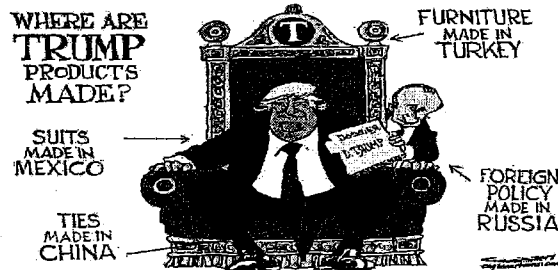




## Advanced Placement American Government



### Unit XI: The Politics of Public Policy (Wilson CH. 17, 18, and 19) College Board Examination: The Final Frontier!

- Monday/Tuesday 4/3, 4/4 **Distribute AP Review packet #1.**  
**Each review packet will be worth 20 points.** Completing all six will be equal to the points possible on a Unit Test. We will review each packet every week.  
**Video: TBA The Hurricane**
- Wednesday 4/5 Hand out 1998?-2015 College Board Essay review packet.  
 All peer-graded AP practice essays will come from this packet.  
**Practice College Board Examination #1 2002**
- Thursday 4/6 **Practice Essay #1- Peer Evaluated in class.**
- Friday 4/7 **Review Practice Test #1**  
**Schedule Optional Afternoon/Evening Review Sessions**
- Monday 4/10 **Collect and discuss AP Review Packet #1. Note: Begin State testing schedule-Pay attention to due dates! Even if class does not meet.**  
**Distribute AP Review Packet #2. Due 4/13**
- Tuesday 4/11 **Practice AP Essay #2 - Peer graded and discussed in class.**
- Wednesday 4/12 **Practice College Board Examination #2 2008**

Thursday 4/13 **Review Practice Test #2 Collect and discuss Review Packet # 2.**

Friday 4/14 **No School-Good Friday**

Monday 4/17 **Assign AP Review Packet #3. Discuss packet #2 if class did not meet the previous day.**

Tuesday 4/18 **Practice AP Essay #3 - Peer graded and discussed in class.  
Video: TBA**

Wednesday 4/19 **Practice College Board Examination #3 2009.**

Thursday 4/20 **Review Practice Test #3.**

Friday 4/21 **Collect Packet #3 Assign Packet #4**

Monday 4/24 **Discuss AP Review Packet #3.  
. Assign Take Home Test Ch 17-18-19 (Multiple choice) and  
(Essay) Take Home Test Due Monday May 1.**

Tuesday 4/25 **Practice AP Essay #4 - Peer graded and discussed in class.  
Collect Review Packet # 4 Assign Packet # 5**

Wednesday 4/26 **Practice College Board Examination #4 (2012)**

Thursday 4/27 **Review College Board Exam #4 2012**

Friday 4/28 **Collect Review Packet #5 Discuss Packet # 5 Assign Packet #6**

Monday 5/1 **Collect Take Home Test and Essay Test. Anything goes!**

Tuesday 5/2 **Anything Goes! Discuss Significant Issue Debates and assign teams. 5 Issues-Teams of two or three.**

Wednesday 5/3 **Collect Packet # 6. Discuss Packet 6- graded in class- 20 points.**

Thursday 5/4 **The Real Thing! AP EXAM**

Friday 5/5 Start research on Significant Issue Debates.

Monday 5/8 **Collect AP Gov. Textbooks. Research AP Significant issue debates**

Tuesday 5/9 **Research Significant Issue Debates**

Wednesday 5/10 Video TBA

Thursday 5/11 Video: TBA

Friday 5/12 Video TBA

5/15-5/19 **Significant Issue Debates- 1 Each Day worth 60 points**

Monday 5/22 **Public Policy Friday.**  
**Mr. Brady's Last Seminar of 2016!**  
 Critical analysis and roundtable discussion  
**Required reading:** John Stewart Mill, "Liberty of Thought and Discussion." (In packet)/ **Critical Review Due -15 points**

Tues-Thurs 5/23-25 **Senior Projects due: If not taking AP Exam**

**GOOD LUCK!!!!!! Have a great summer! It's been a pleasure to teach all of you☺**



---

# PART FOUR

---

## *The Politics of Public Policy*

---

### 15

---

## The Policy-Making Process

### I. Reviewing the Chapter

---

#### A. Chapter Focus

In this chapter we move from the study of political and governmental institutions (president, Congress, courts, etc.) to the study of the policies that all those institutions have produced. The purpose of this chapter is to provide you with a set of categories (majoritarian, interest group, client, and entrepreneurial politics) to help you better understand politics in general and the remainder of the book in particular. After reading and reviewing the material in this chapter, you should be able to do each of the following:

1. Explain how certain issues at certain times get placed on the public agenda for action.
2. Identify the terms *costs*, *benefits*, and *perceived* as used in this chapter.
3. Use the above terms to define the four types of politics presented in the text—majoritarian, interest group, client, and entrepreneurial—giving examples of each.
4. Review the history of business regulation in this country, using it to exemplify the above four types of politics.
5. Discuss the roles played in the process of public policy formation by people's perceptions, beliefs, interests, and values.

## B. Study Outline

### I. Setting the agenda

#### A. Most important decision affecting policy making is deciding what belongs on the political agenda

1. Shared beliefs determine what is legitimate
2. Legitimacy affected by
  - a. Shared political values
  - b. Weight of custom and tradition
  - c. Changes in way political elites think about politics

#### B. The legitimate scope of government action

1. Always gets larger
  - a. Changes in public's attitudes
  - b. Influence of events
2. May be enlarged without public demand even when conditions improving
3. Groups: a motivating force in adding new issues
  - a. May be organized (corporations) or disorganized (urban minorities)
  - b. May react to sense of "relative deprivation"—people's feeling that they are worse off than they expected to be
    - (1) Riots of the 1960s
  - c. May produce an expansion of government agenda
    - (1) New commissions and laws
  - d. May change the values and beliefs of others
    - (1) White response to urban riots
4. Institutions a second force adding new issues
  - a. Major institutions: courts, bureaucracy, Senate, national media
  - b. Courts
    - (1) Make decisions that force action by other branches: school desegregation, abortion
    - (2) Change the political agenda
  - c. Bureaucracy
    - (1) Source of political innovation: size and expertise
    - (2) Thinks up problems to solve
    - (3) Forms alliances with senators and their staffs
  - d. Senate
    - (1) More activists than ever
    - (2) Source of presidential candidates with new ideas
  - e. Media
    - (1) Help place issues on political agenda
    - (2) Publicize those issues raised by others, such as safety standards proposed by Senate
5. Evolution of political agenda
  - a. Changes in popular attitudes that result in gradual revision of the agenda
  - b. Critical events, spurring rapid changes in attitudes
  - c. Elite attitudes and government actions, occasioning volatile and interdependent change

### II. Making a decision

#### A. Nature of issue

1. Affects politicking
2. Affects intensity of political conflict

#### B. Costs and benefits of proposed policy a way to understand how issue affects political power

1. Cost: any burden, monetary or nonmonetary
2. Benefit: any satisfaction, monetary or nonmonetary
3. Two aspects of costs and benefits important:
  - a. Perception affects politics
  - b. People consider whether it is legitimate for a group to benefit

4. Politics a process of settling disputes about who benefits and who ought to benefit
  5. People prefer programs that provide benefits at low cost
  6. Perceived distribution of costs and benefits shapes the kinds of political coalitions that form but not who wins
- 
- III. Majoritarian politics: distributed benefits, distributed costs
    - A. Gives benefits to large numbers
    - B. Distributes costs to large numbers
    - C. Initial debate in ideological or cost terms, for example, military budgets
  - IV. Interest group politics: concentrated benefits, concentrated costs
    - A. Gives benefits to relatively small group
    - B. Costs imposed on another small group
    - C. Debate carried on by interest groups (labor unions versus businesses)
  - V. Client politics: concentrated benefits, distributed costs
    - A. Relatively small group benefits; group has incentive to organize
    - B. Costs distributed widely
    - C. Most people unaware of costs, sometimes in form of pork barrel projects
  - VI. Entrepreneurial politics: distributed benefits, concentrated costs
    - A. Gives benefits to large numbers
    - B. Costs imposed on small group
    - C. Success may depend on people who work on behalf of unorganized majorities
    - D. Legitimacy of client claims is important; Superfund an example
  - VII. The case of business regulation
    - A. The question of wealth and power
      1. One view: economic power dominates political power
      2. Another view: political power a threat to a market economy
      3. Text cautious; weighs variables
    - B. Majoritarian politics
      1. Antitrust legislation in 1890s
        - a. Public indignation strong but unfocused
        - b. Legislation vague; no specific enforcement agency
      2. Antitrust legislation in the twentieth century strengthened
        - a. Presidents take initiative in encouraging enforcement
        - b. Politicians, business leaders committed to firm antitrust policy
        - c. Federal Trade Commission created in 1914
        - d. Enforcement determined primarily by ideology and personal convictions
    - C. Interest group politics
      1. Labor-management conflict
        - a. 1935: labor unions seek government protection for their rights; businesses oppose
          - (1) Unions win
          - (2) Wagner Act creates NLRB
        - b. 1947: Taft-Hartley Act a victory for management
        - c. 1959: Landrum-Griffin Act another victory for management
      2. Politics of the conflict
        - a. Highly publicized struggle
        - b. Winners and losers determined by partisan composition of Congress
        - c. Between enactment of laws, conflict continues in NLRB
      3. Similar pattern found in Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970
        - a. Reflects a labor victory
        - b. Agency established
    - D. Client politics
      1. Agency capture likely
      2. Licensing of attorneys, barbers, and so on
        - a. Restricts entry into occupation or profession
          - (1) Allows members to charge higher prices
        - b. People not generally opposed

