

“The Federalist, Number 10”

The best-known arguments in the debate over the ratification of the Constitution of the United States appeared in a collection of 85 essays known as *The Federalist Papers*. The most famous of these essays, “The Federalist, Number 10,” written by James Madison, addressed Antifederalists’ concerns that the United States had too many small groups, or “factions,” to be governed democratically by a single government. Madison, acknowledging the presence of factions, argued that majority rule should be the central governing concern and that protection of the majority may sometimes come at the expense of minority rights.

Among the numerous advantages promised by a well-constructed union, none deserves to be more accurately developed than its tendency to break and control the violence of faction. The friend of popular governments never finds himself so much alarmed for their character and fate as when he contemplates their propensity [inclination] to this dangerous vice. . . .

By a faction, I understand a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or minority of the whole, who are united and actuated [moved] by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adverse [opposed] to the rights of other citizens or to the permanent and aggregate [collective] interests of the community.

There are two methods of curing the mischiefs of faction: the one, by removing its causes; the other, by controlling its effects.

There are again two methods of removing the causes of faction: the one, by destroying the liberty which is essential to its existence; the other, by giving to every citizen the same opinions, the same passions, and the same interests.

It could never be more truly said than of the first remedy, that it was worse than the disease. Liberty is to faction what air is to fire, an ailment without which it instantly expires. But it could not be less folly to abolish liberty, which is essential to political life, because it nourishes faction, than it would be to wish the annihilation of air, which is essential to animal life, because it imparts to fire its destructive agency.

The second expedient is as impracticable as the first would be unwise. As long as the reason of man continues fallible [capable of error], and he is at liberty to exercise it, different opinions will be formed. As long as the connection subsists [persists] between his reason and his self-love, his opinions and his passions will have a reciprocal [mutually dependent] influence on each other. . . .

The inference to which we are brought is that the causes of faction cannot be removed, and that relief is only to be sought in the means of controlling its effects.

If a faction consists of less than a majority, relief is supplied by the republican principle, which enables the majority to defeat its sinister views by regular vote. It may clog the administration, it may convulse [shake up] the society; but it will be unable to execute and mask its violence under the forms of the Constitution. When a majority is included in a faction, the form of popular government, on the other hand, enables it to sacrifice to its ruling passion or interest both the public good and the rights of other citizens. To secure the public good, and private rights, against the danger of such a faction, and at the same time to preserve the spirit and the form of popular government, is then the great object to which our inquiries are directed. Let me add that it is the great *desideratum* [desired objective] by which alone this form of government can be rescued from the opprobrium [disgrace] under which it has so long labored, and be recommended to the esteem and adoption of mankind.

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## Thinking Critical I y

1. In your own words, define the term *faction*.
2. Why, according to Madison, can the causes of factions not be removed?
3. Do you think that, in today's society, factions and interest groups hurt or help society? Provide an example.

## READINGS ANSWER KEY

mate benefit to the state, and they often prevent people from voting because of race or color.

3. Poll taxes and testing are undemocratic because they take the political voice away from many people, thus eliminating the opportunity for lower-income and undereducated people to make fundamental social changes and improve their situations. They also extend the power of the educated and wealthy elite.

### READING 46

1. Limitations on interest rates create inequities for depositors, hinder competition among financial institutions, and do not help to provide funds for mortgage lending.
2. The goals of the committee are to phase-out and ultimately eliminate limitations on maximum interest rates and dividend payments.
3. People who had money to invest, even small amounts of money, experienced the greatest benefits from this act because financial institutions were forced to offer them competitive rates and services.

### READING 47

1. Discrimination on the basis of disability differed from discrimination based on other factors because people with disabilities had no legal means by which to address their grievances. Other people who experienced discrimination were protected by the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
2. Discrimination on the basis of disability is harmful to society as a whole because it forces people with disabilities to be dependent on government funds and services for tasks that they would be capable of completing if the opportunity were available to them.
3. Answers will vary but students should consider the accommodations made at their school for people with disabilities.

### READING 48

1. According to Locke, only when all people have relinquished their natural powers and resigned the preservation of their property to a sovereign authority can political society be achieved.
2. The absolute prince is still in the state of nature because he has not conceded to give up any of his natural powers and, therefore, answers to no common judge or standing rule.
3. Locke's theory that civil society can be achieved only when all members of society resign their natural rights and consent to the rules of the community parallels the American Declaration of Independence,

which holds that governments derive their power from the consent of the governed.

