Principles of Government

“The way of democracy is both frustrating and invigorating. It lacks the orderly directives of dictatorship, and instead relies on millions to demonstrate self-discipline and enlightened concern for the common good.”

—Nancy Landon Kassebaum (1996)

Here, Senator Kassebaum tells us that a democracy—which insists on the importance of each and every person and, at the same time, insists on the equality of all persons—inevitably produces a political climate “both frustrating and invigorating.”
**Chapter 1 in Brief**

**SECTION 1**

**Government and the State** (pp. 4–10)
- Government enables a society to protect the peace and carry out its policies.
- A state, not to be confused with one of the fifty States of the United States, is a land with people, a defined territory, and a sovereign government.
- Several theories attempt to explain the origin of the state.
- Among these theories, the political philosophy of John Locke had the most profound impact on the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution.
- The goals of the Federal Government are described in the Preamble to the Constitution.

**SECTION 2**

**Forms of Government** (pp. 12–16)
- Each government is unique, but governments can be grouped into categories according to three sets of characteristics.
- Democratic governments rely on the participation of the people, while dictatorships concentrate power in the hands of a few.
- The distribution of power between local governments and a central government determines whether a government is unitary, federal, or confederate.
- Presidential governments divide power among several branches of government, while parliamentary governments focus power in one dominant branch.

**SECTION 3**

**Basic Concepts of Democracy** (pp. 18–22)
- Democracy is built upon five principles: respect for the individual, equality of all persons, acceptance of majority rule and minority rights, compromise, and protection of individual freedoms.
- The free enterprise system of the United States, like democracy, relies on individual freedoms.
- In a mixed economy, the government plays a role in the economy.
- The Internet has opened up new opportunities for democracy, but users must carefully evaluate the information that they find.

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This is a book about government—and, more particularly, about government in the United States. Why should you read it? Why should you study government? These are legitimate questions, and they can be answered in several different ways—as you will see throughout the pages of this book. But, for now, consider this response: you should know as much as you possibly can about government because government affects you in an uncountable number of very important ways. It does so today, it did so yesterday, and it will do so every day for the rest of your life.

Think of our point here in this light: What would your life be like without government? Who would protect you, and all of the rest of us, against the attacks of terrorists and against other threats from abroad? Who would provide for education, guard the public’s health, and protect the environment? Who would pave the streets, regulate traffic, punish criminals, and respond to fires and other human-made and natural disasters? Who would protect civil rights and care for the elderly and the poor? Who would protect consumers and property owners?

Government does all of these things, of course—and much more. In short, if government did not exist, we would have to invent it.

**What Is Government?**

*Government* is the institution through which a society makes and enforces its public policies. Government is made up of those people who exercise its powers, all those who have authority and control over people.

The *public policies* of a government are, in short, all of those things a government decides to do. Public policies cover matters ranging from taxation, defense, education, crime, and health care to transportation, the environment, civil rights, and working conditions. The list of public policy issues is nearly endless.

Governments must have power in order to make and carry out public policies. Power is the ability to command or prevent action, the ability to achieve a desired end.

Every government has and exercises three basic kinds of power: (1) *legislative power*—the power to make law and to frame public policies; (2) *executive power*—the power to execute, enforce, and administer law; and (3) *judicial power*—the power to interpret laws, to determine their meaning, and to settle disputes that arise within the society. These powers of government are often outlined in a country’s constitution. A *constitution* is the body of fundamental laws
setting out the principles, structures, and processes of a government.

The ultimate responsibility for the exercise of these powers may be held by a single person or by a small group, as in a dictatorship. In this form of government, those who rule cannot be held responsible to the will of the people. When the responsibility for the exercise of these powers rests with a majority of the people, that form of government is known as a democracy. In a democracy, supreme authority rests with the people.

Government is among the oldest of all human inventions. Its origins are lost in the mists of time. But, clearly, government first appeared when human beings realized that they could not survive without some way to regulate both their own and their neighbors’ behavior.

The earliest known evidences of government date from ancient Egypt and the 6th century B.C. More than 2,300 years ago, the Greek philosopher Aristotle observed that “man is by nature a political animal.” As he wrote those words, Aristotle was only recording a fact that, even then, had been obvious for thousands of years.

What did Aristotle mean by “political”? That is to say, what is “politics”? Although people often equate the two, politics and government are very different things. Politics is a process, while government is an institution.

More specifically, politics is the process by which a society decides how power and resources will be distributed within that society. Politics enables a society to decide who will reap the benefits, and who will pay the costs, of its public policies.

The word politics is sometimes used in a way that suggests that it is somehow immoral or something to be avoided. But, again, politics is a process, the means by which government is conducted. It is neither “good” nor “bad,” but it is necessary. Indeed, it is impossible to conceive of government without politics.

**The State**

Over the course of human history, the state has emerged as the dominant political unit in the world. The state can be defined as a body of people, living in a defined territory, organized politically (that is, with a government), and with the power to make and enforce law without the consent of any higher authority.

There are more than 190 states in the world today. They vary greatly in size, military power, natural resources, and economic importance. Still, each of them possesses all four characteristics of a state: population, territory, sovereignty, and government.

Note that the state is a legal entity. In popular usage, a state is often called a “nation” or a “country.” In a strict sense, however, the word nation is an ethnic term, referring to races or other large groups of people. The word country is a geographic term, referring to a particular place, region, or area of land.

**Population**

Clearly, a state must have people—a population. The size of that population, however, has nothing directly to do with the existence of a state. One of the world’s smallest states, in population terms, is San Marino. Bounded on all sides by Italy, it has only some 30,000

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1In most of the world’s written political record, the words man and men have been widely used to refer to all of humankind. This text follows that form when presenting excerpts from historical writings or documents and in references to them.
The Four Characteristics of the State

Population

Territory

Sovereignty

Government

Interpreting Charts To be considered a state, a group of people must have a defined body of land and an independent, sovereign government. Does your school qualify as a state? If not, which requirements does it lack?

