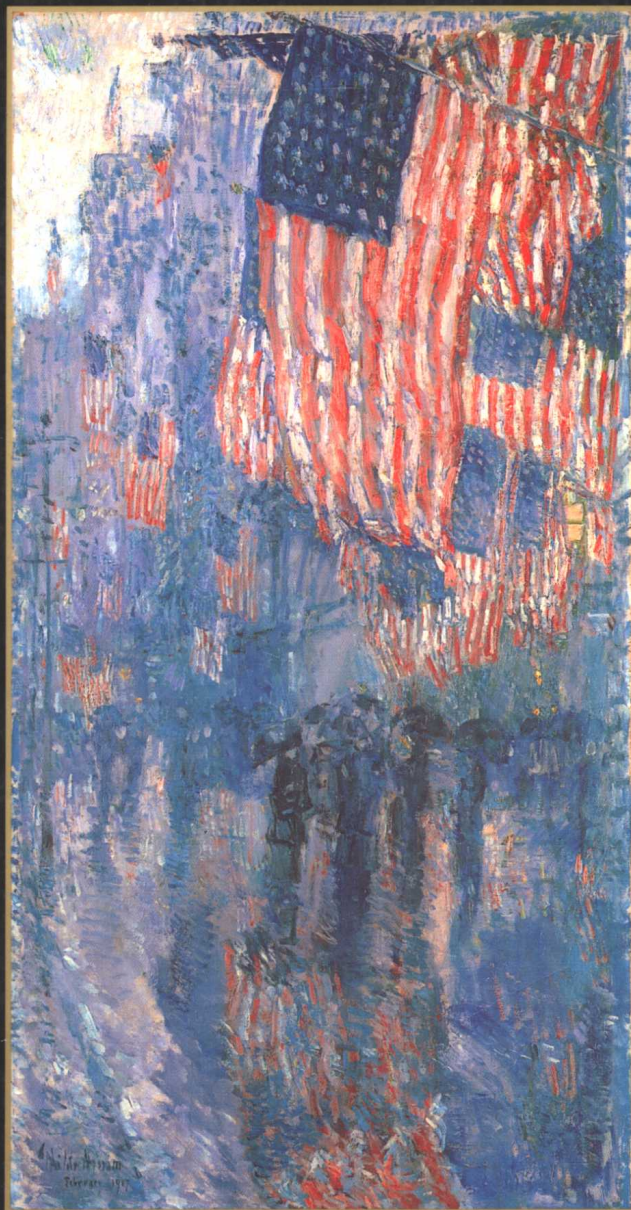


KAREN O'CONNOR ★ LARRY J. SABATO



# AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

1999 EDITION

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

# American Government

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

1999 EDITION

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KAREN O'CONNOR

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*To my Government 101 students  
over the years, who all know that  
"politics is a good thing"*

LARRY SABATO

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# Preface

---

Teaching introductory American government today requires special skills, sensitivity, and adaptability that many of us have only recently been forced to learn during the 1990s, as different movements and groups manifested a variety of attitudes toward their political leaders and even toward the political process itself. In 1992, we experienced the so-called “Year of the Woman” and the election of the first Democratic president in twelve years. While Bill Clinton’s campaign operatives focused their message on the state of the economy, some pundits proclaimed the cardinal campaign principle of that election to be, “It’s abortion, Stupid,” as women voters turned out in force to cast their votes for women candidates (most of whom were Democrats) and for Clinton. Studies showed that these voters were angry about a series of House banking scandals, the all-male Senate Judiciary Committee’s treatment of Anita Hill during the Clarence Thomas hearings, and the specter of a conservative Supreme Court overruling *Roe v. Wade*. The nation watched the Thomas hearings on television and couldn’t believe the manner in which the elected officials were conducting themselves and the country’s business.

By 1994, however, the mood of the nation appeared to undergo a sea change. Women voters, lulled into believing that the right to abortion was secure and that the women legislators they had elected would act on their behalf, stayed home from the polls in record numbers. At the same time, those whom pundits nicknamed “Angry White Males” voted—and voted overwhelmingly Republican—ushering in the first Republican Congress in over a decade. These angry voters were perceived to want less government, particularly at the national level, and Republican lawmakers in Congress tried to respond as they sought to enact the varied proposals for sweeping governmental reform contained in what they termed their “Contract with America.”

