

## Chapter 02

# Constitutional Democracy: Promoting Liberty and Self-Government

### Multiple Choice Questions

1. The idea that government should be restricted in its lawful uses of power and hence in its ability to deprive people of their liberty is expressed by the term
- A. federalism.
  - B. self-government.
  - C. judicial review.
  - D.** limited government.
  - E. natural rights.

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2. \_\_\_\_\_ was the primary author of the Declaration of Independence.
- A. John Locke
  - B.** Thomas Jefferson
  - C. James Madison
  - D. George Washington
  - E. Alexander Hamilton

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3. Early Americans' preference for limited government was strengthened by
- A. their exposure to life under the British Parliament and some of the "rights of Englishmen."
  - B. Lockean philosophy.
  - C. Britain's treatment of the colonies after the French and Indian War.
  - D. taxation without representation.
  - E.** All these answers are correct.

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4. Which of the following chronologies is correct?

- A.** Boston Tea Party (1773); First Continental Congress (1774); and beginning of the American Revolution (1775)
- B. Shays' Rebellion (1773); Annapolis Convention (1774); and Declaration of Independence (1776)
- C. Stamp Act (1775); Declaration of Independence (1776); and Philadelphia Convention (1788)
- D. *Common Sense* (1769); Declaration of Independence (1776); and *The Federalist Papers* (1783)
- E. Declaration of Independence (1776); Articles of Confederation (1787); Constitution (1791); and *Federalist* No. 10 (1795)

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5. The European philosopher whose concept of natural rights had a great impact on American politics is

- A. Montesquieu.
- B.** Locke.
- C. Hobbes.
- D. Aristotle.
- E. Burke.

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6. The words of the Declaration of Independence reflected

- A. Aristotle's conception of democracy.
- B. Montesquieu's view of constitutionalism.
- C. Hobbes's idea of the state of nature.
- D.** Locke's philosophy of inalienable rights.
- E. Madison's view of factions.

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7. According to John Locke, inalienable rights in a social contract
- A. belong to the government only.
  - B. belong to individuals but can be denied by government.
  - C.** belong to individuals and cannot be denied by government.
  - D. cannot be guaranteed by any governmental body.
  - E. are no longer as important to the individual as in a state of nature.

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8. The inalienable rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence are
- A.** life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.
  - B. liberty, equality, and fraternity.
  - C. life, liberty, and property.
  - D. life and property only.
  - E. equality and liberty only.

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9. The first plan of government for the United States was a
- A.** confederation.
  - B. federalist system.
  - C. unitary form of government.
  - D. monarchy.
  - E. theocracy.

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10. Which of the following was NOT provided for by the Articles of Confederation?
- A. a national Congress
  - B. each state having one vote in Congress
  - C. unanimous approval by the states to amend the Articles
  - D. a federal government subordinate to the states
  - E.** an independent federal executive

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11. Under the Articles of Confederation, Congress had the power to
- A. regulate commerce between states.
  - B. regulate commerce between states and foreign countries.
  - C. tax individual citizens.
  - D. tax individual states.
  - E.** amend the Articles of Confederation.

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12. Shays' Rebellion

- A. was a successful revolt.
- B. convinced many political leaders that the national government was too powerful.
- C.** convinced many political leaders that the national government was too weak.
- D. reinforced public support for the Articles of Confederation.
- E. occurred after the Philadelphia convention of 1787.

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13. The Annapolis convention

- A. produced several amendments to the Articles of Confederation.
- B. was convened to fix problems that arose with the United States Constitution.
- C. officially ratified the Bill of Rights.
- D.** was attended by less than half the thirteen states.
- E. was a crucial step that led to the United States declaring independence from Britain.

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14. Under the Virginia Plan

- A. the new Constitution would be only marginally stronger than the Articles of Confederation.
- B. slaves would count as four-fifths of a person when apportioning legislative representatives.
- C.** large states would have more representatives in both chambers of Congress.
- D. Congress could not regulate either interstate trade or international trade.
- E. two of the northern states would have had no representatives at all in Congress.

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15. Under the New Jersey Plan, each state would have \_\_\_\_ vote(s) in Congress.