Sovereignty

Every state is sovereign—that is, it has supreme and absolute power within its own territory and can decide its own foreign and domestic policies. It is neither subordinate nor responsible to any other authority.

Thus, as a sovereign state, the United States can determine its form of government, frame its own economic system, and shape its own foreign policies. Sovereignty is the one characteristic that distinguishes the state from all other, lesser political units in the world.

The States within the United States are not sovereign and so are not states in the international, legal sense. Each State is subordinate to the Constitution of the United States.3

Government

Every state is politically organized. That is, every state has a government. Recall, a government is the institution through which society makes and

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2 The United States also recognizes the State of Vatican City, with a permanent population of some 900 persons and a roughly triangular area of only 108 acres. The Vatican is wholly surrounded by the City of Rome. American recognition of the Vatican, which had been withdrawn in 1867, was renewed in 1884.

3 In this book, state printed with a small “s” denotes a state in the family of nations, such as the United States, Great Britain, and Mexico. State printed with a capital “S” refers to a State in the American union.
enforces its public policies. A government is the agency through which the state exerts its will and works to accomplish its goals. Government includes the machinery and the personnel by which the state is ruled.

Government is necessary to avoid what the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) called “the war of every man against every man.” Without government, said Hobbes, there would be “continual fear and danger of violent death and life [would be] solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.” The world has seen a number of examples over recent years of what happens when a government disappears: In Lebanon, Bosnia, Somalia, and many other places, life became “nasty, brutish, and short.”

**Major Political Ideas**

For centuries, historians, philosophers, and others have pondered the question of the origin of the state. What set of circumstances first brought it into being?

Over time, many different answers have been offered, but history provides no conclusive evidence to support any of them. However, four theories have emerged as the most widely accepted explanations for the origin of the state.

*The Force Theory* Many scholars have long believed that the state was born of force. They hold that one person or a small group claimed control over an area and forced all within it to submit to that person’s or group’s rule. When that rule was established, all the basic elements of the state—population, territory, sovereignty, and government—were present.

*The Evolutionary Theory* Others claim that the state developed naturally out of the early family. They hold that the primitive family, of which one person was the head and thus the “government,” was the first stage in political development. Over countless years the original family became a network of related families, a clan. In time the clan became a tribe. When the tribe first turned to agriculture and gave up its nomadic ways, tying itself to the land, the state was born.

*The Divine Right Theory* The theory of divine right was widely accepted in much of the Western world from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries. It held that God created the state and that God had given those of royal birth a “divine right” to rule. The people were bound to obey their ruler as they would God; opposition to “the divine right of kings” was both treason and mortal sin.

During the seventeenth century, philosophers began to question this theory. Much of the thought upon which present-day democracies rest began as a challenge to the theory of divine right.

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**Critical Thinking** Can more than one of these theories accurately explain the origin of the state? Explain why or why not.
The notion of divine right was not unique to European history. The rulers of many ancient civilizations, including the Chinese, Egyptian, Aztec, and Mayan civilizations, were held to be gods or to have been chosen by the gods. The Japanese emperor, the mikado, governed by divine right until 1945.

The Social Contract Theory In terms of the American political system, the most significant of the theories of the origin of the state is that of the “social contract.” Philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes, James Harrington (1611–1677), and John Locke (1632–1704) in England and Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) in France developed this theory in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Hobbes wrote that in earliest history humans lived in unbridled freedom, in a “state of nature,” in which no government existed and no person was subject to any superior power. That which people could take by force belonged to them. However, all people were similarly free in this state of nature. No authority existed to protect one person from the aggressive actions of another. Thus, individuals were only as safe as their own physical strength and intelligence could make them.

Human beings overcame their unpleasant condition, says the social contract theory, by agreeing with one another to create a state. By contract, people within a given area agreed to give up to the state as much power as was needed to promote the safety and well-being of all. In the contract (that is, through a constitution), the members of the state created a government to exercise the powers they had voluntarily given to the state.

In short, the social contract theory argues that the state arose out of a voluntary act of free people. It holds that the state exists only to serve the will of the people, that they are the sole source of political power, and that they are free to give or to withhold that power as they choose. The theory may seem far-fetched today. The great concepts that this theory promoted, however—popular sovereignty, limited government, and individual rights—were immensely important to the shaping of the American governmental system.

The Declaration of Independence (see pages 40–43) justified its revolution through the social contract theory, arguing that King George III and his ministers had violated the contract. Thomas Jefferson called the document “pure Locke.”

The Purpose of Government

What does government do? You can find a very meaningful answer to that question in the Constitution of the United States. The American system of government was created to serve the purposes set out there.

“We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.”

—Preamble to the Constitution

Interpreting Political Cartoons American government was influenced strongly by the social contract theory. How does this cartoon poke fun at that theory?
Form a More Perfect Union

The United States, which had just won its independence from Great Britain, faced an altogether uncertain future in the postwar 1780s. In 1781, the Articles of Confederation, the nation’s first constitution, created “a firm league of friendship” among the 13 States. That league soon proved to be neither very firm nor very friendly. The government created by the Articles was powerless to overcome the intense rivalries and jealousies among the States that marked the time.

The Constitution of today was written in 1787. The original States adopted it in order to link them, and the American people, more closely together. That Constitution was built in the belief that in union there is strength.

Establish Justice

To provide justice, said Thomas Jefferson, is “the most sacred of the duties of government.” No purpose, no goal of public policy, can be of greater importance in a democracy.

But what, precisely, is justice? The term is difficult to define, for justice is a concept—an idea, an invention of the human mind. Like other concepts such as truth, liberty, and fairness, justice means what people make it mean.