This return to divided government brought with it many changes in the way the national government operates. The swearing in of the Republican Congress also appeared to trigger a change in the way politics operated in Washington, D.C. Conciliation was out; confrontation was in. The anger of many American voters was often echoed in the halls of Congress where civility was no longer was a cherished virtue. Much of this rancor was duly, even gleefully reported by the press and members of the mass media. Whether on call-in radio talk shows or from television newsdesks, the tone and subject of American political discourse changed.

This change in our political discourse—immensely intensified by a President who admitted to engaging in sexual relations with a White House intern in the Oval Office and by a Special Prosecutor’s report excruciatingly describing the intimate details of



their encounters—has led many of those who were angry in 1994 to become simply disgusted by 1999.

Thus, in less than a decade, our perceptions of politics, the role of the media, and the utility of voting appear to have undergone tremendous change. Over the last three editions, this text has tried diligently to reflect those changes and to present information about politics in a manner that will actively engage students—many of whom have little interest in politics when they come into the classroom. In this edition, we try to build on a solid, tried-and-true base and at the same time to present information about how politics now seems to be changing at an ever more rapid pace. Thus, we present new information that we hope will whet students' appetites to learn more about politics while providing them with all of the information they need to make informed decisions about their government, politics, and politicians. We very much want our students to make such decisions. We very much want them to *participate*. Our goal with this text is to transmit just this sort of practical, useful information while creating and fostering student interest in American politics despite growing national skepticism about government and government officials at all levels. In fact, we hope that this new edition of our text will explain the national mood about politics and put it in better context for students to understand their important role in a changing America.



## WHAT'S CHANGED?

In this 1999 edition of *American Government: Continuity and Change*, we have retained our basic approach to the study of politics as one of bedrock constants yet continual change. Recent changes in voter perceptions—from anger and frustration at government to alarm or apathy are chronicled throughout every chapter. Since the last edition of this text, the president admitted to sexual misconduct in the White House, the nation's fascination with the O.J. Simpson trial was replaced by nightly television programs including "White House in Crisis," and some cable networks nearly became "All Monica TV." The Monica and Bill story has not been the only change. We could have never predicted how the use of the Internet would have so quickly changed the political landscape. Reports about the "White House intern" and the Linda Tripp tapes first appeared on-line; the 400-plus page Starr Report and the White House rebuttal were instantaneously released on the Internet (ironically by a Congress otherwise devoted to keeping pornography off the Internet), candidates and political parties all have web pages and information about government and politics is now much more accessible than ever before. These changes are reflected in our updating and rewriting of several chapters including a completely reorganized chapter on Interest Group Politics.

This new edition of the book also discusses our continuing national debate about campaign finance reform, economic and politics changes in Russia and Japan, and the ramifications of welfare reform and Pakistan's nuclear testing.



## APPROACH

We believe that one cannot fully understand the actions, issues, and policy decisions facing the U.S. government, its constituent states, or "the people" unless these issues are examined from the perspective of how they

have evolved over time. Consequently, the title of this book is *American Government: Continuity and Change*. In its pages we try to examine how the United States is governed today by looking not just at present behavior but also at the Framers' intentions and how they have been implemented and adapted over the years. For example, we believe that it is critical to an understanding of the role of political parties in the United States to understand the Framers' fears of factionalism, how parties evolved, and when and why realignments in party identification occurred.

In addition to questions raised by the Framers, we explore issues that the Framers could never have envisioned, and how the basic institutions of government have changed in responding to these new demands. For instance, no one more than two centuries ago could have foreseen election campaigns in an age when nearly all American homes contain television sets, and the Internet and fax machines allow instant access to information. Moreover, increasing citizen demands and expectations have routinely forced government reforms, making an understanding of the dynamics of change essential for introductory students.

Our overriding concern is that students understand their government as it exists today, so that they may become better citizens and make better choices. In spite of current voter apathy, we believe that by providing students with information about government, explaining why it is important, and why their participation counts, students will come to see that politics can be a good thing.

To understand their government at all levels, students must understand how it was designed in the Constitution. Each chapter, therefore, approaches its topic from a combination of perspectives which we believe will facilitate this approach. In writing this book, we chose to put the institutions of government (Part Two) before political behavior (Part Three). Both sections, however, were written independently, making them easy to switch for those who prefer to teach about the actors in government and elections before discussing its institutions. To test the book, each of us has taught from it in both orders, with no pedagogical problems.



