



*After the illustration by J. Wood*

## Introduction to American Government

POLS 1101

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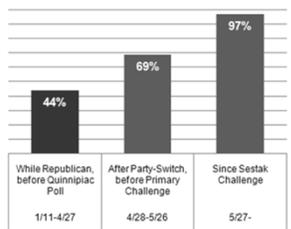
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Syllabus is on the website.

## News

**Arlen Specter: Democratic Loyalty Scores on Contentious Votes**



"In the first month or so after becoming a Democrat, Specter was voting with his new party about two-thirds of the time on these Contentious Votes. While there are some less loyal Democrats -- say, Ben Nelson of Nebraska -- who only vote with their party about half the time, this was certainly less than what most Democratic observers were hoping for. But since then, indeed, something has changed. Well, a couple of things have changed. On May 27th, Congressman Joe Sestak announced that he intended to challenge Specter for the Democratic nomination. And since that time, Specter has voted with his party on 28 out of 29 Contentious Votes, or 97 percent of the time." -- [fivethirtyeight.com](http://fivethirtyeight.com), 7/25/2009

## Timeline

- 1754 – 1763 – French and Indian War
- 1765 – Stamp Act
- 1770 – Boston Massacre
- 1773 – Boston Tea Party
- 1774 – First Continental Congress
- 1775 – Coercive Acts
- 1775 – Concord
- 1775 – Prohibitory Act
- 1776 – Declaration signed
- 1776 – Common Sense published
- 1777 – Washington crosses the Delaware
- 1778 – French Alliance formed
- 1781 – Battle of Yorktown
- 1781 – Articles of the Confederation Signed
- 1784 – Treaty of Paris ratified
- 1786-1787 – Shays' Rebellion
- 1786 – Annapolis Convention
- 1787 – Constitutional Convention
- 1788 – Constitution Ratified
- 2009 – Prof. Madonna takes wife on romantic vacation to see Liberty Bell, is frequently reminded that his brother-in-law took his sister-in-law to the Caribbean



### The Founders...



**Washington:** mediocre general, prudent leader, great imagery, walked away when most thought he would not.

### The Founders...



**Adams:** "real", excellent policy-mind, tireless worker, emotional, mediocre politically

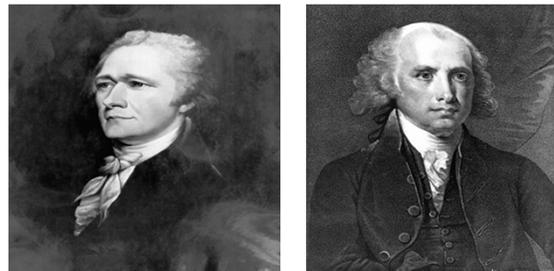
**Jefferson:** excellent politically, brilliant writer, inconsistent implementer of policy, mediocre leader, poor businessman

### The Founders...



**Franklin:** The "American", respected scientifically as well as politically, very astute politically, great writer, opposed to slavery, getting older...

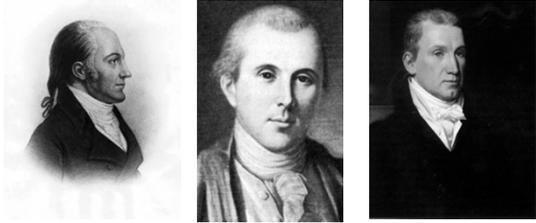
### The Founders...



**Hamilton:** The "money man", excellent policy-mind, inspiring upbringing, inferiority complex, politically rash

**Madison:** Political mastermind, mediocre President, greater writer, savvy predictor; "if god was in the details, Madison was there to meet him at the door."

## The Founders...



Burr, Rush, Monroe...One of them is almost always there.

## Preface to the Constitution

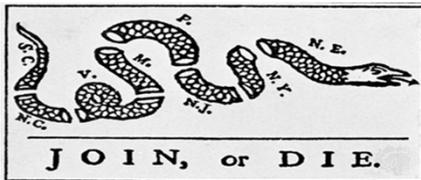
1780 was a disaster for the American military.

Deteriorating morale stemmed from a lack of adequate funds and provisions. Decisions required the approval of ALL state governments. Forces had shrunk from 26,000 to 15,000; General Benedict Arnold switched sides

The revolution was a *collective action problem* and states would *free-ride* – agree to contribute, but not in a timely manner.



## Preface to the Constitution



The Continental Congress:

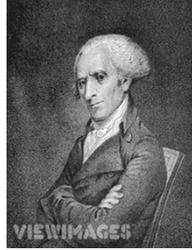
- Lacked decision-making authority. Decisions of consequence had to be approved by all state governments
  - Could not even get available supplies to troops
  - Could not compel states to contribute resources when needed
  - National government could not coordinate the states' actions
- General Washington urged for more government control of efforts

## Preface to the Constitution



Collective action problem partially overcome with outside help: Additional support and money came from France (self-interest in defeating and humiliating its long-time enemy) and helped end the war officially in 1783; Battle of Yorktown 1781. Elite sharpshooting by Mel Gibson also played a pronounced role.

## The Road to Independence



Victory was by no means guaranteed:

"I shall have a great advantage over you, Mr. Gerry, when we are all hung for what we are doing now. From the size and weight of my body I shall die in a few minutes, but from the lightness of your body you will dance in the air an hour or two before you are dead." – Benjamin Harrison, Virginia (quoted in *Ellis*).

## The Road to Independence

Why was America so well suited to be the first nation to break with monarchy and embrace republicanism?

### Geography

- Distance limited Britain's capacity to govern the colonies. It also made war costly and difficult.

### Home rule

- The British had ceded to Americans responsibility for managing their own domestic affairs, including taxation. For more than a century colonists elected their own leaders and held them accountable for local policies and taxes.



## Self-Governance

By 1650 all of the colonies had established elective assemblies.

These eventually gained the authority to initiate laws and levy taxes.

Britain appointed governors, judges, colonial councils.

- Their pay was tied to the assemblies.
- Subsequently, they often accommodated popular opinion.



## Home Rule Limitations

Their limited home rule did have some disadvantages.

- No experience regulating commerce.
- No independent military.
- Little experience in foreign relations.
- Little experience working together.



## Strains Upon Home Rule



Military conflict in the 1750s (French and Indian War/Seven Years' War) drained Britain economically.

To get the tax revenues it needed, Britain had to assert its power to impose taxes.

## Stamp Act



The most aggressive of these tax acts was the passage of the Stamp Act (1765).

Imposed a tax on all printed materials, including legal documents, licenses, insurance papers, and land titles. It also included commercial goods such as newspapers and playing cards.

This tax had existed in Britain, but Americans were inflamed by its introduction.

Americans had paid taxes before, but they were local and service-oriented.

## Stamp Act

Colonial assemblies passed resolutions demanding repeal of the tax: "no taxation without representation"

Assemblies sent delegates to a national conference (the Stamp Act Congress) to draft a unified response.

Colonists responded with:

- boycotts
- Boston Tea Party (1773)
- Sons and Daughters of Liberty



## The First Continental Congress

Escalation: Britain responded with the Restraining Acts and Coercive Acts:

- closed the port of Boston to all commerce
- dissolved the Massachusetts assembly
- decreed troops could be quartered in colonial homes
- provided that Americans charged with crimes against Britain would be sent to England for trial



The other colonies were aware of the situation and met in late 1774 in Philadelphia for what became the First Continental Congress.

Continental Congress passed resolutions condemning British taxes and administrative decrees.

Appointed delegates to the Second Continental Congress.

## News



For the first time in history, more than half the members of the House and Senate are millionaires, OpenSecrets found. "Of 534 current members of Congress, at least 268 had an average net worth of \$1 million or more in 2012... The median net worth for the 530 current lawmakers who were in Congress as of the May filing deadline was \$1,008,767 -- an increase from last year when it was \$966,000."

December 20, 2012 -- It was the second time this month that former Sen. Bob Dole has visited his old haunt. Earlier in December, the 89-year-old Kansas Republican came to the Senate floor in a wheelchair to implore his colleagues to vote for a United Nations disability rights treaty. On Thursday afternoon, he walked half the length of the Rotunda and back to say goodbye to an old friend. Senator Daniel Inouye (D-HA), the second-longest-serving senator in history, died Monday at the age of 88. He will lie in state at the center of the Rotunda, his casket draped with the American flag, until Friday morning, when he will be transported for another service at the National Cathedral. His storied relationship with Dole is well-known. The two men met in a Michigan army hospital, where they were both recovering from injuries sustained during World War II, and they went on to serve side by side in Congress for just less than three decades. Dole was assisted to Inouye's casket as the late senators' body lay in state in the Capitol, saying "I wouldn't want Danny to see me in a wheelchair."



## The Second Continental Congress



By the time the Second Continental Congress met (Spring 1775), war had broken out:

- Battles of Lexington and Concord

There was a need for coordination and the Continental Congress had to become the national government in order to respond to the events of war.

- They quickly instructed the conventions to reconstitute themselves as state governments based on republican principles.
- Using their former colonial governments as models, most states adopted **bicameral legislatures**, and all created governorships. They issued the nation's first bonds and established a national currency.



## The Declaration of Independence

January 1776: Thomas Paine publishes over 120,000 copies of "Common Sense"; independence had not been considered seriously earlier on.

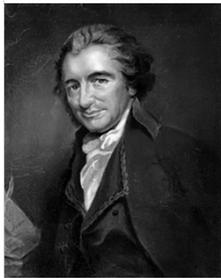
- *First piece to openly ask for independence*
- *An island can not rule a continent*

In June 1776 Virginia delegate Richard Henry Lee called for creation of a new nation separate from Britain.

A number of Jefferson's listed grievances were removed:

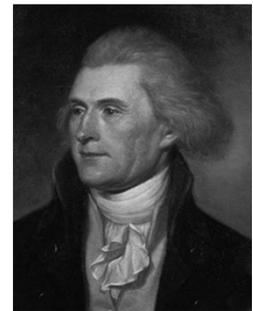
- *condemnation of slavery offended slave-owning southern delegates*

In a solemn ceremony on July 4, 1776, each member of the Second Continental Congress signed the document.

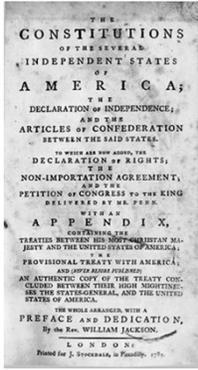


## The Declaration of Independence

*We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government....*



## The Articles of Confederation



With independence need to create a new government (the Articles of Confederation); Articles de facto constitution until its ratification in 1781.

The first government was a confederation—a highly decentralized governmental system in which the national government derives limited authority from the states rather than directly from the citizenry.

The Articles transferred power from the Continental Congress to the new, permanent Congress.

## The Articles of Confederation

Provisions of the Articles:

- major laws—such as those dealing with taxes and constitutional change—required the endorsement of nine of the thirteen states
- more fundamental change, such as amending the Constitution, required unanimous agreement
- national authority was so circumscribed that the delegates saw little purpose for an executive or a judiciary



Delegates sought to replicate home rule they had lost.

## The Confederation At War



Many difficulties during the war:

- The states chiefly responsible for recruiting troops and outfitting them for battle.
- Congress attempted to coordinate the state regiments into a single fighting force.
- Could borrow money, but could not tax.
- No administrative branch; so Congress had to do all the work, including requisitioning the army.

## The Confederation During Peace

After the war the nation faced new perils and questions as to its survival:

- a war-torn economy (debt national, purse strings with the states; unwilling to share import duties)
- trade barriers at home and abroad (all matters of commerce reserved to the states; can't negotiate trade agreements)
- mounting debt (currency one tenth of prewar value; states have their own currencies leading to widely fluctuating exchange rates)
- popular discontent (Shays's Rebellion) demonstrates that confederation can't even perform the most basic function of government – keeping the peace



Initial call for a Constitutional Convention in Annapolis fails.

## Drafting The Constitution



The fifty-five delegates meeting in Philadelphia in 1787 were able to draw from their Revolutionary War experience.

- Most expected limited change
- Youngish (average age of 42), well-educated, white, and male.
- They were also highly conversant in the ideas and theories that abounded during the Age of Reason.



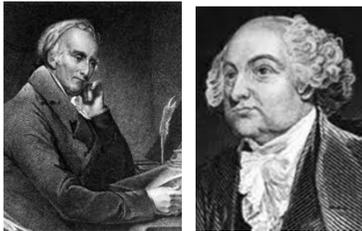
"Few gatherings in the history of this or any other country could boast such a concentration of talent." – Melvin I. Urofsky

## The Constitution



"Made not merely for the generation that then existed, but for posterity – unlimited, undefined, endless, perpetual posterity." – Henry Clay

## Drafting The Constitution



Talented group, but not without limitations and flaws...

"I shall continue to believe that 'great men' are a lie and that there is very little difference in that superstition which leads us to believe in what the world calls 'great men' and in that which leads us to believe in witches and conjurers." – Benjamin Rush, to John Adams

## Philosophical Influence



Locke (1632-1704) – popular sovereignty. Citizen's delegation of authority to their agents in government with the ability to rescind that authority.

Newton (1642-1727) – force and balance. laws of physical reactions offered an analogue to social relations

Montesquieu (1689-1755) – separation of powers, superiority of small republics.

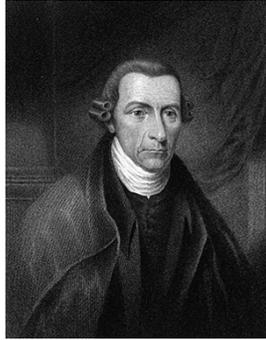
Hume (1711-1776) – Competition of contending interests.



## Getting Down to Business

Most delegates were oblivious to the types of sweeping changes that would be proposed by Madison and his allies.

“I smelled a rat.” – Patrick Henry



## The Virginia Plan

This plan, introduced by Edmund Randolph, also from Virginia, shifted the focus of deliberation from patching up the confederation to considering what was required to create a national union.

Its centerpiece was a bicameral legislature.

Members of the lower chamber apportioned among the states by population and directly elected.

Lower chamber would elect members of the upper chamber from lists generated by the state legislatures. It would also elect the executive and judiciary.



Also stipulated that the national government could make whatever laws it deemed appropriate and veto any state laws it regarded as unfit.

If a state failed to fulfill its legal obligation the national government could use military force against it.

## The Virginia Plan

Many saw this legislature as too powerful, although Madison had incorporated a check on its power.

- The Council of Revision.

Opposition grew toward the Virginia Plan from two directions:

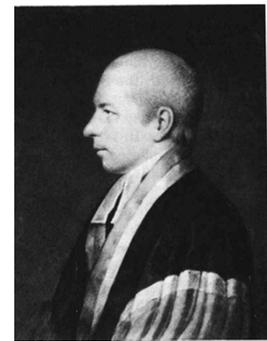
- Less-populous states.
- States' rights delegates.



## The New Jersey Plan

“Great idea, Jim...But...”

These two groups coalesced around an alternative proposed by New Jersey delegate William Paterson in response to the Virginia Plan.



## The New Jersey Plan



Given its quick creation, it had its own faults: it failed to propose the organization of the executive and judiciary.

It perpetuated the composition and selection of Congress as it functioned under the Articles, but it did give Congress the power to tax.

Debate continued, however, as neither side was happy with the options given by their opponents for the composition of Congress.

Stalemate loomed after weeks of debate and numerous plans were defeated. Finally, a tie vote on a proposal allows the delegates to send the question of Congress to a committee to resolve.

## Great Compromise

<u>Item</u>	<u>Virginia Plan</u>	<u>New Jersey Plan</u>	<u>Constitution</u>
<b>Legislature</b>	Two Houses	One House	Two Houses
<b>Legislative representation</b>	Both houses based on population	Equal for each state	One house based on population; one with two votes from each state
<b>Legislative power</b>	Veto authority over state legislation	Authority to levy taxes and regulate commerce	Authority to levy taxes and regulate commerce; authority to compel state compliance
<b>Executive</b>	Single; elected by legislature for a single term	Plural; removable by majority of state legislatures	Single; chosen by electoral college; removal by national legislature
<b>Courts</b>	National judiciary elected by legislature	No provision	Supreme Court appointed by executive, confirmed by Senate

## The Great Compromise

Each side got one of the two legislative chambers fashioned to its liking:

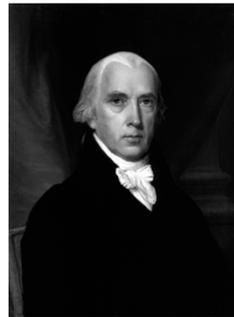
- The upper chamber (Senate) would be composed of two delegates sent from each state legislature who would serve a six-year term
- Madison's population-based, elective legislature became the House of Representatives and as an extra compromise to appease Madison's nationalists, House has sole authority to originate revenue legislation
- Unanimity replaced by a rule allowing a majority of the membership to pass legislation

Article 1, Section 8 extended the authority of the national legislature.

- commerce clause (Clause 3)
- necessary and proper clause (Clause 18)



## The Great Compromise



Given the compromise, why wasn't Madison happy?

- If the state legislatures could corrupt the entire Congress through their hold on the Senate, they also could corrupt the entire national government through Congress's power to select the offices of the other branches.
- **NEED FOR INSULATION** to contain the Senate's effort to subvert national policy.

Madison argues for a separation of powers between the branches, i.e. an executive and judiciary that are independent from each other and especially from the legislature (checks and balances!)

## Washington Post/Monkey Cage

**WaPo/Monkey Cage:** In June 2015, the Obama administration announced new rules requiring overtime pay for workers who make less than \$50,440 a year. Roll Call reports that while more than half of congressional staffers would be eligible for overtime under these new rules, many may be excluded. While undoubtedly disappointing to many staffers who routinely work 50 to 60-plus hour weeks, it is certainly not surprising. Professional staffers decisively support Congress, but the modern Congress rarely returns the favor.



Staffers handle most of the basic tasks of lawmaking: research, scheduling, communications, speech writing, writing legislation language, and even negotiation. Former senator Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) often quipped that “senators were a constitutional impediment to the smooth functioning of staff.”

Congress itself determines how much money to spend on staff when it creates a budget. For example, all members are given a fixed stipend through which they can hire their personal staff. Countless scholars, members and observers of Congress have documented the dwindling resources available to member and committee staffs, and to support agencies such as the Congressional Research Service, Government Accounting Office and Congressional Budget Office. Office budgets will likely remain flat in the next fiscal year as well.

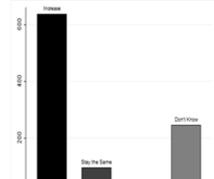
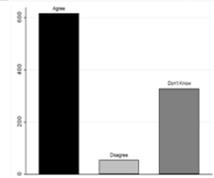
Staff cuts immediately limit Congress’s capacity to influence policy, while also limiting its ability to retain experienced staffers or attract replacements. Why would Congress cannibalize its own legislative and creative capacity?

## Washington Post/Monkey Cage

Using new data from Cooperative Congressional Election Study, we suggest that the reason may be twofold: First, most of the public doesn’t know how much the legislative staff does. And second, members routinely run against “Washington,” which includes the bureaucrats and government employees who enable Congress to do its work. So who’s left making policy? Lobbyists and interest groups, who are happy to fill in for free. So what if Congress cuts its staff?

Cuts to staff resources kill morale and increase turnover. A 2013 report from the Congressional Management Foundation, which surveyed legislative staffers, found that nearly half of all respondents were looking for another job in the next year. When restricted to the D.C.-based staffers who are closest to policymaking, this number rose to 63 percent. By contrast, only 37 percent of U.S. employees at large are looking for jobs. Low pay was one of the main reasons.

...The American taxpayer may never know the cost of having special interest lobbyists help write tax and other legislation. But unless someone runs a national educational campaign about your friendly Washington bureaucrats, that’s unlikely to change. As former congressman Barney Frank (D-Mass.) once said, “I don’t think the American people understand what a bargain they get with the people who work on our staffs, who are so talented and hard-working and could make a great deal more money elsewhere but really put in very, very long hours under difficult circumstances.”



## Designing the Executive

The delegates debated the nature of the executive in a lively fashion.

Preferences ranged from Hamilton’s executive “elected for life” at one end and the existing model of state governors who had been given very limited powers.

State executives (governors) purposely created weak because of experience with arbitrary executives (tyrants) back in England and colonial governors in constant conflict with colonial legislatures



## Designing the Executive

To achieve an independent executive that could not abuse its authority and could moderate excesses of the legislature, the Framers utilized several features:

- they limited the scope of presidential responsibilities and particularly the office’s command authority BUT include TAKE CARE CLAUSE (president “shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed”)
- they attached a legislative check, or veto, to each presidential duty (e.g. nominate executive members, but need to be confirmed by Congress; negotiate treaties, but need to be ratified by Congress; command the military, but only Congress can declare war...)
- they gave the president the use of the veto, a negative action that would allow the executive to “check” the legislature (president can’t make policy or appropriate funds -> this is the power of Congress)

President still constrained as Framers wished in area of domestic affairs, but what of foreign affairs – is president still constrained today?

## An Independent Executive



To achieve an independent executive that could not abuse its authority and could moderate excesses of the legislature, the Framers utilized several features:

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## The Take-Care Clause



Just as the necessary and proper clause enabled the modern Congress to enlarge its enumerated powers, Article II has done the same through the "take care" clause.

The president "shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed."

Modern presidents have asserted that this clause allows them to undertake whatever actions national policy may require that are not expressly forbidden by the Constitution or public law.

## The Electoral College



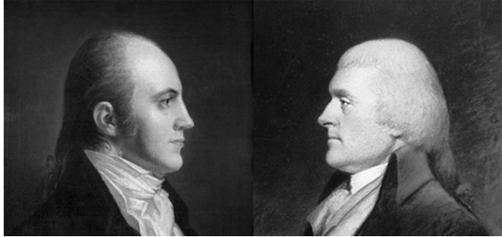
"Let's design an institution to select the executive with the sole goal to confuse the hell out of future generations..." – Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (South Carolina).

## The Electoral College

- Arduous compromise between state righters and nationalists leading to a mix of state, congressional and popular participation
- Example of indirect democracy
- Each state is awarded as many electors as it has members of the House and Senate.
- The Constitution left it to the states to decide how electors are selected, but the Framers generally expected that the states would rely on statewide elections.
- Today, if any candidate fails to receive an absolute majority (270) of the 538 votes (since 23th amendment granting D.C. electors) in the electoral college, the election is thrown into the House of Representatives.



## The Electoral College



- Twelfth Amendment corrected the most egregious flaws of the Electoral College, i.e. instead of two votes for president (with the person with the second most votes becoming vice president) ensuring a distinct vote casting for both offices.
- Election of 1796 and 1800 (first Jefferson becoming Adams Vice President although from different parties; then Burr same amount of votes as Jefferson)

## Designing the Judiciary

The convention spent comparatively little time designing the new federal judiciary.

Jurisdiction of resolving disputes between states and national-level institutions; supremacy clause (Article VI): national law takes precedence over state laws

They did debate over two (minor) questions:

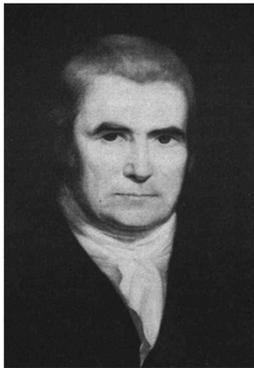
- Who would appoint Supreme Court justices?
- Should a network of lower federal courts be created or should state courts handle all cases until they reach the federal court?

What were the pragmatic results of their debate?

- Appointment and confirmation proceedings split between president and Senate (the states)



## Designing the Judiciary



The extent of the Court's authority to overturn federal laws and executive actions as unconstitutional – the concept of judicial review – was never quite resolved.

Hamilton and others argued that the Constitution implicitly provides for judicial review.

Madison did not believe an unelected branch should have such authority.

## Slavery



- Slavery figured importantly in many delegates' private calculations, particularly those from the South.
- One critical point was during the creation of the national legislature:
  - Southern states wanted to count slaves as part of their population, thus giving them more representatives in the House, yet these "citizens" had no rights in those states
  - After much debate, the southern states were allowed to count a slave as three-fifths of a citizen (The 3/5's Compromise)
- Left much of the issue to future government.

## Slavery

Why did the northern delegates give in to the southern ones, who were fewer in number?

- The need to get the Constitution passed
- Fear of defection
- Logrolling – a standard bargaining strategy in which two sides swap support for dissimilar policies:



New England accommodated the South, and in return, the South dropped their opposition to commercial issues that were important to New England

South received the unrestricted right to continue importing slaves (In the end they managed to negotiate a ban on regulation of the slave trade until 1808) and the return of runaway slaves residing in northern states

## Ratification



“The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.”

This statement did two important things.

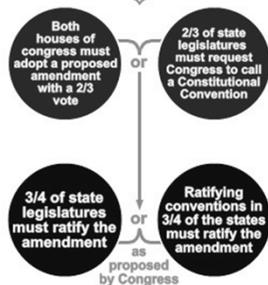
- It removed the unanimous assent rule of the Articles of Confederation.
- It withdrew authority from the state legislatures, which might have misgivings about surrendering autonomy.

## Amending the Constitution

The methods incorporated in part the desires of both the states' rights and nationalist delegates.