As the concept of justice has developed over time in American thought and practice, it has come to mean this: The law, in both its content and its administration, must be reasonable, fair, and impartial. Those standards of justice have not always been met in this country. We have not attained our professed goal of “equal justice for all.” However, this, too, must be said: The history of this country can be told largely in terms of our continuing attempts to reach that goal.

“Injustice anywhere,” said Martin Luther King, Jr., “is a threat to justice everywhere.” You will encounter this idea again and again in this book.

Insure Domestic Tranquility

Order is essential to the well-being of any society, and keeping the peace at home has always been a prime function of government. Most people can only imagine what it would be like to live in a state of anarchy—without government, law, or order. In fact, people do live that way in some parts of the world today. For years now, Somalia, which is located on the eastern tip of Africa, has not had a functioning government; rival warlords control different parts of the country.

In The Federalist No. 51, James Madison observed: “If men were angels, no government would be necessary.” Madison, who was perhaps the most thoughtful of the Framers of the Constitution, knew that most human beings fall far short of this standard.

Provide for the Common Defense

Defending the nation against foreign enemies has always been one of government’s major responsibilities. You can see its importance in the fact that defense is mentioned far more often in the Constitution than any of the other functions of the government. The nation’s defense and its foreign policies are but two sides of the same coin: the security of the United States.
The United States has become the world’s most powerful nation, but the world remains a dangerous place. The United States must maintain its vigilance and its armed strength. Just a glance at today’s newspaper or at one of this evening’s television news programs will furnish abundant proof of that fact.

Promote the General Welfare
Few people realize the extent to which government acts as the servant of its citizens, yet you can see examples everywhere. Public schools are one illustration of government’s work to promote the general welfare. So, too, are government’s efforts to protect the quality of the air you breathe, the water you drink, and the food you eat. The list of tasks government performs for your benefit goes on and on.

Some governmental functions that are common in other countries—operating steel mills, airlines, and coal mines, for example—are not carried out by government in this country. In general, the services that government provides in the United States are those that benefit all or most people. These are the services that are not very likely to be provided by the voluntary acts of private individuals or groups.

Secure the Blessings of Liberty
This nation was founded by those who loved liberty and prized it above all earthly possessions. They believed with Thomas Jefferson that “the God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time.” They subscribed to Benjamin Franklin’s maxim: “They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.”

The American dedication to freedom for the individual recognizes that liberty cannot be absolute. It is, instead, a relative matter. No one can be free to do whatever he or she pleases, for that behavior would interfere with the freedoms of others. As Clarence Darrow, the great defense lawyer, once said: “You can only be free if I am free.”

Both the Federal Constitution and the State constitutions set out many guarantees of rights and liberties for the individual in this country. That does not mean that those guarantees are so firmly established that they exist forever, however. To preserve and protect them, each generation must learn and understand them anew, and be willing to stand up for them when necessary.

For many people, the inspiration to protect our rights and liberties arises from deep feelings of patriotism. Patriotism is the love of one’s country; the passion which aims to serve one’s country, either in defending it from invasion, or by protecting its rights and maintaining its laws and institutions in vigor and purity. Patriotism is the characteristic of a good citizen, the noblest passion that animates a man or woman in the character of a citizen. As a citizen, you, too, must agree with Jefferson: “Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.”
Second Treatise of Government

In 1690, English philosopher John Locke produced two treatises (essays) on government. In his second treatise, he discussed the responsibilities of a government and claimed that the people have the right to overthrow an unjust government. Locke's ideas greatly influenced Thomas Jefferson and other supporters of the American Revolution. In this selection, Locke explains why people form governments.

To understand political power aright . . . we must consider what estate all men are naturally in, and that is, a state of perfect freedom to order their actions, and dispose of their possessions and persons as they think fit, within the bounds of the law of nature, without asking leave or depending upon the will of any other man . . .

Men being . . . by nature, all free, equal and independent, no one can be put out of this estate and subjected to the political power of another without his own consent, which is done by agreeing with other men, to join and unite into a community for their comfortable, safe and peaceable living, one amongst another, in a secure enjoyment of their properties, and a greater security against any that are not of it . . .

When any number of men have, by the consent of every individual, made a community, they have thereby made that community one body, with a power to act as one body, which is only by the will and determination of the majority . . . And thus every man, by consenting with others to make one body politic under one government, puts himself under an obligation to every one in that society to submit to the determination [decision] of the majority, and to be concluded by it . . .

If man in the state of nature . . . be absolute lord of his own person and possessions, equal to the greatest and subject to nobody, why will he part with his freedom, this empire, and subject himself to the dominion [authority] and control of any other power? . . . It is obvious to answer that though in the state of nature he hath such a right, yet the enjoyment of it is very uncertain and constantly exposed to the invasion of others; for all being kings as much as he, every man his equal, . . . the enjoyment of the property he has in this state is very unsafe, very insecure. This makes him willing to quit this condition which, however free, is full of fears and continual dangers; and it is not without reason that he seeks out and is willing to join in society with others . . . for the mutual preservation of their lives, liberties and estates, which I call by the general name—property.

The great and chief end, therefore, of men uniting into commonwealths, and putting themselves under government, is the preservation of their property . . .

Analyzing Primary Sources

1. According to Locke, what freedoms did people have before the founding of governments?
2. What are the potential dangers of a person living in what Locke called "perfect freedom"?
3. According to Locke, how are governments formed?
4. What trade-off does Locke say occurs when people live under governments?
Does the form a government takes, the way in which it is structured, have any importance? Political scientists, historians, and other social commentators have long argued that question. The English poet Alexander Pope weighed in with this couplet in 1733:

“For Forms of Government let fools contest; Whate’er is best administer’d is best. . . .”
—Essay on Man

Was Pope right? Does it matter what form a government takes? Pope thought not, but you can form your own opinion as you read this section.