## FEATURES

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### ■ Historical Perspective

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Every chapter uses history to serve three purposes: first, to show how institutions and processes have evolved to their present states; second, to provide some of the color that makes information memorable; and third, to provide students with a more thorough appreciation that government was born amid burning issues of representation and power, issues that continue to smolder today. A richer historical texture helps to explain the present.

### ■ Comparative Perspective

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Changes in the Japanese economy, Russia, Eastern Europe, North America, and Asia all remind us of the preeminence of democracy, in theory if not always in fact. As new democratic experiments spring up around the globe, it becomes increasingly important for students to understand the rudiments of presidential versus parliamentary government, of multiparty versus two-party systems, and so on. To put American government

in perspective, we continue to draw comparisons with Great Britain. We also draw comparisons with our North American neighbors—Canada and Mexico—in “North–South” features throughout the text.

## ■ Enhanced Pedagogy

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We have revised and enhanced many pedagogical features to help students become stronger political thinkers and to echo the book’s theme of evolving change.

**Preview and Review.** To pique student interest and draw them into each chapter, we now begin each chapter with a contemporary vignette. Each vignette is followed by a bridge paragraph linking the vignette with the chapter’s topics and a roadmap previewing the chapter’s major headings. Chapter Summaries, too, have been more logically restructured to restate the major points made under each of these same major headings.

**Key Terms.** Glossary definitions are now included in the margins of the text for all boldfaced key terms. Key terms are listed once more at the end of each chapter, with page references for review and study.

**Special Features.** Each chapter contains several boxed features in keeping with its theme of continuity and change:

- *Roots of Government* boxes highlight the role that a particular institution, process, or person has played in the course of American politics as it has evolved to the present.
- *North–South* boxes provide comparative insights on various institutions and processes in our closest neighbors—Canada and Mexico.
- *Politics Now* boxes act as a counterpoint to the text’s traditional focus on “roots.” Based on current clippings, editorials, and moments in time, these boxes are designed to encourage students to think about current issues in the context of the continuing evolution of the American political system.
- *Highlight* boxes provide additional tidbits of information outside the stream of the text discussion.
- A section entitled *Changing . . .* concludes each chapter, tying in with the book’s theme of change in America and focusing on the possibilities of governmental, institutional, and citizen reform. In considering the role of the individual citizen, we hope to encourage students to reassess their roles in the political system and to explore ways to become more informed members of the electorate.



## THE ANCILLARY PACKAGE

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The ancillary package for *American Government: Continuity and Change*, 1999 Edition, reflects the pedagogical goals of the text: to provide information in a useful context and with colorful examples. We have tried especially hard to provide materials that are useful for instructors and helpful to students.





## FOR INSTRUCTORS

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- *Instructor's Manual* The Instructor's Manual includes lecture ideas, discussion questions, classroom activities, and a guide to video and other resources.
- *Test Bank* Completely revised and expanded, the test bank provides more than 2,000 multiple choice, true/false and essay questions. A Computerized Test Bank in IBM (DOS or Windows) or Macintosh formats is also available.
- *Transparencies* A full set of over 50 color transparencies, including maps, charts, and diagrams is available for classroom use.
- *Power Point Presentation (IBM)* A set of over 200 power point slides provides instructors with ready made lecture outlines, visuals for use in class presentation, and a medium which they can adapt to suit their specific teaching needs.
- *Interactive Edition User's Guide* This user's guide accompanies the Interactive Edition of the text, *available in the summer of 1999*, and provides helpful hints for getting the most out of the multimedia assets—audio, video, weblinks, practice tests, and more—housed on the CD-ROM.
- *Allyn and Bacon Interactive Video for American Government* Organized to complement each chapter of the text, this 90-minute videotape provides over 25 important political “stories” that students will find informative and interesting. Meant to initiate useful class discussions, these video stories are followed by an expertly conceived series of questions that require students to think critically about controversial issues, weigh information carefully before taking a position, and understand why different people may hold different views on a given topic.
- *Video Library* Those who adopt the text can choose from a wide range of videos on every major course topic.