- (1) Believe regulations protect them
- (2) Costs are not obvious
- 3. Regulation of milk industry
  - a. Prevents price competition and keeps price up
  - b. Public unaware of inflated prices

---

- 4. Tobacco regulations also benefit tobacco growers
- 5. Citizens have little incentive to organize
- E. Entrepreneurial politics; relies on entrepreneurs to galvanize
  - 1. 1906: Pure Food and Drug Act protected consumer
  - 2. 1960s and 1970s: large number of consumer and environmental protection statutes passed (Clean Air Act, Toxic Substance Control Act)
  - 3. Policy entrepreneur usually associated with such measures (Ralph Nader, Edmund Muskie)
    - a. Often assisted by crisis or scandal
    - b. Debate becomes moralistic and extreme
  - 4. Risk of such programs: agency may be "captured" by the regulated industry
    - a. Newer agencies less vulnerable
      - (1) Standards specific, timetables strict
      - (2) Usually regulate many different industries; thus do not face unified opposition
      - (3) Their existence has strengthened public interest lobbies
      - (4) Allies in the media may attack agencies with probusiness bias
      - (5) Public interest groups can use courts to bring pressure on regulatory agencies
- VIII. Perceptions, beliefs, interests, and values
  - A. Problem of definition
    - 1. Costs and benefits not completely defined in money terms
    - 2. Cost or benefit a matter of perception
    - 3. Political conflict largely a struggle to make one set of beliefs about costs and benefits prevail over another
  - B. Types of arguments used
    - 1. "Here-and-now" argument
    - 2. Cost argument
  - C. Role of values
    - 1. Values: our conceptions of what is good for our community or our country
    - 2. Emphasis on self-interest
    - 3. Ideas as decisive forces
  - D. Deregulation
    - 1. Example: airline fares, long-distance telephone rates, trucking
    - 2. A challenge to "iron triangles" and client politics
    - 3. Explanation: the power of ideas
      - a. Idea: government regulation was bad
      - b. Started with academic economists
      - c. They were powerless but convinced politicians
      - d. Politicians acted for different reasons
        - (1) Had support of regulatory agencies and consumers
        - (2) Industries being deregulated were unpopular
    - 4. Reducing subsidies
      - a. Example: tobacco industry
        - (1) Supported by members of Congress from tobacco-growing states
        - (2) Allowed growers to borrow against unsold tobacco and not pay back the loan
        - (3) Public went along until smoking became issue
        - (4) New system: growers pay subsidies
        - (5) Widely held beliefs (against smoking) defeated narrow interests (subsidies)
  - 5. Presidents since Ford have sought to review government regulation



6. Many groups oppose deregulation
  - a. Dispute focuses mostly on *how* deregulation occurs
  - b. "Process regulation" can be good or bad
7. The limit of ideas
  - a. Some clients are just too powerful
    - (1) Dairy farmers, agricultural supports
  - b. But trend is toward weaker client politics

### C. Key Terms Match

*Match the following terms and descriptions:*

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| a. agenda setting                | 1. ___ A business that will not employ nonunion workers  |
| b. benefit                       | 2. ___ A situation in which government bureaucracy thinks up problems for government to solve  |
| c. boycott                       | 3. ___ Political activity in which both benefits and costs are widely distributed  |
| d. client politics               | 4. ___ Deciding what belongs on the political agenda   |
| e. closed shop                   | 5. ___ Political activity in which one group benefits at the expense of many other people  |
| f. cost                          | 6. ___ Political activity in which benefits are distributed, costs are concentrated  |
| g. the cost argument             | 7. ___ Political activity in which benefits are conferred on a distinct group and costs on another distinct group                                      |
| h. entrepreneurial politics      | 8. ___ A sense of being worse off than one thinks one ought to be  |
| i. interest-group politics       | 9. ___ A situation in which people are more sensitive to what they might lose than to what they might gain   |
| j. logrolling                    | 10. ___ People in and out of government who find ways of creating a legislative majority on behalf of interests not well represented in government     |
| k. majoritarian politics         | 11. ___ A boycott by workers of a company other than the one against which a strike is directed  |
| l. policy entrepreneurs          | 12. ___ A law passed in 1890 making monopolies illegal   |
| m. political agenda              | 13. ___ Any satisfaction that people believe they will derive if a policy is adopted   |
| n. pork-barrel projects          | 14. ___ A concerted effort to get people to stop buying from a company in order to punish and to coerce a policy change                                |
| o. process regulation            | 15. ___ The perceived burden to be borne if a policy is adopted  |
| p. professionalization of reform | 16. ___ Mutual aid among politicians, whereby one legislator supports another's pet project in return for the latter's support                         |
| q. relative deprivation          | 17. ___ A set of issues thought by the public or those in power to merit action by government  |
| r. secondary boycott             | 18. ___ Legislation that gives tangible benefits to constituents in the hope of winning their votes  |
| s. Sherman Antitrust Act         | 19. ___ Rules regulating manufacturing or industrial processes, usually aimed at improving consumer or worker safety and reducing environmental damage |

## Economic Policy

### I. Reviewing the Chapter

---

#### A. Chapter Focus

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce you to an area of public policy that affects everyone in one way or another: economic policy. The chapter will cover both the divided attitudes that voters have toward a "good" economy and the competing theories that economists offer on how to obtain a good economy. The various agencies that participate in formulating government economic policy will be reviewed, along with the many stages of producing and implementing the annual federal budget. Finally, the controversial areas of government spending and tax reform will be discussed. After reading and reviewing the material in this chapter, you should be able to do each of the following:

1. Show how voters have contradictory attitudes regarding their own and others' economic benefits.
2. List and briefly explain the four competing economic theories discussed in the chapter.
3. Assess the nature and effect of Reaganomics.
4. List the four major federal government agencies involved in setting economic policy, and explain the role of each.
5. Analyze federal fiscal policy in terms of the text's four categories of politics.
6. Trace the history of federal government budgeting practices up to the present day.
7. Comment on the prospects and the desirability of lowering federal spending and reforming the income tax.

#### B. Study Outline

##### I. Economic health

##### A. How voters think; economic well-being produces majoritarian politics

1. Voters influenced by their immediate economic situation
2. Voters worry about nation as a whole as well as their own situations
3. Voting behavior and economic conditions correlated at national level but not individual level
  - a. People understand what government can and cannot be held accountable for
  - b. People see economic conditions as affecting them indirectly, even when they are doing well

##### B. What politicians try to do

1. Elected officials tempted to take short-term view of the economy
2. Government uses money to influence elections, but government will not always do whatever is necessary
  - a. Government does not know how to produce desirable outcomes

- b. Attempting to cure one economic problem often exacerbates another
- 3. Ideology plays large role in determining policy
  - a. Democrats tend to want to reduce unemployment
  - b. Republicans tend to want to reduce inflation