Classifying Governments

No two governments are, or ever have been, exactly alike, for governments are the products of human needs and experiences. All governments can be classified according to one or more of their basic features, however. Over time, political scientists have developed many bases upon which to classify (and so to describe, compare, and analyze) governments.

Three of those classifications are especially important and useful. These are classifications according to (1) who can participate in the governing process, (2) the geographic distribution of governmental power within the state, and (3) the relationship between the legislative (lawmaking) and the executive (law-executing) branches of the government.⁴

Who Can Participate

To many people, the most meaningful of these classifications is the one that depends on the number of persons who can take part in the governing process. Here there are two basic forms to consider: democracies and dictatorships.

Democracy

In a democracy, supreme political authority rests with the people. The people hold the sovereign power, and government is conducted only by and with the consent of the people.⁵

Abraham Lincoln gave immortality to this definition of democracy in his Gettysburg Address in 1863: “government of the people, by the people, for the people.” Nowhere is there a better, more concise statement of the American understanding of democracy.

A democracy can be either direct or indirect in form. A direct democracy, also called a pure democracy, exists where the will of the people

⁴Note that these classifications are not mutually exclusive. Each of them can be used to describe any national government in the world today.
⁵The word democracy is derived from the Greek words δῆμος meaning “the people” and κράτει meaning “rule” or “authority.” The Greek word δημοκρατία means “rule by the people.”
The Landgemeinde, like the original New England town meeting, was an assembly open to all local citizens qualified to vote. In a republic, representative democracy is also an example of direct democracy. The sovereign, the people, are the only source of government power. In a democracy, the people rule, but they do so through their elected representatives. The terms democracy and republic are often used interchangeably, although they are not the same things. A democracy is a form of government in which the power is held by the people, either directly or through their elected representatives. A republic is a government in which the power is held by the people through elected representatives. The United States is a republic, with a democratic form of government. Americans are more familiar with the indirect form of democracy, in which they elect officials who then govern on their behalf. The Swiss cantons are excellent examples of direct democracy in action. Direct democracy is a system where the people have the right to vote on legislation and make decisions directly, rather than through elected representatives. The term "democracy" can refer to both direct and indirect forms of government.
until the late 1980s), and one that still exists in the People’s Republic of China (where the present regime came to power in 1949).

Although they do exist, one-person dictatorships are not at all common today. A few close approaches to such a regime can now be found in Libya, which has been dominated by Muammar al-Qaddafi since 1969, and in some other Arab and African states.

Most present-day dictatorships are not nearly so absolutely controlled by a single person or by a small group as may appear to be the case. Outward appearances may hide the fact that several groups—the army, religious leaders, industrialists, and others—compete for power in the political system.

Dictatorships often present the outward appearance of control by the people. The people often vote in popular elections; but the vote is closely controlled, and ballots usually contain the candidates of but one political party. An elected legislative body often exists, but only to rubber-stamp the policies of the dictatorship.

Typically, dictatorial regimes are militaristic in character. They usually gain power by force. The military holds many of the major posts in the government. After crushing all effective opposition at home, these regimes may turn to foreign aggression to enhance the country’s military power and prestige.

Geographic Distribution of Power

In every system of government the power to govern is located in one or more places, geographically. From this standpoint, three basic forms of government exist: unitary, federal, and confederate governments.

Unitary Government

A unitary government is often described as a centralized government. All powers held by the government belong to a single, central agency. The central (national) government creates local units of government for its own convenience. Those local governments have only those powers that the central government chooses to give them.

Most governments in the world are unitary in form. Great Britain is a classic illustration. A single central organization, the Parliament, holds all of the government’s power. Local governments do exist—but solely to relieve Parliament of burdens it could perform only with much difficulty and inconvenience. Though unlikely, Parliament could do away with local governments in Britain at any time.

Be careful not to confuse the unitary form of government with a dictatorship. In the unitary form, all of the powers held by the government are concentrated in the central government. That government might not have all power, however. In Great Britain, for example, the powers held by the government are limited. British government is unitary and, at the same time, democratic.

Federal Government

A federal government is one in which the powers of government are divided between a central government and several local governments. An authority superior to both the central and local governments makes this division of powers on a geographic basis; and that division cannot be changed by either the local or national level acting alone. Both levels of government act directly on the people through their own sets of laws, officials, and agencies.

In the United States, for example, the National Government has certain powers and the 50 States have others. This division of powers is set out in the Constitution of the United States. The Constitution stands above both levels of government; and it cannot be changed unless the people,
acting through both the National Government and the States, agree to that change.

Australia, Canada, Mexico, Switzerland, Germany, India, and some 20 other states also have federal forms of government today. In the United States, the phrase “the Federal Government” is often used to identify the National Government, the government headquartered in Washington, D.C. Note, however, that each of the 50 State governments in this country is unitary, not federal, in form.

Confederate Government
A confederation is an alliance of independent states. A central organization, the confederate government has the power to handle only those matters that the member states have assigned to it. Typically, confederate governments have had limited powers and only in such fields as defense and foreign affairs.

Most often, they have not had the power to make laws that apply directly to individuals, at least not without some further action by the member states. A confederate structure makes it possible for the several states to cooperate in matters of common concern and, at the same time, retain their separate identities.

Confederations have been rare in the modern world. The European Union (EU) is the closest approach to one today. The EU, formed by 11 countries in 1993, has established free trade among its now 27 member-nations, launched a common currency, and seeks to coordinate its members’ foreign and defense policies.

In our own history, the United States under the Articles of Confederation (1781 to 1789) and the Confederate States of America (1861 to 1865) also provide examples of this form of government.