## FOR THE STUDENT

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- *Study Guide* A study guide for students is available that includes chapter synopses, outlines, key terms, and multiple choice, true/false, and matching questions with answers.
- *Practice Tests* Free Practice Tests are available to allow students to check their mastery of the material and to get in the habit of taking tests for this course.
- *Allyn and Bacon Quick Guide to the Internet for Political Science* This guide gives students handy advice on how to use the resources available on the World Wide Web to get information for tests, research papers, and other class-related projects, and it includes a wide range of URLs for sites pertaining to a broad variety of political topics.
- *Ten Things That Every American Government Student Should Read* A concise, **free** collection of readings that represent the most commonly assigned primary documents and academic writings to supplement the text.
- *American Government: Readings and Cases* Available at a reduced price when packaged with the text, this full-scale reader will appeal to instructors who want

to assign a broad range of materials to supplement the textbook. This collection combines classic articles and documents with some of the best current political science articles and landmark cases. Helpful pedagogy includes chapter introductions and end-of-chapter critical thinking questions.

- *Interactive Study Guide* The interactive study guide includes questions, key terms, various exercises and more on easy-to-use diskettes (Windows only).
- *Website: "Participate,"* a book-related website, gives students access to a broad variety of political information and course-specific resources on line.
- *Interactive Edition* Coming in the summer of 1999 and available **free** with the book, this CD-ROM contains the entire text, enhanced with valuable multimedia assets. As students read the assigned material, they can also access contextualized links to important and relevant websites on the World Wide Web, watch lively video clips that flesh out various issues and topics, hear audio recordings of the text authors discussing particularly critical or timely issues, and check their mastery of the material by taking on-line "practice tests." This CD also includes a number of "Updates," which provide students access to coverage of late-breaking news of key stories and will allow the text to remain current after publication.



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# Brief Contents

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## PART ONE

### FOUNDATIONS OF GOVERNMENT

---

<i>1</i>	The Political Landscape	2
<i>2</i>	The Constitution	40
<i>3</i>	Federalism	78
<i>4</i>	State and Local Government	110
<i>5</i>	Civil Liberties	146
<i>6</i>	Civil Rights	190

## PART TWO

### INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT

---

<i>7</i>	Congress	232
<i>8</i>	The Presidency	290
<i>9</i>	The Bureaucracy	336
<i>10</i>	The Judiciary	370

## PART THREE

### POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

---

<i>11</i>	Public Opinion and Political Socialization	422
<i>12</i>	Political Parties	460
<i>13</i>	Voting and Elections	510
<i>14</i>	The Campaign Process	556
<i>15</i>	The News Media	594
<i>16</i>	Interest Groups	626

## PART FOUR

### PUBLIC POLICY

---

<i>17</i>	Social Welfare Policy	662
<i>18</i>	Economic Policy	710
<i>19</i>	Foreign and Military Policy	758

### Appendices

---

I	The Declaration of Independence	807
II	The Constitution of the United States of America	810
III	<i>The Federalist</i> No. 10	821
IV	<i>The Federalist</i> No. 51	826
V	Presidents, Congresses, and Chief Justices: 1789–1996	829

Glossary	833
----------	-----

Index	841
-------	-----



# Contents

---

Preface

xv

## PART ONE

## FOUNDATIONS OF GOVERNMENT

---

### CHAPTER 1

#### The Political Landscape

2

#### THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT: WHERE DID THE IDEAS COME FROM?

7

From Aristotle to the Enlightenment

7

A Growing Idea: Popular Consent

7

#### ■ HIGHLIGHT 1.1

*Taking Government for Granted*

8

#### ■ ROOTS OF GOVERNMENT

*The Philosophies of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke*

10

Devising a National Government

11

The Theory of Democratic Government

11

#### ■ POLITICS NOW

*The Electronic Democracy?*

12

Why a Capitalist System?

14

#### ■ HIGHLIGHT 1.2

*Other Economic Systems*

15

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

16

Popular Consent

16

Popular Sovereignty

16

Majority Rule

16

#### ■ HIGHLIGHT 1.3

*Who Makes Decisions in America?*

17

Individualism

18

Equality

18

Personal Liberty

18

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

19

Size and Population

19

Changing Demographics of the U.S. Population

20

Implications of Racial, Ethnic, and Generational  
Change

23

Ideology of the American Public

26

#### POLITICAL CULTURE, FRUSTRATION, AND THE DISAFFECTED PUBLIC

28

Why Has American Frustration with Government Turned  
to Apathy and Even Disgust?