## II. Economic theories and political needs

- A. Monetarism—asserts that inflation occurs when there is too much money chasing too few goods (Milton Friedman)
  - 1. Advocates increase in money supply about equal to economic growth
- B. Keynesianism—government should create right level of demand
  - 1. Assumes that health of economy depends on what fraction of their incomes people save or spend
  - 2. When demand is too low, government should spend more than it collects in taxes by creating public works programs
  - 3. When demand is too high, government should increase taxes
- C. Planning—free market too un dependable to ensure economic efficiency; therefore government should control it (John Kenneth Galbraith)
  - 1. Wage-price controls
  - 2. Industrial policy—government directs investments toward particular industries
- D. Supply-side tax cuts—need for less government interference and lower taxes (Arthur Laffer)
  - 1. Lower taxes would create incentives for investment
  - 2. Greater productivity would produce more tax revenue
- E. Ideology and theory
  - 1. People embrace an economic theory partly because of their political beliefs
- F. Reaganomics
  - 1. Combination of monetarism, supply-side tax cuts, and domestic budget cutting
  - 2. Goals not consistent
    - a. Reduction in size of federal government
    - b. Increase in military strength
  - 3. Effects
    - a. Rate of growth of spending slowed (but not spending itself)
    - b. Military spending increased
    - c. Money supply controlled
    - d. Federal taxes decreased
    - e. Large deficits incurred, dramatically increasing size of national debt
    - f. Unemployment decreased

## III. The machinery of economic policy making

- A. Fragmented policy making; not under president's full control
  - 1. Council of Economic Advisers—members chosen are sympathetic to president's view of economics and are experts
    - a. Forecasts economic trends
    - b. Prepares annual economic report for president
  - 2. Office of Management and Budget
    - a. Prepares estimates of federal government agencies; negotiates department budgets
    - b. Ensures that agencies' legislative proposals are compatible with president's program
  - 3. Secretary of the Treasury—reflects point of view of financial community
    - a. Provides estimates of government's revenues
    - b. Recommends tax changes; represents nation before bankers and other nations
  - 4. The Fed (Federal Reserve Board)
    - a. Independent of both president and Congress
    - b. Regulates supply and price of money
  - 5. Congress most important in economic policy making
    - a. Approves taxes and expenditures
    - b. Consents to wage and price controls

- c. Can alter Fed policy by threatening to reduce its powers
- B. Effects of interest group claims
  - 1. Usually majoritarian: economic health good for all
  - 2. Sometimes interest group: protectionism in 1980s
- IV. Spending money
  - A. Conflict between majoritarian and client or interest group politics
  - B. Sources of conflict reflected in inconsistencies in public opinion
  - C. Politicians have incentive to make two kinds of appeals
    - 1. Keep spending down and cut deficit
    - 2. Support favorite programs of voters
- V. The budget
  - A. Earlier practices
    - 1. Merely adding expenditures before 1921
    - 2. No unified presidential budget until 1930s
    - 3. Separate committee reactions after that
  - B. Congressional Budget Act of 1974: procedures
    - 1. President submits budget
    - 2. House and Senate budget committees analyze budget
    - 3. Budget resolution in May proposes budget ceilings
    - 4. Congress tries to get members to appropriate funds
    - 5. Congress adopts second budget resolution that "reconciles" budget ceiling with total individual appropriations bills
    - 6. Weakness: May resolution frequently ignored
    - 7. Failures of process after 1981
    - 8. Passage of Gramm-Rudman Balanced Budget Act (1985)
      - a. Called for
        - (1) A target cap on the deficit each year, leading to a balanced budget
        - (2) A spending plan within those targets
        - (3) If lack of agreement on a spending plan exists, automatic across-the-board percentage budget cuts (a sequester)
      - b. Very unpopular. . . but necessary
    - 9. "Read my lips—no new taxes": Bush in 1990
      - a. Produced a sequester of nearly \$100 billion
      - b. Result was
        - (1) Increased taxes
        - (2) Cut in defense spending
        - (3) New budget procedures
      - c. But total spending went up almost 5 percent
    - 10. 1993 budget bill mirrors 1990 budget
      - a. Caps appropriations in specific areas
      - b. Caps discretionary spending
      - c. Peace dividend not enough to cover even costs of inflation
  - C. Difficulties in reducing spending
    - 1. Interest group pressure to increase programs
    - 2. Much of budget is expenditures representing past commitments that cannot be altered (contracts, Social Security benefits, national debt): "uncontrollables"
    - 3. Performance of economy unpredictable
- VI. Levying taxes
  - A. Tax policy reflects blend of majoritarian and client politics
    - 1. "What is a 'fair' tax law?" (majoritarian)
      - a. Tax burden is kept low
        - (1) Americans pay less than citizens in most other countries
      - b. Requires everyone to pay something
        - (1) Americans cheat less than others
    - 2. "How much is in it for me?" (client)
      - a. Requires the better-off to pay more
        - (1) Progressiveness is a matter of dispute: hard to calculate

- (2) Many loopholes: example of client politics
3. Client politics (special interests) make tax reform difficult
  - a. But Tax Reform Act passed (1986)
- B. The rise of the income tax
  1. Most revenue derived from tariffs until 1913 and ratification of Sixteenth Amendment
  2. Taxes then varied with war (high), peace (low)
    - a. High rates offset by many loopholes: compromise
    - b. Constituencies organized around loopholes
  3. Tax bills before 1986 dealt more with deductions than with rates
  4. 1986: low rates with smaller deductions
- C. The politics of tax reform
  1. Majoritarian politics resurfaced in demand for fairness
  2. Several kinds of entrepreneurs involved
    - a. Professional economists opposing inefficiencies
    - b. Supply-side ideologists
    - c. Publicists exposing "tax cheats"
  3. Success requires support of key politicians
  4. Tax politics once again majoritarian, as in 1913
  5. Left unanswered: elimination of budget deficits

### C. Key Terms Match

*Match the following terms and descriptions:*

- |                                 |  |
|---------------------------------|--|
| a. budget                       | 1. ___ A group that forecasts economic trends  |
| b. budget resolution            | 2. ___ The theory that the health of an economy depends on what fraction of their incomes people save or spend                                     |
| c. budget surplus               | 3. ___ Legislation that authorizes budget ceilings   |
| d. Congressional Budget Act     | 4. ___ An organization that provides estimates of tax revenues   |
| e. Council of Economic Advisers | 5. ___ The theory that voters worry about community and national interests   |
| f. deficit budget               | 6. ___ The use of the amount of money in bank deposits and the price of money to affect the economy  |
| g. economic planning            | 7. ___ A combination of monetarism, tax cuts, and domestic budget cutting  |
| h. Federal Reserve System       | 8. ___ The mechanism that regulates the supply and price of money  |
| i. fiscal policy                | 9. ___ The theory that voters are mostly influenced by their own immediate economic situation  |
| j. fiscal year (FY)             | 10. ___ A budget in which expenditures exceed tax revenues   |
| k. industrial policy            | 11. ___ The use of taxes and expenditures to affect the economy  |
| l. Keynesianism                 | 12. ___ The theory that inflation occurs when there is too much money chasing too few goods  |
| m. monetarism                   | 13. ___ The theory that government should control wages and prices   |
| n. monetary policy              | 14. ___ A document that announces how much the government will collect in taxes and spend in revenues and how those expenditures will be allocated |
| o. "other-regarding" voters     | 15. ___ A recommendation for budget ceilings to guide legislative committees in their spending decisions   |
| p. peace dividend               |  |
| q. planning                     |  |
| r. price and wage control       |  |
| s. Reaganomics                  |  |
| t. "self-regarding" voters      |  |

(continued)

- u. sequester
- v. supply-side theory
- w. Treasury Department

- 16. \_\_\_ A situation in which the government takes in more money than it spends
- 17. \_\_\_ An economic philosophy that assumes that the government should plan some part of the country's economic activity
- 18. \_\_\_ The period from October 1 to September 30 for which government appropriations are made and federal books are kept
- 19. \_\_\_ An economic philosophy that would have the government planning or subsidizing investment in industries that need to recover or new and better industries that could replace them
- 20. \_\_\_ Money that some assumed would be freed up for domestic spending by cuts in post-Cold War defense spending
- 21. \_\_\_ Government regulation of the maximum prices that can be charged and wages that can be paid
- 22. \_\_\_ Automatic, across-the-board cuts in certain federal programs when Congress and the president cannot agree on a spending plan
- 23. \_\_\_ An economic philosophy that holds that sharply cutting taxes would increase the incentive to invest, leading to more tax revenues

#### D. Did You Think That . . . ?

*Below are listed a number of misconceptions. You should be able to refute each statement in the space provided, referring to information or argumentation contained in this chapter. Sample answers appear at the end of the Handbook.*

1. "The president should bear the blame when the nation's economy does not perform well, because he controls the government agencies that in turn control the economy."

---

---

---

2. "The economy would be consistently healthy if government officials were well-trained economists."

---

---

---

3. "Elected officials need to study the economy and respond with the appropriate tax increases or budget reductions."

---

---

---

4. "The budget is so large that it should be relatively easy to find programs to cut."