Relationship Between Legislative and Executive Branches
Political scientists also classify governments based on the relationship between their legislative and executive agencies. This grouping yields two basic forms of government: presidential and parliamentary.

Frequently Asked Questions

Government
Why do we have a federal system of government?
The Framers of the Constitution had to deal with several critical matters as they drafted a new fundamental law for the United States. Not the least: How could they possibly design a strong and effective central government for the nation and, at the same time, preserve the existing States? Their solution: Federalism—an arrangement in which the powers of government would be divided between the new National Government on the one hand, and the States on the other.

Why not a unitary system?
None of the Framers favored a strong central government based on the British (unitary) model. The revolutionary war had been fought in the name of local self-government, and the Framers were determined to preserve that cherished principle.

Any Questions?
What else would you like to know about United States government? Brainstorm two new questions and exchange them with a classmate. What did you learn?

Presidential Government
A presidential government features a separation of powers between the executive and the legislative branches of the government. The two branches are independent of one another and coequal. The chief executive (the president) is chosen independently of the legislature, holds office for a fixed term, and has a number of significant powers that are not subject to the direct control of the legislative branch.

The details of this separation of the powers of these two branches are almost always spelled out in a written constitution—as they are in the United States. Each of the branches is regularly given several powers with which it can block actions of the other branch.

The United States is the world’s leading example of presidential government. In fact, the United States invented the form. Most of the other presidential systems in the world today are also found in the Western Hemisphere.
Parliamentary Government

In parliamentary government, the executive is made up of the prime minister or premier, and that official’s cabinet. The prime minister and cabinet themselves are members of the legislative branch, the parliament. The prime minister is the leader of the majority party or of a likeminded group of parties in parliament and is chosen by that body. With parliament’s approval, the prime minister selects the members of the cabinet from among the members of parliament. The executive is thus chosen by the legislature, is a part of it, and is subject to its direct control.

The prime minister and the cabinet (often called “the government”) remain in office only as long as their policies and administration have the support of a majority in parliament. If the parliament defeats the prime minister and cabinet on an important matter, the government may receive a “vote of no confidence,” and the prime minister and his cabinet must resign from office. Then a new government must be formed. Either parliament chooses a new prime minister or, as often happens, all the seats of parliament go before the voters in a general election.

A majority of the governmental systems in the world today are parliamentary, not presidential, in form—and they are by a wide margin. Parliamentary government avoids one of the major problems of the presidential form: prolonged conflict and sometimes deadlock between the executive and legislative branches. On the other hand, it should be noted that the checks and balances of presidential government are not a part of the parliamentary system.

Section 2 Assessment

Key Terms and Main Ideas
1. What defines a unitary government?
2. How is power distributed in a federal government?
3. Who holds power in an oligarchy?
4. What specific trait gives the United States a presidential system of government?

Critical Thinking
5. Making Comparisons In a democracy, those who are responsible for the day-to-day conduct of government are accountable to the people for what is done in their name. Which form of government, presidential or parliamentary, do you think comes closer to this ideal? Why?

6. Drawing Inferences More than a century ago, British prime minister Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) declared: “I must follow the people. Am I not their leader?” What do you think he meant when he made that comment?
**Face the Issues**

**The Future of the State**

**Background** The place of the state as the basic political unit in the world has been challenged in recent decades by the emergence of several regional, multinational organizations. The European Union, today a coalition of 25 member-nations, is the prime example of that development. The EU is both a potent political and a massive economic entity, with a population of some 460 million people and an economy about equal to that of the United States. The EU has moderated the sovereignty of European countries to an extent that many in the United States would find unacceptable. But the leaders of EU member-nations believe the sacrifice is well worth the benefits of increased trade, cultural exchange, and peace.

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**Work Together Across Borders**

Europe emerged from World War II in ruins from years of war and occupation. Nowadays, when European countries come into conflict, their weapons of choice are words. Many Europeans believe that an EU super-state represents their last, best chance for lasting peace and prosperity at home and greater influence abroad. The EU has created a huge free-trade market among 25 once separate and bickering countries. The citizens of any one of these countries can now live and work anywhere in the EU with little difficulty. And many foresee ever closer political ties among the EU's members.

A larger force is at work helping to erase old borders—globalization. Technology, human mobility, and the free flow of capital are all converging to make nations more interdependent than ever. As a result, nations are losing some of their powers. Multinational corporations make products in one country, process them in another, while selling to consumers the world over. The movement of products, money, and people within the EU has increased the exchange of ideas and made Europe more peaceful and powerful.

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**Nation-States Function Best**

Reality check: Europeans still identify as citizens of Italy, Ireland, or Poland, not the European Union. Britain refuses to adopt the EU's euro as its currency. French farmers and Belgian truck drivers stage riots against EU agricultural policies. Germany's Prime Minister wins re-election by stressing Germany's economic needs over Europe's.

International cooperation has brought peace and a high standard of living to Europe. Yet the European Union pushes boundaries too far by taking powers long held by nation-states. Should a world committee tell Americans how much we should tax ourselves, what environmental laws we must pass, or even how to define "chocolate"? The EU government has taken all of these powers from member states in a process many call undemocratic. Many EU leaders are appointed, not elected. They cannot be voted out.

The United States has enjoyed unparalleled success with an independent, democratic approach to its economy and government. Americans should treasure their control over their own destiny.

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**Exploring the Issues**

1. Many Europeans urge a common military force for the EU. Offer one major argument for and one major argument against the creation of such a force.
2. Should the United States promote a strong, economically robust EU? Why or why not?
What do you make of James Bryce's assessment of democracy? "No government demands so much from the citizen as Democracy, and none gives so much back." What does democratic government demand from you? What does it give you in return?

Foundations

Democracy is not inevitable. It does not exist in the United States simply because Americans regard it as the best of all possible political systems. Rather, democracy exists in this country because the American people believe in its basic concepts. It will continue to exist only for as long as we, the people, continue to subscribe to and practice those concepts.