- A. one
- B. two
- C. three
- D. four
- E. five

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16. The Great Compromise produced

- A. checks and balances.
- B. the abolition of slavery.
- C. a bicameral Congress.
- D. separation of powers.
- E. federalism.

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17. The "Three-Fifths Compromise" was a response to

- A. conflict over the institution of slavery.
- B. the concerns of small states.
- C. apportionment in the U.S. Senate.
- D. the Electoral College.
- E. the demands of large states.

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18. Under the original Constitution, Congress could not ban the slave trade until \_\_\_\_\_.

- A. 1808
- B. 1828
- C. 1848
- D. 1865
- E. 1887

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19. Which of the following states had the lowest percentage of African Americans in 1790?

- A. Georgia
- B.** Pennsylvania
- C. South Carolina
- D. North Carolina
- E. Virginia

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20. The Constitution was ratified by

- A. the people.
- B. local referendums.
- C.** the states.
- D. the Supreme Court.
- E. the Continental Congress.

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21. In order for the Constitution to go into effect, at least this number of states would need to ratify it

- A. five.
- B. seven.
- C.** nine.
- D. eleven.
- E. thirteen.

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22. Most Anti-Federalists feared that the new government would be dominated by

- A.** political elites.
- B. farmers.
- C. clergymen.
- D. political "factions."
- E. debtors.

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23. Presidents are

- A. directly selected by the people.
- B. selected by votes of the state legislatures.
- C.** selected by votes of the Electoral College.
- D. subject to recall elections.
- E. subject to confidence votes by Congress.

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24. *The Federalist Papers* were written by

- A. Washington, Adams, and Jefferson.
- B. Franklin, Washington, and Lee.
- C. Jefferson, Locke, and Montesquieu.
- D.** Madison, Hamilton, and Jay.
- E. Marshall, Jefferson, and Adams.

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25. The document explaining the ideas of the Constitution and urging its ratification is

- A. the Mayflower Compact.
- B. the Declaration of Independence.
- C. *The Anti-Federalist Papers*.
- D.** *The Federalist Papers*.
- E. the Declaration of Conscience.

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26. During the debates over the ratification of the Constitution, most people assumed that this person would be the first president:

- A. James Madison
- B.** George Washington
- C. Thomas Jefferson
- D. Alexander Hamilton
- E. Benjamin Franklin

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27. \_\_\_\_\_ presided over the Philadelphia convention of 1787.
- A. Benjamin Franklin
  - B. Gouverneur Morris
  - C. Edmund Randolph
  - D. James Madison
  - E.** George Washington

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28. The Federalists gained enough votes to get the Constitution ratified when they promised this:
- A.** a bill of rights to be quickly added to the Constitution
  - B. a banning of the slave trade after 1808
  - C. the right of states to disobey any national law they didn't like
  - D. James Madison to be the first president
  - E. a Supreme Court with the right of judicial review

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29. In which of the following states was the vote for the ratification of the Constitution very close?
- A. Maryland
  - B. Georgia
  - C. Pennsylvania
  - D.** New York
  - E. New Jersey

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30. Through the grants of power in the Constitution, the framers sought to
- A. define the powers of state governments.
  - B. create a government in which sovereignty was invested in the national government only.
  - C.** both empower government and limit it.
  - D. enumerate the rights of individuals.
  - E. abolish slavery.

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31. The Constitution prevents the government from suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*, meaning that the government cannot
- A. prosecute persons for acts that were legal at the time they were committed.
  - B. establish a state religion based on Christian beliefs.
  - C. enact laws that would legalize the practice of indentured servitude.
  - D.** jail a person without a court hearing to determine the legality of his or her imprisonment.
  - E. silence freedom of the press.

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32. The Constitution forbids Congress from
- A. proposing constitutional amendments.
  - B.** passing *ex post facto* laws.
  - C. declaring war.
  - D. proposing the repeal of constitutional amendments.
  - E. creating a national university.

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33. Where is the Bill of Rights found in the Constitution?
- A. Article I, Section 8
  - B. Article II
  - C.** the first ten amendments
  - D. amendments 17 through 26
  - E. Article III

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34. In *Federalist* No. 10, James Madison argued that
- A.** government is most dangerous when a single group is powerful enough to gain full political control.
  - B. monarchies are preferable to democracies.
  - C. America was not diverse enough to prevent powerful interest groups from exercising too much political power.
  - D. interest groups should be heavily regulated in America.
  - E. interest groups are less troublesome than political parties.