---

---

---

## Social Welfare

### I. Reviewing the Chapter

#### A. Chapter Focus

This chapter covers more than fifty years of the political history of efforts to establish, maintain, expand, or cut those major programs that give or claim to give government help to individuals in need. After reading and reviewing the material in this chapter, you should be able to do each of the following:

1. Describe the goals of the American social welfare system, and contrast its programs with those of the British in terms of centralization.
2. Describe the major elements of the American system, including the Social Security Act of 1935, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and the Medicare Act of 1965. Why did these acts pass, whereas the Family Assistance Plan of 1969 failed? What generalizations can be made about welfare politics?
3. Explain why some welfare policies can be considered majoritarian politics and others client politics. Give examples and indicate the political consequences of each.
4. Analyze and comment on the promise and the performance of the Reagan administration in cutting welfare programs while maintaining the "safety net."
5. Discuss the many politics of health care reform.

#### B. Study Outline

- I. Overview of welfare politics in the United States
  - A. Who deserves to benefit?
    1. Insistence that it be only those who cannot help themselves
    2. Slow, steady change in deserving/undeserving line
    3. Alternative view: fair share of national income; government redistribute money
    4. Preference to give services, not money to help deserving poor
  - B. Late arrival of welfare policy
    1. Behind twenty-two European nations
    2. Contrast with Britain in 1908
  - C. Influence of federalism
    1. Federal involvement "illegal" until 1930s
    2. Experiments by state governments
      - a. Argued against federal involvement because states already providing welfare
      - b. Lobbied for federal involvement to help states
- II. The four laws in brief
  - A. Social Security Act of 1935
    1. Great Depression of 1929—local relief overwhelmed
    2. Elections of 1932—Democrats, FDR swept in

- a. Legal, political roadblocks—was direct welfare unconstitutional?
  - b. Fear of more radical movements
    - (1) Long's "Share Our Wealth"
    - (2) Sinclair's "End Poverty in California"
    - (3) Townsend's old age program
- 
- 3. Cabinet Committee's two-part plan
    - a. "Insurance" for unemployed and elderly
    - b. "Assistance" for dependent children, blind, aged
    - c. Federally funded, state-administered program under means test
- B. Economic Opportunity Act of 1964
    - 1. War on Poverty at a time of prosperity
    - 2. Pockets of poverty found (Michael Harrington)
    - 3. Proposals acquire urgency
      - a. March on Washington, August 1963
      - b. Kennedy assassination, November 1963
    - 4. Service not money, provided through Economic Opportunity Act
      - a. Job Corps
      - b. Literacy programs
      - c. Neighborhood Youth Corps
      - d. Work-study program
      - e. Community Action Program
    - 5. Resulted in complex and controversial organizations based in neighborhoods
  - C. Medicare Act of 1965
    - 1. Medical benefits omitted in 1935: controversial but done to ensure passage
    - 2. Opponents
      - a. AMA
      - b. House Ways and Means Committee under Wilbur Mills
    - 3. 1964 elections: Democrats' big majority altered Ways and Means
    - 4. Objections anticipated in plan
      - a. Application only to aged, not everybody
      - b. Only hospital, not doctors', bills covered
    - 5. Broadened by Ways and Means to include Medicaid for poor; pay doctors' bills for elderly
  - D. Family Assistance Plan (FAP) of 1969
    - 1. Growth of AFDC and doubling of costs from 1964 to 1969
    - 2. Criticisms
      - a. Subsidizing the able-bodied
      - b. Benefits too low
      - c. Harm to families by encouraging them to break up
      - d. Demeaning tests for eligibility
    - 3. Nixon proposed bold departure in FAP
      - a. Guaranteed minimum income for family with children
      - b. Work requirement or job training
      - c. Earned income offset but discounted
      - d. Benefit ceiling
    - 4. House passage due to support of Wilbur Mills, would reduce welfare cheating
    - 5. Senate defeat
      - a. Conservative Russell Long chaired Finance Committee
      - b. Liberals unsatisfied, suspicious; conservatives feared cost
    - 6. Programs and idea dead
      - a. McGovern in 1972 offered a version but withdrew it
      - b. Carter after 1976; but earned-income tax credit enacted in 1975
- III. Two kinds of welfare programs
    - A. Majoritarian politics: almost everybody pays and benefits
      - 1. Social Security Act, Medicare Act are examples
    - B. Client politics: everybody pays, relatively few people benefit
      - 1. AFDC program, CAP program of War on Poverty are examples



- C. Majoritarian politics
  - 1. Programs with widely distributed benefits and costs
    - a. Beneficiaries must believe they will come out ahead
    - b. Political elites must believe in legitimacy of program
  - 2. Social Security and Medicare looked like "free lunch"
    - a. Benefits and taxes were initially small
    - b. Many players, few beneficiaries
    - c. Medicare costs were underestimated
  - 3. Debate over legitimacy: Social Security (1935)
    - a. Constitution did not authorize federal welfare (conservatives)
    - b. But benefits were not really a federal expenditure (liberals)
  - 4. Good politics unless cost to voters exceeds benefits
  - 5. Three things changed politics of Social Security and Medicare
    - a. Tax increases necessary to pay for retirement benefits
    - b. Older people began to live longer
    - c. Cost of health care shot up
- D. Client politics
  - 1. Programs pass if cost to public not perceived as great and client considered deserving
  - 2. AFDC became controversial once perception changed to no longer helping "deserving poor" but unmarried black women
    - a. American values hold that welfare encourages men to avoid responsibilities and poor women to have babies
    - b. Americans prefer service strategy to income strategy
      - (1) Charles Murray: high welfare benefits made some young people go on welfare rather than seek jobs
      - (2) No direct evidence supports Murray
    - c. Preference for "giving people a hand rather than a handout" explains passage of War on Poverty in 1964
- E. The many politics of health care reform
  - 1. President Clinton announced new health care policy in 1993
  - 2. Many presidents endorsed health plans without success
  - 3. Not till Medicare Act of 1965 did federal government begin a big role in health care but only for elderly
  - 4. New issue emerged because of rising cost of health care
    - a. Nixon urged HMOs
    - b. Carter proposed a cap on hospital payments by insurance
    - c. Reagan changed law to allow Medicare to reimburse a fixed amount
  - 5. Clinton concerned not only about cost but number of people not covered
    - a. Task Force on National Health Care formed under Hillary Rodham Clinton
    - b. Plan proposed placing entire medical economy under federal regulation
- F. Majoritarian versus client politics
  - 1. Clinton wanted health plan seen as majoritarian issue
  - 2. But Americans happy with current health insurance
  - 3. Clinton's alternative was to make health care client politics
    - a. Needed client to have either allies in Congress or be seen as deserving
    - b. Public unlikely to help marginal members of society
  - 4. Clinton's strategy shifted to making health care a majoritarian issue by making public fearful of losing insurance
  - 5. Hillary Clinton injected entrepreneurial politics by attacking drug manufacturers and insurance companies
  - 6. Rival plans emerged
    - a. Single-payer plan
    - b. Voluntary plan for employers
    - c. Clinton began calling his plan "managed competition" as a compromise in the face of rival plans
  - 7. Questions of average citizen

- a. Would people have to pay higher taxes for benefits they already have?
- b. Would people retain the right to choose their own doctor?
- c. Would the United States continue to be in the forefront of developing new drugs and methods of treatment?
- d. If all employers were required to provide health insurance mostly at their own expense, would they cut back on the number of people they hire?
- e. Should there be one national or several state plans?

IV. Toward a new welfare politics

A. Majoritarian welfare programs: who will pay? how much?

B. Client-oriented welfare programs: who should benefit? how should they be served?

C. Costs

1. Problem: "indexing" of Social Security payments to inflation
  - a. Made increases automatic
2. Bipartisan commission raised taxes, raised age at which people become eligible
3. Medicare was tougher
  - a. Politically impossible to raise taxes or cut benefits
  - b. Approach: price controls in 1983
    - (1) Regulations and restrictions on what doctors and hospitals can charge
    - (2) Flat fee for each treatment
    - (3) Some hospitals cut services in response
  - c. Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act of 1988
    - (1) Designed to protect elderly against costs of catastrophic illness
    - (2) Costs to be paid by more affluent elderly
    - (3) Beneficiaries revolted, and act was repealed
4. Any universal health plan would present more cost problems than Medicare
  - a. Clinton proposed to recover costs by more efficient, streamlined system

D. Legitimacy

1. Question: how can perceived legitimacy of poor people be increased?
2. Family Support Act of 1988
  - a. Requires states to collect child support payments from deserting fathers
  - b. Requires states to train welfare mothers
  - c. Passed Congress by wide margins
3. Head Start
  - a. Provides preschool education to poor children
  - b. Popular with conservatives and liberals
    - (1) Targets poor families
    - (2) Provides services rather than money
    - (3) Helps children

E. The "family issue"

1. Attempt by Democrats to co-opt Republicans
2. Emphasis on strengthening family ties
3. Examples: minimum wage, government-supported day care, parental leave from work
4. Problem: debate over morality
  - a. What values should be encouraged?