Winston Churchill (1874–1965) once argued for democracy this way: "No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time."

The American concept of democracy rests on these basic notions:

(1) A recognition of the fundamental worth and dignity of every person;
(2) A respect for the equality of all persons;
(3) A faith in majority rule and an insistence upon minority rights;
(4) An acceptance of the necessity of compromise; and
(5) An insistence upon the widest possible degree of individual freedom.

Of course, these ideas can be worded in other ways. No matter what the wording, however, they form the very minimum that anyone who professes to believe in democracy must agree to.

Worth of the Individual

Democracy is firmly based upon a belief in the fundamental importance of the individual. Each individual, no matter what his or her station in life, is a separate and distinct being.

This concept of the dignity and worth of the individual is of overriding importance in democratic thought. At various times, of course, the welfare of one or a few individuals...
is subordinated to the interests of the many in a democracy. People can be forced to do certain things whether they want to or not. Examples range from paying taxes to registering for the draft to stopping at a stop sign.

When a democratic society forces people to pay a tax or obey traffic signals, it is serving the interests of the many. However, it is not simply serving the interests of a mass of people who happen to outnumber the few. Rather, it is serving the many who, as individuals, together make up that society.

**Equality of All Persons**

Hand-in-hand with the belief in the worth of the individual, democracy stresses the equality of all individuals. It holds, with Jefferson, that “all men are created equal.”

Certainly, democracy does not insist on an equality of condition for all persons. Thus, it does not claim that all are born with the same mental or physical abilities. Nor does it argue that all persons have a right to an equal share of worldly goods.

Rather, the democratic concept of equality insists that all are entitled to (1) equality of opportunity and (2) equality before the law. That is, the democratic concept of equality holds that no person should be held back for any such arbitrary reasons as those based on race, color, religion, or gender. The concept holds that each person must be free to develop himself or herself as fully as he or she can (or cares to), and that each person should be treated as the equal of all other persons by the law.

We have come a great distance toward the goal of equality for all in this country. It is clear, however, that the journey is far from over.

**Majority Rule, Minority Rights**

In a democracy, the will of the people and not the dictate of the ruling few determines public policy. But what is the popular will, and how is it determined? Some device must exist by which these crucial questions can be answered. The only satisfactory device democracy knows is that of majority rule. Democracy argues that a majority of the people will be right more often than they will be wrong, and that the majority will also be right more often than will any one person or small group.

Democracy can be described as an experiment or a trial-and-error process designed to find satisfactory ways to order human relations. Democracy does not say that the majority will always arrive at the best decisions on public matters. In fact, the democratic process does not intend to come up with “right” or “best” answers. Rather, the democratic process searches for satisfactory solutions to public problems.

Of course, democracy insists that the majority’s decisions will usually be more, rather than less, satisfactory. Democracy does admit the possibility of mistakes; it acknowledges the possibility that “wrong” or less satisfactory answers will sometimes be found. Democracy also recognizes that seldom is any solution to a public problem so satisfactory that it cannot be improved upon, and that circumstances can change over time. So, the process of experimentation, of seeking answers to public questions, is never-ending.

Certainly, a democracy cannot work without the principle of majority rule. Unchecked, however, a majority could destroy its opposition and, in the process, destroy democracy as well. Thus, democracy insists upon majority rule restrained by minority rights. The majority must always recognize the right of any minority to become, by fair and lawful means, the majority. The majority must always be willing to listen to a minority’s argument, to hear its objections, to bear its criticisms, and to welcome its suggestions.
Necessity of Compromise

In a democracy, public decision making must be largely a matter of give-and-take among the various competing interests. It is a matter of compromise in order to find the position most acceptable to the largest number. Compromise is the process of blending and adjusting competing views and interests.

Compromise is an essential part of the democratic concept for two major reasons. First, remember that democracy puts the individual first and, at the same time, insists that each individual is the equal of all others. In a democratic society made up of many individuals and groups with many different opinions and interests, how can the people make public decisions except by compromise?

Second, few public questions have only two sides. Most can be answered in several ways. Take the apparently simple question of how a city should pay for the paving of a public street. Should it charge those who own property along the street? Or should the costs be paid from the city’s general treasury? Or should the city and the adjacent property owners share the costs? What about those who will use the street but do not live in the city? Should they have to pay a toll?

Remember, compromise is a process, a way of achieving majority agreement. It is never an end in itself. Not all compromises are good, and not all are necessary.

Individual Freedom

It should be clear by this point that democracy can thrive only in an atmosphere of individual freedom. However, democracy does not and cannot insist on complete freedom for the individual. Absolute freedom can exist only in a state of anarchy—the total absence of government. Anarchy can only lead, inevitably and quickly, to rule by the strong and ruthless.

Democracy does insist, however, that each individual must be as free to do as he or she pleases as far as the freedom of all will allow. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once had this to say about the relative nature of each individual’s rights: “The right to swing my fist ends where the other man’s nose begins.”

Drawing the line between the rights of one individual and those of another is far from easy. Still, the drawing of that line is a continuous and vitally important function of democratic government. As John F. Kennedy put it: “The rights of every man are diminished when the rights of one man are threatened.”

Striking the proper balance between freedom for the individual and the rights of society as a whole is similarly difficult—and vital. Abraham Lincoln once stated democracy’s problem in these words:

“Must a government of necessity be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?”
—Response to a Serenade, November 10, 1864

Human beings desire both liberty and authority. Democratic government must work constantly to strike the proper balance between the two. The authority of government must be adequate to the needs of society. At the same time, that authority must never be allowed to become so great that it restricts the individual beyond necessity.