29

#### ■ NORTH—SOUTH

31

#### CHANGING AMERICA

35

#### SUMMARY

36

#### KEY TERMS

37

#### SELECTED READINGS

38

#### NOTES

38

### CHAPTER 2

#### The Constitution

40

#### THE ORIGINS OF A NEW NATION

43

Trade and Taxation

44

#### ■ ROOTS OF GOVERNMENT

*Samuel Adams*

45

First Steps Toward Independence

45

The First Continental Congress

47

The Second Continental Congress

47

#### THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

48

A Theoretical Basis for a New Government

48

<b>THE FIRST ATTEMPT AT GOVERNMENT: THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>THE EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF FEDERALISM</b>	<b>89</b>
Problems Under the Articles of Confederation	50	Dual Federalism	90
<b>THE MIRACLE AT PHILADELPHIA: WRITING A CONSTITUTION</b>	<b>51</b>	■ <b>HIGHLIGHT 3.1</b>	
The Framers	52	<i>Dred Scott</i>	91
The Virginia and New Jersey Plans	52	The Civil War and Beyond	91
■ <b>HIGHLIGHT 2.1</b>		Cooperative Federalism	92
<i>The Motives of the Framers</i>	53	Creative Federalism	95
The Great Compromise	53	■ <b>HIGHLIGHT 3.2</b>	
The Constitution and the Presidency	54	<i>Forcing a National Alcohol Policy</i>	96
<b>THE U.S. CONSTITUTION</b>	<b>55</b>	New Federalism	97
The Basic Principles of the Constitution	56	The Republican Congress—Federalism Realigned?	98
The Articles of the Constitution	59	<b>THE CHANGING NATURE OF FEDERALISM</b>	<b>101</b>
■ <b>HIGHLIGHT 2.2</b>		Federalism and the Supreme Court	101
<i>The Constitutional Power to Coin Money</i>	60	■ <b>NORTH—SOUTH</b>	<b>102</b>
<b>THE DRIVE FOR RATIFICATION</b>	<b>62</b>	More Changes to Come?	105
Federalist Versus Anti-Federalists	63	■ <b>HIGHLIGHT 3.3</b>	
<b>AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION</b>	<b>66</b>	<i>The Intergovernmental Lobby</i>	106
The Formal Amendment Process	67	<b>SUMMARY</b>	<b>107</b>
■ <b>HIGHLIGHT 2.3</b>		<b>KEY TERMS</b>	<b>108</b>
<i>The Twenty-Seventh (Madison) Amendment</i>	69	<b>SELECTED READINGS</b>	<b>108</b>
■ <b>POLITICS NOW</b>		<b>NOTES</b>	<b>109</b>
<i>Amending the Constitution</i>	71		
<b>THE CONSTITUTION IN A CHANGING AMERICA</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>CHAPTER 4</b>	
■ <b>NORTH—SOUTH</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>State and Local Government</b>	<b>110</b>
Judicial Interpretation	73		
Social and Cultural Change	74	<b>GRASSROOTS POWER AND POLITICS</b>	<b>113</b>
<b>SUMMARY</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>CONSTITUTIONS AND TREATIES</b>	<b>115</b>
<b>KEY TERMS</b>	<b>75</b>	State Constitutions	115
<b>SELECTED READINGS</b>	<b>76</b>	■ <b>POLITICS NOW</b>	
<b>NOTES</b>	<b>76</b>	<i>School Choice</i>	116
		■ <b>ROOTS OF GOVERNMENT</b>	
		<i>The Northwest Ordinance of 1787</i>	117
		■ <b>HIGHLIGHT 4.1</b>	
		<i>The Hawaiian Constitution—A Special Case</i>	119
<b>CHAPTER 3</b>		Indian Treaties and Constitutions	119
<b>Federalism</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>STATE GOVERNMENTS</b>	<b>121</b>
<b>THE ROOTS OF FEDERALISM</b>	<b>82</b>	Governors	121
<b>THE POWERS OF GOVERNMENT IN THE FEDERAL SYSTEM</b>	<b>84</b>	State Legislatures	123
■ <b>ROOTS OF GOVERNMENT</b>		State Courts	126
<i>U.S. Citizenship Rights and the Franchise</i>	85	Elections	129
Denied Powers	86	Direct Democracy	131
Guarantees to the States	86	<b>LOCAL GOVERNMENTS</b>	<b>132</b>
Relations Among the States	87	Charters	133
■ <b>POLITICS NOW</b>		Types of Local Governments	134
<i>Gay Marriages: Does "Full Faith and Credit" Apply?</i>	88	Executives and Legislatures	136