F. The homeless

1. Disagreement over number of homeless
2. Adopted policy satisfies neither liberals nor conservatives
3. Federal government supports state and local programs

G. Immigrants

1. 90 percent of immigrants are in six states
2. Studies indicate effect of immigration on wages or unemployment of less-skilled workers is nil
3. But public perceives immigration as harming American workers
4. Economic effects of immigrants is mixed
  - a. Decline in earnings of low-skilled workers
  - b. Immigrants pay more in taxes than they receive in government services

### C. Key Terms Match

Match the following terms and descriptions. (Note: One of the descriptions should be matched with two terms)

#### Set 1.

- |                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| a. AFDC                           | 1. ___ First U.S. legislation, in 1935, providing for an income transfer program        |
| b. almshouses                     | 2. ___ Legislation enacted in 1964 that authorized various services for the needy       |
| c. Community Action Program (CAP) | 3. ___ Legislation enacted in 1965 providing medical insurance for the elderly          |
| d. Economic Opportunity Act       | 4. ___ The proposal defeated in 1972 for a guaranteed annual income                     |
| e. EPIC                           | 5. ___ Pre-1935 state programs to aid widows with children                              |
| f. Family Assistance Plan         | 6. ___ Pre-1935 state-run or locally run homes for the poor                             |
| g. Job Corps                      | 7. ___ Huey Long's proposal to redistribute income in the United States                 |
| h. March on Washington            | 8. ___ Upton Sinclair's proposal to redistribute income in California                   |
| i. Medicare                       | 9. ___ Proposal to provide all elderly people with \$200 per month                      |
| j. mother's pension               | 10. ___ An event that strengthened the chances of passage of the War on Poverty program |
| k. Neighborhood Youth Corps       | 11. ___ A program to train chronically unemployed young people                          |
| l. Share Our Wealth plan          | 12. ___ A program to provide work experience to young people in cities                  |
| m. Social Security Act            | 13. ___ A program to enable the poor to participate in administering poverty programs   |
| n. SSI                            | 14. ___ Benefits paid weekly to laid-off workers unable to find jobs                    |
| o. Townsend plan                  | 15. ___ Payments to poor families with children   |
| p. UI                             | 16. ___ Cash payments to poor people who are aged, blind, or disabled                   |
| q. War on Poverty                 |   |

#### Set 2

- |                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| a. assistance program       | 1. ___ Vouchers given to the poor to buy food at grocery stores                        |
| b. client politics          | 2. ___ A proposal to replace AFDC by putting a floor under all incomes                 |
| c. earned-income tax credit | 3. ___ Carter's attempts to introduce a version of the guaranteed income               |
| d. Family Support Act       | 4. ___ The mechanism by which payments rise automatically when costs do                |
| e. food stamps              | 5. ___ A proviso that only those below a specified poverty level qualify for a program |
| f. guaranteed annual income | 6. ___ Policy making in which almost everybody benefits and almost everybody pays      |
| g. Head Start               |  |
| h. income strategy          |  |
| i. indexing                 |  |

(continued)

- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| j. insurance program                  | 7. ___ An approach to welfare that aims to give poor people job training or government jobs rather than money  |
| k. majoritarian politics              | 8. ___ Legislation adopted in 1988 to protect the elderly against the costs of long-term medical care; later repealed                                |
| l. means test                         | 9. ___ Legislation adopted in 1988 to provide welfare to needy people without encouraging the breakup of families or discouraging gainful employment |
| m. Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act | 10. ___ Federally funded program that provides children with preschool education   |
| n. negative income tax                | 11. ___ Policy-making in which relatively few people benefit but everybody pays  |
| o. Program for Better Jobs and Income | 12. ___ An approach to welfare in which poor people are given money  |
| p. service strategy                   | 13. ___ A program financed by income taxes that provides benefits to poor citizens without requiring contributions from them                         |
|                                       | 14. ___ A self-financing program based on contributions that provides benefits to unemployed or retired persons                                      |
|                                       | 15. ___ A provision of a 1975 tax law that entitles working families with children to receive money if their income falls below a certain level      |

**D. Did You Think That . . . ?**

*Below are listed a number of misconceptions. You should be able to refute each statement in the space provided, referring to information or argumentation contained in this chapter. Sample answers appear at the end of the Handbook.*

1. "Welfare policies are instituted primarily to redistribute income among classes."

---



---



---

2. "The United States has led the way in pioneering social programs."

---



---



---

3. "The national government is responsible for social welfare administration."

---



---



---

4. "Bill Clinton was the first president to propose a federal health care policy."

---



---



---

Attach this as a cover sheet for your answers.

1. Why does the legitimate scope of government action no longer spark the debate that it did during the 1920's and 1930's?
2. Since popular attitudes change only slowly and usually in response to critical events, how can you account for the relatively rapid changes in the agenda of public policy?
3. Explain the theory of cost and benefit in the formulation of public policy. Be sure to properly define the essential terms.
4. Congress recently passed a massive updating of the nation's telecommunications law. Television networks, television stations, cable TV networks, local cable companies, longdistance carriers, local and regional telephone companies are all covered by new rules to expand competition and limit government regulation. How do you think making this law fits into the cost/benefit matrix on page 457?
5. Explain how the Social Security program fits into the cost/benefit matrix.
6. Explain how the work of Ralph Nader fits into the cost/benefit matrix.
7. Explain client politics in terms of the the cost/benefit matrix. Provide an example of client politics in action and an explanation of why it works.
8. How was the savings-and loan mess almost a disaster designed by Congress?
9. What does it mean to "discount the future" in conflicts over public policy. Provide two examples of this principal in operation.
10. If a person tries to explain politics only in terms of self-interest, what are three neglected factors that are often decisive forces in political conflicts? Provide an example of one of these factors in operation.



ATTACH AS A COVER SHEET FOR YOUR ANSWERS.

1. Why is it so easy to become cynical while studying economic policy (give some evidence)? Why would this view be a mistake?
2. Conventional wisdom tells politicians that citizens vote their "pocketbook." What is the complexity of this issue that has at least two versions of "pocketbook?"
3. Do the two major political parties have different priorities for combating inflation and unemployment? Explain.
4. In a succinct manner, explain the defining traits of Monetarism, Keynesianism, Planning, and Supply-Side Economics.
5. What is "Reaganomics?" What have been its results?
6. What is the difference between fiscal policy and monetary policy? Who controls them?
7. What seems so obviously inconsistent about voter attitudes concerning government spending? What two political appeals result?
8. Explain the view that much of the federal budget is on automatic pilot? Be sure to provide several examples.
9. What is the political compromise concerning tax rates that Democrats and Republicans adhered to for much of this century?
10. What did the Tax Reform Act of 1986 do? How did it become possible to pass such a measure? What major problem did it not address?

ATTACH AS A COVER SHEET TO YOUR ANSWERS.

1. The American approach to welfare differs from that of many European countries on the basis of who is entitled, when programs started, and federalism. Briefly explain the American approach on each of these points.
2. The two most significant and long lasting welfare programs were initiated in 1935 and 1965. Identify the programs and explain what political conditions the two periods had in common that worked in favor of expanding welfare programs?
3. In terms of social-welfare programs, what is a means test?
4. What is the one part of the Social Security Act that has become unpopular with Americans? Explain why this attitude has developed.
5. What is the earned-income tax credit and how is it related to the failed Family Assistance Program of 1969?
6. What is the ideological debate that seems to surround nearly every consideration of social-welfare legislation in the U.S.? How do the political parties line up in this debate?
7. Why did Social Security have to be "rescued" during the 1980's? In general terms, how was this "rescue" accomplished? What other program has been in deep trouble but left to fester?
8. What is the problem that the nation faces with the cost of health care?
9. What were some of the basic problems of the Clinton "Health Security Act" that caused it to fail at passage?
10. What lesson(s) do you think Congress learned from the experience of the "Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act of 1988?"



and processed” and included in intelligence reports. The agency generally removes the names of U.S. callers, but there are several broadly worded exceptions.