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35. The origin of the concept of separation of powers is most associated with
- A.** Montesquieu.
  - B. Aristotle.
  - C. Hobbes.
  - D. Locke.
  - E. Jefferson.

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36. The framers' most significant modification of the traditional doctrine of the separation of powers was to
- A. include federalism.
  - B. include a two-chamber legislature.
  - C. define legislative power precisely, while defining executive and judicial power only in general terms.
  - D.** ensure that the powers of the separate branches overlap, so that each could better act as a check on the others.
  - E. grant the power of judicial review to the judiciary.

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37. The principle of checks and balances is based on the notion that
- A. leaders are the trustees of the people.
  - B. a weak government is always preferable to a strong government.
  - C. all legislative and executive action should be controlled through judicial power.
  - D.** power must be used to offset power.
  - E. legislators and executives cannot be trusted, but judges are trustworthy.

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38. Judicial review is the power of the American courts to
- A.** declare a law unconstitutional.
  - B. suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*.
  - C. impeach the president.
  - D. give advisory opinions to Congress.
  - E. give advice and counsel to the president.

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39. Which of the following is an example of checks and balances?
- A. the veto
  - B. the impeachment process
  - C. approval of treaties
  - D. judicial review
  - E.** All these answers are correct.

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40. Presidential appointments and treaties must be approved by
- A. Congress.
  - B. only the president.
  - C.** the Senate.
  - D. the Supreme Court.
  - E. the secretary of state.

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41. Which of the following is NOT among the checks Congress has on the executive?

- A. power to ratify treaties
- B. power to approve executive appointments
- C. power to appropriate funding
- D. power to impeach
- E.** power to declare an executive action unlawful

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42. In practice, the most significant restraint imposed by Congress on the president is its

- A. ability to override presidential vetoes.
- B. power of impeachment.
- C.** power to make the laws and appropriate money, for these determine the programs the executive can implement.
- D. power to approve presidential appointees.
- E. power to investigate presidential activities.

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43. Which of the following nations is often noted as an example of a government that has a system of checks and balances but is often plagued by political extremes?

- A. France
- B. Japan
- C.** Mexico
- D. Great Britain
- E. Canada

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44. The Bill of Rights was added to the Constitution
- A. by the framers during the Philadelphia convention.
  - B. in stages, from 1789 to 1798.
  - C. in response to the freeing of the slaves during the Civil War.
  - D. in response to the ideals of Jacksonian democracy.
  - E.** None of these answers is correct.

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45. *Marbury v. Madison* is a landmark Supreme Court decision because it
- A. established national supremacy.
  - B.** set the precedent for judicial review.
  - C. defined the scope of state powers under the Tenth Amendment.
  - D. affirmed the necessary and proper clause.
  - E. helped to end Thomas Jefferson's political career.

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46. Who was serving as chief justice of the Supreme Court when it decided the case of *Marbury v. Madison*?
- A.** John Marshall
  - B. Thomas Jefferson
  - C. John Adams
  - D. James Madison
  - E. Edmund Burke

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47. How did Congress retaliate to the Supreme Court's reprimand, in *Marbury v. Madison*, that it had passed legislation that exceeded its constitutional authority?

- A. It passed legislation to reduce the power of judicial review.
- B. It forced the Court to accept the power to issue writs of mandamus.
- C.** Congress had no effective way to retaliate.
- D. It voted to impeach the Chief Justice.
- E. It completely disregarded the Court's ruling.

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48. *Marbury v. Madison* was an ingenious decision because it

- A. turned a case that involved the issue of states' rights into one that asserted national power.
- B. redefined the constitutional relationship between the president and Congress.
- C.** asserted the power of the judiciary without creating the possibility of its rejection by either the executive or the legislative branch.
- D. turned a case that involved the issue of states' rights into one that asserted judicial power over the institutions of society.
- E. gave more power to the presidency, at the expense of Congress.

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49. To the framers, the great danger of democratic government was the risk of

- A.** tyranny of the majority.
- B. elite rule.
- C. special-interest politics.
- D. a weak presidency.
- E. judicial imperialism.

