. Another is the **referendum**, which allows citizens to contest the work of the legislature. If the legislature passes an unpopular law, the public can gather support, usually through signatures on a petition, to call for a vote to defeat or uphold the law. Twenty-six states allow some form of ballot initiatives. On Election Day 2020, some of the issues voters were deciding through ballot measures related to the minimum wage, exemptions from vaccination requirements for students and health care employees, the use of renewable resources for energy, and gender-neutral language.

Examples of Pluralist Democracy Different interests form special interest groups in a pluralist democracy that allows for the sharing of political power. They interact with government officials searching for consensus among competing interests. They raise and spend money to elect people friendly to their ideas. These groups send professional researchers and experts to testify at congressional committee hearings in hopes of shaping or stopping a bill. They monitor the government as it enforces existing law, and they buy ads to influence public opinion. (See Topic 5.6.) So many policymakers put into effect so many rules and procedures at the local, state, and federal levels that no single force shapes our body of law. As an ethnically and ideologically diverse nation, the United States includes a large variety of viewpoints and public policy usually established and accepted by a consensus.

Several types of interest groups function within the United States today. Some of the strongest exert exceptional influence on policymaking. These groups include civil rights groups, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Organization for Women (NOW), and economic interest groups that represent labor, such as the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). Single-interest groups, such as the National Rifle Association (NRA), can also have a strong influence on laws and society.



THINK AS A POLITICAL SCIENTIST: DESCRIBE THE AUTHOR'S CLAIM

The debate over the proposed form of government was spirited. Each argument rested on a claim—a statement asserted to be true—and attempted to provide evidence to back up that claim. Some of the most spirited debate was carried on through private letters between Thomas Jefferson, who was serving in Europe as a U.S. minister to France, and James Madison, a key proponent of the Constitution.

Practice: Read the excerpt of a letter from Jefferson to Madison about what Jefferson does not like about the Constitution. Then answer the questions.

"First [it omits] a bill of rights providing clearly . . . for freedom of religion, freedom of the press, protection against standing armies, restriction against monopolies, the eternal & unremitting force of the habeas corpus laws, and trials by jury To say . . . that a bill of rights was not necessary because all is reserved [by the states and people] in the case of the general government which is not given, while in the particular ones all is given [to the states and people] which is not reserved [contradicts inferences in the Constitution] [A] bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, general or particular, & what no just government should refuse or rest on inference."

1. What is Jefferson's chief claim in this passage?
2. What opposing claim is Jefferson arguing against?

Examples of Elitism in Government The Constitution's elite government model was weakened somewhat after Progressive Era reforms (1890–1920), when the masses became more involved in politics. Yet in many ways, elite-dominated politics prevail today. Individuals with the most time, education, money, and access to government will take more action than the less privileged, and because of their resources, they will be heard. People who serve in the leadership of a political party, whether on the local or national level, are usually from a higher socioeconomic level, better known, and better educated than the rank and file, the many members of a group who constitute the group's body.

REFLECT ON THE ESSENTIAL QUESTION

Essential Question: *How are models of representative democracy visible in U.S. institutions, policies, events, and debates? On separate paper, complete a chart like the one below.*

Examples of Participatory	Examples of Pluralist	Examples of Elite

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

Anti-Federalists
elite democracy
Federalists
initiative
interest group

participatory democracy
pluralist democracy
referendum
representative democracy

Government Power and Individual Rights

"Different laws, customs, and opinions exist in the different states, which by a uniform system of laws would be unreasonably invaded."

—Federal Farmer, *Poughkeepsie Country Journal*, 1787

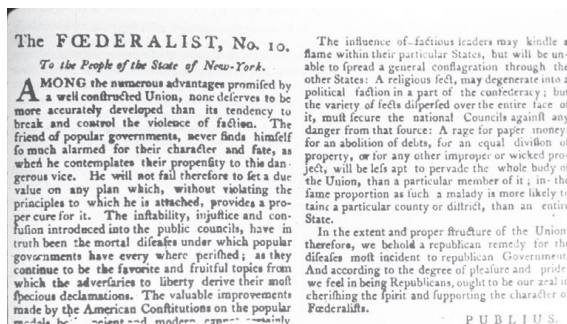
Essential Question: How are Federalist and Anti-Federalist views on central government and democracy reflected in America's foundational documents?

Under the Articles of Confederation (see Topic 1.4), political power belonged largely to state governments, with a weaker national government. The delegates at the Constitutional Convention worked to design a stronger national government, yet not as overbearing as the British monarchy had been to the colonies. By 1787, a draft of the Constitution was sent to all 13 state legislatures, which created ratifying conventions to debate and vote for or against the plan. For the Constitution to go into effect, nine states needed to ratify it.

The Constitution was also published in local newspapers. The reaction of many Americans showed a nation divided over opposing beliefs about which level of government should hold more power.