An independent group tasked by the White House to review U.S. surveillance policies recommended that incidentally collected U.S. calls and e-mails – including those obtained overseas – should nearly always “be purged upon detection.” Obama did not accept that recommendation.

NSA spokeswoman Vines, in her statement, said the NSA’s work is “strictly conducted under the rule of law.”

RETRO and MYSTIC are carried out under Executive Order 12333, the traditional grant of presidential authority to intelligence agencies for operations outside the United States.

Since August, **Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.)**, the chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, and others on that panel have been working on plans to assert a greater oversight role for intelligence gathering abroad. Some legislators are now considering whether Congress should also draft new laws to govern those operations.

Experts say there is not much legislation that governs overseas intelligence work. “Much of the U.S. government’s intelligence collection is not regulated by any statute passed by Congress,” said **Timothy H. Edgar**, the former director of privacy and civil liberties on Obama’s national security staff. “There’s a lot of focus on the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, which is understandable, but that’s only a slice of what the intelligence community does.”

All surveillance must be properly authorized for a legitimate intelligence purpose, he said, but that “still leaves a gap for activities that otherwise basically aren’t regulated by law because they’re not covered by FISA.”

Beginning in 2007, Congress loosened 40-year-old restrictions on domestic surveillance because so much foreign data crossed U.S. territory. There were no comparable changes to protect the privacy of U.S. citizens and residents whose calls and e-mails now routinely cross international borders.

Vines noted that the NSA’s job is to “identify threats within the large and complex system of modern global communications,” where ordinary people share fiber-optic cables with legitimate intelligence targets.

For Peter Swire, a member of the president’s review group, the fact that Americans and foreigners use the same devices, software and networks calls for greater care to safeguard Americans’ privacy.

“It’s important to have institutional protections so that advanced capabilities used overseas don’t get turned against our democracy at home,” he said.

*Soltani is an independent security researcher and consultant. Julie Tate contributed to this report.*

**Reprinted here for educational purposes only. May not be reproduced on other websites without permission from The Washington Post.**

ment. No argument, we may suppose, can now be needed, against permitting a legislature or an executive, not identified in interest with the people, to prescribe opinions to them, and determine what doctrines or what arguments they shall be allowed to hear. This aspect of the question, besides, has been so often and so triumphantly enforced by preceding writers, that it needs not be specially insisted on in this place. Though the law of England, on the subject of the press, is as servile to this day as it was in the time of the Tudors, there is little danger of its being actually put in force against political discussion, except during some temporary panic, when fear of insurrection drives ministers and judges from their propriety; and, speaking generally, it is not, in constitutional countries, to be apprehended, that the government, whether completely responsible to the people or not, will often attempt to control the expression of opinion, except when in doing so it makes itself the organ of the general intolerance of the public. Let us suppose, therefore, that the government is entirely at one with the people, and never thinks of exerting any power of coercion unless in agreement with what it conceives to be their voice. But I deny the right of the people to exercise such coercion, either by themselves or by their government. The power itself is illegitimate. The best government has no more title to it than the worst. It is as noxious, or more noxious, when exerted in accordance with public opinion, than when in opposition to it. If all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind. Were an opinion a personal possession of no value except to the owner; if to be obstructed in the enjoyment of it were simply a private injury, it would make some difference whether the injury was inflicted only on a few persons or on many. But the peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race; posterity as well as the existing generation; those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth: if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error.

It is necessary to consider separately these two hypotheses, each of which has a distinct branch of the argument corresponding to it. We can never be sure that the opinion we are endeavoring to stifle is a false opinion; and if we were sure, stifling it would be an evil still.

First: the opinion which it is attempted to suppress by authority may possibly be true. Those who desire to suppress it, of course deny its truth; but they are not infallible. They have no authority to decide the question for all mankind, and exclude every other person from the means of judging. To refuse a hearing to an opinion, because they are sure that it is false, is to assume that their certainty is the same thing as *absolute* certainty. All silencing of discussion is an assumption of infallibility. Its condemnation may be allowed to rest on this common argument, not the worse for being common.

Unfortunately for the good sense of mankind, the fact of their fallibility is far from carrying the weight in their practical judgment, which is always allowed to it in theory; for while every one well knows himself to be fallible, few think it necessary to take any precautions against their own fallibility, or admit the supposition

13

John Stuart Mill

## LIBERTY OF THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION



The time, it is to be hoped, is gone by when any defense would be necessary of the "liberty of the press" as one of the securities against corrupt or tyrannical govern-

that any opinion, of which they feel very certain, may be one of the examples of the error to which they acknowledge themselves to be liable. Absolute princes, or others who are accustomed to unlimited deference, usually feel this complete confidence in their own opinions on nearly all subjects. People more happily situated, who sometimes hear their opinions disputed, and are not wholly unused to be set right when they are wrong, place the same unbounded reliance only on such of their opinions as are shared by all who surround them, or to whom they habitually defer: for in proportion to a man's want of confidence in his own solitary judgment, does he usually repose, with implicit trust, on the infallibility of "the world" in general. And the world, to each individual, means the part of it with which he comes in contact; his party, his sect, his church, his class of society: the man may be called, by comparison, almost liberal and largeminded to whom it means anything so comprehensive as his own country or his own age. Nor is his faith in this collective authority at all shaken by his being aware that other ages, countries, sects, churches, classes, and parties have thought, and even now think, the exact reverse. He devolves upon his own world the responsibility of being in the right against the dissentient worlds of other people; and it never troubles him that mere accident has decided which of these numerous worlds is the object of his reliance, and that the same causes which make him a Churchman in London, would have made him a Buddhist or a Confucian in Peking. Yet it is as evident in itself, as any amount of argument can make it, that ages are not more infallible than individuals; every age having held many opinions which subsequent ages have deemed not only false but absurd; and it is as certain that many opinions, now general, will be rejected by future ages, as it is that many, once general, are rejected by the present.

The objection likely to be made to this argument, would probably take some such form as the following. There is no greater assumption of infallibility in forbidding the propagation of error, than in any other thing which is done by public authority on its own judgment and responsibility. Judgment is given to men that they may use it. Because it may be used erroneously, are men to be told that they ought not to use it at all? To prohibit what they think pernicious, is not claiming exemption from error, but fulfilling the duty incumbent on them, although fallible, of acting on their conscientious conviction. If we were never to act on our opinions, because those opinions may be wrong, we should leave all our interests uncared for, and all our duties unperformed. An objection which applies to all conduct, can be no valid objection to any conduct in particular. It is the duty of governments, and of individuals, to form the truest opinions they can; to form them carefully, and never impose them upon others unless they are quite sure of being right. But when they are sure (such reasoners may say), it is not conscientiousness but cowardice to shrink from acting on their opinions, and allow doctrines which they honestly think dangerous to the welfare of mankind, either in this life or in another, to be scattered abroad without restraint, because other people, in less enlightened times, have persecuted opinions now believed to be true. Let us take care, it may be said, not to make the same mistake: but governments and nations have made mistakes in other things, which are not denied to be fit subjects for the exercise of authority: they have laid on bad taxes, made unjust wars. Ought we therefore to lay on no taxes, and, under whatever provocation, make no wars? Men, and governments,

must act to the best of their ability. There is no such thing as absolute certainty, but there is assurance sufficient for the purposes of human life. We may, and must, assume our opinion to be true for the guidance of our own conduct: and it is assuming no more when we forbid bad men to pervert society by the propagation of opinions which we regard as false and pernicious.

I answer, that it is assuming very much more. There is the greatest difference between presuming an opinion to be true, because, with every opportunity for consulting it, it had not been refuted, and assuming its truth for the purpose of not permitting its refutation. Complete liberty of contradicting and disproving our opinion, is the very condition which justifies us in assuming its truth for purposes of action; and on no other terms can a being with human faculties have any rational assurance of begin right.