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50. The framers of the Constitution preferred which of the following political arrangements?

- A.** a republic as opposed to a pure democracy
- B. a monarchy as opposed to a constitutional system
- C. a pure democracy over a republic
- D. a pure democracy over a representative democracy
- E. socialism over capitalism

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51. The writers of the Constitution used the term \_\_\_\_\_ to describe a form of government that consists of carefully designed institutions that are responsive to the majority but not captive to it.

- A. democracy
- B.** republic
- C. federalism
- D. majoritarianism
- E. separation of power

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52. The framers entrusted the selection of U.S. senators to

- A. specially chosen electors.
- B.** state legislatures.
- C. direct vote of the people.
- D. state governors.
- E. federal magistrates.

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53. The writers of the Constitution devised the Electoral College as the method of choosing presidents because

- A. direct election was impractical due to the poor systems of communication and transportation that existed in the late 1700s.
- B.** that method would shield executive power from direct linkage to popular majorities.
- C. that method guaranteed a majority winner.
- D. that method would give weight to the preferences of ordinary people.
- E. the framers had a great deal of faith in the wisdom of the masses.

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54. The term of office for a U.S. senator is \_\_\_\_\_ years, while that of a member of the U.S. House is \_\_\_\_\_ years.

- A.** six; two
- B. four; two
- C. six; four
- D. four; four
- E. eight; four

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55. The writers of the Constitution justified different methods of selection and varying terms of office for the president, Senate, and House as a means of

- A. increasing popular influence.
- B.** protection against rapid control by an impassioned majority.
- C. preventing elite control of government.
- D. maintaining experienced leadership.
- E. increasing voter turnout.

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56. All but one state constitution formed after the American Revolution
- A. provided for choosing governors in direct annual elections.
  - B. provided for a less direct form of self-government than the national-level framers intended.
  - C.** provided for annual legislative elections.
  - D. included more severe checks and balances than the U.S. Constitution.
  - E. drastically limited the power of the executive in comparison to the legislature.

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57. President John Adams publicly indicated that
- A. the federal government would not use force against common people that were simply seeking their inalienable rights.
  - B.** the Constitution was designed for a governing elite.
  - C. dissent against the federal government would be welcomed as part of the birthing pangs of a republic.
  - D. he disagreed with the concept of a republic and preferred more direct democratic rule.
  - E. he felt he was the president of the "common folk."

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58. \_\_\_\_\_ referred to his victory in the presidential election as the "Revolution of 1800."
- A. John Adams
  - B. Andrew Jackson
  - C. John Marshall
  - D.** Thomas Jefferson
  - E. James Madison

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59. Which of the following developments in the national political system did NOT provide for more popular control?

- A. primary elections
- B. direct election of U.S. senators
- C. recall elections
- D. initiative and referendum
- E.** judicial review

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60. Andrew Jackson persuaded the states to choose their presidential electors

- A.** on the basis of the popular vote.
- B. by a vote of the state legislature.
- C. by a vote of Congress.
- D. by a presidential convention.
- E. on the basis of one state, one elector.

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61. Progressive reforms included

- A. primary elections.
- B. direct election of U.S. senators.
- C. the initiative and referendum.
- D. recall elections.
- E.** All these answers are correct.

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62. The direct election of U.S. senators came about due to

- A. passage of the Second Amendment.
- B.** political pressure from the Progressives.
- C. Jeffersonian democracy.
- D. Jacksonian democracy.
- E. the fact that state legislators no longer desired to select them.

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63. A contemporary legislator who voted for a bill because of a belief in its benefit, even though his constituents back home overwhelmingly opposed the bill, would be performing the Edmund Burke role of
- A. trustee.
  - B. delegate.
  - C. statesperson.
  - D. politician.
  - E. oversight.

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64. Edmund Burke's idea of representatives as trustees was based on the claim that
- A. representatives should follow their own judgment of the public interest.
  - B. representatives should follow the voters' judgment of the public interest.
  - C. indirect election is a more trustworthy means of discovering the public interest.
  - D. direct election is a more trustworthy means of discovering the public interest.
  - E. None of these answers is correct.