### READING 49

1. A person remains free for the following reasons: each person gives all of himself or herself and thus the condition for all people is equal and no one needs to harm or burden anyone else; since all people concede to join the contract, the common will is a perfect association and the will of all the people determines the actions of the community; and all people gain the equivalent of what they lose by joining the contract.
2. People lose an unlimited right to everything that tempts them and gain civil liberty and the right to everything they own.
3. Rousseau states that all people who enter into the social contract perceive all other members of the contract as indispensable to the whole of society. Students should also comment on the validity of this statement.

### READING 50

1. The sum of a society's capital determines the size of its industry.
2. According to Smith's theory of the invisible hand, an individual, in pursuing his own best interest, will usually prefer a domestic market and will naturally direct that market in a way that best supports the domestic industry.
3. Answers will vary but should consider the issues of free markets as well as the necessity for some government intervention to ensure the fairness of business activities.

### READING 51

1. Paine calls Europe the parent country of America because the people seeking asylum from persecution had come to America from all over Europe, not just England.
2. Paine argues that an alliance with Britain will involve America in European wars that it otherwise would not be a party to.
3. Paine's pamphlet was so successful because it appealed to the common man.

### READING 52

1. The term *faction* can be defined as a number of citizens who are united in a common interest.
2. The causes of factions cannot be removed because freedom of opinion is vital to human existence and

by destroying that freedom, you take away the fundamental basis of democracy.

- Answers will vary but students should provide an assessment of the necessity of factions in a democratic society, as well as an example of a present-day interest group.

**READING 53**

- Hamilton states that if the president's time in office is too short, the president will not be interested enough to take any real action.
- The length of the president's term in office relates to the legislature in the influence legislators have over their constituents to support the president's re-election.
- Students who think that four years is too short a tenure may say that this length of time does not permit the president to put into effect all of his or her plans. Students who think that four years is sufficient may say that a longer term in office would make the president complacent and ineffective.

**READING 54**

- If the supply of Commodity A is much greater than that of Commodity B, a large quantity of Commodity A will be sold for a smaller quantity of Commodity B.
- If the demand for a commodity is high, the supply of that commodity will be increased (assuming that the supply *can* be increased).
- Students should provide a scenario similar to the following: There could be a freeze and most of the corn crops could be destroyed. This would cause supply to be extremely low. If the freeze did not affect the crops necessary for the production of cloth, a small amount of corn would trade for a large amount of cloth. If, however, the crops necessary for the production of cloth also were affected and the supply of cloth was also low, the amount at which they trade for each other would most likely be equal.

**READING 55**

- Nations are able to form political assemblies because nations contain large numbers of people with diverse talents and interests.
- Towns are the strength of free nations because they bring liberty and political discussion within people's reach.
- Answers will vary but should include an assessment of the importance of towns and cities in today's society.

**READING 56**

- Thoreau states that the American people are responsible for the success of the United States and that the government has kept the nation from achieving more.
- Thoreau believes it is appropriate to break the law if obeying the law causes an injustice to another person.
- Thoreau is assuming that people will break the law only to avoid injustice. For Thoreau's theory to work, people would have to be of strong moral character. Students should agree or disagree with Thoreau's assumption that people will break only those laws that they perceive as unjust and, in doing so, will not harm any other person. Students should also comment on the potential dangers to a society in which each person is the judge of his or her own actions.

**READING 57**

- Mill states that if an opinion is denied a voice, one of two things can happen: if the opinion is right, people are denied the opportunity of knowing it; and if it is wrong, people are denied the clearer view of the right opinion.
- An opinion can be proven to be correct only if it is subjected to, and withstands, contradictory opinions.
- Answers will vary but students should consider the repercussions both of voicing an opinion and of silencing an opinion.

**READING 58**

- A use-value is the utility of a given commodity. It is determined only by its use or consumption.
- A commodity's use-value is determined by the quality and utility of the commodity; the exchange-value, on the other hand, is determined only by the quantity for which it is exchanged for another commodity.
- Answers will vary but students should consider the quality and usefulness of commodities versus the quantity for which commodities may be exchanged for other commodities.

**READING 59**

- The bourgeoisie has sacrificed personal worth and numberless other fundamental freedoms in exchange for free trade.
- For the proletariat to be free, national differences between classes of people must be abolished.
- Answers will vary but students may mention the lack of incentive to work that accompanies a lack of economic incentive, the possibilities of corruption in a government that controls all the means of produc-