




STUDY GUIDES



2020
SEMESTER 1

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ECONOMICS



STUDY GUIDE

The Market Will Set You Free

KEY TERMS:

free market capitalism
GDP

conservative
Industrial Revolution

evidence
socialism

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section <i>during</i> the video. Include definitions and key terms.	CUE COLUMN: Complete this section <i>after</i> the video.
<p>What is considered the best measurement of a country's standard of living?</p> <p>What did Adam Smith's book <i>The Wealth of Nations</i> explain?</p> <p>What had the number of people living in extreme poverty declined to by 2015, in terms of a percentage?</p>	<p>What is the relationship between Capitalism and poverty?</p> <p>Why is capitalism so much better for everyone than socialism is?</p>

Discussion & Review Questions

1. Towards the beginning of the video, Mr. Puzder contends that Mr. Maddison's research "... reveals a simple, inescapable fact: there is no substitute for free market capitalism as a promoter of human prosperity." Why do you think that this is the case? Explain. What makes this fact 'inescapable'? Explain.
2. After Mr. Puzder shares with us that the Founders of the United States were familiar with Adam Smith's ideas on a free market economy, Mr. Puzder notes that, "America's wise founders took Smith's principles to heart and, within a mere 100 years, the blink of an eye historically, Capitalism turned the United States from thirteen backwoods colonies into the world's largest economy. And it has held that position ever since." How, specifically, do you think that free market Capitalism was able to be such a successful economic model for the United States? Do you think that any form of Socialism could have worked so well for so many so quickly? Why or why not?
3. Later in the video, Mr. Puzder points out that, "Yes, during this period of economic expansion the rich got richer. That always happens when new wealth is created. But the middle class and the poor also greatly benefited. As British writer Daniel Hannan puts it, 'the rich got richer and the poor got richer, too.' ...President John Kennedy, a Democrat, said it best, while making his case for significant tax cuts in 1963. He said, 'A rising tide lifts all boats.'" How, exactly, does wealth creation help the middle class and the poor? Explain. Why do you think that President Kennedy was advocating for significantly cutting taxes? Explain.
4. Mr. Puzder goes on to explain, "Unprecedented global prosperity and an unprecedented decline in poverty—across the globe—over the past 200 years. That's capitalism in a nutshell. ... Since 1990, hunger, poverty, illiteracy, and child mortality have all declined significantly with the decline of Socialism. This all happened while we added 2 billion more people to the world. Far more people, far less poverty. Better health outcomes, fewer babies dying. That's what economic freedom, Capitalism, can do." Considering the significant, historical, unquestionable, and unprecedented success of Capitalism in various regions of the world, why do you think that anyone would advocate for any other economic system? Explain. Why do you think that Progressive Socialists value absolute equality, especially economic equality, over freedom and over economic prosperity based on merit? Explain.
5. At the end of the video, Mr. Puzder concludes, "This whole capitalism vs. socialism debate is backwards: It's not those who advocate for free market Capitalism who need to justify their actions. Rather, it's those advocating for Socialism or any form of it who have a lot of explaining to do." Why do you think that the Socialists are the ones who should justify their position? Do you agree with Mr. Puzder that it is the Socialists that have it wrong? Why or why not?

Extend the Learning:

Case Study Microlending

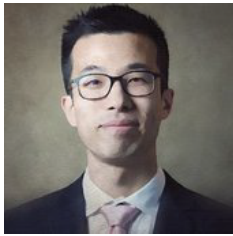
INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article “Yes, microlending reduces extreme poverty,” then answer the questions that follow.

1. What could lift more than 10.5 million people out of extreme poverty? How many people, at the time of the article being published, were experiencing extreme poverty? How much of the Sub-Saharan African population continues to live on less than US\$1.25 a day? Who is Mohammad Yunus, and what did he do? What do many lenders accompany their financial services with? What does access to credit enable poor people to do? Who is Shobha Vakade, and what business did she start with her microloan? How is poverty officially measured? What did the author of the article find, in terms of the relationship between microfinance participation and poverty? What else did the author learn, in terms of microfinance? What does the author’s study suggest overall?
2. Considering that aid from foreign governments, aid from NGOs, and minimal help from Socialistic governments have historically only led to corruption and extreme poverty for any particular nation, do you think that microlending is a better idea to help pull people out of extreme poverty? Why or why not? Do you support the use of the Capitalist mechanism of microlending as a way to help people? Why or why not?
3. What is the relationship between free market Capitalism and freedom—i.e. how can Capitalism set one free? Explain.

Yes, microlending reduces extreme poverty

June 26, 2017 12:27am EDT

Author



PhD Candidate and Researcher in Economics, RMIT University



The first microloans were made to women in rural Bangladesh in the 1970s. Banesa Khatun (far left) here in 2006, was still using Grameen Bank 30 years later. Rafiqur Rahman/Reuters

A small boost in microlending to the developing world could lift more than 10.5 million people out of extreme poverty. That's one conclusion of my study, published last month in *The B.E. Journal of Macroeconomics*, which found that microfinance not only reduces how many households live in poverty but also how poor they are.

Currently, 836 million people – or 12% of the world's population – experience extreme poverty, living off less than US\$1.25 a day. Using data from 106 developing countries from between 1998 and 2013 to

examine the efficacy of microlending as a poverty-reduction tool, I found that just a 10% increase in the gross microfinance loan portfolio per client could cut this number by 1.26%.

While the world has seen some progress over the past 15 years in reaching the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which placed eradicating hunger and poverty on top of the global agenda, extreme poverty remains a pressing challenge. It continues to be a priority in the 2015-2030 Sustainable Development Goals.

Microcredit Summit
@MicroCredSummit

K Paul Thomas of @ESAFMicrofin says mission to end extreme poverty remains unchanged as they continue to...
youtu.be/lk7dTAMez5c?a

YouTube @YouTube

10:30 PM - Apr 28, 2016

See Microcredit Summit's other Tweets

By 2015, the proportion of the world's population living in extreme poverty had dropped to 14% from 50% in 1990, according to the MDG Monitor. But in Sub-Saharan Africa, more than 40% population continues to live on less than US\$1.25 a day. And extreme poverty appears to have increased in Western Asia.

Poverty may have retreated, but it clearly remains a force in people's lives.

Microfinance and poverty reduction

The practice of giving small loans (as little as US\$10 or as much as \$US500) to the very poor, alongside other financial services such as savings accounts and financial training, was the brainchild of economist Muhammad Yunus.



Muhammad Yunus with his Nobel Prize. Scanpix/Reuters

In the 1970s, he began offering credit to poor women in the village of Jobra, Bangladesh, so that they could launch income-generating projects to help support themselves and their families. In 2006, those experiments won Yunus and his microcredit-focused Grameen Bank a Nobel Peace Prize.

Since then, various forms of microlending programs have been introduced in many countries, from India to the United States. According to a 2015 report from advocacy organisation Microcredit Summit Campaign, by 2013, some 3,098 microfinance institutions had reached over 211 million clients worldwide, just under half of whom were living in extreme poverty.

In 2017, the market for microfinance investments in micro, small and medium enterprises, as well as the provision of financial services to those businesses, is projected to grow by an average of 10% to 15%. Even stronger growth is expected in India and the Asia-Pacific region.

Access to credit enables poor people to become entrepreneurs, increasing their earnings and improving their quality of life. Many lenders accompany their small loans and financial services with peer support, networking opportunities and even health care to improve their clients' odds of building a successful small business.

In doing so, many economists submit, they show that microfinance has a powerful potential to reduce poverty.



Shobha Vakade, here in 2010, used her US\$400 loan to start her own business, strings beads into necklaces outside her house in a Mumbai slum. Danish Siddiqui/Reuters

But evidence that microfinance actually works is mixed. Studies examining its impact in rural Pakistan, urban Kenya and Uganda, among other developing countries, have both confirmed and contradicted the premise of Muhammad Yunus's innovation.

Evidence from around the world

My study aimed to make sense of this inconclusive evidence, taking a macroeconomic approach that pulls information from many countries together to provide a clearer picture.

Officially, poverty is measured using two World Bank indicators: the poverty headcount ratio (which measures the percentage of the population living below the US\$1.25 a day mark) and the poverty gap (which assesses how far below that line people fall, on average, and is expressed as a percentage).



Eritrean microfinance lenders pool their funds. Ed Harris/Reuters

The key variable of significance in my analysis is participation in microfinance programs. I defined this in two ways for each country studied: the proportion of total clients as a share of national population, and the average size of loan (gross loan portfolio over total clients), using microfinance data from the Microcredit Summit Campaign and MIX Market), a microfinance auditing firm.

What I found was a negative relationship between microfinance participation and poverty, meaning that the more people in a given country received small loans, the less poverty it registered. Thus, in the average developing nation, an increase in the gross loan portfolio per client by just 10% could reduce the extreme poverty rate by 0.0126 percentage points.

I also found that microfinance reduces the depth of poverty, shrinking the gap between a person's daily budget for living and the current US\$1.25 per day definition of extreme poverty (the non-poor have a 0% shortfall).

Policy implications

Microfinance is no panacea. Numerous studies have shown that country-specific and cultural factors are determinants in how microfinance will interact with poverty, and there are occasionally devastating tales of failure in which the inability to repay a very small loan has plunged households further into desperate penury.



Overall, however, my study suggests that more microcredit would benefit poor countries. National governments and international development agencies can continue to promote microfinance as a tool for reducing poverty, while bearing in mind the limitations of any single strategy in tackling an entrenched global problem.



QUIZ

The Market Will Set You Free

- 1. There is no substitute for free market capitalism as a promoter of _____.**
 - a. socialism
 - b. poverty
 - c. human prosperity
 - d. indentured servitude

- 2. What is considered the best measurement of a country's standard of living?**
 - a. its census tally
 - b. its GDP
 - c. the size of its trade deficit
 - d. its total percentage of people on government programs

- 3. Capitalism turned the United States from thirteen backwoods colonies into the world's largest economy.**
 - a. True
 - b. False

- 4. In 1820, 94% of people lived in extreme poverty. Thanks to capitalism, by 2015, that number had declined to _____.**
 - a. 39.6%
 - b. 29.6%
 - c. 19.6%
 - d. 9.6%

- 5. Since 1990, what has declined significantly with the decline of socialism?**
 - a. hunger
 - b. poverty
 - c. child mortality
 - d. all of the above



QUIZ: ANSWER KEY

The Market Will Set You Free

1. There is no substitute for free market capitalism as a promoter of _____.
 - a. socialism
 - b. poverty
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STUDY GUIDE

What Is Fair?

KEY TERMS:

fair
entitlement

justice
ambiguity

equity
free market

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section <i>during</i> the video. Include definitions and key terms.	CUE COLUMN: Complete this section <i>after</i> the video.
<p>What has the word 'fair' become an all-purpose statement of?</p> <p>What would the strict egalitarianism outcome be for splitting up a cake?</p> <p>In what way does the free market give everyone the same rights?</p>	<p>How has the meaning of the word 'fair' changed in recent times?</p> <p>How do adults currently manipulate the usage of the word 'fair'?</p>

Discussion & Review Questions

1. At the beginning of the video, Mr. Hannan contends that, “Life isn’t fair. And you know what? It can’t be. Here’s the problem. The word “fair” doesn’t mean justice or equity or, indeed, anything very specific. Instead, it has become a sort of all-purpose statement of moral superiority – superiority tinged, paradoxically, with victimhood.” Why isn’t life fair? Explain. Why can’t life be fair? Explain. What factors do you think have contributed to the word ‘fair’ becoming a sort of all-purpose statement of moral superiority (tinged with victimhood)?
2. Later in the video, Mr. Hannan explains that, “In recent years, though, something odd has happened. Adults have started using the word in much the same way that teenagers do. More than in any previous generation, people today retain their teenage sense of self-centeredness. They use ‘It’s not fair’ as a catch-all complaint- as an assertion of wounded entitlement.” Why do you think that so many more adults today retain their teen sense of self-centeredness? Explain. What do you think Mr. Hannan means by the phrase ‘wounded entitlement?’ Explain.
3. Mr. Hannan goes on to point out that, “That’s the beauty of it. ‘Fair’ doesn’t ultimately mean ‘proportionate’, or ‘impartial’ or ‘equal.’ You can use it to mean almost any positive thing you like.” What do you think Mr. Hannan means by this? Explain.
4. After providing the example of the cake and how it might be ‘fairly’ apportioned, Mr. Hannan asks, “...how can we judge someone else’s economic worth? You might want bakers to be paid more than bankers. I might want teachers to be paid more than movie stars. Since we all have our own preferences, the only way to measure the economic value of a service is to see how much others are prepared to pay for it.” Do you agree with Mr. Hannan’s assertion that this is the only way to measure the economic value of a good or service? Why or why not? Why is it so important to eliminate preferences in terms of valuing a good or service? Explain.
5. Towards the end of the video, Mr. Hannan states, “That’s what the market does: it aggregates our preferences. It doesn’t ask us, in the abstract, what we think someone else deserves. It tests, in reality, how many hours of our own labor we are prepared to put in in exchange for a product or a service.” Why is that feature of the free market- the fact that goods and services are NOT exchanged based on the subjective view of ‘who supposedly deserves what and how much’ so important to a free society? Do you agree that people being able to decide for themselves how much they are willing to exchange for a good or service is more ‘fair’ than people being compelled to exchange a certain amount on the basis of what the provider of the good or service supposedly deserves? Why or why not?

Extend the Learning:

Case Study Special Education Students

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article “Why it’s ‘idiotic’ to force special education students to take standardized tests,” then answer the questions that follow.

1. Who is Chanel M. Quintero, and what does she do? What percentage of students in the school have special needs? What time does her job start every day, and what time does she leave her house? What does she teach her students? What types of students does she teach, and how many at a time? What was Ms. Quintero’s purpose for writing in the blog? What was the system for rating teachers last year, and how did Ms. Quintero score? Why did Ms. Quintero get a rating of ‘developing?’ Why couldn’t Ms. Quintero do enough actual teaching in her classroom? What is Ms. Quintero doing this year?
2. Do you think that the rating system for Ms. Quintero was ‘fair?’ Why or why not? Do you think asking special education students to perform at the same standard as general education students is ‘fair?’ Why or why not? Considering that everyone is truly unique (and therefore inherently unequal), that no two people are ever exactly alike, don’t you think that each person deserves to be valued for their uniqueness- isn’t that what makes them special? Why or why not? Do you agree that treating everyone the same actually devalues everyone? Why or why not? Wouldn’t treating all of the children in a classroom the same way be disrespectful to the students who are different, who have different needs and abilities, and who respond differently to different learning or disciplinary approaches? If no, why not? If yes, then would you agree that treating all of the students the same way would actually be ‘unfair?’ Explain.
3. Why do you think that some people have developed such an obsession with everything having to be ‘fair?’ Do you think that the obsession with fairness is what drives Progressives to value equality over everything else, and to value equality under every condition and circumstance- to the point of absurdity, such as when they argue that a frail, disabled woman should have the same opportunity to become a firefighter as anyone else, or when they argue that a white male should be treated as an Asian female if he identifies as such? Why or why not? Why do you think that some people refuse to accept the fact that life isn’t fair and never will be- that there will always be someone wealthier, better looking, more talented or skilled in a certain area, etc... than they will ever be? Explain. Do you think that ‘fairness’ should have more to do with equality or with merit- e.g. should a youth soccer coach spend the same amount of time coaching a kid that has zero interest in soccer or getting better as with a kid who puts forth effort and ‘deserves’ the coach’s help? Explain.



QUIZ

What Is Fair?

1. The word 'fair' doesn't mean _____.
 - a. justice
 - b. equity
 - c. anything specific
 - d. all of the above

2. What is the beauty of the word 'fair?'
 - a. it helps one to bring clarity to a complaint
 - b. it clearly identifies one as a victim of inequality
 - c. it gives one the cover of ambiguity
 - d. it sounds nice when used often

3. One can use the term 'fair' to mean almost any positive thing one likes.
 - a. True
 - b. False

4. What is the only just way to distribute a cake?
 - a. to give each person a slice commensurate with the amount that they claim to want it
 - b. to see how much a person is willing to pay for their slice
 - c. to match the size of each slice to the proportionate size of each person's waistline
 - d. to make all of the slices the same size, no matter what

5. Only the free market economic system _____.
 - a. aggregates our preferences
 - b. compels us to figure out how many hours of our own labor we are prepared to put in in exchange for a product or a service.
 - c. gives everyone the same rights, since everyone's money is all equally valued
 - d. all of the above



QUIZ — ANSWER KEY

What Is Fair?

1. The word 'fair' doesn't mean _____.
 - a. justice
 - b. equity
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 - c. gives everyone the same rights, since everyone's money is all equally valued
 - d. all of the above



FOREIGN AFFAIRS



STUDY GUIDE

Lies About Israel Lead to Lies About Everything

KEY TERMS:

truth
Palestinians

lies
North Star

revelations
moral compass

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section during the video. Include definitions and key terms.

CUE COLUMN: Complete this section after the video.

What rights do women have in Israel that women do *not* have in neighboring countries?

Which specific issues regarding Israel are clouded by Leftist propaganda?

Which Israeli city hosts one of the largest gay pride parades in the world and the *only* one in the Middle East?

In what way does discovering the truths about Israel help one to further value freedom and democracy?

Why did Israel build a wall to separate themselves from the Palestinians?

Discussion & Review

1. Towards the beginning of the video, Mr. Cevallos shares with us that, “I always want to know the truth about things. And I hate lies. And there are more lies told about Israel than about any place in the world. I have come to realize that if you believe lies about Israel, you will believe lies about almost anything. And if you know the truth about Israel, you’re likely to think straight about most things. In other words, Israel is a kind of truth test. Fail this test and you’ve fallen into a fantasy world of untruth, a funhouse mirror of the real world.” Why do you think that more lies are told about Israel than any other country? Explain. Do you agree with Mr. Cevallos’ assertion about Israel being a type of ‘truth test,’ and thus about one’s position on Israeli issues being indicative of coherent, cogent thought? Why or why not?
2. Later Mr. Cevallos explains: “ ...sometime during my high school years Israel got my attention. And I started to do some research. At first I thought, ‘Wow, this is a complex issue.’ Was Israel the victim or the aggressor in the Middle East? Did it oppress its minority population or was it a bastion of civil rights? Was it a colonizer of Palestinian land? Or did it have legitimate claim to that land? Why did the United Nations pass resolution after resolution condemning Israel? But say nothing about Syria or North Korea. Why did Israel’s neighbors pledge themselves to its utter destruction? All this attention, focused on a country you have to squint to see on a globe, a country one-tenth the size of my own and with one-half the population. It was all very confusing.” Do you think that Leftists distribute propaganda against Israel in part to intentionally confuse people like Mr. Cevallos? Why or why not? What was so important about Mr. Cevallos researching the topic before drawing any conclusions about it or taking any positions on it, in terms of developing his own beliefs and in terms of being able to discuss the issues about Israel intelligently? Explain.
3. Mr. Cevallos then shares with us that, “ ...the more research I did, the clearer the picture became... More research led to even more revelations. Israel has repeatedly offered the Palestinians their own state, and every time, those efforts were rejected. Why? For one simple reason: the Palestinians have never accepted Israel’s right to exist as a Jewish State. And the wall Israel built to separate themselves from the Palestinians? The wall most of the world condemns? The only reason the Israelis built it was to stop waves of suicide bombings. It worked. The bombings stopped. This stuff isn’t hard to find out.” Why do you think that Mr. Cevallos was so compelled to discover the truths about Israel? Considering that these truths are not difficult to discover, why do you think that so many people believe Leftist propaganda and take a position against Israel without doing any research, even easy, cursory research, like Mr. Cevallos did? Explain.
4. Later in the video, Mr. Cevallos notes: “ ...[it wasn’t] hard to find out, despite the lack of Western media coverage, how many Syrians fled to Israel during the Syrian civil war to have their injuries treated and lives saved in Israeli hospitals. And then I realized that Israel is like a North Star of truth, a way to set your moral compass. If you can’t locate this star, you’re guaranteed to get lost in a sea of lies. How many rockets does Hamas have to launch, how many times does Iran have to threaten to blow Israel off the face of the earth before this becomes clear to you?” What do you think Mr. Cevallos means by the phrase ‘a way to set your moral compass?’ Explain. How would you answer Mr. Cevallos’ last question here in this passage? Explain.

5. At the end of the video, Mr. Cevallos wonders: “Why anyone who values freedom and democracy wouldn’t wish Israel well, wouldn’t be willing to take its side when it’s threatened, I find hard to understand. I guess not everyone is interested in truth. Well, I am- which is why Israel means so much to me, even in Ecuador.” Why do you think that some people are not interested in objective truth? Explain. Do you think that they should be? Do you think more people should be open-minded regarding their approach to developing their position on important issues? Why or why not?

Extend the Learning:

Case Study The United Nations

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article “UN committee condemns Israel 8 times, rest of world 0,” then answer the questions that follow.

1. At the time these resolutions passed, what country was the Chairperson of the U.N. General Assembly’s Fourth Committee from? What did the resolutions do? Who is Hillel Neuer, and what did she say about it? In the face of Palestinian terrorist groups sending 200 rockets to kill Israeli citizens Ms. Neuer pointed out that the U.N. condemned Israel for what purpose? What did Ms. Neuer note about the countries who were passing resolutions against Israel in comparison to resolutions against other countries? What point was Ms. Neuer making when mentioning the four resolutions concerning UNRWA? What did the resolution drafted by Syria call for, and what did Ms. Neuer ask in response? What did Ms. Neuer claim that the U.N.’s ‘disproportionate assault against the Jewish state’ did?
2. Do you think that Ms. Neuer made some valid and legitimate points? Why or why not? In what ways does the U.N. condemning Israel in a farce work against those who are seeking truth? Why do you think that the U.N. doesn’t care about the truth and is so blatantly anti-Israel? Explain.
3. Have you taken a position on Israel? If no, why not? If yes, did this video help or inspire you to seek truth? Explain.

UN committee condemns Israel 8 times, rest of world 0

Friday, November 15, 2019 4:56 pm



Iraqi Ambassador Mohammed Hussein Bahr Aluloom, Chair of the UN General Assembly's Fourth Committee

GENEVA, Nov. 15, 2019 – A United Nations General Assembly committee today adopted eight resolutions that single out or condemn Israel, and zero on the entire rest of the world.

The texts condemn Israel for “repressive measures” against Syrian citizens in the Golan Heights, renew the mandate of the corrupt UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), and renew the mandate of the UN’s “special committee to investigate Israeli practices affecting the human rights of the Palestinian people and other Arabs of the Occupied Territories.”

All 193 UN member states belong to the Special Political and Decolonization Committee, or Fourth Committee, that each year adopts the texts with large majorities. Countries’ votes are repeated in December when the GA plenary formally ratifies the texts.

“The UN’s assault on Israel with a torrent of one-sided resolutions is surreal,” said Hillel Neuer, executive director of UN Watch, a Geneva-based non-governmental watchdog organization.

“Days after the Palestinian Islamic Jihad terrorist group assaulted Israeli civilians with a barrage of 200 rockets — while the UN’s General Assembly and Human Rights Council stayed silent — the world body

now adds insult to injury by adopting eight lopsided condemnations, whose only purpose is to demonize the Jewish state.”

“While France, Germany, Sweden and other EU states are expected to support 15 out of a total of 20 resolutions to be adopted against Israel by December, the same European nations have failed to introduce a single UNGA resolution on the human rights situation in China, Venezuela, Saudi Arabia, Belarus, Cuba, Turkey, Pakistan, Vietnam, Algeria, or on 175 other countries,” said Neuer.

Earlier this year, 155 German MPs called on the German government to “dissociate from unilateral, primarily politically motivated initiatives and alliances of anti-Israeli Member States, and protect Israel and legitimate Israeli interests from unilateral condemnation” in the UN.

In 2017, Dutch parliament resolved to “actively oppose UN organizations that devote disproportional attention to Israel.”

“Lawmakers and regular citizens in Germany and the Netherlands should be outraged at how their countries voted today. Continued pressure is needed from parliament if their governments’ anti-Israel voting patterns are to change in the future,” said Neuer.

“Four of today’s resolutions concern UNRWA — yet none mentions that the agency chief was just fired after top management engaged in what the UN’s own internal probe described as ‘sexual misconduct, nepotism, retaliation, discrimination and other abuses of authority, for personal gain.’ All EU states are complicit in this conspiracy of silence.”

“One of today’s resolutions — drafted and co-sponsored by Syria — falsely condemns Israel for ‘repressive measures’ against Syrian citizens in the Golan Heights. It’s obscene,” said Neuer.

The resolution condemns Israel for holding on to the Golan Heights, and demands Israel hand the land and its people to Syria.

“It’s astonishing,” said Neuer. “After the Syrian regime has killed half a million of its own people, how can the UN call for more people to be handed over to Assad’s rule? The text is morally galling, and logically absurd.”

“Today’s resolutions claim to care about Palestinians, yet the UN is oblivious to more than 3,000 Palestinians who have been slaughtered, maimed and expelled by Assad’s forces.”

“Today’s farce at the General Assembly underscores a simple fact: the UN’s automatic majority has no interest in truly helping Palestinians, nor in protecting anyone’s human rights; the goal of these ritual, one-sided condemnations is to scapegoat Israel,” said Neuer.

“The UN’s disproportionate assault against the Jewish state undermines the institutional credibility of what is supposed to be an impartial international body. Politicization and selectivity harm its founding mission, eroding the UN Charter’s promise of equal treatment to all nations large and small,” Neuer added.

[Click here](#) to see the virtually identical 20 UN General Assembly resolutions targeting Israel in 2018, as well as a 21st resolution after the U.S.’s attempt at passing a resolution condemning Hamas resulted instead in one additional condemnation of Israel.

UN just passed 8 resolutions against Israel. Did your country join the jackals?

No Yes Abstain

	8		
	6	2	
	2	1	4
	1	4	3
	0	7	1
	0	7	1
	0	7	1
	0	7	1
	0	7	1
	0	7	1

<https://t.co/tjchEpGIGT>

— Hillel Neuer (@HillelNeuer) November 16, 2019

#UNGA Fourth Committee just adopted eight resolutions that unfairly single out and target #Israel. Disheartened by this assault on peace, especially by many US allies. The United States will always stand with Israel. <https://t.co/8ccaEQdGGb>

— Ambassador Kelly Craft (@USAmbUN) November 15, 2019

"Scandal: UN committee targets Israel 8 times, none on rest of the world." Europe's highest circulation newspaper @Bild quotes UN Watch's @HillelNeuer: "Continued pressure is needed from parliaments if anti-Israel voting patterns are to change in future." <https://t.co/gllxhq7Zd>

— UN Watch (@UNWatch) November 17, 2019



QUIZ

Lies About Israel Lead to Lies About Everything

- 1. There are more lies told about _____ than about any other place in the world.**
 - a. Ecuador
 - b. Syria
 - c. Nigeria
 - d. Israel

- 2. What does Israel have that its neighbors don't have?**
 - a. free speech
 - b. independent courts
 - c. open and fair elections
 - d. all of the above

- 3. A fifth of Israel's citizens are Arab Muslims, and even have their own political party.**
 - a. True
 - b. False

- 4. Why have the Palestinians repeatedly rejected Israel's offer for the Palestinians to have their own state?**
 - a. because the Palestinians need much more land than Israel has offered
 - b. because the Palestinians would be cut off from Iran's support of their military
 - c. because the Palestinians have never accepted Israel's right to exist as a Jewish State
 - d. because the Palestinians would still need a trade agreement with Israel to survive

- 5. The reason Israel built a wall to separate themselves from the Palestinians was _____.**
 - a. to control the amount of Palestinians taking Israeli jobs
 - b. to stop waves of suicide bombings
 - c. to keep the Palestinians from invading
 - d. to stop new diseases from spreading



QUIZ — ANSWER KEY

Lies About Israel Lead to Lies About Everything

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HISTORY



STUDY GUIDE

Is the National Anthem Racist?

KEY TERMS:

pragmatist
federal republic

self-made
administrator

abolitionist
hero

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section <i>during</i> the video. Include definitions and key terms.	CUE COLUMN: Complete this section <i>after</i> the video.
<p>“The Star-Spangled Banner” was written after the composer witnessed which battle in the War of 1812?</p> <p>“Hirelings and slaves” was an all-purpose insult at the time that could be used to refer to whom?</p> <p>What song did Martin Luther King Jr. and his supporters sing at the statehouse when they reached the end of their famous Selma march?</p>	<p>Why do some people think that the American national anthem is racist?</p> <p>What evidence substantiates that the American national anthem is <i>not</i> racist?</p>

Discussion & Review

1. Towards the beginning of the video, Dr. Robbins points out that, "...Jason Johnson, journalism professor at Morgan State University, and popular cable news commentator, wrote about the anthem: 'It is one of the most racist, pro-slavery, anti-black songs in the American lexicon...' Is Johnson serious? Actually, he is. And sadly, a lot of Progressives agree with him." Why do you think that Professor Johnson and other Progressives mistakenly believe that the American national anthem is racist? In what way do you think that Progressives scorning the American national anthem as racist fits into their anti-America agenda? Explain.
2. Later in the video, Dr. Robbins notes that, "Here's what Keys wrote: 'No refuge could save the hireling and slave, from the terror of flight, or the gloom of the grave.' The claim of racism focuses, of course, on Key's use of the word 'slave,' which, so the argument goes, refers to the British Second Corps of Colonial Marines. This unit was composed of former American slaves who had been encouraged to escape bondage and fight alongside British troops. According to this line of thinking, the slave-owning Key, a prominent attorney, was terribly upset by the idea of freed blacks fighting against their former masters and was so gratified by their defeat that he inserted this line into his poem." Considering that the British Second Corps of Colonial Marines wasn't present in the battle that Key witnessed, that Key may not have even been aware of their existence, that Key offered free legal services to slaves, and that the expression 'hireling and slave' could refer at the time to many people, including free white people, as an insult, why do you think that some people still attempt to argue that Key's work was racist- even though there isn't any valid evidence for such a claim? Why do you think that Progressives so often use infantile reasoning, narrow thinking, and unsubstantiated, out-of-context references to make claims and arguments? Explain.
3. Dr. Robbins goes on to ask, "Why then did Key use the word 'slave?' We'll never know for sure, of course, but it's important to note that Key was not the first person to use the expression 'hirelings and slaves.' It was a common rhetorical device of the time used on both sides of the Atlantic. ...And remember, 'slave' was a convenient rhyme for 'grave.' Key was, after all, writing a poem. It may be as simple as that." Considering that professional historians don't even know why Key used the term 'slave' in the poem, why do you think that Progressives are so sure that they know and are certain that it was racist in nature? Explain. Why do you think that Key used that particular phrase? Explain.
4. Later in the video, Dr. Robbins notes that, "Before the recent ruckus, no one who sang the National Anthem thought it sent a racial message. If anything, people believed that the anthem promoted unity, as it was intended to do." Why do you think it is the case that for so long Americans did not think of their national anthem as being racist? Do you believe that the poem and song were intended to promote unity? Why or why not?
5. At the end of the video, Dr. Robbins concludes that, "Those who declare the flag and the National Anthem to be racist would do well to remember that Martin Luther King, Jr. and his supporters carried the American flag during their famous Selma march. When they reached the statehouse in Montgomery, Alabama, guess what song they sang? That's right. 'The Star-Spangled Banner.'" Why do you think that Dr. King and his supporters sang the national anthem at the end of their march? Explain. Do you think that the fact that Dr. King and the other Black Rights supporters sang the national anthem is strong proof that the national anthem is not racist? Why or why not?

Extend the Learning:

Case Study The Antelope

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article “‘By the law of nature, all men are free’: Francis Scott Key and the case of the slave ship Antelope,” then answer the questions that follow.

1. What was the case of the Antelope about? Who had worked to bring the case before the U.S. Supreme Court? Who was John Berrien, and whom did Mr. Berrien represent? What was Mr. Key known for at the time? Who was Mr. Key representing? What were Mr. Key’s main arguments in the case? What was at stake for Mr. Berrien and his client? What was Mr. Berrien’s experience arguing before the Supreme Court compared to that of Mr. Key and the U.S. Attorney General? What did Mr. Berrien argue, in terms of the U.S. Constitution, the law, and slavery? What did the 1819 Slave Trade Act do? The author of the article writes that, “The conflict over freedom for the captives [from the Antelope] forced the Supreme Court to address a number of important questions.” What were those questions? How did Mr. Berrien close his case? What did the court rule in the end?
2. Why do you think that Mr. Key placed his reputation on the line to defend the slaves from a slave ship? Do you think that Mr. Key made compelling arguments in the case of the Antelope? Why or why not? What do you think was Mr. Key’s strongest argument in the case? Explain. Why do you think that Mr. Key lost?
3. Francis Scott Key freed slaves that he inherited from his parents. He offered free legal services to slaves. He saved Arthur Bowen, a slave, from a lynch mob. He advocated for the slaves of the Antelope. He was a founder of the American Colonization Society- a group that attempted to help slaves by purchasing them and giving them safe passage to Africa. He helped to establish and he taught at the Georgetown Lancaster School- a school for free colored children, whereby over a thousand black children attended... mostly tuition-free. Does this sound like a racist to you? Explain.
4. Considering that Progressives tend to like revisionist history and tend to like just eliminating things that they consider offensive and/or hateful, such as confederate statues in the South, do you find the fact that Progressives are bringing so much attention to and are making such a big deal out of the supposedly offending verse that no one sings in the American national anthem to be hypocritical? Why or why not?

https://www.salon.com/2015/07/11/%E2%80%9Cby_the_law_of_nature_all_men_are_free%E2%80%9D_francis_scott_key_and_the_case_of_the_slave_ship_antelope/

“By the law of nature, all men are free”: Francis Scott Key and the case of the slave ship Antelope

With the Antelope case, the Supreme Court established precedents that would hold for 35 years: Slaves were property

Jonathan M. Bryant

July 11, 2015 7:59PM (UTC)

Excerpted from "[Dark Places of the Earth: The Voyage of the Slave Ship Antelope](#)"

“The Africans are parties to the cause,
at least such of them as are free.”

Attorney General William Wirt *The Antelope*, 23 U.S. 66, 106 (1825)

On the morning of February 28, 1825, attorney John Macpherson Berrien prepared to open his case. This was the second of what would be five days of argument before the United States Supreme Court, and Berrien faced a formidable challenge. Just two days earlier, on Saturday, Francis Scott Key had opened for the federal government in the case of the *Antelope*. Key had not yet been relegated to textbooks as the pious author of “The Star-Spangled Banner.” In 1825 he was a lawyer at his peak: rich, well connected, and influential. He was also a superb speaker—some put him on par with Daniel Webster. Key had unleashed all of his rhetorical weapons on Saturday; this was a case he believed in and had worked personally to bring before the Supreme Court. The *Antelope* was a Spanish slave ship that had been captured by privateers and then seized by a United States Revenue Marine cutter off the coast of Florida. Using clear precedent, poetic language, and appeals to morality, Francis Scott Key argued that the hundreds of African captives found aboard the *Antelope* should be returned to Africa and freedom. United States law demanded it, he said. The law of nations demanded it, he said. Even the law of nature demanded it. Key looked into the eyes of the six justices sitting for the case, four of whom were slave owners, and announced that “by the law of nature, all men are free.”

The dim Supreme Court chamber in the basement of the Capitol was packed, and many spectators were impressed by Key’s argument. Henry S. Foote wrote that Key “greatly surpassed the expectations of his most admiring friends. . . . [and] he closed with a thrilling and even electrifying picture of the horrors connected with the African slave trade.” Most startling of all, Key argued that assuming all Africans were slaves, while declaring that all men were created equal, was philosophical and constitutional hypocrisy. If the United States had captured a ship full of white captives, Key asked, would not our courts assume them to be free? How could it be any different simply because the captives were black? Key knew that such disputes over slavery, race, and the meaning of the Constitution were not new, but in the 1820s, they’d

begun to divide the nation. Just a few years earlier, from 1819 to 1821, conflict over the expansion of slavery into Missouri had torn Congress, and almost the nation, apart. Slavery was a dangerously hot subject, but Francis Scott Key stepped deliberately into the fire.

The city of Washington had all of Sunday to discuss and consider Key's argument. On Monday morning there was great anticipation surrounding John M. Berrien's rebuttal. Again the Supreme Court chamber was crowded, and Berrien knew that the spectators expected fireworks. He was a newly elected United States senator from Georgia and wanted to make a strong impression, but fireworks were not his style. Berrien was a man who focused on logic and details, on clear and forceful argumentation. His command of the details of the case was unrivaled, since he had been involved with it from the beginning: so involved, in fact, that he and several friends had substantial financial interest in the outcome. There were professional implications as well; his client was Santiago de la Cuesta y Manzanal, a Spanish nobleman living in Cuba. A ruthless, wealthy, and powerful man, Santiago de la Cuesta stood to lose as much as \$100,000 if Berrien failed. By comparison, the annual salary of a Supreme Court justice in 1825 was \$4,500. A fortune was at stake, as was John Macpherson Berrien's rising reputation.

Berrien was a highly respected attorney and judge in Georgia, but his work at home was service in the far provinces in comparison to pleading before the Supreme Court. Not that this was his first time; he had argued before the Supreme Court seven years before. Francis Scott Key, in contrast, had argued before the Court every year for the past seventeen years, a total of forty-two cases thus far. U.S. Attorney General William Wirt, Key's co-counsel, had appeared before the Court more than seventy times by 1825. In experience alone Berrien's adversaries were overwhelming, and they also looked the part. Key "was tall, erect, and of admirable physical proportions." Wirt was also tall, broad-chested, and graceful, with piercing blue eyes. Berrien was none of those, and he had a big nose to boot. Berrien also lacked the poetics and the gracious behavior of Francis Scott Key. While a polished and devastating debater, Berrien had a bitter and sometimes cruel wit that emerged even when he fought to control it. He had to restrain himself; one scored points before the Supreme Court with logic and the law, not with clever quips. The hour came; Berrien stood and began his argument.

*

Slavery and the slave trade had haunted the United States from its beginning, and in 1775, every North American colony was entangled in the system. Many of the Revolutionary generation believed that rebellion against Great Britain included rebellion against the colonial system of slavery. The preamble to the Declaration of Independence asserted inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Slavery was clearly antithetical to these rights. Thomas Jefferson had gone further in his draft of the Declaration, which famously included a powerful complaint against the king that was struck from the final document. The king, Jefferson wrote:

has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life & liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating & carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought & sold, . . .

As part of their resistance to Great Britain, the revolutionary states ended their participation in the African slave trade, even as they condemned British offers of freedom to slaves who enlisted to fight for the king. This reflected a developing tension in the new nation, as Americans struggled to accommodate slavery in a society asserting equality for all. The tension was especially apparent at the 1787 Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, where conflicts arose over taxation, representation, and, inevitably, slavery. James Madison reported in his notes on the convention that compromise after compromise followed, until a final document was hammered out in September 1787. Slavery was never mentioned by name in the final version, but the Constitution engaged the issue. As John Quincy Adams explained, in the famous *Amistad*

case, “The words slave and slavery are studiously excluded from the Constitution. Circumlocutions are the fig-leaves under which these parts of the body politic are decently concealed.”

The new system of government counted three-fifths of slaves for purposes of representation and taxation; required the return of fugitive slaves; and, most directly of all, prohibited any regulation of the Atlantic slave trade by the federal government until January 1, 1808. Southern planters, especially in Georgia and South Carolina, had lost tens of thousands of slaves during the Revolution. They insisted upon a chance to rebuild their stock of slaves through the direct African slave trade. Twenty years was the compromise with regard to how long direct trade would be allowed; most delegates assumed that after twenty years, the international slave trade would end. Delegates, however, also generally agreed that the new Constitution gave the federal government no power to regulate or control slavery in the states. This fit the federalist conception of the new government; it had power over international commerce, including the slave trade, but no power over domestic institutions within the states themselves. In a seemingly unconnected area, the Constitution also gave the federal judiciary control of “all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction.” Federal courts, not state courts, would enforce any future federal laws respecting the seaborne slave trade.

Americans of the Revolutionary generation were torn by the issue of slavery. While many decried it, slavery seemed inescapably integrated into American society. Thomas Jefferson explained this terrible dilemma in a letter to John Holmes in April of 1820, writing, “but, as it is, we have the wolf by the ear, and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go.” Several states adopted plans for emancipation, but these were very gradual plans lasting decades, and were adopted in states where slavery was not central to the economy. There were others, however, who saw slavery not just as the cost of union but as a force maintaining union. Following this line of reasoning, in the *Antelope* case John Macpherson Berrien argued before the Supreme Court concerning slaves:

The principle by which you continue to enjoy them, is protected by that constitution, forms a basis for your representatives, is infused into your laws, and mingles itself with all the sources of authority. . . . Paradoxical as it may appear, they [slaves] constitute the very bond of your union. The shield of your constitution protects them from your touch.

The slave trade, however, was understood as being different from slavery. It was a commercial practice, not a domestic institution, and so could be regulated and controlled by rational individuals. Its horrors and abuses were well known, and educated citizens condemned it in public. By 1798, every American state had outlawed the international slave trade, though South Carolina reopened it in 1803. In December of 1806, President Thomas Jefferson called upon the United States Congress for a law prohibiting the international slave trade at the earliest time allowed by the Constitution. By the end of February 1807, Congress had sent An Act to Prohibit the Importation of Slaves to the president for his signature. This law made it illegal for Americans to participate in the international slave trade, and illegal for anyone to import slaves into the United States after January 1, 1808. At almost the same time in Great Britain, in March 1807, after more than two decades of political struggle by abolitionists, Parliament passed An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Under this law, British participation in any aspect of the slave trade was unlawful, as was the importation of slaves to any British possessions after May 1, 1807.

It was one thing to outlaw the international slave trade; it was something else to put that law into effect. In 1808, the United States had little in the way of a meaningful navy, and did no more than try to control ships bringing slaves to American shores. Great Britain, engaged in a titanic war with Napoleon’s France, went much further and empowered its vast navy to suppress the slave trade. The impact of the laws and British action was immediate. From 1800 through 1807, documented voyages delivered almost 80,000 slaves to the Americas each year. In 1807, the number of slaves from documented voyages arriving in the New World totaled 86,343. In 1808, that fell to less than 33,000, and in 1809, less than 31,000. Clearly law and the British assumption of a wartime power to stop and search any vessel on the high seas had a significant effect upon the extent of the international slave trade, even when only one nation was engaged in the effort.

Despite these successes, the slave trade continued. The vibrant and growing plantations of Spanish Cuba and Brazil demanded more enslaved workers, and slavers in Africa continued to offer captives at prices that kept the slave traders' profits high. With the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, the number of slaving voyages and slaves delivered to the Americas began to rise significantly. Slavers learned to use the flags of various nations to protect their ships, especially those of Spain, Portugal, and, increasingly, the United States. British reluctance to stop and search American ships after 1815 conferred significant immunity upon vessels flying the American flag legitimately or illegitimately. Much of the financing for these voyages also came from the United States. This was especially true for slaving voyages to Cuba. Finally, many American citizens were involved as sailors and officers in these ventures.

Partly in response to these and other political issues, in March 1819, Congress passed An Act in Addition to the Acts to Prohibit the Importation of Slaves. This law increased the penalties for Americans engaged in the international slave trade, and for the first time provided money to support implementation of the law. Most importantly for the case of the *Antelope*, the 1819 Slave Trade Act provided that captives brought into the United States illegally would come under the authority of the president of the United States. The president would then arrange as soon as possible to return the captives to Africa. Congress also revised American piracy law in May of 1820. Americans engaged in the slave trade were deemed pirates and, as such, were subject to the death penalty. At a time when the United States was torn over the admission of Missouri as a slave state, and divided on the issue of the westward expansion of slavery, the congressional votes on the 1819 Slave Trade Act and the 1820 Piracy Act suggested a significant commitment to strong laws for suppression of the international slave trade.

The arrival of the *Antelope* tested that commitment. The ship was a Spanish slaver from Cuba, captured off the coast of Africa by a revolutionary privateer. An American revenue cutter later captured the *Antelope* off the coast of Spanish Florida. Found aboard were 281 living captives. The seven years of legal conflict over the captives that followed revealed much of the dark underside of law and commerce in the young Republic. The conflict over freedom for the captives forced the Supreme Court to address a number of important questions. Were the natural rights of liberty more important than the rights of property? Was the Constitution a source of first principles for the American legal system, or simply a legal text providing only limited powers? How was international law shaped, and what role did it have in American law? Did African captives have the same rights as other human beings in the American legal system, or did race limit their rights before the courts? Most importantly, the case forced the Supreme Court to the very precipice on the issue of slavery. If natural rights to liberty made the *Antelope* captives free, did natural rights make all slaves free?

*

The *Antelope* is not commonly considered an important Supreme Court case. It is long — more than seventeen thousand words, and complex. It was an admiralty law case, with arcane procedures and different rules of evidence than those of common law. It did not boldly highlight a groundbreaking change in the powers of federal governance. In many ways the case has simply been overlooked. If asked about important Supreme Court cases on slavery, most historians would name *Dred Scott*, or perhaps *Prigg v. Pennsylvania*. Thanks to Steven Spielberg, members of the public would most likely mention the *Amistad*. The *Antelope* is crucial, however, because in it Chief Justice John Marshall and the Supreme Court established precedents—in international law, property law, and the Court's cognizance of natural rights—that influenced future decisions on slavery. As Marshall explained early in his *Antelope* opinion:

In examining claims of this momentous importance; claims in which the sacred rights of liberty and of property come in conflict with each other; . . . this Court must not yield to feelings which might seduce it from the path of duty, and must obey the mandate of the law.

By refusing to be “seduced” from the path of duty and by affirming that while slaves might be human beings, at law slaves were property, John Marshall's Court shaped American jurisprudence on these issues for the next thirty-five years. The Court also buttressed the claims of slave owners in looming struggles

over fugitive slaves and the westward expansion of slavery. Whether or not the Constitution is a pro-slavery document is much debated among historians, but without question it is a pro-property document. If slaves are property, and nothing else, then a pro-property Constitution will inevitably be pro-slavery. Thus, in many ways John Marshall's opinion in the *Antelope* reinforced the divisions that would tear the nation apart.