When we consider either the history of opinion, or the ordinary conduct of human life, to what is it to be ascribed that the one and the other are no worse than they are? Not certainly to the inherent force of the human understanding; for, on any matter not self-evident, there are ninety-nine persons totally incapable of judging of it, for one who is capable; and the capacity of the hundredth person is only comparative; for the majority of the eminent men of every past generation held many opinions now known to be erroneous, and did or approved numerous things which no one will now justify. Why is it, then, that there is on the whole a preponderance among mankind of rational opinions and rational conduct? If there really is this preponderance—which there must be, unless human affairs are, and have always been, in an almost desperate state—it is owing to a quality of the human mind, the source of everything respectable in man either as an intellectual or as a moral being, namely, that his errors are corrigible. He is capable of rectifying his mistakes, by discussion and experience. Not by experience alone. There must be discussion, to show how experience is to be interpreted. Wrong opinions and practices gradually yield to fact and argument: but facts and arguments, to produce any effect on the mind, must be brought before it. Very few facts are able to tell their own story, without comments to bring out their meaning. The whole strength and value, then, of human judgment, depending on the one property, that it can be set right when it is wrong, reliance can be placed on it only when the means of setting it right are kept constantly at hand. In the case of any person whose judgment is really deserving of confidence, how has it become so? Because he has kept his mind open to criticism of his opinions and conduct. Because it has been his practice to listen to all that could be said against him; to profit by as much of it as was just, and expound to himself, and upon occasion to others, the fallacy of what was fallacious. Because he has felt, that the only way in which a human being can make some approach to knowing the whole of a subject, is by hearing what can be said about it by persons of every variety of opinion, and studying all modes in which it can be looked at by every character of mind. No wise man ever acquired his wisdom in any mode but this; nor is it in the nature of human intellect to become wise in any other manner. The steady habit of correcting and completing his own opinion by collating it with those of others, so far from causing doubt and hesitation in carrying it into practice, is the only stable foundation for a just reliance on it: for, being cognizant of all that can, at least obviously, be said against him, and having taken

up his position against all gainsayers—knowing that he has sought for objections and difficulties, instead of avoiding them, and has shut out no light which can be thrown upon the subject from any quarter—he has a right to think his judgment better than that of any person, or any multitude, who have not gone through a similar process.

It is not too much to require that what the wisest of mankind, those who are best entitled to trust their own judgment, find necessary to warrant their relying on it, should be submitted to by that miscellaneous collection of a few wise and many foolish individuals, called the public. The most intolerant of churches, the Roman Catholic Church, even at the canonization of a saint, admits, and listens patiently to, a "devil's advocate." The holiest of men, it appears, cannot be admitted to posthumous honors, until all that the devil could say against him is known and weighed. If even the Newtonian philosophy were not permitted to be questioned, mankind could not feel as complete assurance of its truth as they now do. The beliefs which we have most warrant for, have no safeguard to rest on, but a standing invitation to the whole world to prove them unfounded. . . .

We have now recognized the necessity to the mental well-being of mankind (on which all their other well-being depends) of freedom of opinion, and freedom of the expression of opinion, on four distinct grounds; which we will now briefly recapitulate.

First, if any opinion is compelled to silence, that opinion may, for aught we can certainly know, be true. To deny this is to assume our own infallibility.

Secondly, though the silenced opinion be an error, it may, and very commonly does, contain a portion of truth; and since the general or prevailing opinion on any subject is rarely or never the whole truth, it is only by the collision of adverse opinions that the remainder of the truth has any chance of being supplied.

Thirdly, even if the received opinion be not only true, but the whole truth; unless it is suffered to be, and actually is, vigorously and earnestly contested, it will, by most of those who receive it, be held in the manner of a prejudice, with little comprehension of feeling of its rational grounds. And not only this, but fourthly, the meaning of the doctrine itself will be in danger of being lost, or enfeebled, and deprived of its vital effect on the character and conduct: the dogma becoming a mere formal profession, inefficacious for good, but cumbering the ground, and preventing the growth of any real and heartfelt conviction from reason or personal experience.

Before quitting the subject of freedom of opinion, it is fit to take some notice of those who say, that the free expression of all opinions should be permitted, on condition that the manner be temperate, and do not pass the bounds of fair discussion. Much might be said on the impossibility of fixing where these supposed bounds are to be placed; for if the test be offence to those whose opinion is attacked, I think experience testifies that this offence is given whenever the attack is telling and powerful, and that every opponent who pushes them hard, and whom they find it difficult to answer, appears to them, if he shows any strong feeling on the subject, an intemperate opponent. But this, though an important consideration in a practical point of view, merges in a more fundamental objection. Undoubtedly the manner of asserting an opinion, even though it be a true one, may be very objectionable, and may justly incur severe censure. But the principal offences of the kind are such as it

is mostly impossible, unless by accidental self-betrayal, to bring home... to conviction. The gravest of them is, to argue sophistically, to suppress facts or arguments, to misstate the elements of the case, or misrepresent the opposite opinion. But all this, even to the most aggravated degree, is so continually done in perfect good faith, by persons who are not considered, and in many other respects may not deserve to be considered, ignorant or incompetent, that it is rarely possible on adequate grounds conscientiously to stamp the misrepresentation as morally culpable; and still less could law presume to interfere with this kind of controversial misconduct. With regard to what is commonly meant by intemperate discussion, namely, invective, sarcasm, personality, and the like, the denunciation of these weapons would deserve more sympathy if it were ever proposed to interdict them equally to both sides; but it is only desired to restrain the employment of them against the prevailing opinion: against the unprevailing they may not only be used without general disapproval, but will be likely to obtain for him who uses them the praise of honest zeal and righteous indignation. Yet whatever mischief arises from their use, is greatest when they are employed against the comparatively defenceless; and whatever unfair advantage can be derived by any opinion from this mode of asserting it, accrues almost exclusively to received opinions. The worst offence of this kind which can be committed by a polemic, is to stigmatize those who hold the contrary opinion as bad and immoral men. To calumny of this sort, those who hold any unpopular opinion are peculiarly exposed, because they are in general few and uninfluential, and nobody but themselves feels much interest in seeing justice done them; but this weapon is, from the nature of the case, denied to those who attack a prevailing opinion: they can neither use it with safety to themselves, nor, if they could, would it do anything but recoil on their own cause. In general, opinions contrary to those commonly received can only obtain a hearing by studied moderation of language, and the most cautious avoidance of unnecessary offence, from which they hardly ever deviate even in a slight degree without losing ground: while unmeasured vituperation employed on the side of the prevailing opinion, really does deter people from professing contrary opinions, and from listening to those who profess them. For the interest, therefore, of truth and justice, it is far more important to restrain this employment of vituperative language than the other; and, for example, if it were necessary to choose, there would be much more need to discourage offensive attacks on infidelity, than on religion. It is, however, obvious that law and authority have no business with restraining either, while opinion ought, in every instance, to determine its verdict by the circumstances of the individual case; condemning every one, on whichever side of the argument he places himself, in whose mode of advocacy either want of candor, or malignity, bigotry, or intolerance of feeling manifest themselves; but not inferring these vices from the side which a person takes, though it be the contrary side of the question to our own: and giving merited honor to every one, whatever opinion he may hold, who had calmness to see and honesty to state what his opponents and their opinions really are, exaggerating nothing to their discredit, keeping nothing back which tells, or can be supposed to tell, in their favor. This is the real morality of public discussion; and if often violated, I am happy to think that there are many controversialists who to a great extent observe it, and a still greater number who conscientiously strive towards it.

Curriculum Term	Sentence	Personal Association	Notes
<b>CONSTITUTIONAL UNDERPINNINGS</b>			
Amendment			
Autocracy			
Checks and Balances			
Coalition Government			
Commerce Clause			
Concurrent Powers			
Confederation			
Delegated Powers			
Democracy			
Elastic Clause			
Federalism			
Full Faith and Credit			
Implied Powers			
Limited Government			
Oligarchy			
Preamble			
Privileges and Immunities			
Republic			
Reserved Powers			
Seperation of Powers			
Sovereignty			
State			
Supremecy Clause			
Winner-Take-All System			
<b>POLITICAL BELIEFS AND BEHAVIORS</b>			
Ballot			
Blanket Primary			

Curriculum Term	Sentence	Personal Association	Notes
Caucus	The voters in Iowa are participating in their political party's caucus in order to select their candidate's delegates.	I participated in a Texas Democrat Party Caucus in 2008 called the Texas Two Step.	<a href="http://www.c-span.org/video/?c4504480/vocabulary-iowa-caucus">http://www.c-span.org/video/?c4504480/vocabulary-iowa-caucus</a>
Closed Primary			
Coattail Effect			
Direct Primary			
Electorate			
Gerrymandering			
Hard Money			
Injunction			
Majority			
Margin of Error			
Mid Term Election			
Nomination			
Nonpartisan Primary			
Open Primary			
Opinion Poll			
Plurality			
Political Action Committee (Super PAC)			
Political Efficacy			
Political Socialization			
Poll Tax			
Precinct			
Public Opinion			
Random Sample			
Registration			
Runoff Primary			
Soft Money			
Split-Ticket Voting			
Straw Vote			