Democracy and the Free Enterprise System

The American commitment to freedom for the individual is deep-rooted, and it is as evident in the nation’s economic system as it is in the political system. The American economic system is often called the free enterprise system.
It is an economic system characterized by the private ownership of capital goods, investments made by private decision, not by government directive, and success or failure determined by competition in the marketplace. The free enterprise system is based on four fundamental factors: private ownership, individual initiative, profit, and competition.

**How the System Works**

The free enterprise system is often called capitalism, and it is also known as the private enterprise system and as a market-based system. It does not rely on government to decide what items are to be produced, how much of any particular item should be produced, or how much any item is to sell for. Rather, those decisions are to be made by the market, through the law of supply and demand. That law states that when supplies of goods and services become plentiful, prices tend to drop. When supplies become scarcer, prices tend to rise.

Democracy and the free enterprise system are not the same thing. One is a political system, and the other is an economic system. However, both are firmly based on the concept of individual freedom. America’s experience with both systems clearly suggests that the two reinforce one another in practice.

**Government and the Free Enterprise System**

The basis of the American economic system is the free market. However, government plays a role in the American economy, and always has. An economy in which private enterprise exists in combination with a considerable amount of government regulation and promotion is called a mixed economy. Government’s participation in the economy serves a twofold purpose: to protect the public and to preserve private enterprise.

Government’s participation in the economy can be seen at every level in this country: national, State, and local. Here are but a few examples: Economic activities are regulated by government through antitrust laws, pure food and drug laws, anti-pollution standards, and city and county zoning ordinances and building codes.

The nation’s economic life is promoted in a great number of public ways. The government grants money for transportation systems, scientific research, and the growing of particular food crops; builds roads and operates public schools; provides services such as the postal system, weather reports, and a national currency; and much more.

Thus some activities that might be carried out privately are in fact conducted by government. Public education, the postal system, local fire departments, city bus systems, and road building are examples of long standing.

How much should government participate, regulate and promote, police and serve? Many of the most heated debates in American politics center on that question, and we are often reminded of Abraham Lincoln’s advice:

> “The legitimate object of government, is to do for a community of people, whatever they need to have done, but can not do, at all, or can not, so well do, for themselves— in their separate, and individual capacities.”

—Abraham Lincoln, July 1, 1854

Most Americans believe that a well-regulated free enterprise system—one of free choice, individual initiative, private enterprise—is the best guarantee of a better life for everyone.
Democracy and the Internet

At least 180 million Americans can now log on to the Internet to send and receive e-mail, to buy or sell practically anything, to entertain themselves, to inform themselves, and to do any number of other things. It is clear that cyberspace has become a major marketplace and an important channel of communication.

Democracy demands that the people be widely informed about the government. Thus, democracy and the Internet would seem to be made for one another. Internet users can check out the Web sites of political candidates, discover what's happening in Congress, read the most recent Supreme Court decisions, and do much else. Theoretically, this makes knowledgeable participation in the democratic process easier than ever before.

However, the speed with which and the quantity in which information can be found on the World Wide Web does not guarantee the reliability of that data. There is a vast amount of unverified, often unverifiable, and frequently false information and biased analysis in cyberspace.

Some argue that elections should be held online. In fact, some cyber votes were cast in the Democratic Party's presidential primary in Arizona in 2000 and, most recently, in that party's presidential primary in Michigan in 2004. The Defense Department conducted a very small online voting project in connection with the presidential election in 2000, but cancelled plans for a much larger project in 2004 because it could find no way to guarantee the absolute integrity of an online voting system. A leap to online elections appears unlikely—however—at least in the near term, as you will see when we turn to the electoral process in Chapter 7 (page 194).
May Congress Limit Access to the Internet in Public Libraries?

Two federal programs provide public libraries with money for computers and Internet services. As it often does when making monetary grants, Congress required libraries to meet certain conditions to receive the funds. Can Congress impose conditions that restrict library users’ access to certain Internet sites?


Under the Library Services and Technology Act (LSTA), Congress provides grants to libraries to buy computers, install them, and link them to the Internet. Under Congress’s “E-rate” program, libraries are able to purchase Internet access at a discount. Today, with the help of these programs, nearly all libraries in the United States provide public Internet access.

Unfortunately, some citizens have used library Internet services to obtain pornographic or obscene materials. Congress became concerned that children using libraries were being exposed to these materials—sometimes by accident, sometimes intentionally.

To address this problem, Congress passed the Children’s Internet Protection Act. This law requires any library receiving LSTA grants or participating in the E-rate program to install filters to block sites that contain obscenity or images harmful to minors.

These filters do not work perfectly. Sometimes they fail to block sites containing harmful materials. Other times they block perfectly innocent or informative sites, such as medical sites with images of the human body. The statute allows libraries to disable the filters on request.

The American Library Association filed a lawsuit claiming that the Act was unconstitutional. A special three-judge district court panel held that the Act violated the 1st Amendment rights of the libraries and their users. The government appealed to the Supreme Court.

**Arguments for the United States**

1. The 1st Amendment’s guarantee of free speech does not prevent public libraries from voluntarily installing filters on their computers. Public libraries are not required to provide everything their patrons want.
2. Adults who require access to blocked sites can simply ask for the filter to be disabled, and this is no more difficult or embarrassing than asking to put a book on hold or requesting an inter-library loan.
3. Libraries that want to provide unfiltered Internet access are free to do so with their own money.

**Arguments for American Library Association**

1. Congress would violate freedom of speech if it commanded libraries not to carry certain books because of their political viewpoint. The mandatory installation of filters interferes with citizen’s access to information in a similar way.
2. The Act interferes with libraries’ free decisions regarding the materials they choose to provide.
3. By forcing users to ask permission to view certain Internet sites, the Act burdens citizens’ access to information they have every right to obtain.

