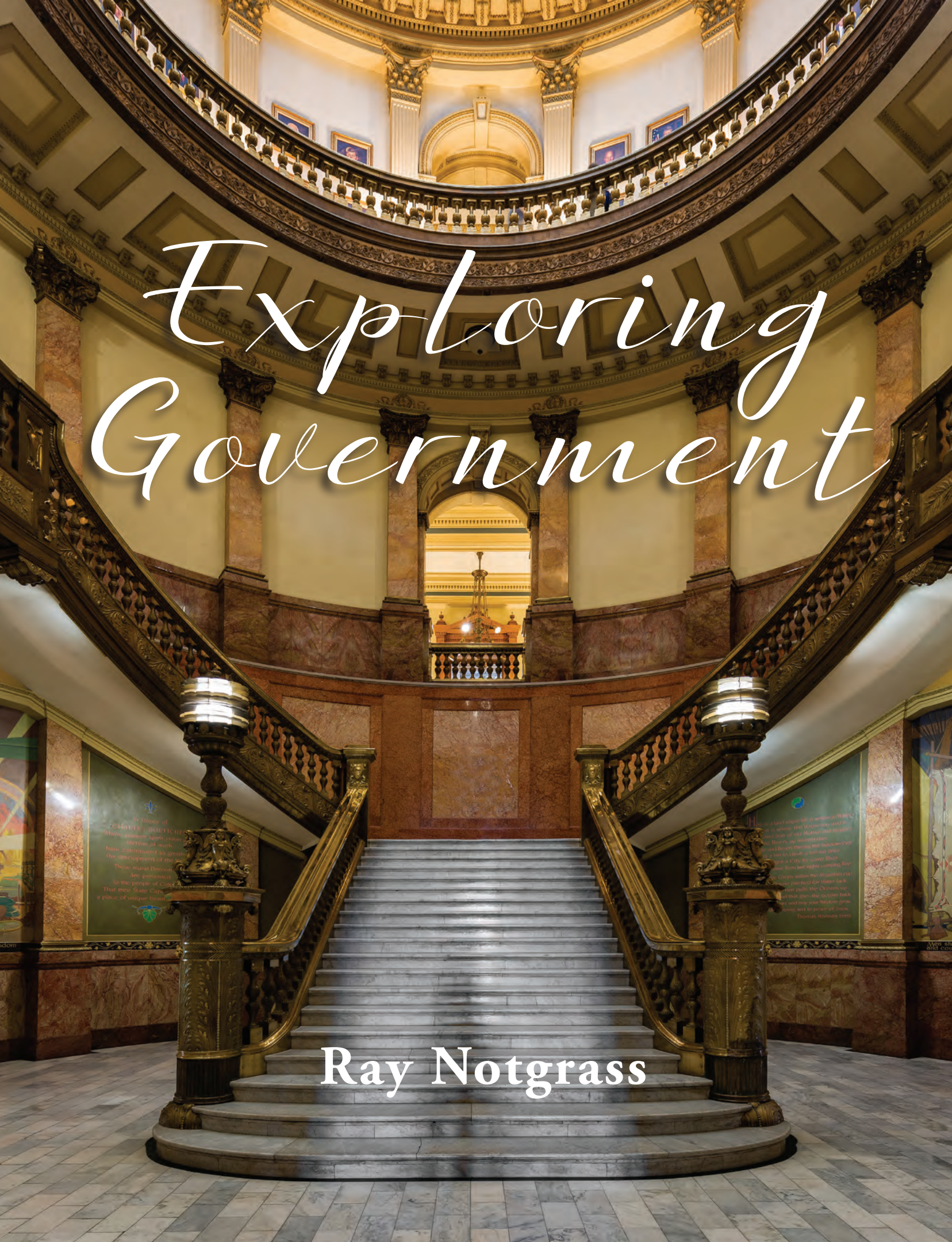

Exploring Government

Ray Notgrass

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Ray Notgrass

ISBN 978-1-60999-100-5

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Cover and interior design by Mary Evelyn McCurdy
Weekly projects and literature selection by Bethany Poore
Charlene Notgrass, Project Manager

Printed in the United States of America

Notgrass Company
975 Roaring River Road
Gainesboro, TN 38562
1-800-211-8793
www.notgrass.com

Inside the North Carolina State Capitol Senate Chamber

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Columbia County Courthouse in St. Helens, Oregon

Introduction

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

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

When Governor John Winthrop led his small band of settlers to the shores of America, he understood that the entire world would be watching the outcome of this experiment in the wilderness. As it has turned out, it was not just the people of that generation who watched. For almost four hundred years, the world has studied the American experiment in governing. In many ways the experiment has been a source of inspiration for learning how humans can live together in a civil society in peace and harmony.

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

The curriculum has three parts: *Exploring Government*, a 75-lesson text; *We Hold These Truths*, a volume of historic documents, essays, and speeches that you should read in conjunction with the lessons; and an optional Student Review Pack that has review questions over the lessons and readings, quizzes, and exams. By working through the entire curriculum, we believe that you will gain a good understanding of the purpose and function of government.

For this edition we have added the option of a half-credit for English/composition as well. A student can read four books related to government, read the literary analysis in the *Student Review*, and answer questions about the books. A student should also write an essay or complete another creative project every week.

We include historical information on government before the founding of the United States in 1776 and the formulation of the Constitution in 1787. Our purpose in doing this is to help you understand not only what government does but why our government came to be the way it is and why it does what it does. Ideas and events have causes. The American system did not just appear, nor was it inevitable. We have to understand the *why* in order to understand *what* and *how*. When you understand why things happen (1) you learn something about how events and ideas influence each other; (2) you are better able to discuss the subject with others, some of whom may not share your assumptions; and (3) you will be better able to bring about changes that need to take place.

Government is not the same as politics. Politics involve power: getting and maintaining power in government (which includes the election process), and influencing the actions and policies of government. Politics form governments, and people in government can be and often are political (concerned about power) in their actions. Government officials often make decisions based on the political impact that those decisions will have; namely, how popular those decisions will be with voters, which can affect their power. Government officials do not always make decisions by determining what is the best thing to do.

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

We need to understand the difference between what is and what should be. The Bible sets forth what government should be. The U.S. Constitution, state constitutions, and local laws have established how things should operate in our country. However, centuries of history show us that people in government do not always do what they should. For example, for many years African Americans did not have the equal protection under the law that the Constitution guarantees. What existed was not what should have existed. Also, the federal government has in recent decades taken oversight of areas that were originally reserved to the states. It is not what should be, but nonetheless it is what is happening. When we describe what government does today, we do not mean to say that everything it does is right and what it should be doing. We try to point out the differences we see between what the founding documents say and what government actually does today.

God, the Creator of government, has given us a wonderful system of government in our country. The American system of government has provided the most personal freedom and the greatest economic opportunity for the most people of any government in history. The government that God gave to Israel in the Law of Moses was a wonderful system, but the Israelites did not carry it out well nor did it affect as many people as the American system has. Our government deserves our respect, our involvement, and our prayers.

At the same time, our governments (local, state, and national) have not always been the bright and shining city upon a hill that they should have been. Sometimes the people involved in government have done things that were embarrassing and wrong. When people in government commit wrongs, Americans and people in other countries can see it. We should help our country to be an example of truth, love, righteousness, and compassion.

I want to express my thanks to my wife, Charlene, who was the project manager for revising the curriculum; to our daughter Mary Evelyn, for her excellent graphic design of the covers and for her layout work with the text; to our daughter Bethany, for her editing work and for choosing the literature; to our son John, who developed (with Bethany's help) the new edition of *We Hold These Truths*; and to our son-in-law Nate, for his work on the *Student Review* material. I appreciate my family's support, encouragement, and assistance for this project.

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

Ray Notgrass
Gainesboro, Tennessee
June 2016
ray@notgrass.com

Dedication

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

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

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

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

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

You have selflessly served our family and others as we have worked on this curriculum. I especially appreciate your work in laying out the documents for the original edition of *We Hold These Truths*, your editing and improving the lessons in this edition, and working with Nate on the *Student Review*, the *Quiz and Exam Book*, and the *Answer Key*. I could not have done this without you. This is a much better publication because of your involvement. You are as much a part of it as I am.

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

Inside the Cochise County Courthouse in Tombstone, Arizona

How to Use This Curriculum

Exploring Government is a one-semester high school course that provides a half-year credit in government. Many states consider that to be one-half credit, but in states that assign two credits for each full-year of high school work, the course counts for one credit. With 75 lessons, you can complete the material in one semester even with field trips, testing days, and other activities.

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

English Credit. The curriculum offers a half-credit in English as well, if you read the books and literary analyses in the *Student Review*, answer the questions on each book, and complete a project assignment for each unit. The curriculum will tell you when to begin a book and when you should finish it. It will also give you a choice of projects for each unit.

Readings in the Bible and in *We Hold These Truths*. The assignments at the end of lessons include the readings in *We Hold These Truths*. During Unit 1, you will be assigned readings from the Bible which you can read from any translation. During Unit 4 through 9, while you are studying the Constitution, you will be assigned sections of the Constitution to read at certain times while you are reading an individual lesson. The Constitution begins on page 58 in *We Hold These Truths*.

Reading Your State Constitution. Unit 10 teaches about state government. During this unit, you will read all or portions of your own state Constitution. You can find a copy of it at www.notgrass.com/egov.

Student Review Pack. The optional *Student Review Pack* provides review questions over the lessons; a quiz at the end of each unit; and three government exams, each of which covers five units. It also includes literary analysis of each of the four titles we suggest that students read along with this course and questions over the books. The pack includes an answer key to all of these exercises.

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

President Calvin Coolidge with Native Americans Outside the White House, 1927

Assigned Literature

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

Part 2: The United States Constitution

4

Article 1: Congress
(Part 1)

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

Statue of George Washington Beneath the U.S. Capitol Dome, Washington, D.C.

Introduction

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

Books Used

We Hold These Truths
Mornings on Horseback by David McCullough

Project (choose one)

1. Write 300 to 500 words on one of the following topics:

    - Imagine that you are serving in the United States House of Representatives. Compose a persuasive speech to deliver to your colleagues on a cause about which you are passionate.

    - Do you believe that elected positions should have term limits? Give examples of the limits you believe should apply to various offices and give reasons for your opinions.

2. Watch at least one hour of C-SPAN programming with one or both of your parents and discuss what you learned.

3. Choose one of your relatives that you think would make a good congressman or congresswoman. Design a campaign brochure for him or her, including photos, positions, and campaign promises.

Special Assignment

In addition to the other readings in *We Hold These Truths*, in Units 4-9 students will also read the U.S. Constitution. Portions are interspersed in the daily lessons. The U.S. Constitution begins on page 58 in *We Hold These Truths*.

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

Lesson 16

To Serve in the House

You can not possibly have a broader basis for any government than that which includes all the people, with all their rights in their hands, and with an equal power to maintain their rights.
–William Lloyd Garrison (1889)

Read Sections 1 and 2 of Article I of the U.S. Constitution in *We Hold These Truths,* pages 58-59, before you study this lesson.

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

The Bicameral Congress

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

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

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

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

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

The more numerous of the two houses of Congress is the House of Representatives. Its members are also called congressmen, or members of

the House. In the original Constitution, the House was the only element of the national government that the people elected directly.

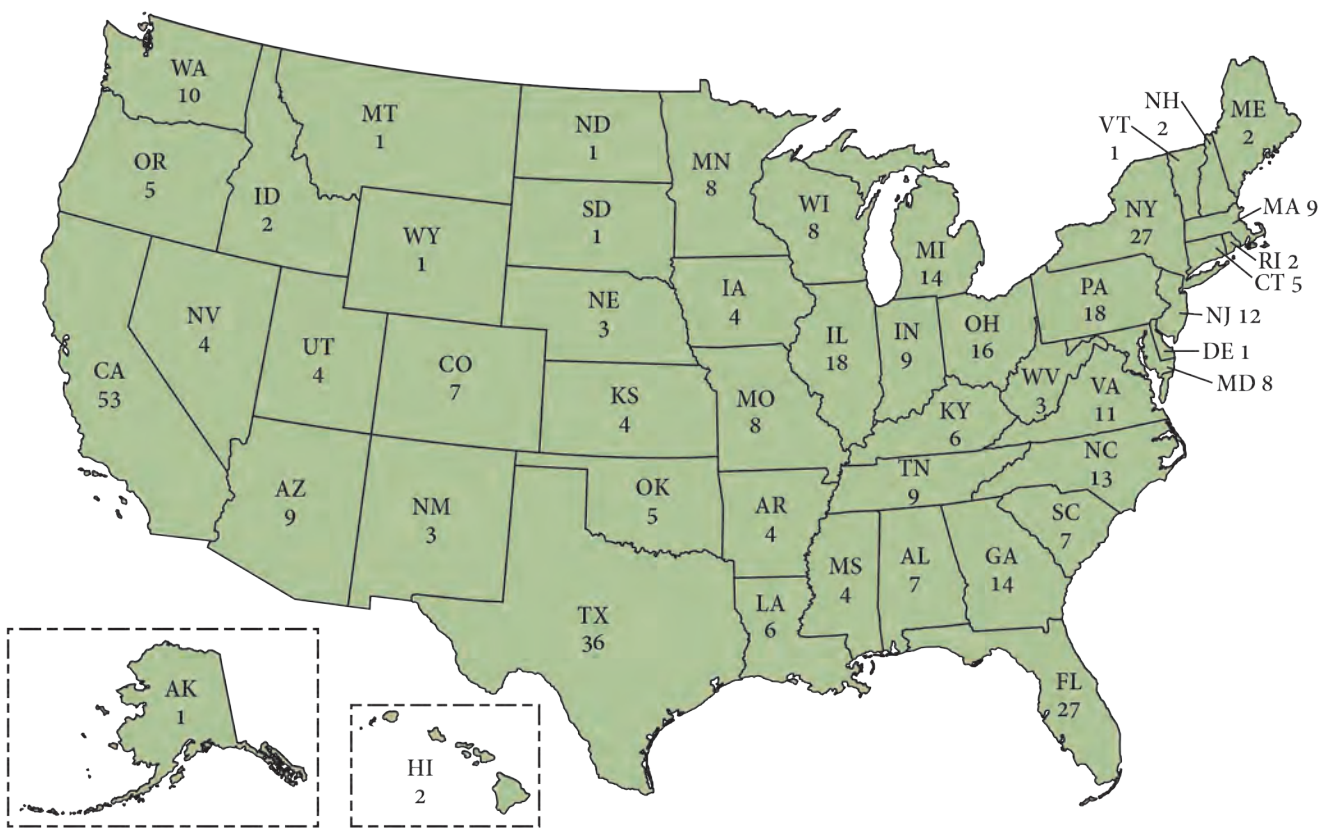
Everyone who can vote for the most numerous branch of a state's legislature can vote for that state's representatives in the House. This qualification was significant in the early days of the country, when states placed more limits on voting rights; but today almost every citizen who is eighteen or older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

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

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

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

Apportionment of House Seats as of 2016



President Barack Obama delivers the State of the Union address in the House Chamber of the U.S. Capitol, 2012.

Apportionment of House Seats

The Constitution assigns or apportions seats in the House to the states on the basis of state population. States with more people have more representatives and thus have more influence in the House. The Constitution said that states were originally to have no more than one representative for every thirty thousand people. The Constitution also set out the number of representatives for the thirteen original states and provided for a census to take place every ten years to determine how any changes in the states' populations would change their representation in the House. The first census took place in 1790, and the federal government has taken a census every ten years since then.

As the population of the country grew and new states came into the Union, the number of representatives in the House increased. The first Congress had 65 members. The first census increased that number to 106. By 1912, the House had grown to 435 members; and effective action with such a large group had become difficult. However, Congress faced the dilemma of either adding more seats after the 1920 census or reapportioning the existing 435 seats. Reapportionment would have meant that some representatives from states growing more slowly or not at all would have lost their seats. Faced with the need to demonstrate political courage, Congress instead did nothing about the issue after the 1920 census. Finally, in 1929 (just before the 1930 census), Congress passed the Reapportionment Act. This law stated that the permanent size of the House would be 435 members and that the House would apportion those seats among the states as fairly as possible following each census.

The House has made one exception to this total since then. When Alaska and Hawaii became states in 1959, each new state received one House seat. This temporarily increased the membership of the House to 437. Following the 1960 census, the House reapportioned the regular 435 seats among the fifty states for the 1962 election. If the House still followed the original standard of one congressman for every thirty thousand people, the House would now have over 10,000 members!

State populations change constantly. Some change radically, while others change slowly. A general trend has been for urban areas to grow in population while rural areas shrink. Southern and western states have grown significantly in recent years while northern states have grown more slowly or lost population. Michigan lost population between 2000 and 2010, and West Virginia lost population between 2010 and 2014. The House has to take all these changes into account in apportioning its 435 seats among the fifty states. Changes on the basis of a census take effect in the congressional elections two years after a census. For example, apportionment changes based on the 2010 census took effect in the 2012 congressional elections.

The 2010 census showed a U.S. population of 308,745,538 on April 1, 2010. This means that, on average, each congressman represented 709,760 people. However, the Constitution guarantees that each state has at least one representative, and the populations of the states do not divide out that evenly. Wyoming, the least populous state with a 2010 census of 563,626, had one congressman. Delaware had 897,934 people, but it also had only one representative. California had the most congressmen with 53, meaning that the average district population there was 702,905. Michigan's congressmen each represented an average of 705,974 people. Georgia's district average was 691,975.

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

The Redistricting Process

Apportionment is the process of determining how many congressmen each state has, based on the census results. The U.S. Census Bureau uses a formula to determine how many congressmen each state will have and announces the apportionment of the House seats by the end of the census year.

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

In theory, legislatures would simply draw district lines as fairly and equitably as possible; but politics is not always fair and equitable. Both Democratic and Republican parties within the states work especially hard to win majorities in the legislatures in census years, since the legislatures elected in those years oversee the redrawing of district lines for the states' congressional seats. Having a majority will give a party a better chance of passing a plan that will help that party. Reapportionment of the seats in the state legislature happens at the same time.

The majority party in the legislature wants to protect the congressional and legislative seats that it holds and to gain as many additional ones as possible. Thus, the legislative majority might draw district lines in such a way that scatters voters who might vote against their party into several districts; or the majority party might put as many friendly voters

into the same district as possible to concentrate and thus limit their impact. At the same time, some redistricting plans have resulted in congressmen already holding office (called incumbents) running against each other, sometimes from the same party.

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

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

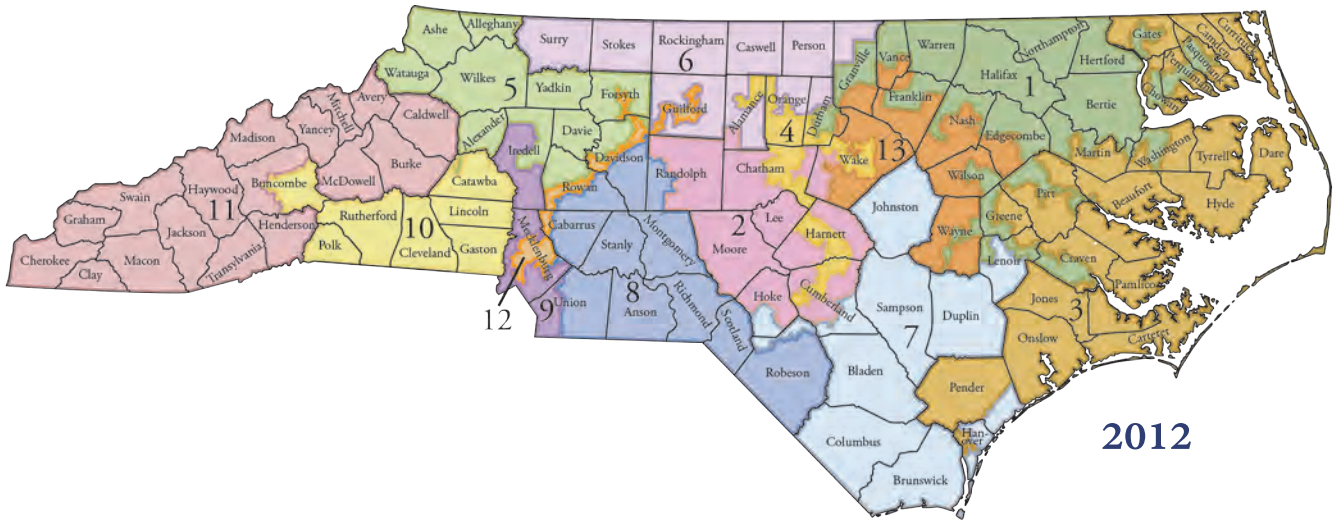
The practice of drawing oddly-shaped district lines for political advantage goes way back in American history. In Massachusetts in 1812, with Elbridge Gerry as governor, the legislature drew an oddly-shaped state senatorial district that looked like a snake or serpent on the map. A political cartoonist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

Over the years, Congress and the courts have established guidelines for how legislatures should pursue redistricting. Congressional districts must have as even a population distribution as possible within a state. Each district must be contiguous; this means that a district cannot be separated into two or more areas that are not geographically connected. A district must have compactness, meaning that its borders should be as close together as possible. Districts must maintain community identity as much as possible. A legislature may not divide a city to put urban voters into two or more districts and thus weaken their impact or excessively divide counties. Legislatures generally try to conform to existing districts as much as possible to maintain the political divisions within a state. The 1965 Voting Rights Act required that district lines not dilute the voting power of racial or ethnic minority groups, either intentionally or unintentionally.

From the April 2, 1813, Issue of the Salem Gazette*, Salem, Massachusetts*

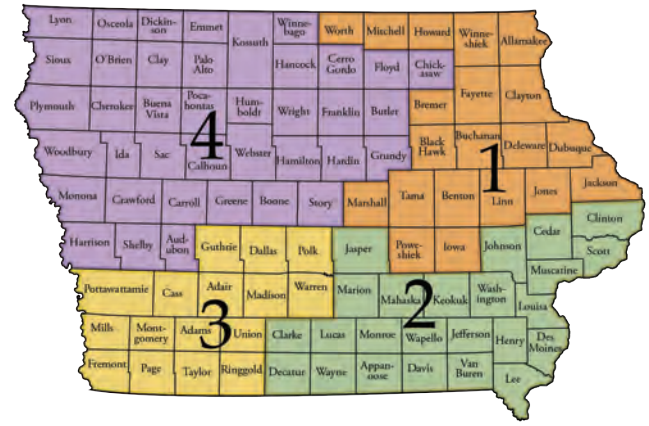
The redistricting process in North Carolina has been one of the most controversial in recent years. Several legal cases related to the process in the state since the 1990s have gone to the U.S. Supreme Court. Two districts have been principally at issue. The First District in northeastern North Carolina has included parts of as many as 24 counties but contains only about five entire counties. The Twelfth District in the central part of the state has been a narrow ribbon that connects several urban areas and in some places is only as wide as the Interstate that connects the cities. Both of these districts concentrate the impact of Democratic voters, a majority of whom are African American. This has created two examples of a majority-minority district, meaning that a racial minority in the state as a whole constitutes a majority of voters in that district.

House Districts in North Carolina



The impact has been that these districts consistently have Democratic congressmen, but Democratic voters have relatively less influence in nearby districts. In 2012 the total votes for Democratic and Republican congressional candidates were about equal, but Republicans won nine of thirteen congressional seats in North Carolina that year. In 2016 after yet another court decision, the North Carolina legislature significantly redrew the state's congressional districts. The legislature delayed congressional primaries that had been scheduled for March until early June. However, North Carolina is by no means the only state that has seen unusually-drawn districts.

House Districts in Iowa



On the other hand, in 1980 the Iowa legislature assigned the redistricting process to the Legislative Services Agency in the state government. The agency devises a plan in secret based primarily on population, trying to put a mix of rural and urban voters in each district. The legislature casts an up-or-down vote on the plan. If the legislature rejects it, the agency tries twice more before the process must go to court. So far, the process has not reached that point.

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

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

My brethren, do not hold your faith in our glorious Lord Jesus Christ with an attitude of personal favoritism.
James 2:1

Assignments for Lesson 16

We Hold These Truths	Read excerpt from *Wesberry v. Sanders*, pages 76-79.
Literature	Continue reading *Mornings on Horseback* by David McCullough. Plan to be finished with it by the end of this unit.
Project	Choose your project for Unit 4 and start working on it.
Student Review	If you are using this resource, answer the questions for Lesson 16.

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

Lesson 17

Choosing the Senate

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

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

Read Section 3 of Article I of the U.S. Constitution on page 59 and the Seventeenth Amendment on pages 71-72 in *We Hold These Truths* before you study this lesson.

Some have described the United States Senate as the greatest deliberative body in the world. Most people see it as the upper or more prestigious house of Congress since it has fewer members than the House and since senators serve six-year terms instead of two years as in the House. Although senators represent individual states, they often speak and act as though they represent national interests and not just those of one state.

A person must be a little older to serve in the Senate than in the House. A senator must be at least 30 years old and an American citizen for nine years. He or she must also be a resident of the state he or she represents. Each state has two senators. This gives states with fewer people the same power in the Senate as more populous states. Senators from less populous states have often been leaders in the Senate and have sometimes used their positions in that body to gain national prominence.

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

The Election of Senators

In the original Constitution, state legislatures chose U.S. senators. This provision gave state governments a direct role in the national government. It also gave an inducement for state political leaders to support the ratification of the Constitution. This approach also supposedly provided for more reasoned

deliberation in the selection of senators than if the senators had been chosen by popular vote. As we have seen in this curriculum, state legislatures played an important role in the early national government.

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

The Populist and Progressive Movements of the late 1800s and early 1900s promoted several ideas for reform in business and government. One item in the agendas of these movements was the direct election of senators. These groups maintained that the selection of senators by state legislatures kept the process out of the hands of the people and left it in the hands of politicians, lobbyists, and special interest groups. State legislatures often proved themselves to be the protectors not of people's rights but of their own power and privileges. Direct election of senators, it was argued, would make the upper house of Congress more responsive to the people and less responsive to the intrigues of politicians.

In the years leading up to 1912, twenty-nine states adopted a form of popular election of senators in which they held primaries or referendums, the results of which were binding on state legislators. During those years, Congress considered an amendment to the U.S. Constitution which provided for senators to be elected by the people of their state rather than by state legislatures, but the U.S. Senate consistently defeated the amendment.

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

In 1912, however, the number of senators elected by the people had increased to the point that Congress approved the amendment and sent it to the states. The required number of states ratified the Seventeenth Amendment in 1913, and it took effect in the 1914 election.

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

Filling Vacancies in the Senate

If a Senate seat becomes vacant through death or resignation during a term, the process for filling that vacancy varies from state to state. Section 3 of Article I of the U.S. Constitution provides for the governor to appoint a senator, but the Seventeenth Amendment gives state legislatures the option to have a role in the process; and the legislatures have passed various laws to refine the process. In most states the governor appoints someone to fill the seat until the next congressional election. This appointed senator is a full member of the Senate, but he or she is the most junior member of the body and has little power. Often the governor gives the appointment to a long-time public servant as a reward for his or her service. Usually the governor appoints someone from his or her own political party, even if the previous senator had been from another party. Occasionally a governor has appointed himself to fill a Senate seat.

At the next congressional election after a Senate seat has become vacant, candidates run to fill the remaining two or four years of the term. If the appointed senator wants to run in the next election, he or she has at least some of the power and prestige of an incumbent during the campaign. On rare occasions a state elects two senators at the same

Inside the Senate Wing of the United States Capitol

time. This happens if one senator's six-year term is ending and a special election is filling the remainder of the other senator's term. When that partial term comes to an end, the next campaign for that Senate seat is for the full six-year term.

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

Advice and Consent Role

Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution gives the Senate a special check-and-balance role with regard to certain actions of the president. The Senate must ratify by a two-thirds majority treaties that the president makes with other countries; otherwise the treaties do not apply to the United States. In addition, the Senate must give a simple majority approval to important appointments that the president makes: ambassadors, federal judges, Supreme Court justices, heads of the executive departments (also known as Cabinet members), and certain other appointments. These make up the advice and consent role of the Senate.

The Senate's most controversial consideration of a treaty involved the Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I. Democratic President Woodrow Wilson saw to it that the treaty included the creation of a League of Nations, a forerunner of the United Nations, in an attempt to prevent such a terrible war from ever happening again. The Republican majority in the Senate, however, wanted to withdraw from world affairs as much as possible and did not want the United States to take part in a world organization that might require another costly foreign involvement. The Senate defeated the Treaty of Versailles, the United States never joined the League of Nations (which proved to be incapable of preventing World War II), and the United States concluded separate peace treaties with the nations against whom it had fought in World War I.

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

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

The Constitution does give the president the power to make appointments during a recess of Congress (Article II, Section 2, Paragraph 3). The president can make these appointments any time that Congress is in recess, even if that recess is only

for a few days or weeks. The appointed person may serve until the end of the next session of Congress. During that time, the president can choose to submit that person's nomination to the Senate to hold the position permanently. This provision had more practical importance when Congress was not in session for long periods of time during the year. Fifteen Supreme Court justices began their tenure as recess appointments. Recess appointments are politically risky for the president. They allow him to fill a post with someone he wants who might have a hard time winning confirmation by the Senate, but they tend to anger the opposition party in the Senate who might try to make confirmation more difficult.

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

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

Assignments for Lesson 17

We Hold These Truths	Read letters concerning the election of Hattie Caraway, pages 80-81.
Literature	Continue reading *Mornings on Horseback* by David McCullough.
Project	Continue working on your project for Unit 4.
Student Review	If you are using this resource, answer the questions for Lesson 17.

Senate Office Building in Washington, D.C.

Lesson 18

The Congress Shall Assemble

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

—William Henry Harrison (1841)

Read Sections 4, 5, and 6 of Article I of the U.S. Constitution on pages 59-60 and the Twentieth and Twenty-Seventh Amendments on pages 72-73 and 75 in *We Hold These Truths* before you study this lesson.

Section 4: Elections and Sessions of Congress

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

Terminology about American government can be confusing because sometimes the same word describes two different things. For example, the word Congress describes America's two legislative bodies, the Senate and the House of Representatives. However, the word Congress can also mean a particular two-year period in which Congress meets. For example, the first Congress convened in 1789; the 114th Congress began on January 6, 2015. The swearing in of the members of the House of Representatives every two years marks the beginning of a new Congress.

The Constitution also uses the word session in two ways. The document requires that Congress meet at least once every year. The meetings of Congress in a given year are called a session. Therefore, each Congress has two sessions, one for each of the two years in which a particular Congress meets. The first session of the first Congress convened in 1789; the second session of the first Congress began in 1790. The first session of the 114th Congress began on January 6, 2015; the second session of the 114th Congress convened on January 4, 2016. The word session is also used to describe the meeting of Congress on a given day.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Section 5: Proceedings

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

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

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

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

If you have ever watched the proceedings of Congress on C-SPAN (discussed on page 108) or visited the Capitol while Congress was in session, you will have noticed that the House and Senate spend much time with few members actually present on the floor of either chamber. This happens because the House and Senate play a little game with themselves. Each body assumes that a quorum is present, unless a member requests a roll call or a quorum call to find out the actual situation. In other words, they just don't bother to count unless someone makes it happen. Members usually want to get along with each other, so few congressmen or senators will demand a roll call or a quorum call except in unusual circumstances. Because of this arrangement, members can make speeches from the floor that they can tell their constituents back home about and that will go into the public record, but the other members don't have to listen to them.

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

Congressional Record

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

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

In 1824 two reporters established the *Register of Debates* to provide a summary of members' statements from the floor of the two chambers. Two other reporters founded the *Congressional Globe* in 1833. This became the semi-official record of congressional activities, but at first the reports were not truly neutral. The *Globe* became more even-handed or non-partisan in later years, but its staff found it increasingly difficult to keep up with the volume of debates and other activities, especially during the Civil War.

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

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

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

C-SPAN

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

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

Section 6 (Part One): Salary

Members of Congress receive a salary and the payment of their expenses from the United States Treasury. Under the Articles of Confederation, the states paid their own representatives in Congress. At first, members of Congress received $6.00 per day while Congress was in session. In 1815 Congress increased its members' pay to $1,500 per year. As of 2016, the salary for a member of Congress was $174,000 per year. The majority leader and minority leader in each house was paid $193,400, while the speaker of the House received $223,500. Congress has provided for a cost of living adjustment each year unless Congress votes not to accept it. Congress often rejects these automatic increases. These are good salaries, but salary is not by any means the entire picture of the financial benefits that a member of Congress receives.

Each member of the House receives an allotment of about $1.2 million per year to hire staff workers, pay for office expenses in Washington and in their home states, and pay for other expenses related to their roles. This allotment is called the Members' Representational Allowance (MRA). Senate allotments vary based on the population of their state and its distance from Washington, D.C. The average expense allotment for a senator, called the Senator's Official Personnel and Office Expense Account (SOPOEA), is more than $3 million. Included in the expense account is the mail or franking privilege, which allows congressional mail

Russell Senate Office Building in Washington, D.C.

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

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

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

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

In addition, members of Congress receive health insurance coverage and participate in the Federal Employees Retirement System. If someone serves in Congress for at least five years, he or she is eligible to receive a pension. Members can receive a pension beginning at age 50 if they have twenty years of service, or at any age after twenty-five years of service, or after the age of 62 regardless of his length of service. The pension is based on years of service and the highest three years of salary. The starting pension cannot be more than 80 percent of the retiree's final salary. In 2014, 601 retired members of Congress were receiving government pensions based at least in part on service in Congress (some had held other positions in the federal government as well). These pensions averaged about $4,980 per month each.

For many years, Congress exempted itself from some of the laws that it passed. For instance, members of Congress were not part of the Social Security system until 1984. They participated instead in the Civil Service Retirement System, which went into effect fifteen years before Social Security began. The landmark 1964 Civil Rights Act exempted members of Congress from its provisions in terms of racial discrimination in employment. When Republicans regained control of Congress in 1994 after forty years of one or both houses having Democratic majorities, the first law passed by the new Congress in 1995 made Congress subject to the same laws that it enacts for the American people.

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

Section 6 (Part Two): Immunity and Limitations

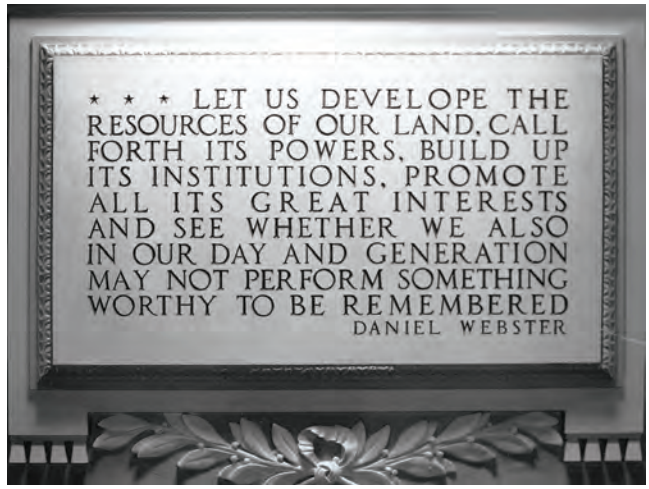
History tells of many kings who ordered their political opponents arrested and executed. The framers wanted to protect members of Congress from this kind of political intimidation. As a result, senators and representatives cannot be arrested while attending a session of Congress or while going to or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

While in office, a senator or representative may not hold an appointed government position that Congress created or a position for which the pay was increased while he or she was in office. This prevents

a member of Congress from helping to create a position or increasing the pay of a position and then filling that position. Likewise, no government employee may serve as a congressman or senator.

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

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



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

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

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

Assignments for Lesson 18

Literature Continue reading *Mornings on Horseback* by David McCullough.

Project Continue working on your project for Unit 4.

Student Review If you are using this resource, answer the questions for Lesson 18.

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

Lesson 19

Who They Are and What They Do

Government is too big and too important to be left to the politicians.
—Chester Bowles (Twentieth century American diplomat and economist)

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

Statistics About the Members

The average congressman is about 57 years old. The average senator is about 61. Both of these averages are many years older than the minimum age requirements in the Constitution. Democrats are slightly older on average than Republicans.

Of the 435 representatives in the 114th Congress which convened in January 2015, 84 were women; of the 100 senators, 20 were women. About three-fourths of the women in the House and two-thirds of the women in the Senate were Democrats.

The 535 members of the House and Senate included 46 African Americans, 33 Hispanics, twelve Asian Americans, and two Native Americans. About 92 percent of the members of the House and Senate listed their religious preference as Christian; about a third were Roman Catholic. There were 28 Jews, 16 Mormons, five Orthodox Christians, two Buddhists, two Muslims, and one Hindu.

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

Most members have held elective office prior to being chosen to serve in Congress. Fifty-three senators once served in the House of Representatives, and about 250 members of Congress formerly served in state legislatures. Ten former governors served in the 114th Congress.

Incumbency and Length of Service

Congress usually sees little turnover in its membership. The general pattern is that incumbents

almost always win. Over the years, voters have re-elected about 90 percent or more of incumbents.

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

In the 114th Congress, 59 representatives and 13 senators were freshmen (in their first term). The average length of service was almost nine years in the House and almost ten years in the Senate. Congress has seen slightly more turnover in recent years than it had in the previous generation.

Term Limits

A frequent topic of political discussion is whether members of Congress and other elected officials should have term limits, a maximum number of terms or years that they can serve. The offices of president and many state governors have term limits; but the legislative bodies, not the executives, propose term limits, usually in the form of constitutional amendments. Legislators are not likely to vote themselves out of a job.

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

Amy Kloubuchar (left), Democratic incumbent senator, and Kurt Bills (right), her Republican opponent, campaign at the Plymouth Parade in Plymouth, Minnesota, 2012.

New York Senator Charles Schumer speaks at a candlelight vigil for victims of a shooting in New York City, 2015

Against the idea of term limits is the argument that voters should have enough sense and enough freedom to elect whom they want. If they want to re-elect the same person campaign after campaign, they should be able to do so. Previously holding an office should not disqualify a person from holding that office. In addition, representatives with long tenure have the seniority within Congress to hold important positions and to get things done. All else being equal, an elected official who has been in office for a long time can do more for his home state or home district than a freshman official can. Another argument against imposing term limits is that we already have term limits. They are called elections. Every term of every elected office has a limit to it, and the person who holds that office has to run again or retire from it. The best solution to problems in Congress is for voters to stay informed and involved and to support good candidates.

What Representatives and Senators Do

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

The most obvious work that a senator or congressman does involves considering and voting on legislation that comes before them on the chamber floor, but that is not all that they do. Much of their time is spent in committee work: attending hearings and considering research for bills that are before their committees. They also have informal discussions with their staff and with other members of their chamber (especially those of the same party) as they consider the merits of legislation and suggest changes. Members of Congress want to make sure that proposed expenditures in the federal budget include their districts, so they or their staff take time to talk with other members who have introduced bills or members of the committees that formulate the federal budget. They also meet with lobbyists who want to influence how he or she votes on a particular piece of legislation.

Contact with their constituents is an important part of the work of a senator or representative. The offices of representatives and senators receive thousands of letters, phone calls, and emails every week from the folks back home. Many times a congressman's or senator's staff members handle these contacts by constituents. Some of the letters, phone calls, and emails give praise while others offer criticism or ask questions. The percentage of

people who care enough about issues to write their representatives is very small; and these genuine contacts do have an impact.

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

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

A member of Congress can spend a considerable amount of time traveling between the home state and Washington. Members sometimes go on international trips (called junkets) to meet with foreign political leaders, visit troops stationed at overseas bases, or engage in fact-finding work regarding trade, immigration, or other topics. Congress has established rules regarding the length and cost of these trips, but a congressman can extend a trip at his or her own expense. Several members traveling together make for a congressional delegation trip. Congressional rules allow for private companies to pay for some travel by members. For example, if a company wants to build a factory in another country, it can pay for a trip by the relevant committee chairmen in Congress to get their support if the deal will require any regulations or treaties.

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

Library of Congress

The Library of Congress (LOC) was one of the first agencies that the federal government created. It began with a $5,000 appropriation in 1800 to purchase "such books as may be necessary for the use of Congress—and for putting up a suitable apartment for containing them therein. . . ." The Capitol building served as the first home for the library, but the British destroyed that structure along with the books when they burned Washington during the War of 1812.

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

Ainsworth Rand Spofford served as the Librarian on Congress for most of the last half of the nineteenth century. He set the Library of Congress on the course of making it the major institution that it is today. By his urging, Congress passed a copyright law in 1870 that required applicants for official copyright to send two copies of their work to the LOC. This caused an avalanche of publications, music, maps, and photographs to descend on the Library; and it led to Spofford's request for a new, separate building for the collection. Congress authorized construction in 1886, and the LOC finally moved out of the Capitol building and into its beautiful new home across the street in 1897.

Today the LOC holds over 162 million items (including 38 million books and other publications, 70 million manuscripts, and 14 million photographs) on 838 miles of shelves. It continues its primary role as the research headquarters for Congress, but it also effectively serves the nation as a whole. The LOC maintains a website (www.loc.gov) that provides information about the Library and the activities of Congress as well as pictures and articles on many topics in American history.

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

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

Assignments for Lesson 19

We Hold These Truths	Read "On a Visit to the Senate When He Was Twelve" by Henry Adams, page 82.
Literature	Continue reading *Mornings on Horseback* by David McCullough.
Project	Continue working on your project for Unit 4.
Student Review	If you are using this resource, answer the questions for Lesson 19.

Senate Judiciary Committee Hearing, 2006

Lesson 20

Committee and Political Party Organization

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

– *Woodrow Wilson,* Congressional Government *(1885)*

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

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

The Party Spirit

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

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

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

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

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

The Role of Political Parties in Congress

The strength of political parties has come to be the dominant factor in how the House and Senate organize themselves and how they consider legislation. The speaker of the House is an influential member (though not necessarily the longest-serving member) of the majority party in the House. Each party has a leader (called the majority leader and the minority leader) and assistant leaders (called the majority and minority whips) in the House and in the Senate. These leaders try to influence the members of their respective parties on what legislation to support or oppose.

Party leaders in each chamber discuss their plans at meetings of the party's members in that chamber. Such a meeting is called a caucus (House Democratic Caucus, Senate Republican Caucus, and so forth). To encourage members to vote the party line on a bill, party leaders might appeal to party principles (or to the dire consequences if the opposition were to succeed). They might offer to see about funding a program for a congressman's district, or they could agree to appoint a senator or representative to a particular committee in exchange for his vote. If a member decides not to vote the way that the majority of his party votes, party leaders might overlook him or her when they plan funding for programs or when a committee position becomes vacant.

The Speaker of the House

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

Most of the speaker's important work is done behind the scenes. The speaker decides which committees consider bills that representatives

introduce, and he or she has a major influence on which bills come to the floor for a vote. The speaker also works to convince members of his or her party to support legislation that the party leadership supports.

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

President of the Senate

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

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

Portraits of the speakers of the House in the Speaker's Lobby outside the House Chamber in the U.S. Capitol.

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

In practical terms, today the vice president and the president pro tem hardly ever preside over meetings of the Senate. From the time of the first Vice President, John Adams, through the vice presidency of Richard Nixon in the 1950s, the vice president did preside over most meetings of the Senate. However, in the early 1960s Vice President Lyndon Johnson became more involved in political activities and rarely presided over sessions of the Senate. This pattern continues today, and junior senators of the majority party preside over routine Senate sessions. The vice president presides if he anticipates a close vote or in other extraordinary circumstances.

The Committee System

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

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

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

Left: Senate Banking Committee Hearing, 2005
Right: Clarence Thomas, Supreme Court nominee, testifies before the Senate Judiciary Committee, 1991.

Senate Banking and Currency Committee Hearing, 1933

Standing Committees of the Senate

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

Special, Select, and Other Senate Committees

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

Standing Committees of the House of Representatives

Agriculture
Appropriations
Armed Services
Budget
Education and the Workforce
Energy and Commerce
Financial Services
Government Reform
Homeland Security
House Administration
International Relations
Judiciary
Resources (Natural Resources and Environment)
Rules
Science
Small Business
Standards of Official Conduct
Transportation and Infrastructure
Veterans Affairs
Ways and Means
Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

Joint Committees

(with members from both the House and Senate)

Joint Committee on Printing
Joint Committee on Taxation
Joint Committee on the Library of Congress
Joint Economic Committee

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

The committee system is one way in which the majority party exercises great power in the House and Senate. The majority party chooses all of the committee chairmen and a majority of committee members. The committees usually actively consider only legislation that the majority party supports. Each committee also has a ranking member, who is the committee's longest-serving member from the minority party.

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

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

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

Assignments for Lesson 20

We Hold These Truths Read the preface to *Congressional Government* by Woodrow Wilson, pages 83-85.

Project Finish your project for Unit 4.

Student Review If you are using this resource, answer the questions for Lesson 20 and take the quiz for Unit 4.

Literature Finish reading *Mornings on Horseback* by David McCullough. Read the literary analysis of the book beginning on page 10 in the *Student Review* and answer the questions over the book.

11

Local Government

Lesson 51 - Counties, Townships, and Special Districts
Lesson 52 - Governing a City
Lesson 53 - Using Urban Spaces
Lesson 54 - Governing a Growing Community
Lesson 55 - Three Levels Working Together

Charleston County Courthouse in Charleston, South Carolina

Introduction

This unit focuses on local government. In the first two lessons, we look at county and city government. In the third we consider four ways that communities deal with growth in an organized fashion by using planning, zoning, annexation, and the right of eminent domain. In the fourth lesson we consider in detail a city that experienced rapid growth. Finally, we consider how federal, state and local governments cooperate and conflict in real life.

Books Used

We Hold These Truths
Born Again by Charles Colson

Project (choose one)

1. Write 300 to 500 words on one of the following topics:

    - Write a letter to the editor of your local newspaper expressing your opinion regarding a local issue or addressing something that you think needs to change in your community. Send it to the newspaper.

    - Choose one of the photographs in this unit and describe it in detail.

2. Make a commercial about one minute long for the town or city where you live. Choose whether the commercial will aim at encouraging tourists, new residents, or new businesses to come to your town.

3. With a parent's involvement, arrange a field trip to your county courthouse or city hall. Call first to ask if a tour is available and, if possible, meet some of your local officials, and have someone take your photo with them.

Denver County Courthouse in Denver, Colorado

Lesson 51

Counties, Townships, and Special Districts

[M]unicipal institutions constitute the strength of free nations. Town meetings are to liberty what primary schools are to science; they bring it within the people's reach, they teach men how to use and how to enjoy it. A nation may establish a free government, but without municipal institutions it cannot have the spirit of liberty.

—*Alexis de Tocqueville,* Democracy in America *(1835)*

In Anglo-Saxon England, kings used administrative districts called shires to give them greater control over local areas. The king's representative in the shire was the earl, who was a large landowner who commanded the local militia when the king needed troops. The peace officer, who also served as tax collector, was called the reeve.

With the Norman Conquest of England in 1066 and the introduction of French terms and ways, the local representative of the king was no longer the earl but the count. The region in which he had authority was not the shire but the county. The name of the peace officer remained the same, but the pronunciation changed over time from shire-reeve to sheriff.

In England, the chief executive of a county and the official before whom accused persons had to appear was the justice of the peace. Some counties had several justices of the peace, and their jurisdictions were sometimes a matter of conflict.

When English settlers came to America, they set up local governments the way they had known them in England. Thus, they divided the colonies into counties and the law enforcement officer was the sheriff. The county as a basic unit of local government has continued to this day.

Counties in the United States

In the United States, state governments create counties. To create a county, the state legislature passes a bill that sets out its boundaries. Counties exist to serve the purposes of the state government. As a result, county officials carry out such state-mandated functions as administering state laws, issuing marriage licenses, selling hunting and fishing licenses, conducting elections, and (in many places) operating schools. A county government can enact its own laws that work best for that county's particular needs, but its reason for existence is to assist the state government.

The fifty United States have a total of 3,141 counties or county equivalents, such as independent cities in a few states, census areas in Alaska, and the

District of Columbia. Delaware has three counties, while Texas has 254. Louisiana calls its counties parishes, while in Alaska they are boroughs. Rhode Island and Connecticut have geographic areas called counties, but in these two states the counties do not have distinct, functioning governments. Counties range in size from Virginia's Arlington County, which measures 26 square miles, to the North Slope Borough in Alaska, which covers 87,860 square miles. As of 2013, Loving County, Texas, contained 95 people, while Los Angeles County, California, contained just over ten million residents. About three-fourths of American counties have a population under 50,000.

The city or town in which the county courthouse and government offices are located is the county seat. The county seat is usually the largest city in the county, but not always. If a once-smaller town experiences significant population growth, it might surpass the county seat in size. The informal rule from the 1800s, when states created most counties, was that the county seat should not be more than a day's wagon ride away from all county residents. This allowed families to conduct official business, perhaps do some shopping, and get back home in the same day. Many counties were quite large when first established. As the population grew, the state divided older counties to make a greater number of smaller ones, giving more people easier access to the county seat.

Many county courthouses are beautiful structures in which county residents take great pride. However, as county government grows, courthouses sometimes can no longer contain all of the offices that county officials need. To house these offices, a county might purchase another building on the courthouse square or erect a county government annex nearby.

The Forms and Personnel of County Government

Currently, almost all county governments take one of three forms. The most common, used in over half of the nation's counties, is an elected commission or board of supervisors. In Louisiana, the body is called the parish police jurors, while in New Jersey the panel is called the board of chosen freeholders. County commissioners usually serve for a two- or four-year term. They represent separate districts within the county. In some places each district elects

Dallas County Courthouse in Dallas, Texas

two or three commissioners. The commission not only passes the budget and enacts new laws but also fulfills the executive function by overseeing the county bureaucracy. This form of government does not have a separate executive for the county.

The two other forms, which together comprise about forty percent of counties, have a separate executive. The commission-administrator form uses an administrator appointed by the commission. The administrator oversees the daily operation of the county government, including the hiring and firing of personnel. The third form is the commission-executive/mayor format. Under this plan the county executive (sometimes called the county mayor) is an elected position. In some places he can even veto ordinances passed by the commission.

People elect other county officials or the commission appoints them. The functions of county government and the officials and personnel who are elected or hired to do these functions vary depending on the needs of the county. The most common elected official is the county clerk, who oversees elections, handles marriage licenses, and issues license plates, among other duties. Another common elected position is the register of deeds. With the importance of land development, and since the buying and selling of property is a major decision for citizens, accurate recording and transferring of deeds in a county is essential. Other elected officials or appointed positions in a county might include:

- County treasurer or trustee, who is responsible for collecting and disbursing county funds;
- County auditor, who keeps a check on the books of county government;
- Property assessor, who computes the value of property for property tax purposes;
- And road supervisor, who oversees road maintenance and construction.

Dubuque County Courthouse in Dubuque, Iowa

The county coroner or medical examiner is usually an appointed position, but in some places it is an elected office. This person performs an inquest to investigate the cause of someone's death when authorities suspect something other than natural causes. He or she often works with law enforcement officials because criminal activity might be involved. The medical examiner can conduct hearings and subpoena witnesses if he believes such actions are necessary. Medical examiners are almost always physicians.

Other appointed county officials often include the surveyor, engineer, health officer, and members of the zoning commission. In times past, the pay for some county positions was based on fees that the officials collected. This sometimes led to corruption. Now county officials receive salaries.

About one-third of a typical county's revenue comes from property taxes and from a sales tax that the county imposes on top of the state sales tax. The rest comes mostly from funds that the state government or the federal government provides.

Lockport Township High School in Lockport, Illinois

Education

The largest single expense for many counties is public education. Often a county government operates all of the public schools within the county, although in many places cities have created their own separate school districts or the government has formed a special school district. A board of education and a school superintendent or director head the school system. Voters elect members of the board of education, and the county commission oversees the board of education. This means that in most places the board of education can only request a budget from the county commission and does not have the power to raise its own tax revenues.

In most places, the board of education appoints someone to serve as superintendent or director of schools. A few localities elect the superintendent. In Chicago, Illinois, and Cleveland, Ohio, the mayor appoints the school superintendent.

Board of Education Meeting in Charlotte County, Virginia, 1943

Township Government

In twenty states, the township is a level of government for an area that is larger than a town or city but smaller than a county. Townships are most common in New England, Mid-Atlantic, and Midwestern states. Townships began when New England communities drew the boundaries for the areas for which the local government was responsible. New Englanders use the term township more commonly than the term town.

The elected township leadership is a group called either the selectmen, the board of supervisors, or the board of trustees. Township leaders generally hire those who work full-time in township offices. Townships perform a wide variety of functions, depending on the traditions of government in those regions. They might be responsible for maintaining roads and bridges, operating fire and rescue squads, enforcing zoning and building code regulations, maintaining libraries, providing water service and other public utilities, and collecting taxes for itself and for cities and counties. In some Illinois townships, residents apply for U.S. passports at the township office.

When an area within a township becomes populous enough to become a town or city, the people there can submit a request to the state legislature to be incorporated, in keeping with that state's constitution or laws. This change allows a city to become more autonomous and to provide more services for that locality than the township might be willing or able to provide.

Special Districts

Another level of government that is not quite a county but not quite a city is the special district. People form a special district to meet a specific need for an area, such as providing fire protection, clean water, sanitation, library services, and sometimes schools. An elected board usually oversees a special district. The special district sometimes can tax the residents and businesses that are within it, or it might merely be able to propose a tax rate for its needs to the county or city in which it is located.

The formation of a special district comes about as a result of any number of motivations. A need, such as that for a library or fire protection, might exist over an area that includes several small communities or rural areas, none of which has a large enough population to provide for the need themselves. Alternatively, communities that are near to each other might want to combine their efforts instead of each developing its own program.

People might decide to form a special district to provide greater control over a service or to avoid political wrangling that would hinder the service from being provided at all. Over 35,000 special districts exist in the United States. In addition, about 13,500 special school districts exist in the U.S. In thirty-three states, this is how public schools operate as opposed to being simply a function of the county government.

Our country is divided into states, counties, cities, towns, and special districts, but we should remember that every acre of this land belongs to God.

The earth is the Lord's, and all it contains,
The world, and those who dwell in it.
Psalm 24:1

Assignments for Lesson 51

Literature Continue reading *Born Again* by Charles Colson. Plan to be finished with it by the end of this unit.

Project Choose your project for Unit 11 and start working on it.

Student Review If you are using this resource, answer the questions for Lesson 51.

City Hall in Cedar Rapids, Iowa

Lesson 52

Governing a City

People ask where I get my energy. Well, it's really simple. It comes from you. It comes from here. What I mean by that is that my strength and energy comes entirely from the people of the City of New York. And it comes from a place like this, St. Paul's Chapel. This is a House of God, and it's one of the homes of our Republic. . . . When I walked in here from City Hall. . . on September 11, when the Twin Towers were viciously attacked and came crashing to the ground, . . . this chapel remained, not only not destroyed, but not a single window was broken. And I think there's some very special significance in that. This is the place where George Washington prayed when he first became President of the United States. It also stood strong, powerful, untouched, undaunted by the attacks of these people who hate what we stand for. What we stand for is so much stronger than they are. So this chapel stands for our values. It's a very important place and I hope you return here often to reflect on what it means to be an American and a New Yorker.

—Rudolph Giuliani, Farewell Address as Mayor of New York City, December 27, 2001

Los Angeles, California: population, almost four million
Providence, Rhode Island: population, about 178,000
Minot, North Dakota: population, about 46,000
Evergreen, Alabama: population, about 3,850

These and over 19,000 other cities or municipalities in the United States have one thing in common: they all need city government. Beyond that, the needs of America's cities are very different. For instance, Minot does not have to deal with issues related to being an ocean port while Los Angeles does not have to deal with being prepared for snow removal. A city situated on the seacoast has to deal with erosion of the shore. In the Idaho farming region, which might only get ten inches of rain per year, a city's water usage can be a major issue. As a result of these differences, city governments take different forms and carry out widely different functions.

The population of the United States was once predominantly rural. Most people lived in small towns or in unincorporated rural areas. