

Exploring Government

Ray Notgrass

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Ray Notgrass

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U.S. Capitol Rotunda, Washington, D.C.

Table of Contents

Introduction..... vi

How to Use This Curriculum..... ix

Part 1: Backgrounds to American Government

1 The Biblical Basis of Government..... 1

- 1 - God Is the Author of Government 3
- 2 - Biblical Principles of Government 9
- 3 - The Influence of the Law of Moses 13
- 4 - The Bible on Leadership..... 17
- 5 - Government in the Bible..... 23

2 The Idea and Forms of Government..... 29

- 6 - Ways of Governing..... 31
- 7 - Ancient and Medieval Monarchies 38
- 8 - Athenian Democracy and the Roman Republic..... 42
- 9 - Our English Roots 48
- 10 - The Birth of Enlightenment Philosophy.. 53

3 The United States: An Exercise in Building a Government57

- 11 - Assuming a “Separate and Equal Station” 59
- 12 - America as a Confederation..... 64
- 13 - A Rising and Not a Setting Sun..... 68
- 14 - America’s Foundation of Faith 76
- 15 - We the People of the United States..... 82

Part 2: The United States Constitution

4 Article I: Congress (Part 1)..... 87

- 16 - To Serve in the House 89
- 17 - Choosing the Senate..... 96
- 18 - The Congress Shall Assemble..... 101
- 19 - Who They Are and What They Do.... 108
- 20 - Committee and Political Party Organization 113

5 Article I: Congress (Part 2)..... 119

- 21 - How a Bill Becomes Law (Part 1) 121
- 22 - How a Bill Becomes Law (Part 2) 127
- 23 - The Powers of Congress..... 133
- 24 - Limitations on Congress
and the States 138
- 25 - When Powers Collide:
The Process of Impeachment 142

6 Article II: The Executive.. 149

- 26 - Electing a President 151
- 27 - Becoming the President..... 159
- 28 - Commander in Chief
and Head of State..... 166
- 29 - The President as Chief Executive 172
- 30 - Executive Meets Legislative 179

7 The Modern Federal Bureaucracy 185

- 31 - State, Treasury, and Defense 187
- 32 - Justice, Interior, and Agriculture..... 192
- 33 - Commerce, Labor, HUD,
and Transportation 197
- 34 - HHS, Energy, Education, Veterans
Affairs, and Homeland Security..... 203
- 35 - Agencies Beyond the Cabinet 208

8 Article III: The Judiciary ..215

- 36 - A Federal Case..... 217
- 37 - Order in the Court..... 223
- 38 - The Exercise of Justice 229
- 39 - The Supreme Court..... 234
- 40 - How Five People Can
Change Your Life 241



President Dwight D. Eisenhower delivers his first State of the Union address to Congress in 1953.

9 Other Articles and Amendments 247

- 41 - Articles IV through VII 249
- 42 - The First Amendment 257
- 43 - The Second Amendment 265
- 44 - Third Through Tenth Amendments... 272
- 45 - 11th Through 27th Amendments..... 277

Part 3: State and Local Government, Taxes and Budgets

10 State Government.....283

- 46 - State Constitutions..... 285
- 47 - State Legislatures 289
- 48 - State Governors..... 296
- 49 - State Bureaucracies and State Courts.. 301
- 50 - Marketing a State 308

11 Local Government 313

- 51 - Counties, Townships, and Special Districts..... 315
- 52 - Governing a City..... 320
- 53 - Using Urban Spaces..... 325
- 54 - Governing a Growing Community.... 332
- 55 - Three Levels Working Together 338

12 Taxing and Spending.....343

- 56 - Budgets and Priorities..... 345
- 57 - What Washington Gets and Spends... 352
- 58 - What States Get and Spend..... 359
- 59 - What Local Governments Get and Spend 365
- 60 - Taxes and Borrowing (and Debt, Oh My!) 369

Part 4: Issues Facing American Government Today

13 International Relations... 375

- 61 - Diplomats and Diplomacy 377
- 62 - The U.S. and International Organizations..... 383
- 63 - War and Peace..... 388
- 64 - Trade..... 396
- 65 - Human Rights..... 403

14 Contemporary Issues I... 409

- 66 - Election Integrity: Voters and Ballots 411
- 67 - Election Integrity: Voting and Counting the Votes 418
- 68 - Immigration..... 425
- 69 - Health Care..... 434
- 70 - Abortion 442

15 Contemporary Issues II ...449

- 71 - Government and the Economy 451
- 72 - Energy..... 457
- 73 - Education..... 462
- 74 - What Government Does Right..... 470
- 75 - Christians in the Public Square..... 474

Image Credits 479

Select Bibliography 484

Index 487

San Buenaventura City Hall, Ventura, California





Historic Osceola County Courthouse, Kissimmee, Florida

Introduction

*We must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill,
the eyes of all people are upon us.*

*—John Winthrop,
from his sermon “A Model of Christian Charity,” given in 1630
to those who were about to establish the Massachusetts Bay Colony*

When Governor John Winthrop led his small band of settlers to the shores of America, he understood that the entire world would be watching the outcome of this experiment in the wilderness.

As it has turned out, it was not just the people of that generation who watched. For almost 400 years, the world has studied the American experiment in governing. In many ways, the experiment has been a source of inspiration for learning how humans can live together in a civil society in peace and harmony. At times our country has also been an example of how peace and harmony have been difficult to find.

America has a high calling to be a city upon a hill before the eyes of all people. Unfortunately, many Americans do not take that calling very seriously. Numerous surveys that have been conducted over several years have yielded results similar to these:

- About half of Americans don't know that each state has two senators.
- About three-fourths of Americans don't know the length of a U.S. senator's term.
- Over half of Americans cannot name their congressman.
- About 40 percent cannot name either of their two U.S. senators.
- Almost a third of Americans don't know which party controls the U.S. House of Representatives, and about 40 percent don't know which party controls the U.S. Senate.

Our hope is that those who study this curriculum will know these facts and much more about our American system of government.

The purpose of *Exploring Government* is to educate and inspire you concerning the government of the United States as well as the governments of the individual states and our local communities. We place special emphasis on the Biblical basis for government and on helping you understand the U.S. Constitution. We hope that you will come to appreciate the background, purpose, and operation of American government on all levels. We also hope that you will remain prayerful, thoughtful, informed, and involved with regard to government throughout your life. We pray that you will be a better Christian and a better citizen as a result of studying this material.

You will explore historical information about government before the founding of the United States in 1776 and the formulation of the Constitution in 1787. We cover this to help you understand not only what government does but why our government came to be the way it is and why it does what it does. Ideas and events have causes.

The American system did not just appear, nor was it inevitable. We have to understand the why in order to understand what and how. When you understand why things happen (1) you learn something about how events and ideas influence each other; (2) you are better able to discuss the subject with others, some of whom may not share your opinions; and (3) you will be better able to bring about changes that need to take place.

What Is and What Should Be

We need to understand the difference between what is and what should be. The Bible sets forth what government should be. The U.S. Constitution, state constitutions, and local laws have established how governments should operate in our country. However, centuries of history show us that people in government do not always do what they should.

For example, for many years African Americans did not have the equal protection under the law that the Constitution guarantees. What existed

was not what should have existed. Also, the federal government has in recent decades taken oversight of areas that were originally reserved to the states. It is not what should be, but nonetheless it is what is happening.

Our governments (local, state, and national) have not always been the bright and shining city upon a hill that they should have been. Sometimes the people involved in government have done things that were embarrassing and wrong.

When we describe what government does today, we do not mean to say that everything it does is right and what it should be doing. We try to point out the differences we see between what the founding documents say and what government actually does today. We should help our country to be an example of truth, justice, love, righteousness, and compassion.

Government Is Not the Same as Politics

Politics (the word is usually a singular noun) involves power, specifically getting and maintaining power in government. This includes the election process. Politics forms governments, and people in government can be and often are political (concerned about power) in their actions. Government officials often make decisions based on how popular those decisions will be with voters, which can affect their power. In other words, they often make political decisions. Government officials do not always make decisions by simply determining what is the best thing to do.

Governing, on the other hand, involves defending the nation, building roads, operating schools, collecting taxes, and other practical activities. Even these decisions can involve political factors. Since politics and government are two different functions, this explains why sometimes politicians who win elections and acquire power aren't good at actually governing and why the best government workers are not necessarily concerned about politics.

In this curriculum, we discuss elections and voting because that is how we form governments in the United States; but you should not think that this is the same as governing. Elections make news; paving roads usually does not, but paving roads and other services are important parts of the job of governing.

Appreciation

I express thanks to my family members who have assisted with this project: my wife, Charlene; our daughter Mary Evelyn; our daughter Bethany; our son, John; and our son-in-law Nate. I also thank Notgrass History team members Dena Russell and Ella Boureston, for their research, proofreading, and editorial suggestions; and Bonnie Henthorn, Donna Ellenburg, Phil Ellenburg, and Titus Anderson for proofreading assistance. My name is on the cover, but I could not have completed this updated edition without the help of many people.

God, the Creator of government, has given us a wonderful system of government in our country. The American system of government has provided the most personal freedom and the greatest economic opportunity for the most people of any government in history. Our government deserves our respect, our involvement, and our prayers.

Those of us who follow the Lord are citizens of the kingdom of God even as we live as citizens of the country in which He has placed us. God has already assured us that His kingdom will win in the end, regardless of the form that human governments take. May God bless us in doing good for His glory.

Dedication

I dedicate this curriculum to my sweet wife and life companion, Charlene.

God brought us together when we were both work-study students in the Political Science Department at college.

Your study and work in Urban Planning gave us both a sense of what government is and what it should be.

Your heart for God has helped us both see what people should be able to expect from leaders in government and from governmental policies.

We have seen people and events in government that have inspired us and that have discouraged us. We have learned not to put our trust in princes.

You have selflessly served our family and others as we have worked on this curriculum. I could not have done this without you. This is a much better publication because of your involvement. You are as much a part of it as I am.

“Many daughters have done nobly, but you excel them all” (Proverbs 31:29).

*Ray Notgrass
Gainesboro, Tennessee
October 2023
ray@notgrass.com*

*Ray and Charlene Notgrass Visiting the
Mississippi State Capitol*

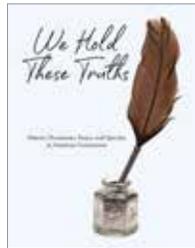
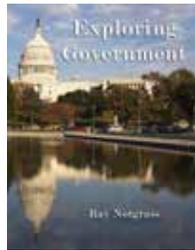




FBI Guard at the Department of Justice (1937)

How to Use This Curriculum

This one-semester course provides a half-year of high school credit in government. With 75 lessons, you can complete the material in one semester even with field trips and other activities. This book includes all of the lessons and assignments to complete the government credit. *We Hold These Truths* is a collection of historic documents, essays, and speeches that you read in conjunction with the lessons.

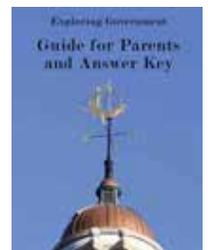
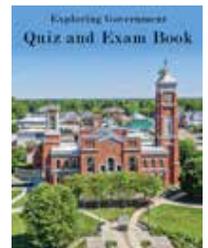
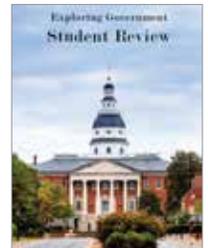


English credit. The curriculum offers an optional half-year credit in English as well. This involves reading the assigned books and the literary analysis in the *Student Review*, completing the assignments in the *Student Review* for each book, and completing a project assignment for each unit. The curriculum will tell you when to begin a book and when you should finish it. It will also give you a choice of projects for each unit.

Assignments. The curriculum clearly outlines what you are to do for each unit and for each daily lesson. We have put each day's assignments at the end of each lesson. If you are only seeking to earn

the government credit, you only need to complete half of the unit projects.

Student Review Pack. The optional Student Review Pack includes the *Student Review*, the *Quiz and Exam Book*, and the *Guide for Parents and Answer Key*. The *Student Review* has ten review questions for each lesson, review questions on the *We Hold These Truths* assignments, and literary analysis and review questions for each assigned book. The *Quiz and Exam Book* has one quiz for each unit and three exams covering five units each. *The Guide for Parents and Answer Key* includes answers for all review questions, quizzes, and exams, plus notes for the parent on the recommended literature and additional guidance on how to use the curriculum.



Time. You should allow one hour per day to read a lesson and any relevant documents and answer the review questions. You will need more time to complete the unit projects, read the literature, and take the unit quizzes and the three exams.



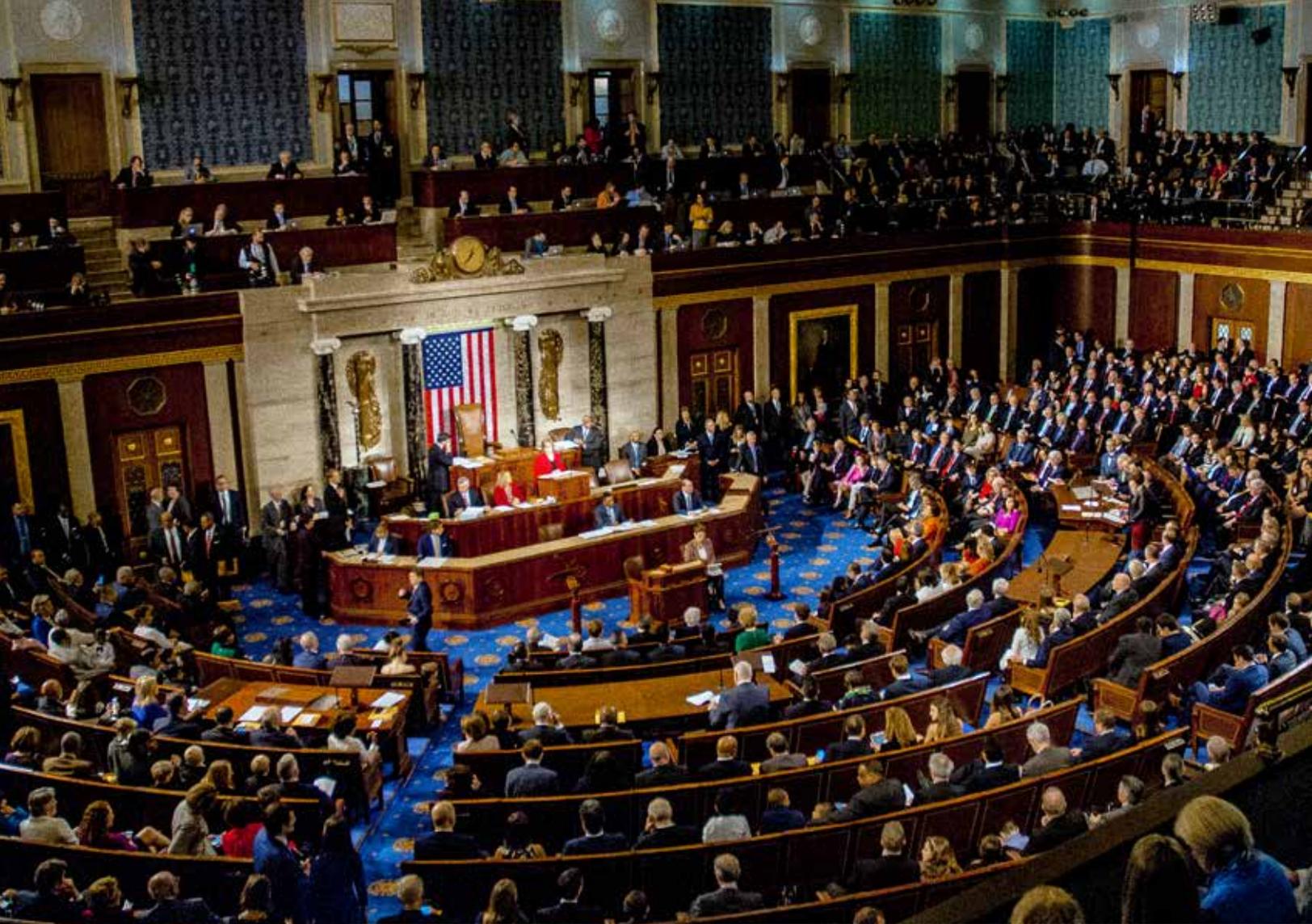
President Calvin Coolidge with Representatives of Native Nations Outside the White House (1927)

Assigned Literature

Units 1-4	<i>Mornings on Horseback</i>	David McCullough
Units 5-6	<i>The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge</i>	Calvin Coolidge
Units 7-11	<i>Born Again</i>	Charles Colson
Units 12-15	<i>God and Ronald Reagan</i>	Paul Kengor



President Richard Nixon (center) with Political Pollster Louis Harris (left) and Director of the Office of Public Liaison Charles Colson (right) in the Oval Office (1971)



4

Article I: Congress (Part 1)

- 16 - To Serve in the House**
- 17 - Choosing the Senate**
- 18 - The Congress Shall Assemble**
- 19 - Who They Are and What They Do**
- 20 - Committee and Political Party Organization**

Members of Congress with Their Families on the House Floor (2017)

Introduction

The Constitution begins by establishing Congress. The methods for choosing members of Congress have changed over the years. Congress has developed its own rules and traditions by which it operates. It is helpful to understand who the members of Congress are, what Congress does, and how it does it. The committee system and political party alignments are crucial to an understanding of how Congress works—and sometimes why it doesn't work.

Books Used

We Hold These Truths

Mornings on Horseback by David McCullough

Project (choose one)

1. Write 300 to 500 words on one of the following topics:
 - Imagine that you are serving in the United States House of Representatives. Compose a persuasive speech to deliver to your colleagues on a cause about which you are passionate.
 - Do you believe that elected positions should have term limits? Give examples of the limits you believe should apply to various offices and give reasons for your opinions.
2. Watch at least one hour of C-SPAN programming with one or both of your parents and discuss what you learned.
3. Choose one of your relatives that you think would make a good congressman or congresswoman. Design a campaign brochure for him or her, including photos, views on issues, and campaign promises.

Special Assignment

In addition to the other readings in *We Hold These Truths*, in Units 4-9 students will also read the U.S. Constitution. Portions are interspersed in the daily lessons. The U.S. Constitution begins on page 64 in *We Hold These Truths*.



Sign Outside the United States Capitol in Washington, D.C.

Lesson 16

To Serve in the House

You can not possibly have a broader basis for any government than that which includes all the people, with all their rights in their hands, and with an equal power to maintain their rights.

—William Lloyd Garrison (1889)

Read Sections 1 and 2 of Article I of the U.S. Constitution in *We Hold These Truths*, pages 64-65, before you study this lesson.

Article I, the first main section of the Constitution after the Preamble, is the longest section of the document. The framers expected Congress, as the branch of the federal government closest to and most representative of the people, to be the most important and most powerful part of the new national government. As a result, they outlined in great detail the duties, expectations, and limitations of Congress.

The Bicameral Congress

The Constitution vests the legislative or lawmaking power of the national government in Congress. Congress has two parts, the House of Representatives and the Senate. A legislative branch made up of two bodies or houses is called *bicameral*, from the Latin meaning “two chambers.”

Congress has two houses for several reasons. The first is tradition. The British Parliament and most colonial governments set the precedent by having two houses. Only Pennsylvania and Georgia had unicameral legislatures before the United States adopted the Constitution. Both states switched to the two-house approach by 1790. Today Nebraska is the only state in the country that has one legislative house.

Second, the presence of the House and Senate reflects the political realities of the early national period. The two bodies gave representation both to the people as a whole and to the states. The support of both was critical for the success of the new government.

Third, bicameralism enables the two bodies to act as a check on each other as they consider legislation. Both houses of Congress are less likely to take impulsive action in the heat of the moment than a single legislative body might.

Voting for and Serving as a Member of the House of Representatives

The more numerous of the two houses of Congress is the House of Representatives. Its members are called congressmen, representatives, or members of the House. In the original Constitution, the House was the only element of the national government that the people elected directly.

Everyone who can vote for the most numerous branch of a state's legislature can vote for that state's representatives in the House. This qualification was significant in the early days of the country, when states placed more limits on voting rights; but today almost every citizen who is 18 or older can vote in the United States. The Constitution uses the term *electors* to describe voters.

To serve as a member of the House, a person must be at least 25 years old and have been a citizen for seven years. The age provision is fairly young and probably reflects the relative youthfulness of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention. In actual practice, congressmen in their 20s have been rare. A representative does not have to have been born in the United States. He or she can be a naturalized citizen.

A congressman must also be a resident of the state from which he or she is elected. At first, some states elected all of their congressmen on an at-large basis; in other words, all the voters in the state elected all of that state's representatives. Other states divided their population into districts and elected representatives on the basis of those districts. In 1842 Congress began requiring that all states elect congressmen by districts and gave state legislatures the responsibility for drawing district boundaries. Neither the Constitution nor federal law requires a representative to live in the district he or she represents. However, a candidate who does not live in a district would have a hard time convincing voters that he or she really understands their situation and their problems.



Elected at age 25, Maxwell Frost, a U.S. Representative from Florida, was the youngest member when the 118th Congress began in January 2023.

A congressman's term is for two years. This means that the entire membership of the House faces election every two years, in even-numbered years. When a vacancy occurs in a House seat between elections through death or resignation, the governor of that state calls a special election for the voters in that district to choose a new congressman.

Apportionment of House Seats

Apportionment is the process of determining how many congressmen each state has. According to the Constitution, each state receives seats in the House of Representatives based on its population. States with more people have more representatives and thus have more influence in the House. The Constitution set out the number of representatives for the 13 original states and provided for a census to take place every ten years to determine how any changes in the states' populations would change their representation in the House. The first census took place in 1790, and the federal government has taken a census every ten years since then.

The Constitution said that states were originally to have no more than one representative for every 30,000 people. As the population of the country grew and new states came into the Union, the number of representatives in the House increased. The first Congress had 65 members. The first census increased that number to 106. By 1912 the House had grown to 435 members, and effective action with such a large group had become difficult. However, Congress faced the dilemma of either adding more seats after the 1920 census or reapportioning the existing 435 seats. Reapportionment would have meant that some representatives from states growing more slowly or not at all would have lost their seats. Faced with the need to demonstrate political courage, Congress instead did nothing about the issue after the 1920 census. Finally, in 1929 (just before the 1930 census), Congress passed the Reapportionment Act. This law stated that the permanent size of the House would be 435 members and that the government must apportion those seats among the states as fairly as possible following each census.

The House has made one exception to this total since then. When Alaska and Hawaii became states in 1959, each new state received one House seat. This temporarily increased the membership of the House to 437. Following the 1960 census, the House reapportioned the regular 435 seats among the 50 states for the 1962 election. If the House still followed the original standard of one congressman for every 30,000 people, the House would now have about 11,000 members!

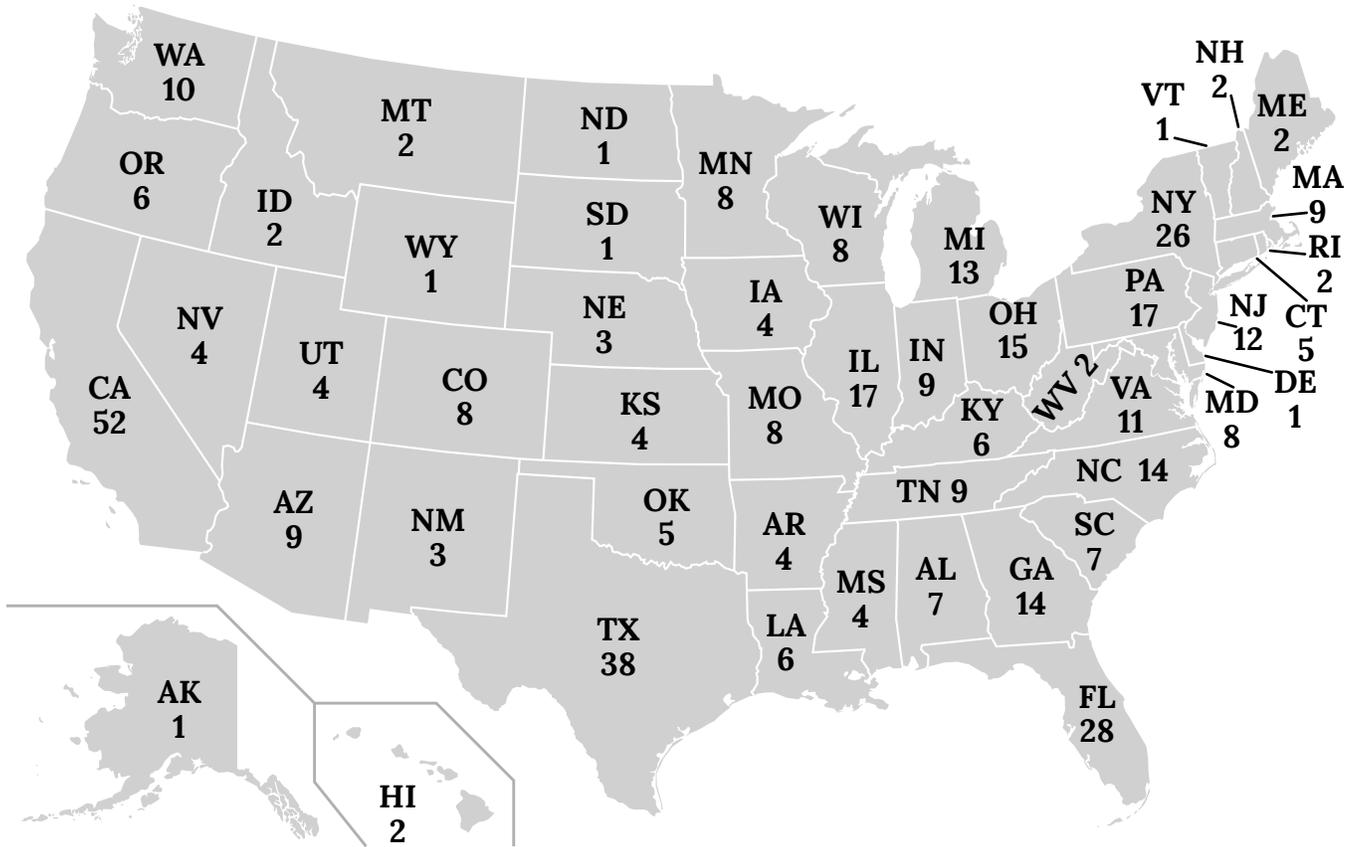
State populations change constantly but they change at different rates. A general trend has been for urban areas to grow in population while rural areas shrink. The population in southern and western states has grown significantly in recent years while that of northern states has grown more slowly or has declined. The Census Bureau uses a formula to determine how many congressmen each state will have and announces the apportionment of the House seats by the end of the year in which a census takes place. Changes in the number of House

seats in various states take effect in the congressional elections two years after a census. For example, apportionment changes based on the 2020 census took effect in the 2022 congressional elections.

The 2020 census showed a U.S. population of 331,449,281 on April 1, 2020. This meant that, on average, each congressman represented 761,952 people. However, the Constitution guarantees that each state has at least one representative, and the populations of the states do not divide out that evenly. Wyoming, the least populous state with a 2020 population of 576,851, has one congressman. Delaware had 989,948 people, but it also has only one representative. California has the most congressmen with 52; the average district population there was 760,350. Michigan's congressmen each represented an average of 775,179 people. Georgia's district average was 765,136.

This poster of Uncle Sam encouraged American citizens to participate in the 1940 census.





Apportionment of House Seats as of 2023

The Redistricting Process

As described above, *apportionment* is the process of determining how many congressmen each state has, based on the census results.

Redistricting is the process of determining the boundaries of each congressional district in each state. Each state's legislature is responsible for drawing the boundaries for that state's congressional districts. Since the least populous states only have one congressman each, redistricting is not necessary in those states.

In theory, legislatures would simply draw district lines as fairly and equitably as possible; but politics is not always fair and equitable. Both Democratic and Republican parties within the states work especially hard to win majorities in the legislatures in census years, since the legislatures elected in those years

oversee the redrawing of district lines for the states' congressional seats. Having a majority will give a party a better chance of passing a redistricting plan that will help that party. Redistricting for the seats in state legislatures happens at the same time.

The majority party in the legislature wants to protect the congressional and legislative seats that it already holds and to gain as many additional ones as possible. Thus, the legislative majority might draw district lines in such a way that scatters voters into several districts if a majority of them might vote against the majority party (a process called *cracking*). Alternatively, the majority party might put as many opposition voters into the same district as possible to concentrate and thus limit their impact (a process called *packing*). Another practice, called *stacking*, involves putting large numbers of certain categories of voters into a district, but not enough to outweigh the majority of voters in that

district. At the same time, some redistricting plans have resulted in congressmen already holding office (called incumbents) having to run against each other, sometimes from the same party.

The result of sharply partisan redistricting has been that many seats remain safely in the hands of one party or the other for many years. This leads to fewer genuinely contested congressional and legislative races. It also means that many congressmen do not try to collaborate with members of the other party on legislation; but instead they simply vote the party line, knowing that they will likely win again in the next election.

The practice of drawing oddly shaped district lines for political advantage is called gerrymandering. The practice goes way back in American history. In Massachusetts in 1812, with Elbridge Gerry as governor, the legislature drew an oddly shaped state senatorial district. A political cartoonist added a head, wings, and claws to make it look like a dragon or salamander and called it a Gerry-mander.

Voters routinely challenge some redistricting plans in court as violations of the Constitution's guarantee of equal protection of the law. Courts are generally reluctant to become embroiled in the political activities of legislatures unless they detect an obvious violation of voting rights. Sometimes the challenges can drag on for years and go all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Over the years, Congress and the courts have established guidelines for how legislatures should pursue redistricting. Congressional districts must have as even a population distribution as possible within a state. Each district must be contiguous; this means that a district cannot be separated into two or more areas that are not geographically connected. A district must have compactness, meaning that its borders should be as close together as possible. Districts must maintain community identity as much as possible. The 1965 Voting Rights Act required that district lines not dilute the voting power of racial or ethnic minority groups, either intentionally or unintentionally. Sometimes housing

patterns or gerrymandering create what is called a majority-minority district—a district in which an ethnic minority in the state has a majority of voters in the district.

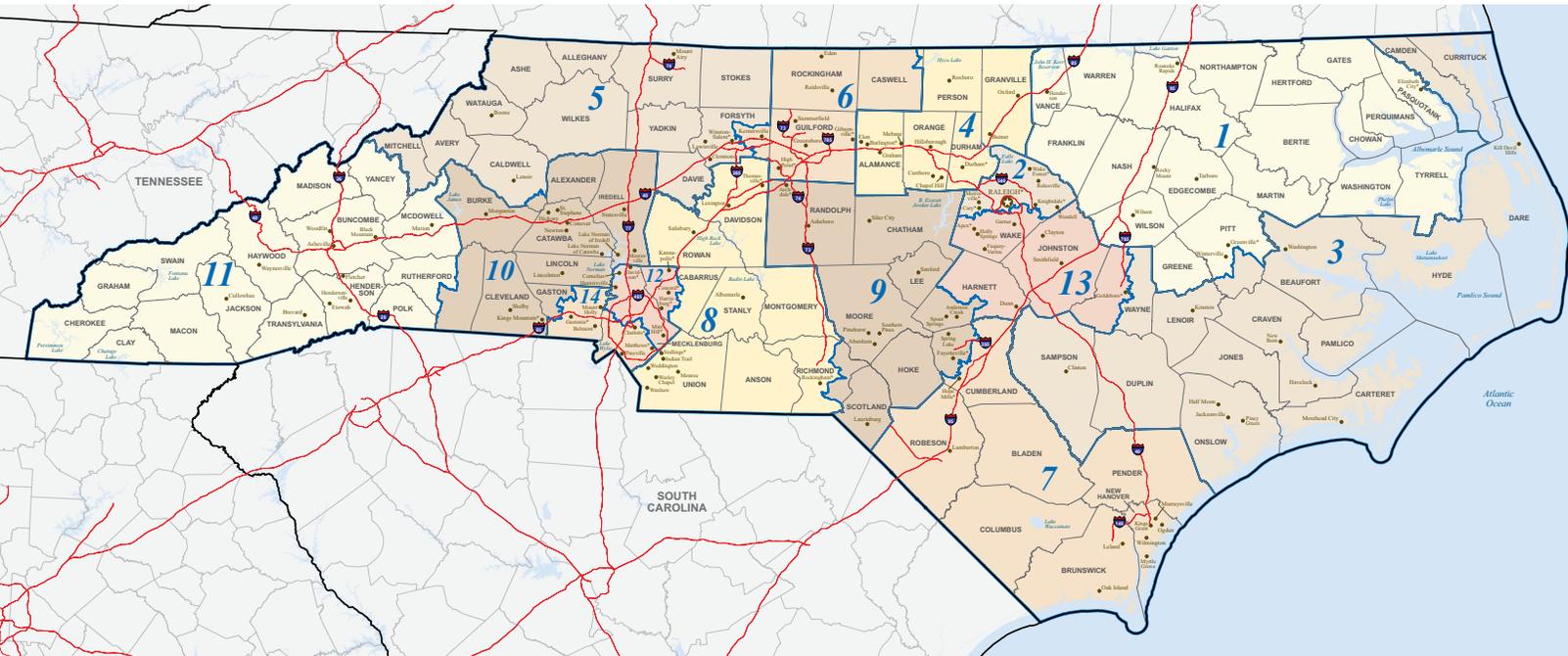
The U.S. Supreme Court has generally taken the position that a state legislature cannot draw districts in a way that would dilute the voting strength of a group (such as black voters), but that it can draw districts in order to achieve a certain political outcome (giving one party a supermajority, for instance). This distinction is sometimes difficult to determine since black voters generally support Democratic candidates by large majorities.

The independent state legislature theory holds that a state court cannot reject what a legislature decides regarding redistricting. The theory is based on the premise that the Constitution assigns the oversight of federal elections to state legislatures. People have debated whether this oversight is absolute with no possibility of courts getting involved. This would be unlike the checks and balances approach of the rest of the Constitution.

The April 2, 1813, issue of the Salem Gazette, Salem, Massachusetts, featured this cartoon of “The Gerry-Mander, or Essex South District Formed Into a Monster!”



House Districts in North Carolina

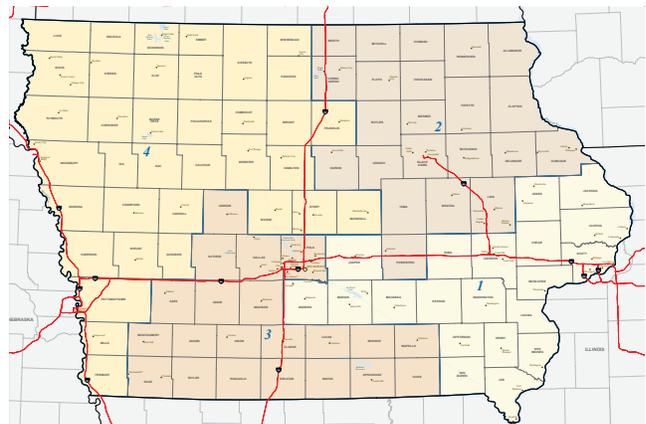


These maps show the congressional districts used in the 2022 U.S. House elections. In that year, Republican candidates in North Carolina received 52 percent of the vote and Democratic candidates received 48 percent. Each party won seven U.S. House seats, though only two of the races were close (the difference between vote totals was less than 5 percent). In Iowa, Republican candidates received 56 percent of the vote and Democratic candidates received 43 percent. Republicans won all four House seats, though only one of the races was close.

In 2023 the U.S. Supreme Court decided in a 6-3 decision that this theory was not in keeping with the Constitution. Ruling on an appeal involving a North Carolina redistricting plan, Chief Justice John Roberts wrote, “The Elections Clause does not insulate state legislatures from the ordinary exercise of state judicial review.”

The redistricting process in North Carolina has been one of the most controversial in recent years. Several legal cases related to the process in the state since the 1990s have gone to the U.S. Supreme

House Districts in Iowa



Court. However, North Carolina is by no means the only state that has seen unusually drawn districts.

On the other hand, in 1980 the Iowa legislature assigned the redistricting process to the Legislative Services Agency in the state government. The agency devises a plan in secret based primarily on population, trying to put a mix of rural and urban voters in each district. The legislature casts an up-or-down vote on the plan. If the legislature rejects it, the agency tries

twice more before the process must go to court. So far, the process has not reached that point.

Several states have begun using some form of a nonpartisan commission or agency to develop a redistricting plan or to provide a last-gasp plan if the legislature fails to come up with one. Some of these plans are binding while others are only advisory. The rules for who qualifies as nonpartisan vary from state to state, which means that in some places people

who have been politically active have taken part in the redistricting commission.



Political parties often treat people outside of their party differently from the way they treat party members. However, God teaches that His followers should be just to everyone.

My brethren, do not hold your faith in our glorious Lord Jesus Christ with an attitude of personal favoritism.

James 2:1

Assignments for Lesson 16

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| We Hold These Truths | Read the excerpt from <i>Wesberry v. Sanders</i> , pages 84-87. |
| Literature | Continue reading <i>Mornings on Horseback</i> by David McCullough. Plan to be finished with it by the end of this unit. |
| Project | Choose your project for Unit 4 and start working on it. |
| Student Review | If you are using this resource, answer the questions for Lesson 16 and <i>Wesberry v. Sanders</i> . |
| Supplements | Optional supplemental resources available: notgrass.com/EG016 |



Senate Wing of the United States Capitol in Washington, D.C.

Lesson 17

Choosing the Senate

Although the Senate is much given to admiring in its members a superiority less obvious or quite invisible to outsiders, one Senator seldom proclaims his own inferiority to another, and still more seldom likes to be told of it.

—Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (1907)

Read Section 3 of Article I of the U.S. Constitution on page 65 and the 17th Amendment on pages 79 in *We Hold These Truths* before you study this lesson.

Some have described the United States Senate as the greatest deliberative body in the world. Most people see it as the more prestigious house of Congress since it has fewer members than the House and since senators serve six-year terms instead of two-year terms as in the House. The Senate approves treaties and presidential nominations, while the House does not have a role in those functions. In the building in New York City where Congress first met in 1789, the Senate Chamber was on the floor above where the House met. Thus people still refer to the Senate as the upper house and to the House of Representatives as the lower house.

A person must be a little older to serve in the Senate than in the House. A senator must be at least 30 years old and an American citizen for nine years. He or she must also be a resident of the state he

or she represents. Each state has two senators. This gives states with fewer people the same power in the Senate as more populous states. Senators from less populous states have often been leaders in the Senate and have sometimes used their positions in that body to gain national prominence. Although senators represent individual states, they often speak and act as though they represent national interests and not just those of one state.

The Constitution created the Senate to be a continuing body. When the Senate first met, it divided itself into three classes. One class served for only two years, another class served for four years, and a third class served the full six years. As more states joined the Union, the Senate continued this process of placing each senator into one of the three classes. This staggered the election of senators so that one-third of the seats are elected every two years, as opposed to the House, where all 435 seats go before the voters every two years. This provides for greater continuity in the Senate than in the House. All Senate terms are now six years long.

The Election of Senators

In the original Constitution, state legislatures chose U.S. senators. This provision gave state governments a direct role in the national government. It also gave an inducement for state political leaders to support the ratification of the Constitution. This approach also supposedly provided for more reasoned deliberation in the selection of senators than if the senators had been chosen by popular vote. As we have seen in this curriculum, state legislatures played an important role in the early national government.

However, during the 19th century an increasing number of Americans supported the direct election of U.S. senators by popular vote. Many people believed that this change would be in keeping with the trend toward greater democracy. Moreover, state legislatures did not always handle well their responsibility for naming senators. State political battles sometimes were more important than the selection of the best person to be a U.S. senator. Occasionally, political wrangling in state legislatures caused Senate seats to remain unfilled for as long as two years. In Delaware around the turn of the 20th century, a vacancy continued for four years.

The Populist and Progressive Movements of the late 1800s and early 1900s promoted several ideas

111th United States Senate in the Senate Chamber of the United States Capitol in Washington, D.C., 2010



for reform in business and government. One item in the agendas of these movements was the direct election of senators. These groups maintained that the selection of senators by state legislatures kept the process out of the hands of the people and left it in the hands of politicians, lobbyists, and special interest groups. State legislatures often proved themselves to be the protectors not of people's rights but of their own power and privileges. Direct election of senators, it was argued, would make the upper house of Congress more responsive to the people and less responsive to the intrigues of politicians.

In the years leading up to 1912, 29 states adopted a form of popular election of senators in which they held primaries or referendums, the results of which were binding on state legislators. During those years, Congress considered an amendment to the U.S. Constitution which provided for senators to be elected by the people of their state rather than by state legislatures, but the U.S. Senate consistently defeated the amendment. In 1912, however, the number of senators elected by the people had increased to the point that Congress approved the amendment and sent it to the states. The required number of states ratified the 17th Amendment in 1913, and it took effect in the 1914 election.

It would be difficult to determine whether, on the whole, state legislatures or the voting public have chosen better senators. Both methods have elevated good people as well as rascals to the U.S. Senate. We can say with certainty, however, that the direct election of senators has lessened the influence of state legislatures in the national government.

Filling Vacancies in the Senate

If a Senate seat becomes vacant through death or resignation during a term, the process for filling that vacancy varies from state to state. Section 3 of Article I of the U.S. Constitution provides for the governor to appoint a senator, but the 17th Amendment gives state legislatures the option to have a role in the process; and the legislatures have

passed various laws to refine the process. In most states, the governor appoints someone to fill the seat until the next congressional election. This appointed senator is a full member of the Senate, but he or she is the most junior member of the body and has little power. Often the governor gives the appointment to a long-time public servant as a reward for his or her service. Usually, the governor appoints someone from his or her own political party, even if the previous senator had been from another party. Occasionally, a governor has appointed himself to fill a Senate seat.

At the next congressional election after a Senate seat has become vacant, candidates run to fill the remaining two or four years of the term. If the appointed senator wants to run in the next election, he or she has at least some of the power and prestige of an incumbent during the campaign. On rare occasions, a state elects two senators at the same time. This happens if one senator's six-year term is ending and a special election is filling the remainder of the other senator's term. When that partial term comes to an end, the next campaign for that Senate seat is for the full six-year term.

In a small number of states, the state holds a special election sooner than the next congressional election to fill the seat. Some of these states allow the governor to make an interim appointment while others do not. Four states require that the interim appointment go to someone from the same political party as the previous senator. Hawaii requires the governor to choose one of three nominees that the state political party organization submits to the governor.

Advice and Consent Role

Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution gives the Senate a special check-and-balance role with regard to certain actions of the president. When the president makes a treaty with another country, the Senate must ratify it by a two-thirds majority. Otherwise the treaty does not apply to the United States. In addition, the Senate must give a simple majority approval to important appointments that the president makes: ambassadors, federal judges, Supreme Court justices, heads of the executive departments (also known as cabinet members), and certain other appointments. Approving treaties and

Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion was an illustrated periodical published in Boston during the 1850s. In February of 1853, the magazine published portraits and signatures of United States Senators.





The Brumidi Corridors in the Senate wing of the U.S. Capitol are named after the Italian artist who designed the murals: Constantino Brumidi (1805-1880).

presidential appointments make up the advice and consent role of the Senate.

The Senate's most controversial consideration of a treaty involved the Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I. Democratic President Woodrow Wilson saw to it that the treaty included the creation of a League of Nations, a forerunner of the United Nations, in an attempt to prevent such a terrible war from ever happening again. The Republican majority in the Senate, however, wanted

to withdraw from world affairs as much as possible and did not want the United States to take part in a world organization that might require another costly foreign involvement. The Senate defeated the Treaty of Versailles, the United States never joined the League of Nations (which proved to be incapable of preventing World War II), and the United States concluded separate peace treaties with the nations against whom it had fought in World War I.

Generally, the Senate approves a president's nominees, unless a nominee proves to be involved in a scandal or unless a majority of senators oppose a nominee for political reasons. Senators who are not from the president's party might still rake a nominee over the coals before the Senate gives its approval. In recent years, when the majority in the Senate has not been from the president's party, that majority has tended to delay or even refuse to hold votes on the president's nominees for judges in federal courts. The Senate's role in confirming or rejecting the president's nominees to the Supreme Court has become one of the most controversial aspects of the Senate's advice and consent role. We will discuss this more in Lesson 39.

One issue that aroused a fair amount of political conflict in the early years of the nation was whether the president could remove from office someone whom he had nominated and the Senate had confirmed. This issue arose during the presidency of Andrew Jackson, who fired a cabinet member that the Senate had approved. Jackson said that he had the right to get rid of those who served under him, while Jackson's political opponents said that the Senate's power to confirm also gave it the power to determine whether someone stayed on the job. The same issue was at the heart of the conflict between President Andrew Johnson and Congress over the Tenure of Office Act following the Civil War. In 1926 the Supreme Court in *Myers v. U.S.* declared the Tenure of Office Act to be unconstitutional. The Court ruled that the president had the right to remove an appointee without the Senate's approval.

The Constitution does give the president the power to make appointments during a recess of Congress (Article II, Section 2, Paragraph 3). The president can make these appointments any time that Congress is in recess, even if that recess is only for a few days or weeks. The appointed person may serve until the end of the next session of Congress. During that time, the president can choose to submit that person's nomination to the Senate to hold the position permanently. This provision had more practical importance when Congress was not in session for long periods of time during the year. Fifteen Supreme Court justices began their tenure

as recess appointments. Recess appointments are politically risky for the president. They allow him to fill a post with someone he wants who might have a hard time winning confirmation by the Senate, but they tend to anger the opposition party in the Senate who might try to make confirmation more difficult.



The Latin root word from which the English word *senate* derives was *senex*, meaning “old man.” Therefore, the word senate has been used for a council of elders. In the early days of the church, the apostles appeared before the Senate of the sons of Israel.

**Upon hearing this, they entered into the temple
about daybreak and began to teach.
Now when the high priest and his associates came,
they called the Council together,
even all the Senate of the sons of Israel,
and sent orders to the prison house for them to be brought.
Acts 5:21**

Assignments for Lesson 17

We Hold These Truths	Read the letters concerning the election of Hattie Caraway, pages 88-89.
Literature	Continue reading <i>Mornings on Horseback</i> by David McCullough.
Project	Continue working on your project for Unit 4.
Student Review	If you are using this resource, answer the questions for Lesson 17 and the letters concerning the election of Hattie Caraway.
Supplements	Optional supplemental resources available: notgrass.com/EG017



Members of the U.S. House of Representatives Taking the Oath of Office (2019)

Lesson 18

The Congress Shall Assemble

A decent and manly examination of the acts of government should be not only tolerated, but encouraged.

—William Henry Harrison (1841)

Read Sections 4, 5, and 6 of Article I of the U.S. Constitution on pages 65-66 and the 20th and 27th Amendments on pages 80 and 83 in *We Hold These Truths* before you study this lesson.

Section 4: **Elections and Sessions of Congress**

The Constitution left the carrying out of elections in the hands of the states. The states already had a framework for conducting elections that they could expand to include choosing federal officials; and, after all, the congressmen and senators were representatives from the states. The Constitution did give Congress the right to legislate on elections except on the subject of the place where senators were chosen. As discussed on page 99, the Constitution specifically stated that the state legislatures would choose senators.

Terminology about American government can be confusing because sometimes the same word describes two different things. For example, the word *Congress* describes America's two legislative

bodies, the Senate and the House of Representatives. However, the word *Congress* can also mean a particular two-year period in which Congress meets. For example, the first Congress convened in 1789; the 118th Congress began on January 3, 2023. The swearing in of the members of the House of Representatives every two years marks the beginning of a new Congress.

The Constitution also uses the word *session* in two ways. The document requires that Congress meet at least once every year. The meetings of Congress in a given year are called a session. Therefore, each Congress has two sessions, one for each of the two years in which a particular Congress meets. The first session of the first Congress convened in 1789; the second session of the first Congress began in 1790. The first session of the 117th Congress began on January 3, 2021; the second session of the 117th Congress convened on January 3, 2022. The word *session* is also used to describe the meeting of Congress on a given day.

Originally, a session of Congress began on the first Monday in December. However, not all states held elections at the same time. Some states

conducted their elections in the odd-numbered years and others in even-numbered years. In the early years of the country, over a year passed from the time that many members of Congress won their elections until the new Congress began. For instance, senators and representatives elected in the fall of 1866 did not actually take office until December of 1867. This lengthy passage of time was necessary when travel and communication were slow and when elections took place at different times in the various states.

Over time, however, travel and communication became faster and states began to hold their elections at the same time of year. The 20th Amendment, ratified in 1933, called for the inauguration of the president and the convening of Congress to take place much more quickly after an election. Instead of the president having to wait four months after the election until March 4 to take office, as he did originally, the inauguration now takes place a little over two months later, on January 20. The new Congress now convenes on January 3 (unless they appoint a different day) following the election,

Congressman Percy Gassaway of Oklahoma takes a break in the heat of the summer at his office in Washington, D.C., during a recess of Congress in 1935.



instead of the members having to wait over a year after their election.

Congress adjourns a session when congressional leaders decide that the body should not attempt to accomplish any further work. In the early days of the country, Congress met for only a few months out of the year and almost always was in recess during the hot summer days in humid, swampy, Washington, D.C. Today Congress meets for almost the entire year but takes long breaks from time to time. In election years, members of Congress try to be finished (or at least plan to take an extended recess) in time for the fall campaign. Meetings of Congress that occur after an election and before a new Congress begins are called lame-duck sessions. Lame ducks cannot do very much, and expectations for a lame-duck session of Congress are low since some members will be retiring and others have lost their bids for reelection.

The Constitution allows for the president to adjourn Congress and to call it into special session in extraordinary circumstances (Article II, Section 3). Presidents have sometimes called the Senate into special session to consider pending treaties or appointments. Since Congress is now almost always in session, special sessions are rare. No president has ever adjourned Congress.

Section 5: Proceedings

Fitness of Members. The Constitution gives each house of Congress the right to judge the fitness of its own members. The House does not sit in judgment on the Senate, nor vice versa, nor do the president or the Supreme Court have the right to question who sits in Congress. This means that neither the House nor the Senate has to bow to the wishes of any other branch of government regarding who its members are. It also means that the members of each body are extremely reluctant to question the fitness of fellow congressmen or senators. If the members of one party go after a member of another party and call for his or her expulsion, the same process might come down on one of their own at



View of the U.S. Capitol from the Longworth House Office Building in Washington, D.C.

some later time. Only with a two-thirds majority can a body expel one of its members. In other words, the evidence must be clear and convincing to expel a member.

Quorum. Each house must have a majority of members present to take official action. This is called having a *quorum*. Any member may request a roll call to determine if a majority is present. The quorum requirement prevents a small group from meeting to do something that the majority would not want to do. However, the minority has rights too. It can compel members to come to the chamber to conduct business. This is known as a quorum call. The right to call a quorum enables the minority to compel at least the possibility of taking action that it sees as necessary, if the majority is trying to avoid doing so. Each house can compel its members to be present.

If you have ever watched the proceedings of Congress on C-SPAN (discussed on pages 106-107) or visited the Capitol while Congress was in session, you will have noticed that the House and Senate spend much time with few members actually present on the floor of either chamber. This happens because the House and Senate play a little game

with themselves. Each body assumes that a quorum is present, unless a member requests a roll call or a quorum call to find out the actual situation. In other words, they just don't bother to count unless someone makes it happen. Members usually want to get along with each other, so few congressmen or senators will demand a roll call or a quorum call except in unusual circumstances. Because of this arrangement, members can make speeches from the floor that they can tell their constituents back home about and that will go into the public record, but the other members don't have to listen to them.

Neither house may adjourn for more than three days during a session without the consent of the other. This keeps one body from paralyzing the work of Congress by simply refusing to meet. In actual practice, the leaders of both houses work together to determine the length of the sessions, when Congress will recess for vacations, and when the House and Senate will adjourn to end a session. The House and Senate may not decide to meet in a location other than where both have agreed to meet. This again prevents one body from meeting secretly or pulling away to disrupt business.

Congressional Record

Each house keeps a journal of its proceedings and must publish the journal on a regular basis. The House and Senate journals record the actions and votes of each body, but they do not record speeches and debates.

These journals are a different publication from the *Congressional Record*. From the earliest meetings of Congress under the Constitution, members of Congress, the press, and the public have had an interest in a written account of what the members of each chamber said and did. At first, reporters provided these records in newspapers. However, partisan newspapers did not always provide an accurate and balanced account of what took place in Congress. The Senate did not allow reporters to attend for several years, so published accounts focused on House proceedings.

In 1824 two reporters established the *Register of Debates* to provide a summary of members' statements from the floor of the two chambers. Two other reporters founded the *Congressional Globe* in 1833. This became the semiofficial record

of congressional activities, but at first the reports were not truly neutral. The *Globe* became more evenhanded or nonpartisan in later years, but its staff found it increasingly difficult to keep up with the volume of debates and other activities, especially during the Civil War.

In 1873 Congress established the *Congressional Record*, printed by the Government Printing Office (GPO, now called the Government Publishing Office). The *Record* reports the proceedings of the two houses of Congress and congressional committees, as well as some further remarks as noted below. The GPO prints the *Record* in the evening of a day when either or both houses of Congress are in session, and printed copies are available the next morning. It is also available on the Internet.

The *Congressional Record* consists of four parts. The House and Senate sections report in detail the proceedings of each chamber and their committees. In the Extensions of Remarks, House members may publish remarks that they did not actually present on the floor of the House. The *Daily Digest* provides a summary of actions by the two chambers and their committees and a preview of upcoming activities.

C-SPAN Cameraman at Work in Washington, D.C.



C-SPAN

C-SPAN (Cable-Satellite Public Affairs Network) is a nonprofit broadcasting company that receives support by a small fee charged to cable and satellite subscribers. C-SPAN receives no government funding and strives to be nonpartisan. The network began in 1979 with telecasts of the proceedings of the U.S. House of Representatives. C-SPAN2 debuted in 1986 and provides coverage of Senate sessions (the Senate had resisted allowing television cameras in the chamber until then). C-SPAN3 began in 2001 and broadcasts other public affairs programming and archived programs from the first two C-SPAN channels. C-SPAN Radio took to the airwaves in 1997 as a local station in Washington, D.C., and simulcasts many C-SPAN programs. The C-SPAN channels provide coverage

Lesson 18 - The Congress Shall Assemble

of congressional committee hearings; speeches by political figures; talk and interview shows; various educational programs; and special events such as the annual State of the Union address, dedication of national monuments, and coverage of national political conventions. C-SPAN provides coverage of major news events without commentary or analysis by reporters. BOOK-TV, broadcast on C-SPAN2 on Sundays, offers presentations by and interviews with authors of new books. The C-SPAN website (www.c-span.org) provides streaming video and audio of its broadcasts.

Section 6 (Part One): Salary

Members of Congress receive a salary and the payment of their expenses from the United States Treasury. Under the Articles of Confederation, the states paid their own representatives in Congress. At first, members of Congress received \$6.00 per day while Congress was in session. In 1815 Congress increased its members' pay to \$1,500 per year. As of 2023, the salary for a member of Congress was \$174,000 per year. The majority leader and minority leader in each house were paid \$193,400, while the speaker of the House received \$223,500. Congress has provided for a cost of living adjustment each year unless Congress votes not to accept it. Congress often rejects these automatic increases. These are good salaries, but salary is not by any means the entire picture of the financial benefits that a member of Congress receives.

Each member of the House receives an allotment of about \$1.8 million per year to hire staff workers, pay for office expenses in Washington and in their home states, and pay for other expenses related to their roles. This allotment is called the Members' Representational Allowance (MRA). Senate allotments vary based on the population of their state and its distance from Washington, D.C. The average expense allotment for a senator, called the Senator's Official Personnel and Office Expense Account (SOPOEA), is more than \$4.15 million.



Russell Senate Office Building in Washington, D.C.

Included in the expense account is the mail or franking privilege, which allows congressional mail to be sent at government expense. In addition to regular correspondence and responses to constituent requests, the franking privilege allows for what are called informative mailings from members of Congress to addresses in their districts. These mailings inform residents (i.e., voters) about what a senator or congressman has accomplished. Voters might especially notice these in the mail as election time draws near; it's one of the perks of being an incumbent. However, members may not use these expense accounts for purely personal or political expenses.

The 27th Amendment to the Constitution, which Congress first proposed in 1789 and which enough states finally ratified in 1992, says that a pay raise that Congress passes (a "law varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives") cannot go into effect until a congressional election has taken place. The amendment was an attempt to prevent a sitting Congress from giving itself a pay increase. Private citizens challenged in federal court the automatic cost of living increases that Congress can receive every year (enacted by Congress in 1989) as a violation of this amendment, but the courts have

held that such adjustments are not new salary laws and therefore do not violate the amendment. Of course, Congress sets the salaries for federal judges; and pensions for retired federal judges are based on the pensions for retired members of Congress.

Congress employs thousands of staff personnel. By law each of the 435 members of the House of Representatives may hire 18 full-time staff members and four part-time. The political leaders (speaker, majority and minority leaders, and so forth) in the House have even more staff available to them. The staff of each senator is much larger than that of a congressman and is based on his or her SOPOEA. Additional staff members work for the standing House and Senate committees, serve as security and maintenance personnel, are employees of the Library of Congress, and work in other jobs directly related to Congress.

In addition, members of Congress receive health insurance coverage and participate in the Federal Employees Retirement System. If someone serves in Congress for at least five years, he or she is eligible to receive a pension. Members can receive a pension beginning at age 50 if they have 20 years of service, or at any age after 25 years of service, or after the age of 62 regardless of his length of service. The pension is based on years of service and the highest three years of salary. The starting pension cannot be more than 80 percent of the retiree's final salary. In 2023, over 600 retired members of Congress were receiving government pensions based at least in part on service in Congress (some had held other positions in the federal government as well).

For many years, Congress exempted itself from some of the laws that it passed. For instance, members of Congress were not part of the Social Security system until 1984. They participated instead in the Civil Service Retirement System, which went into effect 15 years before Social Security began. The landmark 1964 Civil Rights Act exempted members of Congress from its provisions in terms of racial discrimination in employment. When Republicans regained control of Congress in 1994 after 40 years

of one or both houses having Democratic majorities, the first law passed by the new Congress in 1995 made Congress subject to the same laws that it enacts for the American people.

Members of Congress may earn up to 15 percent of their salary from outside sources, such as speaking fees and legal fees; and they have no limit on what they can make from book royalties. Senators and congressmen also enjoy many unofficial financial benefits from contributors, lobbyists, and special interest groups that want to influence how he or she votes. Congress has passed laws that eliminate blatant bribery, but the laws also carefully allow certain benefits (such as a company or contributor paying for a vacation as long as it is disclosed). Some former members of Congress work for Washington lobbying or consulting groups after their tenure in Congress, and these former members do quite well financially.

Section 6 (Part Two): Immunity and Limitations

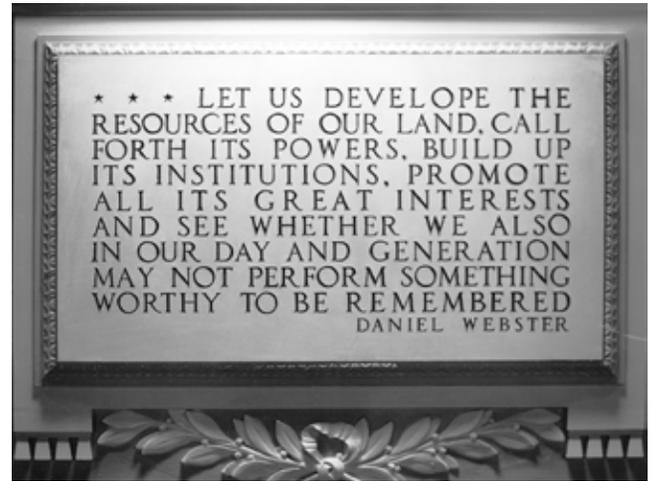
History tells of many kings who ordered their political opponents arrested and executed. The framers wanted to protect members of Congress from this kind of political intimidation. As a result, senators and representatives cannot be arrested while attending a session of Congress or while going to or returning from such sessions, except if the charge is treason, felony, or breach of the peace. In addition, they do not have to face any criminal charges for anything they say in any speech or debate in Congress. As a result, members of Congress express some outrageous statements, accusations, and outright lies on the floor of Congress with complete impunity.

While in office, a senator or representative may not hold an appointed government position that Congress created or a position for which the pay was increased while he or she was in office. This prevents a member of Congress from helping to create a position or increasing the pay of a position and

then filling that position. Likewise, no government employee may serve as a congressman or senator.

It is not unusual, however, for a president to appoint a former member of Congress to a post in the executive branch. Bill Brock, for instance, was a congressman and senator in the 1960s and 1970s. He later served as secretary of Labor and then as U.S. trade representative during the administration of President Ronald Reagan. President Bill Clinton named former senator Jim Sasser as ambassador to China after Sasser lost a bid for reelection.

Congress has defined the rules regarding what members of Congress may and may not do more carefully in recent years. In the past, the regulations were not so clear-cut. Daniel Webster, for instance, while serving in Congress, argued cases before the U.S. Supreme Court as a private attorney. In addition, the Bank of the United States retained his services as an attorney with pay. His role with the bank came as the result of his support for the bank as well as his national prominence. His income from the bank (not to mention several favorable loans he received from the bank) no doubt influenced his continued support of the bank in Congress. Neither of these roles that Webster held actually violated the terms of this section of the Constitution, but the



This plaque with a quote from Daniel Webster decorates the House Chamber in the Capitol.

possibility for conflict of interest in such a situation does exist.



Members of Congress certainly deserve just compensation for their services and reasonable reimbursement for legitimate expenses. However, as the people who write their own financial rules and who enact the laws that affect the financial status of their fellow citizens, congressmen and senators would do well to set the proper example for financial responsibility. As Proverbs warns:

**He who profits illicitly troubles his own house,
but he who hates bribes will live.
Proverbs 15:27**

Assignments for Lesson 18

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| Special Assignment | Find out who your senators and representative in Congress are. |
| Literature | Continue reading <i>Mornings on Horseback</i> by David McCullough. |
| Project | Continue working on your project for Unit 4. |
| Student Review | If you are using this resource, answer the questions for Lesson 18. |
| Supplements | Optional supplemental resources available: notgrass.com/EG018 |



A stray dog sits at the desk of Representative Charlie Wilson of Texas in 1991.

Lesson 19

Who They Are and What They Do

Government is too big and too important to be left to the politicians.

—Chester Bowles (Twentieth century American diplomat and economist)

Congress is not a cross section of the American public in terms of race, gender, and wealth. Of course, the Constitution does not say that they have to be. By and large, senators and representatives are people who can afford long and expensive campaigns and who have accomplished a great deal in the legal, business, and political fields.

Statistics About the Members

The average congressman is about 58 years old. The average senator is about 65. Both of these averages are many years older than the minimum age requirements in the Constitution. Democrats are slightly older on average than Republicans.

Of the 435 representatives in the 118th Congress which convened in January 2023, 125 were women; of the 100 senators, 25 were women. About three-fourths of the women in the House and two-thirds of the women in the Senate were Democrats.

The 535 members of the House and Senate included 60 African Americans, 54 Hispanics, 18

Asian Americans, and five Native Americans or Alaska Natives. About 92 percent of the members of the House and Senate listed their religious preference as Christian; about a third were Roman Catholic. There were 28 Jews, 16 Mormons, five Orthodox Christians, two Buddhists, two Muslims, and one Hindu.

About 200 congressmen or senators had been lawyers, and about 270 listed their profession as businessman, although some had been involved in more than one occupation previous to being elected to Congress. Over half of the members of the House and Senate were millionaires, some of them multimillionaires. It is highly unusual for a salaried or wage-earning man or woman to be elected to Congress. They usually don't have the time or money to conduct a campaign that can last for as long as a year.

By far most members have held elective office prior to being chosen to serve in Congress. Dozens of senators once served in the House of Representatives, and about 264 members of Congress formerly served in state legislatures. Thirteen former governors served in the 118th Congress, all in the Senate.

Incumbency and Length of Service

Congress usually sees little turnover in its membership. The general pattern is that incumbents almost always win. Over the years, voters have reelected about 90 percent or more of incumbents.

Most political observers consider many House districts and Senate seats safe for one party or the other. In a safe seat, the incumbent often has no or only token opposition because the opposition party does not want to waste its resources on what it sees as a hopeless cause. Even when an incumbent retires from a safe seat, someone from his or her party usually wins the next election. The drama that unfolds on election night concerning which party will control Congress usually centers on a relatively few races. A change in the party that holds a House or Senate seat typically occurs (1) when a congressman or senator retires, creating what is called an open seat, (2) if a controversy has weakened the popularity of an incumbent, (3) if one political party targets a seat for defeat and works especially hard to win it, or (4) if a presidential candidate enjoys a landslide victory

Raphael Warnock, a minister, won a special election in 2021 to become a U.S. Senator from Georgia. He ran for a full term in 2022 against Herschel Walker, a former NFL athlete, and won in a runoff election.



and carries his party's congressional candidates along on his coattails.

In the 118th Congress, 76 representatives and seven senators were freshmen (in their first term). The average length of service was almost nine years in the House and almost ten years in the Senate. Congress has seen slightly more turnover in recent years than it did in the previous generation.

Term Limits

A frequent topic of political discussion is whether members of Congress and other elected officials should have term limits, a maximum number of terms or years that they can serve. The offices of president and many state governors have term limits. However, legislative bodies, not executives, propose term limits, usually in the form of constitutional amendments. Passing term limits for members of Congress is hard, because they don't want to vote themselves out of a job.

The arguments in favor of term limits include the fact that incumbents have a great advantage over challengers in elections in terms of name recognition and in terms of what they can do and what they can promise to do for voters. This makes a real contest between an incumbent and a challenger quite rare. In addition, incumbents can become more concerned about taking care of themselves and keeping their power than about doing what is best for the people. Staying in Congress for many years is a far cry from the citizen-representative ideal that the founders envisioned in which everyday people would serve only a few years, doing what they believe is genuinely best for the people as a whole, without building a personal power base for themselves.

Against the idea of term limits is the argument that voters should have enough sense and enough freedom to elect whom they want. In other words, we already have term limits. They are called elections. If voters want to reelect the same person campaign after campaign, they should be able to do so.



Deb Fischer served on a local board of education and then in the Nebraska state legislature before being elected to the U.S. Senate in 2012. In 2018 she became the first Nebraska woman to be reelected to the Senate. Here she is speaking at a Walk for Life event in Lincoln, Nebraska, in 2022.

Previously holding an office should not disqualify a person from holding that office again.

In addition, representatives with long tenure have the seniority within Congress to hold important positions and to get things done. All else being equal, an elected official who has been in office for a long time can do more for his home state or home district than a freshman (first-term) congressman or senator can. Every term of every elected office has a limit to it, and the person who holds that office has to run again or retire from it. Voters must stay informed and involved and support good candidates.

What Representatives and Senators Do

Senators and congressmen represent their constituents in Congress and in the operation of the federal government. This involves speaking and voting in official sessions, but it also means helping their constituents.

The most obvious work that a senator or congressman does involves considering and voting on legislation that comes before them on the chamber floor, but that is not all that they do. Much of their time is spent in committee work: attending hearings and considering research for bills that are

before their committees. They also have informal discussions with their staff and with other members of their chamber (especially those of the same party) as they consider the merits of legislation and suggest changes. Members of Congress want to make sure that proposed expenditures in the federal budget include their districts, so they or their staff take time to talk with other members who have introduced bills or members of the committees that formulate the federal budget. Congressmen also meet with lobbyists who want to influence how they vote on a particular piece of legislation.

Contact with their constituents is an important part of the work of a senator or representative. Staff members in Washington, D.C., and in state offices handle inquiries from the folks back home. The offices of representatives and senators receive thousands of letters, phone calls, and emails every week. Some of the letters, phone calls, and emails give praise while others offer criticism or ask questions. The percentage of people who care enough about issues to write their representatives is very small, and these genuine contacts do have an impact.

Often a constituent seeks help from his congressman or senator about a problem involving a federal agency. For example, someone might not have received an expected Social Security payment, or someone needs help with an application for a loan from the Small Business Administration. Congressional offices can provide passes to the visitor galleries of the House or Senate if a constituent is planning a visit to Washington.

Always in the back of a member's mind is the next election. Members of Congress have to be involved in fundraising; making calls and sending letters to stay in touch with party workers back home; developing publicity for newspapers, mailings, websites, and social media; and meeting with visiting groups.

A member of Congress can spend a considerable amount of time traveling between the home state and Washington. Members sometimes go on international trips (called junkets) to meet with foreign political leaders, visit troops stationed

at overseas bases, or engage in fact-finding work regarding trade, immigration, or other topics. Congress has established rules regarding the length and cost of these trips, but a congressman can extend a trip at his or her own expense. Several members traveling together make for a congressional delegation trip. Congressional rules allow for private companies to pay for some travel by members. For example, if a company wants to build a factory in another country, it can pay for a trip by the relevant committee chairmen in Congress to get their support if the deal will require any regulations or treaties.

Library of Congress

The Library of Congress (LOC) was one of the first agencies that the federal government created. It began with a \$5,000 appropriation in 1800 to

purchase “such books as may be necessary for the use of Congress—and for putting up a suitable apartment for containing them therein. . . .” The Capitol building served as the first home for the library, but the British destroyed that structure along with the books when they burned Washington during the War of 1812.

After the fire, former president Thomas Jefferson offered to sell Congress his extensive personal library as a replacement. His collection included a wide range of books, which began the tradition of the LOC gathering books on all kinds of subjects. Congress accepted Jefferson’s offer in 1815 and paid \$23,950 for the former president’s collection of over 6,000 books.

Ainsworth Rand Spofford served as the Librarian of Congress for most of the last half of the 19th century. He set the Library of Congress on the course of making it the major institution that it is today.

Library of Congress Main Reading Room in the Thomas Jefferson Building, Washington, D.C.



By his urging, Congress passed a copyright law in 1870 that required applicants for official copyright to send two copies of their work to the LOC. This caused an avalanche of publications, music, maps, and photographs to descend on the Library; and it led to Spofford's request for a new, separate building for the collection. Congress authorized construction in 1886, and the LOC finally moved out of the Capitol building and into its beautiful new home across the street in 1897.

Today the LOC holds over 173 million items (including 38 million books and other publications, 70 million manuscripts, and 14 million photographs)

on 838 miles of shelves. It continues its primary role as the research headquarters for Congress, but it also effectively serves the nation as a whole. The LOC maintains a website (www.loc.gov) that provides information about the library and the activities of Congress as well as pictures and articles on many topics in American history. The library has posted interviews on YouTube and offers several other resources to the public.



Congressmen and senators often acquire great fame and status, considerable influence, and even a large amount of wealth. However:

**A good name is to be more desired than great wealth,
favor is better than silver and gold.
Proverbs 22:1**

Assignments for Lesson 19

We Hold These Truths	Read “On a Visit to the Senate When He Was Twelve” by Henry Adams, page 90.
Literature	Continue reading <i>Mornings on Horseback</i> by David McCullough.
Project	Continue working on your project for Unit 4.
Student Review	If you are using this resource, answer the questions for Lesson 19 and “On a Visit to the Senate When He Was Twelve.”
Supplements	Optional supplemental resources available: notgrass.com/EG019



Lesson 20

Committee and Political Party Organization

Anyone who is unfamiliar with what Congress actually does and how it does it, with all its duties and all its occupations, with all its devices of management and resources of power, is very far from a knowledge of the constitutional system under which we live.

—Woodrow Wilson, *Congressional Government* (1885)

Two realities, neither of which the Constitution mentions, have a profound influence on the way Congress operates. These realities are political parties and the congressional committee system.

The House chooses its speaker or chairman. The vice president of the United States is the president or chairman of the Senate, and the Senate elects a president *pro tempore* (Latin for “for a time”) or temporary presiding officer. Nothing in the Constitution suggests that these positions of leadership are to be political prizes, but that is what they quickly became and what they remain today. In fact, many of the founding fathers feared the influence of what they called factions, or groups that organize themselves to promote a certain candidate or agenda. Today we call those factions political parties.

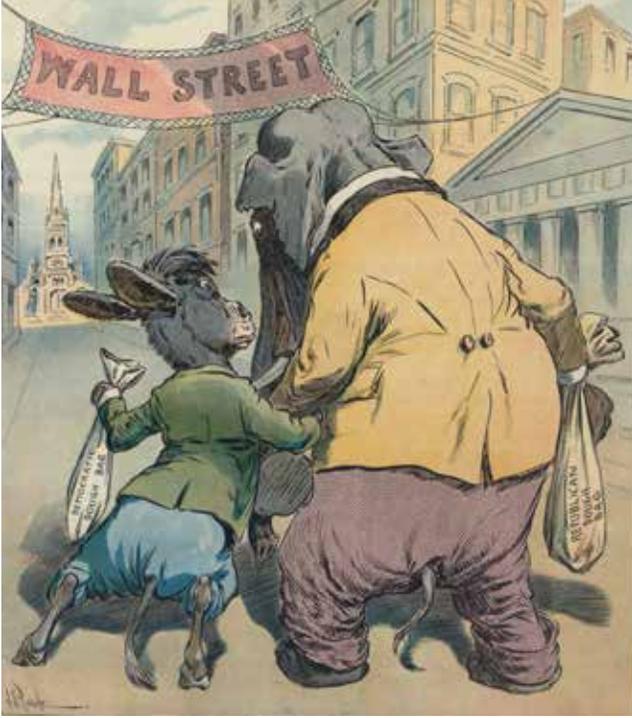
The Party Spirit

Party alignment developed in the earliest days of the government. Representatives and senators

who favored a strong central government looked to men such as John Adams and Alexander Hamilton for ideas and leadership. They took the name of Federalists. Those who promoted the power of the states and favored strictly limiting the power of the central government gathered around Thomas Jefferson and took the name of Republicans. The Federalists began to lose power after Thomas Jefferson became president in 1801, and the party eventually faded away. As the idea of democracy became more acceptable, the Republicans took the name of Democratic Republicans. For a time, the Republicans or Democratic Republicans were the only major party, but factions within the party still allowed for plenty of political competition.

By the time of Andrew Jackson’s election as president in 1828, members of the Democratic Republican party called themselves Democrats. Opponents of Jackson came together as the Whig party in the 1830s. A major issue dividing the two parties was slavery. The Democrats generally favored protecting slavery in the states where it already existed, and they wanted people to have the freedom

Unit 4 - Article I: Congress (Part 1)



This political cartoon from 1908 shows the Democratic donkey and the Republican elephant seeking campaign funding for the upcoming election.

to expand slavery into the territories. The Whigs, on the other hand, opposed the expansion of slavery outside of the states where it already existed. In the 1850s, the Whig Party fell apart and a new party, the Republicans, came into existence. Republicans took a firmer stance against the expansion of slavery than the Whigs had.

From just before the Civil War until today, the two major political parties in the United States have been the Republicans and the Democrats. Minor parties have occasionally emerged; and several exist today, including the Green Party and Libertarian Party; but they have not as yet been able to challenge the power of the two main parties.

Role of Political Parties in Congress

The strength of political parties has come to be the dominant factor in how the House and Senate organize themselves and how they consider legislation.

Party leaders in each chamber discuss their plans at meetings of the party's members in that chamber. Such a meeting is called a caucus (House Democratic Caucus, Senate Republican Caucus, and so forth).

Members of the House and Senate each choose from among their members to serve in leadership roles in their caucuses.

Members of the party that has a majority in either the House or the Senate choose someone to lead their caucus. This person is called the majority leader. The leader chosen by the other party is called the minority leader. Assistant leaders are called the majority whip and minority whip. The whips try to influence the members of their respective parties on what legislation to support or oppose.

To encourage members to vote the party line on a bill, party leaders might appeal to party principles (or to the dire consequences if the opposition were to succeed). In exchange for his vote, they might offer to see about funding a program for a congressman's district, or they could agree to appoint a senator or representative to a particular committee. If a member decides not to vote the way that the majority of his party votes, party leaders might overlook him or her when they plan funding for programs or when a committee position becomes vacant.

The Speaker of the House

The House elects its speaker at the beginning of every new Congress. The speaker is the most powerful member of the House. Since the representatives generally vote along party lines, the majority party in the House is able to name the speaker. As the framers designed the position, the speaker is to preside and maintain order during House sessions. However, the speaker does not usually spend his or her time this way. The speaker might preside during an important debate or if members are voting on an important bill, but most of the time the House elects a temporary chairman to preside over everyday sessions. Often only a handful of congressmen are present at the daily sessions.

Most of the speaker's important work is done behind the scenes. The speaker decides which committees consider bills that representatives introduce, and he or she has a major influence on

which bills come to the floor for a vote. The speaker also works to convince members of his or her party to support legislation that the party leadership supports.

The speaker can vote on all matters that come before the House, but to participate in debate on the House floor he must appoint a temporary chairman to take his place.

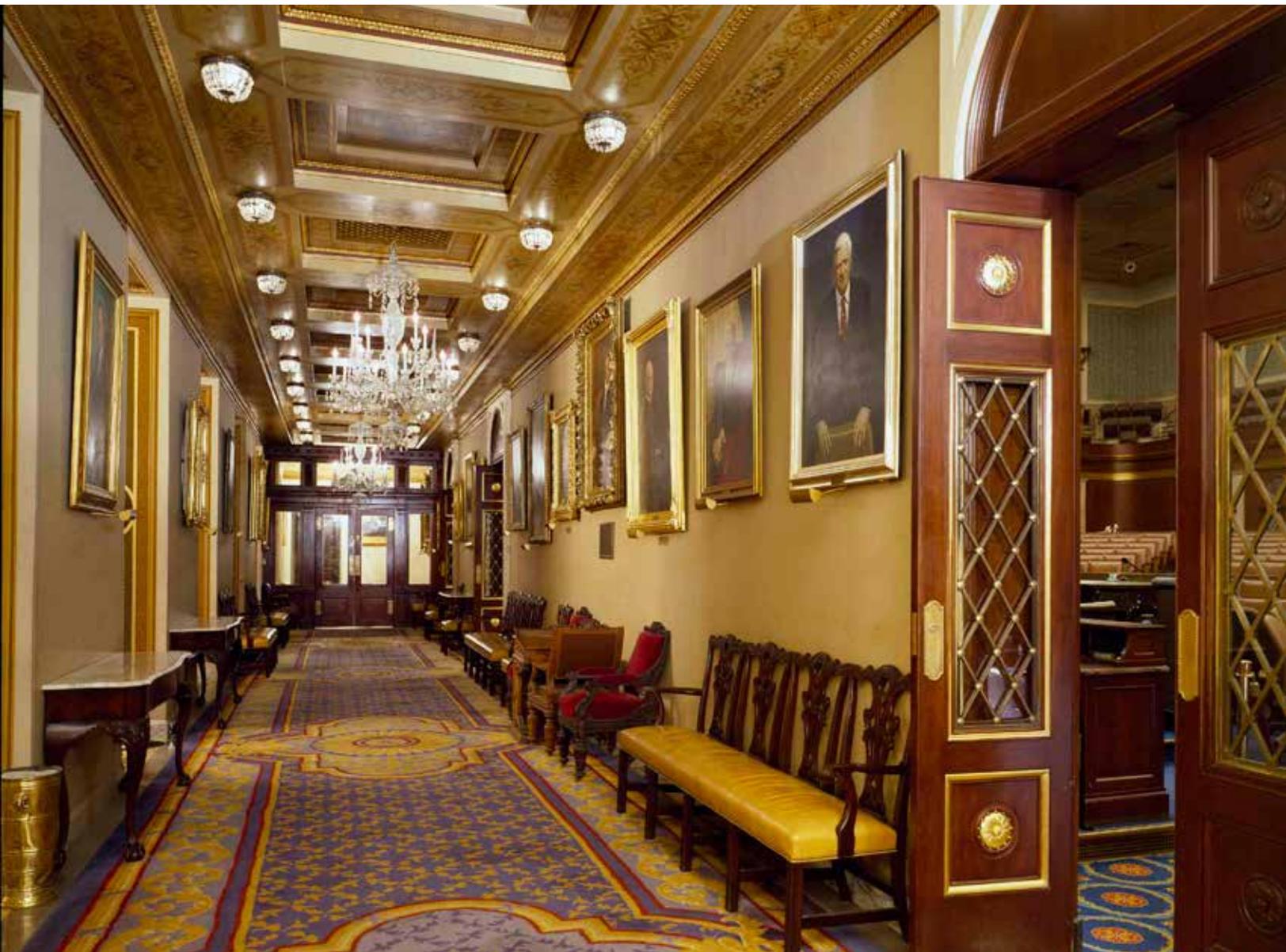
In October 2023, Republicans held a slim majority in the House. A small group of Republicans was displeased with the leadership of speaker Kevin McCarthy, a fellow Republican. This group joined with all Democrats to vote McCarthy out of the speaker's position. This was the first time in American history that the House voted to oust its speaker.

President of the Senate

Even though the vice president of the United States is the president of the Senate, he is not a member of the Senate. He cannot participate in debate or vote except to break a tie.

The Constitution calls for the Senate to choose a president *pro tempore*. The original idea was for the president pro tempore (also called the president pro tem) to preside in the absence of the vice president. Since 1890 the Senate has generally elected the most senior senator of the majority party to be president pro tem as a way to honor this long-serving member. The Senate has always done this since 1949.

Portraits of the Speakers of the House in the Speaker's Lobby Outside the House Chamber in the U.S. Capitol





Vice President John Garner brings down the gavel to convene a session of the 76th Congress in 1940.

In practical terms, today the vice president and the president pro tem hardly ever preside over meetings of the Senate. From the time of the first vice president, John Adams, through the vice presidency of Richard Nixon in the 1950s, the vice president did preside over most meetings of the Senate. However, in the early 1960s Vice President Lyndon Johnson became more involved in political activities

and rarely presided over sessions of the Senate. This pattern continues today, and junior senators of the majority party preside over routine Senate sessions. The vice president presides if he anticipates a close vote or in other extraordinary circumstances.

The Committee System

Much of the work of the Senate and the House takes place in committees, which are each made up of a few members of the respective chambers. Committees study bills that members have introduced, conduct investigations that might lead to new legislation, and hear testimony from the president's staff and other experts regarding matters in which the committee has an interest. Each standing (or permanent) committee and its subcommittees has a subject area on which it works, such as trade, immigration, crime, or homeland security. Sometimes more than one committee might study a bill.

Members of Congress want to be appointed to committees that have special relevance to their home states and districts. Many congressmen from the Midwest, for instance, want to serve on agricultural committees. Representatives from Florida, Texas, and California might want to be named to committees that deal with immigration policy.

The Senate and House, as well as the media and many in the general public, consider certain

Left: The Senate Banking Committee conducts a hearing in 2005.

Right: Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas testifies before the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1991.





Senate Banking and Currency Committee Hearing (1933)

Standing Committees of the Senate

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry
Appropriations
Armed Services
Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
Budget
Commerce, Science, and Transportation
Energy and Natural Resources
Environment and Public Works
Finance
Foreign Relations
Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions
Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs
Judiciary
Rules and Administration
Small Business and Entrepreneurship
Veterans Affairs

Special, Select, and Other Senate Committees

Indian Affairs
Select Committee on Ethics
Select Committee on Intelligence
Special Committee on Aging

Standing Committees of the House of Representatives

Agriculture
Appropriations
Armed Services
Budget
Education and the Workforce
Energy and Commerce
Ethics
Financial Services
Foreign Affairs
Homeland Security
House Administration
Judiciary
Natural Resources
Oversight and Accountability
Rules
Science, Space, and Technology
Small Business
Transportation and Infrastructure
Veterans Affairs
Ways and Means
Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence
Select Committee on the Strategic
Competition Between the United States
and the Chinese Communist Party

Joint Committees

(with members from both the House and the Senate)

Joint Committee on Printing
Joint Committee on Taxation

Joint Committee on the Library of Congress
Joint Economic Committee

committees to be the most prestigious. The Armed Services Committees in both houses work on military policy. The Senate Judiciary Committee, among other tasks, considers nominations for federal judgeships. The House Ways and Means Committee handles revenue and spending legislation and serves as a steering committee for much of the legislation that comes before the House. Party leaders usually name the member of the majority party who has served the longest on a committee to be chairman of that committee.

The committee system is one way in which the majority party exercises great power in the House and Senate. The majority party chooses all of the committee chairmen and a majority of committee

members. The committees usually actively consider only legislation that the majority party supports. Each committee also has a ranking member, who is the committee's longest-serving member from the minority party.

In the next unit, we will see how bills that members of Congress introduce make their way through a set process in order to become law. We will also see the role that committees and political parties play in passing or defeating proposed legislation.



Party positions have been around for a long time, as evidenced in this incident in the life of the apostle Paul:

**And there occurred a great uproar;
and some of the scribes of the Pharisaic party stood up
and began to argue heatedly, saying,
“We find nothing wrong with this man;
suppose a spirit or an angel has spoken to him?”
Acts 23:9**

Assignments for Lesson 20

We Hold These Truths

Read “Party Terrorism” from *Harper’s Weekly*, pages 91-93.

Literature

Finish reading *Mornings on Horseback* by David McCullough. Read the literary analysis of the book on pages 16-17 of the *Student Review* and answer the questions on page 17.

Project

Finish your project for Unit 4.

Student Review

If you are using this resource, answer the questions for Lesson 20 and “Party Terrorism,” and take the quiz for Unit 4.

Supplements

Optional supplemental resources available: notgrass.com/EG020



13

International Relations

- 61 - Diplomats and Diplomacy
- 62 - The U.S. and International Organizations
- 63 - War and Peace
- 64 - Trade
- 65 - Human Rights

U.S. Embassy in Ottawa, Canada

Introduction

The United States plays a major role in the community of nations. This unit considers the topic of diplomacy in general and then explores four issues in American foreign policy: engagement with international organizations, war and peace, trade, and human rights.

Books Used

We Hold These Truths

God and Ronald Reagan by Paul Kengor

Project (choose one)

1. Write 300 to 500 words on one of the following topics:
 - Do you think the United States should participate in United Nations resolutions that call for military action against countries? If the U.S. does participate, should American troops be subject to UN command, or should American commanders lead American troops? Explain your reasoning.
 - How should the U.S. engage with other countries whose governments commit human rights abuses or perform other actions of which Americans disapprove? What are the pros and cons of diplomatic recognition, international trade, and other forms of engagement with these countries?
2. Create a poster urging action against human trafficking.
3. Memorize Isaiah 2:1-4.



Embassy Row in Washington, D.C.

Lesson 61

Diplomats and Diplomacy

I do believe that in order to be a successful negotiator that as a diplomat, you have to be able to put yourself into the other person's shoes. Unless you can understand what is motivating them, you are never going to be able to figure out how to solve a particular problem.

—*Madeleine Albright (1937-2022), former secretary of state*

Diplomacy is the conduct of relations among nations. The word *diplomacy* comes from a Greek word which means “a folded paper,” as in an official, confidential document. The word *diploma* comes from the same root. Since diplomats (people involved in diplomacy) usually try to handle relations among countries in as careful a manner as possible, people sometimes describe trying to be tactful and choosing one’s words carefully in any context as being diplomatic.

Head of State

Diplomatic tradition recognizes two roles in national leadership: the head of state and the head of government. The head of state is a country’s official representative among the family of nations, while the head of government is responsible for the ongoing activities of a nation’s government. Some describe this distinction as the difference between reigning and ruling. In the United Kingdom, the monarch is

the head of state while the prime minister is the head of government. In other words, the monarch reigns but the prime minister rules. Several other European nations make this distinction as well. In the United States, the president is both head of state and head of government.

As the head of state, the president conducts relations with other countries. According to Article II, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution, the president is responsible for nominating (with the Senate’s consent) ambassadors, public ministers, and consuls to be our country’s official representatives in other nations. Section 3 states that the president shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers who are official representatives of other countries.

Directing American Foreign Policy

Foreign policy involves how one country interacts with other countries. The president is responsible for setting American foreign policy during his administration. The president will utilize

the secretary of state and the State Department in carrying out his foreign policy.

What does foreign policy look like? Here are some examples of how presidents have conducted foreign policy in general terms and in specific incidents in American history. The first presidents established a pattern of the United States maintaining strict neutrality in relating to other countries. The U.S. avoided taking sides in conflicts between other countries. In its early years, even if it had wanted to, the United States was not strong enough militarily to get involved in foreign conflicts with the more powerful countries of the world.

In 1823 President James Monroe announced what became known as the Monroe Doctrine, which said that the U.S. would not welcome involvement by European countries in the domestic affairs of nations in the Western Hemisphere. The United States government issued this warning to the countries of Europe because the U.S. wanted to be the major influence in the Western Hemisphere. This challenged the continuation of European colonialism in this part of the world.

The United States concluded agreements that led to the Louisiana Purchase from France in 1803, the Gadsden Purchase from Mexico in 1853-1854, and the Alaska Purchase from Russia in 1867, along with other territorial agreements. The leaders of the countries involved led the making of these deals, but many government officials on both sides actually did the work in initiating, negotiating, and closing each deal. As discussed on pages 251-252, the U.S. acquired other territories in the late 1800s, particularly as a result of the Spanish-American War.

When fighting began in the Great War (World War I) in Europe in 1914, President Woodrow Wilson maintained American neutrality for a while. Eventually, Wilson led the United States into the war in the hope that American prestige and commitment to peace could help prevent future wars. Wilson wanted the U.S. to be a key player in his proposed League of Nations, but Republican leaders in the

Senate resisted continuing involvement in world affairs. Though the U.S. did engage in relatively minor military activity in other countries during the 1920s and 1930s, Americans were reluctant to commit to major entanglements overseas.

President Franklin Roosevelt established the Good Neighbor policy toward countries in the Western Hemisphere, so that the U.S. could assist but not seek to dominate those countries. During the early years of World War II, Roosevelt led the U.S. into the world conflict by giving aid to the European allies who were fighting Germany and Italy. After Japan attacked Hawaii, Congress declared war, and America fully entered WWII.

The United States did not join the League of Nations after World War I, but it did join the United Nations after World War II. Since then the U.S. has been heavily involved in international affairs. This has included diplomatic activities, military interventions, economic development, and humanitarian projects.

Ambassadors, Consuls, and Foreign Service Officers

An **ambassador** is the highest-ranking official from one country working in another country. An ambassador's office is called an embassy and is usually located in a country's capital city. The president chooses people to be ambassadors for a number of reasons. The nominee might know a country well, or he might be a skilled negotiator, or he might be someone for whom the president would like to do a political favor. Sometimes the president names a major financial contributor to be an ambassador to a country that has a peaceful relationship with the United States. Countries where problems exist need more skilled diplomats.

A **consul** is a representative of a government who works in another country and assists individuals and businesses who are from the consul's home country. The consular office might issue travel visas or assist a business in the foreign country wanting to do



President Donald Trump recognized Jerusalem as the official national capital of Israel in 2017 and announced that the American embassy in Israel would move from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. This 2018 photo taken near the new U.S. embassy in Jerusalem shows a sign in Hebrew, Arabic, and English.

work in the consul's home country. Consular offices might be in any major city, not necessarily a nation's capital. A country may have a consular office in another country even though the two countries do not have full diplomatic relations.

Foreign service officers (FSOs) are on the front lines of the day-to-day operation of America's foreign policy. FSOs are employees of the U.S. State Department. Foreign service officers fill five main foreign service career tracks:

- **Consular officers** process travel visas, facilitate adoptions, help evacuate Americans in times of crisis, combat fraud to protect our borders, and fight human trafficking.
- **Economic officers** work with business leaders and government officials on issues related to technology, science, trade, energy, and the environment.
- **Management officers** are responsible for the wide variety of embassy operations, including buildings, finances, and personnel.

- **Political officers** analyze political developments in foreign countries and help negotiate and communicate with officials of foreign governments.
- **Public diplomacy officers** meet with local groups, academics, and government officials to promote mutual understanding and generate support for U.S. policies.

Other Influences on Foreign Policy

The president establishes and guides American foreign policy, and he depends on the State Department to implement it. However, there are other major influences on foreign policy also. The Senate must approve the president's diplomatic appointments and treaties, and of course, Congress must approve appropriations for the State Department.

American public opinion affects American foreign policy. Lyndon Johnson's conduct of the Vietnam War was a major factor in his loss of favor with the American people. Over time the majority of the American people simply did not see the point

of pursuing a war in southeast Asia that cost tens of thousands of lives and billions of dollars, a war that seemed unwinnable, and a war that made little strategic sense in terms of the security of our country.

Likewise, the American people strongly supported the war on terrorism immediately after the September 11th terrorist attacks in 2001. However, as the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq dragged on for many years, the public came to doubt the wisdom of continuing the conflicts.

The Importance of Diplomatic Recognition

Full diplomatic relations between two countries begin with an announcement of recognition. In the United States, the president is responsible for making that decision. After formal recognition, the two countries exchange ambassadors.

Diplomatic recognition says that one government believes the government of another country is legitimate. Withholding recognition says that a government does not believe those holding power in another country are the legitimate government leaders. Events in other countries sometimes make the decision to extend recognition a difficult one. For instance, if a revolution occurs

During the U.S. military withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2021, this Marine is directing a Department of State employee carrying a baby at the airport in Kabul.



in a country and the military seizes control, the U.S. president has to decide whether to recognize the new government as legitimate or to continue to maintain that the deposed government is legitimate and should be restored.

If the United States does not recognize a government, it can still carry on relations with that country through a third country that both countries do recognize. However, those relations are usually strained. American travel to and trade with the unrecognized country are difficult if not impossible.

Relations between governments that do recognize each other can sometimes deteriorate. When serious conflict develops, the president can call an ambassador home or order a foreign ambassador to leave the U.S. The next step is to sever diplomatic relations and close the embassy.

Granting or withholding diplomatic recognition is a key element of foreign policy. The United States was the first nation to extend diplomatic recognition to modern Israel after its founding in 1948 and has continued to see Israel as a major ally in the Middle East. Here are some examples of how withholding recognition has played a role in American history.

In an attempt to limit the influence of Communism in the world, multiple American administrations refused for years to recognize the Communist governments of other nations. For instance, the Communist government of the Soviet Union began in 1917; but the U.S. did not extend diplomatic recognition to the U.S.S.R. until 1933. The People's Republic of China (PRC) was founded in 1949. However, not until 1979 did the U.S. government extend recognition to the PRC, which Americans then referred to as "Red China" (red being a color associated with Communism). Even that move only came seven years after Richard Nixon opened the door of official diplomatic contact with the PRC by visiting China in 1972. Fidel Castro organized a Communist government in Cuba in 1959, but the U.S. did not begin normalizing relations with the Communist government of Cuba until 2014 during the administration of Barack Obama.

peace in the Middle East can improve opportunities for trade and reduce the need for military action, it also improves the lives of the people who live there. President Jimmy Carter's boldest initiative while in office was guiding the Camp David Accords that led to a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt in 1978. President Bill Clinton participated in an agreement between Israel and Jordan in 1994. In 2020 President Donald Trump helped to conclude peace treaties between Israel and Bahrain and between Israel and the United Arab Emirates.

The goals of diplomatic relations or foreign policy are to produce mutual benefits for all countries involved, to prevent war whenever possible, and to provide assistance for a country when another country attacks it. The United States encourages freedom and democracy in other countries because of an American belief that freedom and democracy are basic rights of every human being. The U.S. also encourages democracy because democracies generally do not go to war against each other.

The Intricate Nature of Diplomacy

Diplomatic relations can become intricate with many levels under the surface. France, for instance, did not form an alliance with the United States during the American Revolution because of a French commitment to the cause of democracy and freedom. France was still a monarchy at the time. Instead, France was willing to help the U.S. because France and Britain were traditional enemies, and the French government was willing to do anything it could to weaken Great Britain.

The United States government sends billions of dollars in foreign aid to many countries. The U.S. provides some of this to longtime allies and to poor countries out of a sincere humanitarian desire to do good for people in need. In other situations, however, the aid has some strings attached. During the Cold War between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, both powers sent aid to smaller countries in order to win their support or to keep those countries



In 2016 President Barack Obama became the first sitting president to visit Cuba since Calvin Coolidge did in 1928. This poster in Havana pictures Obama and Raúl Castro. Because of Fidel Castro's declining health, his brother Raúl had taken over as leader of the Communist Party of Cuba. Fidel died later that year.

The Key Element of Foreign Policy

The overriding concern of a nation's foreign policy is that nation's own self-interest. Government leaders pursue goals that help their own citizens prosper and be safe.

The different countries of the world have varying interests and various ways of pursuing them. The government of Switzerland, for instance, pursues its goals differently from the way that the government of North Korea does. Leaders of nations have various motives for what they do. Sometimes a leader is facing domestic opposition, so he will create or magnify conflict with another country to try to get his people to rally around his leadership.

As a result of the influence of Christianity on American society, the U.S. government has many times sacrificed in order to help bring about good for other people of the world. For example, U.S. presidents have encouraged countries in the Middle East to improve their relations. While building

from officially aligning with the enemy. The aid that America sends is targeted for specific programs in the smaller country, such as agricultural development or the construction of schools. Often, however, at least some of the money has illegally ended up in the pockets of foreign government leaders.

In the late 1970s, the revolutionary government of Iran was strongly anti-American, largely because the U.S. had supported the deposed shah (or king) of Iran. Iranian militants took over the U.S. embassy in Tehran and held American diplomats hostage for over a year. The Iranians eventually released the American hostages, but then neighboring Iraq

attacked Iran for its own purposes. Since Iraq was fighting an enemy of the U.S., the American government gave support to Iraq and its leader, Saddam Hussein, in its war against Iran. After that war was over, Iraq drew closer to other enemies of America in the Middle East, and the U.S. began to oppose a country that it had recently assisted.



Considering the high stakes that are involved, foreign relations are an essential function of American government. Nations of the world have engaged in diplomatic relations for millennia.

**Now it happened afterwards that the king of the Ammonites died,
and Hanun his son became king in his place.**

**Then David said, “I will show kindness to Hanun
the son of Nahash, just as his father showed kindness to me.”**

So David sent some of his servants to console him concerning his father.

**But when David’s servants came to the land of the Ammonites,
the princes of the Ammonites said to Hanun their lord,**

**“Do you think that David is honoring your father
because he has sent consolers to you?**

**Has David not sent his servants to you in order to search the city,
to spy it out and overthrow it?”**

2 Samuel 10:1-3

Assignments for Lesson 61

We Hold These Truths

Read “A Career in Foreign Service” by Danny Toma, pages 158-161.

Literature

Continue reading *God and Ronald Reagan* by Paul Kengor. Plan to be finished with it by the end of Unit 15.

Project

Choose your project for Unit 13 and start working on it.

Student Review

If you are using this resource, answer the questions for Lesson 61 and “A Career in Foreign Service.”

Supplements

Optional supplemental resources available: notgrass.com/EG061



Delegates at a World Trade Organization Meeting in Geneva, Switzerland (2012)

Lesson 62

The U.S. and International Organizations

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? . . . Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? . . .

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another a habitual hatred or a habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. . . .

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. . . . The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop. Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none, or a very remote, relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities. . . .

—George Washington in his Farewell Address (1796)

George Washington intended for the warnings against permanent alliances that he expressed in his Farewell Address to keep the U.S. out of entangling commitments to other countries when the U.S. had no direct interest in what was going on in other countries. For instance, if the U.S. had made a mutual defense treaty with France, and Spain had attacked France,

the U.S. would have had to become involved in a conflict in which it had no real interest.

Washington also warned against relations with a country that were based on prejudices instead of objective judgment. For example, if the U.S. disliked anything British, America could wind up opposing Britain in a war for no good reason and paying dearly for that position.

Until World War I, the United States generally followed Washington's advice. The U.S. became involved in that war reluctantly, but after the war ended the country generally retreated to a position called isolationism, in which the country had relatively little to do with the rest of the world except for international trade. With the rise of Hitler in Germany and the militaristic government of Japan in the 1930s, the U.S. began aiding the countries who fought against those powers, principally Great Britain. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 led America to enter fully into World War II.

Following World War II, the American government committed itself to two key international organizations, the United Nations (UN) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The United Nations

President Woodrow Wilson had a strong desire to establish an international League of Nations after World War I, believing it would help prevent another terrible global conflict. Many in the U.S. did not share his dream, however, including the Republican leadership in the U.S. Senate. The Senate rejected the Treaty of Versailles that called for the League of Nations, and the United States never became a member of the League. As a result, the League was never a powerful force in international relations.

During World War II, the Allied nations including the U.S. agreed to create a new international body, the United Nations. The UN began in 1945. Its permanent headquarters are in New York City. Almost all nations of the world are members of the General Assembly of the UN.

The most powerful body in the UN is the Security Council. The council consists of five permanent members (the U.S., the United Kingdom, Russia, France, and China) and ten other rotating member nations that each serve two-year terms. Each of the five permanent members has a veto over any action or resolution before the council.

According to the UN Charter, the UN can authorize the deployment of military forces from member nations on peacekeeping missions. Since 1948 the UN has sent forces on over 70 such missions in many places around the world.

The UN sponsors many agencies, such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organization (WHO), the World Trade Organization (WTO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the International Court of Justice. United Nations agencies have conducted scientific and humanitarian projects around the world.

American membership in the UN has helped the U.S. at times. The United States and the Soviet Union played out their confrontation during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 in part in the forum of the United Nations, and this helped bring about the peaceful resolution of that standoff. Our membership in the United Nations also helped to generate world support for military action against Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein in 1990-1991 and again in 2003.

However, the United Nations has been a costly alliance for the U.S. in several ways. The U.S. is the largest financial contributor to the UN. Despite this and despite our record of seeking peace, some member nations accuse the U.S. of being a threat to world peace. In addition, the UN is top-heavy with bureaucracy and UN officials have been involved in serious corruption at times.

Russian foreign minister Sergey Lavrov spoke at a meeting of the UN Security Council in April 2023.





This photo shows military personnel aboard the USS Mount Whitney in the Baltic Sea in 2023 as members of NATO conduct joint training exercises.

NATO

Twelve countries including the United States formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949. It is specifically a military defense organization. The NATO charter states that member nations will see an attack on one member as an attack on all member countries. NATO's original purpose was to discourage and, if necessary respond to, an attack by the Soviet Union. That attack never happened.

NATO military forces first entered combat in 1994 in the fighting that took place in the Balkan Peninsula in Europe. The fighting erupted as a result of the complicated ethnic and international conflict that emerged after the end of Soviet domination there and the collapse of Communist governments in the region. The first time that NATO invoked the mutual defense provision was on September 12, 2001, in response to the terrorist attack on the U.S.

Other nations have joined NATO from time to time over the years. Since the fall of Communism in Europe, several nations that were members of the

Soviet Union and the Soviet sphere of influence have become members. As of this writing, NATO has 31 member states. Other countries have applied or are considering applying for membership.

Since the late 1940s, the U.S. has been continuously involved in international affairs. It has been involved in international organizations and treaty alliances as well as focused efforts to address specific issues or to help other countries conclude treaties or cease-fire agreements. The United States has committed troops to many places of conflict in the world.

Summit Meetings

Summit meetings involve the leaders of countries who meet to discuss various issues of interest to the countries they represent. Sometimes these meetings produce substantive agreements, while at other times the leaders simply talk. Other high-level officials, such as foreign ministers and treasury officials, take part in discussions.



Leaders of the Group of Seven members met in Hiroshima, Japan, in May 2023. From left to right are Charles Michel, President of the European Council; Giorgia Meloni, Prime Minister of Italy; Justin Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada; Emmanuel Macron, President of France; Fumio Kishida, Prime Minister of Japan; Joe Biden, President of the United States; Olaf Scholz, Chancellor of Germany; Rishi Sunak, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom; and Ursula von der Leyen, President of the European Commission. The leaders laid wreaths at the city's Peace Memorial Museum and met a hibakusha, someone who survived the atomic bomb blast there in 1945.

Group of Seven (G7). In 1975 representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Japan, and West Germany met as the Group of Six to discuss economic issues such as inflation and a recession caused by an oil embargo put in place by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Canada joined the next year, creating the Group of Seven. International political issues came to be discussed at their annual meetings. Russia became a member in 1998, and the meeting became the Group of Eight. However, Russia was suspended in 2014 after it annexed Crimea from Ukraine. The European Union also takes part as a non-enumerated member.

Group of Twenty (G20). Finance ministers of the 20 largest economies in the world began meeting annually in 1999. In 2008 the heads of state of these countries began meeting each year (see photo on page 36). The 20 countries or groups of countries represented are: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa,

South Korea, Türkiye, the U.K., the U.S., and the European Union. These economies produce 85 percent of the world's gross domestic product.

As with one-on-one summit meetings, sometimes the G7 and G20 develop meaningful policies and sometimes they do not.

IGOs, NGOs, and OPEC

The UN, NATO, the G7, and the G20 are examples of intergovernmental organizations (IGOs). Representatives of national governments take part in IGO meetings. Member countries generally abide by decisions that these organizations make, although usually they are not strictly bound to do so. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are private organizations that work in several countries. The International Red Cross is an NGO.

OPEC is a loosely affiliated group of oil exporting countries that seeks to influence world oil production and price. The economic term for this kind of group

is a *cartel*. OPEC+ includes a few other countries that export oil but are not members of OPEC. Sometimes countries that are part of these groups follow the decisions of the group, and sometimes they do not. The United States exports oil but is not a part of either of these groups.

American Involvement in the World

U.S. participation in the community of nations since World War II has benefited our country and the world. We have helped negotiate peace agreements that ended conflicts in many parts of the world. Trade between the U.S. and other nations has provided economic and cultural benefits in both directions.

On the other hand, sometimes the U.S. has become involved in conflicts in the world in which we had no direct national interest. Our armed forces

have become bogged down in trying to fight battles that did not have clearly defined combatants and in trying to rebuild nations after they suffered through periods of poor leadership.

Knowing when to get involved and when not to get involved beyond our borders requires great wisdom and caution. We have to consider carefully if involvement furthers our national interests and promotes justice for others. Crises flare up, and long-standing conflicts simmer. Sometimes the United States can help resist the efforts of countries, groups, or leaders that plan to do evil.



As we live in our interconnected world, we should look to the God of heaven and earth for guidance. We should remember that God is Lord of the nations, and we should make all of our decisions in accordance with His will.

**All nations whom You have made shall come and
worship before You, O Lord, and they shall glorify Your name.
For You are great and do wondrous deeds;
You alone are God.
Psalm 86:9-10**

Assignments for Lesson 62

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Literature | Continue reading <i>God and Ronald Reagan</i> by Paul Kengor. |
| Project | Continue working on your project for Unit 13. |
| Student Review | If you are using this resource, answer the questions for Lesson 62. |
| Supplements | Optional supplemental resources available: notgrass.com/EG062 |



A crew prepares to unfurl a flag on the Pentagon the day after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks.

Lesson 63

War and Peace

War is not merely a political act, but also a real political instrument, a continuation of political commerce, a carrying out of the same by other means.

—Carl von Clausewitz (1780-1831), Prussian General

War has been part of the story of mankind since the days of Genesis. From ancient times until today, nations and national leaders have resorted to war to get the results they wanted. In modern times, political leaders send young men and women into battle but do not go themselves.

Ideally, nations live at peace with one another, although most nations build a defense system in case they are attacked. Sometimes relations between nations can be uneasy, even for a period of years, without a shooting war breaking out. War can happen in many ways. Often one nation becomes aggressive and attacks another nation over some pretext. Sometimes tensions rise between nations and eventually erupt in war. Allies of combating nations can be drawn into the conflict. Whether the war lasts a matter of weeks or years, eventually one side becomes dominant or the other side sues for peace, and the fighting ends. Peace negotiations follow, the former combatants sign a peace treaty, and peace—sometimes an uneasy peace—resumes.

The traditional form of war, in which the government of one nation declares war on another nation, still takes place. However, a new kind of war has also developed. Today a shadowy group might initiate a terrorist attack on a country and then claim responsibility. How can the country that has been attacked fight back against such a group?

In this lesson, we look at three kinds of conflict, three kinds of war. First is the modern reality of terrorism. Second is the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. Finally, we look at the relationships among the People's Republic of China, the Republic of China (Taiwan), and the United States.

Terrorism

Our world changed on September 11, 2001. Americans had been the victims of terror before, but the 9/11 attacks brought the threat of terrorism into our consciousness with full force. Countering the forces of terrorism remains a major concern for the American government today.

In most cases, terrorists are part of underground, widely scattered cells of activists who maintain a loose network of communication and support. Generally, they are not agents of a recognized government. However, some governments do aid and protect them. The U.S. State Department calls these countries state sponsors of terrorism.

Governments who oppose terrorists want to identify any individuals, groups, or governments who give any assistance to terrorists. Terrorists need supplies and weapons. They can obtain these in a number of ways. Sometimes governments give funds to terrorists in a way that will be difficult to trace. In addition, wealthy individuals might use their resources to help fund terrorists. It is also generally believed that illegal activities such as drug trafficking in many places around the world are a way that terrorists obtain money. Governments who oppose terrorists use diplomatic efforts and secret investigations to discover who might be supporting terrorists and how they are doing it.

Governments sometimes decide to use military force to oppose terrorists and to stop their planning and activity. The usual diplomatic efforts don't reach terrorists who are willing to blow up themselves and others. This response of force takes place not only when terrorists strike but also, ideally, by locating and stopping terrorists before they strike.

How the U.S. Government Opposes Terrorism

The United States government pursues many lines of activity to oppose, limit, and eliminate terrorists. It engages in diplomacy to encourage the governments of other nations to join with us in working against terrorism. The U.S. also confronts governments that are suspected of or are involved in state-sponsored terrorism. Our government uses secret operations, including the work of informants, to find out where the underground cells are located and who the specific individuals are that are involved

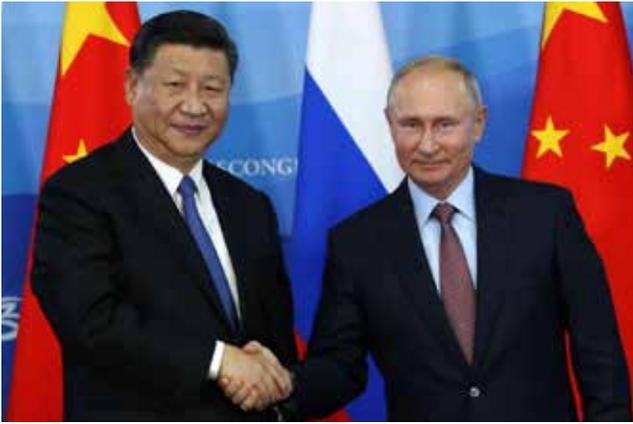
in these activities. A major part of the work of the U.S. military is engaging in operations against terrorists. The U.S. works with the intelligence departments of other countries and international agencies such as INTERPOL in gathering relevant information.

Tracking down the terrorist enemy and his lines of communication and supply is a complicated task. Terrorist leaders usually remain in hiding. Their support may come from countries with whom we are officially at peace. The terrorist network is purposefully loose and secretive. Our military and our homeland security forces must be constantly on the alert for an unexpected attack in an unsuspected place. American citizens experience this firsthand when they have to submit to thorough security measures in airports.

The effort against terrorism is huge. Our government has a heavy responsibility to protect our freedoms and our personal rights while at the same time tracking down those who threaten those freedoms and rights. We cannot live in fear and let the terrorists win by paralyzing our way of life. We also have a responsibility to build bridges with all people and look for peaceful solutions to complex international issues.

Naval Support Activity Crane in Indiana hosted a drill with a simulated explosive device as part of anti-terrorism training. This sailor is controlling a robot during the exercise.





Chinese President Xi Jinping (L) and Russian President Vladimir Putin (R) shake hands at the Eastern Economic Forum in Russia in 2018.

Russia and Ukraine

The Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022 is a real-world situation involving two countries with long-standing tension that eventually led to war.

A major part of Ukrainian history involves its being invaded and occupied by other countries, often Russia. After a brief period of independence after World War I, Ukraine became one of the Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922. Soviet domination of Ukraine and the shipping of grain from Ukraine to other parts of the U.S.S.R. led to a disastrous famine in Ukraine from 1932 to 1933 that caused the death of around four million people. Ukraine suffered greatly as a key battleground in World War II. The Soviet government moved thousands of Russian-

speaking people into eastern Ukraine during the time of Soviet domination. In 1954 Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev transferred the Crimean peninsula from Russian control to Ukraine.

During the collapse of the Soviet Union, Ukraine became an independent, sovereign country in 1991. The United States and many other countries recognized Ukraine's status. However, Russian president Vladimir Putin called Ukraine a "made-up country" and repeatedly infringed on Ukrainian sovereignty. Russia seized and annexed the Crimean Peninsula in 2014. For several years after that, Russian soldiers in uniforms without insignia as well as other Russian-backed fighters engaged in a war in eastern Ukraine to take control of that area.

In February of 2022, Russia launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine. Putin declared that Russian forces were liberating Ukraine from a corrupt government and were engaging in "de-Nazification" of the country while he was attempting to put Ukraine under Russian control. Areas in Ukraine that Russian troops controlled held referendums that endorsed Russia's annexation of them, but most of the world dismissed the voting as spurious.

The great majority of other countries in the world quickly condemned the Russian invasion. Several countries imposed sanctions on doing business with Russia. The United States as well as other countries sent military aid to Ukraine. Ukrainian forces fought

Protesters Near the Russian Embassy in Riga, Latvia (2022)





Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy speaks at a NATO Summit held in Lithuania in 2023.

back strongly and limited Russian conquests in the country. On October 12, 2022, the United Nations General Assembly condemned the Russian invasion of Ukraine by a vote of 143 to 5 with 35 nations abstaining. The five countries that voted against the resolution were North Korea, Belarus, Nicaragua, Syria, and Russia. China, India, and many African nations abstained.

One key factor in the conflict is the role of NATO. Some countries in Eastern Europe that were Communist satellites before the fall of the Soviet Union have become members of NATO. Ukraine sought membership in NATO as a safeguard against a Russian invasion, but as of 2022, NATO had not approved their membership. One provision of the NATO charter is that an attack on one country is seen by the other countries as an attack on all of them. Russia believed that Ukrainian membership in NATO would be an unacceptable provocation on its border. NATO, however, is intended to thwart Russian aggression or an attack by terrorists or some other foe; it is not a threat to Russia.

Several issues need to be resolved in addition to putting a stop to the fighting. Will Russia be required to leave Ukraine and pull back to positions it held before February of 2022? Will Ukraine receive any reparations from Russia or assistance from other sources for the damages caused by the war? What will be the outcome of allegations about war crimes that Russians are reported to have

committed in Ukraine? Will Ukraine receive any assistance for bringing back the millions of refugees who have fled the country since the start of the war? What will be the long-term status of Crimea? Will Ukraine become a member of NATO? These and other issues will need to be addressed in peace negotiations.

ROC, PRC, and the USA

The diplomatic interplay among the United States, the People's Republic of China (PRC, also known as Communist China or mainland China), and the Republic of China (ROC, also called Taiwan for the island on which it is located) is a complicated situation, rooted in history but also very much a product of the present-day world.

As the 20th century began, China was in chaos. The Qing (Manchu) dynasty was weak and ineffective in governing the country. Warlords fought each other for control of certain areas. Foreign nations, mostly from the West, were not as interested in diplomatic relations with China as in carving China into spheres of influence where they might exert control and profit from trade. The United States advocated an Open Door policy that would give all nations access to the Chinese market. A relatively small but influential group of Chinese attempted to fight against the influence of what the group called "foreign devils" and rid their country of foreign control. This is what lay behind the Boxer Rebellion.

In 1911 a group of revolutionary Chinese citizens overthrew the Qing dynasty and declared the Republic of China (ROC). Dr. Sun Yat-sen served briefly as president and organized the Kuomintang (KMT) or Nationalist Party to govern the country. Chiang Kai-shek was leader of the party's military force. Sun died in 1925, and an internal struggle for control of the party followed. Chiang was in firm control by 1928 and functioned as the leader of the nation.

Meanwhile during the 1920s Mao Zedong helped to organize the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) among Chinese citizens who were not part of the KMT. Mao eventually became its leader. At first the Communists and the KMT tried to work together for the good of the country, but both sides wanted to control China so they found that they could not be allies. Civil war ensued until 1934, when the KMT emerged victorious.

The Communists withdrew to the far northwest of China to regroup. The two sides stopped fighting with each other during World War II in order to fight the invading Japanese, but at the end of that conflict in 1945, civil war began again between the KMT and the Communists. This time the Communists emerged victorious. Chiang, his army, and other supporters—a total of about 1.5 million people— withdrew to the large island of Taiwan off the coast of the mainland. On the mainland, Mao declared the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949.

Chiang vowed to invade the Chinese mainland one day and retake control of all of China. Nationalist forces have never attempted this, although a few shots were fired between the Communists and the KMT in the 1950s. After the Communist takeover in China, the United States and most other nations continued to recognize the ROC government on Taiwan as the legitimate government of all of China and Chiang as the legitimate head of China. The

Mao Zedong (second from left) visited Joseph Stalin (front center) in the Soviet Union in 1949.



United Nations (with the influence of the United States playing a major role) declared that the Nationalist government was entitled to membership in the UN while the Communist PRC government was not. Meanwhile the Soviet Union quickly recognized Mao as the legitimate ruler of China.

For decades most of the world, again with significant influence from the U.S., operated under the diplomatic fiction that the de facto government of the most populous country in the world did not really exist. In the U.S., the thinking in government was that to recognize the Communist PRC would be to legitimize the Communists and to turn our backs on an anti-Communist ally. The U.S. sold weapons to the Chiang government and engaged in trade that helped build Taiwan into a major world economic power. However, the Chiang-KMT government was corrupt and oppressive and allowed no other political party to exist out of fear of Communist influence. The American position was “Yes, Chiang is a dictator, but he’s *our* dictator in the fight against Communism.” Other countries of the world gradually extended diplomatic recognition to the Communist government of the PRC.

Meanwhile, the PRC on the mainland descended into Communist darkness. Program after program, such as the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, cost millions of lives, some from famine and others from persecution, and only proved the failures of the Communist system. However, with help from the Soviet Union, during the 1950s the PRC military grew stronger.

The PRC insisted that Taiwan was really part of China but never tried to invade the island to end the ROC. A Communist Chinese invasion of Taiwan would have risked a direct confrontation with Taiwan’s major ally, the United States. At the same time, an invasion of the mainland by the ROC would have almost certainly met defeat at the hands of the much stronger PRC.

Relations between the Soviet Union and Communist China began to sour in the early 1960s. Mao criticized the Soviet government for

Lesson 63 - War and Peace

not standing up to the United States in the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, suggesting that Russia should have been willing to risk nuclear war in the confrontation. Soviet attempts to negotiate better relations with the West also met Mao's wrath for supposedly betraying true Marxist principles. The Soviet Union withdrew technical experts it had sent to help China modernize its industry and military. Diplomatic relations ended between the two Communist giants, which traded public criticisms against each other.

A New Era

This diplomatic stalemate continued until the early 1970s. The United States, during the presidency of Richard Nixon, tried to improve relations with the PRC for two main reasons. First, the administration believed that China could be something of an ally against the Soviet Union, which then appeared to be the bigger threat to the U.S. In addition, American diplomats hoped that admitting Communist China into the family of nations might improve the world economy and make democratic reform possible in China.

In 1971 the United Nations (with U.S. support) rescinded ROC membership and gave the seat for China to the PRC. The next year, U.S. President Richard Nixon began a thaw in U.S.-PRC relations by visiting Communist China and meeting with Mao and other Chinese Communist leaders. These moves left the Nationalist government on Taiwan wondering what its long-term relationships with the U.S. and with the PRC might be.

Chiang died in 1975 and Mao died the next year. Mao's successors initiated policies that opened trade relations with other countries and moved the PRC economy toward capitalism (capitalism "with a Chinese flavor" was the saying in China). However, the Communist government continued to control the economy and to act with authoritarian repression toward its own people. The hoped-for democratic reforms never materialized in China.



Chinese Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping at the White House with President Jimmy Carter (1979)

In 1979 the United States and the People's Republic of China established full diplomatic relations. The U.S. ended diplomatic relations with the ROC government on Taiwan. The U.S. government declared, "The United States of America acknowledges the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China." However, this statement became part of an intricate diplomatic dance.

In the language of diplomacy, acknowledging something falls short of recognizing it. A short time later, Congress passed and President Jimmy Carter signed the Taiwan Relations Act. This law confirmed America's unofficial relations with the government on Taiwan and left open the possibility that the U.S. would defend Taiwan if the PRC invaded it. This position is appropriately called strategic ambiguity. The American government hoped that the possibility of American involvement would discourage the PRC from invading Taiwan.

In 1992 representatives of the PRC and the ROC, governments that officially did not talk to each other, talked to each other. They announced an understanding, which is called the 1992 Consensus. The two governments agreed that there is only one China, but they allowed each other to have different interpretations of what that means.

Both agreed that Taiwan is part of China, but they disagreed about which is the legitimate government of all of China. An informal part of the consensus was Taiwan's commitment not to seek independence. The PRC has not promised that it will never move militarily against Taiwan in order to reclaim it. Meanwhile, Taiwan has deepened relationships with Japan and several European countries as well as the United States.

Almost all world governments except those of about 15 small countries now recognize the PRC and do not have formal relations with the government on Taiwan. The United States does not maintain an embassy on Taiwan. However, after the U.S. government recognized the PRC, it created The American Institute in Taiwan (AIT). The AIT carries out many diplomatic and consular

responsibilities for the U.S. in Taiwan. The AIT is officially a nonprofit, private corporation, but Congress oversees it and the State Department provides much of its funding and staff.

Taiwan has a robust capitalist economy and carries on trade with many countries. Somewhat ironically, Taiwan's biggest trading partner is the People's Republic of China. The two largest political parties in Taiwan are the KMT and the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). The KMT has declared that it will not seek independence for Taiwan when it rules the government. However, the DPP currently is the majority party. Its leader has criticized the 1992 Consensus, which was drawn up when the KMT ran the government on Taiwan, and the DPP has not renounced the possibility of independence.

The PRC sees Taiwan as a rebellious province of China that should be under the rule of the PRC. China has insisted that countries with which it does business support its claims to Taiwan. The PRC has not as yet moved to take control of Taiwan, but the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party has

U.S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi traveled to Taiwan on a U.S. Air Force jet in 2022.



made more aggressive statements about the issue in the 21st century.

The official stance of the PRC is that there can be “one country, two systems,” but the government on Taiwan is skeptical of this. China made the same claim when it took over Hong Kong in 1999, but its subsequent actions displayed a willingness to crack down on freedom of speech and freedom of the press in Hong Kong.

For many years, government officials from Taiwan and the United States did not make official visits between the two countries. In 2018 Congress passed the Taiwan Travel Act to allow such official visits. In 2022 Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi visited Taiwan, a move that the PRC strongly denounced. Also that year, President Joe Biden said that the United States would come to the aid of Taiwan militarily if the PRC attacked it.

What will happen regarding Taiwan is anybody’s guess. Communist China has taken significant diplomatic and military steps toward retaking the

island. This is part of China’s goal of becoming a more significant world power. China sees the U.S. as a declining world power and wants to be the dominant power in the region of the South China Sea. Meanwhile, Taiwan has taken some steps toward exerting its independence. The United States continues to maintain its position of strategic ambiguity. The U.S. seeks to maintain a good relationship with Taiwan even though this puts strain on its relations with the PRC.



Sometimes war has appeared to be the only way to resolve conflict. Nations interact with each other sometimes with justice and sometimes with injustice. We can trust above all else the One who knows all things and who will accomplish righteousness and justice in the end. The real answer to hatred and conflict is hearts changed by the gospel of Jesus. The Lord can accomplish amazing things through governments and in spite of governments.

**Remember Jesus Christ, risen from the dead,
descendant of David, according to my gospel,
for which I suffer hardship even to imprisonment as a criminal;
but the word of God is not imprisoned.
2 Timothy 2:8-9**

Assignments for Lesson 63

Literature Continue reading *God and Ronald Reagan* by Paul Kengor.

Project Continue working on your project for Unit 13.

Student Review If you are using this resource, answer the questions for Lesson 63.

Supplements Optional supplemental resources available: notgrass.com/EG063



Port of Long Beach, California (2021)

Lesson 64

Trade

Free trade consists simply in letting people buy and sell as they want to buy and sell. Protective tariffs are as much applications of force as are blockading squadrons, and their objective is the same: to prevent trade. The difference between the two is that blockading squadrons are a means whereby nations seek to prevent their enemies from trading; protective tariffs are a means whereby nations attempt to prevent their own people from trading.

—Henry George, *Protection or Free Trade* (1886)

The concept of trade is simple enough. I have some things, and you have other things. I want some of what you have and you want some of what I have. We decide on what is a fair trade. For instance, suppose what I have is twice as valuable as what you have because it took twice as long to make and the components cost twice as much. I give you one of mine, you give me two of yours, and the trade is done.

Beyond this level, matters can get complicated. Instead of the barter exchange described above, we might decide to buy or sell items for amounts of money. Or people called agents, salesmen, or middlemen might do the trading for us and charge a fee for their services. This fee has to be included in the price of the goods or services.

Trade can involve several steps. A business may go to one source for raw materials and to another source for the machinery to make the goods. It may outsource part of the process to another manufacturer. When the finished product

is available, the business may sell it at a wholesale price to another business who will then sell it at retail price to make a profit.

The goal of trade is for it to be a win-win proposition for all parties. Trade can also help maintain peace because trading nations are less likely to go to war against each other.

The term *trade* can refer to any transaction, but generally we use it to refer to the buying and selling that take place between countries. Trade consists of exports (goods and services sent out of the country) and imports (goods and services brought into the country).

The difference between the value of imports and the value of exports is called the balance of trade or balance of payments. More imports than exports results in a trade deficit or deficit of payments. More exports than imports results in a trade surplus or surplus of payments. Economists differ on whether a negative balance of payments is harmful for a national economy. At least some of the payments

that people and businesses in United States make to buy goods and services from another country is used by people and businesses in that country to buy goods and services from the United States. However, a trade deficit may contribute to a country becoming economically dependent on another country.

People have engaged in international trade for thousands of years. For example, the desire in Europe for spices from Asia was a major motivation that led to the age of exploration in the 1400s and 1500s. The discovery of new sea routes between Europe and Asia made it easier for European merchants to trade money or goods for the spices that Asian merchants offered.

Trade and Government

Government officials and agencies are involved in trade in several ways. Because government wants to make sure that I produce what I say I do, and

so that government can generate some revenue from my business activity, I have to register my business and pay a license fee. The government can establish regulations about how goods are made (such as no child labor, safe working conditions in factories, and accurate information on product labels and in advertising) and how manufacturers transport goods to market (in safe and registered trucks that pay taxes for using the roads). The government can decide to tax the sale of the goods and tax the income that I make from selling them.

The U.S. government arranges for and regulates trade with other countries. American companies provide goods and services to other countries and American companies receive goods and services from companies in other countries. The U.S. encourages trade so that American companies will hire workers to make products to sell overseas, and so that Americans will have access to foreign-made goods and thus enjoy a higher standard of living.

U.S. Customs and Border Protection agents seized 16,000 counterfeit hoverboards in 2016 and stored them in this warehouse in Chicago.



Suppose two countries want to engage in trade. Trade representatives from the two countries might come to agreement that country A will sell so much of product x to country B, and country B will sell so much of product y to country A. Then the two governments will offer contracts to companies in their respective countries to produce the goods. Thus trade can be a combination of the government's role and private efforts.

Each country has its own regulations for buying and selling goods and services. The company that takes the goods to the ship that will carry them to the other country has to register with the government. A country's government can decide that traders may not bring certain items into the country (no fresh fruit or meat from a particular country, for example). The government can prevent foreign companies from dumping huge quantities of goods on a country's market to drive down prices and drive out competitors in the receiving country. If one country's shoe industry makes a good enough case for receiving protection from its government,

the government might forbid the importation of foreign-made shoes or impose an import tariff so high that not many people will buy imported shoes. On the other hand, the government of one country might subsidize its shoemakers so that, even with the tariff, a shoe manufacturer in that country can set his price low enough to compete with shoes made in the country imposing a tariff.

A government in one country can welcome foreign manufacturers to build factories there. Automakers are a good example of this. The U.S. government can help to arrange a deal in which a foreign carmaker agrees to build a factory in this country. Then states and localities can make offers to try to entice the carmaker to build in one of those places, such as offering freedom from property taxes for a certain number of years, assistance in helping workers locate there, and so forth. The manufacture of cars is a good example of how complex trade can be. Most carmakers use parts made in several different countries that are assembled into cars in one country.

Cologne, Germany, hosts the Anuga Trade Fair every two years. It attracts thousands of food and beverage companies from around the world as exhibitors. Indofood is an Indonesian company that distributes noodles, snack foods, and other products in many countries, including the United States.



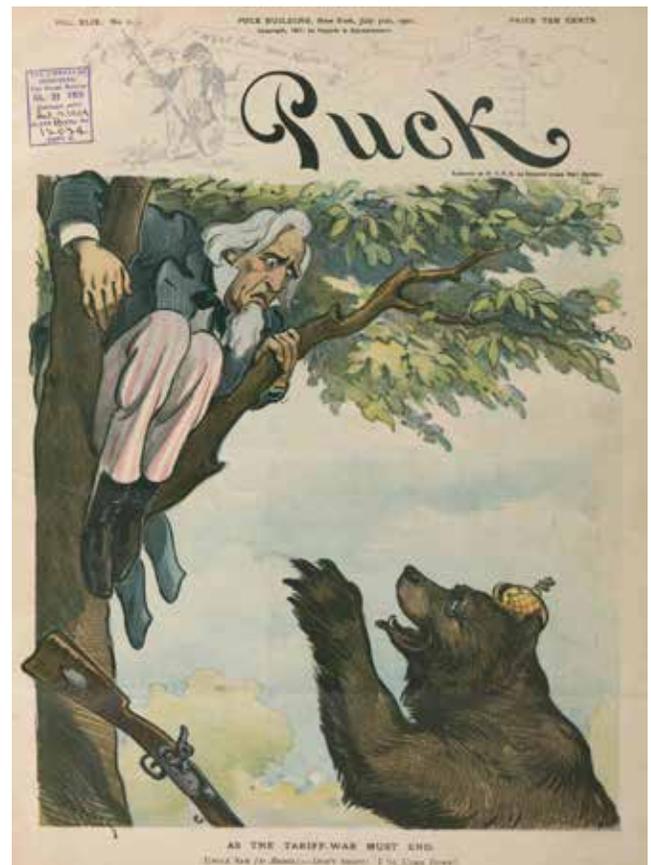
Development of American Trade Policy

Before the United States began the personal income tax in 1913, the federal government received most of its revenue from tariffs, which are taxes charged on imported goods. Whenever the tariff schedule was up for a vote in Congress, intense debate took place on the relative merits of free trade versus protectionism. Congress raised or lowered tariff rates according to which party was in power and what the accepted wisdom of trade policy was at the time. American business and labor tried to influence Congress to favor the American economy, which often meant encouraging Congress to protect American businesses by raising tariffs.

The two world wars in the 20th century transformed how nations related to each other and traded with each other. In 1944 representatives of the 45 Allied nations in World War II met at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to formulate a plan for postwar recovery and trade. The countries represented organized an international bank to finance reconstruction of war-ravaged countries. In addition, they formed the International Trade Organization (ITO) to establish regulations for trade between nations.

The U.S. Senate did not ratify the ITO agreement; but what came out of that organization was the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which contained rules that governed trade for the countries that signed on to it. In 1995 the World Trade Organization (WTO) took over administration of the GATT. The United States has participated in GATT and the WTO. The WTO now has about 160 member countries.

The WTO encourages countries to erect as few trade barriers as possible. Member countries are to be as free of discrimination as possible (that is, not following policies that treat countries unfairly because of religious, ethnic, or racial differences). WTO members want predictable conditions within countries so that political unrest will not interrupt



In 1901 the U.S. government imposed a 50 percent import tax (called a duty) on sugar from Russia. The Russian government then added a 50 percent duty on American iron and steel. This cartoon in Puck suggests that the Russian bear will chase Uncle Sam until he drops the rifle labeled “U.S. Duty on Russian Sugar.”

trade agreements. The WTO also encourages member nations to accommodate poorer or developing nations by granting them more favorable terms when making trade agreements with them.

Today U.S. trade policy primarily involves individual agreements with various countries and with united blocs of countries such as the European Union. The goal that countries have in trading with the U.S. is to receive permanent Normal Trade Relations (NTR) status with the American government (formerly called Most Favored Nation status). A country that is declared to have NTR is guaranteed to receive trade considerations that are the best that the U.S. gives to any country. Today almost all the countries of the world have NTR status with the United States.

Sanctions, Embargoes, and Boycotts

Governments can encourage trade between countries, but governments can also take steps to discourage and even prevent trade. The government of one country might impose sanctions on another country, if the other country is engaged in human rights violations or attacks another nation. A sanction is a decision not to trade with another country or with countries that continue to trade with it. A sanction might also forbid financial transactions with the sanctioned country, such as forbidding the making of a loan or transferring funds to it from banks outside of the country. The purpose of a sanction is to persuade the sanctioned country to end a certain practice by causing economic consequences.

A sanctioning country can use force or a blockade or the threat of further consequences to enforce the sanction. The United States uses sanctions more than any other country. Critics of sanctions say that such measures hurt the common citizens of a sanctioned country but generally not the ruling elite. For sanctions to be effective, other countries have to agree to abide by them. Otherwise, the sanctioned country will be able to get goods and services from non-sanctioning countries.

An embargo is similar to a sanction, but an embargo usually targets a specific item from being sold to a country, such as an embargo on oil sales or grain sales or the sale of military equipment. The goal again is to weaken the target country in some way to force it to change a policy or action. The downside of an embargo is that one or more companies in the country placing the embargo lose business that they would otherwise have. The U.S. government placed an embargo on most travel to and trade with Cuba for many years because of the policies of that country's Communist government.

The downside of sanctions and embargoes is that they are hard for one country to enforce.



Because of Japanese aggression against China in the 1930s, some Americans proposed boycotting products imported from Japan. In 1937 momentum for the boycott grew. Japanese silk used for making hosiery was a particular target. The boycott was somewhat effective. However, as seen in this 1938 photo, the boycott prompted a protest in Washington, D.C., by members of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers.

It's a big world, and one country that promotes a sanction cannot patrol every harbor and port. A bad boy country might well find other bad boys that are willing to do business with them. Those other countries not joining in the sanctions might even see the situation as a way to generate more income for themselves.

A boycott is a voluntary action by individuals or groups (rather than governments) against doing business with a company or country, again to try to force a change of behavior. Black people in Montgomery, Alabama, engaged in a boycott of the city bus system after the arrest of Rosa Parks in 1955 to try to end the bus company's racially discriminatory policies. Many people around the world boycotted travel to or doing business with the Republic of South Africa when that country practiced racial apartheid (segregation and discrimination).

Trade with China

The United States granted MFN/NTR status to the People's Republic of China in 1980. U.S. presidents renewed this status each year, although Congress could have rescinded it. In 1999 Congress voted to give China permanent NTR status. This enabled China to join the WTO.

American trade with China has skyrocketed in the decades since this change. In 1985 the U.S. exported about as much to China as it imported from China, almost \$4 billion each way. In 2022 the U.S. exported about \$154 billion in goods and services to China and imported \$537 billion from China, resulting in a large trade deficit. Our exports to China have not kept pace with our imports from there because Americans are more likely to purchase inexpensive Chinese goods than the Chinese are to purchase more expensive American goods. Many of the products we import from China were once imported from other countries. Other products imported from China are new to the market.

Defenders of this increased trade with Communist China say that it has opened China to American products and introduced a greater understanding of capitalism there. Opponents of trade with China say that it puts the U.S. at an economic disadvantage which might develop into a political and military disadvantage if the U.S.

China Trade Center in San Francisco, California



becomes dependent on Chinese goods. During the COVID-19 pandemic, we saw the drawbacks become real as supply chain problems made some Chinese-made goods hard to get in the U.S. Critics also say that wages are low and working conditions are often poor in China, and increasing our trade with China simply endorses this situation. We will discuss the role of trade in relation to the issue of human rights in the next lesson.

One problem that developed regarding trade with China was the Chinese policy of undervaluing its currency relative to other world currencies. This made Chinese goods less expensive and thus more attractive on the world market. This currency manipulation makes trade less genuinely free.

Is Truly Free Trade Possible?

If I want what you have and you want what I have and we make a trade, that is the essence of free trade. Ideally, the countries of the world would impose no trade restrictions or artificial tariffs; and goods would flow freely among the nations. The rising tide of economic growth, technological advancement, and government fairness would lift the economies of all nations and improve the material well-being of all people.

However, when a country imposes a tariff, that interrupts free trade. When you underbid my price by holding wages low for your workers and refusing to give them the right to protest, that interrupts free trade. When a government subsidy to an industry enables the selling price of an item to be lower, that interferes with free trade. Tariffs take money from the development and production of goods and services and funnel it into government coffers for people in government to spend on their priorities. Free trade often has a cost, and sometimes that cost is the job of a worker you know who becomes unemployed because his factory closes and the company moves production to another country. However, this displacement is often temporary as new industries offer new job opportunities.

Many economists agree that promoting free trade around the world will bring about the most benefit for the most people. However, government leaders continue to differ on whether to pursue policies that promote free trade or protectionism.

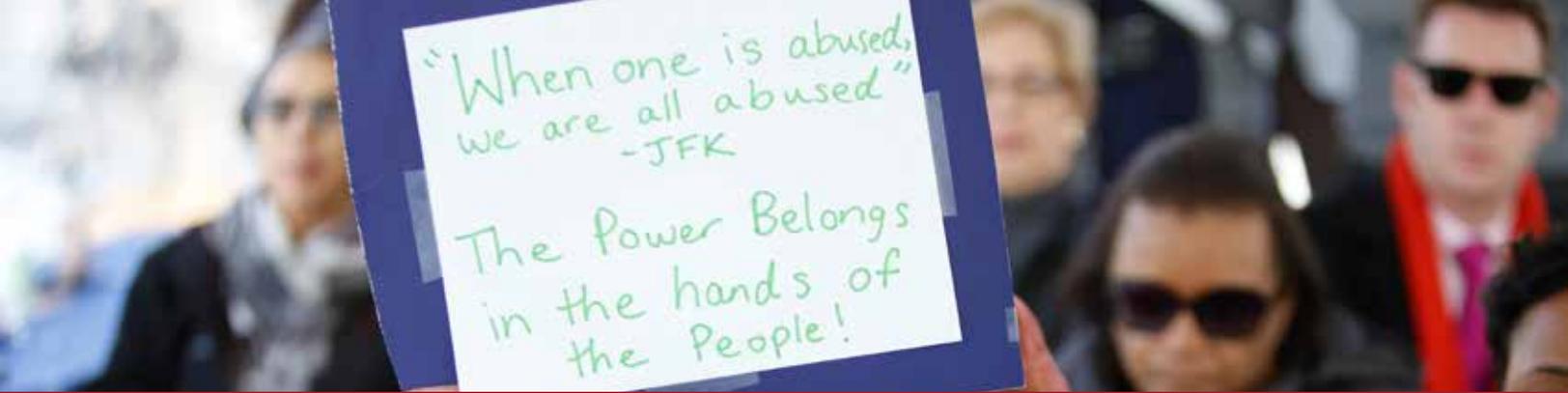


The book of James uses the illustration of trade to show how people make plans but that we are ultimately dependent on God's will.

**Come now, you who say,
 “Today or tomorrow we will go to such and such a city,
 and spend a year there and engage in business and make a profit.”
 Yet you do not know what your life will be like tomorrow.
 You are just a vapor that appears for a little while
 and then vanishes away. Instead, you ought to say,
 “If the Lord wills, we will live and also do this or that.”
 James 4:13-15**

Assignments for Lesson 64

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Literature | Continue reading <i>God and Ronald Reagan</i> by Paul Kengor. |
| Project | Continue working on your project for Unit 13. |
| Student Review | If you are using this resource, answer the questions for Lesson 64. |
| Supplements | Optional supplemental resources available: notgrass.com/EG064 |



67th Anniversary of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights Event in New York City (2015)

Lesson 65

Human Rights

Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.

—Martin Luther King Jr.

Should Americans buy goods that are made by enslaved workers or workers who are paid low wages or who are forced to work in unsafe conditions? Does buying such goods endorse those conditions or does buying those goods give us leverage to help improve those conditions?

Should American companies do business with countries led by Communist or other oppressive governments? Would doing so or not doing so be the better policy to bring about change? Or are such matters merely the domestic issues of another country with which we should take no interest?

Should America carry on trade with a country that we believe is conducting an unjust war? Would that trade be helping to finance the unjust war?

What should be the policy of the United States regarding the human rights of people in other countries? Should we only be concerned about the human rights of our own citizens?

The protection of human rights is both a domestic issue and an international issue. It is a domestic issue because national governments either protect or violate the human rights of their own citizens. Human rights are an international

issue because in our interconnected world what an individual national government does regarding human rights within its own country affects its relations with other countries.

What Are Human Rights?

Human rights are rights and freedoms that most countries recognize as being what every person deserves. Among these are the right to life, freedom of religion and expression, freedom from slavery and torture, access to food and shelter, access to health care, freedom to travel and to relocate, and the right of political self-determination (being able to vote for the government under which one lives).

Human rights are an issue because, unfortunately, national governments sometimes fail to honor the human rights of their citizens, sometimes while giving lip service to those same rights. Governments put political opponents in prison, and government leaders abuse their citizens for personal gain. Government persecution of religious minorities, including Christians, takes place in some countries.

In some situations, when leaders of one ethnic or tribal group gain power in a country, they engage in genocide against an opposing group. People who are not killed in the violence may flee the country as refugees.

In 1948 the United Nations published a Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The UDHR is a good list of goals to aim for, and since the publication of the UDHR, more and more countries have come to recognize these rights and have taken steps to protect them. However, the UN itself has done little to advance their adoption by the countries of the world and thus lessen the suppression of human rights. The United Nations has not brought its entire weight and influence to bear on the problem of human rights violations.

The UN has a Human Rights Council, but some of the worst offending nations serve in a rotating capacity on it. The council accomplishes little of substance. The United States withdrew from participation on the council in 2018 but returned in 2021.

The United States Policy on Human Rights

A goal of U.S. foreign policy is to eliminate human rights abuses and to encourage personal and political freedom and greater democracy around the world. Jimmy Carter argued that when interacting with another country, the U.S. should not ignore that country's disrespect for the human rights of its people. Prior to Carter, the U.S. maintained trade and diplomatic relations with countries with little regard for their record on human rights. The greater concern for the U.S. was our own national interests. We would support anti-Communist dictatorships, for instance, if they stood with us in opposing the spread of Communism. The U.S. would simply look the other way regarding the abuse of human rights within those countries.

Carter, on the other hand, was willing to bring up the subject of human rights abuses in summit

meetings and through other diplomatic contacts, even with our allies. The Carter administration publicized human rights abuses and withheld financial assistance to countries that had a poor record of protecting human rights. Since Carter's presidency, the United States has been more insistent on the governments of foreign countries ending the violation of human rights in those countries before relations with the United States can grow and flourish.

The Dilemma: To Engage or Not to Engage

The United States wants to pursue the goal of expanding and protecting human rights in the most effective way possible. The dilemma that our country faces is this: What is the best way to pursue this goal?

Do we maintain relations with an offending country while bringing up the subject of human rights to its leaders, or do we impose sanctions and even sever diplomatic relations with such a country in the hope of pressuring that government to bring about change? The issue is a genuine moral and spiritual struggle. Each policy direction has benefits and risks.

To engage with a country that does not respect human rights can strengthen the power of the abusive

Members of a group called Students for a Free Tibet protested against China's membership on the Human Rights Council at the United Nations in 2009.



Lesson 65 - Human Rights

government. A policy of engagement can leave suffering people in their misery and even worsen their condition. However, trade with an offending country promotes contact with that country, lessens the people's dependence on their government, and introduces the possibilities of democracy and a higher standard of living.

On the other hand, to refuse to have relations with an oppressive government can lead to that government portraying itself as a victim of the United States and thus strengthening the domination of its citizens. Such a policy of isolation can hurt the people it is supposed to help as that country's residents face more abuse and a lower standard of living. The ostracized country can engage in black market dealings and strengthen its ties with countries who see themselves as our enemies.

Determining the best application of U.S. policy can involve a consideration of American influence in that country and with other countries that might have more influence. In addition, we cannot expect conditions in problem countries to change overnight regardless of our policy toward those countries.

Examples of American Policy

The United States has not followed the same policy with all oppressive governments. In fact, over time our policy has changed toward the same countries. Here are some examples.

The former Soviet Union. After 16 years of nonrecognition, President Franklin Roosevelt granted diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union in 1933. Diplomatic recognition was an admission of the de facto situation and an attempt to isolate Germany, which was becoming an enemy of both the United States and the Soviet Union.

There is no question that the Soviet Communist government had one of the worst human rights records in history. The Communist regime killed and imprisoned millions of people because of their political beliefs. The Soviets severely restricted Christianity, and many Christians lost their lives



In 2016 protestors in London, England, sought to draw attention to years of brutal persecution of Christians in Eritrea.

because of their faith. The U.S. and other countries carried on relations with the Soviet government, all the while expressing concern for the Soviets' human rights violations. The Soviet government largely ignored those criticisms.

Although the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. were allies against Nazi Germany in World War II, immediately after the war the two countries became opponents in the Cold War. The United States continued to maintain relations with the Soviet Union but pointed out its human rights failings and built up its defenses against a feared Soviet attack.

The policy that Presidents Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush followed in the late 20th century had an impact on the Soviet Union. Reagan and Bush did not cut off all contact with the Soviet Union. Reagan did not say regarding the Berlin Wall, "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall or I will have nothing to do with you." The two U.S. leaders engaged in continuing negotiations with the Soviet

leaders. However, as Reagan and Bush carried on talks and engaged in relations with the Soviet Union (1) they negotiated from a position of American strength, and (2) they were willing to point out the failings of the Communist system. Eventually the Soviet Union fell, and the countries that the Soviet Union had dominated gained a new level of freedom.

Republic of South Africa. For many years the white minority government of South Africa followed a policy of racial segregation known as apartheid. The South African government imprisoned Nelson Mandela and other anti-apartheid activists for decades. Protesting this policy, many nations refused to have any contact with South Africa. The United States, however, continued to have relations with the South African government. Eventually, after years of violent domestic protests and political unrest, the white government stepped aside. The country conducted new elections. Nelson Mandela became president, and the leadership of South Africa now reflects the majority black population.

Cuba. The United States severed diplomatic relations with Cuba in 1959 after Fidel Castro seized power and instituted a Communist government. America restricted travel and trade with Cuba and encouraged other nations to impose embargoes on Cuba also, in the hope of bringing down the Communist government. Cuba received aid from other Communist countries; and although Cuba suffered much poverty and political oppression, the Communist government did not fall.

In 2014, even though the Communist government of Cuba still held hundreds of political prisoners, President Barack Obama began the process of normalizing diplomatic relations with the country. In 2017 President Trump reversed some of the changes made during Obama's administration. The Biden administration has attempted to balance accountability for human rights abuses with opportunities to support the Cuban people.

People's Republic of China. As discussed in Lesson 63, the United States and China have had a

complicated relationship since the formation of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

The Chinese government has a terrible record on human rights. It has suppressed all political opposition. It has imprisoned and tortured Chinese Christians and members of other religious groups. The Chinese people do not enjoy freedom of expression. China is changing economically, but so far that change has not brought about more freedom for its people. China is still a threat to other countries.

The United States conducts significant trade with China. Our government has not said, "Stop persecuting Christians or we won't trade with you," "Allow democracy or we won't trade with you," "Stop persecuting the Uyghur people or we won't trade with you," or (in an attempt to influence their foreign policy) "Leave Taiwan alone or we won't trade with you." We have not drawn such a line in the sand regarding China. China has changed more since we have been carrying on trade with it than it did when we did not recognize the Communist government, but China is not changing fast enough. As we continue to pray and stand firm in pointing out its failings, the day may come when Communism will fall in China just as it did in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Working Conditions and Human Trafficking

We occasionally hear stories of terrible working conditions in some countries, where factory workers receive low wages and work in dangerous buildings. Some of these factories produce goods for American companies. What should be the response of the American government, American businesses, and the American people?

In many countries where workers earn low wages, those wages may be better than what the workers would get without the presence of American business investment. Therefore, their situation may be better than it otherwise would be, though not as good as



The Uyghurs are a Turkic people group in western China, most of whom are Muslim. The Beijing government has instituted a systematic program that is intended to eradicate Uyghur culture, language, and religion. In October of 2020, protesters outside the Chinese consulate general office in Los Angeles, California, raise awareness of this issue.

the situation most Americans have. However, it is heartless to ignore dangerous conditions. Certainly we should use our influence to improve the lot of those workers.

Human trafficking is when one person uses force, fraud, or coercion to get another person to perform labor. It may also involve other forms of mistreatment or manipulation. In former times, human trafficking was called slavery.

The United States should not stand idly by while this kind of activity takes place. Twenty federal agencies are involved in efforts to stop human trafficking and to support victims. Among these are the FBI and the Department of Health and Human Services, which has a national human trafficking hotline. State and local governments also have innovate programs.

Many American citizens and private organizations also participate in programs to expose

and eliminate human trafficking and to support victims. One way that all Americans can be involved is by not purchasing goods that are produced by victims of human trafficking.

Biblical Principles

The prophet Amos condemned the oppression of the poor (Amos 4:1) and warned of God's vengeance against those "who turn justice into wormwood and cast righteousness down to the earth" (Amos 5:7).

Jesus lived among sinners in order to teach them and to influence them for good. Paul did not expect Christians to leave the world in order to avoid contact with immoral outsiders (1 Corinthians 5:9-13). The apostle Peter encouraged Christians to live good lives before outsiders so that unbelievers will glorify God (1 Peter 2:12, 3:15-16).

The Bible teaches that God’s people must treat others the way we want to be treated (Matthew 7:12). If you were an enslaved person, would you want other countries to accept the system in which your children could be separated from you and sold as slaves? How would you want other countries to relate to your country?



We cannot ignore religious persecution, human trafficking, and other human rights violations in the name of greater trade and profit. That would be putting riches before speaking the truth on behalf of God. Christians must do all that we do to love God and to love others.

**Hate evil, love good,
And establish justice in the gate!
Amos 5:15a**

Assignments for Lesson 65

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|-----------------------------|---|
| We Hold These Truths | Read “Morality and Foreign Policy: Reagan and Thatcher” by Edwin Meese III, pages 162-167. |
| Literature | Continue reading <i>God and Ronald Reagan</i> by Paul Kengor. |
| Project | Finish your project for Unit 13. |
| Student Review | If you are using this resource, answer the questions for Lesson 65 and “Morality and Foreign Policy: Reagan and Thatcher,” and take the quiz for Unit 13. |
| Supplements | Optional supplemental resources available: notgrass.com/EG065 |



Detail from Rainy Day, Boston, Childe Hassam (American, 1885)

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Banking: Ronald T. Bennett / National Archives
Judiciary: Rob Crandall / Shutterstock.com
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Hastings: Library of Congress
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Chase: New York Public Library
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Right: Ben Von Klemperer / Shutterstock.com
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- 149 Oval Office: National Archives
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1996: Joseph Sohm / Shutterstock.com
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Obama: Master Sgt. Cecilio Ricardo / U.S. Air Force
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- 166 Bush: Paul Morse / National Archives
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- 170 Kennedy and Bush: National Archives
Trump: Shealah Craighead / White House Photo
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Chart: John Notgrass
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Johnson: Architect of the Capitol
- 181 State of the Union: Andrea Hanks / White House Photo
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Texas: The Lyda Hill Texas Collection of Photographs in Carol M. Highsmith's America Project
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- 231 Puerto Rico: Carol M. Highsmith
- 232 Nate McCurdy
- 234 Supreme Court Chamber: Carol M. Highsmith
- 235 Marshall: Frank Wolfe / LBJ Library & Museum
O'Connor: National Archives
- 237 Supreme Court Justices: 2022-31-8 -- Fred Schilling, Collection of the Supreme Court of the United States
- 238 Aerial View: Carol M. Highsmith
- 241 Media: EQRoy / Shutterstock.com
- 242 School: Dennis MacDonald / Shutterstock.com
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Map: Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division
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- 277 Suffragists: Library of Congress
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- 281 Demonstrators: Warren K. Leffler / Library of Congress
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- 283 Montana: Nagel Photography / Shutterstock.com
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- 287 Poster: Everett Historical / Shutterstock.com
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- Alaska: Charlene Notgrass
- 293 Oregon, Delaware, and West Virginia: Nagel Photography / Shutterstock.com
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- 296 Governors: Library of Congress
- 297 Maryland: Joe Andrucyk / Maryland GovPics / Flickr / CC-BY-2.0
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- 330 Protestors: Tony Savino / Shutterstock.com
- Groundbreaking: Shealah Craighead / White House
- 332 Foxes: Tom Reichner / Shutterstock.com
- Map: Nate McCurdy
- 333 Fort Union: Zack Frank / Shutterstock.com
- 334 Oil Rig: Tom Reichner / Shutterstock.com
- 335 Train: Video Arts Studios / Shutterstock.com
- 336 Williston: Jacob Boomsma / Shutterstock.com
- 338 Saguaro: Zack Frank / Shutterstock.com
- 339 Post Office: Nick Fox / Shutterstock.com
- 340 Carlyle Lake: Jason Patrick Ross / Shutterstock.com
- 342 Vivian Jones: Warren K. Leffler / Library of Congress
- 343 Cartoon: Clifford Barryman / National Archives
- 345 Bills: Bjoern Wylezich / Shutterstock.com
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- 347 Feldstein: mark reinstein / Shutterstock.com
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- 349 Budget Book: Office of Management and Budget
- 350 Montpelier: Erika J Mitchell / Shutterstock.com
- 352 File Room: Harris & Ewing / Library of Congress
- 353 IRS: Rob Crandall / Shutterstock.com
- 354 Pay Stub: John Notgrass
- 355 Chart: John Notgrass
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- 359 Rhode Island: Nagel Photography / Shutterstock.com
- 360 Token: Kevin Dooley / Flickr / CC-BY-2.0
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- Chart: John Notgrass
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- 370 Roosevelt: Harris & Ewing / Library of Congress
- 371 Bush: David Scull / National Archives
- 372 Clinton: Douglas Graham / Library of Congress
- 373 Clock: Leonard Zhukovsky / Shutterstock.com
- 375 Embassy: meunierd / Shutterstock.com
- 377 Embassy Row: The George F. Landegger Collection of District of Columbia Photographs in Carol M. Highsmith's America
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- 380 Afghanistan: Sgt. Isaiah Campbell / U.S. Marine Corps

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Index

Page numbers preceded by WHTT are in *We Hold These Truths*.

- abortion, 85, 176, 239, 442-448, WHTT 172-177
- acting president, 163-165
- Adams, Henry, 96, WHTT 90
- Adams, John Quincy, 156-157, 160, 176-177, 418
- Adams, John, 9, 37, 64, 69, 79, 113, 116, 143, 151, 154, 160, 162, 176, 180, 301, WHTT 15-21
- Advice and Consent Role, 98-100
- African Americans (Black Americans), 10, 83, 93, 108, 182, 235, 242-243, 262, 277-279, 281, 289, 341, 400, 411-414
- Alabama, 66, 92, 224, 230, 232, 235, 286-287, 293-294, 320, 341-342, 400
- Alaska, 86, 91, 108, 195, 225, 252, 289, 292, 311, 316, 334, 360, 364, 378, 442, 459
- Albany Plan of Union, 60-61
- ambassadors, 69, 98, 107, 170, 188-189, 226-227, 236, 377-380
- American Bible Society, 79, 477
- American Indians, *see* Native Nations
- American Revolution, 61-66, 78-80, 85, 206, 381
- American Samoa, 194, 252
- Amtrak, 214, 335, 454
- annexation, 328-329
- Arizona, 92, 230, 232, 243-244, 251, 282, 310, 338
- Arkansas, 10, 92, 230, 232, 300, 360, 430, 470,
- Articles of Confederation, 64-68, 73, 78, 83, 105, 223, 251-253, WHTT 39-46
- Athens (ancient), 42-44
- Attorney General (U.S.), 124, 164, 177, 192-193
- Bank of the United States, 107, 346
- Biden, Joe, 145, 156, 159-160, 176, 182, 270, 348, 386, 395, 445-446, 452
- bill of attainder, 138-140, 236
- Bill of Rights (English), WHTT 30-31, 274
- Bill of Rights (U.S.), 212, 257-276, 286, 442
- bills (legislation), 113-132, 289-291, 349-350
- Black Americans, *see* African Americans
- black market, 405, 453
- Black, Hugo, 235, 241, WHTT 84-87
- Blount, William, 143
- Bretton Woods, 399
- British Parliament, 32, 49-52, 60-62, 89, 142
- Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954), 242-243, 341
- Buchanan, James, 157, 176
- budget, city, 321-322, 367
- budget, county, 317-318, 365-366
- budget, federal, 110, 122-123, 174-175, 190, 345-358, 371-373, 445
- budget, state, 36, 291, 296, 304, 359-364
- Burke, Edmund, 17, 121
- Burr, Aaron, 155, 228
- Bush, George H. W., 160, 168-169, 176, 300, 406
- Bush, George W., 156-157, 160, 166, 169-170, 176-177, 183, 206, 299-300, 371, 416, 467
- Cabinet, 98-99, 123-124, 143, 162-164, 166, 172, 174-175, 177, 181, 187-207, 346, *see also* individual departments below

- California, v, 76, 83, 91-92, 139, 153, 181, 229-230, 232, 235, 249, 286, 289, 292, 296, 299-300, 316, 359, 396, 401, 407, 418, 422, 425, 428, 451, 454, 457, 466-467, WHTT 112-114
- Canada, 66, 171, 333, 375, 386, 426, 440
- capitalism, 393, 401, 452-455
- Caraway, WHTT 88-89
- Carson, Ben, 200, WHTT 112-114
- Carter, Jimmy, 168, 177, 235, 255, 299, 378, 381, 393-394, 404
- census, 70, 90-92, 139, 194, 198, 294, 328, 340
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 203-204
- Central Intelligence Agency, 172, 211
- Chase, Samuel, 144
- China, 6, 19, 32-33, 107, 117, 188, 381, 384, 386, 390-395, 400-401, 404, 406-407, 427-428, 438-439, 455
- Churchill, Winston, 411
- Circuit Courts of Appeal, 211, 221-225, 231-233, 236-237, 259-260, 263, 467
- citizenship, 6, 27, 44, 228, 236, 279, 412, 426, 428-432
- Civil Rights Act (1866), 279
- Civil Rights Act (1964), 106, 130, 243, 261-262, 342
- Civil rights, 10, 35, 136, 177, 182, 193, 224, 231, 242-243, 261-262, 278-279, 281, 341-342
- Civil War (American), 75, 104, 136, 138, 167, 205-206, 212, 251-252, 254, 279, 434, WHTT 111
- Civil War (English), 51-52
- Clay, Henry, 142, 156
- Cleveland, Grover, 157, 159, 173, 176, 346
- Clinton, Bill, 107, 145, 157, 159, 162, 169, 176-177, 182-184, 299-300, 372, 435, 452
- Clinton, Hillary, 182, 244
- Coercive acts, 61
- Cohen, William, 182
- Cold War, 164, 189, 204, 381-382, 406
- Colonial governments, 52, 59-64
- Colorado, 92, 227, 230, 232, 261, 266, 315, 324, 328, 360, 429, 464
- Colson, Chuck, xii, 186, WHTT 8-14
- Communism, 167, 169, 188, 380-381, 390-395, 400-401, 403-407, 455, 463
- computer technology, 204, 212, 416-417, 428, 451, 472
- Confederation Congress, 65-67, 223
- Congress (U.S.), 69-74, 78, 87-148, 154-155, 158, 161-171, 179-184, 208, 224-232, 234, 249-255, 257-258, 286, 348-350, 372-373
- Congressional Record, 104, 122
- Connecticut, 60, 69, 77, 92, 125, 230, 232, 258, 286, 290, 316, 330-331, 442, WHTT 133-135
- Conrail, 214
- consolidated governments, 324
- Constitution (U.S.), 9, 34, 36, 68-75, 80, 82-86, 212, 345-346, 442-444, WHTT 64-83, *see also* Units 4-9
- Constitutional amendments, 36, 71, 77-78, 96-97, 102, 105-106, 122, 132, 139, 155-156, 161, 164-165, 218, 227, 236, 243-245, 252-255, 329-330, 341-342, 411-412, 432, WHTT 139-140, *see also* Bill of Rights (U.S.)
- constitutional monarchy, 32-33
- Constitutions, state, 34, 64-65, 76, 285-312, 350
- Consumer Products Safety Commission, 210-211
- Continental Congress, 59-65, 78, 84, 188
- Coolidge, Calvin, xii, 3, 120, 160, 176, 197, 381, 474
- Council of Economic Advisers, 174, 188, 347, 452
- county government, 305-307, 315-319, 324, 365-366, WHTT 144-145
- COVID-19, 121, 127, 176, 198, 334, 356, 401, 419, 430, 438-440, 468
- crime and punishment, 14-15, 138-139, 146-147, 175, 192-193, 217-222, 225, 227-228, 243-244, 268-271, 277, 280, 335, 474-478
- C-SPAN, 104-105, 130
- Cuba, 169, 251, 381, 384, 393, 400, 406, 428
- currency, 66, 139-140, 189, 217-218
- De Tocqueville, Alexis, 223, 315, WHTT 119-120
- death penalty, 15, 178, 225, 228, 236, 274-275, 297, 307
- Declaration of Independence (U.S.), 31, 61-64, 68, 76, 78, 144, 212, WHTT 35-38
- Delaware, 74, 91-92, 97, 182, 230, 232, 293, 316, 360
- democracy, 32-33, 42-44, 74, 113, 127, 177, 381, 404-407, 411
- Democratic Party, 108, 113-114, 146, 152, 182, 199, 205, 255, 320, 343, 413, 421
- Democratic Republican Party, 113, 144, 154-155, 338
- Department of Agriculture, 164, 192, 195-196
- Department of Commerce, 164, 197-199

- Department of Defense, 162, 164, 166, 190-191, 212, 357
- Department of Education, 164, 203, 205
- Department of Energy, 164, 204-205, 472
- Department of Health and Human Services, 164, 203-204
- Department of Homeland Security, 164
- Department of Housing and Urban Development, 164, 199-200, WHTT 112-114
- Department of Justice, xi, 164, 342, 192-193
- Department of Labor, 107, 164, 197-199
- Department of State, 128, 156, 164, 177, 187-189, 377-382, 389, WHTT 158-161
- Department of the Interior, 164, 194-195, 198
- Department of the Treasury, 140, 164, 185, 189, 242, 452
- Department of Transportation, 164, 199, 201-202
- Department of Veterans Affairs, 164, 205-206
- dictatorship, 32, 45-46, 169, 392, 404
- diplomacy, 36, 84, 163, 169-171, 188-189, 377-382, 389-395, 404-407
- discretionary programs/spending, 123, 348
- District Courts (U.S.), 135, 169, 193, 220, 224-225, 229-233, 263
- District of Columbia, *see* Washington, D.C.
- Dobbs, et al. v. Jackson Women's Health Organization, et al.* (2022), 85, 443-446
- Domestic Policy Council, 175
- draft, military, 212-213, 262, 281, 412
- Duckworth, Tammy, 135
- earmarks, 131
- education, 78, 131, 194-195, 205, 242-243, 302, 304, 318, 362-363, 367, 455, 462-469, WHTT 144-145, 178-183
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., iv, 136, 151, 176, 451
- elections and voting, 32-33, 42-43, 49, 64, 70, 74, 90, 93-94, 97-98, 101-102, 105, 109-110, 114, 152-158, 210, 244, 277-279, 281, 287-290, 292-294, 301-302, 307, 315, 317-318, 321-322, 340, 390, 411-424, 472, WHTT 88-89, 144-145
- electoral college, 70, 73-74, 136, 146, 154-158, 281, 416, 422
- Emancipation Proclamation, 277
- embassy, 168, 375, 377-382, 391, 394
- eminent domain, 273, 329-330
- Enlightenment, 53-56, 62, 74, 77, 79
- Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), 177, 188, 210, 342
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 210
- Equal Rights Amendment, 254-255
- European Union, 386, 399
- ex post facto law, 138-140, 236
- excise tax, 133-134, 355, 360-361
- executive agreements, 170-171
- executive orders, 175-176, 210, 241
- Farm Credit Administration (FCA), 210
- Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), 201
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), xi, 193
- Federal Communications Commission (FCC), 210
- Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), 209
- Federal Election Commission (FEC), 210, 244, 340
- Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), 206-207, 209
- Federal Housing Administration (FHA), 200
- Federal Reserve System, 209, 355, 449, 452
- Federal Trade Commission (FTC), 209
- Federalist (Papers), The, 74, 79, 137-138, 141, 147, 217, 236-237, 277, WHTT 47-50
- Federalist Party, 113, 144, 154-155, 257, 338
- filibuster, 129-131, 230, 349
- Fischer, Deb, 110
- Florida, vi, 66, 90, 92, 143, 156, 230, 232, 245, 291, 324, 326, 339, 416
- Food and Drug Administration (FDA), 203
- Ford, Betty, 164, 254
- Ford, Gerald, 147, 149, 164-165, 168, 176, 188
- France, 25, 38, 49, 51, 53, 55-56, 60, 69, 79, 152, 315, 378, 381, 384, 386, 426-427
- Franklin, Benjamin, 60, 67-69, 75, 79, 345
- French and Indian War, 60
- French Revolution, 53, 79-80, 152
- Frost, Maxwell, 90
- Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 77
- Garfield, James A., 157, 173, 176
- Garrison, William Lloyd, 89
- Georgia, 61, 74, 76, 89, 92, 109, 226, 230, 232, 275, 281, 287, 292, 298-299, 309, 414, 458, WHTT 146-151
- Germany, 38, 51, 130, 378, 384, 386, 398, 405-406, 425, 427, 431, 465
- Gerry, Elbridge, 69, 93
- Gerrymander, 93
- Goldwater, Barry, 172, 254, 299
- Gore, Al, 156, 416

- governors, 59-60, 64, 68, 90, 97-98, 108-109, 136, 140, 160, 165, 235, 250, 253, 274, 285, 288, 291, 296-303, 307, 309, 341-342, 348, 430, 474-478
- Grant, Ulysses S., 122, 159, 160, 176
- Great Depression, 180, 196, 209, 241-242, 346
- gridlock, 182-183
- Guam, 194, 229-230, 232, 251
- Gulf War, 384
- gun control, 265-271
- Haaland, Deb, 194
- habeas corpus, 138
- Hamilton, Alexander, 68, 74, 80, 113, 147, 154, 189, 257, 275, 277
- Harding, Warren G., 160, 176, 179
- Harris, Kamala, 163, 176, 270
- Harrison, Benjamin, 157, 160, 176
- Harrison, William Henry, 101, 159-160, 163, 176
- Haslam, Bill, 474-478
- Hawaii, 91, 98, 230, 252, 360
- Hayes, Rutherford B., 157, 176
- health care, 182, 203-206, 244-245, 341, 347, 434-441, 454
- Henry, Patrick, 74, WHTT 51-55
- Hobby Lobby, 244-245
- Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Jr., 262-263, 369
- Hoover, Hebert, 131, 176, 346
- House of Representatives (U.S.), 69-70, 87-96, 101-110, 113-130, 135-136, 143-147, 154-156, 177, 179, 234, 252-253, 279, 350
- Hull, Cordell, 177, 189
- human rights, 177, 342, 378, 400-401, 403-408
- Humphrey, Hubert, 159
- Idaho, 92, 230, 232, 362-363, 472
- Illinois, 92, 153, 230, 232, 267, 282, 293, 308, 318, 323, 325, 340, 352
- immigration, 116, 135, 296, 341, 425-433, 465, WHTT 168-171
- impeachment, 70, 73, 142-148, 178, 224, 227, 234
- income tax, 279-280, 352-355, 359, 362-363, 366, 368, 399
- Indiana, 15, 92, 200, 230, 232, 269, 285, 289, 297, 389, 437
- Indians, *see* native nations
- Indonesia, 386, 398
- infrastructure, 201, 210, 303, 309, 472
- Internal Revenue Service (IRS), 146, 189, 231, 353
- INTERPOL, 193, 389
- Interstate commerce, 208-209, 249
- Interstate highway System, 201-202, 249, 308-309, 311, 340
- Iowa, 92, 94, 230, 232, 317, 320, 369
- Iran, 168, 171, 382
- Iraq, 135, 169, 382, 431, WHTT 101-106
- Islam/Muslims, 35, 108, 168, 239, 388-389
- Israel (ancient), 5-6, 11-20, 23-28, 223
- Israel (modern), 189, 378-379, 381
- Italy, 18, 45, 378, 386, 427
- Jackson, Andrew, 99, 113, 156, 176, 180, 187, 339, 346
- James I, 48, 50, 77, WHTT 22
- Japan, 123, 170, 195, 384, 386, 392, 394, 400
- Jay, John, 74, 79, WHTT 47-50
- Jefferson, Thomas, 61-62, 68-69, 78-80, 111, 113, 154-155, 160, 167, 176, 180, 188, 192, 249, 257, 258, 266, 339, 426, WHTT 133-135
- Jews/Judaism, 3-4, 7, 13-16, 25-28, 108, 389, 427, 475
- Johnson, Andrew, 99, 142, 145, 176-177, 234, 252, 279
- Johnson, Lyndon B., 116, 167, 176, 180, 182-183, 199, 235, 380, 434
- Joint Chiefs of Staff, 190
- Jones, Vivian Malone, 342
- Kansas, 92, 230, 232, 242-243, WHTT 141
- Kelo v. New London* (2005), 330-331, WHTT 152-157
- Kennedy, John, 132, 136, 157, 159, 164, 170, 176, 182, 371
- Kennedy, Robert, 193, WHTT 136-138
- Kentucky, 76, 92, 130, 144, 156, 219, 230, 232, 235, 260, 281, 324, 338, 366
- Korea, *see* North Korea and South Korea
- Korean War, 84, 169, 384
- Ku Klux Klan, 264
- League of Nations, 99, 378, 384
- Lee, Richard Henry, 61
- Lewis, C. S., 477
- Lewis, Meriwether, 180, 333
- Library of Congress, 106, 111, 117, 198, 208
- lieutenant governor, 290, 297-298, 301
- Lincoln, Abraham, 138, 157, 160, 162, 167, 176, 235, 252, 277, 415
- lobbying, 106, 124-126
- Locke, John, 53-55, WHTT 32-34
- Louisiana, 66, 92, 153, 156, 203, 221, 230, 232,

- 286, 316-317, 336, 459
- Madison, James, 55-56, 68-69, 74, 78, 137-138, 141, 160, 176, 217, 257, 272, 365
- Magna Carta, 49, WHTT 25-29
- Maine, 92, 157, 182, 230, 232, 258-259, 291, 360, 460, WHTT 128-132
- mandatory program, 123
- Mandela, Nelson, 177, 406
- Mann, Horace, 462-463
- Mao Zedong, 188, 392-393
- marque and reprisal, 135
- Marshall Plan, 189
- Marshall, George, 189
- Marshall, John, 133, 228, 236, WHTT 121-127
- Marshall, Thurgood, 220, 235
- Maryland, 65, 66-67, 92, 136, 162, 230, 232, 274, 289, 297, 340
- Mason, George, 69
- Massachusetts, 17, 60-61, 64-66, 69, 77, 79, 92-93, 177, 230, 232, 260, 286, 289, 291, 412, 415, 462-463, 465-466
- Mayflower Compact, 77
- mayors, 34, 136, 266, 317-318, 320-324, 332-333, 474, WHTT 146-151
- McCorvey, Norma, 443
- McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), 133, WHTT 121-127
- McKinley, William, 161, 176
- Medicaid, 203, 303, 341, 357, 362, 434-436, 445
- Medicare, 123, 203, 354-355, 357, 434-437
- Mexican-American War, 75, 166
- Mexico, 33-34, 171, 189, 386, 425, 428-429
- Michigan, 92, 226, 230, 232, 244, 330, 336
- Military (U.S.), 84, 118, 134-136, 140, 147, 151, 160, 162, 166-170, 175-176, 190-191, 199, 202-206, 211-213, 252, 262, 266, 272-273, 281, 303, 340, 372, 380, 385, 388-390, 419, 428, 435, 438, 470, WHTT 99-106
- Minnesota, 92, 230, 232, 313, 436
- Mississippi, ix, 66, 92, 205, 230, 232, 299, 443-444, 471
- Missouri, 14, 92, 217, 230, 232, 253, 278-279, 292, 360, 434, 449
- monarchy, 7, 23, 32-33, 38-41, 48-52, 55, 377, 381
- Monroe Doctrine, 181, 378
- Monroe, James, 176, 181, 378
- Montana, 92, 133, 230, 232, 283, 292, 297, 333, 359-360
- Montesquieu, 55-56
- municipal government, 305-307, 320-324, 327-329, 367, 432
- Muslims, *see* Islam/Muslims
- National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), 53, 132, 211
- National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), 72, 212
- national debt, 134, 372-373
- National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), 212
- National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), 211
- national parks, 122, 173, 183, 194, 333, 338, 340, 471
- National Rifle Association, 268-269
- National Security Council, 163, 174, 190, 211
- Native Americans/Indians, *see* native nations
- native nations, xii, 60, 66, 83, 117, 135, 144, 193-194, 204, 262, 412, 426
- Nebraska, 89, 92, 110, 157, 230, 232, 282, 290, 294, 464
- Necessary and Proper clause, 136-137, 278
- Nevada, 92, 230, 232, 420
- New Deal, 200, 211-212, 240-242, 346, 370, 454-455
- New Hampshire, 74, 92, 144, 230, 232, 239, 289-290, 292, 297, 322, 360, 399
- New Jersey, 69, 74, 92, 230, 232, 310, 317
- New Mexico, 92, 230, 232, 290
- New York, 3, 60-61, 68, 74, 76, 79, 84, 92, 96, 136, 155, 160, 165, 173, 220, 230, 232, 247, 259, 268, 270, 273, 292, 297-298, 320, 326, 362, 373, 384, 403, 414, 427, 432, 471
- Niebuhr, Reinhold, 127
- Nixon, Richard, xii, 116, 146-147, 157, 159, 165, 167, 176-177, 186, 189, 213, 298, 381, 392, 406
- Normal Trade Relations, 399
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 171
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 151, 188, 384-385, 388, 390-391
- North Carolina, 74, 92, 94, 151, 216, 230, 232, 309, 365, 411
- North Dakota, 92, 230, 232, 332-337, 412
- North Korea, 32, 35, 169-170, 381, 390
- Northern Mariana Islands, 229-230, 232, 251-252
- Northwest Ordinance, 66, 78, 251, 277, 294
- O'Connor, Sandra Day, 235, 239, WHTT 154-155

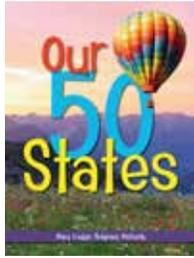
- oaths of office, 74, 79, 159, 161, 163, 235, 255
- Obama, Barack, 151, 161, 171, 175-176, 235, 244, 348, 381, 406, 432, 435, 452, 467
- Office of Management and Budget, 174-175, 188, 349
- Office of Personnel Management, 172, 212
- Ohio, 92, 155, 159-160, 230, 232, 243, 263, 312, 318
- Oklahoma, 92, 102, 209, 230, 232, 334, 360, WHTT 115-118
- oligarchy, 32
- Oregon, 92, 156, 183, 230, 232, 262, 287, 293, 294-295, 360-361, 419, 462, 464-465
- Pelosi, Nancy, 394-395
- Pendleton Civil Service Act, 173
- Penn, William, 13, 59, 326, WHTT 5-7
- Pennsylvania, 9, 67-68, 70, 74, 84, 89, 92, 139, 198-199, 230, 232, 259, 295, 443, 458-459, WHTT 5-7
- Pentagon, 190, 388
- Pickering, John, 144
- Pledge of Allegiance, 259-260
- Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), 239, 242
- Polk, James K., 157, 176, 181, WHTT 107-110
- poll tax, 279, 281, 411
- Populist Movement, 97
- pork barrel amendment, 131
- prayer, 78-79, 231, 239-240, 258-261, 471, 477, WHTT 141
- President (U.S.), 70, 73, 80, 98-100, 102, 120-122, 128-132, 136, 142-214, 224, 234-235, 241-244, 251-252, 255, 258, 270, 277, 279, 281, 299-300, 330, 339, 345-350, 370-372, 377-386, 393-395, 401, 404-406, 434-435, 452, WHTT 133-135
- president pro tempore of the Senate, 113, 115, 146, 163-165
- prohibition (of alcohol), 280
- Provisions of Oxford, 49
- Puerto Rico, 16, 229-232, 251-252, 274
- Putin, Vladimir, 36, 390
- quorum, 74, 103
- Reagan, Ronald, 107, 159, 168, 176-177, 182, 299-300, 344, 406, 422, 442, WHTT 162-167
- referendum, 33, 97, 251-252, 291, 321, 390
- Religion, 25-27, 35, 51-52, 76-81, 255, 257-264, 383, 465-467, WHTT 56-63, 133-135
- republic (form of government), 32-33, 45-47, 55, 62, 67, 75, 252, 359, 383
- Republican Party, 92, 94, 99, 106, 108, 114, 145, 152-153, 161, 172-173, 176-177, 182-184, 224, 235, 296, 299-300, 320, 343, 346, 349, 356, 373, 378, 413, 415, 421
- Rhode Island, 68, 74, 79, 92, 230, 232, 256, 286, 316, 359
- Roe v. Wade* (1973), 85, 442-443
- Rogers, Will, 457
- Roman Catholic Church, 40, 50-51, 77, 108, 160, 333, 464
- Roman Republic / Empire, 3-4, 26-27, 45-47, WHTT 23-24
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 160-161, 164, 170, 174, 176-177, 180, 189, 210, 235, 241-242, 370, 378, 380-381, 405
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 2, 159-160, 172, 176, 180, 470
- Russia, 27, 378, 384, 386, 390-391, 393, 399, 426-427
- Salaries of government officials, 105-106, 161-163, 179, 225, 232, 292, 297
- sales tax, 133, 139, 319, 359-360, 362, 366
- Sanhedrin, 25-27
- Schlafly, Phyllis, 254
- Schwarzenegger, Arnold, 296
- Secret Service, 162, 193, 206, 217-218
- Secretary of State, *see* Department of State
- Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), 209
- Selective Service System, 212-213
- Senate (U.S.), 69-70, 73, 89, 96-110, 113-118, 121-133, 135, 143-147, 154-156, 158, 160-161, 163-164, 170, 172, 177, 179-180, 182, 210, 224, 226, 229, 232, 234-235, 253, 347, 349-350, 378, 380, 399, 432, WHTT 88-90
- Sharp, Preston, 181
- Shays' Rebellion, 66-67, 84
- Sherman, Roger, 69
- Silicon Valley, 428, 451
- slavery, 43-45, 55, 70-71, 80, 113-114, 138, 156, 177, 250, 253-254, 277-279, 286, 403, 408, 411-412, 426
- Small Business Administration, 110, 188, 209
- Smith, Margaret Chase, WHTT 128-132
- Social Security, 106, 110, 123, 173, 211, 242, 354-357
- socialism, 262, 390, 452
- solicitor general, 192

- South Africa, 386, 400, 406
- South Carolina, 92, 130, 156, 227, 230, 232, 255, 338-339
- South Dakota, 92, 230, 232, 294-295, 301-304, 360
- South Korea, 19, 169, 187, 386
- sovereignty, 31-32, 34, 65, 73, 141, 205, 277, 338, 390
- Sowell, Thomas, 434, WHTT 178-183
- SpaceX, 201
- Spanish-American War, 166, 251
- Speaker of the House, 105-106, 113-115, 123, 156, 163-165, 338, 395
- special districts, 319
- Specialty Courts, 224, 230-231
- Stamp Act, 61
- state legislatures, 65-66, 68-70, 90, 92-94, 97, 108, 110, 154, 239, 253, 280, 286-295, 299, 315, 319-320, 330, 338, 359, 423, 443-445
- State of the Union, 105, 179-181, WHTT 107-110
- Stevens, John Paul, WHTT 152-153
- Story, Joseph, 359
- sunset laws/provisions, 350
- Supreme Court (U.S.), 73, 79, 93-94, 98-100, 102, 107, 116, 130, 133-135, 137, 143-144, 147, 156, 161, 168, 177, 181, 184, 192, 218, 221-227, 229, 231-246, 250-252, 257-264, 267-268, 275, 278, 281, 292-293, 330-331, 341, 359-360, 414, 427, 436, 442-445, 463, 465, 467, WHTT 84-87, 119-127, 152-157
- Surgeon General, 204
- Switzerland, 33, 381, 383, 476
- Syria, 390, 431
- Taft, William Howard, 151, 176-177, 180, 223, 234-235, 238, 251
- Taney, Roger, 82
- tax-exempt status, 254-255, 262, 360
- Taylor, Zachary, 157, 176
- Ten Commandments, 13-16, 239, 260
- Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), 454-455, 213
- Tennessee, 66, 92, 143, 177, 193, 212, 230, 232, 279-280, 288, 292-293, 421, 473, 474-478, WHTT 144-145
- Term limits, 109, 281, 289, 297-298
- territories (U.S.), 66, 83, 113-114, 194, 250-252
- terrorism, 169, 193, 205-207, 267, 380, 385, 388-390, 429-431, WHTT 115-118
- Texas, 92, 108, 229-230, 232, 243, 260, 270, 289, 299-300, 305-307, 316, 321-322, 329, 334, 346, 367, 442
- Thatcher, Margaret, WHTT 4, 162-167
- Thomas, Clarence, 116, 237, 444, WHTT 156-157
- Tonkin Gulf Resolution, 167, WHTT 99-100
- township government, 318-319
- trade, 50, 61-62, 66-67, 111, 116, 134-135, 139, 170-171, 175, 188, 197-198, 230, 333, 379-380, 383-384, 391-394, 396-408, 454
- treason, 106, 139, 143, 227-228
- treaties, 36, 66, 73, 96, 98-99, 102, 111, 140, 167, 170-171, 179, 188, 226, 255, 378, 380-381, 384-385, 388
- Treaty of Versailles, 99, 130, 384
- Truman, Harry, 157, 169, 176, 243, 434
- Trump, Donald J., 145-146, 156-160, 170-171, 176, 181, 330, 378, 452
- Tyler, John, 163, 176
- U.S. Virgin Islands, 194, 229-230, 232, 251
- Ukraine, 21, 145, 386, 390-391, WHTT 144
- Unified Combatant Commands, 191
- United Kingdom (England/Great Britain), 32, 41, 48-55, 59-62, 65-66, 69, 89, 111, 140, 142-143, 166, 170, 203, 223, 227-228, 272, 274, 286, 296, 315, 339, 377, 381, 384, 386, 405, 425-426, 440, 454, WHTT 22, 25-31
- United Nations, 3, 169, 188-189, 378, 384-385, 390, 392-393, 404
- United States Postal Service (USPS), 173, 213-214, 261-262, 339
- urban planning, 325-327
- Utah, 92, 230, 232, 251, 297
- Uyghurs, 407
- Van Buren, Martin, 156, 160, 176
- Vermont, 76, 92, 130, 146, 230, 232, 286, 297, 350
- veto, 45, 70, 73, 132, 167, 179, 184, 251, 279, 291, 296, 298, 317, 323, 346, 384
- Vietnam War, 84, 167, 183, 212-213, 281, 380, 412, WHTT 99-100
- Virginia, 61, 69, 74, 77, 92, 136, 140, 159, 190, 208, 228, 230, 232, 251, 268, 289, 297, 308, 316, 338, 366, 426, WHTT 51-55
- voting, *see* elections
- Wallace, George, 341-342
- War Powers Act, 167-169
- Warren, Earl, 235-236, 239, 243, 275, 294
- Washington (state), 92, 230, 232, 261, 272, 321, 412

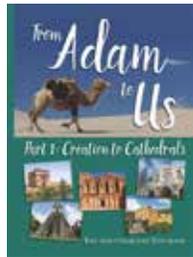
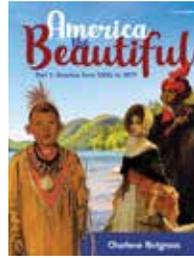
- Washington, D.C., 72, 84-85, 89, 96-97, 102-107, 110-111, 125, 136, 146, 155, 157, 185, 193, 206, 212, 215, 229, 231-232, 235, 255, 265, 267, 274, 281, 296, 326, 352-353, 377, 400, 412
- Washington, George, 61, 66, 69, 74, 79-80, 84, 160-161, 176, 180, 187-188, 190, 383
- Webster, Daniel, 107
- Webster, Noah, 266
- Wesberry v. Sanders* (1964), WHTT 84-87
- West Virginia, 92, 123, 230, 232, 251, 289, 293
- Whig Party (U.S.), 113-114, 415
- White House, 145-146, 149, 151, 162, 164, 172-175, 182, 189, 254, 270, 281, 393
- Williams, Roger, 79
- Wilson, Woodrow, 99, 113, 130, 157, 176, 180-181, 378, 384
- Winthrop, John, 77
- Wisconsin, 1, 92, 230, 232, 285, 330
- World Trade Organization (WTO), 383-384, 399
- World War I, 99, 166, 205, 212-213, 262, 356, 378, 384, 399, 434, 440
- World War II, 84-85, 99, 123, 151, 166, 189-190, 196, 206, 213, 232, 281, 356, 378, 384, 390, 392, 399, 406, 434
- Wyoming, 91-92, 230, 232, 297, 362
- Yellen, Janet, 452
- Zelenskyy, Volodymyr, 145, 391
- zoning, 318, 327-328, 472

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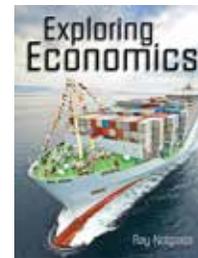
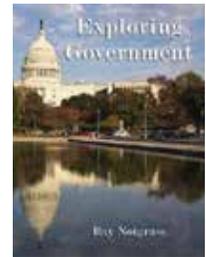
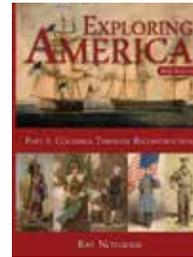
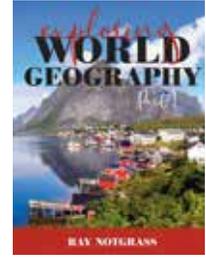
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