John Macpherson Berrien could not see the future, but as a plantation master he understood the importance of slaves remaining property at law. He began his argument by summarizing Key's address, and then highlighted the implications. If the Court accepted Key's assertions, Berrien argued, then "we are bound, prima facie, to hold that there can be no property in a human being." He let that hang for a moment. Then he moved to the logical destruction of Key's presentation, ticking off point by point from a numbered list. Berrien mocked Key's ethical arguments, asking, "[W]ould it become the United States to assume . . . the character of censors of the morals of the world . . . ?" He continued, "We have no pretense, then, to enforce against others our own peculiar notions of morality. The standard of morality, by which Courts of justice must be guided, is that which the law prescribes." Berrien's presentation was masterful, biting, sardonic, and brilliant. Unfortunately for the *Antelope* captives, and for the nation, several justices found it convincing.

Excerpted from "Dark Places of the Earth: The Voyage of the Slave Ship Antelope" by Jonathan M. Bryant. Copyright © 2015 by Jonathan M. Bryant. With permission of the publisher, Liveright Publishing Corporation. All rights reserved.



QUIZ

Is the National Anthem Racist?

1. **“The Star-Spangled Banner” was composed by _____.**
 - a. John Phillip Sousa
 - b. Scott Joplin
 - c. Francis Scott Key
 - d. Sanford A. Moeller

2. **“The Star-Spangled Banner” was written after the composer witnessed which battle in the War of 1812?**
 - a. Battle of Queenston Heights
 - b. Battle of Fort McHenry
 - c. Battle of Stonington
 - d. Battle of Fort George

3. **Although a slave owner himself, the composer of the national anthem was a prominent attorney that offered free legal representation to slaves petitioning the Maryland court for their freedom.**
 - a. True
 - b. False

4. **“Hirelings and slaves” was a common rhetorical device of the time and an all-purpose insult that could be used to refer to _____.**
 - a. enemy troops
 - b. foreign leaders
 - c. corrupt politicians
 - d. all of the above

5. **What song did Martin Luther King Jr. and his supporters sing at the statehouse when they reached the end of their famous Selma march?**
 - a. “Say it Loud, I’m Black and I’m Proud”
 - b. “Yankee Doodle Dandy”
 - c. “The Star-Spangled Banner”
 - d. “Georgia”



QUIZ - ANSWER KEY

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STUDY GUIDE

What Does Separation of Church and State Mean?

KEY TERMS:

doctrine
national religion

Founding Fathers
strict separation

First Amendment
moral infrastructure

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section <u>during</u> the video. Include definitions and key terms.	CUE COLUMN: Complete this section <u>after</u> the video.
<p>Thomas Jefferson's phrase "...a wall of separation between church and state" was lost in his correspondence for how many years?</p> <p>In which U.S. Supreme Court case was the modern 'strict separation' view born?</p> <p>In 1962, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that what violated the new definition of the First Amendment?</p>	<p>What was the original interpretation of the establishment clause in the First Amendment, and how was that interpretation good for the United States?</p> <p>What is the 'strict separation' interpretation of the establishment clause in the First Amendment, and how is that interpretation bad for the United States?</p>

Discussion & Review

1. At the beginning of the video, Dr. Eastman contends: “Almost everyone has heard of the doctrine of the ‘separation of church and state.’ Most Americans believe that it’s in the United States Constitution. But there is no such phrase in the Constitution. And there never was- for a simple reason: The Founding Fathers never intended for church and state to be completely separate. They saw religion, specifically religions based on the Bible, as indispensable to the moral foundation of the nation they were creating.” Why do you think that so many people are ignorant regarding the origin of the ‘separation of church and state’ doctrine and of the original interpretation of the First Amendment? What do you think Dr. Eastman means by ‘moral foundation’ of the nation, and why do you think that the Founding Fathers viewed Bible-based faith as indispensible to that foundation?
2. Dr. Eastman goes on to examine “... what the Constitution actually does say about religion and its role in public life. The answer is found in the First Amendment to the Constitution. ‘Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.’ It’s plain what those words mean. The federal government could not establish a national religion, the common practice in Europe. The United States was going to be different. Americans would be free to follow the religion of their choice.” Why do you think that supporters of the ‘strict interpretation’ of the First Amendment often choose to completely disregard the context that the Constitution and Bill of Rights was created in? Explain. Do you think that the context the First Amendment was written in, and thus the mindset of the Framers, should be taken into account when interpreting their writing and intent? Why or why not?
3. Later in the video, Dr. Eastman notes: “In that year [1947], in the case of *Everson v. Board of Education*, the Supreme Court ruled in a 5-4 decision that under the First Amendment, neither a state nor the Federal Government could ‘pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another.’ For the first time in American history, the First Amendment was not only about the prohibition of establishing a national religion, it was also about not giving any encouragement to any religion. The modern ‘strict separation’ view was born.” In what ways does the ‘strict interpretation’ actually limit and diminish the freedoms of Americans? Explain. Why do you think that the Supreme Court majority at the time wished to value equality more than to value freedom- so much so that it purposefully expanded and fundamentally changed a basic American right to fit their ideology? Explain.
4. Further, Dr. Eastman explains: “For Jefferson and the other Founders, religion was central to the entire American project. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are just two of countless examples where the government acknowledges its debt to God. As the famously liberal Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas wrote in the case of *Zorach v. Clausen* just five years after the *Everson* decision, ‘We are a religious people, whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being.’ The Founders would certainly have agreed. Following *Everson*, the nation’s moral infrastructure began to crack- at first slowly and then more rapidly.” Considering that the United States was created as a fabric that successfully intertwined religion and governance in a harmonious way for so long, why do you think that some people are recently so adamant about maintaining such an extreme separation of the two? What do you think Dr. Eastman means by ‘moral infrastructure,’ and do you agree with him that it is cracking due to fallout from the the ruling in the *Everson* case?

5. At the end of the video, Dr. Eastman concludes: "...Since then [the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Engel v. Vitale* that a generic school prayer violated the strict interpretation of the First Amendment], the 'separation of Church and State' metaphor has been used to remove God and religion, piece by piece, from American public life. Are we a better society for it? It's hard to argue that we are. Almost every cultural and ethical indicator: marriage rates, birthrates, the number of Americans giving to charity- has declined since God and religion have faded from American life. Meanwhile, children without fathers in their lives, behavioral problems in schools, and crime have gone up dramatically." Do you agree with the implied correlation that Dr. Eastman makes between losing God and religion as an important part of American life and the cultural indicators painting a picture of a worsening quality of life for Americans? Why or why not? What other conclusions can you draw between the loss of morality through the greatly diminished importance of religious institutions in the lives of many Americans and the numerous problems that Americans are facing? Explain.

Extend the Learning:

Case Study The Establishment Clause

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article "The Myth of Church-State Separation from page 630 1. Summary to the end," then answer the questions that follow.

1. What did the early federal government do that was contrary to the notion of separation of church and state? In regards to the Establishment Clause, what did the framers seek to insure? What did Congress enact the Establishment Clause in response to? What were the Anti-Federalists worried about, especially in regards to religion? What was the central purpose of the Bill of Rights in regards to moderates and uneasy constituents? Who was Fisher Ames, and why did he modify the language in the Establishment Clause? What was the Establishment Clause cited as a means of protecting, in regard to state laws? What important interpretation of the Establishment Clause did Justice Thomas opine in *Elk Grove Unified School District v. Newdow*? Who is Daniel L. Dreisbach, and what did he conclude about Thomas Jefferson's 'wall' metaphor? What did Jefferson say about regulating religious institutions in his letter to Rev. Miller? During the founding period, what was the prevailing interpretation of why the Establishment Clause was enacted? Considering that Jefferson had supported federal funding of a church on tribal land and that the federal government designated holidays for prayer, appointed and compensated chaplains, authorized legislative prayer, etc... the founders agreed that the federal government could aid religion under what condition? Instead of the Establishment Clause itself, what did Justice Black's majority opinion actually review in the *Everson* case? What led to the Supreme Court making such a serious error in the *Everson* case, and what was that error? What significant omissions did Justice Black's majority in the case make in their written opinion? What was demonstrably wrong about Justice Black's statement about 'In the words of Jefferson...?' How did the Establishment Clause affect the ruling in *Epperson v. Arkansas*? During the framing period, who believed that the Establishment Clause imposed a universal divide between government and religion? What was Jefferson's metaphorical wall designed to do? In what way has the modern Supreme Court turned the Establishment Clause on its head?

Extend the Learning (cont):

2. Do you truly think that the same man, Thomas Jefferson, who repeatedly wrote that state governments should be able to regulate religion would also write that all governments and all religions should be completely separate? Explain. Do you think that the Everson case also reflects a significant limitation to state's rights? Why or why not? Why do you think that people often don't take into consideration the difference between individual rights and state's rights, and don't consider the fact that rights are not equally weighted? Explain.
3. Do you think that the 'strict interpretation' of the First Amendment should be reversed? Why or why not? Do you think that Americans need a 'moral infrastructure?' If no, why not? If yes, but not from religion, what other platform could possibly provide as good a moral infrastructure as a religious institution? If yes, from religion, then what do you think could be done to get more people back to engaging with that platform for morality?

2011

The Myth of Church-State Separation

David E. Steinberg
Thomas Jefferson School of Law

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THE MYTH OF CHURCH-STATE SEPARATION

DAVID E. STEINBERG*

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INTRODUCTION

In the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment,¹ the framers supposedly intended to mandate a separation of church and state. The Supreme Court has

* Professor, Thomas Jefferson School of Law. B.A., Northwestern University; J.D., Stanford Law School. I give my thanks to the Thomas Jefferson School of Law for generous research funding.

¹ U.S. CONST. amend. I.

treated this statement as a truism.² Given how the Establishment Clause is equated with church-state separation, one finds surprisingly little evidence that the framers intended anything like church-state separation.

This article asserts that the church-state separation interpretation of Establishment Clause history is simply wrong. The framers were focused on the first five words of the amendment, which read: “*Congress shall make no law* respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof” The original Establishment Clause was a guarantee that the federal government would not interfere in state regulation of religion—whatever form that state regulation took. Rather than enacting the Establishment Clause to mandate a separation of church and state, the framers adopted the clause to protect divergent state practices—including state establishment of religion, which continued in several states when the Establishment Clause was enacted. As Thomas Jefferson himself later acknowledged, the Establishment Clause had much in common with the Tenth Amendment, which also protected states’ rights from federal interference.

Part II of this article reviews federal laws and practices at the time when the Establishment Clause was enacted. Part II notes that the prevalence of government aid to religion in early America is inconsistent with contentions that the Establishment Clause mandated a separation of church and state.

Part III reviews some of the congressional discussions that resulted in the enactment of the Establishment Clause. Part III concludes that nothing in the legislative history relating to the Establishment Clause suggests that the framers intended to endorse a separation of church and state. To the contrary, this history indicates that by adopting the Establishment Clause, the framers agreed that the federal government would not interfere in state religious regulation.

Part IV concludes that with respect to the Establishment Clause, the framers were committed to the principal of federalism. Of the framers, Jefferson has been closely connected with arguments for church-state separation, given his Jefferson’s letter that described a “wall of separation between Church and State.”³ Although Jefferson wrote about the Establishment Clause on a number of other occasions, none of these writings advocated a policy of church-state separation. Instead, Jefferson wrote that the power to regulate religion must “rest with the States, as far as it can be in any human authority.”⁴ In other words, Jefferson viewed the Establishment Clause as endorsing the non-interference principle described in Part III.

After discussing Jefferson’s writings, Part IV reviews other statements about the Establishment Clause penned during the framing period. Jefferson’s federalist description of the Establishment Clause was not an aberration. Like Jefferson, other

² See, e.g., *Wolman v. Walter*, 433 U.S. 229, 236 (1977) (citing “the wall of separation that must be maintained between church and state” as a basis for striking down some forms of state aid to private religious schools); *Engel v. Vitale*, 370 U.S. 421, 425 (1962) (holding that prayer in the public schools “breaches the constitutional wall of separation between Church and State”).

³ Letter from Thomas Jefferson to a Committee of the Danbury Baptist Association (Jan. 1, 1802), in 16 *THE WRITINGS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON* 281, 282 (Andrew A. Lipscomb ed., 1905).

⁴ Letter from Thomas Jefferson to the Rev. Samuel Miller (Jan. 23, 1808), in 11 *THE WRITINGS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON* 428, 428 (Andrew A. Lipscomb ed., 1905) (hereinafter “Letter to Reverend Miller”).

framing era sources largely omit any discussion of church-state separation. Also like Jefferson, framing era sources again and again state that the Establishment Clause was adopted to preclude federal interference in state regulation of religion.

Part V reviews the origins of modern Establishment Clause activism in *Everson v. Board of Education*.⁵ Part V discusses the surprisingly sloppy and inaccurate statement of Establishment Clause history in *Everson*, which culminated with Justice Hugo Black's conclusion that the framers enacted the Establishment Clause to mandate a separation of church and state.

Part V discusses the bitter irony in the modern Supreme Court's Establishment Clause activism. The framers enacted the Establishment Clause as a shield, to protect state religious regulation from federal interference. However, the Supreme Court has transformed the Establishment Clause into a sword, which gives federal judges the power to meddle in areas traditionally reserved to the states. Through bad history and questionable public policy, the Supreme Court has created an Establishment Clause that is the exact opposite of what the framers intended.

II. LAWS AND STATEMENTS IN THE EARLY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Early federal laws and practices are entirely inconsistent with the argument that the Establishment Clause mandated the separation of church and state. Just three days before Congress enacted the Establishment Clause, the same Congress approved a salary for a chaplain to lead Congress in prayer. Presidents Washington, Adams, and Madison each established a national holiday for prayer. In addition, a number of early statesmen—including President Washington—spoke of the importance of an active role for religion in public life. In short, the practices and statements of the early federal government were contrary to a separation of church and state.

A. *Early Federal Laws and Practices*

1. Thanksgiving Proclamations

The first Congress urged President Washington to proclaim “a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, to be observed by acknowledging with grateful hearts the many and signal favors of Almighty God.”⁶ President Washington selected November 26, 1789 as a day of thanksgiving to offer “our prayers and supplications to the great Lord and Ruler of Nations . . .”⁷ Although Jefferson broke from this practice when he served as President, both John Adams and James Madison designated special days for Thanksgiving and prayer.⁸

⁵ *Everson v. Bd. of Educ.*, 330 U.S. 1 (1947).

⁶ GEORGE WASHINGTON, PROCLAMATION FOR A NATIONAL THANKSGIVING (Oct. 3, 1789), *reprinted in* 12 THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON: BEING HIS CORRESPONDENCE, ADDRESSES, MESSAGES, AND OTHER PAPERS, OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE 119 (1834).

⁷ GEORGE WASHINGTON, PROCLAMATION FOR A NATIONAL THANKSGIVING (Oct. 3, 1789), *reprinted in* 1 J. RICHARDSON, A COMPILATION OF THE MESSAGES AND PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS 1789-1897, at 64 (1899).

⁸ JOHN ADAMS, PROCLAMATION FOR A NATIONAL FAST (Mar. 6, 1799) (quoting Proverbs 14:34), *reprinted in* 9 THE WORKS OF JOHN ADAMS, SECOND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES 172, 173 (1850) (recommending that “that Thursday, the twenty-fifth day of

2. Legislative Prayer and Military Chaplains

As Christopher Lund has demonstrated,⁹ legislative prayer was a widely recognized practice in early America. The first federal legislative prayer dates from the 1774 meeting of the Continental Congress in Philadelphia.¹⁰ In the following years, both the House and Senate began their sessions with a prayer. By 1789, the practice was so well-established that both houses of Congress appointed chaplains. On September 22, 1789, Congress enacted a statute, setting the chaplains salaries at \$500 a year.¹¹ This act was passed just three days before Congress reached agreement on the bill of rights—including the Establishment Clause.¹²

Like legislative prayer, federal support for military chaplains was in place long before Congress adopted the Establishment Clause and continued after the clause was enacted. In 1775, the Continental Congress approved the first army chaplain.¹³ In addition to authorizing legislative prayer, the first Congress enacted a statute that provided for chaplains for the army.¹⁴ The practice of appointing and paying army chaplains has continued up to the present day.¹⁵

The practice of appointing and compensating chaplains involved the direct financial support of religion by the federal government. If the Establishment Clause required a separation of church and state, such direct federal financing of religion would have been inconsistent with the clause. Nonetheless, the first Congress approved such financial support, without any suggestion that the aid violated the Establishment Clause. This congressional action raises considerable doubt about whether the framers read the Establishment Clause as requiring a separation of church and state.

3. The Kaskaskia Indian Treaty

In 1803, President Thomas Jefferson proposed a treaty with the Kaskaskia Indian Tribe. Jefferson's proposal would appropriate federal funds to build a Catholic church on the tribe's lands, and would provide a salary to support a Catholic priest who would tend to the tribe's spiritual needs. The treaty ultimately ratified by

April next, be observed, throughout the United States of America, as a day of solemn humiliation, fasting, and prayer"); JAMES MADISON, A PROCLAMATION, *reprinted in* 1 A COMPILATION OF THE MESSAGES AND PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS 1789-1897, at 513 (James D. Richardson ed., 1899) (noting James Madison's July 9, 1812 Proclamation calling for a day of thanksgiving and prayer).

⁹ Christopher C. Lund, *The Congressional Chaplaincies*, 17 WM. & MARY BILL RTS. J. 1171 (2009).

¹⁰ *Id.* at 1177.

¹¹ Act of Sept. 22, 1789, ch. 17, 1 Stat. 70-72.

¹² *Marsh v. Chambers*, 463 U.S. 783, 788 (1983). *See also* Lund, *supra* note 9, at 1184.

¹³ Klaus J. Herrmann, *Some Considerations on the Constitutionality of the United States Military Chaplaincy*, 14 AM. U. L. REV. 24, 24-25 (1964).

¹⁴ Act of Mar. 3, 1791, ch. 28, 1 Stat. 222-24.

¹⁵ *See* Steven K. Green, *Reconciling the Irreconcilable: Military Chaplains and the First Amendment*, 110 W. VA. L. REV. 167, 167 (2007) (describing military chaplains as "[p]atently unconstitutional under almost any view of the Establishment Clause").

Congress provided: “And whereas the greater part of said tribe have been baptized and received into the Catholic Church, to which they are much attached, the United States will give annually, for seven years, one hundred dollars towards the support of a priest of that religion, who will engage to perform for such tribe the duties of his office, and also to instruct as many of their children as possible, in the rudiments of literature, and the United States will further give the sum of three hundred dollars, to assist the said tribe in the erection of a church.”¹⁶

Notably, this treaty was proposed by President Jefferson. Courts and scholars have long associated Jefferson as the foremost proponent of the separation of church and state.¹⁷ Yet it was Jefferson who convinced Congress to fund both the construction of a Catholic church, and the funding of a Catholic priest.

4. References to Religion in the Northwest Territory Ordinance, the Declaration of Independence and State Constitutions

Outside of the First Amendment, and the Article IV provision prohibiting religious tests as a qualification for office,¹⁸ the United States Constitution makes no reference to religion or God. But during the framing period, it was common for constitutions and official documents to include such references. As Professor Daniel L. Dreisbach observes: “The Declaration of Independence (1776), The Articles of Confederation (1781), virtually all state constitutions, and other official documents are replete with claims of Christian devotion and supplication to the Supreme Being.”¹⁹

The Declaration of Independence begins by noting that all persons “are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.”²⁰ During the framing period, state constitutions also commonly referred to God or religion. For example, the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 declared: “It is the right as well as the duty of all men . . . to worship the

¹⁶ CHESTER JAMES ANTIEAU, ET AL., *FREEDOM FROM FEDERAL ESTABLISHMENT: FORMATION AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE FIRST AMENDMENT RELIGION CLAUSES* 167 (1964).

¹⁷ See, e.g., *Everson v. Bd. of Educ.*, 330 U.S. 1, 16 (1947) (noting the wall separation metaphor, which appeared in a letter written by Jefferson to the Danbury Baptist church). See also *infra* text accompanying notes 61-62 (showing that Jefferson read the Establishment Clause as guaranteeing federalism, rather than as a separation of church and state).

¹⁸ Article VI, clause 3 of the Constitution provides in part: “[N]o religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.” U.S. CONST. art. VI, cl. 3.

¹⁹ Daniel L. Dreisbach, *In Search of a Christian Commonwealth: An Examination of Selected Nineteenth-Century Commentaries on References to God and the Christian Religion in the United States Constitution*, 48 BAYLOR L. REV. 927, 928-29 (1996).

²⁰ THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE para. 2 (U.S. 1776).

Supreme Being, the great Creator and Preserver of the universe.”²¹ The Virginia Constitution of 1776 described religion as “the duty we owe to our Creator”²²

In an enactment much closer in time to the adoption of the First Amendment, the first Congress enacted a charter to govern the Northwest Territory in 1787. Article III of the Northwest Territory Ordinance provided: “Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.”²³ In this law, many of the same men who would later approve the First Amendment described “[r]eligion, morality, and knowledge” as “being necessary to good government.” One should ask whether these same men, when they adopted the Establishment Clause just a few short years later, now suddenly believed in the separation of church and state.

5. Conscientious Objector Provision

In 1775, the Continental Congress exempt religious conscientious objectors from service in the Revolutionary War. The conscientious objector resolution read:

As there are some people, who, from religious principles, cannot bear arms in any case, this Congress intend no violence to their consciences, but earnestly recommend it to them, to contribute liberally in this time of universal calamity, to the relief of their distressed brethren in the several colonies, and to do all other services to their oppressed Country, which they can consistently with their religious principles.²⁴

During the Civil War, conscription initially was left to the individual states. However, after the federal government took control of the conscription process, the 1864 draft act exempted members of pacifist religious denominations from military service.²⁵ That same year, the Confederacy also exempted religious conscientious objectors from conscription.²⁶

Many years later, Justice John Harlan, Jr. stated that the conscientious objector provisions violated the Establishment Clause because these provisions were inconsistent with “the neutrality principle.”²⁷ Justice Harlan was correct in his

²¹ MASS. CONST. OF 1780, pt. 1, art. II, *reprinted in* 5 THE FEDERAL AND STATE CONSTITUTIONS 1889 (Francis N. Thorpe ed., 1909).

²² VA. CONST. OF 1776, DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, § 16, *reprinted in* 7 THE FEDERAL AND STATE CONSTITUTIONS 3814 (Francis N. Thorpe ed., 1909).

²³ Northwest Territory Ordinance of 1787, 1 Stat. 50.

²⁴ RESOLUTION OF JULY 18, 1775, *reprinted in* 2 JOURNALS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1774-1789, at 189 (W. Ford ed. 1905 & photo. reprint 1968).

²⁵ *See* United States v. Seeger, 380 U.S. 163, 170-71 (1965).

²⁶ *Id.*

²⁷ *Welsh v. United States*, 398 U.S. 333, 357 (1970) (Harlan, J., concurring). The *Welsh* court plurality attempted to overcome the issue of religious favoritism by extending the conscientious objector statute to any person who “deeply and sincerely holds beliefs that are purely ethical or moral in source and content but that nevertheless impose upon him a duty of conscience to refrain from participating in any war at any time” *Id.* at 340.

observation that the conscientious objector provisions accorded special treatment to objectors with a religious opposition to war, as opposed to individuals who did not want to fight for other reasons. But contrary to Justice Harlan's conclusion, no evidence suggests that the framers believed that such a preference for religious motivations violated the Establishment Clause.

B. Religion And The Federal Republic: The Civic Republicans

An important strand of early American thought asserted that religion was an essential component of what George Washington referred to as "national morality."²⁸ Those who agreed with Washington on the connection between religious belief and good government have become known as "civic republicans." John Witte, Jr. writes that "consistent with Puritan views, civic republicans sought to imbue the public square with a common religious ethic and ethos—albeit one less denominationally specific and rigorous than that countenanced by the Puritans."²⁹ As Witte correctly observes, civic republican thought was one of many competing views on church-state relationships.³⁰ Nonetheless, the proponents of an active role for religion in government included Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, and John Adams. Given the stature of these proponents, the framing era views on the importance of religion to political life cannot be dismissed lightly.

George Washington noted in his farewell address: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness—these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens."³¹ Washington continued: "And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."³²

John Adams made a similar point in his correspondence, writing that the United States Constitution "was made only for a moral and religious people. It is wholly inadequate to the government of any other."³³ Adams continued that government was not "capable of contending with human passions unbridled by morality and religion."³⁴ Connecticut Senator Oliver Ellsworth described religious institutions as

²⁸ George Washington, Farewell Address (Sept. 17, 1796), in 1 DOCUMENTS OF AMERICAN HISTORY 173 (Henry Steele Commager ed., 7th ed. 1963).

²⁹ John Witte, Jr., *The Essential Rights and Liberties of Religion in the American Constitutional Experiment*, 71 NOTRE DAME L. REV. 371, 386 (1996). See also Stephen M. Feldman, *The Theory and Politics of First Amendment Protections: Why Does the Supreme Court Favor Free Expression Over Religious Freedom?*, 8 U. PA. J. CONST. L. 431, 451-52 (2006) ("In republican democratic terms, Protestantism supposedly imbued citizens with virtue and shaped their understanding of the common good.").

³⁰ Witte, *supra* note 29, at 378-88.

³¹ Washington, *supra* note 28, at 173.

³² *Id.*

³³ Letter from John Adams to the Officers of the First Brigade of the Third Division of the Militia of Massachusetts (Oct. 11, 1798), in 9 LIFE AND WORKS OF JOHN ADAMS 229 (1854).

³⁴ *Id.*

“eminently useful and important” to the new Republic.³⁵ And Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story observed that “it is impossible for those, who believe in the truth of Christianity, as a divine revelation, to doubt, that it is the especial duty of government to foster, and encourage it among all the citizens and subjects.”³⁶

The civic republican perspective also was reflected in the Northwest Territory Ordinance. As noted above, Article III of the Northwest Territory Ordinance provided that “[r]eligion, morality, and knowledge” were “necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind.”³⁷

A separation of church and state would be contrary to the philosophy expressed by these civic republicans. Rather than desiring a separation of church and state, civic republicans viewed religion and morality as essential components of the state. For this reason, assistance and support of religion were critical state functions.

1. Summary

In the early years of the United States, the actions of the federal government were not consistent with a desire to separate church and state. To the contrary, the federal government endorsed legislative prayer, hired chaplains, built a church and hired a priest for the Kaskaskia Indian Tribe, and spoke of the importance of religion in the Northwest Territory Ordinance. The ordinance was consistent with the philosophy of the civic republicans, who saw religion as necessary for good government. In short, nothing in the early history of the federal government suggested an intent to separate church and state.

III. THE DRAFTING OF THE ESTABLISHMENT CLAUSE

A number of other authors have written a detailed, point-by-point description of each event that eventually resulted in the enactment of the Establishment Clause.³⁸ This section is not intended to duplicate their work. Instead, this section focuses on particular events in the enactment of the Establishment Clause. These events illustrate that a church-state separation principle was precisely contrary to what the framers intended. Instead, the framers sought to insure that the federal government would not interfere with state regulation of religion.

Congress enacted the Establishment Clause and the other provisions of the Bill of Rights in response to concerns raised by the Anti-Federalists. The Anti-Federalists sought to prevent the formation of a federal government, arguing that states should not ratify the new Constitution. The Anti-Federalists consistently stressed that the federal government would exercise tyrannical power, usurping state authority. For example, an Anti-Federalist who wrote under the pen name “Federal Farmer” wrote:

³⁵ Oliver Ellsworth, *Report of the Committee to Whom Was Referred the Petition of Simeon Brown and Other* (1802), in 11 THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT 371, 373 (Christopher Collier ed., 1967).

³⁶ 3 JOSEPH STORY, COMMENTARIES ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES 723 (1833) (Fred B. Rothman & Co. 1991).

³⁷ Northwest Territory Ordinance of 1787, art. III, 1 Stat. 50.

³⁸ See, e.g., THOMAS J. CURRY, THE FIRST FREEDOMS: CHURCH AND STATE IN AMERICA TO THE PASSAGE OF THE FIRST AMENDMENT 198-222 (1986).

“Instead of seeing powers cautiously lodged in the hands of numerous legislators, and many magistrates, we see all important power collecting in one centre, where a few men will possess them almost at discretion.”³⁹

In their opposition to the Constitution the Anti-Federalists emphasized that the federal government would attempt to preempt state regulation of religion. Professor Kurt Lash observes that among the Anti-Federalists, “the most common objection in regard to congressional power and the subject of religion was that Congress might attempt to regulate that subject as one of its express or implied responsibilities.”⁴⁰ As noted by Lash, the criticisms leveled by an Anti-Federalist writing under the pen name “An Old Whig” were typical:

[I]f a majority of the continental legislature should at any time think fit to establish a form of religion, for the good people of this continent, with all the pains and penalties which in other countries are annexed to the establishment of a national church, what is there in the proposed constitution to hinder their doing so? Nothing; for we have no bill of rights, and every thing therefore is in their power and at their discretion.⁴¹

Similarly, at the New York ratifying convention, antifederalist Thomas Tredwell wished “that sufficient caution had been used to secure to us our religious liberties, and to have prevented the general government from tyrannizing over our consciences by a religious establishment.”⁴²

Those who sought ratification of the Constitution emphasized that the document did not give the federal government any authority to regulate religion. For example, when he spoke to the Virginia ratifying convention in 1788, Madison said: “There is not a shadow of right in the general government to intermeddle with religion. Its least interference with it, would be a most flagrant usurpation.”⁴³ As noted below, framers such as James Iredell in North Carolina and Edmund Randolph in Virginia repeated Madison’s assertion that the federal government had no power over religion.⁴⁴

To obtain ratification of the Constitution, the Federalists promised to amend the Constitution after the states had ratified the document. Professor Robert Natelson writes that a central purpose of these amendments was to reassure moderates “that the states would retain wide jurisdiction exclusive of the central government.”⁴⁵

³⁹ Letter from the “Federal Farmer” (Letter 5) (Oct. 13, 1787), in *THE ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION* 295 (Michael Kammen ed., 1986).

⁴⁰ See Kurt T. Lash, *Power and the Subject of Religion*, 59 *OHIO ST. L.J.* 1069, 1084-85 (1998).

⁴¹ *Essays of An Old Whig*, *PHILADELPHIA INDEP. GAZETTER*, Oct. 1787, Feb. 1788, reprinted in 3 *THE COMPLETE ANTI-FEDERALIST* 37 (Herbert J. Storing ed., 1981).

⁴² 1 JONATHAN ELLIOT, *THE DEBATES IN THE SEVERAL STATE CONVENTIONS ON THE ADOPTION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION* 399 (2d ed. 1836).

⁴³ JAMES MADISON, *REMARKS BEFORE THE VIRGINIA RATIFYING CONVENTION* (June 12, 1788), reprinted in 5 *THE FOUNDERS’ CONSTITUTION* 88 (Phillip B. Kurland & Ralph Lerner eds., 1987).

⁴⁴ See *infra* text accompanying notes 69-70.

⁴⁵ Robert G. Natelson, *The Original Meaning of the Establishment Clause*, 14 *WM. & MARY BILL RTS. J.* 73, 83 (2005).

Even with this promise, Professor Natelson reports that in several states the decision to ratify the Constitution passed by an extremely narrow margin.⁴⁶

In drafting the Bill of Rights, Congress sought to reassure uneasy constituents that the federal government would not interfere with the regulation of religion that took place in the states. The original text of what became the Establishment Clause was consistent with this purpose. James Madison's original version of the First Amendment religion clause provided: "The civil rights of none shall be abridged on account of religious belief or worship, *nor shall any national religion be established, nor shall the full and equal rights of conscience be in any manner, or on any pretext, infringed.*"⁴⁷

Madison's draft was changed into the modern religion clauses largely as a result of Representative Fisher Ames, who successfully proposed the following change in Madison's language: "Congress shall make no law establishing religion, or to prevent the free exercise thereof, or to infringe the rights of conscience."⁴⁸ Much more clearly than Madison's proposal, Ames' language focuses on limiting the power of Congress *and not* the states. One must also note that Ames was a representative of the State of Massachusetts. Ames' home state continued to enforce laws supporting the dominant Congregational Church for years after Congress enacted the Establishment Clause. To take just one example, Massachusetts collected "religious assessments"—tax revenues paid directly to the Congregational Church.⁴⁹ This practice continued until 1833.⁵⁰

To read the Establishment Clause as mandating a separation of church and state would mean that Fisher Ames wanted to require a separation of church and state, even though the state that Ames represented did not practice such a separation. Why would Fisher Ames promote such a constitutional amendment? The more plausible explanation is that Ames—and everyone else in Congress—regarded the Establishment Clause as limiting only the federal government, and not the states. Far from mandating a separation of church and state, the framers enacted the Establishment Clause to preserve diverse state methods of religious regulation—including *state establishments*.

Another exchange during the framers' discussion of the First Amendment indicates that the amendment was designed to protect state religious establishments, rather than to mandate a separation of church and state. During discussion of the Establishment Clause in the House of Representatives, Madison was questioned about whether the Establishment Clause might prohibit state establishments of

⁴⁶ For example, Virginia ratified the Constitution by a vote of 89-79. In New York, the vote was 30-27. In New Hampshire, the Constitution was ratified by a vote of 57-47. *Id.* at 83 n.52. See also 13 THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION xli-xlii (Merrill Jensen et al. eds., 1976).

⁴⁷ 1 ANNALS OF CONG. 451 (1789) (Joseph Gales ed., 1834) (emphasis added).

⁴⁸ *Id.* at 796 (1789) (proposal of Fisher Ames, Aug. 20, 1789).

⁴⁹ Steven K. Green, *Federalism and the Establishment Clause: A Reassessment*, 38 CREIGHTON L. REV. 761, 778 (2005) ("The standing order in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut, however, were not convinced and viewed their systems of religious assessments as respecting rights of conscience. More important, they did not associate their systems with 'religious establishments.'").

⁵⁰ PHILIP HAMBURGER, SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE 213 (2002).

particular religions. In response, Madison stated “that the purpose of his amendment was to recognize restrictions on congressional power. He meant to assure [Congressman] Sylvester and [Congressman] Huntington that *the amendment would not abolish state establishments*, which seems to have been their fear.”⁵¹

Throughout the discussions of the Establishment Clause in the First Congress, one searches in vain for any statement that the Establishment Clause was designed to mandate a “wall of separation” between church and state. Instead, the amendment was enacted to insure that the federal government would not interfere with state regulation of religion—whatever form that regulation would take. The Establishment Clause was cited as a means of protecting diverse state regulations of religion—including state establishments—rather than a proposal for mandating a universal separation of church and state.

IV. ESTABLISHMENT CLAUSE FEDERALISM

Over the past 20 years, federalism has emerged as the central theme in attempts to understand the Establishment Clause. Justice Clarence Thomas has endorsed this Federalist interpretation. In a concurring opinion filed in *Elk Grove Unified School District v. Newdow*,⁵² Justice Thomas wrote: “[T]he Establishment Clause is best understood as a federalism provision—it protects state establishments from federal interference but does not protect any individual right.”⁵³ Similarly, Professor Steven D. Smith has asserted that the religion clauses were “purely jurisdictional in nature.”⁵⁴ In other words, Congress adopted the clauses “merely to assign jurisdiction over matters of religion to the states.”⁵⁵ A number of other commentators have advanced similar readings of the Establishment Clause.⁵⁶

⁵¹ 1 ANNALS OF CONG. 757-79 (Joseph Gales ed., 1834) (emphasis added).

⁵² *Elk Grove Unified Sch. Dist. v. Newdow*, 542 U.S. 1 (2004).

⁵³ *Id.* at 50 (Thomas, J., concurring).

⁵⁴ STEVEN D. SMITH, *FOREORDAINED FAILURE: THE QUEST FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM* 17 (1995).

⁵⁵ *Id.* at 26.

⁵⁶ See, e.g., David O. Conkle, *Toward a General Theory of the Establishment Clause*, 82 NW. U. L. REV. 1113, 1142 (1988) (discussing the “federalistic motivation for the establishment clause”); William K. Lietzau, *Rediscovering the Establishment Clause: Federalism and the Rollback of Incorporation*, 39 DEPAUL L. REV. 1191, 1191 (1990) (stating that the Establishment Clause left religious regulation to the states); Vincent Phillip Munoz, *The Original Meaning of the Establishment Clause and the Impossibility of its Incorporation*, 8 U. PA. J. CONST. L. 585, 588 (2006) (endorsing a federalism interpretation of the Establishment Clause); Richard C. Schragger, *The Role of the Local in the Doctrine and Discourse of Religious Liberty*, 117 HARV. L. REV. 1810, 1823 (2004) (indicating that the religion clauses were intended to leave “local regulations of religion not only untouched by, but also protected from, national encroachment”); Douglas G. Smith, *The Establishment Clause: Corollary of Eighteenth-Century Corporate Law?*, 98 NW. U. L. REV. 239, 240 (2003) (describing the Establishment Clause as a “‘federalism-based’ guarantee,” which “merely delineates the proper roles of the federal and state governments with respect to religious establishments”).

A. *What Separation Of Church and State Meant to Jefferson*

The term “separation of church and state” appeared rarely, if at all, in discussions about the Establishment Clause in the First Congress, and in the state ratifying conventions. Yet in his now famous 1802 letter to the Danbury Baptists, Thomas Jefferson wrote: “I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should ‘make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,’ thus building a wall of separation between Church & State.”⁵⁷ Jefferson was a deliberate writer, who chose his words carefully. When Jefferson chose the words “wall of separation between church and state,” what did he mean?

In his book on Jefferson’s metaphor, Daniel L. Dreisbach concludes that Jefferson’s “wall” was intended to separate the federal government from regulation of religion, which was left to the states. As Dreisbach observes: “There is little evidence to indicate that Jefferson thought the [wall of separation] metaphor encapsulated a *universal* principle of religious liberty or of the prudential relationships between religion and *all* civil government (local, state, and federal).”⁵⁸ Instead, the metaphor “affirmed the policy of federalism.”⁵⁹

Throughout his lifetime, Jefferson repeatedly stated his federalist views of the Establishment Clause. In response to the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, Jefferson drafted the Kentucky Resolutions. Jefferson’s draft states his view of the First Amendment and the Establishment Clause as a federalist provision. The Alien and Sedition Acts were flawed because they regulated speech—a power that the Constitution had reserved for the states. But beyond the acts themselves, Jefferson’s Kentucky Resolutions contained a remarkably clear statement of the Establishment Clause as a federalist provision. Jefferson wrote that the federal government had “no power over the freedom of religion, freedom of speech, or freedom of the press, being delegated to the United States by the Constitution . . . [A]ll lawful powers respecting the same did of right remain, and were reserved to the states, or to the people”⁶⁰

In 1805, Jefferson returned to this federalist theme in his second inaugural address. In the address, Jefferson asserted:

In matters of religion, I have considered that its free exercise is placed by the constitution independent of the powers of the general [i.e. federal] government. I have therefore undertaken, on no occasion, to prescribe the religious exercises suited to it; but have left them, as the constitution

⁵⁷ Letter from Thomas Jefferson to a Committee of the Danbury Baptist Association, *supra* note 3, at 281-82.

⁵⁸ DANIEL L. DREISBACH, THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE WALL OF SEPARATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE 70 (2002).

⁵⁹ *Id.* at 69.

⁶⁰ THOMAS JEFFERSON, KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS OF 1798 AND 1799, *reprinted in* 5 THE FOUNDERS’ CONSTITUTION 131, 132 (Philip B. Kurland & Ralph Lerner eds., 1987) (hereinafter KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS).

found them, under the direction and discipline of State or Church authorities acknowledged by the several religious societies.⁶¹

Once again, the passage provides a clear statement of Jefferson's federalist interpretation of religious regulation. Religious exercise was "independent of the powers of the federal government," and could be regulated only by "State or Church authorities."

In a January 23, 1808 letter to Rev. Samuel Miller, Jefferson again stated this federalist theme clearly. Jefferson wrote:

I consider the government of the United States as interdicted by the Constitution from intermeddling with religious institutions, their doctrines, discipline, or exercises. This results not only from the provision that no law shall be made respecting the establishment or free exercise of religion [the First Amendment], but from that also which reserves to the States the powers not delegated to the United States [the Tenth Amendment] . . . It must then rest with the States, as far as it can be in any human authority.⁶²

Like the prior statements, this passage treats the First Amendment as a jurisdictional provision that prevents the *federal government* from "intermeddling with religious institutions." Any power to legislate with respect to religion must "rest with the states." Dreisbach concludes:

Jefferson's "wall," like the First Amendment affirmed the policy of federalism. This policy emphasized that all governmental authority over religious matters was allocated to the states . . . Insofar as Jefferson's "wall," like the First Amendment, was primarily jurisdictional (or structural) in nature, it offered little in the way of a substantive right or universal principle of religious liberty.⁶³

B. Other Federalist Interpretations of the Establishment Clause

The preceding section focuses on Jefferson's federalist view of the Establishment Clause, because Jefferson authored the "separation of church and state" metaphor that has proven so influential. However, Jefferson's federalist views were not unique or idiosyncratic. To the contrary, during the founding period everyone understood that the Establishment Clause was a federalist provision. In other words, the Establishment Clause was enacted *in order to prevent federal interference with state regulation of religion, whatever form that regulation took*.

After Jefferson, Madison is the framing era figure who receives the most attention in the Supreme Court's early *Everson* decision. Justice Rutledge actually attached Madison's *Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments* as an appendix to his *Everson* dissent. Like Jefferson, Madison did not endorse a separationist interpretation of the Establishment Clause.

⁶¹ Thomas Jefferson, Second Inaugural Address (Mar. 4 1805), in 3 THE WRITINGS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON 320, 323 (Andrew A. Lipscomb ed., 1905).

⁶² Letter to Reverend Miller, *supra* note 4, at 428.

⁶³ DREISBACH, *supra* note 58, at 69.

Instead, Madison endorsed the same non-interference principle described by Jefferson. For example, at the Virginia Ratifying Convention in 1788, Madison said that under the Constitution, “[t]here is not a shadow of right in the general government to intermeddle with religion.”⁶⁴

When Jefferson published the Kentucky Resolution in 1798, Madison published the Virginia Resolution. Like the Kentucky Resolution, Madison’s resolution relied on the principle of federalism to protest the federal Alien and Sedition Acts. Notably, the Virginia Resolution asserted that the federal government had no power to regulate “the liberty of conscience, and of the press,” because such powers had not been “delegated by the Constitution, and consequently withheld from the [federal] government.” In arguing that the federal government lacked the power to regulate the press, the Virginia Resolution relied on the premise that the federal government obviously lacked any power to interfere with the regulation of religion in the individual states. Madison wrote: “Any construction or argument, then, which would turn the amendment into a grant or acknowledgment of power, with respect to the press, might be equally applied to the freedom of religion.”⁶⁵

Later in life, Madison came to endorse a separation of church and state, similar in many ways to modern separationist views. In 1822, after Madison had served his two terms as president, Madison wrote to Edward Livingston, a prominent Louisiana lawyer who would later represent the state in the House of Representatives. In this letter, Madison noted his “approbation” when the first Congress had “appointed Chaplains, to be paid from the Natl. [National] Treasury.”⁶⁶ Madison also sought to qualify his Thanksgiving proclamations as “absolutely indiscriminate, and merely recommendatory; or rather mere designations of a day, on which all who thought proper might unite in consecrating it to religious purposes, according to their own faith & forms.”⁶⁷ Madison concluded: “Every new & successful example therefore of a perfect separation between ecclesiastical and civil matters, is of importance.”⁶⁸

Madison’s statements in his letter to Livingston refer only to the relationship between the federal government and religion. Nothing in this letter, or in other late writings by Madison, contends that the federal government should interfere with state regulation of religion. To the contrary, Madison may have argued for a complete separation between the federal government and religion, in order to prevent the federal government from interfering with state religious regulation. At any rate, it is unclear whether this letter, written by Madison in 1822, sheds much light on the original intent of the framers of Establishment Clause, enacted more than 20 years earlier.

Like Jefferson and Madison, other framers endorsed the non-interference principle. In their view, the individual states had plenary power to determine church-state relationships. The First Amendment guaranteed that the federal

⁶⁴ MADISON, *supra* note 43, at 88.

⁶⁵ 4 JONATHAN ELLIOT, *THE DEBATES IN THE SEVERAL STATE CONVENTIONS ON THE ADOPTION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION* 577 (2nd ed. 1836).

⁶⁶ Letter from James Madison to Edward Livingston (July 10, 1822), in 5 *THE FOUNDERS’ CONSTITUTION* 105 (Philip B. Kurland & Ralph Lerner eds., 1987).

⁶⁷ *Id.*

⁶⁸ *Id.*

government would not interfere in whatever arrangements the states made. For example, consider James Iredell's statement before the North Carolina Ratifying Convention:

Had Congress undertaken to guaranty religious freedom, or any particular species of it, they would then have had a pretence to interfere in a subject they have nothing to do with. *Each state, so far as the clause in question does not interfere, must be left to the operation of its own principles.*⁶⁹

Similarly, during Virginia's Ratification Convention, Governor Edmund Randolph stated that under the Constitution, "no power is given expressly to Congress over religion."⁷⁰

In his treatise on the Constitution, Joseph Story noted the framers' views that all power to regulate religion remained exclusively with the states. Story wrote: "[T]he whole power over the subject of religion is left exclusively to the state governments, to be acted upon according to their own sense of justice, and the state constitutions . . ."⁷¹ Similarly, William Rawle wrote in 1829: "The first amendment prohibits congress from passing *any law respecting an establishment of religion, or preventing the free exercise of it*. It would be difficult to conceive on what possible construction of the Constitution such a power could ever be claimed by congress."⁷²

C. Was Federal Support For Religion Consistent With Federalism?

With the enactment of the Establishment Clause, the framers seemed to agree with James Madison's 1788 statement before the Virginia Ratifying Convention, where Madison asserted: "There is not a shadow of right in the general government to intermeddle with religion. Its least interference with it, would be a most flagrant usurpion."⁷³ But at the same time, the federal government designated holidays for prayer, authorized legislative prayer, appointed and compensated chaplains, and engaged in other acts designed to endorse and support religion. If the federal government lacked the power to "intermeddle with religion," how did the government have the authority to enact these measures that supported religion?