Opposing Beliefs

The differences between the beliefs of Federalists and Anti-Federalists regarding national government were vast. Intense debates over ratification of the Constitution took place between members of these groups. Some of the most substantive arguments appeared in widely circulated newspapers and were read and discussed by many Americans.



The *Federalist Papers* were published in three New York newspapers from 1787 to 1788.

Federalist Support for the Constitution

With the insistence of fellow pro-Constitution Virginians, **James Madison** named himself a candidate for his state's ratifying convention to be held in Richmond. Federalists argued that a strong national government and the diversity of America's large population would protect the rights of all citizens from the elite and would protect the units of states from the collective whole. The Federalists also wanted to allay fears that their plan would subject people in the states to abuses by this new national government. Madison, in *Federalist No. 10*, addressed the concern that a few powerful individuals might unite into a **faction**, or interest group (see Topic 1.2), to dominate political decisions. He believed the Constitution was designed to limit the influence of factions.



FOUNDATIONAL DOCUMENTS: *FEDERALIST NO. 10*

Of the 85 essays that Madison, Hamilton, and Jay penned, one of the most cited is *Federalist No. 10* because it addresses the concern over special interests. *Federalist No. 10* speaks of the “mischiefs of faction,” or interest groups in government, whether a majority or a minority, “united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens.” Publius, the “voice” of the Federalist authors, stated that men of like mind might begin to dominate government for their own ends rather than for the public good. He explained how no plan for government can eliminate factions entirely but noted that the framers had created a system to stall and frustrate factions and thus limit their effects. They created not a pure, participatory democracy at the national level but rather a representative and pluralist republic that had to consider the interests of varied people from across many miles of land. America even at its birth was one of the most expansive countries in the world, and varied factions arriving at the nation's capital from New England and Georgia would neutralize one another.

Following are some key quotes from *Federalist No. 10*.

A zeal for different opinions concerning religion, concerning government, and many other points, . . . [and] an attachment to different leaders ambitiously contending for pre-eminence and power . . . have . . . divided mankind into parties, inflamed them with mutual animosity, and rendered them much more disposed to vex and oppress each other than to co-operate for their common good . . .

The inference to which we are brought is, that the causes of faction cannot be removed, and that relief is only to be sought in the means of controlling its effects. . . . hence, it clearly appears, that the same advantage a republic has over a democracy, in controlling the effects of faction, is enjoyed by a large over a small republic, and is enjoyed by the Union over the States composing it.

Political Science Disciplinary Practices and Reasoning Processes: Analyze
Federalist No. 10

Publius addresses a key concern of many colonists—that a majority could sweep away the will of the minority by their sheer numbers. To answer that in part, he writes, “The influence of factious leaders may kindle a flame within their particular States but will be unable to spread a general conflagration through the other States.” Keep that quote in mind as you complete the activity below.

Apply: Publius identifies an inference in the second paragraph of the quote on page 17. Rewrite that inference in your own words and explain how Publius uses it to advance the cause of adopting a republican government. You can read *Federalist No. 10* and all the *Federalist Papers* online.

Anti-Federalist Opposition to the Constitution

Opponents of the Constitution, including Virginia’s Patrick Henry and George Mason, desired a federal government more like the confederation under the Articles. These Anti-Federalist concerns came from the recent experience with an autocratic ruling country. Some feared the proposed single executive might replicate a monarchical king, potentially limiting state and individual rights. Congress’s power to tax, to control a standing army, and to do anything else it felt “necessary and proper” made the Anti-Federalists wary. The Anti-Federalists suspected foul play and pointed to the thick veil of secrecy in which designing men had conspired to draft the document.

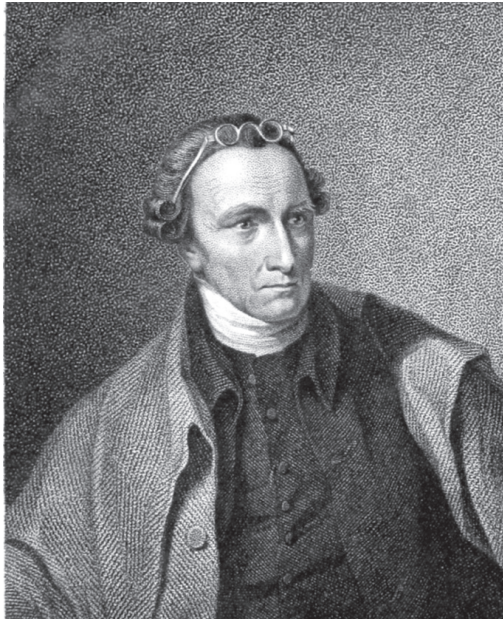


THINK AS A POLITICAL SCIENTIST: DESCRIBE POLITICAL PRINCIPLES

Once the united colonies won their freedom from Britain, the nation needed to decide which democratic principles would be at its foundation. One principle centered on the role and importance of **factions** as the framers defined the government of the young nation.

Practice: Complete the following directions.