Curriculum Term	Sentence	Personal Association	Notes
Suffrage			
Ticket-Splitting			
<b>POLITICAL PARTIES, INTEREST GROUPS AND MASS MEDIA</b>			
Broadcasting			
Coalition			
Consensus			
Electorate			
Grass Roots			
Incumbent			
Interest Group			
Labor Unions			
Linkage Institution			
Lobbying			
Major Parties			
Mass Media			
Media Event			
Microcasting			
Minor Parties			
Narrowcasting			
Partisanship			
Patronage			
Political Party			
Propaganda			
Single-Issue Group	Interest		
Single-Member District			
Sound Bite			
Talking Head			
Trial Balloon			
Two-Party System			

Curriculum Term	Sentence	Personal Association	Notes
<b>INSTITUTIONS OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT</b>			
The Congress			
Appropriations Bill			
Bicameralism			
bill			
Casework			
Cloture			
Conference Committee			
Congressional Caucus			
Continuing Resolutions			
Filibuster			
House Rules Committee			
Impeachment			
Incumbents			
Joint Committee			
Legislative Oversight			
Log Rolling			
Pork Barrel			
Select Committee			
Standing Committee			
Whips			
<b>The Presidency</b>			
Cabinet			
Council of Economic Advisors			
Executive Orders			
Mandate			
National Security Council			
Office of Management and Budget			



Curriculum Term	Sentence	Personal Association	Notes
Original Jurisdiction			
Precedents			
Senatorial Courtesy			
<i>Stare Decisis</i>			
Supreme Court			
<i>Amicus Curiae Brief</i>			
<b>PUBLIC POLICY</b>			
Economic			
Collective Bargaining			
Labor Union			
Unemployment Rate			
Inflation			
Monetary Policy			
Fiscal Policy			
Federal Reserve System			
Keynesian Theory			
Supply-Side Economics			
Protectionism			
Antitrust Policy			
<b>Social Welfare</b>			
Entitlement Programs			
Means Tested Programs			
Income			
Wealth			
Income Distribution			
Poverty Line			
Progressive Tax			
Regressive Tax			
Proportional Tax			

Curriculum Term	Sentence	Personal Association	Notes
Pocket Veto			
Signing Statements			
Veto			
The Bureaucracy			
Budget			
Civil Service			
Deficit			
Deregulation			
Expenditures			
Federal Debt			
Government Corporations			
Incrementalism			
Independent Regulatory Agency			
Iron Triangles			
Merit Principle			
Revenues			
Street Level Bureaucrats			
Tax Expenditure			
The Federal Courts			
Appellate Jurisdiction			
Courts of Appeal			
District Courts			
Judicial Activism			
Judicial Restraint			
Judicial Review			
Justiciable Dispute			
Opinion			
Original Intent			

Curriculum Term	Sentence	Personal Association	Notes
Social Security Act 1935			
Health Care			
National Health Insurance			
Medicare			
Medicaid			
Affordable Care Act			
National Security			
United Nations			
Isolationism			
Containment Doctrine			
Cold War			
McCarthyism			
Arms Race			
<i>détente</i>			
Interdependency			
<b>Civil Rights &amp; Civil Liberties</b>			
Civil Liberties			
Civil Liberty			
Bill of Rights			
Incorporation Doctrine			
Establishment Clause			
Free Exercise Clause			
Due Process Clause			
Prior Restraint			
Libel			

Curriculum Term	Sentence	Personal Association	Notes
Slander			
Symbolic Speech			
Exclusionary Rule			
Self Incrimination			
<b>Civil Rights</b>			
Equal Protection Clause			
Civil Rights			
Suffrage			
Poll Tax			
White Primary			
Affirmative Action			

# AP American Government

## Legislation which could show up on the AP test

**Americans with Disabilities Act (1990)** - Requires businesses, state, and local governments to provide the disabled with equal access to services, employment, buildings, and transportation systems.

**Campaign Finance Reform (1974)** - A result of Watergate which established the FEC, encouraged PACs, and set limits on contributions to campaigns.

**Civil Rights Act (1964)** - Most far reaching civil rights legislation; dealt with voting (ending Jim Crow), employment, schools, and public accommodations.

**Economic Opportunity Act (1964)** - Better known as Johnson's war on poverty.

**Gramm-Rudman Balanced Budget Act (1985)** - Created a plan whereby the budget would be automatically cut until there was no deficit. Between 1985 and 1991 the deficit could not exceed a certain declining amount.

**NAFTA (1993)** - North American Free Trade Agreement. Eliminated most tariff and other trade barriers among the United State, Canada, and Mexico. Beneficial to the United States in the long run but detrimental for jobs in the short run where Mexico or Canada have a comparative economic advantage.

**Pendleton Act (1883)** - Created a steady transfer of jobs from political patronage to the merit system; established Civil Service system.

**Sherman Antitrust Act (1890)** - Legislation designed to regulate monopolistic business behavior (trusts).

**Social Security Act (1935)** - Majoritarian attempt to provide a minimal social benefits safety net for Americans.

**Taft-Hartley Act (1947)** - Made illegal certain union practices such as closed shop and secondary boycotts. The president could obtain a court order blocking a strike for up to 80 days (cooling off period) in any area that imperiled national health or safety. Interest group politics and a win for big business.

**War Powers Act (1973)** - Fallout from Vietnam. Placed restrictions on president's ability to use military force. President must notify Congress within 48 hours and Congress must authorize support for the use of military force if it lasts longer than 60 days.

# Advanced Placement Government

## Test Taking Tips

### Multiple Choice Questions

- A. Before answering any questions, read the directions thoroughly and carefully. You have 45 minutes to answer 60 questions and this is more than enough time.
- B. Read each question carefully. See if you can predict the answer before looking at the options.
- C. Read **ALL** of the multiple choice options in their entirety before choosing an answer. Avoid the temptation to mark the first option that looks good (sometimes a "good" option will be listed before the "best" option).
- D. If you cannot select the correct answer after several seconds of thought, cross out any options that you are sure are wrong, put a mark next to the question, and move on to the next question. Since you have skipped a question, **pay close attention** to where you mark your next answer on the answer sheet!
- E. **Skip questions that stump you. Skip graph and table questions that are time consuming.** The goal is to do all the relatively easy questions first, then come back later to the difficult ones, but don't rush. Be sure to give each question some thought before moving on.
- F. When you have gone through the entire test once, go back to the items you have marked. This time concentrate on eliminating as many options as you can.
- G. Be wary of options that include extreme words, such as "always," "never," "all," "best," "worst," "none."
- H. Read each option as if it were a true-false question. Cross out all the options that are false.
- I. However, pay close attention to words such as **not** or **except**. (e.g., "Which of the following is **not** true about the Civil War?"). Circle words like **not** and **except** whenever you see them in a question to make them stand out. (Usually these words are a signal that all of the options are true except one, and your task is to pick out the **FALSE** option). **The AP test is as much about reading ability as it is content knowledge.**
- J. If you have no idea what the correct answer is, guess (as long as you are not completely clueless). Some tips that may improve your guessing accuracy include:
1. If two options look similar, except for 1 or 2 words, usually one of these is the correct answer.
  2. If two options have the same meaning, usually both are wrong.

3. If two options consist of words that look or sound the same (e.g., "interference" vs. "interferon") one of these is often the correct answer.
4. If the options cover a wide range of numerical values, a value at or near the middle is often a good guess.
5. An option that is longer or more detailed than the other options is often the correct answer.
6. The option "all of the above" is frequently correct.

K. If time permits, recheck your answers for accuracy before turning in your exam.

### Essay Questions

A. Analyze the question. What type of response is requested?

1. A traditional essay (you are asked to take a position or express an opinion).
  - a) A thesis statement will be necessary. Place it in the first paragraph.
  - b) One way to get a thesis statement is to restate the question.
  - c) Write three paragraphs.
  - d) A sharp conclusion can save a bad essay.
2. A direct response (i.e. graph interpretation).
  - a) Answer the asked questions. No thesis statement necessary.

B. Jot down any authors/articles that seem appropriate to the question. This serves two purposes:

1. It eliminates the intellectual baggage of trying to remember them while you're writing.
2. It may provide insight on how to attack the question.

C. **OUTLINE YOUR ANSWER!** This helps to prevent you from forgetting to answer all portions of the question and focuses you on a precise and concise essay.

D. Pace yourself. Remember, you have only 100 minutes to answer 4 essay questions. Do not spend so much time on a brilliant answer to one essay that you have no time to answer the other three.

E. Use black ink.

Last but not least: Get plenty of sleep the night before the test. A sharp mind is always a better option than a tired mind crammed with last minute minutia.