**Decide for Yourself**

1. Review the constitutional grounds on which each side based its arguments and the specific arguments each side presented.
2. Debate the opposing viewpoints presented in this case. Which viewpoint do you favor?
3. Predict how the Court’s decision will affect the availability of Internet access in libraries. (To read a summary of the Court’s decision, turn to pages 799–806.)
Political Dictionary

- government (p. 4)
- public policy (p. 4)
- legislative power (p. 4)
- executive power (p. 4)
- judicial power (p. 4)
- constitution (p. 5)
- dictatorship (p. 5)
- democracy (p. 5)
- state (p. 5)
- sovereign (p. 6)
- autocracy (p. 13)
- oligarchy (p. 13)
- unitary government (p. 14)
- federal government (p. 14)
- division of powers (p. 14)
- confederation (p. 15)
- presidential government (p. 15)
- parliamentary government (p. 16)
- compromise (p. 20)
- free enterprise system (p. 20)
- law of supply and demand (p. 21)
- mixed economy (p. 21)

Practicing the Vocabulary

Matching  Choose a term from the list above that best matches each description.

1. Describes a state that has supreme power within its territory
2. The institution through which society makes and enforces its policies
3. That which a government decides to do
4. An alliance of independent states that expressly delegates limited powers to a central government
5. A form of government that is often totalitarian and authoritarian; can be led by one person or many people

Fill in the Blank  Choose a term from the list above that best completes the sentence.

6. In a ________, the executive branch of government is led by members of the legislative branch.
7. A ________ is also known as a centralized government.
8. The basic structure and principles of a government may be found in its ________.
9. ________ is the power to write new laws.
10. Government regulates and promotes businesses in a ________.

Reviewing Main Ideas

Section 1

11. What characteristics define a state?
12. Briefly describe the four most widely held theories that attempt to explain the origin of the state.
13. What theory on the origin of the state was most influential in the founding of the United States?
14. For what reasons do people form governments?
15. Describe briefly the purposes of government set out in the Preamble to the Constitution.

Section 2

16. List the three questions that can be used to classify governments.
17. (a) In a democracy, to whom is the government responsible? (b) In a dictatorship, to whom is the government responsible?
18. What is the difference between an autocracy and an oligarchy?
19. Name and briefly describe the three forms of government that can result depending on how governmental power is distributed geographically.
20. Explain how power is distributed in a presidential government.

Section 3

21. Briefly describe the five basic concepts of democracy.
22. What is the difference between equality of opportunity and equality of condition?
23. Describe the relationship between the rights of the individual and the rights of the overall society.
24. (a) What is the free enterprise system? (b) Why can it be said that both a free enterprise system and a mixed economy exist in the United States?
25. List one benefit and one drawback of using the Internet for research.
Critical Thinking Skills

26. **Face the Issue** Stephen D. Krasher wrote, “For many states, there is no longer a sharp distinction between citizens and noncitizens. Permanent residents, guest workers, refugees, and undocumented immigrants are entitled to some bundle of rights even if they cannot vote. (This is due to) ease of travel and the desire of many countries to attract either capital or skilled workers.” How would supporters of international organizations respond to this statement?

27. **Recognizing Point of View** Consider Martin Luther King, Jr.’s statement that “injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.” (a) What is your understanding of that statement? (b) Why is such a belief necessary to maintain a democratic society?

28. **Drawing Inferences** Review the discussion of Thomas Hobbes’ views. (a) How did Hobbes describe the conditions under which human beings lived in the “state of nature”? (b) How does he say human beings overcame those conditions? Does this seem to you a reasonable explanation of the origin of the state? Why or why not?

29. **Making Comparisons** The equality of all persons is a basic democratic concept. (a) Can a democracy possibly exist without both equality of opportunity and equality before the law? (b) Is an equality of conditions (in income, housing, and the like) a necessary ingredient of democracy?

Analyzing Political Cartoons

Using your knowledge of government and this cartoon, answer the questions below.

“Those are the Athenians are here, Sire, with an offer to back us with ships, money, arms, and men—and of course, their usual lecture about democracy.”

30. What form of government is represented by the King in this cartoon?
31. What does this cartoon imply about the origins of democracy?

You Can Make a Difference

Do certain issues—pollution, poverty, recycling—excite and energize you? Do you like a challenge? Perhaps you’re not ready to start your own grassroots organization. You can still make a difference by joining an existing group working on an issue. First, take time to examine and define the causes you care about. Watch the news. Read newspapers and news magazines. Take notes of the issues that you feel strongly about. What do you want to do about them? Your answer can help you define your role as an activist.

Participation Activities

32. **Current Events Watch** Separatist movements—efforts to win the independence of some region in a country—can be found in many places in the world today. Select one of them—for example, the Parti Québécois in Canada or the Basques in Spain. Learn as much as you can about that movement from current news reports and other sources. By what means, peaceful or violent, do the separatists pursue their goal? How do you rate their chances for success?

33. **Time Line Activity** Identify a country that has become a functioning democracy within the span of your lifetime. Discover the political events that highlighted that country’s transition from dictatorship to democracy. Then construct a time line that includes those events and shows the length of time it took for the transition to occur.

34. **It’s Your Turn** Write your own “social contract” in which you express your feelings about what should be required of members of a political society, and what government should provide the people. Start by creating a chart with two columns. In one column, list the responsibilities of the citizens in your proposed social contract. In the other column, list what you feel government should provide its citizens. Then detail your ideas for the contract. Proofread and revise for corrections. Then, prepare a final copy. (Creating a Chart)

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Chapter 1 Self-Test  Visit: PHSchool.com
Web Code: mqa-1014

As a final review, take the Mapruder’s Chapter 1 Self-Test and receive immediate feedback on your answers. The test consists of 20 multiple-choice questions designed to test your understanding of the chapter content.

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