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65. In his criticism of the Constitution, the economist Charles Beard argued that
- A. the Constitution's elaborate systems of power and representation were designed to protect the interests of the rich.
  - B. the Constitution failed to protect the economic interests of the poorer states.
  - C. the Constitution's commerce clause was inadequate to meet the nation's economic needs.
  - D. the Constitution did not provide for sufficient protection of property.
  - E. the Constitution gave too much power to the illiterate.

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66. Which of the following aspects of U.S. government might be used as part of an argument that the U.S. is less democratic than some other democracies?

- A. the extension of popular direct election to office
- B. the frequency of election of its larger legislative body
- C. its extensive reliance on primary elections
- D. the frequency of election of its chief executive
- E.** its staggered terms of office of members of the legislature

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### **Essay Questions**

67. Explain why early Americans admired limited government.

Two main factors were the colonists' English heritage and pre-revolutionary experiences. In terms of the former, the British king was restricted by Parliament, and the English people had certain rights, such as a trial by jury. In addition, the colonial charters served as prototypes for constitutionalism and limited government; each provided for an elected representative assembly and placed restrictions on the uses of political power. Most colonists were also Protestants, and many of them belonged to sects that had self-governing congregations.

68. Define limited government and its relation to liberty. Explain ways in which the Constitution limits government.

Limited government is a government that is subject to strict limits on its lawful uses of power, and hence its ability to deprive people of their liberty. The framers established a number of major ways the Constitution limits the government. One was confining the scope of government to grants of power: powers granted to the national government by the Constitution. Powers not granted to it are denied to it unless they are necessary and proper to the carrying out of granted power. Another method was denials of power: powers expressly denied to the national and state governments by the Constitution. A further aspect of limited government was separated institutions sharing power: the division of the national government's power among three branches, each of which is to act as a check on the other two. The Bill of Rights further limited government by specifying individual rights that the national government must respect. Federalism divided political authority between the national government and the states, enabling the people to appeal to one authority if their rights and interests are not respected by the others. Elections of leadership provided the people with a method of removing leaders from office if they are not satisfied with their performance. Some analysts include judicial review in this list, even though it is not explicitly provided for in the Constitution.

69. Define *judicial review* and explain its origin and importance.

Judicial review is the process whereby the courts, especially the Supreme Court, judges the constitutionality of executive and legislative actions. Judicial review is important first because it dramatically increases the power of the judicial branch to check the actions of the other two branches. Second, judicial review is a powerful instrument for protecting limited government. The 1803 landmark case of *Marbury v. Madison* set the precedent for judicial review by invalidating an act of Congress.

70. The framers of the Constitution understood *democracy* and *republic* to mean different things. Explain this difference and identify which concept the framers favored.

As the framers understood the word *democracy*, it referred to a political system in which the people decided public issues, either directly or through representatives, and without any curbs on their power. In a republic, on the other hand, the power of the people was checked by a higher law (i.e., the Constitution), which prevented a majority from using the apparatus of government to prosecute or exploit a minority. The framers supported the republican system because they feared a democracy would lead to tyranny of the majority. While this threat could never be eliminated totally, the framers believed that properly structured representative institutions would greatly diminish the threat. Thus, they believed that political power, though responsive to the public, must be separated from immediate popular influences if sound policies are to result. For the framers, *republic* meant a government that consists of carefully designed institutions that are responsive to the majority but not captive to it.

71. Discuss constitutional democracy as conceived by the framers. Include a brief discussion of Edmund Burke's philosophy.

According to the framers, a representative democracy would guard against chaos and civil unrest by incorporating the principle of majority rule along with built-in protection against excessive majoritarianism. The objective was a government sensitive to the majority's immediate concern that was also able to promote long-term societal interests. This objective is in line with Burke's concept of public trustees, which argued that representatives should use their best judgment of what is good for society rather than blindly following the desires of the voting public.

72. Explain how provisions for majority rule have changed throughout U.S. history. Include examples from the Jacksonian era and the Progressive movement.

The Constitution made only a small provision for majority rule; the House of Representatives was the only popularly elected institution. During the Jacksonian era, the power of the majority increased, partly through the linking of a state's electoral votes to its popular votes. The Progressives furthered this development through, for example, direct election of U.S. senators, the introduction of the primary election, and the referendum and the initiative.