1. Define faction, or interest group.
2. Give an example of a faction.
3. Describe the opposing views on the role and importance of factions. Be sure to include:
 - Who would have supported and who would have opposed factions?
 - Why was there support for and opposition to factions?



Source: Wikimedia Commons
Anti-Federalist Patrick Henry

Anti-Federalists and Federalists differed in their views about a large republic. The *New York Journal* and *Weekly Register* published a series of 16 Anti-Federalist articles written under the pseudonym Brutus. In fact, the first Anti-Federalist article appeared a few weeks before *Federalist No. 1*.



FOUNDATIONAL DOCUMENTS: *BRUTUS NO. 1*

“Brutus” writes for the purpose of dissuading readers from supporting the new Constitution. *Brutus No. 1* is a commentary on the dangers of too large and too consolidated a government. Brutus argues that rarely would the citizens of a large nation know of the workings of government or know their elected representative.

He argues that the necessary and proper clause and the supremacy clause give the federal government unlimited power, risking personal liberty. He argues that in a free republic, people have confidence in their rulers because they know them, and the rulers are accountable to the people who have the power to displace them. He posits that “in a republic of the extent of this continent, the people . . . would be acquainted with very few of their rulers: [they] would know little of their proceedings, and it would be extremely difficult to change them.” He also specifically counters the Federalists’ view that a large country and government prevent the rise of controlling factions.

... if respect is to be paid to the opinion of the greatest and wisest men who have ever thought or wrote on the science of government, we shall be constrained to conclude, that a free republic cannot succeed over a country of such immense extent, containing such a number of inhabitants, and these increasing in such rapid progression as that of the whole United States. ... in a republic, the manners, sentiments, and interests of the people should be similar. If this be not the case, there will be a constant clashing of opinions; and the representatives of one part will be continually striving against those of the other. This will retard the operations of government, and prevent such conclusions as will promote the public good. If we apply this remark to the condition of the united states, we shall be convinced that it forbids that we should be one government.

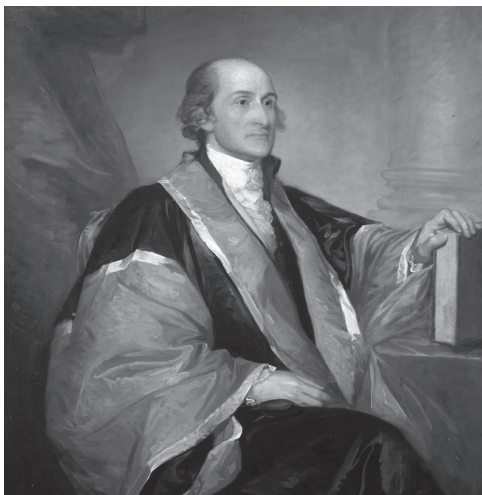
Political Science Disciplinary Practices and Reasoning Processes: Compare *Brutus No. 1* and *Federalist No. 10*

Both Brutus and Publius convey the conviction that factions and constant clashing are givens in a large country, yet the two sides come to nearly opposite conclusions.

Apply: Identify and explain the similarities and differences in the political beliefs, ideologies, and principles of Brutus and Publius based on the implications conveyed in their writing. Also, explain how each position may have affected the ratification of the Constitution.

Read the full text of *Brutus No. 1* online.

Newspapers published the text of the Constitution and essays for and against it, such as the *Federalist Papers* and the articles by Brutus, giving citizens of the newly independent nation the opportunity to read and digest views for and against the ratification of the Constitution. Debate was passionate and heated not only at the national level over the Constitution but also within states. The debate in Rhode Island nearly resulted in bloodshed when almost 1,000 Anti-Federalists organized and marched to Providence to prevent ratification. Other states, such as Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia, offered strongly worded responses regarding their fear of the federal power proposed in the Constitution.



Source: National Gallery of Art, Portrait by Gilbert Stuart

John Jay wrote five of the *Federalist Papers* and was the second governor of New York and the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He was also an abolitionist.

OPPOSING VIEWS REGARDING GOVERNMENT AND DEMOCRACY

Federalists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Supported the strong national government created by the Constitution ▪ Believed existing Constitutional provisions would protect the rights of states and individuals ▪ Believed qualified representatives were best suited to lead the nation ▪ Believed unchecked factions would put the interests of a few above the interests of the nation
Anti-Federalists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Wanted states to have more power ▪ Believed a bill of rights was needed to guarantee protection of the rights of states and individuals ▪ Believed many should have a voice in government to prevent the elite from having too much power

REFLECT ON THE ESSENTIAL QUESTION

Essential Question: *How are Federalist and Anti-Federalist views on central government and democracy reflected in America's foundational documents? On separate paper, complete a chart like the one below.*

	View on Central Government	Evidence from Foundational Document
Federalists		
Anti-Federalists		

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

Anti-Federalists
Brutus No. 1
 faction

Federalists
Federalist No. 10
 Madison, James