■ <b>HIGHLIGHT 4.2</b>			
<i>Pete Wilson, Mayor of San Diego</i>	138	The Eighth Amendment and Cruel and Unusual Punishment	176
<b>FINANCES</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY</b>	<b>178</b>
<b>CHANGING STATE, TRIBAL, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS</b>	<b>140</b>	Birth Control	178
■ <b>NORTH—SOUTH</b>	<b>141</b>	Abortion	179
<b>SUMMARY</b>	<b>142</b>	Homosexuality	181
<b>KEY TERMS</b>	<b>144</b>	The Right to Die	182
<b>SUGGESTED READINGS</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>CHANGING NOTIONS OF CIVIL LIBERTIES</b>	<b>184</b>
<b>NOTES</b>	<b>144</b>	The Christian Coalition and Civil Liberties	184
		<b>SUMMARY</b>	<b>185</b>
		<b>KEY TERMS</b>	<b>187</b>
		<b>SUGGESTED READINGS</b>	<b>187</b>
		<b>NOTES</b>	<b>187</b>
<b>CHAPTER 5</b>		<b>CHAPTER 6</b>	
<b>Civil Liberties</b>	<b>146</b>	<b>Civil Rights</b>	<b>190</b>
<b>THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS: THE BILL OF RIGHTS</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>SLAVERY, ABOLITION, AND WINNING THE RIGHT TO VOTE, 1800–90</b>	<b>193</b>
The Incorporation Doctrine: The Bill of Rights Made Applicable to the States	149	Slavery and Congress	193
Selective Incorporation and Fundamental Freedoms	150	The Abolitionist Movement: The First Civil Rights Movement	194
<b>FIRST AMENDMENT GUARANTEES: FREEDOM OF RELIGION</b>	<b>152</b>	■ <b>ROOTS OF GOVERNMENT</b>	
The Establishment Clause	153	<i>Frederick Douglass</i>	195
■ <b>HIGHLIGHT 5.1</b>		The Civil War and Its Aftermath: Civil Rights Laws and Constitutional Amendments	196
<i>Praying for Justice?</i>	154	■ <b>POLITICS NOW</b>	
The Free Exercise Clause	155	<i>The Thirteenth Amendment Revisited</i>	197
■ <b>HIGHLIGHT 5.2</b>		Civil Rights and the Supreme Court	198
<i>The American Civil Liberties Union: Protector of First Amendment Rights</i>	156	■ <b>HIGHLIGHT 6.1</b>	
<b>FIRST AMENDMENT GUARANTEES: FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PRESS</b>	<b>158</b>	<i>Who Was Jim Crow?</i>	199
Attempts to Limit Speech	159	<b>THE PUSH FOR EQUALITY, 1890–1954</b>	<b>200</b>
■ <b>NORTH—SOUTH</b>	<b>160</b>	The Founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	201
What Types of Speech Are Protected	164	Key Women's Groups	202
■ <b>HIGHLIGHT 5.3</b>		Litigating for Equality	204
<i>The Porn Police</i>	165	■ <b>HIGHLIGHT 6.2</b>	
■ <b>POLITICS NOW</b>		<i>Why It's Called Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas</i>	207
<i>Motherhood, Apple Pie, and the Flag</i>	167	<b>THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT</b>	<b>208</b>
<b>THE RIGHTS OF CRIMINAL DEFENDANTS AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM</b>	<b>168</b>	School Desegregation After <i>Brown</i>	208
■ <b>ROOTS OF GOVERNMENT</b>		A New Move for African-American Rights	208
<i>The Second Amendment and the Right to Bear Arms</i>	169	Formation of New Groups	209
The Fourth Amendment and Searches and Seizures	171	The Civil Rights Act of 1964	210
The Fifth Amendment and Self-Incrimination	172	■ <b>HIGHLIGHT 6.3</b>	
The Fourth Amendment and the Exclusionary Rule	173	<i>The Voting Rights Act of 1965 and Its Effect</i>	212
The Sixth Amendment and the Right to Counsel	174	The Impact of the Civil Rights Act of 1964	212
The Sixth Amendment and Jury Trials	175		