At one point, Thomas Jefferson suggested that the federal government lacked such authority. Unlike Presidents Washington and Adams before him and President Madison after him, Jefferson refused to issue Thanksgiving proclamations. In his 1808 letter to Rev. Samuel Miller, Jefferson explained that he refused to issue these proclamations because the Constitution prohibited the federal government "from

⁶⁹ *Debate in North Carolina Ratifying Convention* (July 30, 1788), reprinted in 5 THE FOUNDERS' CONSTITUTION 90 (Philip B. Kurland & Ralph Lerner eds., 1987) (emphasis added).

⁷⁰ 3 JONATHAN ELLIOT, THE DEBATES IN THE SEVERAL STATE CONVENTIONS ON THE ADOPTION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION 204 (2d ed. 1836).

⁷¹ JOSEPH STORY, COMMENTARIES ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES § 992, at 702 (Carolina Academic Press 1987).

⁷² WILLIAM RAWLE, *A View of the Constitution of the United States* (2d ed. 1829), reprinted in 5 THE FOUNDERS' CONSTITUTION 106 (Philip B. Kurland & Ralph Lerner eds., 1987).

⁷³ MADISON, *supra* note 43.

intermeddling with religious institutions, their doctrines, discipline, or exercises.”⁷⁴ Whether Jefferson in fact consistently viewed the Constitution as completely prohibiting any federal action in support of religion is debatable. As noted above, in 1803 Jefferson had endorsed a treaty with the Kaskaskia Indian Tribe that authorized the use of federal funds to finance the construction of a church on the tribe’s land and to compensate a Catholic priest for the tribe.⁷⁵ This treaty suggests that in Jefferson’s view, the federal government could support religion without running afoul of the Establishment Clause.

Even if Jefferson in fact read the Establishment Clause as mandating a complete prohibition on federal support for religion, the other framers seemed to agree on a less restrictive reading of the clause. Consistent with the many statements quoted above, the Establishment Clause prohibited the federal government from interfering with any state’s regulation of religion.⁷⁶ However, this did not mean that the federal government was categorically prohibited from aiding religion. The federal government could aid religion, *as long as this aid did not interfere with state religious regulation*.

In reviewing the federal support of religion described in Part II, it is apparent that none of these federal actions conflicted with state religious regulation.⁷⁷ Authorizing prayers before meetings of the *federal* Congress, and appointing chaplains for the *federal* army would not conflict with state religious regulation. Similarly, funding a church and priest for the Kaskaskia Indian Tribe would not conflict with state religious regulation, because the tribe was outside the states’ jurisdiction.

Of the early federal initiatives relating to religion, the days of prayer proclaimed by early presidents were the only federal enactments that might possibly infringe on state authority. But because all of the American states continued to endorse religion and prayer as a positive force, it is hard to see how a day of prayer would interfere with state religious regulation. At least this seems to have been the judgments of Presidents Washington Adams, and Madison—who all issued Thanksgiving resolutions.

V. *EVERSON V. BOARD OF EDUCATION*: THE ORIGINS OF ESTABLISHMENT CLAUSE DISTORTION

In *Everson v. Board of Education*,⁷⁸ the Supreme Court laid the foundation of modern Establishment Clause doctrine—including the emphasis on a “separation of church and state.” As discussed above, the framers intended that the Establishment Clause would operate as a shield, insulating state regulation of religion from the federal government. Beginning with *Everson*, modern doctrine has effectively stood the Establishment Clause on its head. *Everson* and other modern Establishment Clause cases have effectively turned the Establishment Clause into sword, authorizing the federal government to interfere in areas traditionally regulated by the states.

⁷⁴ Letter to Reverend Miller, *supra* note 4, at 428.

⁷⁵ See *supra* text accompanying note 16.

⁷⁶ See *supra* text accompanying notes 60-72.

⁷⁷ See *supra* text accompanying notes 6-26.

⁷⁸ *Everson v. Bd. of Educ.*, 330 U.S. 1 (1947).

Everson dealt with a New Jersey statute which required local school boards to reimburse private school students for the cost of bus transportation to school.⁷⁹ Justice Black's majority opinion claimed to review the history of the Establishment Clause. However, the history was not that of the Establishment Clause itself, but rather, of the successful battle for an end to religious assessments in the State of Virginia. This was a serious error.

According to the *Everson* majority, the dispute about the proper relationship between church and state "reached its dramatic climax in Virginia in 1785-86 when the Virginia legislative body was about to renew Virginia's tax levy for the support of the established church."⁸⁰ The Court noted that Thomas Jefferson and James Madison "led the fight against this tax."⁸¹ The *Everson* majority further noted Madison's Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments, where Madison purportedly argued:

that a true religion did not need the support of law; that no person, either believer or non-believer, should be taxed to support a religious institution of any kind; that the best interest of a society required that the minds of men always be wholly free; and that cruel persecutions were the inevitable result of government-established religions.⁸²

The Court continued that the Virginia legislature not only declined to renew the tax levy, but also enacted Jefferson's Bill for Religious Liberty.⁸³ The *Everson* Court then quoted Jefferson's bill: "That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened, in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer, on account of his religious opinions or belief"⁸⁴

The Court's myopic focus on Virginia was odd. In *Everson*, the Justices were interpreting the federal Establishment Clause, not the Virginia Bill for Religious Liberty. This perplexing focus on the events in Virginia led the Court to make a serious error, which would distort the development of Establishment Clause law to the present day. Writing for the *Everson* majority, Justice Black now asserted: "This Court has previously recognized that the provisions of the First Amendment, in the drafting and adoption of which Madison and Jefferson played such leading roles, had the same objective and were intended to provide the same protection against governmental intrusion on religious liberty as the Virginia statute."⁸⁵

The goals of Jefferson and Madison in advocating the Virginia Bill for Religious Liberty, and their goals in advocating the First Amendment were entirely different. In the Virginia Bill for Religious Liberty, Jefferson and Madison were advocating an approach for the single State of Virginia to a single problem—assessments collected

⁷⁹ See *id.* at 3, n.1.

⁸⁰ *Id.* at 11.

⁸¹ *Id.* at 11-12.

⁸² *Id.* at 12.

⁸³ *Id.*

⁸⁴ *Id.* at 13.

⁸⁵ *Id.*

by the state, and paid to the dominant Anglican Church. In the First Amendment, the framers were attempting to define the proper relationship between the federal government and the states. This First Amendment was a complicated project because the thirteen states had developed several different approaches to the relationship between church and state. To say that Madison and Jefferson had “the same objective” in drafting the Virginia Bill for Religious Freedom and the First Amendment was simply wrong.

While Jefferson and Madison clearly played a pivotal role in the enactment of the United States Constitution and the First Amendment, Justice Black’s myopic *Everson* focus on Jefferson and Madison renders his historical account incomplete and inaccurate. For example, Justice Black completely ignores George Washington’s Farewell Address, where Washington advocated the importance of religion in public life. While Madison and Jefferson were important framers, they were not the only framers.

Even with respect to the views of Madison and Jefferson, Justice Black’s account is seriously misleading. Robert Cord writes that after reading the *Everson* decision, “one might come to the conclusion that Madison and Jefferson fought the battle for religious freedom in Virginia, wrote a few letters on the subject, and then retired.”⁸⁶ Justice Black’s majority opinion fails to mention any of the Federalist writings by Jefferson and Madison. The *Everson* opinion completely omits any discussion of the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, even though scholars always have treated these resolutions as some of the most important political documents from the early United States. Either Justice Black was unaware of the resolutions or—worse yet—deliberately declined to discuss the resolutions, because such a discussion would undermine Justice Black’s church-state separation principle.

While the *Everson* majority opinion spent considerable time discussing the Virginia dispute on religious assessments, Justice Black entirely ignores the adoption of the federal Establishment Clause, even though this is the provision at issue in *Everson*. As Robert Cord writes: “[T]he *Everson* opinion is devoid of any attempt to explore the actions and debates of the First Congress which proposed to the States what would become the First Amendment.”⁸⁷ Obviously, this was a serious omission. For example, the *Everson* Court entirely ignores the house discussion of the First Amendment, where Madison assured Representative Sylvester and Representative Huntington that the Establishment Clause “would not abolish state establishments.”⁸⁸ This discussion is yet another piece of critical evidence that is not mentioned by the *Everson* Court.

Given these wholesale omissions, it is not surprising that Justice Black’s discussion of Establishment Clause history contains misstatements. Consider Justice Black’s concluding statement about the history of the Establishment Clause:

⁸⁶ ROBERT L. CORD, SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE: HISTORICAL FACT AND CURRENT FICTION 120 (1982).

⁸⁷ *Id.* at 121.

⁸⁸ Munoz, *supra* note 56, at 627 (citing 1 ANNALS OF CONG. 757-79 (Joseph Gales ed. 1834)).

The “establishment of religion” clause of the First Amendment means at least this: Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion.⁸⁹

Justice Black continued: “In the words of Jefferson, the clause against establishment of religion by law was intended to erect ‘a wall of separation between church and State.’”⁹⁰

Much of this statement is demonstrably wrong. Consider Justice Black’s statement that “neither a State nor the Federal Government” could pass laws that “aid all religions.” This article has presented a list of examples where the federal government *did* aid religion—including Thanksgiving proclamations, legislative prayer, the conscientious objector provision, and land grants to churches.

Also, when the Establishment Clause was adopted, several states maintained established churches.⁹¹ If the Establishment Clause *really did* provide that a state could not aid religion, then the representatives from those states never would have voted for an amendment that outlawed their state’s practices. To the contrary, one of the key proponents of the First Amendment was Fisher Ames, whose home state of Massachusetts collected tax assessments to support the dominant Congregational Church. Justice Black’s account of history also ignores Madison’s own statement during the house debates, that the Establishment Clause “would not abolish state establishments.”⁹² This statement directly contradicts Justice Black’s claim that under the Establishment Clause, states could not aid religion.

As a historical account, Justice Black’s *Everson* majority opinion is an abject failure. But given the multitude of errors, one suspects that this opinion never really was about a faithful rendition of the original understanding of the Establishment Clause.⁹³ Instead, the opinion was about reshaping history for another purpose.

The *Everson* opinion was all about power. Justice Black and his colleagues saw the Establishment Clause as a means for the federal courts to exercise power. Indeed, Supreme Court decisions since *Everson* have used the Establishment Clause to intrude into a variety of areas previously reserved for the states. Federal courts have cited the Establishment Clause as a means of regulating private school

⁸⁹ *Everson*, 330 U.S. at 15-16.

⁹⁰ *Id.* at 16.

⁹¹ Connecticut did not eliminate its established church until 1818; New Hampshire eliminated its established church in 1819, and Massachusetts did so in 1833. *CORR*, *supra* note 86, at 4.

⁹² Munoz, *supra* note 56, at 627 (citing 1 ANNALS OF CONG. 757-79 (Joseph Gales ed. 1834)).

⁹³ Ultimately, the *Everson* Court upheld the New Jersey bus reimbursement statute. *Everson*, 330 U.S. at 17. To decide this case, the Court need only have issued a brief opinion concluding that the New Jersey statute was constitutional. In the final analysis, Justice Black’s extended discourse about the Establishment Clause was nothing more than dicta.

funding,⁹⁴ public school curriculum and events,⁹⁵ religious symbols,⁹⁶ and miscellaneous cases involving state religious regulation.⁹⁷

The Court's intervention in state affairs reached a particularly low point in *Epperson v. Arkansas*.⁹⁸ In *Epperson*, the Court invalidated an Arkansas law that prohibited public school instructors from teaching the evolutionary account of man's origins. The law intended to promote teaching creationism, or the biblical account of man's origins.

The *Epperson* Court wrote the anti-evolution law violated the Establishment Clause, because the law wasn't "neutral."⁹⁹ The Justices wrote that Government "may not be hostile to any religion or to the advocacy of no-religion; and it may not aid, foster, or promote one religion or religious theory against another or even against the militant opposite."¹⁰⁰

Of course, the anti-evolution law wasn't "neutral." But any regulation specifying school curriculum won't be neutral. For example, laws requiring that students learn basic science and scientific methods aren't "neutral." Religious believers may view such courses as improperly elevating empirical testing as the basis for wisdom, as opposed to the importance of belief based on faith. Similarly, one might object to a curriculum that required (or prohibited) Ernest Hemingway's classic short novel *Old Man And The Sea*, given the explicit religious symbolism used throughout the book.¹⁰¹ But given the popularity of both Hemingway and this book, no court has held that *Old Man and The Sea* amounts to an establishment of religion.

⁹⁴ Compare *Zelman v. Simons-Harris*, 536 U.S. 639 (2002) (upholding a state voucher program, where most voucher payments went to families with students attending private religious schools), with *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, 403 U.S. 602 (1971) (striking down a state statute that authorized salary supplements for private school teachers).

⁹⁵ See, e.g., *Lee v. Weisman*, 505 U.S. 577 (1992) (holding that a prayer at a graduation ceremony violated the Establishment Clause); *Epperson v. Arkansas*, 393 U.S. 97 (1968) (finding that a law mandating that public schools cannot teach evolution violated the Establishment Clause).

⁹⁶ Compare *McCreary Cnty. v. ACLU of Kentucky*, 545 U.S. 844 (2005) (holding that a Ten Commandments display in a courthouse violated the Establishment Clause), with *Van Orden v. Perry*, 545 U.S. 677 (2005) (holding that a Ten Commandments display at the Texas state capital did not violate the Establishment Clause).

⁹⁷ *Estate of Thornton v. Caldor, Inc.*, 472 U.S. 703 (1985) (illustrating a state law that gave employees the right to refuse work on their sabbath violated the Establishment Clause); *Bd. of Educ. v. Grumet*, 512 U.S. 687 (1994) (creating a public school district that coincided with the neighborhood boundaries of a religious sect violated the Establishment Clause).

⁹⁸ *Epperson*, 393 U.S. at 97.

⁹⁹ See *id.* at 103.

¹⁰⁰ *Id.*

¹⁰¹ Hemingway's short novel remains a popular work of literature, commonly assigned in high school courses. Hemingway's novel is about an old and unsuccessful fisherman who catches a huge marlin, only to have the fish devoured by sharks as he sails home. Religious symbolism is prominent throughout the book. The fisherman is named "Santiago"—Spanish for saint. When he returns home exhausted, Santiago struggles to carry his ship's mast to his shack—much as Christ carried the cross to his crucifixion. And when Santiago sees the sharks coming for the marlin, Hemingway's book reads: "'Ay,' he said aloud. There is no

Epperson involved the specter of federal intervention in its most heavy-handed and distasteful form. While the Justices cited the Establishment Clause as authority for their objections to teaching creationism over evolution, this was clearly a pretext for federal judges who simply didn't accept the plausibility of a creationist account of man's origins. In *Epperson*, the Justices seemed to be dictating to the Arkansas legislature how to run the state's schools.

The Establishment Clause activism in cases like *Everson* and *Epperson* represents a bitter irony. The Establishment Clause was enacted to insulate state religious regulation from the federal government. Yet in *Epperson*, the United States Court used the Establishment Clause—a provisions designed to protect state decisions from federal interference—as a basis for overturning a state legislative decision regarding school curriculum.

Modern Establishment Clause cases have literally turned the clause on its head. The Establishment Clause was meant as a shield, to protect state religious regulation. But the Supreme Court has turned the Establishment Clause into a sword, precisely for the purpose of overturning these state decisions.

V. CONCLUSION

A review of early American history demonstrates that the framers did not intend a separation of church and state. The federal government appointed and compensated chaplains and priests, authorized legislative prayers, issued Thanksgiving proclamations, and endorsed many other measures intended to support religions.

When the framers enacted the First Amendment clause prohibiting an "establishment of religion," what did they mean? Madison's first draft of the First Amendment is instructive. This draft provided: "The civil rights of none shall be abridged on account of religious belief or worship, *nor shall any national religion be established*, nor shall the full and equal rights of conscience be in any manner, or on any pretext, infringed."¹⁰² As indicated by the subsequent remarks of Jefferson, Madison, and others, the Establishment Clause that eventually found its way into the First Amendment adopted this federalism principle. The federal government had no power to intrude on state regulation of religious institutions, whatever form the state regulations might take. Regardless of whether states enacted a no-aid policy, or provided generous preferential aid to a single state-established church, the federal government was powerless to interfere.

During the framing period, no one believed that the Establishment Clause imposed a "wall of separation" between church and state. The Establishment Clause was not designed to isolate the state from religion. Rather, Jefferson's metaphorical wall *was designed to protect state regulation of religion from interference by the federal government*. In other words, the Establishment Clause was a shield, designed to protect the states from the federal government. Paradoxically, the Supreme Court has used the Establishment Clause as a sword, to strike down state laws regulating religion. In these decisions, the Court has turned the Establishment Clause on its head.

translation for this word and perhaps it is just a noise such as a man might make, involuntarily, feeling the nail go through his hands and into the wood." ERNEST HEMINGWAY, *THE OLD MAN AND THE SEA* (1952).

¹⁰² 1 ANNALS OF CONG. 451 (Joseph Gales ed., 1789) (emphasis added).

The concept of “separation of church and state” is an entirely artificial construct, having no basis in the language or history of the Establishment Clause. Nonetheless, the so-called “church state separation principle” has served a purpose for the Supreme Court. The Court has used this metaphor as a basis for regulating state aid to private schools, religion in the public schools, religious symbols, and other controversies.

Perhaps the Court can justify such decision by invoking public policy—although the wisdom of such second-guessing of discretionary legislative decisions is highly problematic. However, it is not possible to justify the Court’s intervention based on a historical church-state separation principle. No such historical principle exists.



QUIZ

What Does Separation of Church and State Mean?

- 1. Thomas Jefferson's phrase "...a wall of separation between church and state" was lost in his correspondence for _____ years.**
 - a. 50 years
 - b. 100 years
 - c. 150 years
 - d. 200 years

- 2. In which U.S. Supreme Court case was the modern 'strict separation' view born?**
 - a. Zorach v. Clausen
 - b. Engel v. Vitale
 - c. Brown v. Board of Education
 - d. Everson v. Board of Education

- 3. For Jefferson and the other Founders, religion was central to the entire American project.**
 - a. True
 - b. False

- 4. In 1962, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that what violated the new definition of the First Amendment?**
 - a. a school hymn
 - b. a school prayer
 - c. a school mascot
 - d. a school curriculum

- 5. _____ have declined as God and religion have faded from American life.**
 - a. Marriage rates
 - b. Birth rates
 - c. The numbers of Americans giving to charity
 - d. All of the above



QUIZ - ANSWER KEY

What Does Separation of Church and State Mean?

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STUDY GUIDE

What Was Revolutionary About the American Revolution?

KEY TERMS:

nation
republic

revolution
empire

economic initiative
ideals

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section <u>during</u> the video. Include definitions and key terms.	CUE COLUMN: Complete this section <u>after</u> the video.
<p>Who described the American Revolution as “The birthday of a new world?”</p> <p>The new American model of restrained government took the country from a fledgling state to a world power in just how many years?</p> <p>Why did the American founding fathers regard the rest of the world as a potential threat?</p>	<p>What was so novel and new about the American model of government that differentiated it from all of the previous models in history?</p> <p>What have the lasting outcomes been of the U.S. keeping to the governing model that its founding fathers created and implemented?</p>

Discussion & Review

1. Towards the beginning of the video, Professor Guelzo examines the previous types of revolutions and notes: "...the Americans did not propose merely overthrowing a monarchy. They proposed ending the very idea of monarchy as a worthwhile form of government. In America, the citizen, not the government or the king, would hold the keys to power. With this overturning of the old way of doing things, the rebels made the political systems of Europe look as antiquated and irrational as fully as Newton's laws had made medieval physics look antiquated and irrational." What do you think motivated the founders to attempt a brand new, untested model of governing? How do you think that the founders came up with such a brilliant new model? Explain. In what ways, specifically, did the new American model of governing make the European ones look so old and irrational? Explain.
2. Continuing on the point of doing away with a monarchy-style of government, Professor Guelzo also points out: "Tearing up the old order meant more than just refusing to take political orders from kings, dukes and princes. It meant taking no economic orders from them, either. In a society of free and equal citizens, Americans would follow their own economic initiative. They would be as free economically as they were politically." What, exactly, do you think Professor Guelzo means by the term "economic initiative"? Why do you think having economic freedom was so important to the new style of government being able to work, and to work so well? Explain.
3. Professor Guelzo then explains: "This small government model meant the state was to interfere as little as possible in the citizen's life. Americans founded the only country ever to be based on the principle of restraining the government. And that unleashed such dynamic economic growth, it took America from a fledgling state to a world power in just fifty years." What do you think the relationship is between a restrained, lessened government and dynamic economic growth- i.e. why does less government translate into a booming, healthy economy (and, thus, significantly more power for that nation)? Explain.
4. Later in the video, Professor Guelzo further points out: "The sheer novelty of the Revolution's first two legs, the political and the economic, was so great that many Americans, such as Yale President Timothy Dwight, expressed a desire not merely to remake the North American continent, but the rest of the world as well. America, Dwight wrote in a popular poem of the time, was destined to 'Hush the tumult of war, and give peace to the world.' But the Founders rejected this view. The United States was to be a republic, not an empire; a beacon, not a kingdom." What do you think President Dwight meant by his poetic passage? Why do you think that the founders were adamant about the U.S. being a model for other nations, but not imposing that model onto other nations forcibly? Explain.
5. At the end of the video, Professor Guelzo concludes: "...the wonder of America, from its founding to this day, is not that it has stumbled; the wonder is that Americans have stumbled as infrequently as they have. And managed to make and keep America the strongest and freest country in the world. That birthday Thomas Paine proclaimed is still very much worth celebrating. If it isn't celebrated, it will be lost. And that would be a tragedy- for America, and for the world." Do you agree that the founding of the U.S. is still worthy of celebrating? Why or why not? What do you think Professor Guelzo means when he states that if the founding of the U.S. model of governing isn't celebrated that it will be lost, and why would that be a tragedy? Explain.

Extend the Learning:

Case Study wThe Transcontinental Railroad

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article “10 Ways the Transcontinental Railroad Changed America,” then answer the questions that follow.

1. Prior to May 10, 1869, how long would it take someone to travel from the East Coast to the West Coast, and how would that person have to travel? The completion of the Transcontinental Railroad shortened the trip from New York to San Francisco to how long? How many workers laid the 1,776 miles of track, and who were they? In today’s money, how much did the project cost? How did the completion of the line affect California? How much freight was the line carrying by 1880? What was the basis for the rapid expansion of American industry and agriculture? How much less expensive was a coast-to-coast trip after the line was built, in terms of cost percentage? How did the Transcontinental Railroad alter Americans’ perception of reality? Who started the first mail-order catalogue business, and what made it possible? What put pressure on the labor market after the line was completed? Who were “the Big Four,” and what was their financial relationship with the U.S. government? What did the Transcontinental Railroad become a symbol of, for Americans?
2. How do you think the small government of the time contributed towards being able to achieve such an endeavor? Do you think it was worth it to build a transcontinental railroad? Why or why not? What type of infrastructure do you think could be built today that would also stimulate the economy so well?
3. Which facts in the article support which points made in the video? Considering the spectacular success of the U.S., why do you think that some countries still follow other models of governance? Explain.



Ed Vebell/Getty Images

There was a time when traveling from the East Coast to the West Coast meant riding for months in a horse-drawn wagon or stagecoach, or sailing southward to Panama and then crossing the Isthmus to board another ship for a journey up the other coast. But that all changed on May 10, 1869, when railroad baron Leland Stanford whacked in a ceremonial gold spike to mark the joining together of the tracks of the Central Pacific Railroad and the Union Pacific Railroad in Promontory, Utah, to form the transcontinental railroad. The new rail connection eventually made it possible to travel in a train car from New York to San Francisco in just a week's time.

Some 21,000 workers—from Irish-American Civil War veterans, freed slaves and Mormon pioneers to Chinese laborers—had been recruited to perform the hard and often dangerous work of laying the 1,776 miles of track. By one estimate, the project cost roughly \$60 million, about \$1.2 billion in today's money, though other sources put the amount even higher.

While the railroad's construction was a mammoth undertaking, its effects on the country were equally profound. Here are some of the ways that the first transcontinental railroad—and the many other transcontinental lines that followed it—changed America.



Map of the transcontinental route of the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad and its connections, circa 1883. Buyenlarge/Getty Images

1. It made the Western U.S. more important.

“What the transcontinental railroad did was bring the West into the world, and the world into the West,” explains James P. Ronda, a retired University of Tulsa history professor and co-author, with Carlos Arnaldo Schwantes, of *The West the Railroads Made*. In particular, it helped turn California from a once-isolated place to a major economic and political force, and helped lead to the state’s rapid growth.

2. It made commerce possible on a vast scale.

By 1880, the transcontinental railroad was transporting \$50 million worth of freight each year. In addition to transporting western food crops and raw materials to East Coast markets and manufactured goods from East Coast cities to the West Coast, the railroad also facilitated international trade.

The first freight train to travel eastward from California carried a load of Japanese tea. “The Constitution provided the legal framework for a single national market for trade goods; the transcontinental railroad provided the physical framework,” explains Henry W. Brands, a history professor at the University of Texas at Austin, and author of *Dreams of El Dorado: A History of the American West*. “Together they gave the United States the single largest market in the world, which provided the basis for the rapid expansion of American industry and agriculture to the point where the U.S. by the 1890s had the most powerful economy on the planet.”



Building of the Transcontinental Railroad, circa 1869. Fotosearch/Getty Images

3. It made travel more affordable.

In the 1860s, a six-month stagecoach trip across the U.S. cost \$1,000 (about \$20,000 in today's dollars), according to the University of Houston's Digital History website. But once the railroad was built, the cost of a coast-to-coast trip became 85 percent less expensive. That made it possible for Americans to visit distant locales that previously they might only have heard about.

4. It changed where Americans lived.

During the railroad's construction, numerous temporary "hell on wheels" towns of tents and wooden shacks sprung up along the route to provide living quarters for workers. Most of them eventually disappeared, but others, such as Laramie, Wyoming, evolved into towns that provided rail terminals and repair facilities. Additionally, about 7,000 cities and towns across the country began as Union Pacific depots and water stops. And, as Ronda notes, the first transcontinental railroad and the other lines that followed made it easy for immigrants to spread across the nation. "People come across the Atlantic on ships, get on trains, and end up in places such as western Nebraska," he says.

5. It altered Americans' concept of reality.

In an 1872 article, naturalist John Muir wrote that the transcontinental railroad "annihilated" time and space. As Ronda explains, it changed the way that people viewed distances. "When you're walking or riding a horse, you experience the world one way, but when you're sitting in a railroad car, you see it differently," he says. "In the West, where the distances are so great, the railroad brought near and far closer together." The railroad schedules also helped to push the United States into changing how it marked time, leading to the adoption of standard time zones in 1883.



Construction of the Union Pacific section of the Transcontinental Railroad across Devil's Gate Bridge, Utah, circa 1869. PhotoQuest/Getty Images

6. It helped create the Victorian version of Amazon.

In 1872, just a few years after the transcontinental railroad's completion, Aaron Montgomery Ward started the first mail-order catalog business. As Ronda notes, the first transcontinental railroad—and other transcontinental lines that followed—made it possible to sell products far and wide without a physical storefront, and enabled people all over the country to furnish their homes and keep up with the latest fashion trends.

7. It took a heavy toll on the environment.

The massive amount of wood needed to build the railroad, including railroad ties, support beams for tunnels and bridges, and sheds, necessitated cutting down thousands of trees, which devastated western forests. Towns and cities that sprung up along the railroad further encroached upon what had been wild areas. And the railroad and other rail routes that followed made it easy for large numbers of hunters to travel westward and kill millions of buffalo. That slaughter impacted Native Americans, who had hunted buffalo in moderation, and weakened their resistance to settlement of the west.



Chinese immigrants working on the Northwest Pacific Railway in the 1880s. Bettmann Archive/Getty Images

8. It increased racial conflicts.

The completion of the transcontinental railroad led to heightened racial tensions in California, as white workers from the East Coast and Europe could more easily travel westward where immigrant laborers were prevalent, says Princeton University Assistant Professor of History Beth Lew-Williams, author of *The Chinese Must Go: Violence, Exclusion, and the Making of the Alien in America*.

Upon completion of the railroad, many Chinese workers returned to California in search of employment. "The flood of goods and laborers who arrived in the West, combined with the boom and bust economy of the late-19th century, put pressure on the labor market," she says. "The presence of Chinese immigrants did not create the economic uncertainties of the 1870s, but they were often blamed nonetheless."

Growing prejudice against and fear of the Chinese eventually manifested itself in Congress' passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the first of several laws that blocked Chinese laborers from entering the United States until 1943.

9. It pioneered government-financed capitalism.

The Central Pacific's "Big Four"—Stanford, Collis P. Huntington, Mark Hopkins, and Charles Crocker—figured out how to tap into government coffers to finance a business that otherwise wouldn't have been possible. As Richard White, author of *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America*, says, "They put little of their own money in it—they didn't have much. It was built on land grants, government loans, and government guaranteed bonds. When their loans came due, they refused to pay and the government had to sue. In effect, they stumbled into a business model where the public takes the risk and those taking the subsidies reap the gain."

Other entrepreneurs and industries would follow the Big Four's lead in tapping government help to build their businesses.

10. It instilled national confidence.

The transcontinental railroad had a major effect on how Americans perceived their nation, and it became a symbol of America's growing industrial power and a source of confidence that led them to take on even more ambitious quests. As Ronda says, "It's one of the transformative moments in American history."

By
Patrick J. Kiger



QUIZ

What Was Revolutionary About the American Revolution?

- 1. Who described the American Revolution as “The birthday of a new world?”**
 - a. John Quincy Adams
 - b. Thomas Jefferson
 - c. Thomas Paine
 - d. Benjamin Franklin

- 2. The American Revolution was something that, _____, the world had never seen.**
 - a. politically
 - b. economically
 - c. diplomatically
 - d. all of the above

- 3. Like the rebellions in Britain, the goal of the American revolution was to extort new protections and privileges from the existing regime.**
 - a. True
 - b. False

- 4. The new American model of restrained government took the country from a fledgling state to a world power in just how many years?**
 - a. 50
 - b. 60
 - c. 70
 - d. 80

- 5. The ‘wonder’ of America is that _____.**
 - a. Americans have permanently imposed their governing principles on so many other nations with such spectacular success
 - b. Americans keep changing their values so frequently
 - c. such a high percentage of Americans agree on everything
 - d. Americans have managed to make and keep America the strongest and freest country in the world



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Discussion & Review

1. Towards the beginning of the video, Dr. Green explains what Booker T. Washington decided to do when freed after the Civil War was over: “His journey began in 1872, seven years after the Civil War ended. He traveled 500 miles, most of it on foot, to a small Virginia school dedicated to the education of freed blacks, The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.” Why do you think that going to school was so important to Mr. Washington that he braved such a long and arduous journey?
2. After Dr. Green shares with us that Mr. Washington was appointed to head the Tuskegee Institute with only 30 students, Dr. Green explains: “Under his [Mr. Washington’s] leadership, they got to work. Every building, every desk was built by the students themselves, brick by brick, piece by piece. This tied in perfectly with Washington’s philosophy of a practical education: students at Tuskegee, in addition to academic studies, had to master a trade. He believed this led not only to racial uplift among blacks but to respect for blacks. His graduates would go out into the world with sought-after skills. They would be useful to their neighbors and become invaluable members of their communities.” Do you think that Mr. Washington’s philosophy and approach was the right one? Why or why not? Why do you think that Mr. Washington felt so strongly that practical education was so important for blacks at the time?
3. Dr. Green goes on to note: “Washington distilled his philosophy into what became one of the most important speeches of the late 19th century, an address he delivered at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895. His theme was that blacks needed time to develop educationally and economically. Whites, Washington suggested, should help them in every way possible. This would be in the best interests of both races. He also emphasized that blacks needed to recognize that social equality would not come swiftly. It could not be forced through political action alone. The civil rights the Constitution promised would evolve naturally from black achievement.” Why do you think that whites helping blacks at the time would ‘be in the best interests of both races,’ and in what ways would it be in the best interests of both races? Explain. How do you think Mr. Washington knew with such certainty that social equality would take a longer timeframe than should have been reasonable, and why do you think that so many others were not as immediately accepting of that reality as Mr. Washington was? Explain. What was so significant and prophetic about Mr. Washington’s point that society and culture external to the black community would not bring about social justice, that blacks themselves would have to work to earn it through hard work and achievement?
4. Later in the video, Dr. Green points out that even in the midst of other blacks criticizing Mr. Washington for not moving quickly enough to enact social justice, “Washington himself remained resolute. He was first, last and always a pragmatist. He believed gradual improvements- improvements that blacks would earn through education, entrepreneurship and personal responsibility, were the keys to black empowerment and ending racism. It wasn’t fair. But it was reality.” Considering that we can look back now and see that Mr. Washington was right, how do you think Mr. Washington was able to see the big picture and the correct course for blacks so clearly back then? Explain. Do you think it was good for Mr. Washington to be patient and to stand steadfastly by his beliefs, even though it meant taking longer for blacks to have a better life? Why or why not?
5. At the end of the video, Dr. Green concludes: “Today, in an America that is open to and accepting of all races, Washington’s prescription for black success is more relevant than ever. That made him a great leader... and a prophet.” Why do you think that Mr. Washington’s

'prescription for black success is more relevant than ever?' Explain. What else do you think contributes to Booker T. Washington being considered a great leader? Explain.

Extend the Learning:

Case Study Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article about Hampton University's history, and then answer the questions that follow.

1. What was the United States' first self-contained African-American community named? Who was Mary Peake, and what did she do? Where did she hold her first class, and what law did it violate? What is the Emancipation Oak a symbol of? Who was Brigadier General Samuel Armstrong, and what did he do? What was the declared purpose of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute? How did students pay for their schooling? Who is the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute's most distinguished graduate? At what age did Booker T. Washington help to found and direct the Tuskegee Institute? What happened to the Native Americans who arrived in Hampton from Fort Sill, and what did they do? How many of the boys were taking trade classes by 1904? Who was Dr. R. Nathaniel Dett, and why was he important to the school? What significant event happened to the school in 1949? Why were trades programs phased out in the 1950's? What types of programs and departments were established during Hampton President Holland's tenure? What involvement did Rosa Parks have with the school? Why did a group of Hampton students stage a sit-in in 1960? Who is Dr. William R. Harvey, and what has he done for the school?
2. In what ways does Hampton University embody the story of Booker T. Washington and the history of the black community in the United States? Explain. Do you think that Hampton University is still carrying on and carrying out the philosophy and ideals that Mr. Washington prescribed for the success of the black community? If no, why not? If yes, in what ways?
3. Do you think that Mr. Washington would be happy with how and what the black community is doing today? Why or why not? Do you think that Mr. Washington's plan is still a good one for the black community? Why or why not? When do you think that the reality of good race relations and a world where minorities don't have to struggle in America will happen, if ever?

<http://www.hamptonu.edu/about/history.cfm>



Under a Simple Oak Tree

The year was 1861. The American Civil War had shortly begun and the Union Army held control of Fort Monroe in Hampton, Virginia at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay. In May of that year, Union Major General Benjamin Butler decreed that any escaping slaves reaching Union lines would be considered "contraband of war" and would not be returned to bondage. This resulted in waves of enslaved people rushing to the fort in search of freedom. A camp to house the newly freed slaves was built several miles outside the protective walls of Fort Monroe. It was named "The Grand Contraband Camp" and functioned as the United States' first self-contained African American community.

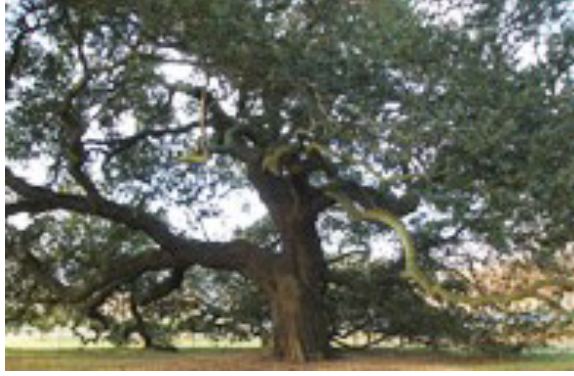


Major General Benjamin Butler



Mary Peake

In order to provide the masses of refugees some kind of education, Mary Peake, a free Negro, was asked to teach, even though an 1831 Virginia law forbid the education of slaves, free blacks and mulattos. She held her first class, which consisted of about twenty students, on September 17, 1861 under a simple oak tree. This tree would later be known as the Emancipation Oak and would become the site of the first Southern reading of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. Today, the Emancipation Oak still stands on the Hampton University campus as a lasting symbol of the promise of education for all, even in the face of adversity.



The Emancipation Oak

The Hampton Normal School

In 1863, using government funds to continue the work started by Mary Peake, General Butler founded the Butler School for Negro children, where students were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and grammar, as well as various housekeeping skills.

Brigadier General Samuel Armstrong was appointed in 1866 to Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau of the Ninth District of Virginia. Drawing upon his experiences with mission schools in Hawaii, he procured funding from the American Missionary Association to establish a school on the Wood Farm, also known as "Little Scotland" adjacent to the Butler School. On April 1, 1868, Armstrong opened Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute with a simple declared purpose.

"The thing to be done was clear: to train selected Negro youth who should go out and teach and lead their people first by example, by getting land and homes; to give them not a dollar that they could earn for themselves; to teach respect for labor, to replace stupid drudgery with skilled hands, and in this way to build up an industrial system for the sake not only of self-support and intelligent labor, but also for the sake of character."

Practical experience in trades and industrial skills were emphasized and students were able to pay their way through school by working in various jobs throughout the burgeoning campus. The Butler School, which was succeeded in 1889 by the Whittier School, was used as a practice ground for teaching students of the Hampton Normal School.

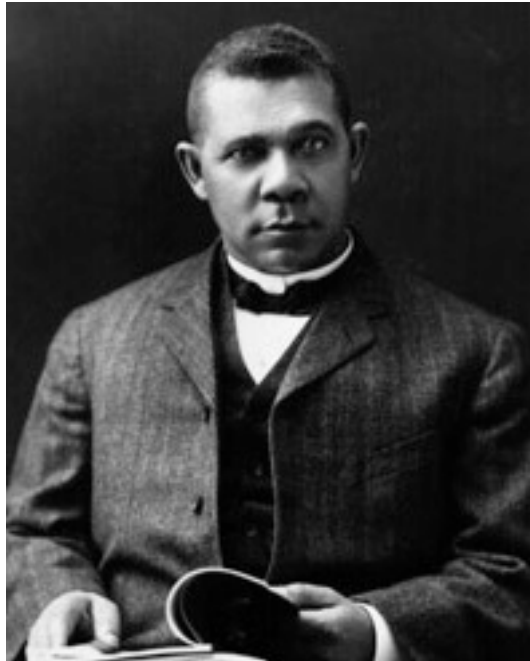


Brigadier General Samuel Armstrong

A New Student

By 1872, Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute was flourishing and drawing students from all over the country. One day that year, a young man met with the assistant principal to request admission. His clothing and person were so unkempt from his long journey he was nearly turned away. The assistant principal asked him to sweep the recitation room. The young man, excited at the prospect of work, not only swept the floor three times but thoroughly dusted the room four times, thereby passing a rigorous "white glove" inspection. Upon seeing the results of his work, the assistant principal said quietly, "I guess you will do to enter this institution."

The newly accepted student was Booker T. Washington, who would become Hampton's most distinguished graduate. At only 25 years old, at the request of General Armstrong, Washington helped found Tuskegee Institute in Alabama in 1881.



Booker T. Washington

Native Americans Arrive

During the night of April 18, 1878, a group of Native Americans arrived in Hampton from Fort Sill, where they had been imprisoned at the close of the Red River War. No longer considered dangerous, they were sent to Hampton at the request of General Armstrong. These seventy men and women became the first American Indian students at Hampton and began a Native American education program that spanned more than 40 years, with the last student graduating in 1923.

The Trade School Era

Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, Hampton Normal School saw a dramatic increase in enrollment and educational offerings, which created a need not only for additional dormitory space, but also for auxiliary facilities. A number of buildings were constructed during this twenty-year span, including Whipple Barn, Wigwam (the American Indian boy's dormitory), Holly Tree Inn, and the Armstrong-Slater Trade School, most all of them built by Hampton students.

The new trade school would offer instruction in farming, carpentry, harnessmaking, printing, tailoring, clocksmithing, blacksmithing, painting, and wheelwrighting. By 1904, nearly three-fourths of all boys at Hampton were taking trades classes. In addition to expansion of the agricultural program in 1913, Hampton's music program flourished under the direction of Dr. R. Nathaniel Dett, who brought the Hampton Choir and Quartet to the world through highly acclaimed performances in London, Vienna, Zurich, Berlin, Geneva, and Paris.



Dr. R. Nathaniel Dett

Hampton Institute – The College

Enhancing Hampton's curriculum to meet the stringent requirements of college level accreditation was the focus during the late 1900s and throughout the 1920s. Many new programs were added and the requirements for existing courses were raised to meet the new standard Hampton placed upon itself. A Library Science School was established in 1924 and an extension program was begun in 1929 to reach students who were unable to come to campus. The Robert C. Ogden Auditorium was built in 1918 and with two thousand seats, it was at the time the largest auditorium in the area. Today, Ogden Hall is considered one of the finest acoustical venues in the nation.

In the Principal's report of 1929, Hampton President Dr. James Edward Gregg stated that "Hampton Institute is now a college." He went on to state that, "Every one of its collegiate divisions or schools—Agriculture, Home Economics, Education, Business, Building, Librarianship, Music—is fitting its students for their life-work as teachers or as practitioners in their chosen calling."

On July 1, 1930, Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute became Hampton Institute and the title of Principal—Dr. George Phenix at the time—was changed to President.

The Great Depression

The 1930s brought with it the Great Depression and intense challenges for Hampton Institute. Already confronted with an overwhelming budget deficit, the college experienced a decrease in enrollment and budget cuts and staff dismissals were common. To cut costs, the Library School was discontinued in 1940 and the Nursing School was taken over by a local hospital that same year.

When America became involved in World War II, financial relief would soon arrive to Hampton Institute as the federal government established war training facilities on the campus. After the war, many of the military training buildings were purchased by the college and are still in use today.

In addition to Hampton's financial troubles, many felt that the school's decades-old educational philosophies no longer applied to a changing racial climate where the emerging youth began to question accepted policies and procedures. Students wanted more self-governance and a change in many of the regulations. While the Hampton staff was interracial, there were no Negroes employed as heads of departments and schools. Thus, in 1940, a few high-ranking administrative positions—including Dean of Instruction and Dean of Women—were appointed to Negroes. And in 1949, Dr. Alonzo G. Moron became the first Negro president of Hampton Institute.

A New Wave of Growth

During the 1950s, programs in Agriculture and the trades were phased out due to decreased enrollment and a change in the American workforce climate. However, a number of new programs were initiated, including graduate studies in Mathematics, Chemistry, and Physics.

During the tenure of Hampton Institute's ninth President, Dr. Jerome H. Holland, the college experienced a decade of growth in every facet and program. Twelve new buildings were constructed, faculty numbers increased, average salaries doubled, and student enrollment reached 2,600 by 1969. New programs and departments were established, including a computer technology program, the College of Cooperative Education, and a Department of Mass Media Arts.

Accompanying Hampton's steady growth in the 1960s was the controversial landscape of the Civil Rights Movement and the changing attitudes of Negroes, who were finally able to see the promise of first-class citizenship and equal educational and economic opportunity in a democratic society. Noted civil rights leaders, including Dr. Martin Luther King, visited the Hampton campus. In 1957, two years after being arrested for refusing to give up her seat to a white bus passenger, Rosa Parks moved to the Hampton area where she worked on campus as a hostess at The Holly Tree Inn. On February 11, 1960, a group of Hampton Institute students were the first in Virginia to stage a lunch counter sit-in, to protest local business' refusal to serve blacks and whites equally.



Rosa Parks

Continuing the Tradition

The social unrest of the 1960s spilled over into the 1970s as students demanded a wider variety of courses, coed living on campus, and a stronger voice in the Administrative Council and the Board of Trustees. In the face of student protests, bomb threats, and dormitory fires, Hampton President Dr. Roy Hudson managed to improve relations with students and expand many programs, including the college's Engineering program, through partnerships with other universities.

Dr. William R. Harvey was unanimously elected the twelfth President of Hampton Institute in 1978. His efforts included outlining a core set of required courses, establishing an M.B.A. program and centers for high-tech scientific research, and expanding the Continuing Education Program. By 1983, student enrollment had reached nearly four thousand and SAT scores of entering freshmen increased by 93 points, even though national enrollment levels and SAT scores were plummeting.

In 1984, after a nine-month study of Hampton Institute's rapid growth and development in quality of students, faculty and academic offerings, the recommendation was made to change the name to Hampton University.

Today, over 150 years after its inception, Hampton University continues to break new ground in academic achievement, staying true to General Armstrong's original promise of **The Standard of Excellence, An Education for Life.**



QUIZ

Who Is Booker T. Washington?

- 1. Booker T. Washington was born into slavery in _____.**
 - a. 1846
 - b. 1856
 - c. 1866
 - d. 1876

- 2. What cause did Mr. Washington dedicate his life to?**
 - a. women's suffrage
 - b. reconstruction politics
 - c. practical education
 - d. civil economics

- 3. After the war, Mr. Washington traveled 500 miles, mostly on foot, to go to school.**
 - a. True
 - b. False

- 4. How many students were waiting at the Tuskegee Institute when Mr. Washington arrived to take over?**
 - a. 30
 - b. 130
 - c. 230
 - d. 330

- 5. The theme of Mr. Washington's speech at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895 was _____.**
 - a. that blacks would achieve equality through swift culture change
 - b. that blacks needed the help of white lawmakers to be successful
 - c. that blacks needed reparations before race relations could improve
 - d. that blacks needed time to develop educationally and economically



QUIZ - ANSWER KEY

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STUDY GUIDE

Why the West Won

KEY TERMS:

Western Civilization
work ethic

institutional innovations
representative government

Great Divergence
constitution

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section <u>during</u> the video. Include definitions and key terms.	CUE COLUMN: Complete this section <u>after</u> the video.
<p>How many of the major 17th-century breakthroughs in mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, and biology happened in Western Europe?</p> <p>When Western work ethic led to greater wealth, what did that in turn lead to?</p> <p>What was the 'Great Divergence,' according to economic historians?</p>	<p>In what ways did the West innovate to the point of being so much wealthier and more powerful than the rest of the world?</p> <p>Why should Western civilization be so highly valued and supported?</p>

Discussion & Review

1. Towards the beginning of the video, Professor Ferguson notes that, “ ... fewer and fewer students now graduate with any understanding of what has differentiated the West from the rest of the world. They leave with the misleading view that the defining features of Western civilization are slavery, imperialism and war.” Why do you think that this is the case- that so many students are intentionally being misled about Western civilization? What might the short and long-term consequences be of students being indoctrinated about Western civilization rather than properly educated about it? Explain.
2. Professor Ferguson goes on to explain that, “ ... the peoples of Western Europe engaged in all of those things [slavery, imperialism, and war]. But the point is that these were the least original things they did. Prior to that time, nearly all major civilizations enslaved people, built empires and made war. ...The West first surged ahead of the rest thanks to a series of institutional innovations...” What factors do you think sparked the Western people of that time to be original and to innovate? Explain. Why do you think it was the Western people that innovated- why didn't people in the East or in other parts of the world innovate like the West did? Explain.
3. One of the most important innovations in the West that Professor Ferguson shares with us is “The rule of law and representative government. An optimal system of social and political order emerged in the English-speaking world, based on private-property rights and the representation of property owners in elected legislatures. This was quite different from the systems of law that had evolved elsewhere, in which individual rights were given short shrift.” What, specifically, do you think made this particular innovation so important? Why do you think that, prior to this time, groups were valued much more heavily than individuals? Explain.
4. After laying out the six major differentiating factors of Western civilization, Professor Ferguson points out that, “They are the best explanation for what economic historians call ‘the Great Divergence’: the astonishing gap that arose between Western standards of living and those in the rest of the world. Yes, Western civilization did empire. It did war. It did slavery. But these were not the things that led to the Great Divergence and the period of Western dominance of the world. It was the six killer applications that were crucial. And this Western bundle of institutions still seems to offer humanity the best hope of solving the problems we face in the twenty-first-century.” Why do you think that these six institutions of Western civilization were so successful in helping the people of those nations to advance so dramatically in such a relatively short period? Do you agree with Professor Ferguson that these six pillars of Western civilization are the best hope of solving modern problems? Why or why not?
5. At the end of the video, Professor Ferguson concludes that, “Maybe the biggest of these problems is not the rise of China, radical Islam or carbon dioxide emissions, but our own loss of faith in the civilization we inherited from our ancestors. ...In 1938 Churchill defined the ‘central principle of [Western] Civilization’ as ‘the subordination of the ruling class to... the people and to their will as expressed in [a] Constitution.’ Maybe you know of another civilization that came up with that simple but uniquely powerful idea. I don’t.” Why do you think that some people are ‘losing faith’ in Western civilization and its ideals? Explain. What makes the condition of a ruling class subordinate to a citizenry as expressed in a constitution such a ‘uniquely powerful idea?’ Explain.

Extend the Learning:

Case Study Olive Beech

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article “Olive Ann Beech, American Businesswoman,” then answer the questions that follow.

1. What was Mrs. Beech’s first job? What roles did she fill at Travel Air Manufacturing? When did Mrs. Beech and her husband found Beech Aircraft? What was her role in her own company? What happened to Mrs. Beech in 1936, in terms of her place in the company? What did Mrs. Beech do for the company during the war? What happened to Mrs. Beech, in terms of her role in the company, when her husband died? How did Mrs. Beech become known amongst journalists and aerospace enthusiasts? How did Mrs. Beech become wealthy? Mrs. Beech was the first woman to be given which award in the industry, and what did they give it to her for?
2. Do you think that Mrs. Beech, or any other woman, could replicate her story and accomplishments in modern-day China or Saudi Arabia? Why or why not? Which of the six Western innovations that Professor Ferguson outlays in the video contributed to Mrs. Beech’s success, and in what way did they contribute to her accomplished career? Explain.
3. Why do you think that other parts of the world are slow to adopt, or are outright against, the innovations of the West? Do you think that other nations should adopt and implement these innovations of the West? Why or why not?

Olive Ann Beech

American businesswoman

Written By: The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica

Olive Ann Beech, née Olive Ann Mellor, (born Sept. 25, 1903, Waverly, Kan., U.S.—died July 6, 1993, Wichita, Kan.), American businesswoman who served first as secretary-treasurer (1932–50) and then as president (1950–68) and chairman of the board (1950–82) of Beech Aircraft Corporation, a leading manufacturer of business and military airplanes founded by her and her husband, Walter H. Beech.

Olive Ann Mellor studied bookkeeping and stenography at a secretarial and business school in Wichita and then worked as a bookkeeper for an electrical supply and contracting firm in Augusta, Kan. In 1924 she was hired by the Travel Air Manufacturing Company, which had recently been founded in Wichita and was being run by flyers and aircraft engineers Lloyd Stearman, Clyde Cessna, and Walter Beech. Soon she was handling the business end of the operation, working variously as secretary, bookkeeper, and office manager of the growing company. In 1930 Olive Ann and Walter were married. Two daughters were born of their marriage, which also was the foundation of a remarkable business partnership.

In 1929 Walter Beech, who had assumed the presidency of Travel Air, sold the company to the Curtiss-Wright Company and stayed on as an officer of the new parent company. The couple lived at various times in St. Louis and New York City. In 1932, at the depth of the Great Depression, Walter and Olive Ann returned to Wichita and founded the Beech Aircraft Company with another investor and a small group of engineers. Olive Ann was the secretary-treasurer, again handling business matters while her husband, the company president, designed and sold airplanes. In 1936, when the company issued common stock, Olive Ann became a member of the board of directors of Beech Aircraft Corporation. Also in that year she suggested that female aviator Louise Thaden compete in the prestigious Bendix Transcontinental Air Race in a Beechcraft Staggerwing, one of a series of large, fast, and expensive biplanes that the company had been producing for the business market. Thaden won the coast-to-coast race, bringing important publicity to the company.

World War II brought great change and growth to Beech Aircraft, as it expanded production and converted some of its models to military use. Olive Ann Beech played a central role, obtaining financing for plant expansion and assuming personal control over the company while her husband was hospitalized in 1940 with an attack of encephalitis. After the war the company resumed civilian production but also continued to produce for the U.S. military and began to subcontract subassemblies for other aircraft companies.

Walter Beech died in 1950, and Olive Ann was elected to replace him as president and chairman of the board. She ran the company for the next 18 years, during which time Beech Aircraft expanded its line of high-performance general aviation planes, subcontracted work in the space-exploration industry, and also produced military trainers, transports, and target drones. Olive Ann Beech steadfastly resisted bringing the company into the jet age, arguing that it was more profitable to build on the company's historic line of propeller-driven craft, for which there was still a market. During her tenure she progressively removed or disciplined several company directors who were relatives and old colleagues of her late husband, all the while elevating her own nephew, Frank Hedrick, to greater responsibilities in the company.

As the astute, imperious, and impeccably tailored female president of a successful company, Beech became renowned among journalists and aerospace enthusiasts as the "first lady" and "queen" of American aviation. Made wealthy by the company's success, she patronized arts groups and funded local and statewide scholarships. She received many honours and tributes, including the National Aeronautic Association's Wright Brothers Memorial Trophy in 1980 "for five decades of outstanding leadership in the development of general aviation." Beech, who never learned to fly, was the first woman to receive that award. In 1968 Beech handed over the presidency of Beech Aircraft to Hedrick while staying on as chairman of the board. In 1980 Beech Aircraft was purchased by the Raytheon Company, and Beech became a member of the board of the new owner. In 1982 Raytheon requested the resignations of Beech and Hedrick, and Beech fully retired from the aerospace business.



QUIZ

Why the West Won

- 1. At most English-speaking universities, graduates are leaving with the misleading view that the defining features of Western civilization are _____.**
 - a. slavery
 - b. imperialism
 - c. war
 - d. all of the above

- 2. How many of the major 17th-century breakthroughs in mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, and biology happened in Western Europe?**
 - a. some of them
 - b. half of them
 - c. most of them
 - d. all of them

- 3. Nearly all the major 19th- and 20th-century breakthroughs in health care were made by Western Europeans and North Americans.**
 - a. True
 - b. False

- 4. Because Westerners worked longer, worked harder, and saved more of what they earned, what did this work ethic lead to?**
 - a. widespread institutional corruption
 - b. unprecedented capital accumulation
 - c. weakened industrial development
 - d. increased monarchical power

- 5. "The Great Divergence," according to economic historians, is _____.**
 - a. when human tribes separated into those who farmed for food and stayed in one place and those who remained nomadic in finding resources
 - b. when the first industrial capitalists became millionaires
 - c. when a gap arose between Western standards of living and those in the rest of the world
 - d. when mammals became the dominant species over reptiles



QUIZ - ANSWER KEY

Why the West Won

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STUDY GUIDE

Margaret Thatcher: The Woman Who Saved Great Britain

KEY TERMS:

politics
Soviet Union

Parliament
privatized

Thatcherism
Cold War

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section during the video. Include definitions and key terms.

CUE COLUMN: Complete this section after the video.

In 1975, what was the inflation rate in Britain?

What about Great Britain needed to be 'saved' by Prime Minister Thatcher?

What did Margaret Thatcher consider the 'British inheritance' to be?

By what means did Prime Minister Thatcher save Great Britain?

What was Prime Minister Thatcher's reasoning for sending the Royal Navy to the Falkland Islands when Argentina invaded the islands?

Discussion & Review

1. At the beginning of the video, Professor Ferguson contends that, “If you think the world is a mess now, that just means you weren’t around in the 1970’s. In Britain, where I grew up, the low point was known as ‘the winter of discontent,’ a line borrowed from Shakespeare’s Richard III. The inflation rate in 1975 was 27 per cent. The trains were always late. The payphones were always broken. Nothing worked. Worst of all were the recurrent strikes. Strikes by coal miners. Strikes by dockers. Strikes by printers. Strikes by refuse collectors. Strikes even by gravediggers. It felt as if there was no way back.” Why do you think that Britain was such a mess back then? Explain. Why do you think that people such as Professor Ferguson felt ‘as if there was no way back?’ Explain.
2. After Professor Ferguson shares some personal history of Margaret Thatcher leading up to her time as a politician, he explains that, “As early as 1975 Thatcher had come up with a wonderful line about the opposition Labour Party: ‘They’ve got the usual Socialist disease- they’ve run out of other people’s money.’ This she contrasted memorably with what she called ‘the British inheritance’: ‘A man’s right to work as he will, to spend what he earns, to own property, to have the State as servant and not as master ...’” What do you think Ms. Thatcher meant by her line about the Socialists ‘running out of other people’s money?’ Explain. What factors do you think helped to shape Ms. Thatcher’s values- including the notion of a ‘British inheritance?’ Explain.
3. Professor Ferguson points out that, “It is fashionable nowadays to argue that there was no Thatcher miracle in the 1980s. Not only is that demonstrably false, it misses an essential point. Thatcherism wasn’t just about raising productivity or creating jobs. Just as important was the goal of defeating inflation and restoring prosperity to the middle class. This it emphatically achieved.” Why do you think that some people deny that Prime Minister Thatcher was responsible for turning Britain around during her tenure in office? How do you think that Prime Minister Thatcher knew to focus so heavily on lowering inflation and helping the middle class in order help Britain prosper economically and to be so successful again? Explain.
4. Later in the video, Professor Ferguson notes that, “It is still terribly hard for those who opposed her to admit it, but Margaret Thatcher was right about most things. She was right that the British trade unions had become much too powerful. She was right that inefficient nationalized industries had to be privatized. She was right that the West could win The Cold War.” Do you think that Prime Minister Thatcher was right to reduce the power of the trade unions? Why or why not? Do you think that Prime Minister Thatcher was right to privatize many industries that had previously been run by the government? Why or why not? Considering that such overwhelming, tangible evidence exists to prove that Prime Minister Thatcher was right about so many things, why do you think that some people still refuse to give her credit for the positive outcomes directly linked to her sound leadership? Explain.
5. Towards the end of the video, Professor Ferguson concludes that, “She [Prime Minister Thatcher] cured the economy of the diseases of inflation and industrial unrest. She revived the idea of a property-owning democracy. And, with her courageous and principled foreign policy, she restored Britain’s standing in the world.” What exactly do you think that Professor Ferguson means by the phrase ‘restored Britain’s standing in the world?’ Explain. Do you agree that Prime Minister Thatcher did indeed restore Britain’s standing in the world? Why or why not?

EXTEND THE LEARNING:

CASE STUDY: The British Economy

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article “How Margaret Thatcher Turned Great Britain’s Labor Markets Around,” then answer the questions that follow.

1. What will part of Prime Minister Thatcher’s legacy be, in terms of British labor markets and the labor union movement? What were British labor unions like when Ms. Thatcher first became Prime Minister? What were they like 11 years later when Ms. Thatcher left office? What can be partially credited with today’s British economy being more vibrant and dynamic? What did Ms. Thatcher’s Conservative Party describe during the 1979 election? What was the first task in the Conservative Party’s platform? Why did Prime Minister Thatcher believe that the labor laws needed to be reformed? How many worker years of production did the British economy lose during the 1970’s from strikes and work stoppages? After Prime Minister Thatcher’s reforms, how did the percentage of lost production due to strikes compare to that of the 1970’s? What did Prime Minister Thatcher’s reforms of the 1980’s include? How did those reforms affect the British economy? Compared to what it was like prior to her service as Prime Minister, what was the British economy like when Prime Minister Thatcher left office, and why? What did Prime Minister Thatcher’s labor market policies and reforms help the British economy to slowly do? What is the legacy of Prime Minister Thatcher’s labor market policies and reforms?
2. One of the myriad reasons that Margaret Thatcher was such a great leader was that she stuck to her clear principles, and her policies followed from those principles. Do you think that it is still possible for any leader in the Western world to do that in today’s political climate? Why or why not? Considering Prime Minister Thatcher’s undisputable success in utilizing Conservative principles to drastically improve Britain’s economy, why do you think that opposition still exists to her party and to her principles? Explain.
3. Do you agree with Professor Ferguson’s main point that Thatcherism saved Britain? Why or why not?

<https://www.forbes.com/sites/modeledbehavior/2013/04/09/how-margaret-thatcher-turned-great-britains-labor-markets-around/#571b3774591d>

Apr 9, 2013, 12:30pm

How Margaret Thatcher Turned Great Britain's Labor Markets Around

Adam Ozimek Contributor



Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (Photo credit: Wikipedia)

*This is a guest post by **Stephen Bronars**, a Senior Economist at Welch Consulting, Adjunct Professor of Economics at Georgetown, Ph.D. in Economics from University of Chicago, opinions are his own.*

Margaret Thatcher was one of the most influential leaders of the 20th Century. She was Prime Minister of Great Britain for eleven years and was probably the most important leader of the conservative movement of the 1970's and 1980's. Among her many accomplishments, part of her legacy will certainly be her role in the transformation of British labor markets and the labor union movement. When Mrs. Thatcher became Prime Minister in 1979, British labor unions were quite powerful but labor markets were rigid, inflexible and in many ways uncompetitive. By the time Mrs. Thatcher left office in 1990, the labor union movement

had been substantially weakened. Today's British economy is more vibrant and dynamic in part due to the labor union reforms of the Thatcher government.

During the 1979 election, Thatcher's Conservative Party described a five point plan for the country. The first task in the Conservative Party platform (Manifesto) was restoring "a fair balance between the rights and duties of the trade union movement." It was Thatcher's view that British labor laws were in need of reform because "militant" pro-union legislation enacted by the Labour Party had allowed unions to bargain for wages and working conditions that made British firms uncompetitive in an increasingly global economy. Mrs. Thatcher also believed that labor laws encouraged unions to use strikes and work stoppages "as a weapon of first rather than last resort" and led to "increasingly bitter and calamitous industrial disputes."

During the 1970's, the British economy lost almost 62,000 worker years of production from strikes and work stoppages due to labor disputes. The British rate of lost production due to strikes and work stoppages was about 150% higher than in the United States during the 1970's. By the 1990's, after the Thatcher government reforms, lost production due to strikes were less than 5% of the levels in the 1970's. In fact, during the 1990's, lost production due to strikes and labor disputes were 22% lower in Britain than in the United States (relative to the size of the countries' labor forces) and remain lower to this day.

Labor union reforms did not come easily. The coal miner's strike of 1984-1985 was long, bitter and violent. The global recession in the early 1980's hit Great Britain especially hard. The British unemployment rate remained above 10% for six years from 1982 through 1987 and peaked at 11.8% in 1984. The employment to population ratio of men age 16 to 64 fell by 10.3 percentage points between 1979 and 1983 (compared to 5.1 percentage points in the U.S.).

The Thatcher government's union reforms of the 1980's included limits on closed union shops, secret ballots, and a ban on "secondary" picketing, weakened labor unions and led to a decline in union membership. These reforms also improved the flexibility and competitiveness of the British economy. By 1990 the employment to population ratio for adult men had regained about half of the losses incurred during the recession and the unemployment rate had fallen to 7.1%. When Margaret Thatcher left office in 1990 the economy was in a much stronger position than a decade earlier and British labor markets were better able to adapt to the technological changes and increasing globalization that have occurred in the subsequent 23 years.

While the U.S. economy and labor market recovered more quickly and decisively from the recession in the early 1980's, recent history has been somewhat different. The employment to population ratio, for men and women, has been higher in Great Britain than in the U.S. since 2002 and the gap is widening.

Since 2008 employment relative to population has declined twice as much in the U.S. as in Britain. This is the opposite of the cross-country differences observed in the early 1980's, before labor union reforms had been implemented.

Margaret Thatcher was one of the great leaders of the 20th century. Her labor market policies and reforms slowly helped the British economy become more flexible, dynamic and competitive. The legacy of her labor market policies and reforms is that, unlike the 1980's, the employment situation in Great Britain has generally been stronger than in the U.S., both during and after the recession of 2008.



QUIZ

Margaret Thatcher: The Woman Who Saved Great Britain

- 1. In Britain, the inflation rate in 1975 was _____.**
 - a. 7%
 - b. 17%
 - c. 27%
 - d. 37%

- 2. In what year did Margaret Thatcher first enter Parliament?**
 - a. 1950
 - b. 1953
 - c. 1957
 - d. 1959

- 3. As early as 1975 Margaret Thatcher characterized the Labour Party by stating, “They’ve got the usual Socialist disease—they’ve run out of other people’s money.”**
 - a. True
 - b. False

- 4. What were some of the significant tenets of Prime Minister Thatcher’s ‘British Inheritance?’**
 - a. a person has a right to work as she/he wills
 - b. a person has a right to own property
 - c. a person has a right to have the State as servant and not as master
 - d. all of the above

- 5. Prime Minister Thatcher was right that _____.**
 - a. the British trade unions had become much too powerful
 - b. inefficient nationalized industries had to be privatized
 - c. the West could win The Cold War
 - d. all of the above



QUIZ - ANSWER KEY

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LIFE STUDIES



STUDY GUIDE

The Bravery Deficit

KEY TERMS:

bravery
stand up

politically correct
Western values

activists
deficit

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section <i>during</i> the video. Include definitions and key terms.	CUE COLUMN: Complete this section <i>after</i> the video.
<p>What pejorative name does the left call those who believe that men cannot give birth?</p> <p>Which mainstream media organizations are allied with politically correct, leftist activists?</p> <p>What fact do leftist mobs base their power on, in terms of free speech?</p>	<p>How do leftists oppress the voices and opinions of the non-Progressives?</p> <p>What can non-leftists do to keep Progressives from eroding Western values?</p>

Discussion & Review

1. At the beginning of the video, Mr. Rubin contends: "...there's a mass affliction spreading throughout the Western world. It's called 'the bravery deficit.'" People, good people like you, are afraid to say what they think." Why do you think that so many people are afraid to express their opinions and thoughts, especially in the U.S.—a country renowned for its protected right to freedom of expression? Why do you think that this problem is spreading in the Western world? Explain.
2. After Mr. Rubin gives some examples of the left categorizing and name-calling those who oppose their viewpoints, he points out: "Take the 'wrong' side of a hot-button issue and your reputation, your friends, and your job can all be lost in an instant. You will likely never get a chance to confront your accusers, most of whom are anonymous. And, you may feel forced to issue a faux apology to save yourself. (Which, by the way, it usually won't.) The understandable temptation is to think that this politically correct madness will soon end. Just die out on its own. Well, it won't." Why might the consequences for opposing leftist ideology often be so severe? Explain. Do you agree with Mr. Rubin that political correctness and the resulting extreme, absurd outcomes from it won't ever diminish or go away on its own? Why or why not?
3. Mr. Rubin goes on to share with us that, "The point is, perhaps your most important job as a human being is to stand up for the things you believe in. Don't take the path of least resistance. Be better than those who would silence you, deplatform you, and mob you. How? Just...stop...being...afraid." Do you agree with the notion that your most important duty as a human is to stand up for your beliefs? Why or why not? What do you think Mr. Rubin means when he implores you to 'be better' than those who try to silence, belittle, or disempower you? Explain.
4. Towards the end of the video, Mr. Rubin explains: "The mob depends on the fact that everyone is scared to say what they think. Don't give them that power. All of the successes of America, and the Western values that gave birth to America, are being eroded as we speak. We can't just blame Hollywood, the media, and the political establishment any longer." In what ways, specifically, are American values being eroded? Explain. Do you agree with Mr. Rubin that the majority of average, non-leftists are responsible for upholding American values through their being brave enough to express their own views without fear of consequences? Why or why not?
5. At the end of the video, Mr. Rubin concludes: "It's time to look in the mirror...It's time to come out of the closet—the political one. You are the solution to the bravery deficit. So what are you waiting for?" Why do you think that Mr. Rubin identifies now in particular as the time for non-leftists to stand up for their beliefs and to not allow themselves to be bullied by the left anymore? In what ways, specifically, can non-leftists eliminate the bravery deficit and be the solution? Explain.

Extend the Learning:

Case Study UNC undergrads

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article “Evidence That Conservative Students Really Do Self-Censor,” then answer the questions that follow.

1. What do the ‘scores of incidents’ on college campuses (cited by the author) undermine, in terms of free speech? Who did the UNC professors survey last spring, and why? What did they seek to understand? How many undergraduates are enrolled at UNC? Who do students worry about censure from? Students from which political perspective engages in self-censorship? Which percentage of moderates reported having kept an opinion to his or herself, even though it was related to the class? What does the refutation of a ‘wrong’ view allow both sides of an issue to do, according to the authoring professors? What did a substantial portion of the survey respondents fear in regards to sharing their views in class? What percentage of moderates said that they hear “disrespectful, inappropriate, or offensive comments” about conservatives at least several times a semester? What did the authoring professors urge as a remedy to the problem of Conservative students facing troubles for expressing their viewpoints?
2. In what ways, specifically, does the condition of Conservative students ‘self-censoring’ their opinions diminish and devalue the college experience for all students? Explain. Do you agree that colleges in particular should be places where it is ‘safe’ to express differing ideas and opinions in the context of searching for meaning and truth? Why or why not? What problems arise from ‘picking on’ and disenfranchising one particular ideological group, in this case Conservatives- especially on college campuses? Do you think that non-leftist UNC undergrads should close the bravery deficit? Why or why not?
3. Do you think it is hypocritical for leftists to claim to be tolerant, but then for those leftists to disparage opposing viewpoints? Why or why not? Do you think it is a cop-out for Leftists to declare any opposing views as ‘hate speech?’ Why or why not? Besides college students, what other groups of non-leftists should be voicing their own views freely, and through which mediums should they be doing it? What do you think could and should be done to empower non-leftists to express their ideas freely and without consequence? Explain.

Evidence That Conservative Students Really Do Self-Censor

Is free speech imperiled on American college campuses?

February 16, 2020

Conor Friedersdorf
Staff writer at *The Atlantic*



AFP Contributor / Getty

I've argued before that campus speech is threatened from a dozen directions, citing scores of incidents that undermine the culture of free expression and dialogue needed to seek truth and learn.

The academic Jeffrey Adam Sachs has staked out a contrasting position at the Niskanen Center. A small number of anecdotes "have been permitted to set the terms of public debate," he once wrote. He has also argued that "rather than collapsing into chaos, 2018 was a year of relative quiet on campuses. There were fewer deplatformings, fewer fired professors, and less violence compared to 2017. There was also more dialogue, greater respect for faculty free speech rights, and increased tolerance on both the right and the left."

Sachs and I watched the same controversies unfold on various campuses and drew very different conclusions about their implications for campus life.

Now there's new evidence in the debate.

Last spring, three professors at the University of North Carolina surveyed undergraduates to get a sense of the campus climate. Rather than focus on discrete controversies, such as the time in 2015 when UNC student protesters seized control of a room where a journalist was speaking, or the time in 2019 when a UNC student assaulted a sign-carrying anti-abortion activist, they sought to understand day-to-day undergraduate experiences. The results of the survey, distilled from more than 1,000 responses to email questionnaires, can't be applied to every college in America, but the findings do illuminate what's happening at a highly selective public institution in a swing state, where more than 20,000 undergraduates are enrolled.

The good news: In classes where politics comes up, large majorities of self-identified liberal and conservative students say that instructors encourage participation from both sides and want to learn from different perspectives, suggesting that concerns about faculty-indoctrination efforts are unfounded. Indeed, students reported that they worry less about censure from faculty than from peers.

That brings us to the bad news:

- While majorities favor more viewpoint diversity and free-speech norms, an intolerant faction of roughly a quarter of students believe it is okay to silence or suppress some widely held views that they deem wrong.
- Students across political perspectives engage in classroom self-censorship.
- Students harbor divisive stereotypes about classmates with different beliefs, and a substantial minority are not open to engaging socially with classmates who don't share their views.
- Disparaging comments about political conservatives are common.

To measure student tolerance for views with which they disagree, the researchers chose matters of ongoing controversy on campus—the fate of a Confederate statue, affirmative action in admissions, immigration, health care, climate change, and whether Christian bakers should be compelled to make cakes for gay weddings against their will—and presented students with mainstream positions that a liberal or conservative classmate might hold. Respondents were asked to indicate which among those positions they found most objectionable.

Next they were asked: If confronted with that view they identified as most objectionable, how appropriate would it be to take a series of actions, such as asking a tough question, publishing a dissent, or more extreme measures? An alarming 25.5 percent of survey respondents said it would be appropriate to “create an obstruction, such that a campus speaker endorsing this idea could not address an audience.” This authoritarian view was held by about 19 percent of self-identifying liberals, 3 percent of moderates, and 3 percent of conservatives. More than 3 percent of liberals and 1 percent of conservatives thought it would be appropriate to “yell profanity at a student” for endorsing the objectionable idea.

Also troubling were the undergraduates who reported having kept an opinion to themselves in the classroom, even though the opinion was related to the class, because they were worried about the potential consequences of expressing it. Almost 68 percent of conservatives censored themselves in this way, along with roughly 49 percent of moderates and 24 percent of liberals.

Expressing unpopular views “can reveal critical blind spots in prevailing thought patterns,” the authors of the report note, and even when a view is wrong, its refutation allows both parties “to better apprehend why the correct view must be true.” But “a substantial proportion of respondents fear social sanction, or even outright grading penalties, for sharing their views.” What's more, almost a quarter of conservative students reported being more than slightly concerned that peers would *file a complaint against them* for speech related to a class they are in together.

The report provides strong confirmation that conservatives face a hostile campus.

Among students who self-identify as liberals, some 10 percent said they hear “disrespectful, inappropriate, or offensive comments” about foreign students at least several times a semester, 14 percent said they hear disparaging comments about Muslims, 20 percent said they hear such comments about African Americans, 20 percent said they hear such comments about Christians, 21 percent said they hear such comments about LGBTQ individuals, and 57 percent said they hear such comments about conservatives. Among moderates, 68 percent said that they hear “disrespectful, inappropriate, or offensive comments” about conservatives at least several times a semester.

Out conservatives may face social isolation. Roughly 92 percent of conservatives said they would be friends with a liberal, and just 3 percent said that they would not have a liberal friend. Among liberals, however, almost a quarter said they would not have a conservative friend. Would UNC be a better place without conservatives? About 22 percent of liberals said yes. Would it be a better place without liberals? Almost 15 percent of conservatives thought so.

“Self-identified conservative students do in fact face distinct challenges related to viewpoint expression at UNC,” the authors conclude. They urge “a conversation about how the campus can become more accepting of conservative students as well as more willing to hear and engage with conservative ideas.” After all, they ask, “who would dispute that universities should be places where each idea is considered on its own terms, and not prejudged? Where sincerely held conclusions can be offered up for vigorous and civil contestation? Where students are assumed to be arguing in good faith and where they feel valued and respected, even should they turn out to be wrong?”

As important, the authors correctly emphasize that “the wrong way to interpret our report would be to see it as pitting liberals against conservatives,” not only because many liberals and moderates harbor similar anxieties about sharing earnest views, but also because even though “political hostility emerges disproportionately from the political left at UNC,” that hostility comes from a minority, not a majority, of liberals. Tolerant students belong to a cross-ideological majority. While divided in their politics, both are ill-served by the minority faction of intolerant censors.

Self-censorship is among several significant reasons to believe that free speech remains under threat on American campuses, harming undergraduate education. I try to avoid talk of “crisis,” because I believe that free speech is perpetually threatened and requires constant vigilance to sustain. But however we label the status quo, America’s professors ought to be aware of these problems.

The UNC study’s authors warn that well-intentioned instructors:

could easily fail to perceive important free-expression issues that might not be immediately evident in their courses. Student concerns about expressing political views are quite prevalent, and a common coping mechanism is to withdraw and self-censor. Thus, a classroom silence that an instructor might perceive as tacit agreement (or perhaps lackadaisical indifference) might, at least for some students, actually come from apprehension about the consequences of expressing specific viewpoints.

Thus they counsel that UNC instructors should be more intentional and explicit about their approach to free expression, so that students unaware of faculty support for it are better informed. Perhaps UNC is somehow anomalous. But its size, its student profile, and my years of reporting on different campuses lead me to suspect that it is somewhat representative of the selective colleges whose students wield disproportionate influence across society after graduation.

Free-speech advocates have had success in recent years in making the case for free-speech norms, reforming speech codes, protecting events, and reducing the number of disinvited speakers. More studies can help these advocates identify which campuses are in particular need of their attention, and assist them in empowering tolerant students in their conflicts with intolerant classmates.

We want to hear what you think about this article. Submit a letter to the editor or write to letters@theatlantic.com.



Conor Friedersdorf is a California-based staff writer at *The Atlantic*, where he focuses on politics and national affairs. He is the founding editor of The Best of Journalism, a newsletter devoted to exceptional nonfiction.



QUIZ

The Bravery Deficit

1. The United States of America is the _____ country in the history of the world.

- a. largest
- b. freest
- c. poorest
- d. healthiest

2. What could all be lost in an instant if one takes the 'wrong' side of a hot-button issue?

- a. one's reputation
- b. one's friends
- c. one's job
- d. all of the above

3. Big Tech with its control of search algorithms, its shadowbanning, and deboosting supports political correctness and the resulting limitations of freedom.

- a. True
- b. False

4. What is perhaps one's most important job as a human being?

- a. to take the path of least resistance
- b. to always support the majority
- c. to stand up for the things one believes in
- d. to have the courage to silence those who disagree

5. _____ the solution to the bravery deficit.

- a. The media is
- b. Educational institutions are
- c. The political establishment is
- d. You are



QUIZ - ANSWER KEY

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Discussion & Review

1. After Ms. Chen discusses the difference between living together and marriage, she points out that, “The problem with so many dating relationships is that people enter them with completely different understandings of what the ideal outcome should be. He wants X and she wants Y. And it’s easy to get distracted and fooled by superficial compatibility. They’re thrilled they both like kombucha, kayaking and karaoke on the weekends. That’s all great, but when do you get down to the stuff that really matters over the long run? Stuff like: Marriage. Family. Faith. And values.” Why do you think that it is the case that people often have such wildly different expectations for what dating should be or should lead to? Explain. What do you think Ms. Chen means by the phrase ‘superficial compatibility?’ Why do you think that people ‘often get distracted and fooled by superficial compatibility?’ Explain. Do you agree with Ms. Chen that what matters in the long run is the substantive stuff like marriage, family, faith, and values? Why or why not?
2. Ms. Chen goes on to share with us that, “I have no doubt the reason so many women get stuck in dead end relationships is that it has become taboo — or, to be precise, not politically correct — for a woman to articulate what she really wants.” How might a woman first go about figuring out what she wants in a relationship? Explain. Why do you think that it is often socially unacceptable for a woman to clearly express what she wants in a relationship? Explain.
3. Piggybacking on this last point, Ms. Chen further notes that women tend to crave marriage for, “ ... three reasons: Protection. Commitment. Love. Nothing wrong with wanting those things. It is something women have wanted, and great societies have valued, for thousands of years. It is something men still want too. Little wonder- study after study shows that those in good marriages are happier, healthier, even wealthier than those who are not. Like anything you want, you have to work toward it. And anything that isn’t moving you toward your goal is a waste of time.” Why do you think that there is a direct and demonstrative correlation between good marriages and a good quality of life? Explain. Do you agree with Ms. Chen that dating without working towards a goal is a waste of time? Why or why not?
4. Later in the video, Ms. Chen states, “Ask anyone who has taken the plunge and they’ll tell you- living together and marriage have little in common. It’s sort of like the difference between living in a country and being a citizen of that country. The latter, with its commitment, obligations, and expectations, means a lot more.” What might some other meaningful and practical differences between living together and being married be? Why do you think that being married means significantly much more? Explain.
5. At the end of the video, Ms. Chen concludes that, “...a good rule of thumb: [is to] think about the kind of relationship you want as much as you think about what kind of career you want. I’m not anti-career. I’m just pro-relationship. Specifically, pro-marriage. Because when you get it right, that’s the best relationship there is. And it starts with the first date.” Why would thinking about what type of relationship you want to have be so important to your life? Do you agree with Ms. Chen that marriage is the best relationship there can be, and that it starts with the first date? Why or why not?

Extend the Learning:

Case Study Marriage

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article “Marriage Makes People Happier, New Study Finds,” then answer the questions that follow.

1. What can being married have a lifelong positive effect on? How did a spouse also being a best friend affect the overall happiness of couples? What did researchers suggest about the happiness of coupledness? In previous studies, what did married couples report in regards to life satisfaction? Who are Shawn Grover and John Helliwell, and what did they examine? What did they find? What did they find in regards to married people and the u-shape relationship between happiness and age? What do marriage partners offer when happiness begins to decline? On average, how much greater are the benefits when a spouse is also a best friend?
2. Considering all of the benefits, why do you think that marriage does not appeal to some people? Do you think that marriage should appeal to most people? Why or why not? Do you think that substantive dating, viewed by both partners as progressing towards marriage, should be valued more in society? Why or why not?
3. In what way does information in the article support points made in the video? Do you think that Ms. Chen would view this article as support for her main point? Why or why not?

Marriage Makes People Happier, New Study Finds

The effects lasted well into old age.

by Jesse Hicks
Dec 27 2017, 8:25am



Peter Dazeley/Getty Images

According to a new study, being married can have a lifelong positive effect on people’s well-being, including helping them weather the droop in life satisfaction that comes with middle age. Based on data from a pair of UK surveys, the study found that happiness was even higher among couples who saw their spouse as their best friend. Long-term monogamous couples who’d never gotten married saw similar benefits, and researchers suggest that the happiness of coupledom comes from its unique form of lifelong friendship.

Studies have already shown a link between marriage and happiness, with the married reporting significantly higher life satisfaction than those who are single, separated, divorced, or widowed. But that could simply mean that happier people are more likely to get married. People who marry tend to have more friends, have greater satisfaction with their careers, and be better educated—all of which could lead to greater happiness apart from marriage. As one study put it, “Does marriage make people happy, or do happy people get married?”

Meanwhile, other research has suggested that while there's an uptick in happiness at the beginning of a marriage, people report eventually returning to pre-marriage levels of self-satisfaction. That'd suggest that once the honeymoon's over, people start to drift back into the same old dissatisfactions.

To clear up this picture, Shawn Grover and John Helliwell of the Vancouver School of Economics in Canada turned to the two aforementioned UK surveys. The British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) collected information from about 30,000 people between 1991 and 2009, while the United Kingdom's Annual Population 2011 to 2013 Survey, had more than 328,000 participants. Using this combined dataset, researchers examined the relationship between marriage and friendship

They found that married people were generally more satisfied with their lives than their single peers, and that their happiness was more than just newlywed bliss. It went beyond the honeymoon phase, extending into old age.

“Even after years the married are still more satisfied,” Helliwell said in a statement. “This suggests a causal effect at all stages of the marriage, from pre-nuptial bliss to marriages of long-duration.”

In one comparison, they looked at the u-shape relationship between happiness and age: Younger people tend to be happiest, followed by a decline into middle age, and ending with another increase in happiness as people get older. Both married and unmarried people follow that pattern, but among the married the dip around middle age is less severe.

When happiness begins to decline, the researchers suggest, marriage partners offer unique support during life's challenges. For partners who are also best friends, the benefits to well-being can be even greater. “The well-being benefits of marriage are much greater for those who also regard their spouse as their best friend,” Helliwell said. “These benefits are on average about twice as large for people whose spouse is also their best friend.”

Of course, those results are drawn from data gathered in the UK, and may not hold across every society. But they do suggest there's something to be said for marrying your best friend—or simply coupling up with them for the long term.



QUIZ

Dating: Don't Waste Your Time

1. Women should date with what purpose in mind?

- a. casual flings
- b. having fun
- c. hook ups
- d. getting married

2. Instead of love and looking toward marriage, living together can unfortunately be based sometimes on less serious considerations like_____.

- a. lack of other opportunities
- b. desire for a roommate
- c. the inability to afford a single apartment
- d. all of the above

3. Those looking for a good marriage are looking for someone who wants to build a shared life.

- a. True
- b. False

4. What is the problem with so many dating relationships?

- a. People tend to share too much too soon.
- b. Attractiveness isn't a big enough factor.
- c. People become too engaged in their phones instead of each other.
- d. People enter them with completely different understandings of what the ideal outcome should be.

5. The stuff that really matters over the long run in relationships is _____.

- a. family
- b. faith
- c. values
- d. all of the above



QUIZ - ANSWER KEY

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STUDY GUIDE

The Fallen Soldier

KEY TERMS:

freedom
evil

warrior
memorial

tyranny
sacrifice

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section during the video. Include definitions and key terms.

CUE COLUMN: Complete this section after the video.

What did the fallen soldier leave behind in order to serve?

Who is the fallen soldier?

What did the fallen soldier learn in the Civil War?

Why is it so important to remember and to honor the fallen soldiers?

Why did the fallen soldier sacrifice his or her life?

Discussion & Review

1. At the beginning of the video we are introduced to the fallen soldier, who asks us to, “Remember me. I am the one that held the line. Sometimes I volunteered. Sometimes I went because I was told to go. But when the nation called—I answered.” What do you think motivates certain people to ‘answer the call,’ to serve their country in military service and to be willing to actually die for their country if necessary? Why do you think that the fallen soldier asks us to remember him and her? Explain.
2. The fallen soldier goes on to explain: “In order to serve, I left behind the family, friends, and freedom that so many take for granted.” What do you think the short and long term consequences are for the families and friends of soldiers who go to fight for their country and don’t come back alive or don’t come back at all? Why do you think that so many people, especially in the United States, take their family, friends, and freedom for granted? Explain.
3. After some other significant examples, the fallen soldier points out: “In World War II, I fought everywhere: the beaches of Normandy, the Battle of the Bulge, the hell of Guadalcanal. I stood against tyranny and kept darkness from consuming the world.” What do you think would have happened if the fallen soldiers had not given their lives to win that war? Do you think that a correlation exists between how high the stakes were in this war and the magnitude of the sacrifice that these fallen soldiers made? Why or why not?
4. Later in the video, the fallen soldier reminds us: “...in those awful places: I held the line. I did not waiver and I did not hesitate. I: The Soldier, Sailor, Airman, or Marine. I stood my ground and sacrificed my life- my future, my hopes, my dreams. I sacrificed everything- for you. This Memorial Day, remember me: the fallen warrior. And remember me not for my sake—but for yours.” What is so important about the sacrifice that the fallen soldiers have made for us? Explain. Why do you think that the fallen soldier means when asking us to remember him or her for our own sake? Explain.
5. At the end of the video, the fallen soldier states, “Family. Friends. And freedom. Never forget where it all came from. It came from sacrifice: the supreme sacrifice. Live a life that honors us, the fallen heroes. Remember us. And make every day... Memorial Day.” What do you think the fallen soldier means by the phrase ‘the supreme sacrifice?’ In what ways, specifically, might it be possible to live a life that honors the fallen? Explain. What do you think the fallen soldier means by making every day Memorial Day? Explain.

Extend the Learning:

Case Study Medal of Honor POW and MIAs

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article “You Are Not Forgotten – National POW/MIA Recognition Day,” then answer the questions that follow.

1. What is POW/MIA Recognition Day, and what it is for? How many U.S. service members are missing in action? How many prisoners of war have died in captivity? What did those prisoners of war endure, and what legacy do they leave? Who was Brigadier General Kenneth Walker, and what did he do? What makes First Lieutenant Alexander Bonnyman’s sacrifice so honorable? What made Colonel Donald Cook’s sacrifice worthy of the Medal of Honor? Why is Sergeant William Port a hero worth remembering? What do you admire most about Captain Lance Sijan? What do you find most inspiring and worthy of remembrance about Captain Humbert Roque “Rocky” Versace?
2. Do you think that the fallen soldiers have earned and deserve our attention and respect? Why or why not? In what ways, specifically, do you think that you can relate their hardship and sacrifice to your freedom and ability to enjoy life with your family and friends? Explain. Do you think that you owe your happiness at least in part to the fallen soldiers? Why or why not?
3. Do you think that you and your family take Memorial Day seriously enough? Why or why not? What else might you do to respect the fallen and missing soldiers? Explain.

You Are Not Forgotten – National POW/MIA Recognition Day

POW/MIA Recognition Day is a day for everyone to honor the sacrifices made by U.S. service members who were prisoners of war and those who are still missing in action. There are more than 80,000 U.S. service members missing in action. Each day the Defense POW/MIA Accounting Agency (DPPAA) is working towards locating and recovering missing personnel from past conflicts. We encourage you to take a minute to reflect and learn about some of America's unaccounted for service members.

Throughout American history, there have been over 500,000 prisoners of war across all conflicts, many who died while in captivity. While fighting for our freedom, these prisoners had to endure brutal captivity and had their freedoms completely stripped from them. They know the true price of freedom, sacrifice and courage. Their bravery is a legacy that needs to be remembered.

A few of the hundreds of thousands of POW/MIA service members were awarded the Medal of Honor for their gallantry and intrepidity. Read below for a few of their citations and heroic stories.

Missing in Action

Brigadier General Kenneth Walker posthumously received the Medal of Honor in World War II after his plane was shot down and he was killed while leading a daylight bombing over Rabaul, New Britain. His body, the bodies of the eight others in the crash and the plane wreckage were never found. He is a legacy in the aviation world, publishing many articles and becoming part of the "Bomber Mafia" that pushed for the bombardment form of military aviation. Walker's son is actively working with military officials to help bring his father and the other heroes on that plane home.

First Lieutenant Alexander Bonnyman posthumously received the Medal of Honor in World War II during the assault on a Japanese bombproof shelter during the Battle of Tarawa, where he was killed while ordering more charges to be brought forward. Bonnyman ran a copper mining business that was needed to produce vital material for the war effort, making him exempt from military obligation. However, he still enlisted in the US Marine Corps in 1942. His remains were listed as "non-recovered" until 2015, when the nonprofit 'History Flight' recovered the remains of 36 Marines. His grandson published the book, Bones of My Grandfather: Reclaiming a Lost Hero of World War II.

Prisoners of War

Staff Sergeant Jon Cavaiani received the Medal of Honor for his actions in Vietnam War. After his platoon came under intense attack and organized his unit's defense. During evacuation by helicopter, Cavaiani voluntarily stayed on the ground to direct the large evacuation effort. In the morning, there was another enemy attack where he ordered and helped provide cover for the remaining small group of men to escape. He was then captured and spent the next two years as a prisoner of war until his release in 1973 during Operation Homecoming. He remained in the Army until 1990, completing over 5,000 jumps from all over the world.

Colonel Donald Cook posthumously received the Medal of Honor for his actions in Vietnam. He was wounded and captured by the enemy in December 1964. He was held as a prisoner of war where he assumed the role as the senior prisoner, even though he wasn't. He volunteered to give other men his

medicine and unselfishly put the overall health and wellbeing of his other prisoners above his health. He died from malaria three years later.

George “Bud” Day received the Medal of Honor for his actions in Vietnam. He was a prisoner of war, not once but twice. He was forced to eject from his aircraft where he was immediately captured, interrogated and tortured. Day eventually escaped into the jungle, surviving on berries and frogs. After swimming across a river, he wandered aimlessly for days, lost. He was ambushed, recaptured and suffered from gunshot wounds. Day was placed back in his original prisoner of war camp and several near Hanoi, where he was beaten, starved and tortured. He shared a cell with future senator and presidential candidate John McCain. After five years and seven months as a North Vietnamese prisoner of war, he was released on March 14, 1973. He is the only person to be awarded both the Medal of Honor and the Air Force Cross.

Sergeant William Port posthumously received the Medal of Honor for his actions in Vietnam. He rescued a wounded soldier and then used his body to smother the blast of an enemy grenade, protecting his fellow soldiers. After surviving the blast, he was captured by the enemy. Ten months later he died while a prisoner of war.