- The Constitution allows amendment to be proposed either by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress or by an “application” from two-thirds of the states.
- Enactment occurs when three-fourths of the states, acting either through their state legislatures or in special conventions, accept the amendment.

### AMENDING THE U.S. CONSTITUTION



## Amending the Constitution



Since its ratification, the Constitution has been amended twenty-seven times.

In every instance Congress initiated the process.

In all but one case, the state legislatures did the ratifying.

Six additional amendments (including ERA) were sent to the states but failed to win the needed number of endorsements.

## Amending the Constitution



In addition, dozens of amendments are proposed in Congress but fail to garner enough support.

Recent examples of failed proposed amendments include:

- restriction of marriage that between one man and one woman
- assuring "God" is included in the Pledge of Allegiance
- providing a mechanism for Congress to replenish its membership should more than a quarter of its members be killed.

## Ratification: Federalists vs. Antifederalists



Antifederalists argued that only local democracy could approach true democracy. A country so large and diverse could not be ruled by a single set of laws.

Stronger national government must come with safeguards against tyranny.

Madison made a strategic move and announced that he would introduce the constitutional amendments that would protect individual rights.

For this reason, the Bill of Rights was included almost immediately after ratification.

## Ratification



The responses mustered to counter the Antifederalist arguments against the Constitution collectively make up eighty-five essays.

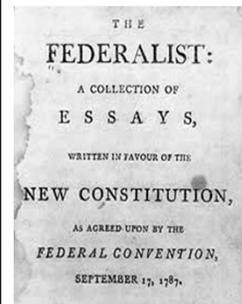
- Written by Hamilton (wrote the most), Madison (wrote the best), and John Jay (who wrote five); wrote under the pseudonym "Publius"
- Were directed primarily at the state of New York, which had not yet voted in 1788 although by this point the Constitution was technically ratified
- Provide insight into the "genuine" meaning of the Constitution
- According to most historians, the actual impact of the Federalist essays was negligible; positions were grounded in economic and other self-interests and were not likely to be shifted by abstract arguments.

## Ratification

Two of the *Federalist Papers* (Nos. 10 and 51) focus on the fundamental problem of self-governance.

We are not "angels," as Madison writes, so how do we get a government of non-angels not only to govern the governed, but to "govern" itself as well?

- In other words: How do we keep the people's agents honest as well as avoid tyranny of the majority (democracy already eliminates minority tyranny)?
- Solution: pit politicians against one another through the mutual vetoes embedded in the Constitution's separation of powers and checks and balances.



### Fed 10

**Federalist No. 10:** Madison argues that a large, diverse republic is not only capable of controlling the tyranny of faction, but when properly designed, the best means of doing so



Direct democracy would allow for majority usurpation of minority rights.

However, a representative government would:

- dilute factious spirit (to get elected politicians would need to play to more than one audience)
- negate the ability of potential majorities to attempt any form of collusion

Larger size, instead of being problematic, the linchpin of the republic: larger means greater variety of interests and parties and therefore less probable that a majority of the whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens (pluralism)

### Fed 51



“If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself.”

### Fed 51

**Federalist No. 51:** Madison explains how (mechanically) the Constitution will employ checks and balances to prevent the people's representatives from exploiting their political power



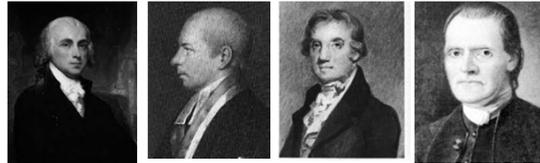
By separating government officers into different branches (separation of powers) and giving them the authority to interfere with each other's actions (checks and balances) they could defend the integrity of their offices:

- bicameralism
- popular election
- presidential veto

Ambition is made to counteract ambition. . . .

This argument gave reassurances to those fence sitters who worried about a tyrannical government forming.

### Constitution



But did the Framers overdo it? What criticisms can be leveled at the system?

- Authority fragmented
- Conservative political process in which legitimate majorities are frequently frustrated by some minority faction
- And Constitution mostly born out of political necessity than theoretical rationale (or how do you explain the three-fifths rule and the Byzantine procedures for electing the U.S. president?)

## Farrand's Records



“Professor Madonna, this was great, but where can I learn more about the Constitutional Convention?”

“Great question, Billy. Why not head over to Farrand’s Records?”  
[Note: Hypothetical situation...Assumes student’s name is Billy.]

## Conclusion



Questions?

Adams!