Captain Lance Sijan posthumously received the Medal of Honor for his actions in Vietnam. Sijan was forced to eject from his aircraft and evaded capture by enemy soldiers for more than six weeks. Seriously injured, suffering from shock and severe weight loss, Sijan was captured by enemy soldiers. He was able to overpower one of his guards and crawl into the jungle, however, he was recaptured after a few hours. He was then transferred to another prisoner of war camp where he was held in solitary confinement, tortured and interrogated. He never complained to any fellow prisoners or divulged any information to his captors. He died as a prisoner of war at ‘Hanoi Hilton’.

Commander James Stockdale received the Medal of Honor for his actions in Vietnam. His plane was struck by enemy fire, forcing him to eject over North Vietnam where he was captured as a prisoner and beaten. He was held at the ‘Hanoi Hilton’ for the next seven and a half years and was one of the main organizers for prisoner resistance and was known as one of the eleven members of the ‘Alcatraz Gang’ and placed in solitary confinement. Stockdale’s wife, Sybil, formed The League of American Families of POWs and MIAs, where she personally made demands known to acknowledge the mistreatment of POWs at the Paris Peace Talks.

Lieutenant Colonel Leo Thorsness received the Medal of Honor for his actions in Vietnam. While on a suppression mission, Thorsness engaged in a heroic air mission involving destroying multiple enemy cluster bombs and engaging the enemy in a turning dogfight. Eleven days after his Medal of Honor actions, he was on his 93rd mission and was forced to eject from his aircraft. He was captured as a prisoner of war and spent over six years as a prisoner, spending time in solitary confinement and enduring severe torture. He was released during Operation Homecoming.

Captain Humbert Roque “Rocky” Versace received the Medal of Honor for his actions while a prisoner of war in Vietnam. With less than two weeks left of his volunteered tour extension, Versace’s unit was ambushed, he was wounded and captured in the process. The enemy separated Versace from the other prisoners and the last time they heard his voice, he was loudly singing ‘God Bless America’. He was later executed, and his remains have never been found.



QUIZ

The Fallen Soldier

- 1. In order to serve, the fallen soldier left behind _____.**
 - a. family
 - b. friends
 - c. freedom
 - d. All of the above

- 2. What did the fallen soldier learn in the Civil War?**
 - a. that slavery was worth fighting for
 - b. that the war would be forgotten
 - c. that we must never again divide
 - d. that the French were right

- 3. The Korean War is sometimes known as the Forgotten War.**
 - a. True
 - b. False

- 4. What did the fallen soldier stand against in World War II?**
 - a. technological advancement
 - b. tyranny
 - c. unification
 - d. the machinery of war

- 5. The fallen soldier sacrificed his or her life so that you can truly appreciate _____.**
 - a. your life
 - b. your liberty
 - c. your pursuit of happiness
 - d. All of the above



QUIZ - ANSWER KEY

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STUDY GUIDE

Graduation 2020: The Covid Class

KEY TERMS:

unique
liberty

gratitude
acquiesce

rights
police-state

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section during the video. Include definitions and key terms.

CUE COLUMN: Complete this section after the video.

What is one of the most important traits you can have?

What specific conditions of the pandemic have been sources for each of the three lessons?

Why did France give the Statue of Liberty to the United States?

How can each of the lessons benefit you going forward?

What did the Mayor of New York City ask citizens to do?

Discussion & Review

1. Towards the beginning of the video, Mr. Prager contends: “We are living in a unique time. You are therefore a unique graduating class. You may well be known forever as the Covid Class. For the first time in history, billions of people, including healthy people and people living in free societies, have been confined to their homes.” What is so important and meaningful about our current circumstances being unique- i.e. why is this pandemic such a big deal? Do you think that the graduating class of 2020 should be forever associated with the Covid 19 pandemic? Why or why not?
2. Mr. Prager goes on to offer some important life lessons, and begins with the fact that, “Life is hard. It’s unfair. It’s unpredictable. Until now, most young people, at least in the West, did not appreciate how true this is.” What do you think makes life so hard and so unfair? Why do you think that so many young people in Western nations did not more fully appreciate this fact until the pandemic? Explain.
3. For the second lesson, Mr. Prager points out: “Gratitude is probably the most important trait you can have- because it is the source of both happiness and goodness. In other words, you cannot be either a happy person or a good person unless you are a grateful person. Unfortunately, most people don’t learn how important gratitude is until it’s too late.” Do you agree with Mr. Prager’s assertion? Why or why not? Why do you think that most people learn the importance of gratitude too late? Explain.
4. Later in the video, Mr. Prager explains: “Freedom is fragile. Very fragile. The ease with which most Americans acquiesced to the removal of many of their most basic rights, even if you agree with that removal, should take your breath away. At the very least, it should make you realize how easily any government can take away people’s most elementary freedoms... The issue is how easily modern governments can become police states,” and then asks, “...what is to stop governments from doing such things when you don’t think it’s reasonable?” What is it that makes freedom so fragile? Why do you think that so many people gave up such a large amount of freedom so easily? Explain. How would you answer Mr. Prager’s question? Explain.
-
5. Towards the end of the video, Mr. Prager concludes: “If there are any silver linings to the coronavirus shutdown of the world’s economic and social life, one would be the opportunity to learn life-enriching lessons.” Do you agree with Mr. Prager that the quarantine during the Covid 19 pandemic is an opportune time to learn important life lessons? Why or why not? What are some other lessons people could learn from this extremely rare event? Explain. In what ways could the lessons learned during the pandemic become truly meaningful for people, individually and as a whole, in the future?

Extend the Learning:

Case Study Covid Tyranny

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article “Pushing back against the little tyrants of the coronavirus,” then answer the questions that follow.

1. What have certain politicians have mistaken our willingness to adhere to social distancing and stay-at-home guidelines as a signal to do? What are various mayors and governors doing, supposedly in the name of public health? What should good citizens recognize? What happened to churchgoers sitting in their cars in Greenville, Mississippi? What did the U.S. Justice Department say in a court filing in the Mississippi church lawsuit? What happened to a lone paddle-boarder in Malibu, and what consequences does he face? What is ‘a perfect illustration of just how absurd government at every level can become?’ Why did ten Philadelphia police officers drag a passenger off of a bus? What appalling and outrageous act of abuse of power did the Brighton, Colorado police engage in at a park? Who is Gretchen Whitmer, and what is she doubling down on? What did she ban? What is our responsibility as citizens?
2. Why do you think that some people in positions of authority, like Governor Whitmer, value attempts to exceed their power over reasonably respecting the rights of the citizens that they work for? Explain. What factors do you think have contributed to so many government executives and law enforcement officials being so unreasonable and too heavy-handed in responding to the pandemic? Of course not all politicians and law enforcement officers have gone too far in their response, but what do you think the short and long-term consequences to those reasonable officials might be considering the actions of the ones who have gone too far? Explain.
3. Do you think that people should just give up their freedom so easily? Why or why not? In what ways can ordinary people reasonably and peacefully ‘push back,’ and attempt to mitigate tyranny? Do you think that people should push back against tyranny? Why or why not?

<https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2020/apr/15/pushing-back-against-the-little-tyrants-of-the-cor/>

Pushing back against the little tyrants of the coronavirus

Recognizing the difference between reasonable guidance and unconstitutional restrictions



In this image provided by the Michigan Office of the Governor, Michigan Gov. Gretchen Whitmer addresses the state during a speech in Lansing, Mich., Monday, April 13, 2020. The governor said the state has tough days ahead in its fight against the coronavirus pandemic, but a return to normalcy is "on the horizon." (Michigan Office of the Governor via AP, Pool)

By Tammy Bruce - - Wednesday, April 15, 2020

ANALYSIS/OPINION:

Americans have been doing a fantastic job following the coronavirus guidance of the president, their governors and perhaps also their local leaders when it comes to social distancing and taking precautions not just for ourselves and our own health, but for those around us.

Yet, lo and behold, certain politicians have mistaken our willingness to adhere to social distancing and stay-at-home guidelines as a signal that they can do whatever they please.

We now see various mayors and governors using this time of crisis to issue extraordinary, and as many see it, unconstitutional orders in the name of public health and safety during this time of pandemic.

The unleashing of little tyrants in a time of crisis is not unusual. But now is the time for good citizens to make a point of recognizing the difference between reasonable guidance on issues such as social distancing, not going to work if you're sick, proper hygiene like the regular washing of our hands and avoiding large gatherings versus unconstitutional restrictions on our freedom.

We are adults, we understand the suggestions we've been given, proven by the overwhelming adherence to the federal guidelines in the midst of this crisis. We also know when orders are inappropriate at the very least, and unconstitutional abuses of power at the worst.

Consider the church in Greenville, Mississippi, whose members were, as the Washington Examiner reported, "given \$500 tickets by local authorities for sitting in their cars in the church parking lot listening to a sermon from their pastor on the radio during the coronavirus pandemic. ... Police officers arrived and started handing out \$500 tickets to people who didn't disperse in adherence to social distancing guidelines."

The pastor of that church is now suing the city of Greenville, telling Fox News that he hopes the mayor takes action to lift the penalties. Moreover, in the midst of other reports of governors attempting to ban even drive-in church services, Attorney General William P. Barr noted last week the Department of Justice would be "taking action," and it has.

Fox News reported, "The Justice Department intervened in a Mississippi church's lawsuit by saying in a court filing that it 'strongly suggests that the city's actions target religious conduct. ... This case raises issues of national public importance regarding the interplay between the government's compelling interest in protecting public health and safety from COVID-19 and citizens' fundamental right to free exercise of religion,' the filing states."

Indeed.

It makes sense for Americans to avoid large gatherings, but the effort to punish people who are alone in their cars with the windows rolled up, as though that is somehow a threat to other people's health, is absurd.

But the apparent abuse of power isn't limited to church parking lots. People reacted with some shock when video from Italy revealed a lone jogger along an empty beach being chased by a police officer. But it would be wrong to dismiss that as unique European totalitarianism.

Recently, a lone paddle boarder in Malibu was pursued while he paddle-boarded on an abandoned ocean at an empty beach. The Los Angeles Times reported, "The man, who is not identified by authorities, eventually made his way to the beach where he was arrested on suspicion of disobeying a lifeguard and violating Governor Gavin Newsom's stay at home order, a misdemeanor. Photographs from the same show the man in handcuffs being led down the beach by two deputies. He faces a fine of \$1,000 or six months in jail."

The threat to put people in jail for violating an order to stay away from other people is an irony not lost on any of us. It is also a perfect illustration of just how absurd government at every level can become.

Other shocking video has alarmed the public, including the scene of 10 Philadelphia police officers dragging a passenger off a bus for not wearing a face mask, as noted by the National Review which also tells us of a scene in Brighton, Colorado, with "cops handcuffing a father in front of his family for playing T-ball with his daughter in an empty park."

Getting a great deal of attention, appropriately, in the follies of Governors As Little Tyrants, Michigan's Gretchen Whitmer has been getting a lot of attention. Tucker Carlson at Fox News said many hospitals in Michigan are "now discharging more coronavirus patients than they're admitting. In fact, an emergency hospital under construction outside Detroit has slashed its bed count from 1,000 to 250. Why? The expected number of patients failed to arrive."

He then noted that Ms. Whitmer has not only not acknowledged this, but she is doubling down on her efforts to control the movement and freedom of the people of Michigan.

"Last week, Witmer banned all gatherings anywhere for any reason of any size including in people's private homes, as if she is allowed to do that," Mr. Carlson said. She has also banned people from traveling between their own homes.

Part of her announcement of the increasing crackdown included, "Big box stores will also have to close areas of the store that are dedicated to things like carpet or flooring, furniture, garden centers, plant nurseries, or paint. If you're not buying food, or medicine, or other essential items you shouldn't be going to the store."

How is purchasing paint, or gardening tools, or seeds to plant your own food during a pandemic "unessential?" Who gets to decide that becomes a question all of us should ask. Few of us believe politicians know best in that case.

It is our responsibility as responsible citizens to implement sensible and productive efforts, such as the federal coronavirus guidelines, to slow and eventually stop this pandemic. And we are doing exactly that. But what we will not agree to is the torching of the U.S. Constitution or the destruction of the country by people who seem drunk on unconstitutional power they imagine is afforded to them in a crisis.

• *Tammy Bruce, president of Independent Women's Voice, author and Fox News contributor, is a radio talk-show host.*



QUIZ

Graduation 2020: The Covid Class

1. Since the current conditions are so unique, what might this year's graduating class be known forever as?
 - a. The Online Class
 - b. The Covid Class
 - c. The Silent Class
 - d. The Viral Class

2. In the first lesson, Mr. Prager characterizes life as _____.
 - a. hard
 - b. unfair
 - c. unpredictable
 - d. all of the above

3. You cannot be either a happy person or a good person unless you are a grateful person.
 - a. True
 - b. False

4. What did the Mayor of New York City ask citizens to do?
 - a. flee to other states until the pandemic is over
 - b. visit the elderly each day
 - c. protest in large groups in Central Park
 - d. send police photos of others not wearing face masks

5. A silver lining to the coronavirus shutdown of the world's economic and social life is _____.
 - a. so many restaurants we don't like going out of business
 - b. the chance for so many convicts to get out early
 - c. the opportunity to learn life-enriching lessons
 - d. some of nature reclaiming its habitat in urban areas



QUIZ - ANSWER KEY

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STUDY GUIDE

Why Are So Many Young People Unhappy?

KEY TERMS:

values
virtues

meaning
American identity

patriotism
religion

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section during the video. Include definitions and key terms.

CUE COLUMN: Complete this section after the video.

What did a 2019 Reuters report claim had doubled over less than a decade among U.S. college students?

How has a loss of values contributed to the unhappiness of young people?

What two sets of values was the U.S. founded on?

How many Americans born after 1980 don't affiliate with any religion?

Discussion & Review

1. Towards the beginning of the video, Mr. Prager notes, “People have more money, better health, better housing, more education, and live longer than at any time in history, but people, especially the young, are unhappier than at any time since data began to be collected.” Why do you think that this is the case? Explain. Why do you think that data is being collected on this condition?
2. After Mr. Prager explains that a loss of values is one of the biggest reasons for so much unhappiness, he points out: “Another set of values is referred to as middle class or bourgeois values. These include getting married before having a child, making a family, getting a job, self-discipline, delayed gratification, and patriotism. All of these have been under attack by America’s elites, with the following results: The majority of births to millennials are to unmarried women. Yet, according to a 2018 Cigna study, single parents are generally the loneliest of Americans. The percentage of American adults who have never been married and who have no children is at an historic high.” What do you think the connection is between the condition of getting married and having children and the condition of happiness? Explain. Why do you think that America’s elites are attacking the very values that have provided so many Americans with so much happiness for so long? Explain.
3. Mr. Prager later points out that, “Until the 1960s, Americans grew up loving their country, admiring the Founders, and believing in America’s values, most especially, liberty. Americans did not ignore the bad parts of their history, but they were wise enough to recognize that what made America exceptional was not its flaws, which were all universal, but its virtues, which were not. This strong American identity provided generations of Americans with roots, community, optimism, and meaning.” Why do you think that a significant number of Americans stopped loving their country and believing in American values in the 1960s? What are America’s exceptional virtues? What do you think Mr. Prager means by “American identity”? Explain.
4. Later in the video, Mr. Prager explains: “...the most important reason for all this unhappiness [is] a lack of meaning. ...nothing has given Americans, or any other people for that matter, as much meaning as religion. But in the West since World War II, God and religion have been relegated to the dustbin of history. The result is that more than a third of Americans born after 1980 affiliate with no religion. This is unprecedented in American history. And it’s even worse in Europe. Maybe, just maybe, the decline of Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism, those great providers of meaning, is the single biggest factor in the increasing sadness and loneliness among so many young people in America and around the world.” Why do you think that God and religion have declined so drastically since WWII? Do you agree with Mr. Prager that lack of religion, and thus meaning that stems from it, is likely the primary driver of sadness and loneliness amongst young people? Why or why not?
5. At the end of the video, Mr. Prager concludes: “Young people have been told God is nonsense, their country is essentially evil, their past is deplorable, their future is bleak, and that marriage and children are not important. Why are so many young people depressed, unhappy, and angry? It’s not capitalism, or income inequality, or patriarchy, or even global warming. It’s having no religion, no God, and no country to believe in. And what does that leave them with? No meaning.” Why do you think that young people are being indoctrinated with such nonsense, and whom do you think is primarily responsible for imposing such nonsense on young people? Explain.

Extend the Learning:

Case Study Church Membership

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article “U.S. Church Membership Down Sharply in Past Two Decades,” then answer the questions that follow.

1. What is the percentage of Americans who report belonging to a church, synagogue or mosque? What is the decline in church membership consistent with? What does the decline in church membership mostly reflect? What percentage of adults with a religious preference belonged to a church at the turn of the century compared to today? What do the low rates of church membership among millennials conform with? How does the decline in church membership amongst Republicans compare to that of Democrats, in terms of percentage and subgroup trend? What factors are contributing to the accelerating trend of declining church membership?
2. What do you think are the most significant factors driving the decline in people being religious and participating in religious groups? Do you think that if more young people found meaning through participating in a religious community that more young people would be happier? Why or why not? What other institutions, conditions, or factors might contribute towards more young people being happier? Do you agree with Mr. Prager’s thesis that young people need values and meaning to be happy? Why or why not?
3. In the video, Mr. Prager explains: “Chief among the American values was keeping government as small as possible. This enabled non-governmental institutions- Kiwanis, Rotary and Lions Clubs; book clubs; the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts; bowling leagues; music societies; and of course, churches, to provide Americans with friends and to provide the neediest Americans with help. But as government has gotten ever larger, many of these non-governmental groups have dwindled in number or simply disappeared.” Why do you think that Americans have gradually traded community and religious groups for big-government dependency? Do you think that replacing community and religious groups with big-government dependency has been worth the trade-off? Why or why not?

<https://news.gallup.com/poll/248837/church-membership-down-sharply-past-two-decades.aspx>

Politics
April 18, 2019

U.S. Church Membership Down Sharply in Past Two Decades

by Jeffrey M. Jones



Story Highlights

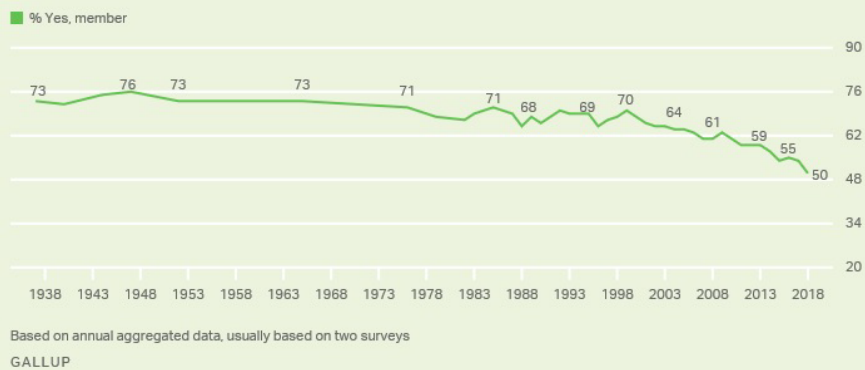
- Half of Americans are church members, down from 70% in 1999
- Most of the decline attributable to increase in percentage with no religion
- Membership has fallen nine points among those who are religious

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- As Christian and Jewish Americans prepare to celebrate Easter and Passover, respectively, Gallup finds the percentage of Americans who report belonging to a church, synagogue or mosque at an all-time low, averaging 50% in 2018.

U.S. church membership was 70% or higher from 1937 through 1976, falling modestly to an average of 68% in the 1970s through the 1990s. The past 20 years have seen an acceleration in the drop-off, with a 20-percentage-point decline since 1999 and more than half of that change occurring since the start of the current decade.

Church Membership Among U.S. Adults Has Declined, Especially in the Past 20 Years

Do you happen to be a member of a church, synagogue or mosque?



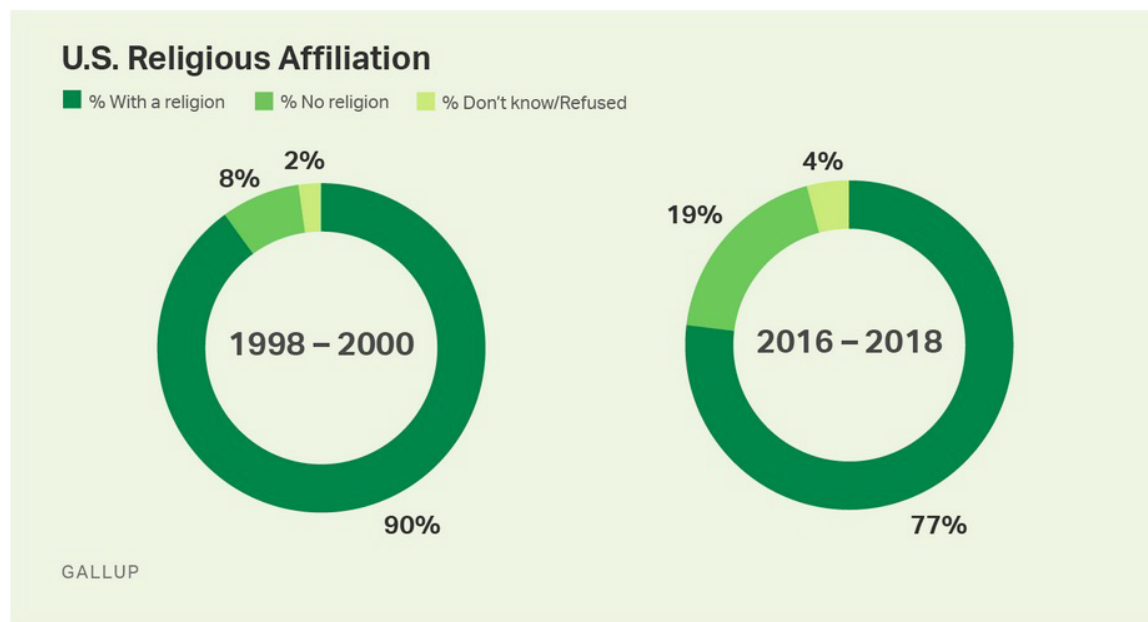
The decline in church membership is consistent with larger societal trends in declining church attendance and an increasing proportion of Americans with no religious preference.

This article compares church membership data for the 1998-2000 and 2016-2018 periods, using combined data from multiple years to facilitate subgroup analysis. On average, 69% of U.S. adults were members of a church in 1998-2000, compared with 52% in 2016-2018.

The decline in church membership mostly reflects the fact that fewer Americans than in the past now have any religious affiliation. However, even those who do identify with a particular religion are less likely to belong to a church or other place of worship than in the past.

Trend Toward No Religious Preference Key Factor in Declining Membership

Since the turn of the century, the percentage of U.S. adults with no religious affiliation has more than doubled, from 8% to 19%.



Although some of those who do not identify with a religion nevertheless indicate that they belong to a church, the vast majority of nonreligious Americans do not. In 1998 through 2000, one in 10 Americans with no religious preference said they belonged to a church, as did an average of 7% in the past three years.

As such, there is an almost one-to-one correspondence between not being religious and not belonging to a church. Consequently, the 11-point increase in no religious affiliation accounts for the majority of the 17-point decline in church membership over the past two decades.

Fewer Religious Americans Are Church Members

Although there has been a steep increase in the proportion of Americans who do not have a religious attachment, they remain a small minority of the U.S. population. Three-quarters of Americans, 77%, identify with some organized religion, though that is down from 90% in 1998 through 2000.

The still-sizable proportion of religious Americans also contribute to declining church membership, as fewer in this group belong to a church than did so two decades ago. At the turn of the century, 73% of U.S. adults with a religious preference belonged to a church, compared with 64% today.

Fewer Religious Americans Belong to a Church

Figures are the percentage who say they belong to a church, synagogue or mosque

	1998-2000	2016-2018	Change
	%	%	pct. pts.
Have a religious preference	73	64	-9
Do not have a religious preference	10	7	-3

Data for the small proportion of respondents who did not answer the religious preference question are not shown (approximately four in 10 of these respondents indicated they were members of a church in each time period).

GALLUP

It is clear then, that the nature of Americans' orientation to religion is changing, with fewer religious Americans finding membership in a church or other faith institution to be a necessary part of their religious experience.

Generational Change Helping Push the Decline in Church Membership

Religiosity is strongly related to age, with older Americans far more likely than younger adults to be members of churches. However, church membership has dropped among all generational groups over the past two decades, with declines of roughly 10 percentage points among traditionalists, baby boomers and Generation X.

Most millennials were too young to be polled in 1998-2000. Now that they have reached adulthood, their church membership rates are exceedingly low and appear to be a major factor in the drop in overall U.S. church membership. Just 42% of millennials are members of churches, on average.

Changes in Church Membership by Generation, Over Time

	1998-2000	2016-2018	Change
	%	%	pct. pts.
Traditionalists (born in 1945 or before)	77	68	-9
Baby boomers (born 1946-1964)	67	57	-10
Generation X (born 1965-1979)	62	54	-8
Millennials (born 1980-2000)	n/a	42	n/a

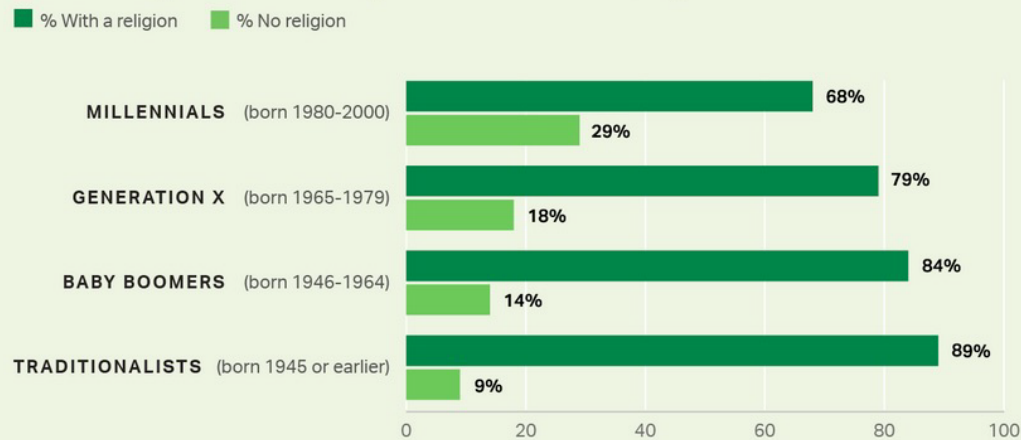
Note: Given that Gallup's polls are based on the 18+ U.S. adult population, the 1998-2000 time period would have included only a small proportion of the millennial generation.

GALLUP

By comparison, 20 years ago, 62% of members of Generation X belonged to a church, when they were about the same age as millennials are today.

The low rates of church membership among millennials conform with the generation's weaker attachment to religion in general. On average, 68% of millennials identify with a religion in the 2016-2018 church membership surveys, while 29% do not. In all other generations, at least 79% have a religious affiliation, with correspondingly lower percentages expressing no faith preference.

Percentage With a Religious Preference, by Generation



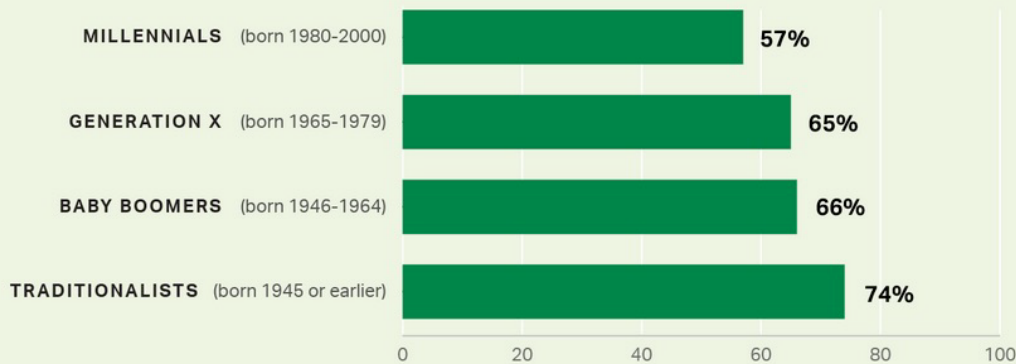
GALLUP

Note: Based on 2016-2018 combined data in surveys in which church membership question was asked

The percentage of millennials with no religion may be continuing to grow, as an average of 33% in Gallup surveys conducted in 2019 to date say they have no religious affiliation.

Not only are millennials less likely than older Americans to identify with a religion, but millennials who are religious are significantly less likely to belong to a church. Fifty-seven percent of religious millennials belong to a church, compared with 65% or more in older generations.

Percentage of Church Membership Among Those With a Religious Preference, by Generation



GALLUP

Note: Based on 2016-2018 combined data in surveys in which church membership question was asked

The lower rate of church membership among religious millennials appears to be more a product of generational differences than of life-stage effects. In 1998-2000, 68% of Generation X respondents were church members when they were roughly the same age as today's millennials.

Given that church membership, and religiosity in general, is greater among older adults, the emergence of an increasingly secular generation to replace far more religious older generations suggests the decline in U.S. church membership overall will continue.

Membership Decline Steeper Among Catholics

Gallup has previously reported that church attendance has dropped more among Catholics than among Protestants. Consistent with this, the decline in church membership has been greater among Catholics. Twenty years ago, 76% of Catholics belonged to a church; now, 63% do.

Meanwhile, 67% of Protestants, down from 73% in 1998-2000, are members of a church. Much of the decline in Protestant membership is attributable to the increasing percentage of Americans who simply identify their religion as "Christian" rather than as a specific Protestant denomination such as Baptist, Lutheran or Methodist. Gallup classifies "Christian" respondents as Protestants but, as might be expected, nondenominational Christians are less likely to belong to a church (57%) than Americans who identify with a specific Protestant denomination (70%).

There are insufficient cases to provide reliable estimates on church membership among other religions, but the data suggest that membership in a place of worship has been stable among Mormons (near 90% in both time periods) and Jews (in the mid- to low 50% range in both time periods) over the past two decades.

In contrast to the variable changes in church membership among generational and faith subgroups, the declines have been fairly similar among most other demographic subgroups. However, the rates have differed by party identification, as Republicans show a relatively modest decline in church membership of eight points since 1998-2000 (from 77% to 69%). In contrast, Democrats show one of the largest subgroup declines, of 23 points, from 71% to 48%.

Full data for subgroups are shown in a table at the bottom of the article.

Implications

Although the United States is one of the more religious countries, particularly among Western nations, it is far less religious than it used to be. Barely three-quarters of Americans now identify with a religion and only about half claim membership in a church, synagogue or mosque.

The rate of U.S. church membership has declined sharply in the past two decades after being relatively stable in the six decades before that. A sharp increase in the proportion of the population with no religious affiliation, a decline in church membership among those who do have a religious preference, and low levels of church membership among millennials are all contributing to the accelerating trend.

The challenge is clear for churches, which depend on loyal and active members to keep them open and thriving. How do they find ways to convince some of the unaffiliated religious adults in society to make a commitment to a particular house of worship of their chosen faith? Roughly one in four U.S. adults are religious but not members of a church, synagogue or mosque.

Church leaders must also grapple with the generational slide away from religion. Millennials are much less likely than their elders to indicate a religious preference, and presumably the nearly one-third of millennials without a religious preference are unlikely to ever join a church. But the roughly two-thirds of millennials who do express a religious preference may one day be convinced to join, perhaps as more get established in their lives, including having families, which can be an impetus to becoming a part of a faith community.

Another obstacle churches face is Americans' eroding confidence in the institution of organized religion. While organized religion is not the only U.S. institution suffering a loss of confidence, Americans have lost more confidence in it than in most other institutions.

In addition to the ongoing trends toward declining religiosity, Americans who are religious may also be changing their relationship to churches. They may not see a need to, or have a desire to, belong to a church and participate in a community of people with similar religious beliefs.

These trends are not just numbers, but play out in the reality that thousands of U.S. churches are closing each year. Religious Americans in the future will likely be faced with fewer options for places of worship, and likely less convenient ones, which could accelerate the decline in membership even more.

Learn more about how the Gallup Poll Social Series works.

Changes in Church Membership, by Subgroup

	1998-2000	2016-2018	Change
	%	%	pct. pts.
U.S. adults	69	52	-17
Religion			
Catholic	76	63	-13
Protestant [^]	73	67	-6
Gender			
Men	64	47	-17
Women	73	58	-15
Age			
18-29 years old	63	41	-22
30-49 years old	65	49	-16
50-64 years old	71	56	-15
65+ years old	79	64	-15
Race/Ethnicity			
Non-Hispanic white	68	53	-15
Non-Hispanic black	78	65	-13
Hispanic	68	45	-23
Region			
East	69	50	-19
Midwest	72	56	-16
South	74	58	-16
West	57	43	-14
Education			
College graduate	68	55	-13
College nongraduate	69	51	-18
Party ID			
Republican	77	69	-8
Independent	59	45	-14
Democrat	71	48	-23
Ideology			
Conservative	78	67	-11
Moderate	66	48	-18
Liberal	56	37	-19
Marital status			
Married	71	59	-12
Not married	64	45	-19

[^] Protestants include those who identify their religion as "Christian."

GALLUP



QUIZ

Why Are So Many Young People Unhappy?

- 1. What did a 2019 Reuters report claim had doubled over less than a decade among U.S. college students?**
 - a. suicidal thinking
 - b. severe depression
 - c. rates of self-injury
 - d. all of the above

- 2. The United States was founded on two sets of values: _____.**
 - a. Prussian and Socialist
 - b. Judeo-Christian and American
 - c. Calvin and European
 - d. Zoroastrian and Germanic

- 3. The majority of births to millennials are to unmarried women.**
 - a. True
 - b. False

- 4. Until the 1960s, Americans grew up _____.**
 - a. skeptical of American values
 - b. eschewing the founders
 - c. loving their country
 - d. ignoring the bad parts of their history

- 5. What might be the *biggest* factor in the increasing sadness and loneliness among so many young people?**
 - a. increased drug and opioid addiction
 - b. fears for their future
 - c. less human interaction because of constant cellphone use
 - d. the decline of Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism



QUIZ - ANSWER KEY

Why Are So Many Young People Unhappy?

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POLITICAL SCIENCE

Discussion & Review

1. Towards the beginning of the video, Mr. Knowles acknowledges that Leftists often characterize Conservatives as not valuing the environment but contends: “Conservatives want to conserve things. It’s right there in the name. And one of the things we want to conserve is our environment because you can’t have a healthy community without a healthy natural environment... Conservatives love the environment every bit as much as environmentalists do.” Why do you think that the Left purposefully mischaracterizes Conservatives, especially regarding the Conservative approach to environmental issues? Explain. What, specifically, is the relationship between a healthy natural environment and a healthy community? Explain.
2. Mr. Knowles goes on to explain that: “The question is: what is the best way to protect it [the environment]? And here’s where we have big differences. The environmentalists say the best way, the only way, is through massive federal and even international regulation. Conservatives say the best way to protect the environment is by protecting property rights and encouraging innovation: safer, more efficient power, nuclear, geothermal, biomass- anything that generates energy at a price consumers want, and can afford, to pay.” Why do you think that the Left believes that legislation and regulation is the only way to solve most problems and issues? Explain. In what ways, specifically, do you think that strengthening and upholding property rights can help to protect the environment? Explain.
3. After explaining the differences between Conservatives and the Left in approach to environmental issues, Mr. Knowles then asks, “So how can we tell which way works best? Let’s examine the historical record. Today and for the last century, the worst environmental offenders have been big, repressive, Socialist governments. This was true in the last century. And it’s true now. China, for example, pumps roughly twice as much carbon into the air each year as the United States, even though the U.S. economy is almost 60% larger than China’s.” Why do you think that Socialist governments are the worst environmental offenders? Explain. Considering that the Left’s approach, massive government regulation, isn’t working- do you think that China should adopt the Conservative approach to environmental policy? Why or why not?
4. Later in the video, Mr. Knowles explains: “...the Left favors Big Government solutions not because it’s better for the environment, but because it’s better for Leftism... Because their primary goal is increasing government power well beyond anything we’ve ever seen in America. They need this power, presumably, to save us from ourselves.” Why do you think that the Left presumes to be so certain that only they know what is best for the environment and for the U.S., but that Conservatives don’t? Why do you think that the Left values its political agenda over the environment and what is actually best for the U.S.? Explain.
5. Towards the end of the video, Mr. Knowles points out that, “The left demonizes fracking even though it actually makes the environment cleaner, the country richer, and now independent of Middle Eastern oil, something thought impossible a decade ago. How does it make the environment cleaner? By releasing up to 50% less carbon dioxide into the atmosphere than coal. And, since it’s also cheaper, people are happy to buy it- not because government forces them to, but because it saves them money... innovation that produces abundant, clean energy at a fair price, without infringing on my freedom.” In what ways can innovation protect the environment, and create more freedom? In what ways does the Left’s approach, more government regulation, take away freedoms? Explain. Why is the “without impinging on my freedom” aspect of environmental policy so important to most Americans? Explain.

Extend the Learning

Case Study Biomass

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the articles “Algae building cladding can absorb pollutants from the atmosphere” and “Algae-fueled bioreactor soaks up CO₂ 400x more effectively than trees,” then answer the questions that follow.

1. What is Photo.Synth.Etica, and what does it do? How does the product compare to trees, in terms of scrubbing CO₂ from the atmosphere? What role does algae play in the process? What happens in the final stage of the process? The founders state that their product is a new opportunity for what? What is their longer-term hope for outcomes using the product? Why have scientists been studying the phenomena of algae absorbing carbon? What product has Hypergiant made, and what does it do? How does their product compare to trees, in terms of carbon absorption? What specific type of algae does the reactor use and why? How is Hypergiant able to make their harvester so efficient? Why is the company making their designs publicly available?
2. Since the U.K. and U.S. governments did not legally compel these people to solve issues related to climate change, what do you think inspired these innovators to create such products? What role, if any, do you think intellectual property rights and less government regulation played in the creation of these companies and products? Do you find these examples to be a compelling case for the Conservative approach to environmental policy? Why or why not?
3. Do you agree with the main point of the video- that Conservatives are the real environmentalists? Why or why not?

<https://airqualitynews.com/2019/11/01/algae-building-cladding-can-absorb-pollutants-from-the-atmosphere/>

Algae building cladding can absorb pollutants from the atmosphere

01.11.2019

[Innovation](#), [News](#), [Technology](#)
[Pippa Neill](#)

Ecologic Studio has created a building cladding made up of algae that has the ability to turn buildings into air pollution filters.

Called Photo.Synth.Etica, the bio-digital cladding is created with micro-algae which can capture solar radiation and absorb CO₂ and air pollution from the atmosphere ten times more effectively than trees.

Every two square meters of the cladding can absorb, on average, the same amount of CO₂ as a fully grown tree, which is roughly 22kg of carbon a year.

Unfiltered urban air enters the bottom of the cladding and as the air bubbles naturally rise through the watery medium within the cladding panels, they come into contact with the algae microbes.

The CO₂ molecules and the other air pollutants are then captured and stored by the algae, this then allows the algae to grow into a usable material in the form of biomass.

This biomass can be easily harvested and sold on for the creation of other products such as, bioplastic raw materials, biofuels or fertilizers.

In the final stage of the process, the freshly photosynthesized oxygen is released out of the top of the cladding, successfully pumping out clean air into the urban atmosphere or the building interior.

According to Ecologic Studio, the cladding has the ability to successfully turn buildings into bio-power plants which act as carbon sinks and air pollution filters.



The founding partners Claudia Pasquesro and Marco Poletto have said that Photo. Synth. Etica is a new opportunity for future company's and organisations to reach sustainability goals, while also contributing to citizen's well-being by drastically reducing the impact of air pollution in the urban area.

The partners hope that this cladding will enable building managers and local community groups to introduce new buildings which will accelerate the creation of green cities.

In related news, scientists in Bristol are developing a 'revolutionary' new type of intelligent building that incorporates living fungi to react with changes in air pollutants, light and temperature.

Photo Credit – Pixabay

Algae-fueled bioreactor soaks up CO2 400x more effectively than trees

By [Nick Lavars](#)

September 18, 2019

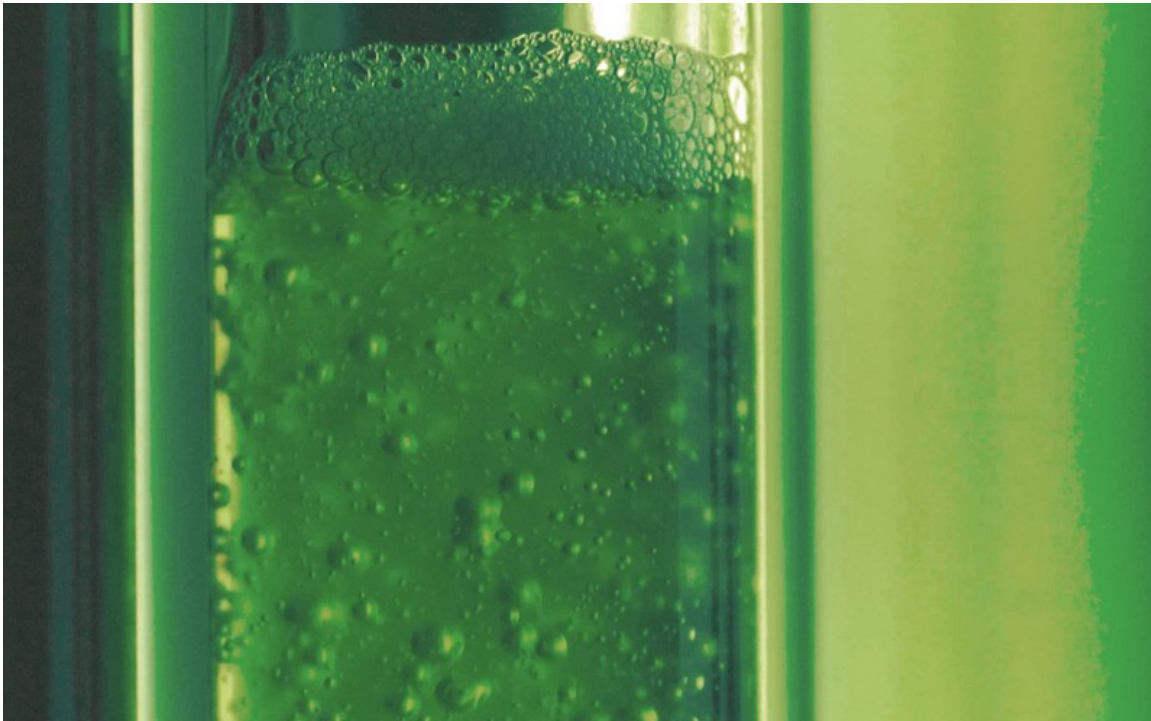


Hypergiant Industries plans to share further details about bringing its bioreactor to market in 2020
Hypergiant Industries

When it comes to organic processes that we can leverage to tackle the runaway problem of climate change, the carbon-absorbing abilities of algae may be one of the most potent tools at our disposal. For years, scientists have been studying this natural phenomena in hope of tackling greenhouse gas emissions and producing eco-friendly biofuels, and now US company Hypergiant Industries has packaged the tech up into a box-shaped machine that can soak up as much carbon from the atmosphere as an acre of trees.

Through the process of photosynthesis, the aquatic plant algae soaks up carbon dioxide, water and sunlight to produce energy. Naturally, the plant will use this energy to multiply and grow, but scientists have been experimenting with ways to capture it and convert it into biofuels instead, with some promising results.

The newly announced Eos Bioreactor might look like someone left a giant Xbox in the garden, but Hypergiant Industries isn't looking to play games here. The reactor measures 3 x 3 x 7 ft (90 x 90 x 210 cm) and is designed to be installed in urban environments where it captures and sequesters carbon from the atmosphere, and produces clean bio-fuels that could be used to further reduce a building's carbon footprint.



The algae inside the Eos Bioreactor lives inside a tube system and water tank within the device, which is pumped full of air and exposed to artificial light
Hypergiant Industries

The reactor uses a specific strain of algae called *chlorella vulgaris*, which is claimed to soak up much more CO₂ than any other plant. The algae lives inside a tube system and water tank within the device, which is pumped full of air and exposed to artificial light, giving the plant the food it needs to thrive and produce biofuels for harvesting.

Hypergiant Industries claims that the harvesting technology packed into its Eos Bioreactor is so efficient it is 400 times more effective at capturing carbon than trees taking up the same footprint. It attributes this to its machine learning software that oversees the whole process, managing light, temperatures, and pH levels for maximum output.

The company is still a little ways of offering a commercial product, however. It says later this year it will make the designs for the bioreactor publicly available in the hope that it will inspire others to come up with similar solutions. It plans to share further details about bringing the reactor to market in 2020.

Source: Hypergiant Industries



QUIZ

Conservatives Are the Real Environmentalists

1. Which Republican had the idea of creating national parks?

- a. Abraham Lincoln
- b. Ulysses Grant
- c. Calvin Coolidge
- d. Richard Nixon

2. The Republican who established the Environmental Protection Agency was _____.

- a. Calvin Coolidge
- b. Richard Nixon
- c. Gerald Ford
- d. Dan Quayle

3. Conservatives love the environment every bit as much as environmentalists do.

- a. True
- b. False

4. Even though China was a signatory to the Paris Accord, how many additional tons of carbon did it release into the air?

- a. 40 million tons
- b. 80 million tons
- c. 120 million tons
- d. 160 million tons

5. Even though the Left demonizes the practice, fracking actually _____.

- a. makes the environment cleaner
- b. makes the country richer
- c. makes the country independent of Middle Eastern oil
- d. All of the above



QUIZ - ANSWER KEY

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STUDY GUIDE

The Ferguson Lie

KEY TERMS:

racial injustice
witness

Black Lives Matter
evidence

testimony
lie

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section <u>during</u> the video. Include definitions and key terms.	CUE COLUMN: Complete this section <u>after</u> the video.
<p>Was Michael Brown's back turned to Officer Wilson when he was shot and killed?</p> <p>How many eyewitnesses actually heard Michael Brown say, "Don't shoot?"</p> <p>Who led the federal investigation that concluded that Officer Wilson did nothing wrong and that there was no basis to prosecute him?</p>	<p>What story would the anti-police activists want people to believe in terms of what happened to Michael Brown in Ferguson?</p> <p>What story does the evidence and the subsequent investigations reveal, in terms of what Michael Brown actually did?</p>

Discussion & Review

1. At the beginning of the video, Mr. Elder contends: “One of the most significant events of this century happened early afternoon of August 9, 2014. It took place in Ferguson, Missouri, a city on the outskirts of St. Louis. So embedded in the popular mind is this event that if you just say the name ‘Ferguson’ everyone knows what you’re talking about: police brutality and racial injustice.” Why do you think that Mr. Elder characterizes what happened in Ferguson as ‘one of the most significant events of this century?’ Explain. Do you think it is right for the name of the town of Ferguson to be equated with police brutality and racial injustice, even though neither of those things occurred during the infamous incident? Why or why not?
2. Mr. Elder goes on to point out: “The shooting in Ferguson led to nights of riots and gave fuel to a new social movement, Black Lives Matter.” Why do you think that the community of Ferguson reacted the way that it did after this event took place? Explain. Why do you think that so many people were quick to jump to the conclusion that police brutality and racial injustice had occurred- without waiting for the facts to emerge?
3. After setting up the scene and explaining the first events that happened, Mr. Elder notes: “Here’s how one witness whose testimony closely fits the forensic evidence described the scene. ‘[Brown] ran towards the officer full charge. The officer fired several shots at him, and... Mike Brown continuously came forward in the charging motion... And when he stopped, that’s when the officer ceased fire... When he charged once more, the officer returned fire with, I would say... three to four shots. And that’s when Mike Brown finally collapsed.’ The Brown family’s own medical expert, respected pathologist Dr. Michael Baden, also conceded this point: the wounds Brown suffered were consistent with Brown charging toward Wilson, not running away.” What’s so important about the fact that the witness testimony and the expert’s testimony closely matches the scientific evidence? Explain. What do you think motivated Mr. Brown to charge at the officer instead of complying with the officer? Explain. Considering that Mr. Brown had already physically assaulted the officer and attempted to take the officer’s gun, do you think that it’s likely and highly probable that Officer Wilson was genuinely concerned about his own safety and welfare when Mr. Brown charged at him? Why or why not?
4. Later in the video, Mr. Elder asks: “True or false? Before Michael Brown was shot and killed, he raised his hands above his head and shouted ‘Hands up. Don’t shoot.’ False. Federal investigators from the Department of Justice found no credible evidence that Brown ever raised his hands in a ‘don’t shoot’ gesture. Or in any way heeded the officer’s commands for him to surrender. The Federal report concluded that... ‘witnesses who originally stated Brown had his hands up in surrender recanted their original accounts, admitting that they did not witness the shooting or parts of it...’ Investigators also concluded Brown never uttered the now iconic phrase.” Why do you think that some people falsely claimed to be witnesses and provided false testimony? Explain.
5. At the end of the video, Mr. Elder concludes: “The statement that an innocent black man was killed by a racist cop in Ferguson, Missouri is a lie. Those who say otherwise are either willfully deceiving you for their own purposes or are wholly ignorant of the facts. Now you know. Act accordingly.” Considering the breadth and credibility of the evidence, why do you think that so many people still believe, or at least claim to believe, the ‘Ferguson Lie?’ Explain. What do you think Mr. Elder means by his admonition for viewers who are now armed with the facts of the case to ‘act accordingly?’ Explain.

Extend the Learning

Case Study Black Lives Matter/ Chief David Dorn

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the articles “The Lies Told by the Black Lives Matter Movement,” and “Second man, 22, is charged in the murder of retired St. Louis police captain David Dorn, 77, who was shot dead ‘protecting his friend’s pawn shop from looters during protests’” then answer the questions that follow.

1. Police officers are being assassinated in the name of which ideology? The idea that the U.S. is experiencing an epidemic of what is dangerously false? In the year prior to the article being published, the proportion of black victims of fatal police shootings was lower than what? Why was this the case? What is the percentage of black homicide victims of police shootings compared to whites and Hispanics, and what drives that disparity? Of the more than 6,000 black homicides each year, what percentage is from police shootings? What question have police critics never answered, in light of the vast differences in rates of criminal offending? What ratios should police stops, arrests, and shootings mirror? What rebuts the charge that racism, not crime, determines the incidence of police shootings? Who is Ted Miller, and what did he tell the Guardian? What did the Criminology and Public Policy study find, and what was the hypothesized reasoning for the results? How much evidence of racial discrimination in shootings did Professor Fryer of Harvard University find in his research? What did an analysis of police use of force by the Center for Policing Equity conclude? What does the mainstream media relentlessly focus on, and what does it ignore in regards to the notion of a law enforcement war on blacks? Though they are 6 percent of the population, black males comprised what percentage of cop killers over the last decade, and what does this mean? What have cops been repeatedly told by President Obama and the media, and what is the result of this? What is the ‘Ferguson Effect’ and who are its overwhelming victims? How many protests have been organized by Black Lives Matter activists to stigmatize the assailants of the children being killed in Chicago? What has the country has been talking about phantom police racism in order to avoid? Who was David Dorn, and what happened to him? What were Stephan Cannon and Mark Jackson allegedly doing at the scene at the time of the murder? What evidence supports the charges against these suspects? How many years had Chief Dorn been a police officer? What did the witnesses do instead of helping Chief Dorn? What did President Trump say about Chief Dorn?
2. Why do you think that in so many cases, suspects decide to put themselves in danger by not complying with police directions rather than drastically increasing their chance of safety by simply following the directions of peace officers? Why do you think that so many people seem so much more concerned about perceived police brutality than the actual murder of police officers and children? How culpable do you think the media should be for the hysteria and violence that sometimes ensues when reporting on such events? Explain. How culpable do you think politicians should be for the hysteria and violence that sometimes ensues when commenting on such events? Why do you think that so many BLM supporters know Michael Brown’s name, but not the name of the girl shot on her mother’s bed in Ferguson whilst doing her homework nor the name of Chief Dorn? Why do you think

EXTEND THE LEARNING (cont.):

that the focus for BLM supporters is currently on George Floyd, but not equally on Chief David Dorn- shouldn't all black lives matter equally? Explain. Considering the preponderance of evidence to the contrary, do you think that the police in general are racist, and/or that 'institutional racism' exists in police departments? Why or why not?

3. Why do you think that some people are so willing to ignore the facts of a case or even to purposefully be deceitful about the facts in order to advance their political agenda and narrative? Explain. Why do you think that the killing of police officers is not the right way to solve any problems? What peaceful, meaningful, and tangible steps do you think can be taken to eliminate actual racism and to eliminate the perception of and actual rare condition of police abuse? Explain. Do you agree with the author of the first article that the best way to save black lives is to strengthen families and proactive policing? Why or why not? Do you think that the BLM movement and its agenda are based on lies? Why or why not? What might some better ways of helping the black community be instead of supporting Black Lives Matter?

The Lies Told by the Black Lives Matter Movement

Heather Mac Donald

Washington Examiner September 3, 2016

The Black Lives Matter movement has been feted repeatedly at the White House and honored at the Democratic National Convention. Hillary Clinton has incorporated its claims about racist, homicidal cops into her presidential campaign pitch.

The idea that the U.S. is experiencing an epidemic of racially driven police shootings is false, and dangerously so...

The recent assassinations of police officers in the name of Black Lives Matter ideology have not slowed down the anti-cop demonstrations or diminished the virulent hatred directed at cops during those protests.

And more recently, San Francisco 49ers quarterback Colin Kaepernick refused to stand for the National Anthem to protest the country's treatment of black people, while pop singer Beyonce has made the movement the focal point of her performances.

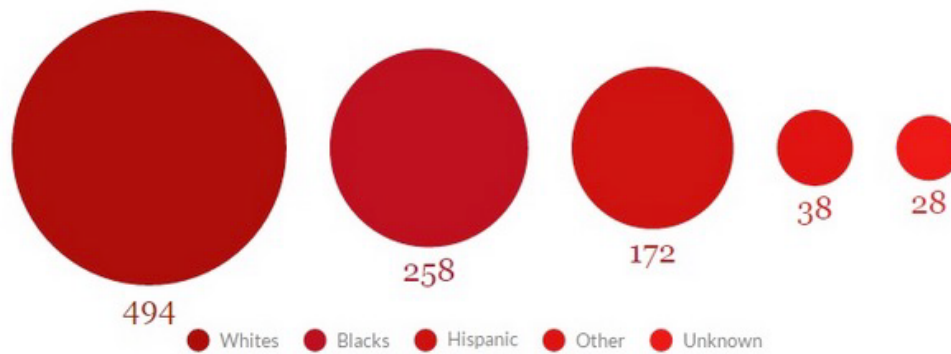
Yet the Black Lives Matter movement is based on a lie, and not just the lie that a pacific Michael Brown was gunned down in cold blood by Ferguson, Mo., police officer Darren Wilson in August 2014.

The idea that the U.S. is experiencing an epidemic of racially driven police shootings is also false, and dangerously so. Several studies released this year show that police officers are less likely to shoot blacks than whites.

But just as Michael Brown continues to be venerated as a martyr to police brutality despite the Justice Department's evisceration of the "hands up, don't shoot" narrative, the media, activists and many politicians continue to traffic in demonstrable untruths about police shootings, race and crime.

The facts are these: Last year, the police shot 990 people, the vast majority armed or violently resisting arrest, according to the Washington Post's database of fatal police shootings. Whites made up 49.9 percent of those victims, blacks, 26 percent. That proportion of black victims is lower than what the black violent crime rate would predict.

Fatal Police Shootings in 2015



Source: Washington Post police shootings database

Last year, police fatally shot 990 people, the vast majority armed or violently resisting arrest, according to the Washington Post's database. Whites made up 49.9 percent of those victims, blacks 26 percent.

Blacks constituted 62 percent of all robbery defendants in America's 75 largest counties in 2009, 57 percent of all murder defendants and 45 percent of all assault defendants, according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, even though blacks comprise only 15 percent of the population in those counties.

In New York City, where blacks make up 23 percent of the city's population, blacks commit three-quarters of all shootings and 70 percent of all robberies, according to victims and witnesses in their reports to the New York Police Department. Whites, by contrast, commit less than 2 percent of all shootings and 4 percent of all robberies, though they are nearly 34 percent of the city's population.

Police critics have never answered the question of what they think non-biased policing data should look like, in light of the vast differences in rates of criminal offending.

In Chicago, 80 percent of all known murder suspects were black in 2015, as were 80 percent of all known nonfatal shooting suspects, though they are a little less than a third of the population. Whites made up 0.9 percent of known murder suspects in Chicago in 2015 and 1.4 percent of known nonfatal shooting suspects, though they are about a third of the city's residents.

Such racially skewed crime ratios are repeated in virtually all American metropolises. They mean that when officers are called to the scene of a drive-by shooting or an armed robbery, they will overwhelmingly be summoned to minority neighborhoods, looking for minority suspects in the aid of minority victims.

Gang shootings occur almost exclusively in minority areas. Police use of force is most likely in confrontations with violent and resisting criminals, and those confrontations happen disproportionately in minority communities.

You would never know it from the activists, but police shootings are responsible for a lower percentage of black homicide deaths than white and Hispanic homicide deaths. Twelve percent of all whites and Hispanics who die of homicide are killed by police officers, compared to 4 percent of black homicide victims.

That disparity is driven by the greatly elevated rates of criminal victimization in the black community. More blacks die each year from homicide, more than 6,000, than homicide victims of all other races combined. Their killers are not the police, and not whites, but other blacks. In Chicago this year through Aug. 30, 2,870 people, mostly black, were shot.

If you believed the Black Lives Matter narrative, you would assume that the assailants of those black victims were in large part cops. In fact, the police shot 17 people, most of whom were threatening lethal force, accounting for 0.6 percent of the total.

Gun-related murders of officers are up 52 percent this year through Aug. 30 compared to last year.

Police critics have never answered the question of what they think non-biased policing data should look like, in light of the vast differences in rates of criminal offending. Blacks commit homicide at eight times the rate of whites and Hispanics combined. Black males between the ages of 14-17 commit gun homicide at nearly 10 times the rate of white and Hispanic male teens combined.

Should police stops, arrests and those rare instances of police shootings nevertheless mirror population ratios, rather than crime ratios? President Obama apparently thinks so. Just hours before the assassination of five officers in Dallas on July 7, he criticized the police for arresting blacks at twice the rate of whites. The president remained assiduously silent about crime rates.

The raw numbers alone rebut the charge that racism, not crime, determines the incidence of police shootings. But academic research also demolishes the Black Lives Matter narrative.

A recent study by an economist at Maryland's Pacific Institute for Research and Evaluation found that race does not affect a civilian's risk of injury or death following an arrest or a police stop; blacks and whites face an equal chance of getting injured or killed by a police officer.

If blacks are killed by officers at a rate higher than their population numbers, economist Ted Miller told *The Guardian*, "it's the excessive arrest of minorities that's the problem. We need to bring down the numbers of [blacks] being arrested in the first place." (Unless blacks themselves bring their crime rate down, however, the only way to lower their arrest rate is to eliminate criminal statutes or to ask the police to ignore crime.)

Miller's study, published in *Injury Prevention*, was a relative outlier in finding that blacks face the same risk as whites of having potentially lethal force used against them. Other research this year shows that blacks are actually shot less than whites by the police.

The most sophisticated lab study of police shoot-don't-shoot decisions to date, published this year in *Criminology and Public Policy*, found that officers were three times less likely to shoot unarmed black suspects than unarmed white suspects and took significantly longer to decide to shoot armed black suspects than armed white suspects.

Lead investigator Lois James, from Washington State University, hypothesized that officers were second-guessing themselves when confronting black suspects, due to their awareness of the potential negative repercussions of shooting a black civilian.

James' work anticipated a much-discussed working paper by Harvard economist Roland Fryer. He found that police officers in Houston were nearly 24 percent less likely to shoot blacks than whites.

In a data set comprising officer shootings from Dallas, Austin, Houston, Los Angeles and six Florida counties, he found that officers were 47 percent less likely to discharge their weapon without first being attacked if the suspect was black than if the suspect was white, and that black and white victims of police shootings were equally likely to have been armed. Overall, Fryer found no evidence of racial discrimination in shootings.

And an analysis of police use of force by the Center for Policing Equity concluded, consistent with James and Fryer, that whites were disadvantaged compared to blacks when it comes to lethal force. Officers' use of lethal force following an arrest for a violent felony was over twice the rate for white arrestees than for black arrestees.

Why is this happening?

Why, then, the widespread perception that there is a law enforcement war on blacks? Because the mainstream media relentlessly focuses on a handful of police shootings of blacks and ignores police shootings of whites, as well as the crime that brings officers into disproportionate contact with black suspects.

Among the nearly 500 white victims of fatal police shootings last year was a 50-year-old suspect in a domestic assault call in Tuscaloosa, Ala., who ran at the shooting officer with a spoon; a 28-year-old driver in Des Moines, Iowa, who led police on a chase, then got out of his car and walked quickly toward the shooting officer; and a 21-year-old suspect in a grocery store robbery in Akron, Ohio, who had escaped on a bike and did not remove his hand from his waistband when ordered to do so.

While the nation was focused on the non-epidemic of racist killings by police throughout 2015, the routine drive-by shootings in urban areas were taking their usual toll, including on children, to little national notice.

Had any of these victims been black, police critics would have conferred on them instant notoriety; instead, they are unknown. And had the media focused exclusively on those and other police killings of whites, the impression would have been created that there is an epidemic of officer-involved shootings of whites.

In fact, fatal police shootings are rare, no matter the race of the victim. The police have about 385 million contacts with citizens a year; in 2014, they made more than 11 million arrests. According to data collected by the FBI from only two-thirds of police departments, officers in those departments were assaulted more than 48,000 times.

Deadly weapon assaults against officers in those same departments occurred 27 times a day. Only .009 percent of all arrests ended with a civilian death, and for every 10 deadly weapon assaults on a police officer there was at most one fatal police shooting.

Police officers are far more likely to be killed by a black person than vice versa. Over the past decade, black males comprised 40 percent of all cop killers, though they are 6 percent of the population. That means that an officer is 18.5 times more likely to be killed by a black male than an unarmed black male is to be killed by a police officer.

But the Black Lives Matter narrative has nevertheless had an enormous effect on policing and public safety, despite its mendacity. Murders of officers are up 62 percent this year through Aug. 7 compared to last year. The cop assassinations are only a more extreme version of the Black Lives Matter-inspired hatred that officers working in urban areas encounter on a daily basis.

Officers are routinely surrounded by hostile, jeering crowds when they try to conduct a street investigation or make an arrest. Resistance to arrest is up, officers report. Cops have been repeatedly told by Obama and the media that pedestrian stops and public order enforcement (known as "broken windows policing") are racist. In consequence, they are doing less of those discretionary activities in high-crime minority communities.

The result? Violent crime is rising in cities with large black populations. Homicides in 2015 rose anywhere from 54 percent in Washington, D.C., to 90 percent in Cleveland. In the nation's 56 largest cities, homicides rose 17 percent in 2015, a nearly unprecedented one-year spike. In the first half of 2016, homicides in 51 large cities were up another 15 percent compared to the same period last year.

The victims of this politically driven de-policing, what I have called the "Ferguson effect," are overwhelmingly black. While the nation was focused on the non-epidemic of racist killings by police throughout 2015, the routine drive-by shootings in urban areas were taking their usual toll, including on children, to little national notice.

In Cleveland, three children ages five and younger were killed in September 2015 alone. Five children were shot in Cleveland over the 2015 July 4 weekend. A seven-year-old boy was killed in Chicago that same weekend by a bullet intended for his father. In November, a nine-year-old in Chicago was lured into an alley and killed by his father's gang enemies; the father of the murdered nine-year-old refused to cooperate with the police in identifying his son's killers.

In August 2015, a nine-year-old girl was doing her homework on her mother's bed in Ferguson when gunfire ripped through her house and killed her. In Cincinnati in July 2015, a four-year-old girl was shot in the head and a six-year-old girl was left paralyzed and partially blind from two separate drive-by shootings. A six-year-old boy was killed in a drive-by shooting on West Florissant Avenue in March in St. Louis. Ten children under the age of 10 were killed in Baltimore in 2015.

The carnage has continued this year. In Chicago alone, at least 15 children under the age of 12 have been shot in the first seven months of 2016, including a three-year-old boy who is now paralyzed for life following a Father's Day drive-by shooting. While the world knows who the thug Michael Brown is, few people outside these children's immediate communities know their names. Black Lives Matter activists have organized no protests to stigmatize their assailants.

To be sure, every police shooting of an innocent, unarmed civilian is a stomach-churning tragedy. There have been some bad police shootings over the last two years, many the result of faulty tactics that needlessly exposed officers to potentially lethal risk. Officers yearn for more hands-on tactical training, and some pay for their own training when their cash-strapped departments are unable to provide it.

But in a grotesque waste of resources, the Obama administration and Hillary Clinton are pushing tactically useless "implicit bias" training on departments, based on the false conceit that the nation's officers are in the throes of endemic racism.

For the past two decades, the country has been talking about phantom police racism in order to avoid talking about a more uncomfortable truth: black crime. But in the era of data-driven law enforcement, policing is simply a function of crime. The best way to lower police-civilian contacts in inner-city neighborhoods would be to radically lower the crime rate there.

For that to happen, more boys need to be raised by their fathers. Until family structure is strengthened, however, the best way to save black lives is lawful, proactive policing — not a duplicitous war on cops.

This piece originally appeared in the [Washington Examiner](#)

Heather Mac Donald is the Thomas W. Smith fellow at the Manhattan Institute and contributing editor at City Journal.

<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8425567/Second-man-22-charged-murder-retired-St-Louis-police-captain-David-Dorn.html>

Second man, 22, is charged in the murder of retired St. Louis police captain David Dorn, 77, who was shot dead 'protecting his friend's pawn shop from looters during protests'

By [Lauren Edmonds For Dailymail.com](#) and [Alice Cachia For Mailonline](#)

Published: 03:51 EDT, 16 June 2020 | Updated: 06:49 EDT, 16 June 2020

A second man has been charged with murder in the death of retired police captain David Dorn, who was shot dead in front of a pawn shop by suspected looters during a night of violent protests.

Mark Jackson, 22, was charged with second-degree murder, robbery, burglary, stealing, and three counts of armed criminal action.

It comes days after suspected shooter Stephan Cannon, 24, was charged with first-degree murder, burglary, robbery, armed criminal action and being a felon in possession of a firearm.

Charging documents say Jackson, Cannon, and a third person were caught on CCTV fleeing the store in a Pontiac G6.



Mark Jackson (pictured above left) is the second man to have been charged with murder in the death of retired police captain David Dorn, as well as a string of other offences related to the incident. Alleged shooter Stephan Cannon (top right) was charged with first-degree murder in the days after the killing.

The Pontiac was found by police parked nearby Jackson's home, with a temporary license plate in his name as well as paperwork inside the car that also had his name on it.

A debit card belonging to Jackson was found inside the shop and officers also discovered his fingerprint on a television set left inside the shop.

He is currently being held with bail, according to [STL Today](#).

Dorn, aged 77, was found dead on the sidewalk in front of Lee's Pawn & Jewelry after trying to protect the shop from looters, according to St. Louis Circuit Attorney Kim Gardner.

The looting occurred during one of many protests following the killing of George Floyd in Minnesota last month.

Dorn, 77, was reportedly friends of the pawn shop's owner and frequently checked on the business when alarms went off.

His death was initially streamed on Facebook Live, but footage has since been deleted.

The same night Dorn was killed four St Louis officers were shot, others were pelted with rocks and fireworks, and dozens of businesses were burglarized or damaged, including a convenience store that burned.

According to a police statement, Cannon and Jackson were among those seen on surveillance footage entering the store and then stealing several televisions.



Retired St Louis police captain David Dorn, pictured, was shot dead by looters who had broken into his friend's pawn shop, officials said.

Cannon then reportedly walked towards the street corner with a gun in his hand.

'At the time the shots were fired, (Cannon) was the only person standing at that corner,' according to a probable cause statement obtained by [New York Post](#).

'Multiple plumes of smoke' were allegedly seen coming from where Cannon was standing on the street corner and shell casings were later found.

Court documents revealed that Cannon acknowledged that he was inside the pawn shop the night of Dorn's murder and that he cut his hair to change his appearance.



Police investigate the scene of a shooting at Lee's Pawn & Jewelry in St. Louis on June 2 after Dorn was found shot dead.

The St. Louis Police Department released surveillance footage taken inside the store shortly after 2.30am, in which seven persons of interests are seen entering through the pawn shop's front door.

A stolen TV was later found inside Cannon's home and the serial number matched that of Lee's Pawn and Jewelry store.

Cannon also admitted he became aware that his photograph being distributed after local authorities released CCTV footage from the pawns shop.

CCTV footage showed the Pontiac G6 pulled up alongside the store that night and reportedly showed Cannon entering with the driver.

Cannon is also being held without bail. In a statement from Kim Gardner, she cited police work and public outrage as what helped locate the pair.

Two other men have also been charged with looting the shop.

Retired captain Dorn had served 38 years on the St. Louis police force before retiring in October 2007. He then became chief of Moline Acres, a small town north of St. Louis.

The Ethical Society of Police, which represents black officers in St. Louis, said in a news release that Dorn was 'the type of brother that would've given his life to save them if he had to'.

One witness to the Facebook Live video said the incident had 'sickened' him.

Marquaello Futrell wrote: 'The man just was shot and killed outside of Lee's Pawn and Jewelry has me sick to my stomach.'

The St. Louis PD posted the video on Twitter, where they also stated they were offering a reward for those who had information on the men.



The store looks to have already been completely ransacked by the time the group arrived at the scene, with windows shattered, display cabinets emptied and trash discarded on the floor

He suggested eyewitnesses did not help Dorn after he was shot, adding: 'It's one thing to be a victim of a robbery/assault but to lie in your own blood pleading for help and no help comes other than people standing around on FB Live recording his death. All over social media. I'm upset and can't sleep!'

Colonel John W. Hayden, Jr., a St. Louis police commissioner, called Dorn a 'fine captain.'

'Many of us, the other officers, looked up to him,' Hayden said. 'Was very well-liked, very pleasant. And his wife still works here. So a very sad time for our agency. We will honor him.'

Tim Fitch, the former St. Louis County police chief called Dorn 'a true public servant', adding: 'Protecting & serving all the way to the end. None of us who knew you are surprised you went out fighting at Lee's Pawn this morning. God speed my friend.'



Donald J. Trump ✓
@realDonaldTrump



Our highest respect to the family of David Dorn, a Great Police Captain from St. Louis, who was viciously shot and killed by despicable looters last night. We honor our police officers, perhaps more than ever before. Thank you!



9:30 PM · Jun 2, 2020 · Twitter for iPhone
©realDonaldTrump/Twitter

+10

President Trump tweeted his own tribute Tuesday evening, writing: 'Our highest respect to the family of David Dorn, a Great Police Captain from St. Louis, who was viciously shot and killed by despicable looters last night. We honor our police officers, perhaps more than ever before. Thank you!'

State Rep. Rasheen Aldridge, D-St. Louis, told the Post-Dispatch that he watched to Facebook Live post before it was removed.

'Very traumatized right now,' he said about an hour after the shooting occurred. 'I'm hurting.'

President Trump also shared his own tribute for Dorn on Twitter last Tuesday.

'Our highest respect to the family of David Dorn, a Great Police Captain from St. Louis, who was viciously shot and killed by despicable looters last night,' he wrote.

'We honor our police officers, perhaps more than ever before.'



QUIZ

The Ferguson Lie

- 1. The shooting in Ferguson led to nights of riots and gave fuel to a new social movement called _____.**
 - a. Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions
 - b. Me Too movement
 - c. Black Lives Matter
 - d. Occupy Wall Street

- 2. Michael Brown's back was turned to Officer Wilson when Mr. Brown was shot and killed.**
 - a. True
 - b. False

- 3. What happened with witnesses who stated that Michael Brown had his hands up when he was shot?**
 - a. they doubled down on their stories and testified to that as truth at the trial
 - b. they recanted their statements admitting that they did not witness the shooting
 - c. they later claimed that federal investigators pressured them to lie about it
 - d. none of the above

- 4. The federal investigation that concluded that Officer Wilson did nothing wrong and that there was no basis to prosecute him was led by _____.**
 - a. President Barack Obama
 - b. Attorney General Eric Holder
 - c. Vice President Joe Biden
 - d. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton



QUIZ - ANSWER KEY

The Ferguson Lie

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STUDY GUIDE

How to End White Privilege

KEY TERMS:

woke
common sense

disingenuous
virtue

privilege
victim mentality

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section <u>during</u> the video. Include definitions and key terms.	CUE COLUMN: Complete this section <u>after</u> the video.
<p>Who does asking for forgiveness regarding ‘white privilege’ help?</p> <p>In her 1988 article, how many ‘white privileges’ did Peggy McIntosh list that she had?</p> <p>What is white privilege an attempt by the Left to do?</p>	<p>In what way does ‘white privilege’ exist?</p> <p>Why is the notion of ‘white privilege’ a sham?</p>

Discussion & Review

1. At the beginning of the video, Mr. Tatum opens with, “‘Woke’ white people, I’d like to ask you a favor: Please stop asking for forgiveness for your ‘white privilege.’ You’re not fooling anybody. You’re not helping black people- or any other minority. And your public confessions don’t make you look virtuous. They make you look disingenuous, which is a really nice way of saying fake, phony, and fraudulent.” Who, specifically, do you think Mr. Tatum is addressing? Why do you think that some people believe in the notion of ‘white privilege?’ Explain. Why do you think that Mr. Tatum characterizes the people who take the notion of ‘white privilege’ seriously as disingenuous? Explain.
2. Next, Mr. Tatum asks, “For starters, what is ‘white privilege’ anyway? Because you were born with white skin, you have all these advantages that I don’t have? Like what?” How do you think people who take the notion of ‘white privilege’ seriously would answer Mr. Tatum’s questions here? What are your answers to Mr. Tatum’s questions here? Explain.
3. Later in the video, Mr. Tatum explains that, “Today, these so-called Progressives dominate our colleges and universities, imposing this absurd notion of ‘white privilege’ on their students. That’s too bad. Because it does nothing good for white students. And it does nothing good for black students.” Considering that it does much more harm than good, why do you think that Progressives impose their agenda onto students at universities, and why do you think that the universities allow such damage to occur? Explain. Do you agree that identity politics and victimhood mentality should be allowed to be so pervasive on college campuses- to the point that professors are indoctrinating students to their own personal politics through their curriculum and classes? Why or why not?
4. After explaining about how creating a victim mentality is bad for blacks, Mr. Tatum goes on to point out that, “ ...I wouldn’t deny for a second that there are privileges in life. They’re all over the place. There’s two-parent family privilege (that’s huge), there’s being lucky to be born in America privilege, there’s good genes privilege. But white privilege? Doesn’t it depend on the person? Let’s take this for example. A black lawyer and his wife have a baby. And a meth addict, single white woman has a baby. Which kid has privilege? The white one? Because he’s white?” What do you think Mr. Tatum means when he asks, “Doesn’t it depend on the person?” Explain. What main point is Mr. Tatum making with this last set of questions? Do you agree with Mr. Tatum’s point here? Why or why not?
5. At the end of the video, Mr. Tatum concludes that, “ ... white privilege is an attempt by the Left to divide Americans by race. It’s all theory and all nonsense. If you want to fall for it, go ahead. It’s a free country. But don’t try to sell it to me. I’m an American who deals with my fellow Americans one-on-one. Try it. It works.” Why do you think that the Left is so obsessed with perceived racial inequality? Explain. What exactly does Mr. Tatum mean by stating ‘I’m an American who deals with my fellow Americans- one on one?’ Explain.

Extend the Learning:

Case Study White Privilege

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article “What Does Teaching ‘White Privilege’ Actually Accomplish? Not What You Might Think (Or Hope),” then answer the questions that follow.

1. The author of the article, Mr. Jilani, writes, “ ... there is a danger that, by talking about this inequality as an all-consuming phenomenon, we will end up creating a flattened and unfair image that portrays all whites in all situations and all contexts as benefiting from unearned advantages. Indeed, it’s possible that we will cause people to confuse a structural inequality that exists on the level of group average with the circumstances of every individual within a particular racial group.” Do you agree that this approach is confusing and the wrong approach? Why or why not? Mr. Jilani goes on to note that, “In 2017, whites in the United States had a suicide rate of 17.8 per 100,000; for Hispanics, that rate was 6.9; for African- Americans, it was 6.9. The only group with a higher suicide rate than whites was Native Americans, at 22.2. ...The group of which I am part, Asian-Americans, would be ‘privileged’ on this index, since our rate (6.6) is well below that of whites. But would it really be wise for me to tackle the social problem of suicide by zooming in on some idea of ‘Asian privilege?’” How would you answer Mr. Jilani’s question? Explain.
2. Why do you think that Ms. Adkins attributed her success to ‘white privilege’ rather than to other factors such as hard work or luck? Explain. Mr. Jilani writes in the article, “If we extend the logic of privilege beyond the issue of race, it’s easy to see the flaws with this approach. We know, for instance, that 93 percent of people in U.S. federal prisons are men. In nearly every part of the criminal justice system, in fact, men on average have it worse than women do. But does that then mean we should be discussing ‘female privilege?’ Would it be beneficial to the men behind bars for women to proclaim awareness of their ‘privileged’ status?” How would you answer this last question? What is the final point that Mr. Jilani makes in the last paragraph of the article, and do you agree with it? Why or why not? Has reading this article or watching the video altered your perspective or view on the subject of ‘white privilege’ in any way? If no, why not? If yes, in what ways? Explain.
3. Perhaps most importantly, Mr. Jilani points out that, “When we talk about racial inequality, it is important to understand that we’re often talking about structural or society-wide averages, not the status of all individuals at all times. It is true, for instance, that African Americans are disproportionately impacted by poverty. That means a higher percentage of African Americans live in poverty as compared to whites. But the largest number of individuals in the United States who live in poverty are white. We can’t, and we shouldn’t, assume anything about any individual’s life solely based on his or her race, or based on larger facts about racial inequality.” Do you agree with Mr. Jilani’s point here? Why or why not? Do you think that Mr. Jilani’s point here matches with Mr. Tatum’s view at the end of the video to ‘deal with others one-on-one’? Why or why not? Do you agree that Mr. Tatum’s view is much more aligned with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.’s notion of judging by the content of character instead of by color of skin than the view of the so-called social justice warriors on left? Why or why not?

<https://quillette.com/2019/05/23/what-does-teaching-white-privilege-actually-accomplish-not-what-you-might-think-or-hope/>

Published on May 23, 2019

What Does Teaching ‘White Privilege’ Actually Accomplish? Not What You Might Think (Or Hope)

written by Zaid Jilani



I recently attended a Washington-D.C. event focused on community-building hosted by The Aspen Institute’s Weave project, which works to reduce social isolation and build bonds between Americans. During one portion of the event, various activists described how racism had impacted their lives and their communities. Following a number of such testimonials, a white woman from southeast Ohio named Sarah Adkins spoke about her own community work, which involves raising money to provide post-trauma support to individuals affected by tragedies.

Perhaps because several speakers had discussed racism and issues related to white privilege, Adkins spoke about her own self-perceived racial privilege. “I followed the perfect mold...I did all the things, I went to college, and I keep thinking of white privilege in my head so forgive me, that’s what’s in my head right now, very much white privilege,” she said, while reflecting on her middle class life in an affluent neighborhood.

But Adkins also went on to describe the reason she originally had become involved in community work—which is that her then-husband had killed both of her sons and then later took his own life. One can only imagine how much suffering this caused her. Yet she still viewed herself as privileged due to her race.

“I was wealthy, okay, I was a pharmacist, I made a lot of money, right? So after that happened, I really wanted to understand that for me there definitely was a lot of white privilege. I had money, I had health insurance, so people came in and cleaned up my house. I was able to pay for a funeral for my children,” she said.

I wondered how someone who’d lived through such an awful tragedy could consider themselves to be in any way “privileged.” Yes, she had the funding to clean up her home and bury her relatives. But nearly everybody has at least some advantages in life. It feels perverse for someone who has suffered so much to be confessing their perceived advantages.

When activists and academics invoke the phrase “white privilege,” they typically are speaking of advantages that whites, on average, have over members of other ethnic minority groups in our society. And there is no doubt that racial inequality is both real and persistent in the United States, where I live, and elsewhere. There is a sizable racial wealth gap, a life expectancy gap, and an incarceration gap. Many of America’s most pressing social problems disproportionately harm people from minority groups.

But there is a danger that, by talking about this inequality as an all-consuming phenomenon, we will end up creating a flattened and unfair image that portrays all whites in all situations and all contexts as benefiting from unearned advantages. Indeed, it’s possible that we will cause people to confuse a structural inequality that exists on the level of group average with the circumstances of every individual within a particular racial group.

In the case of Adkins’s tragic story, it’s not even clear that being white in any way constituted a form of privilege. Recent research has found a huge surge in white working-class suicides. In 2017, whites in the United States had a suicide rate of 17.8 per 100,000; for Hispanics, that rate was 6.9; for African-Americans, it was 6.9. The only group with a higher suicide rate than whites was Native Americans, at 22.2.

The phenomenon of suicide is not perfectly understood, but it is generally believed that loneliness and alienation are driving factors. Whites in America tend (on average) to be more culturally individualistic, while those from other groups tend (again, on average) to exhibit more collectivist social values. The group of which I am part, Asian-Americans, would be “privileged” on this index, since our rate (6.6) is well below that of whites. But would it really be wise for me to tackle the social problem of suicide by zooming in on some idea of “Asian privilege?”

In fact, research recently published in the *Journal of Experimental Psychology* suggests that such an approach wouldn’t just be unhelpful. It would actually be harmful.

I recently interviewed Erin Cooley, a psychology professor and lead researcher at Colgate University, about her research for *Greater Good* magazine. She studies prejudice and structural inequality and her research has illuminated the ways in which persistent racism continues to negatively impact the lives of racial minorities in America. A study she recently published, for instance, shows how participants were more likely to associate poverty with blacks as opposed to whites. Her team found that this association helps predict opposition toward policies that involve economic redistribution, since it is widely believed that these policies benefit blacks over whites.

Her team was curious about the impact of teaching people about white privilege. Would it make people more sympathetic toward poor blacks? As part of their research, Cooley and her colleagues offered study participants a reading on white privilege—based partly on the seminal work of Peggy McIntosh, who originally formulated the concept in the 1980s—and then described to them the plight of a hypothetical man, identified as either white or black, who is down on his luck.

What the researchers found is that among social liberals—i.e., participants who had indicated that they hold liberal beliefs about social issues—reading a text about white privilege did nothing to significantly increase their sympathy toward the plight of poor blacks. But, as Cooley told me, “it did significantly bump down their sympathy for a [hypothetical] poor white person.” (Among conservative participants, there was observed no significant change in attitudes at all.)

What accounts for this? One possibility is that social liberals are internalizing white-privilege lessons in a way that flattens the image of whites, portraying all of them as inherently privileged. So if a white person is poor, it must be his or her own fault. After all, they've had all sorts of advantages in life that others haven't.

When we talk about racial inequality, it is important to understand that we're often talking about structural or society-wide averages, not the status of all individuals at all times. It is true, for instance, that African Americans are disproportionately impacted by poverty. That means a higher percentage of African Americans live in poverty as compared to whites. But the largest number of *individuals* in the United States who live in poverty are white. We can't, and we shouldn't, assume anything about any individual's life solely based on his or her race, or based on larger facts about racial inequality.

Racism exists, of course, and its impact is disproportionately felt by society's minority populations. I have personally spent a decent chunk of my reporting career documenting this. But the fact that disparate treatment is inflicted on racial minorities doesn't prove the existence of an all-encompassing pattern of white privilege. "If you're white, chances are seeing a police officer fills you with one of two things: relief or gratitude," writes one advocate of a privilege-centric worldview. But around half of the people who are killed every year by U.S. police officers are white. True, police violence falls *disproportionately* on ethnic minorities, especially African Americans. But if you're white and you've been abused by a police officer, your individual experience may be just as painful as that of a black person who's suffered similar abuse.

If we extend the logic of privilege beyond the issue of race, it's easy to see the flaws with this approach. We know, for instance, that 93 percent of people in U.S. federal prisons are men. In nearly every part of the criminal justice system, in fact, men on average have it worse than women do. But does that then mean we should be discussing "female privilege"? Would it be beneficial to the men behind bars for women to proclaim awareness of their "privileged" status?

A typical conservative response to privilege discourse is to downplay the very real inequalities that exist. This isn't helpful. We can't escape talking about inequality in a diverse society. For instance, we shouldn't shy away from looking at high maternal mortality rates among black women and how it may be linked to inadequate cultural competence among medical staff. However, what I would suggest is that we change the *way* we talk about this inequality. Asking whites to publicly confess their white privilege—in a manner that often resembles a religious ritual more than anything else—may lead us to unfairly flatten the experience of whites while, ironically, actually shifting attention away from those who are underprivileged. The Cooley study shows that this isn't just a hypothetical concern; it's a reality that has been demonstrated through research.

One alternative to white-privilege discourse would be to focus on the causes and consequences of deprivation rather than on naming groups of people we believe to hold special advantages—and to stop referring to things that we should expect for all people as "privileges." It is not a privilege to have a decent and safe childbirth, or avoid harassment by the police, or to have enough to eat. All of those things should be something we *expect*. While we can and should aggressively address inequality, we should make sure the methods we employ serve to strengthen our sense of empathy rather than sap it.

Zaid Jilani, a journalist, is currently on fellowship, studying political and social polarization at UC Berkeley's Greater Good Science Center. He is also the co-host of the podcast Extremely Offline, which brings together guests from competing political tribes for civil dialogue. Follow him on Twitter @ZaidJilani.

Featured image: Photo taken at Baltimore Women's March, 2018.



QUIZ

How to End White Privilege

1. When asking for forgiveness regarding 'white privilege' it helps _____.
 - a. black people
 - b. Hispanic people
 - c. Asian people
 - d. none of the above

2. In her 1988 article, how many 'white privileges' did Peggy McIntosh list that she had?
 - a. 26
 - b. 36
 - c. 46
 - d. 56

3. Today, Progressives dominate our colleges and universities, imposing this absurd notion of white privilege on their students.
 - a. True
 - b. False

4. What are some examples of privileges that actually exist in the United States?
 - a. the two-parent family privilege
 - b. the lucky-to-be-born-in-America privilege
 - c. the good genes privilege
 - d. all of the above

5. White privilege is an attempt by the Left to _____.
 - a. validate the moral superiority of whites
 - b. divide Americans by race
 - c. unify all ethnicities by nationality
 - d. balance conservative and Leftist values



QUIZ - ANSWER KEY

How to End White Privilege

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STUDY GUIDE

The Intolerance of Tolerance

KEY TERMS:

tolerance
label

Left
politically correct

disagree
egalitarian

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section during the video. Include definitions and key terms.

CUE COLUMN: Complete this section after the video.

What does it mean to be 'tolerant' today?

In what way has the meaning of the term 'tolerant' changed?

If you differ with the Left on a subject, what do they label you?

Why are respectful disagreement and debate so important, in terms of weighing ideas?

What does true tolerance apply to?

Discussion & Review

1. At the beginning of the video, Mr. Koukl asks, “Do you know what the word ‘tolerance’ means? If you do, I salute you, because I have no idea anymore. I did... once. Everybody did... once. But now, thanks to the Left, the word is totally up for grabs. Actually, it’s worse than that. Tolerance now means the opposite of what it once meant. Tolerance now means intolerance. And intolerance now means tolerance... To be ‘tolerant’ today, simply means you agree with politically-correct, that is, Left-wing, positions. That’s all it means.” Why do you think that the Left endeavors to change the meaning of commonly used vernacular? Explain. In what ways, specifically, do you think the Left is able to accomplish changing the meaning of certain terminology in order to fit their agenda? Explain.
2. After Mr. Koukl notes that if you differ with the Left on any issue they label you as intolerant, a ‘hater,’ etc... he goes on to explain: “The classic definition of ‘tolerance’ means to recognize and respect others’ beliefs and practices without sharing them. Notice, the element of disagreement is key to tolerance. Without it, true tolerance is not possible. This is critical. We don’t ‘tolerate’ people we agree with- we’re on the same side! We only ‘tolerate’ people we differ with, yet still choose to treat decently and with respect. This vital ingredient of real tolerance is completely missing in the politically correct version. Nowadays, if you differ with others on culturally sensitive issues, like sexual orientation or religious beliefs, you’re labeled intolerant no matter how you treat them.” Why do you think that the Left actively chooses not to make the significant distinction between a person and a person’s ideas? Why do you think that the Left presumes that their position is the only valid position? Explain.
3. Later in the video, Mr. Koukl points out: “The Left says all behaviors and ideas have equal value- that no behavior or idea is any better than any other, [but] they don’t act that way. Tolerance is a one-way street for the Left... But not only is disagreement not intolerant, it’s morally and logically essential. Think about it. All ideas, all behaviors are not equally valid. Some are better. Some are worse. And discussion and disagreement and debate are how we sort out the good from the bad. Civilization depends on it.” Why is it so important to sort out good ideas from bad ones, in terms of what is best for a society? Explain. Do you find the fact that the Left claims to value equality so much yet doesn’t give equal weight to views that differ from their own as hypocritical? Why or why not?
4. Mr. Koukl later paraphrases Professor Krayft, stating, “...treat some ideas as better than other ideas. Why? Because they are. Some are good, some are bad. Some are smart, some are dumb. Some are dangerous. And we ought to have the liberty to figure out which is which in our discussions, without being called names, and certainly without fearing we’ll lose our jobs- or our careers.” Why do you think that the Left is so rigid and close-minded, in terms of debating and discussing ideas? Why might some people actually lose their jobs when voicing a differing opinion? Do you think that they should lose their jobs for openly evaluating ideas? Why or why not?
5. At the end of the video, Mr. Koukl concludes: “True tolerance applies to how we treat people we disagree with, not how we treat ideas we disagree with. All people have equal value- all points of view do not.” Do you agree with Mr. Koukl? Why or why not?

Extend the Learning:

Case Study Martina Navratilova

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article “Martina Navratilova criticized for comments about trans women in sport,” then answer the questions that follow.

1. Who is Martina Navratilova, and what claim did she make that the Left is now criticizing her for? What was the main point she made in her tweet? What happened to Ms. Navratilova’s position after she did more research on the subject? What is Trans Actual, and what did they have to say about Ms. Navratilova? In response, what did Ms. Navratilova state that she deplores? Who is Renee Richards, and how is she important to the story? Who is Caster Semanya, and what did Ms. Navratilova have to say about Caster’s situation?
2. Do you think the fact that Ms. Navratilova is homosexual has any bearing on her position on the topic? Do you think it should? Why or why not? Do you think the fact that Ms. Navratilova is a woman has any bearing on her position on the topic? Do you think it *should*? Why or why not? Why do you think that the Left exclusively views Ms. Navratilova as attacking transgender people, and fully dismisses the fact that Ms. Navratilova is advocating for women? Do you think that transgender men should be allowed to compete in women’s sports? Why or why not?
3. Do you think that the Left’s methodology of conflating a person’s character with a person’s opinions is valid? Why or why not? Do you think that it is important to judge the merit and quality of ideas separately from the source of those ideas? Why or why not?

Martina Navratilova criticized for comments about trans women in sport

By James Masters, CNN

Updated 7:09 AM ET, Mon February 18, 2019



Martina Navratilova has been criticized for her article on transgender athletes.

(CNN)Tennis great Martina Navratilova has been criticized after claiming it is a form of "cheating" for transgender women to be allowed to compete in women's sport.

The 18-time Grand Slam winner wrote in *The Sunday Times* that it was "insane" that "hundreds of athletes who have changed gender by declaration and limited hormone treatment have already achieved honors as women that were beyond their capabilities as men."

This is not the first time Navratilova, a gay rights campaigner who suffered homophobic abuse when she came out in 1981, has caused controversy with her remarks on transgender athletes.

In December she was criticized after tweeting: "You can't just proclaim yourself a female and be able to compete against women. There must be some standards, and having a penis and competing as a woman would not fit that standard."



Martina Navratilova won 18 Grand Slams during her tennis career.

Her comments led to her becoming embroiled in an online argument with cyclist Rachel McKinnon, the first transgender woman to win a world track cycling title in October 2018.

Navratilova, a nine-time Wimbledon champion, wrote on Sunday that this debate had led to her going away to do more research on the subject, adding: "Well, I've now done that and, if anything, my views have strengthened.

"To put the argument at its most basic: a man can decide to be female, take hormones if required by whatever sporting organization is concerned, win everything in sight and perhaps earn a small fortune, and then reverse his decision and go back to making babies if he so desires.

"It's insane and it's cheating. I am happy to address a transgender woman in whatever form she prefers, but I would not be happy to compete against her. It would not be fair."



Trans Actual
@TransActualUK



We're pretty devastated to discover that Martina Navratilova is transphobic. If trans women had an advantage in sport, why aren't trans women winning gold medals left, right & centre? Coz trans women don't have an advantage. Look up the changes that oestrogen makes to the body.

1,182 12:31 AM - Feb 17, 2019



489 people are talking about this



Her comments were labeled "transphobic" by trans rights group Trans Actual, which tweeted: "If trans women had an advantage in sport, why aren't trans women winning gold medals left, right & center?"

McKinnon reacted to Navratilova's article by tweeting: "It's a wild fantasy worry that is an irrational fear of something that doesn't happen. An irrational fear of trans people? Transphobia."

This is, in her own words with the time of forethought and authorship, Martina Navratilova's 'core' argument against trans women athletes.

It's a wild fantasy worry that is an irrational fear of something that doesn't happen. An irrational fear of trans people? Transphobia. pic.twitter.com/RAX3ynGyTl

— Dr. Rachel McKinnon (@rachelvmckinnon) February 17, 2019

Navratilova rejected accusations of transphobia, adding that she deplores "what seems to be a growing tendency among transgender activists to denounce anyone who argues against them and to label them all as 'transphobes.'"

She also highlighted her friendship with Renée Richards, the transgender tennis player who campaigned to be able to play at women's US Open.

According to current rules issued by the International Olympic Committee in 2016, trans men are allowed to compete without restriction.

Trans women, however, must show that their testosterone level has been below a certain level for at least 12 months before their first competition.

Navratilova's comments came the day before the case of Caster Semenya, the double Olympic 800-meter champion, went before the Court of Arbitration of Sport on Monday.



Caster Semenya celebrates with flag after winning the 800-meter final during the 2018 Commonwealth Games.

The South African athlete has a condition known as hyperandrogenism which means that her testosterone levels are naturally elevated.

Semenya is challenging a case being launched by the sport's governing body, the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF), that would require testosterone levels to be limited in female athletes competing in races between 400 meters and a mile.

The IAAF's proposal would mean she would need to take medication to reduce those levels.

Her case has already won support from the South African government as well as Navratilova, who wrote: "I hope she wins."

"She has never taken medication or sought an advantage," Navratilova added. "She has just trained and run."



QUIZ

The Intolerance of Tolerance

- 1. To be 'tolerant' today simply means _____.**
 - a. that you are open-minded
 - b. that you respect differing opinions
 - c. that you agree with Left-wing positions
 - d. that you generally think for yourself

- 2. If you disagree with any Leftist position, what label do they place on you?**
 - a. intolerant
 - b. racist
 - c. hater
 - d. all of the above

- 3. The classic definition of 'tolerance' means to recognize and respect others' beliefs and practices without sharing them.**
 - a. True
 - b. False

- 4. What did the Left call Martina Navratilova, after she said it was unfair for women to have to compete against trans-athletes?**
 - a. feminist
 - b. transphobic
 - c. racist
 - d. tolerant

- 5. True tolerance applies to _____.**
 - a. how we treat ideas we disagree with
 - b. how we treat opinions we disagree with
 - c. how we treat people we disagree with
 - d. how we treat history we disagree with



QUIZ - ANSWER KEY

The Intolerance of Tolerance

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 - d. how we treat history we disagree with



STUDY GUIDE

Is Voter Fraud Real?

KEY TERMS:

fraud
election integrity

registered voters
ballot harvesting

exploit
corrupt

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section <u>during</u> the video. Include definitions and key terms.	CUE COLUMN: Complete this section <u>after</u> the video.
<p>How many states have counties with more registered voters than legal residents?</p> <p>In the first major election after ballot harvesting was allowed in California, Democrats won how many congressional seats in Orange County, which had been a Republican stronghold for decades?</p> <p>How many states allow non-citizen voting of some kind?</p>	<p>In what ways does voter fraud actually exist?</p> <p>What can the negative consequences be of corrupt voting practices?</p>

Discussion & Review

1. Towards the beginning of the video, Mr. Eggers shares with us that “Twenty-four million voter registrations in the United States are either ‘invalid or significantly inaccurate.’ And, nearly 3 million people are believed to be registered to vote in more than one state. These numbers have a shocking implication: It is very easy to exploit our voting system. During an undercover investigation, New York City detectives made 63 attempts to cast illegal ballots based on flawed voter rolls. They were successful 61 times. Similar investigations in other cities and states produce the same dismal results.” How do you think that so many voter registration rolls get so messed up? Explain. Why do you think that some people purposefully attempt to cheat by voting twice in elections? Why do you think that it is still so easy for unscrupulous people to exploit the U.S. voting system? Explain.
2. Mr. Eggers goes on to point out that “In California, organizations with a clear political agenda are legally permitted to go to a location, say, a nursing home or a church, and collect, literally harvest, ballots. The third party then transports these ballots to a polling place or an election office. This raises an obvious question: Once this third-party collects the ballots, what’s to stop them from changing them-or from just throwing out the ones they don’t like? A guilty conscience? How do we know ballot harvesters from Democratic organizations aren’t destroying Republican ballots? Or Republican harvesters aren’t destroying Democratic ballots? We don’t. We have no way of knowing.” Why do you think that places like California allow ballot harvesting, when the opportunity for fraud is so obvious and so exponentially greater than not allowing ballot harvesting? Explain.
3. When sharing the third example of voter corruption, Mr. Eggers asks, “Should you have to be a citizen to vote?” How would you answer this question? Explain.
4. Later in the video, Mr. Eggers notes that “Bloated Voter Rolls. Ballot Harvesting. Voting by non-citizens. These are just three ways in which the Left creates a clear advantage for itself on Election Day. The major media will tell you that corrupt voting practices either don’t exist or are so minor they don’t matter. But to believe that, you have to believe two things. That voter registration rolls are accurate and secure from fraudulent registrations. And, that no one is trying to manipulate the results for political purposes. Those are two very big leaps.” Why do you think that the Left has to engage in corrupt voting practices in order to be politically competitive? Explain. Why do you think that most of the mainstream media is complicit with Progressives engaging in voter fraud? Explain. Why is it such a huge leap to believe that registration rolls are accurate and that no one is trying to manipulate election results? Explain.
5. At the end of the video, Mr. Eggers warns that “...if you care about free and fair elections, no matter which party you belong to, you need to pay attention. Or pretty soon, free and fair elections will be a quaint relic of the past. No foreign government can undermine our democracy. But Americans can- and some do.” What do you think that Mr. Eggers means, specifically, when he advises viewers to ‘pay attention’? Explain. Why do you think that free and fair elections will be a thing of the past if the electorate does not ‘pay attention’? Explain. Do you agree with Mr. Eggers that foreign governments do not interfere with U.S. elections, but that Americans do? Why or why not?

Extend the Learning:

Case Study Opinion Journalism

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article “Voter Fraud Exists – Even Though Many in the Media Claim It Doesn’t” then answer the questions that follow.

1. How did journalists respond to President Trump’s tweet warning about law enforcement looking for voter fraud? What unsubstantiated claim have journalists made about voter registration and absentee ballot laws in Georgia and other states? What did the preference for opinion reporting over legitimate reporting prompt Carl Bernstein to tell a CNN summit? What did David Wasserman have to say on the topic? Georgia’s Secretary of State explained that out of the total 7 million registered voters in the state, how many are minors? How many had used a fake address? How many weren’t citizens? How many had already registered? Of the remaining registered voters, what percentage had erroneous Social Security information? Who is Stacey Abrams, and what did she tell a crowd in Jonesboro? Who is Leticia Sanchez, and what have her and her cohorts been indicted for? How many ineligible voters has the state of California admitted to have mistakenly registered? What is PILF, and why have they had to sue state officials? What did PILF find that the state of Michigan is lacking? Where else has PILF found that non-citizens are on voter rolls? How many dead people did the Pew report find were registered to vote? What did President Obama’s Justice Department decide, in terms of enforcing federal law that requires states to maintain accurate voter rolls? What did Senator Dodd declare the goal of our voter laws should be?
2. Why do you think that most of the mainstream media tends to dismiss voter fraud as being real and prevalent? Why do you think that most of the mainstream media twists efforts to make elections equitable by accusing government officials of ‘voter suppression’? Explain. Why do you think that so many jurisdictions have so many problems with running fraud-free elections?
3. What do you think could be done to ‘fix’ the U.S. voting system so that it is fraud-proof? Do you think that voting systems across the U.S. should all adhere to a uniform standard? Why or why not?

<https://www.heritage.org/election-integrity/commentary/voter-fraud-exists-even-though-many-the-media-claim-it-doesnt>

Voter Fraud Exists – Even Though Many in the Media Claim It Doesn't

Oct 29th, 2018

Commentary By John Fund, Senior Fellow and Director of Government Finance Programs

Hans A. von Spakovsky, Election Law Reform Initiative and Senior Legal Fellow



CNN's Jim Acosta tweeted "voter fraud in this country is actually very rare." CHRIS KEANE/REUTERS/Newscom

President Trump warned on Twitter last week that law enforcement would be looking for "voter fraud" in the midterm elections. Many journalists quickly responded – as they always do – by dismissing the very existence of voter fraud.

CNN's Jim Acosta tweeted "voter fraud in this country is actually very rare."

Glenn Thrush of The New York Times claimed: "there is essentially no voter fraud in this country." He instead asked, "Will the (Justice Department) Civil Rights division prevent/investigate a real threat-voter suppression?"

Journalists have credulously repeated unsupported, patronizing claims that in Georgia and other states, voter registration and absentee ballot laws somehow suppress minority votes.

The preference for opinion journalism over real reporting prompted Carl Bernstein of Watergate fame to tell a CNN summit last Monday, “We need to be doing stories that really look at whether or not there is widespread voter fraud.... we still need to be doing that basic aspect of the reporting.”

David Wasserman of the Cook Political Report said there are “valid concerns about the restrictive impact of new voting laws and voters improperly removed from rolls, but there's also a lot of outrage-stoking and sloppy journalism in this realm that are counterproductive to fixing real problems.”

For example, to improve the accuracy of Georgia’s records, state legislators last year required that information on a voter registration application match a “driver’s license, state ID card or Social Security record.” Inconsistencies can cause a voter’s registration to be flagged as “pending” while the discrepancy is investigated.

Brian Kemp, the GOP candidate for governor and current secretary of state in Georgia, is being accused of “voter suppression” because of this law. But a “pending” status does not prevent anyone from voting as long as he or she has a government ID that substantially matches the registration application. In any event, every voter can cast a provisional ballot that will be counted once the registration information is verified.

As the secretary of state told radio host Erick Erickson, there are 75,000 pending voters among a record total of 7 million registered in the state. Of these, 9,224 are minors under 18; 2,935 used a fake address; 3,393 are not citizens, and 5,842 were already registered.

Of the remaining applications, 75 percent submitted erroneous Social Security information. Almost a quarter of those “sloppy forms” came from a registration effort by the New Georgia Project, a group founded in 2014 by Stacey Abrams, the Democratic nominee for governor.

Abrams seems unconcerned about voter integrity, telling a crowd in Jonesboro that the “blue wave” would include “those who are documented and undocumented.” She later claimed she didn’t mean to imply noncitizens should actually vote.

While journalists have chased down the Georgia rabbit hole, law enforcement and citizen watchdog groups have uncovered serious voter fraud problems that have received almost no national attention.

For example:

In Texas

Court filings by the Texas attorney general reveal that funding for a voter fraud ring came from the former head of the Texas Democratic Party in Fort Worth.

Leticia Sanchez and three other vote “harvesters” have been indicted for allegedly submitting fraudulent absentee ballot applications and then either intercepting the ballots in mailboxes or improperly “assisting” elderly voters in filling out their ballots.

Separately, the Texas attorney general has announced he’s investigating mailers sent to non-citizens by the state Democratic Party asking them to register using applications that already had the box asking about citizenship checked ‘Yes.’”

In California

California was recently forced to admit that it had mistakenly registered almost 25,000 ineligible voters. The state didn’t even realize it was registering noncitizens until a Canadian who is a permanent resident of

the U.S. contacted The Los Angeles Times to say he had been improperly registered under the state's new automatic voter registration system.

In a letter calling for an audit, Democratic Secretary of State Alex Padilla admitted that such "persistent errors" will "undermine public confidence."

In Pennsylvania

Over a 20-year-period, Pennsylvania Department of Motor Vehicles officials have allowed thousands of noncitizens to register to vote and many have actually voted.

After state officials withheld documents from the Public Interest Legal Foundation (PILF) and even state legislators with oversight authority detailing this mess, the PILF sued to enforce a federal disclosure law. After months of litigation, state election officials are still concealing the information that no one in the media seems interested in uncovering.

In Michigan

PILF found that Michigan lacks a system to keep false citizenship claims from being accepted during voter registration. The group's preliminary study of the Detroit metro area found at least 1,444 non-citizens have been registered to vote in recent years.

PILF has also found thousands of non-citizens – many of whom have voted – on voter rolls in other jurisdictions, including New Jersey, Illinois and numerous sanctuary cities.

In states around the U.S., major problems with our voter registration systems have been tolerated for years. A 2012 report by the Pew Center on the States found that more than 1.8 million dead people were registered to vote and 2.75 million people were registered in more than one state.

The Pew report found that 24 million registrations were either invalid or inaccurate, making the registration systems vulnerable to fraud. Despite this abysmal record, the Justice Department under President Obama decided it wouldn't take any action to enforce a federal law that requires states to maintain accurate voter rolls by regularly removing ineligible voters

When the 2002 Help America Vote Act passed Congress with bipartisan support in the aftermath of the 2000 election debacle in Florida, it's co-author – Democratic Sen. Chris Dodd of Connecticut – declared the goal of our laws should be to "make it easy to vote and hard to cheat."

Indeed, there is no reason why we can't pursue both goals. But the media aren't doing our democracy any favors by summarily dismissing the existence of voter fraud – like the almost 1,200 proven cases in the Heritage Foundation's election fraud database – while questioning the very need for accurate voter rolls.

This piece originally appeared in Fox News



QUIZ

Is Voter Fraud Real?

- 1. In _____ counties across the United States, there are more registered voters than there are people legally eligible to vote.**
 - a. 24
 - b. 224
 - c. 244
 - d. 442

- 2. According to the Pew Study, how many people are believed to be registered to vote in more than one state?**
 - a. nearly 3,000 people
 - b. nearly 30,000 people
 - c. nearly 300,000 people
 - d. nearly 3 million people

- 3. In California, organizations with a clear political agenda are legally permitted to go to a location and collect ballots to take to election officials located somewhere else.**
 - a. True
 - b. False

- 4. According to a recent poll, what percentage of Democrats support granting illegal immigrants the right to vote?**
 - a. 23%
 - b. 33%
 - c. 43%
 - d. 53%

- 5. Federal law prohibits noncitizens from voting in federal elections, but ___ states, all run by Democrats, currently allow noncitizen voting of some kind.**
 - a. 5
 - b. 11
 - c. 20
 - d. 32



QUIZ - ANSWER KEY

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- a. 5
- b. 11
- c. 20
- d. 32



STUDY GUIDE

The Truth About Canadian Healthcare

KEY TERMS:

healthcare
aspire

covered
hospice care

specialist

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section during the video. Include definitions and key terms.

CUE COLUMN: Complete this section after the video.

How do Canadians pay for their healthcare?

What are the significant differences between the Canadian healthcare system and the U.S. healthcare system?

Why couldn't Alain's wife get an ultrasound anytime over the weekend?

What makes the U.S. healthcare system better than the Canadian healthcare system?

Where do many Canadians go for healthcare when they are in serious trouble?

Discussion & Review

1. At the beginning of the video, Mr. Lambert asks, “Why can’t America’s healthcare system be more like Canada’s? Here’s what most people who ask that question think they know about Canadian-style healthcare: 1. Everybody gets covered. 2. It’s free. 3. It’s great.” How would you answer Mr. Lambert’s question? Why do you think that Canada has a nationalized healthcare system? Considering that Canadian healthcare is not free and is not great, why do you think that many people who are ignorant about the Canadian healthcare system advocate for Canadian-style healthcare to be implemented in the U.S.? Explain.
2. Shortly after, Mr. Lambert notes: “Nothing is free. Canadians pay for their insurance through their taxes. And as you might expect, the tax rates in Canada are very high.” Why do you think that some people incorrectly assume that Canada’s healthcare is free? Do you think that the tradeoff between high taxes and nationalized healthcare is worth it? Why or why not?
3. After sharing his personal experience regarding his pregnant wife as an example, Mr. Lambert points out: “In the United States, a pregnant woman doesn’t wait a day to get an ultrasound if the baby’s health is in question. And ultrasound technicians are available on the weekend.” Why do you think that ultrasound technicians are not available on the weekends in Canada? Why do you think that Canadians have to wait for so long for so many types of procedures? Explain.
4. Later in the video, Mr. Lambert explains: “Canadian hospice care is first-rate- caring and compassionate. Once you’re terminal, they take very good care of you.” Why do you think that the Canadian system values and takes better care of people who are dying rather than everyone else? Explain.
5. At the end of the video, Mr. Lambert concludes: “I can tell you who will be really bummed out if you adopt it. Canadians. When we’re in trouble, we know where to go: the USA. Don’t go the Canadian route, America. Make your healthcare system better, not worse.” What does the fact that Canadians often go to the U.S. for healthcare reflect and demonstrate about the Canadian healthcare system? Why do you think that Mr. Lambert implores the U.S. not to model their healthcare system after the Canadian way? Explain.

Extend the Learning:

Case Study Timely Medical Alternatives

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article “Canadian Shares Horror Stories of Single Payer Health Care To Minnesota Audience,” and “The Ugly Truth About Canadian Health Care,” then answer the questions that follow.

1. What is Twila Brase skeptical of, and why? Who is Richard K. Baker, and what does he do? What happened to the 8-year old girl with the ear infection? How long did the girl’s family have to wait to be treated after contacting Mr. Baker? What did the doctor in the U.S. say about the girl and her condition? What happened in Suzanne Aucoin’s case, and what does it represent, in terms of the future of Canadian health care? When Dr. Gratzler, the author of the second article, was cutting through the E.R. to get to a medical class, he discovered that some of the patients on stretchers had been waiting for how long to receive care? What was the simple thesis of Dr. Gratzler’s book? What solution did Dr. Gratzler offer in his book? How did the problems he found in the Canadian healthcare system compare to other government-run healthcare systems in other countries? How many elderly citizens died in France during the August 2003 heat wave? Why did they die? What did Dr. Jacques Chaoulli do that was so important? What was his argument to the court, and what was it based on? What does Mr. Baker’s company do? How does Mr. Baker describe what he does? Who is Dr. Brian Day, and what does he have to say about Canadian health care? What percentage of government-funded diagnostic testing is now being performed in private clinics across British Columbia? After the completion of the latest round of privatizations, what percentage of Stockholm’s primary care will be contracted out to those private health care providers? What other factors besides quality of healthcare can account for why Americans have a lower life expectancy than Canada and other nations? What do the life-expectancy statistics find that Americans who don’t die in car crashes or homicides show? Where does the author argue the U.S. should be looking towards in seeking a model for good health care and good prices?
2. How has Canada’s culture towards its healthcare system changed, in terms of how the press views it and in terms of how ordinary citizens evaluate it? Do you think that Mr. Baker should be doing what he is doing? Why or why not? What are the problems inherent to a single-payer/nationalized healthcare system that will always and inevitably cause it to end up being poor quality for a majority of its participants?
3. Do you wish for the U.S. to adopt a single-payer, government-run healthcare system? Why or why not? What about when taking into consideration how horribly the U.S. government runs the V.A.? Explain.

<https://alphanewsmn.com/canadian-doctor-shares-horror-stories-of-single-payer-health-care-to-minnesota-audience/>

Canadian Shares Horror Stories of Single Payer Health Care To Minnesota Audience

The State-sponsored health care system canceled the primary clinic visit – a visit dedicated solely to diagnosing the disease and setting up a time to drain the ears – not once, or even twice, but four times over the course of a year.

By

John Lucke

-

September 20, 2019



Doctor

Last night was the 2019 CCHF Fundraising Celebration Dinner! Citizens' Council for Health Freedom (CCHF) is a nonprofit that not only defends against a government-run, single-payer system that socializes health care but attempts to build free-market alternatives that secure patient privacy.

Twila Brase, president, and co-founder of CCHF informed the attendees on the many victories of the legislative year, both in our state and at the federal level.

She is skeptical of the State intervening in health care due to what she described as “the inability to quantify quality care.” Despite having a portion of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) dedicated to “defining quality care,” there is no agreed-upon definition of what constitutes quality care, said Brase.

Twila introduced the keynote speaker, Richard K. Baker, who helps Canadians escape single-payer rationing. Baker aids patients on long waiting lists receive timely surgery in the United States. Thousands of Canadians have received urgently-needed surgery and many lives have been saved.

Canada has its own limiting definition of what constitutes situations that require surgery: imminent death or loss of limb *only*. All other afflictions must wait an average of 2 years for surgery. Richard K. Baker laid out some of the more pernicious cases of how the single-payer health care system creates massive cracks that allow many people to fall through.

One such example was of an 8-year-old girl who was suffering from an ear infection, rendering her deaf and unable to learn properly in school. The State-sponsored health care system canceled the primary clinic visit – a visit dedicated solely to diagnosing the disease and setting up a time to drain the ears – not once, or even twice, but four times over the course of a year. The girl’s father contacted Baker, whose company Timely Medical Alternatives connects sick Canadians to American hospitals expediently. Baker linked the family to a clinic across the border, and the young girl was seen immediately the next day. Upon review by a specialized ENT, the doctor noted that he “isn’t tasked with simply draining her ears but saving her life.” Over the course of the continually-deferred period by the single-payer system, the 8-year-old’s infection had spread from her ears into her brain, a terminally damaging diagnosis. After the procedure, the harm was irreversible: permanent deafness in one ear and only partial hearing in the other.

This sad story was one of many that falls through the cracks of a single-payer system. Twila Brase, Richard K. Baker, and others like CCHF are committed to freedom, quality patient care, and defending against the intruding, bumbling system that monopolizes and degrades health care.

The Ugly Truth About Canadian Health Care

Socialized medicine has meant rationed care and lack of innovation. Small wonder Canadians are looking to the market.

David Gratzer

Summer 2007

Mountain-bike enthusiast Suzanne Aucoin had to fight more than her Stage IV colon cancer. Her doctor suggested Erbitux—a proven cancer drug that targets cancer cells exclusively, unlike conventional chemotherapies that more crudely kill all fast-growing cells in the body—and Aucoin went to a clinic to begin treatment. But if Erbitux offered hope, Aucoin's insurance didn't: she received one inscrutable form letter after another, rejecting her claim for reimbursement. Yet another example of the callous hand of managed care, depriving someone of needed medical help, right? Guess again. Erbitux is standard treatment, covered by insurance companies—in the United States. Aucoin lives in Ontario, Canada.

When Aucoin appealed to an official ombudsman, the Ontario government claimed that her treatment was unproven and that she had gone to an unaccredited clinic. But the FDA in the U.S. had approved Erbitux, and her clinic was a cancer center affiliated with a prominent Catholic hospital in Buffalo. This January, the ombudsman ruled in Aucoin's favor, awarding her the cost of treatment. She represents a dramatic new trend in Canadian health-care advocacy: finding the treatment you need in another country, and then fighting Canadian bureaucrats (and often suing) to get them to pick up the tab.

But if Canadians are looking to the United States for the care they need, Americans, ironically, are increasingly looking north for a viable health-care model. There's no question that American health care, a mixture of private insurance and public programs, is a mess. Over the last five years, health-insurance premiums have more than doubled, leaving firms like General Motors on the brink of bankruptcy. Expensive health care has also hit workers in the pocketbook: it's one of the reasons that median family income fell between 2000 and 2005 (despite a rise in overall labor costs). Health spending has surged past 16 percent of GDP. The number of uninsured Americans has risen, and even the insured seem dissatisfied. So it's not surprising that some Americans think that solving the nation's health-care woes may require adopting a Canadian-style single-payer system, in which the government finances and provides the care. Canadians, the seductive single-payer tune goes, not only spend less on health care; their health outcomes are better, too—life expectancy is longer, infant mortality lower.

Thus, Paul Krugman in the *New York Times*: “Does this mean that the American way is wrong, and that we should switch to a Canadian-style single-payer system? Well, yes.” Politicians like Hillary Clinton are on board; Michael Moore's new documentary *Sicko* celebrates the virtues of Canada's socialized health care; the National Coalition on Health Care, which includes big businesses like AT&T, recently endorsed a scheme to centralize major health decisions to a government committee; and big unions are questioning the tenets of employer-sponsored health insurance. Some are tempted. Not me.

I was once a believer in socialized medicine. I don't want to overstate my case: growing up in Canada, I didn't spend much time contemplating the nuances of health economics. I wanted to get into medical school—my mind brimmed with statistics on MCAT scores and admissions rates, not health spending. But as a Canadian, I had soaked up three things from my environment: a love of ice hockey; an ability to convert Celsius into Fahrenheit in my head; and the belief that government-run health care was truly compassionate. What I knew about American health care was unappealing: high expenses and lots of uninsured people. When HillaryCare shook Washington, I remember thinking that the Clintonistas were right.

My health-care prejudices crumbled not in the classroom but on the way to one. On a subzero Winnipeg morning in 1997, I cut across the hospital emergency room to shave a few minutes off my frigid commute. Swinging open the door, I stepped into a nightmare: the ER overflowed with elderly people on stretchers, waiting for admission. Some, it turned out, had waited *five days*. The air stank with sweat and urine. Right then, I began to reconsider everything that I thought I knew about Canadian health care. I soon discovered that the problems went well beyond overcrowded ERs. Patients had to wait for practically any diagnostic test or procedure, such as the man with persistent pain from a hernia operation whom we referred to a pain clinic—with a three-year wait list; or the woman needing a sleep study to diagnose what seemed like sleep apnea, who faced a two-year delay; or the woman with breast cancer who needed to wait four months for radiation therapy, when the standard of care was four weeks.

I decided to write about what I saw. By day, I attended classes and visited patients; at night, I worked on a book. Unfortunately, statistics on Canadian health care's weaknesses were hard to come by, and even finding people willing to criticize the system was difficult, such was the emotional support that it then enjoyed. One family friend, diagnosed with cancer, was told to wait for potentially lifesaving chemotherapy. I called to see if I could write about his plight. Worried about repercussions, he asked me to change his name. A bit later, he asked if I could change his sex in the story, and maybe his town. Finally, he asked if I could change the illness, too.

My book's thesis was simple: to contain rising costs, government-run health-care systems invariably restrict the health-care supply. Thus, at a time when Canada's population was aging and needed more care, not less, cost-crunching bureaucrats had reduced the size of medical school classes, shuttered hospitals, and capped physician fees, resulting in hundreds of thousands of patients waiting for needed treatment—patients who suffered and, in some cases, died from the delays. The only solution, I concluded, was to move away from government command-and-control structures and toward a more market-oriented system. To capture Canadian health care's growing crisis, I called my book *Code Blue*, the term used when a patient's heart stops and hospital staff must leap into action to save him. Though I had a hard time finding a Canadian publisher, the book eventually came out in 1999 from a small imprint; it struck a nerve, going through five printings.

Nor were the problems I identified unique to Canada—they characterized all government-run health-care systems. Consider the recent British controversy over a cancer patient who tried to get an appointment with a specialist, only to have it canceled—48 times. More than 1 million Britons must wait for some type of care, with 200,000 in line for longer than six months. A while back, I toured a public hospital in Washington, D.C., with Tim Evans, a senior fellow at the Centre for the New Europe. The hospital was dark and dingy, but Evans observed that it was cleaner than anything in his native England. In France, the supply of doctors is so limited that during an August 2003 heat wave—when many doctors were on vacation and hospitals were stretched beyond capacity—15,000 elderly citizens died. Across Europe, state-of-the-art drugs aren't available. And so on.

But single-payer systems—confronting dirty hospitals, long waiting lists, and substandard treatment—are starting to crack. Today my book wouldn't seem so provocative to Canadians, whose views on public health care are much less rosy than they were even a few years ago. Canadian newspapers are now filled with stories of people frustrated by long delays for care:

vow broken on cancer wait times: most hospitals across canada fail to meet ottawa's four-week guideline

for radiation

patients wait as p.e.t. scans used in animal experiments

back patients waiting years for treatment: study

the doctor is . . . out

As if a taboo had lifted, government statistics on the health-care system's problems are suddenly available. In fact, government researchers have provided the best data on the doctor shortage, noting, for example, that more than 1.5 million Ontarians (or 12 percent of that province's population) can't find family physicians. Health officials in one Nova Scotia community actually resorted to a lottery to determine who'd get a doctor's appointment.

Dr. Jacques Chaoulli is at the center of this changing health-care scene. Standing at about five and a half feet and soft-spoken, he doesn't seem imposing. But this accidental revolutionary has turned Canadian health care on its head. In the 1990s, recognizing the growing crisis of socialized care, Chaoulli organized a private Quebec practice—patients called him, he made house calls, and then he directly billed his patients. The local health board cried foul and began fining him. The legal status of private practice in Canada remained murky, but billing patients, rather than the government, was certainly illegal, and so was private insurance.

Chaoulli gave up his private practice but not the fight for private medicine. Trying to draw attention to Canada's need for an alternative to government care, he began a hunger strike but quit after a month, famished but not famous. He wrote a couple of books on the topic, which sold dismally. He then came up with the idea of challenging the government in court. Because the lawyers whom he consulted dismissed the idea, he decided to make the legal case himself and enrolled in law school. He flunked out after a term. Undeterred, he found a sponsor for his legal fight (his father-in-law, who lives in Japan) and a patient to represent. Chaoulli went to court and lost. He appealed and lost again. He appealed all the way to the Supreme Court. And there—amazingly—he won.

Chaoulli was representing George Zeliotis, an elderly Montrealer forced to wait almost a year for a hip replacement. Zeliotis was in agony and taking high doses of opiates. Chaoulli maintained that the patient should have the right to pay for private health insurance and get treatment sooner. He based his argument on the Canadian equivalent of the Bill of Rights, as well as on the equivalent Quebec charter. The court hedged on the national question, but a majority agreed that Quebec's charter did implicitly recognize such a right.

It's hard to overstate the shock of the ruling. It caught the government completely off guard—officials had considered Chaoulli's case so weak that they hadn't bothered to prepare briefing notes for the prime minister in the event of his victory. The ruling wasn't just shocking, moreover; it was potentially monumental, opening the way to more private medicine in Quebec. Though the prohibition against private insurance holds in the rest of the country for now, at least two people outside Quebec, armed with Chaoulli's case as precedent, are taking their demand for private insurance to court.

Rick Baker helps people, and sometimes even saves lives. He describes a man who had a seizure and received a diagnosis of epilepsy. Dissatisfied with the opinion—he had no family history of epilepsy, but he did have constant headaches and nausea, which aren't usually seen in the disorder—the man requested an MRI. The government told him that the wait would be four and a half months. So he went to Baker, who arranged to have the MRI done within 24 hours—and who, after the test discovered a brain tumor, arranged surgery within a few weeks.

Baker isn't a neurosurgeon or even a doctor. He's a medical broker, one member of a private sector that is rushing in to address the inadequacies of Canada's government care. Canadians pay him to set up surgical procedures, diagnostic tests, and specialist consultations, privately and quickly. "I don't have a medical background. I just have some common sense," he explains. "I don't need to be a doctor for what I do. I'm just expediting care."

He tells me stories of other people whom his British Columbia-based company, Timely Medical Alternatives, has helped—people like the elderly woman who needed vascular surgery for a major artery in her abdomen and was promised prompt care by one of the most senior bureaucrats in the government, who never called back. "Her doctor told her she's going to die," Baker remembers. So Timely got her surgery in

a couple of days, in Washington State. Then there was the eight-year-old badly in need of a procedure to help correct her deafness. After watching her surgery get bumped three times, her parents called Timely. She's now back at school, her hearing partly restored. "The father said, 'Mr. Baker, my wife and I are in agreement that your star shines the brightest in our heaven,'" Baker recalls. "I told that story to a government official. He shrugged. He couldn't fucking care less."

Not everyone has kind words for Baker. A woman from a union-sponsored health coalition, writing in a local paper, denounced him for "profiting from people's misery." When I bring up the comment, he snaps: "I'm profiting from *relieving* misery." Some of the services that Baker brokers almost certainly contravene Canadian law, but governments are loath to stop him. "What I am doing could be construed as civil disobedience," he says. "There comes a time when people need to lead the government."

Baker isn't alone: other private-sector health options are blossoming across Canada, and the government is increasingly turning a blind eye to them, too, despite their often uncertain legal status. Private clinics are opening at a rate of about one a week. Companies like MedCan now offer "corporate medicals" that include an array of diagnostic tests and a referral to Johns Hopkins, if necessary. Insurance firms sell critical-illness insurance, giving policyholders a lump-sum payment in the event of a major diagnosis; since such policyholders could, in theory, spend the money on anything they wanted, medical or not, the system doesn't count as health insurance and is therefore legal. Testifying to the changing nature of Canadian health care, Baker observes that securing prompt care used to mean a trip south. These days, he says, he's able to get 80 percent of his clients care in Canada, via the private sector.

Another sign of transformation: Canadian doctors, long silent on the health-care system's problems, are starting to speak up. Last August, they voted Brian Day president of their national association. A former socialist who counts Fidel Castro as a personal acquaintance, Day has nevertheless become perhaps the most vocal critic of Canadian public health care, having opened his own private surgery center as a remedy for long waiting lists and then challenged the government to shut him down. "This is a country in which dogs can get a hip replacement in under a week," he fumed to the *New York Times*, "and in which humans can wait two to three years."

And now even Canadian governments are looking to the private sector to shrink the waiting lists. Day's clinic, for instance, handles workers'-compensation cases for employees of both public and private corporations. In British Columbia, private clinics perform roughly 80 percent of government-funded diagnostic testing. In Ontario, where fealty to socialized medicine has always been strong, the government recently hired a private firm to staff a rural hospital's emergency room.

This privatizing trend is reaching Europe, too. Britain's government-run health care dates back to the 1940s. Yet the Labour Party—which originally created the National Health Service and used to bristle at the suggestion of private medicine, dismissing it as "Americanization"—now openly favors privatization. Sir William Wells, a senior British health official, recently said: "The big trouble with a state monopoly is that it builds in massive inefficiencies and inward-looking culture." Last year, the private sector provided about 5 percent of Britain's nonemergency procedures; Labour aims to triple that percentage by 2008. The Labour government also works to voucherize certain surgeries, offering patients a choice of four providers, at least one private. And in a recent move, the government will contract out some primary care services, perhaps to American firms such as UnitedHealth Group and Kaiser Permanente.

Sweden's government, after the completion of the latest round of privatizations, will be contracting out some 80 percent of Stockholm's primary care and 40 percent of its total health services, including one of the city's largest hospitals. Since the fall of Communism, Slovakia has looked to liberalize its state-run system, introducing co-payments and privatizations. And modest market reforms have begun in Germany: increasing co-pays, enhancing insurance competition, and turning state enterprises over to the private sector (within a decade, only a minority of German hospitals will remain under state control). It's important to note that change in these countries is slow and gradual—market reforms remain controversial. But if the

United States was once the exception for viewing a vibrant private sector in health care as essential, it is so no longer.

Yet even as Stockholm and Saskatoon are percolating with the ideas of Adam Smith, a growing number of prominent Americans are arguing that socialized health care still provides better results for less money. “Americans tend to believe that we have the best health care system in the world,” writes Krugman in the *New York Times*. “But it isn’t true. We spend far more per person on health care . . . yet rank near the bottom among industrial countries in indicators from life expectancy to infant mortality.”

One often hears variations on Krugman’s argument—that America lags behind other countries in crude health outcomes. But such outcomes reflect a mosaic of factors, such as diet, lifestyle, drug use, and cultural values. It pains me as a doctor to say this, but health care is just one factor in health. Americans live 75.3 years on average, fewer than Canadians (77.3) or the French (76.6) or the citizens of any Western European nation save Portugal. Health care influences life expectancy, of course. But a life can end because of a murder, a fall, or a car accident. Such factors aren’t academic—homicide rates in the United States are much higher than in other countries (eight times higher than in France, for instance). In *The Business of Health*, Robert Ohsfeldt and John Schneider factor out intentional and unintentional injuries from life-expectancy statistics and find that Americans who don’t die in car crashes or homicides *outlive* people in any other Western country.

And if we measure a health-care system by how well it serves its sick citizens, American medicine excels. Five-year cancer survival rates bear this out. For leukemia, the American survival rate is almost 50 percent; the European rate is just 35 percent. Esophageal carcinoma: 12 percent in the United States, 6 percent in Europe. The survival rate for prostate cancer is 81.2 percent here, yet 61.7 percent in France and down to 44.3 percent in England—a striking variation.

Like many critics of American health care, though, Krugman argues that the costs are just too high: “In 2002 . . . the United States spent \$5,267 on health care for each man, woman, and child.” Health-care spending in Canada and Britain, he notes, is a small fraction of that. Again, the picture isn’t quite as clear as he suggests; because the U.S. is so much wealthier than other countries, it isn’t unreasonable for it to spend more on health care. Take America’s high spending on research and development. M. D. Anderson in Texas, a prominent cancer center, spends more on research than Canada does.

That said, American health care is expensive. And Americans aren’t always getting a good deal. In the coming years, with health expenses spiraling up, it will be easy for some—like the zealous legislators in California—to give in to the temptation of socialized medicine. In Washington, there are plenty of old pieces of legislation that like-minded politicians could take off the shelf, dust off, and promote: expanding Medicare to Americans 55 and older, say, or covering all children in Medicaid.

But such initiatives would push the United States further down the path to a government-run system and make things much, much worse. True, government bureaucrats would be able to cut costs—but only by shrinking access to health care, as in Canada, and engendering a Canadian-style nightmare of overflowing emergency rooms and yearlong waits for treatment. America is right to seek a model for delivering good health care at good prices, but we should be looking not to Canada, but close to home—in the other four-fifths or so of our economy. From telecommunications to retail, deregulation and market competition have driven prices down and quality and productivity up. Health care is long overdue for the same prescription.

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QUIZ

The Truth About Canadian Healthcare

- 1. Most people who advocate for the healthcare system in the U.S. to be more like Canada's think that in Canada's healthcare system _____.**
 - a. everybody gets covered
 - b. it's free
 - c. it's great
 - d. all of the above

- 2. Canadian healthcare is not free- Canadians pay for their healthcare insurance through their high taxes.**
 - a. True
 - b. False

- 3. Why couldn't Alain's wife get an ultrasound anytime over the weekend?**
 - a. because none of the machines were working
 - b. because their health insurance didn't cover it
 - c. because ultrasound machine operators do not work on weekends
 - d. because the doctor didn't think she needed one

- 4. The earliest Alain's friend could get surgery for his prostate cancer was _____.**
 - a. three hours after receiving the diagnosis
 - b. three days after receiving the diagnosis
 - c. three weeks after receiving the diagnosis
 - d. three months after receiving the diagnosis

- 5. Who will be bummed out if the U.S. adopts a Canadian-style healthcare system?**
 - a. Cubans
 - b. Canadians
 - c. Mexicans
 - d. Chinese



QUIZ - ANSWER KEY

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STUDY GUIDE

Who's More Radical: The Left or the Right?

KEY TERMS:

crazies
thought experiment

radical
freedom

common sense
transform

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section <u>during</u> the video. Include definitions and key terms.	CUE COLUMN: Complete this section <u>after</u> the video.
<p>Where do the voices of the crazies on the Left live?</p> <p>If the Left got everything it wanted, how high could income taxes go?</p> <p>If the Right got everything it wanted, what would happen to the size of government?</p>	<p>What are the significant differences between what the Left wants and what the Right wants?</p> <p>How would the outcome of the United States be different if the Left got everything it wanted as opposed to the Right getting everything they wanted?</p>

Discussion & Review

1. Towards the beginning of the video, Mr. Witt contends that, “ ... there’s an important difference between these two [ideological and political] extremes: The crazies on the right have no voice. Indeed, they are shunned. They live mostly on the far fringes of the Internet. The crazies on the left have a loud voice. Indeed, they are celebrated. They live in the halls of Congress, in state legislatures and in governors’ mansions.” Why do you think that some people on both sides take such extreme positions? Explain. Why do you think that the crazies on the Left have a significantly louder voice than the crazies on the Right? Explain.
2. After Mr. Witt proposes a thought experiment, he points out that for the Left, “Private health insurance would be abolished. The government would provide all health care services. Everyone in the medical field from doctors, nurses and administrators would be government employees. Americans would pay for this government health care through much higher taxes,” but for the Right, “The health care system would be opened to free market reforms. For example, insurance companies could sell policies across state lines.” Do you think that nurses, doctors, and administrators want to have a choice to be government employees or not? Explain. Do you think that they should have a choice? Why or why not? Considering how poorly the Veteran’s Administration is run, in what ways might freeing up the private health care system to be more competitive have better outcomes for most Americans rather than a complete government takeover of the private healthcare system? Explain.
3. Mr. Witt goes on to note that if the Left got what it wanted, “The Green New Deal would be adopted. Hundreds of billions of dollars of subsidies for wind and solar power would be added to the federal budget. Drilling for fossil fuels, the current source of 80% of our energy, would be sharply curtailed or eliminated altogether. So would nuclear power. As a result, consumer’s electric bills would be much higher.” How do you think adding such an enormous expense to the federal budget would negatively affect the United States and the energy industry? Seeing as how raising the cost of electric bills so much would negatively impact low-income families so severely, do you think supporting the Left and having them pass the Green New Deal would be worth it? Why or why not?
4. At the conclusion of presenting a litany of likely outcomes if both sides got what they wanted, Mr. Witt asks, “So, what can we conclude from our experiment? It’s not hard to figure out. If the Right got everything it wanted, the government would get much smaller. The citizen would have more freedom. If the Left got everything it wanted, the government would get much bigger. The citizen would have less freedom.” In what ways, specifically, do the size of government directly correlate to the degree of freedom that its citizens have? Explain. Which do you think is better for most Americans- having more freedom or having less freedom? Explain.
5. At the end of the video, Mr. Witt concludes that, “You’re not radical if you want America to be what it’s always been- committed to individual liberty. You’re only radical if you want to fundamentally transform America into something it’s never been. Which country do you want to live in?” What exactly does Mr. Witt mean by ‘fundamentally transform America into something it’s never been?’ Explain. How would you answer Mr. Witt’s question?

Find the Learning: Case Study Single-Payer Healthcare

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article “Single-Payer Would Devastate The Economy,” then answer the questions that follow.

1. Why is a single-payer system attractive to many people? How does the VA system work, and what are some of the problems with it? How does Medicare work? How much over the original budget was Medicare spending in 1990? Is Medicare financially sustainable? What would ‘Medicare for All’ do to the economy? How does Senator Sanders propose to fund his program? Under Medicare for All, how many *additional* taxes would high-income workers be hit with? Even with those taxes, how much does the CFRB report Medicare for All would be short in funding over 10 years? What’s wrong with the single-payer system in Canada, and how would those shortcomings affect Americans if the U.S. had a similar system? What do wealthy Canadians do if they don’t want to wait for healthcare? Under a single-payer system, what does health care spending have to compete with at the government level? What about each healthcare sector? In a single-payer system, who makes life or death choices instead of patients and doctors?
2. In what ways would single-payer healthcare take freedoms away from Americans? In addition to doctors and hospitals being paid less, in many cases significantly less, what other negative consequences could result from government-run healthcare?
3. Why do you think that the Left so often looks to the government to solve problems—usually with legislation that limits freedoms? Why do you think that the Left often focuses on what *sounds* good, like the Green New Deal, without thinking through the consequences to see if the proposal would actually *do* any good? Explain.

Dec 7, 2017, 02:23pm EST

Single-Payer Would Devastate The Economy

Guest commentary curated by Forbes Opinion. Avik Roy, Opinion Editor.

POST WRITTEN BY

Roger Stark

Stark is a health care policy analyst at Washington Policy Center.



Sen. Bernie Sanders, I-Vt., center, accompanied by Sen. Kirsten Gillibrand, D-N.Y., center right, speaks at a news conference on Capitol Hill in Washington, Wednesday, Sept. 13, 2017, to unveil their Medicare for All legislation to reform health care. (AP Photo/Andrew Harnik)

With debate raging over federal tax reforms, health care has temporarily moved off center stage in U.S. policy debates. But with costs soaring, it won't stay in the backseat long. Progressives will continue to promote the single-payer idea, with Senator Bernie Sanders and others advocating for "Medicare for All."

The Affordable Care Act (ACA), also known as Obamacare, is a highly complex law and has made our current health care system more confusing. A single-payer system is attractive to many people because of its perceived simplicity – the U.S. government would provide direct health services to all Americans.

We already have two examples of a single-payer system in the U.S. The Veterans Administration (VA) health care system is a socialized, single-payer program. Taxpayers fund the system, hospitals are owned by the government, and providers are all government employees. Although the VA system has offered good

health care to many veterans, we have learned that on balance the system is plagued with cost overruns, inefficiencies, and prolonged wait times for care.

The second example is Medicare, which began in 1965 and is a single-payer system for seniors, 65 years of age and older. Funding is through payroll taxes, premiums, and an ever-increasing percentage of money from federal general taxes. By 1990, spending in Medicare was seven times over the original budget. Medicare is not financially sustainable in its present form.

Like the VA system, Medicare has helped many people, but the cost of “Medicare for All” would devastate the overall economy. The non-partisan Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget (CRFB) analyzed Senator Sanders’ proposal from a financial standpoint. He calls for six new or expanded taxes. Everyone would pay 6.2% more in payroll tax and 2.2% more in income tax.

Higher-income workers would experience four additional taxes. Income taxes would increase, capital gains would be taxed as ordinary income, certain current deductions would be eliminated, and estate taxes would increase.

Even with these expanded taxes, the CRFB reports that multiple analysts, including the non-partisan Congressional Budget Office, find Senator Sanders’ calculations to be short by up to \$14 trillion over 10 years.

Canada has had a single-payer system for over 30 years and its experience is revealing. Canadians are proud that every citizen has health insurance. From a cultural standpoint, the principle of universal coverage is a priority for the country. It also makes it easier for the citizens to overlook the problems within the system.

The demand for health care far outweighs the supply of care in Canada. Health care spending is now one of the greatest expenses for every province in the country.

The long wait times in Canada are not in the patient’s best interest and would not be acceptable for the vast majority of Americans. Health care rationing through waiting-lists is effective when supply is overwhelmed by demand. The question is whether government bureaucrats should have the authority to pick and chose what procedures patients receive and who should actually receive those treatments, while others are forced to wait for care.

Canada actually has a two-tiered health care system. Wealthy Canadians who do not want to wait for care and can pay cash, can and do receive treatment in the U.S.

Under a single-payer system, health care spending must compete with all other government activity for funding. This makes health care very political and subject to change with every new budget. It also forces each health care sector to compete with the other for limited money.

A single-payer system sounds like a simple solution to the U.S. health care problem. The reality is far different. Fundamentally, a single-payer system centralizes all health care with the government, is far too expensive, and limits access to health care by rationing. Instead of patients and doctors making key decisions, bureaucrats get to make those life and death choices about the kind and amount of health care people receive.



QUIZ

Who's More Radical: The Left or the Right?

- 1. Some of the crazy position of the Left are _____.**
 - a. that a man can get pregnant
 - b. that the world is going to end in a decade if we don't cap carbon emissions
 - c. that the real purpose of the American Revolution was to preserve slavery
 - d. all of the above

- 2. How do the voices on the Right compare to the voices on the Left?**
 - a. Voices on the Right have a loud voice.
 - b. Voices on the Right are celebrated.
 - c. Voices on the Right live mostly on the fringes of the internet.
 - d. Voices on the Right are predominant in higher institutions of learning.

- 3. If the Left got everything they wanted, illegal immigrants would receive free healthcare, free education, and free housing.**
 - a. True
 - b. False

- 4. What would happen if the Right got everything it wanted?**
 - a. everyone in the medical field would be government employees
 - b. income, capital gains, and corporate taxes would be permanently cut
 - c. drilling for fossil fuel would be sharply curtailed or eliminated altogether
 - d. speech codes would be enforced throughout American life

- 5. You are not radical if you _____.**
 - a. want to fundamentally transform America
 - b. want less freedom for citizens
 - c. want bigger government
 - d. are committed to individual liberty



QUIZ - ANSWER KEY

Who's More Radical: The Left or the Right?

1. Some of the crazy position of the Left are _____.
 - a. that a man can get pregnant
 - b. that the world is going to end in a decade if we don't cap carbon emissions
 - c. that the real purpose of the American Revolution was to preserve slavery
 - d. all of the above

2. How do the voices on the Right compare to the voices on the Left?
 - a. Voices on the Right have a loud voice.
 - b. Voices on the Right are celebrated.
 - c. Voices on the Right live mostly on the fringes of the internet.
 - d. Voices on the Right are predominant in higher institutions of learning.

3. If the Left got everything they wanted, illegal immigrants would receive free healthcare, free education, and free housing.
 - a. True
 - b. False

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5. You are not radical if you _____.
 - a. want to fundamentally transform America
 - b. want less freedom for citizens
 - c. want bigger government
 - d. are committed to individual liberty



STUDY GUIDE

Why Are So Many Americans in Prison?

KEY TERMS:

racist
activists

Progressive narrative
plea bargaining

mass incarceration myth
felony convictions

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section <i>during</i> the video. Include definitions and key terms.	CUE COLUMN: Complete this section <i>after</i> the video.
<p>Out of every ten inmates in prison, how many are in state facilities?</p> <p>The clear majority of the state prison population is made up of what type of criminals?</p> <p>How much of a reduction in the prison population is Progressive activist Van Jones calling for?</p>	<p>How does the reality of America's prison population significantly differ from the Progressive propaganda of so-called "racial injustice"?</p> <p>What might the consequences be of reducing the number of people in prisons?</p>

Discussion & Review

1. At the beginning of the video, Mr. Mangual explains: “Our prisons are crowded with people who shouldn’t be there, the victims of a racist justice system. This is the popular Progressive narrative. But it’s wrong in every respect... The U.S. does have a very large prison population—not because too many innocent people are incarcerated, but because too many people commit serious, usually violent, crimes. With rare exceptions, that’s why most people are imprisoned in America.” Considering the overwhelming evidence to the contrary, why do you think that Leftists promote the idea that the justice system is racist, as part of their agenda? Why do you think that so many people are committing violent crimes? Explain.
2. After Mr. Mangual notes that innocent people shouldn’t be behind bars and that the punishment should fit the crime, he states, “...let’s not fool ourselves that our prisons are full of people who shouldn’t be there. That’s simply not the case. Let’s start with those convicted of drug offenses, the source of so much of the “‘mass incarceration’ myth”. While it’s true that about half of federal prisoners are incarcerated on drug charges, federal inmates constitute only about 12 percent of the American prison population. Almost nine of every ten prison inmates are in state facilities. And very few of them, less than 15%, are there for drug related offenses... In short, violent criminals make up the clear majority of the state prison population.” What do you think the ‘mass incarceration myth’ is? Explain. Why do you think that so few drug offenders end up in prison? Explain.
3. Mr. Mangual answers this last question by pointing out: “Most prosecutions never get to court. Instead a deal is made between the defendant’s attorney and the prosecutor to avoid going to trial. These negotiations often involve the offender agreeing to plead guilty in exchange for a reduced sentence, a dropping or downgrading of the more serious charges. As a result, a prisoner’s conviction record often understates the crime that landed him behind bars in the first place. For example, an armed burglar who, when arrested, was found to be in possession of illegal drugs, might go to prison not for his worst crime—the armed burglary, but for a plea-bargained charge of, say, trespass and drug possession. But the media and the activists don’t tell us about this rather important detail. Instead, all we hear about is the poor fellow who’s serving time ‘for selling a small amount of cocaine.’” Why do you think that so many prosecutors make deals to avoid trials? Why do you think that activists don’t take into account the fact that many drug offenders who are incarcerated are in prison because of a more serious crime? Explain.
4. Later in the video, Mr. Mangual asks, “Do we really want even more criminals out on the street? Activists say yes. Scholars at the left-leaning Brennan Center have called for an immediate 40% reduction in the number of inmates. CNN host Van Jones, founder of the #Cut50 initiative, tops that. He wants a 50% reduction. But if the activists get their way, the costs would be high—and would likely be paid by the most vulnerable. Most crimes are committed by a small fraction of the population who primarily victimize their own communities.” Considering how dangerous it would be to let violent criminals out, why do you think that activists want to have so many of them released? Do you agree that the number of violent felons incarcerated should be reduced so drastically? Why or why not?
5. At the end of the video, Mr. Mangual warns: “If we cut prison rolls by twenty, forty or fifty percent, it won’t be politicians and media celebrities living in gated communities who will pay the price, it will be the law-abiding citizens in underserved neighborhoods struggling to get ahead who will pay. When it comes to debates about criminal justice policy, these

people, not criminals, should come first.” What do you think would happen if so many violent felons are let out of prisons back to their communities? Do you agree with Mr. Mangual that the safety of the people of those communities should be given more weight in public policy debates regarding reducing incarceration numbers? Why or why not?

Extend the Learning:

Case Study Elizabeth Warren

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article “Elizabeth Warren’s Lie,” then answer the questions that follow.

1. Who is Elizabeth Warren, and what did she declare as a “hard truth”? What claim does the author contend to be a paranoid lie? What is the myth of mass incarceration? What evidence demonstrates that it is a myth? What is the biggest reason for the overall disparity in incarceration? Blacks account for what percentage of homicides? What are the statistics and numbers reflecting the race of violent crime offenders based on? What condition fully explains the population-level disparity in fatal police shootings? According to the author, what two reasons explain why Senator Warren is making her accusation of the justice system being racist?
2. Why do you think that Senator Warren is abiding by the Leftist agenda of falsely accusing the justice system of being racist? Why do you think that so many people are not willing to accept the reality that the simple reason that such a significant racial disparity exists regarding incarceration is that of the actual rate of offending? Why do you think the Left is so willing to accept that many more men than women are incarcerated because men commit more crimes than women, but not apply the same rationale towards race disparities- and, thus, why doesn’t the Left complain about the justice system being unfair and being sexist towards men? Do you think that the justice system is broadly, systematically, and intrinsically racist? Why or why not?
3. In the article, the author characterizes Senator Warren’s accusation of the justice system being racist as, “...a sign that the Democrats are going to leaven their lurch toward socialism with a condemnation of America as fundamentally racist.” What do you think the author means by “lurch toward socialism”? Explain. Do you agree with the author’s assertion that the Democratic movement is generally condemning the U.S. as racist? Why or why not? Do you agree that the Democrats motive for condemning the U.S. as racist is as an excuse to justify a move towards socialism? Why or why not?

Elizabeth Warren's Lie

By Rich Lowry

August 7, 2018 6:30 AM



Sen. Elizabeth Warren on Capitol Hill (*Yuri Gripas/Reuters*) Our criminal-justice system is not racist 'front to back.'

Elizabeth Warren is branching out.

The Massachusetts senator, who has made a career of unfairly maligning bankers and other alleged capitalist malefactors, is now smearing the criminal-justice system, too.

In a speech at a historically black college in New Orleans, she declared that “the hard truth about our criminal justice system: It’s racist . . . I mean front to back.”

Her riff is a sign that the Democrats are going to leaven their lurch toward socialism with a condemnation of America as fundamentally racist. After helping fuel Donald Trump’s rise in 2016 with loose rhetoric about the bigotry of cops, Democrats hope to dislodge him in 2020 with even more sweeping accusations of systematic racism.

The U.S. criminal-justice system is obviously a legitimate topic of debate. The war on drugs has been a blunderbuss mistake, and we should be reconsidering how many people we jail, and how we do it and why. But the contention that U.S. law enforcement is a product of racial hatred is a paranoid lie, from top to bottom, from beginning to end, from front to back.

The basis of the racism charge is the obvious disparities in the numbers. Blacks are 13 percent of the population, yet they account for 38 percent of state prisoners, and for more than roughly 30 percent of fatal police shootings.

The driver for mass incarceration, we are always told, is a racist war on drugs. But this is a myth. In his book *Locked In*, John Pfaff notes that at its height in 1990, the share of state prisoners serving time for drugs was just 22 percent. The proportion fell to less than 16 percent in 2014. So you could release all drug offenders and still leave mass incarceration intact. And you wouldn't just be releasing black prisoners — 33 percent of white inmates in state prisons are drug offenders, a slightly smaller percentage than the 38 percent of black inmates who are drug offenders.

The biggest reason for the overall disparity in incarceration is different rates of offending.

It is true that the incarceration rates for drug offenses are much higher for blacks. This may be a product of enforcement bias, or other factors such as that whites are more prone to use private, as opposed to open-air, drug markets. “Little rigorous empirical work has been done to test these theories,” Pfaff writes. “It’s not uncommon to see someone simply assert that the proportions of whites and blacks who use and sell drugs are the same, but with very little data to support the claim.”

The biggest reason for the overall disparity in incarceration is different rates of offending. Blacks account for about 50 percent of homicides. It’s not that the police are simply making up these crimes. The numbers for violent crime accord with reports from crime victims about the race of their assailants.

The same applies to police shootings. Joseph Cesario, a professor of psychology at Michigan State University, writes that “the differences in involvement in criminal situations between black and white citizens fully explains the population-level disparity in fatal police shootings.”

Now, it’s entirely fair to argue that different rates of offending are a function of the vestiges of racism, and that it is urgent to pursue criminal-justice reform given how the status quo affects black families and communities. But the idea that we are living in a latter-day apartheid South Africa, with a system designed to jail and immiserate blacks out of sheer maliciousness, is contemptible, poisonous, and wrong.

It is telling that Elizabeth Warren is going there. There are two reasons. One is that she has a Bernie Sanders problem: She is (to all appearances) a white politician who has overwhelmingly devoted herself to economic issues. She needs to play identity politics catch up. Two, in reaction to Trump, the Left is embracing a sweeping indictment of America as undemocratic and racist at the core.

Warren’s performance shows that the party is prepared to consider no critique of America too radical or out of bounds.

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Rich Lowry is the editor of National Review. @richlowry



QUIZ

Why Are So Many Americans in Prison?

1. Federal inmates constitute only about _____ of the American prison population.
 - a. 12%
 - b. 18%
 - c. 22%
 - d. 28%

2. How many of the inmates in state prisons are there for drug-related offenses?
 - a. less than 35%
 - b. less than 25%
 - c. less than 15%
 - d. less than 5%

3. Violent criminals make up the clear majority of the state prison population.
 - a. True
 - b. False

4. Scholars at the left-leaning Brennan Center have called for how much of a reduction in the number of inmates?
 - a. 10%
 - b. 20%
 - c. 30%
 - d. 40%

5. A University of Chicago Crime Lab study found that on average, someone arrested for a homicide or shooting in that city had nearly ____ prior arrests.
 - a. 3
 - b. 6
 - c. 9
 - d. 12



QUIZ - ANSWER KEY

Why Are So Many Americans in Prison?

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- d. 12



STUDY GUIDE

Why I Love America

KEY TERMS:

American
limited government

communist
opportunity

freedom
decency

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section <u>during</u> the video. Include definitions and key terms.	CUE COLUMN: Complete this section <u>after</u> the video.
<p>In his third year of college, what country was Mr. Prager studying in?</p> <p>Why did America fight in Korea?</p> <p>What idea was America founded on?</p>	<p>How did Mr. Prager come to form a broad understanding of and an appreciation of America?</p> <p>What does Mr. Prager love about America?</p>

Discussion & Review

1. At the beginning of the video, Mr. Prager notes: “I am a third-generation American- my parents and my maternal grandmother were born in Brooklyn, New York. But I didn’t know I loved America until my early twenties. In my third year of college, I studied in England and began a life of travel that eventually took me to one hundred and thirty countries... Being away from America for a year, spending the Christmas season in Morocco, where there was no Christmas season, and ending the year with a month in the Soviet Union, where there was no freedom- this all had a life-changing impact on me. I realized how lucky I was to be an American. I even realized how much I simply enjoyed being an American.” In what ways, specifically, do you think that being away from America helped Mr. Prager to love his country? Do you agree with Mr. Prager that people born in America are ‘lucky?’ Why or why not? What do you think it means to ‘enjoy’ being an American? Explain.
2. As part of explaining how important America has been to the world, Mr. Prager points out that America fought in the Korean conflict, “To stop the spread of communism, the greatest genocidal and totalitarian ideology in history, and thereby enable more than half of Korea to live in freedom. Another fifty-eight thousand Americans died in Vietnam to enable the South Vietnamese to live in the same freedom America made possible for South Koreans. Neither Vietnam nor Korea had any natural resources that America wanted. Americans died in those two countries solely so that their people could be free.” What does the fact that on multiple occasions America has sent troops to fight for another country’s freedom demonstrate about America? Explain.
3. Mr. Prager goes on to share with us that America is unique, in that, “America is the only country that was founded not on a race, ethnicity, or nationality but on an idea: limited government- because the founders of America believed, first and foremost, in liberty... And America has given more liberty and opportunity to more people from more nations than any country in world history... What rendered America unique is that Americans killed one another in its bloodiest war to abolish slavery, and that it eventually became the least racist multi-racial country in history. It remains the only white-majority country to have ever elected a black leader.” What, specifically, is the correlation between limited government and freedom? Explain. What factors and conditions unique to America helped it mature from being a country that allowed slavery to electing a black president twice? Explain.
4. Later in the video, Mr. Prager states: “Ask visitors what they think of Americans, and they are likely to tell you how friendly Americans are. There are mean and bad Americans and there are kind and good people in every country. But having travelled abroad every year of my life since college, and to all 50 American states, and being sensitive to people’s goodness and happiness, I have been continually amazed at the essential decency of most Americans.” What do you think Mr. Prager means by ‘people’s goodness and happiness?’ What do you think constitutes the ‘essential decency of most Americans?’ Explain.
5. At the end of the video, Mr. Prager concludes: “I fell in love with America at the age of 20, and given the freedom, the opportunities, and the religious tolerance I have experienced, I realize all these years later that America has loved me too.” Why do you think that Mr. Prager characterizes his affinity with America as having ‘fallen in love’ with the country? What do you think Mr. Prager means when he claims to have realized that his country ‘loves him too?’ Explain.

Extend the Learning:

Case Study The Statue of Liberty

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article “The French Connection” and “Statue of Liberty: The Making of an Icon,” then answer the questions that follow.

1. What does the Statue of Liberty commemorate? Who was Edouard de Laboulaye, and what did he do? What were the hopes of Laboulaye and his contemporaries? Who was Auguste Bartholdi, and what did he do? What is the sculpture’s official title, and what was the reasoning behind the name? Why did his colleagues criticize Laboulaye? How tall is the Statue of Liberty? Why did Bartholdi go to the United States in 1871? Where was the Statue of Liberty originally going to be placed, possibly? Why was Laboulaye a ‘great admirer of the United States?’ What was the purpose of the Franco-American Union? How did Bartholdi get more financial contributions for the project in 1876? What did the American Committee for the Statue of Liberty do, and what happened as a result of their efforts? Who is Emma Lazarus and what did she do? What was Joseph Pulitzer’s involvement in the fundraising, and what was the outcome of his efforts? How many pieces was the statue in when it arrived in New York? What did President Cleveland do at the dedication ceremony? How did Congress passing the Private Card Mailing Act of 1898 help the statue? Why was the Statue of Liberty ‘an even more prominent American symbol during World War I?’
2. Do you think that Laboulaye loved America? Why or why not? What do you think is so meaningful about the Statue of Liberty to so many people? Why do you think that liberty is such an important ideal- worthy of such praise as that of a colossal statue? Explain.
3. What does the Statue of Liberty mean to you, if anything? Explain. Do you love America? Why or why not?

The French Connection



An illustration of the presentation of the Statue to the U.S. Minister Levi Parsons Morton in Paris on July 4, 1881. National Park Service, Statue of Liberty NM

The Statue of Liberty was a gift from the French people commemorating the alliance of France and the United States during the American Revolution. Yet, it represented much more to those individuals who proposed the gift.



A photograph of Edouard de Laboulaye from the Galerie Contemporaine collection. National Park Service, Statue of Liberty NM

In 1865, Edouard de Laboulaye (a French political thinker, U.S. Constitution expert, and abolitionist) proposed that a monument be built as a gift from France to the United States in order to commemorate the

perseverance of freedom and democracy in the United States and to honor the work of the late president Abraham Lincoln. Laboulaye hoped that by calling attention to the recent achievements of the United States, the French people would be inspired to create their own democracy in the face of a repressive monarchy. In 1865, France was divided between people who were still committed to the monarchy and people who supported the Enlightenment ideals (the belief that people had natural rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness). It was the hope of many French liberals that democracy would prevail and that freedom and justice for all would be attained.



Bartholdi in his studio, Vavin Street, Paris, 1892. National Park Service, Statue of Liberty NM

In order to turn his idea into a reality, Laboulaye talked to many prominent and influential men in France. Auguste Bartholdi - a French sculptor who had recently been commissioned to make a bust of Laboulaye - greatly supported Laboulaye's idea and was soon selected to be the sculptor of the proposed monument.



A picture entitled "The Spirit of 61. God, Our Country and Liberty!" by Currier and Ives circa 1861. Library of Congress

"Liberty" was a controversial idea in the 19th century. To many people it suggested violence and revolution. Laboulaye and Bartholdi agreed that their monument should not be seen as leading an uprising, but rather as lighting the way, peacefully and lawfully. A key element was the name they gave to the Statue: *Liberty Enlightening the World*. Bartholdi's public monuments hailed back to classical images of a powerful, honorable national authority over any ideology. His statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World" would be above conservatism and liberalism and above radical revolutions and political turmoil. She would be an international symbol of liberty, justice, and democracy. In 1871, the Statue was transformed from idea into reality - it was to be funded, built, and presented to the United States.

This project could not have happened at a better time for Laboulaye. In 1871, an uprising by members of the working and middle classes in Paris against the government was brutally crushed. Laboulaye did not

support such extremism among laboring people; although he wanted to change the French government to a democratic government, he did not want to do it through violence. Despite his liberal views, Laboulaye was criticized by his colleagues because he spoke out against the violence and supported the governmental repression of the uprising. The creation of the Statue of Liberty, however, was a chance for Laboulaye to restore his reputation as a devoted liberal and democratic advocator, honor the success of liberty in the United States, and hope that the French would be inspired to fight for the same ideals

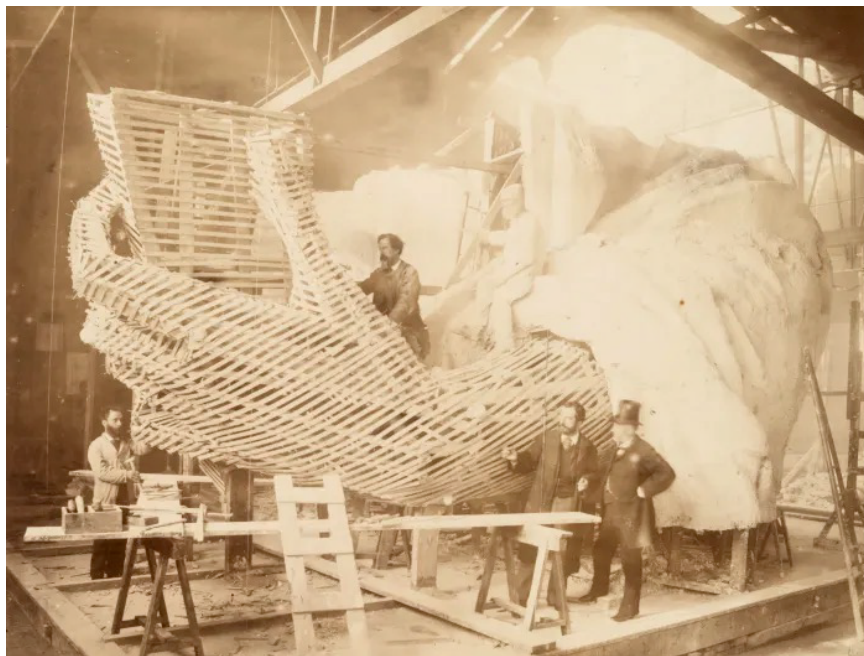
<https://www.history.com/news/statue-of-liberty-icon-building>



Acid Test Photo/Getty Images

The Statue of Liberty, which towers 305 feet, six inches over New York Harbor, is one of the most instantly recognizable symbols of America. It has inspired countless souvenir replicas and been referenced in everything from posters for war bonds to the final scene of the 1968 movie “Planet of the Apes,” in which an astronaut who returns to Earth in the distant future discovers it partially buried in sand.

But the statue that’s known across the planet went through an odd, serendipitous journey to iconic status. It was conceived by a French sculptor, Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi, who had never even been to the United States before arriving in 1871 in hopes of convincing Americans to support his dream of building a monumental statue.



Construction of the skeleton and plaster surface of the left arm and hand of the Statue of Liberty in Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi's workshop, circa 1883. The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs/The New York Public Library

His design for the Statue of Liberty borrowed from an earlier idea he'd had for a colossal woman bearing a lantern at the entrance of the Suez Canal. The proposed figure he called "Liberty Enlightening the World," was a woman wearing a crown of rays and holding a torch aloft in one hand and a tablet in the other. He originally scouted Central Park as a possible location, before settling upon what was then Bedloe's Island.

Bartholdi traveled across the United States from Washington, D.C. to Los Angeles to promote his idea, but when he wasn't able to secure government support, he went back to France and started working with his friend Edouard de Laboulaye, who for years had wanted to build a French-American monument.

"Laboulaye was a very great admirer of the United States," American University historian Alan Kraut says in a podcast, "Raising the Torch," created for the Statue of Liberty Museum. "He was particularly excited about the outcome of the America Civil War, the emancipation of 4 million slaves, and also the long relationship the United States had had with France."

In 1875, Laboulaye formed the Franco-American Union to raise \$250,000 to finance Bartholdi's creation of the statue. The idea was that Americans, in turn, would raise money for the statue's base.



The colossal hand and torch of Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty at the *Philadelphia* Centennial exhibition, 1876. The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs/The New York Public Library

But it wasn't that easy to get people in the United States—particularly in New York City, where it was to be located—excited about putting up money for the project. In 1876, to drum up more enthusiasm, Bartholdi exhibited the statue's hand and torch at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition. When skeptics in New York questioned why he wasn't showing more of the body, Bartholdi dropped hints that he might just put the finished statue in Philadelphia instead. New Yorkers, not wanting to be shown up, quickly agreed to exhibit the hand and torch in Madison Square to advertise the project and stimulate more contributions, according to the New York Public Library.

In the 1880s, the American Committee for the Statue of Liberty raised money for the construction of the statue's pedestal by selling small souvenir models of the planned statue, which ranged from \$1 for a six-inch replica to \$5 for a foot-high version, which were marketed through a nationwide campaign. The effort led to the spread of miniature Statues of Liberty throughout the United States and the world, and helped establish the statue in the public imagination as a symbol of America.

A variety of other fundraising efforts were staged, ranging from theatrical galas to prizefights, according to Christine Garnaut's and Donald Langmead's *Encyclopedia of Architectural and Engineering Feats*. Emma Lazarus wrote a poem, "The New Colossus," which was read at a fundraising art exhibition in 1883. (Two decades later, it was inscribed on a bronze plaque on the inner wall of the pedestal.) Lazarus' stirring plea

to "Give me your tired, your poor, Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free" helped to make the statue more than just a celebration of American democracy, by linking it with the waves of immigrants arriving in America in the late 1800s, and their aspirations for a better life.



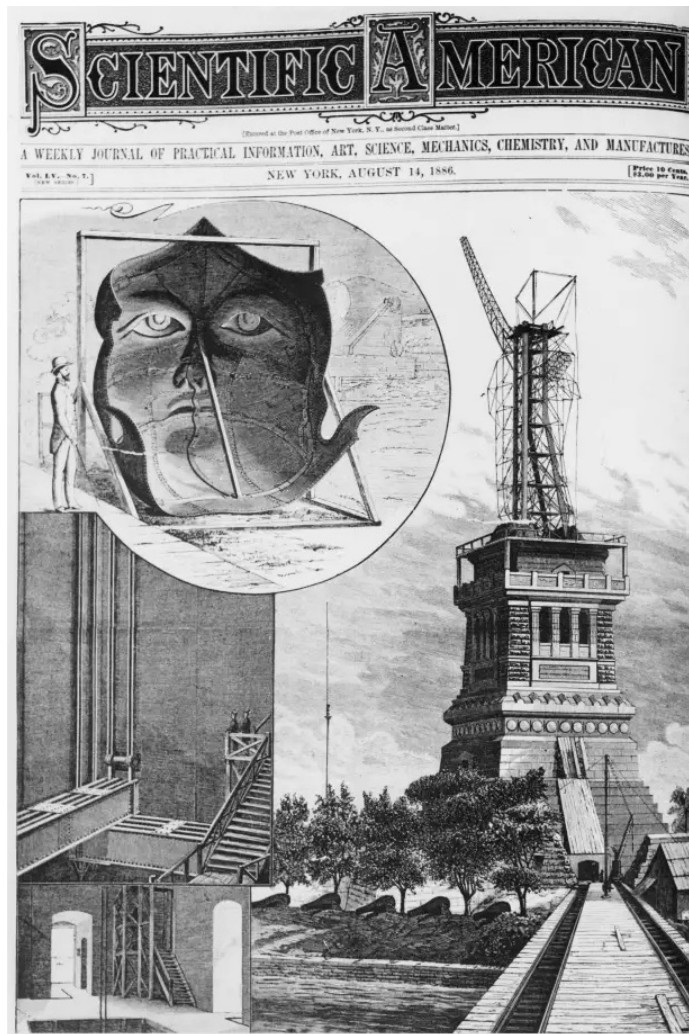
Men in a workshop hammering sheets of copper for the construction of the Statue of Liberty, circa 1883.

"Laboulaye uses America as a symbol of good things. He sees Bartholdi as the tool by which he can achieve his aim of giving a gift," Barry Moreno, historian and curator for the Ellis Island National Museum of Immigration, says in the "Raising the Torch" podcast.

When even those heroic fundraising efforts weren't enough, Joseph Pulitzer, publisher of the tabloid *New York World*, came to the project's rescue. Pulitzer ran a March 1885 article in his newspaper, which prodded readers into contributing more money for the base by pointing out that the statue itself had been paid for by "the masses of the French people—by the working men, the tradesmen, the shop girls, the artisans—by all, irrespective of class or condition." Americans had to do their part as well, Pulitzer exhorted, and it worked. The newspaper was able to raise \$100,000 to complete the project, most of it in donations of \$1 or less.

But while the campaign to finish the pedestal—in some ways, an early version of today's GoFundMe campaigns—required hustle, it ultimately helped Americans to feel a sense of ownership and connection to the statue, even though it had been created on the other side of the Atlantic.

As Magnuson-Cannady, supervising ranger for the National Park Service tells the "Raising the Torch" podcast, "The Statue of Liberty was really of the people in that the people of the United States and the people of France...not the super wealthy, not the super powerful—it was everyday folks contributing to the fundraising efforts and paying for the Statue of Liberty and the pedestal."



The construction of the Statue of Liberty on the front page of Scientific American, circa 1886. Photo 12/UIG/Getty Images

In 1885, the statue arrived—in 350 pieces—in New York, where it took a year to be assembled because the pedestal hadn’t yet been completed. Finally, in October 1886, the Statue of Liberty was dedicated at a ceremony during which the crowd interrupted by a full 15 minutes of applause before President Grover Cleveland could begin a brief speech in which he proclaimed that “she holds aloft the light which illumines the way to man’s enfranchisement.”

The massive statue’s magnificence instantly made it into a tourist magnet. As Barry Moreno explains in his 2017 pictorial history of the Statue of Liberty , Congress’s passage of the Private Card Mailing Act of 1898, which authorized private companies to produce postcards as long as they adhered to certain size and quality standards, also helped boost its profile, because people who visited bought inexpensive color postcards and sent them to friends and neighbors.

The market for Statue of Liberty postcards, in fact, became so lucrative that 11 years later, American printers convinced Congress to ban the importation of foreign-made postcards that depicted the statue and other quintessential “American scenes.”

The statue became an even more prominent American symbol during World War I, when it became one of the sights that U.S. soldiers gazed upon as they sailed off to fight in Europe, as well as one of the first things they glimpsed when they finally returned home.

The opening of a new \$100 million museum on Liberty Island in 2019, paid for by private donations, further reinforces the Statue of Liberty as a monument cherished by people around the world. Timed to the May 2019 opening of the museum, the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation created an app featuring Apple’s augmented reality software, along with the “Raising the Torch” podcast to enhance the museum experience. Also featured in the new museum are a series of eight short films by HISTORY that outline

fundraising and construction efforts behind the Statue of Liberty, how it became a symbol of home and democracy during wartime and its global significance as an icon representing equality and immigration.

“The statue is a kind of malleable or plastic figure,” Kraut says. “It can come to embody the kinds of definitions that one lends to the notion of freedom, itself.”



QUIZ

Why I Love America

- 1. In his third year of college, Mr. Prager studied in _____.**
 - a. France
 - b. The Soviet Union
 - c. Tunisia
 - d. England

- 2. What made the defeat of Imperial Germany possible in World War I?**
 - a. the actions of French saboteurs
 - b. England outspending Germany on warfare technology
 - c. the devaluation of German currency
 - d. America entering the war

- 3. Fifty-eight thousand Americans died in Vietnam to enable the South Vietnamese to live in the same freedom America made possible for South Koreans.**
 - a. True
 - b. False

- 4. What idea was America founded on?**
 - a. absolute and total equality in every way
 - b. imperialism
 - c. limited government
 - d. ethnic cohesion

- 5. In addition to having visited numerous countries, Mr. Prager has traveled to _____ of the United States.**
 - a. 20
 - b. 30
 - c. 40
 - d. 50



QUIZ - ANSWER KEY

Why I Love America

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2. What made the defeat of Imperial Germany possible in World War I?
 - a. the actions of French saboteurs
 - b. England outspending Germany on warfare technology
 - c. the devaluation of German currency
 - d. America entering the war

3. Fifty-eight thousand Americans died in Vietnam to enable the South Vietnamese to live in the same freedom America made possible for South Koreans.
 - a. True
 - b. False

4. What idea was America founded on?
 - a. absolute and total equality in every way
 - b. imperialism
 - c. limited government
 - d. ethnic cohesion

5. In addition to having visited numerous countries, Mr. Prager has traveled to _____ of the United States.
 - a. 20
 - b. 30
 - c. 40
 - d. 50



RELIGION/ PHILOSOPHY



STUDY GUIDE

Social Justice Isn't Justice

KEY TERMS:

justice
favor

equal
truth

responsibility
compassion

values

NOTE-TAKING COLUMN: Complete this section <u>during</u> the video. Include definitions and key terms.	CUE COLUMN: Complete this section <u>after</u> the video.
<p>What is the message in many churches and synagogues in the West, in terms of justice?</p> <p>What does the Biblical book of Leviticus say about justice?</p> <p>In terms of compassion in a system of justice, what is the Bible preoccupied with?</p>	<p>What are the significant differences between justice and 'social justice?'</p> <p>How does 'social justice' undermine and work against actual justice?</p>

Discussion & Review Questions

1. Towards the beginning of the video, Ms. Stuckey explains: “Justice is getting what you deserve without favor. Social Justice is getting what you don’t deserve because you are favored. Justice is blind. Social justice is not. Let’s say a man robs a store. Justice demands but one thing: that he be tried in a court of justice, and, if he is found guilty, punished. That is not how social justice works. Social justice doesn’t only ask if the person is guilty. It asks about his economic condition: Is he poor or wealthy? About his upbringing: What kind of childhood did he have? About his race or ethnicity: Is he a member of a group that has been historically oppressed? Justice demands that everyone be equal under the law. Social justice demands that everyone be equal. Period. Economically, socially, and in every other possible way.” Why do you think that the Left is so fanatical about equality that they make it the fundamental and most important value above all others, including freedom? Do you think that the Left purposefully conflating and usurping the Founder’s intentions of actual justice with ‘social justice’ is unjust? Why or why not?
2. Ms. Stuckey goes on to note: “Lost in all these social justice considerations is the individual’s own responsibility for what he did. That’s why social justice advocates have abandoned the term justice. They deem justice alone as unfair. And sometimes it is. A man who was beaten by his father and abandoned by his mother is more likely to commit a violent crime than a man raised in a loving home. But those facts cannot and should not determine his innocence or guilt. Why? Because justice is first and foremost about truth: is the person guilty or innocent of the crime?” Why do you think that social justice advocates lessen the importance of or even ignore the notion of one being responsible for one’s own decisions and actions in terms of justice? Do you think that the Left embracing the false notion of truth being subjective rather than objective weakens and invalidates their perspective regarding justice? Why or why not?
3. Later in the video Ms. Stuckey points out: “Being a victim, however that is defined, is no excuse for hurting other people. And what about the those who are hurt, the victims of those crimes? Shouldn’t they, and other law-abiding citizens, be society’s first consideration? Social justice advocates say no. They say we need social justice to even things out. And that means favoring the have-nots over the haves- the poor over the rich, the female over the male, and the brown or black over the white.” According to social justice advocate logic, if a minority female commits a violent crime she should not get as harsh a punishment as a white male who committed the same crime... so that justice and society can be ‘evened out’ because she was a ‘victim’ and he was ‘privileged.’ Do you agree with the social justice advocates? Why or why not? What might some of the flaws in the social justice reasoning be, in terms of weighing the importance of the person committing the crime versus the person that is the victim of the crime? Explain.
4. Later in the video, Ms. Stuckey asks: “...if social justice is not a Biblical concept, why do so many churches and synagogues promote it? Because many Christians and Jews no longer regard Biblical principles as binding. Because it’s a lot easier to dispense compassion than hold people to a Biblical standard.” Why do you think that so many Christians and Jews value Leftist ideology over Biblical principles? What do you think Ms. Stuckey means, exactly, by her statement of it being easier to dispense compassion than to hold people to a Biblical standard, and why do you think that so many people prefer ‘easier’ to what’s ‘right?’ Explain.

5. At the end of the video, Ms. Stuckey concludes: "...Leftism has superseded the Bible in many houses of worship. And Leftism, as a guiding principle, holds that the weak are good and the powerful are bad. That's why the great battle of our time is between Judeo-Christian values and Leftist values. The former is rooted in justice; the latter is not." Why do you think that the Left tends to judge people categorically instead of on merit and on a case-by-case basis? Explain. Would you agree that since Judeo-Christian values are just, that they are better and more American than Leftist values? Why or why not? Which value system do you think will prevail in the long run? Explain

Extend the Learning:

Case Study Mumia Abu-Jamal

INSTRUCTIONS: Read the article "One Problem in Abu-Jamal Crusade: He's Guilty," then answer the questions that follow.

1. Who are Danny and Maureen Faulkner, and what happened to them? Who is Mumia Abu-Jamal and what did he do? Why are celebrities and others crusading to 'free Mumia?' Why didn't Mr. Abu-Jamal want a legal defense at his trial? What claim made by social justice warriors about a bullet removed from Officer Faulkner's body was proven untrue by Mr. Abu-Jamal's own attorneys? What did one witness say about what Mr. Abu-Jamal did after Officer Faulkner was down? What has Mr. Abu-Jamal said about his actions that day? What has Mr. Abu-Jamal's brother, who witnessed the scene, said regarding Mr. Abu-Jamal's defense? What did the federal judge rule regarding the penalty phase of Mr. Abu-Jamal's trial?
2. Why do you think that social justice warriors consider Mr. Abu-Jamal to be a victim? Why do you think that social justice advocates often ignore the facts of a case if those facts don't fit into their political narrative, or often don't even bother to gather and to consider all of the facts before making a judgment or taking a side in a case? Explain.
3. In the video, Ms. Stuckey states, "Being a victim, however that is defined, is no excuse for hurting other people. And what about the those who are hurt, the victims of those crimes? Shouldn't they, and other law-abiding citizens, be society's first consideration?" How do you think Maureen Faulkner would answer that question? What is your response? Do you agree with Ms. Stuckey in the video that 'social justice' is not just? Why or why not? Ms. Stuckey also notes that in the Bible, "... compassion follows justice. It doesn't precede it." Do you agree with Ms. Stuckey that our society should be the same way? Why or why not? Why do you think that the Left defines justice as equality, rather than differentiating the legal concept from the moral one? Explain.

One Problem in Abu-Jamal Crusade: He's Guilty

By STEVE LOPEZ
Dec. 21, 2001
12 AM

Maureen Faulkner moved across the country after her husband was shot and killed on a downtown Philadelphia street 20 years ago this month. In Camarillo, she made new friends, started a new job and tried to build a new life.

But the old one keeps chasing after her.

Faulkner's late husband, Danny, was a cop. The man who killed him, Mumia Abu-Jamal, has become an international celebrity and a symbol of everything that's wrong with the American judicial system.

This week, after years of appeals, a federal judge in Philadelphia affirmed the 1982 murder conviction but threw out the death sentence. He ordered that Abu-Jamal either be kept in prison for life or be given a new sentencing hearing.

Maureen Faulkner, who manages a medical office in Camarillo, has been a wreck since the news. The other night, just after dozing off, she bolted up, gasping for air.

"I jumped out of bed and couldn't catch my breath, and the reality hit. Oh, my God! I'm going to have to go back to that courtroom and go through this again."

Having lived and worked in Philadelphia for about 12 years, I happen to know a few things about the murder of Officer Danny Faulkner. I've talked to the prosecutors and to Abu-Jamal attorneys, read the transcripts, studied the appeals and visited the scene of the murder.

And without qualification, hesitation or a shadow of a doubt, I can tell you this:

Mumia Abu-Jamal is guiltier than O.J.

On Dec. 9, 1981, Officer Faulkner made a traffic stop on Abu-Jamal's brother, Billy Cook, who put up a fight. Abu-Jamal happened upon the scene, and shooting began. Faulkner ended up dead, and Abu-Jamal was shot in the chest.

A gun registered to Abu-Jamal, with five chambers empty, was on the sidewalk. Four witnesses who saw all or part of the shooting implicated Abu-Jamal. One witness said that after Faulkner went down, Abu-Jamal stood over him and sealed the deal with a bullet through the head.

And yet an international crusade to free Mumia--fueled by endorsements from Hollywood celebrities including Susan Sarandon, Paul Newman, Ossie Davis, Ed Asner, Tim Robbins and Alec Baldwin--has had people marching in the streets from Africa to Asia and beyond.

I've seen "Free Mumia" posters and T-shirts in Canada and Greece. Twenty-two members of the British Parliament called for a new trial, and this month the Paris City Council made Abu-Jamal its first honorary citizen in 30 years. The last was Picasso.

These people believe with all their heart, and very little of their head, that Abu-Jamal is a political prisoner who was framed, scapegoated and railroaded by a racist police force and a hanging judge.

It's true that the 1982 trial was a circus, but that's because Abu-Jamal wanted it to be. His own attorney told me that Abu-Jamal, a Black Panther, considered himself a revolutionary and didn't want a legal defense. He wanted to make a political statement. At times, Abu-Jamal was removed from the courtroom because of his outbursts.

When I lived in Philadelphia, I couldn't begin to make sense of the Abu-Jamal juggernaut until I got a call one day from Los Angeles.

The caller told me he worked in entertainment and had been handed a petition demanding a new trial for Abu-Jamal. Everyone in his office was happily signing up, but he wanted to know more before jumping on the wagon, and someone suggested he call me.

He read me a list of claims about coerced witnesses, suppressed evidence, fabricated evidence and dark conspiracies. And then I understood the Abu-Jamal fever and accompanying dementia.

While there was a grain of truth to some of the claims, many were simplifications, exaggerations or outright lies. For instance, Abu-Jamal supporters scream that a .44-caliber bullet was removed from Faulkner's body but that Abu-Jamal had a .38. In fact, that claim has been debunked by the defense team's own ballistics expert.

Mumia supporters, who tend to work themselves into a lather, have foamed at me for years, and I think I know why I make them so uncomfortable.

I believe there's an unconscionable history of police brutality and frame jobs on minorities in Philadelphia, Los Angeles and the rest of the country.

I believe the death penalty is so disproportionately applied to minorities without adequate legal representation, it ought to be abolished.

And yet I refuse to buy into their political claptrap and help them make a martyr of Abu-Jamal, who shot Danny Faulkner in cold blood and watched him die.

Had Abu-Jamal argued that it was a matter of self-defense, I might have thought differently. But he didn't. For 20 years, in fact, he said absolutely nothing about what happened. You'd think that might set off a few alarms among breathless supporters, but not a chance.

In the absence of an explanation from Abu-Jamal, Hollywood celebrities, racially motivated apologists and other misguided opportunists created their own, pitching half-baked conspiracies and cockamamie tales of mystery killers fleeing the scene.

But here's the topper:

For 20 years, Abu-Jamal's own brother Billy, who was at the scene of the crime, never uttered a word in his defense. What kind of sap buys into Abu-Jamal's innocence when his own flesh and blood lets him stew on death row?

Earlier this year, Abu-Jamal's latest defense team broke the big news that Faulkner was killed by a Mafia hit man, a scenario so ridiculous that the previous attorneys kept it quiet to avoid embarrassment. And Billy Cook finally broke his silence with the blockbuster report that an unnamed acquaintance of his did the job.

These were the developments that apparently inspired Parisians to elevate Abu-Jamal into the realm of Picasso.

This week, when the federal judge ruled that jurors were improperly instructed in the penalty phase of the 1982 trial, neither side was happy.

Abu-Jamal supporters had wanted the judge to throw out the conviction altogether, prosecutors wanted the death sentence to stick, and both sides plan to appeal.

And so it drags on for Maureen Faulkner, who was just 24 when this nightmare began, and wishes the federal judge would have left things as they were.

In past court appearances, she has been spat upon and cursed by Abu-Jamal supporters, for no reason other than her unwavering belief in justice for her husband's killer.

"Now I'll probably have to relive the whole thing once more," she says. "I'll have to hear Mumia supporters screaming at me and pointing their fingers like they're shooting at me. It's been over 20 years now. Is there any regard for the survivors of crime?"

*

Steve Lopez writes Monday, Wednesday and Friday. He can be reached at steve.lopez@latimes.com



QUIZ

Social Justice Isn't Justice

- 1. Justice is getting what you deserve without _____.**
 - a. punishment
 - b. judgment
 - c. favor
 - d. reciprocity

- 2. In what way does justice demand that everyone be equal?**
 - a. socially
 - b. economically
 - c. under the law
 - d. every possible way

- 3. Justice is first and foremost about truth.**
 - a. True
 - b. False

- 4. What kind of justice undermines actual justice?**
 - a. economic justice
 - b. racial justice
 - c. environmental justice
 - d. all of the above

- 5. Leftism's guiding principle is that _____.**
 - a. everyone should be held to a Biblical standard
 - b. the weak are good and the powerful are bad
 - c. Judeo-Christian values should be the standard
 - d. compassion should follow justice, not precede it



QUIZ - ANSWER KEY

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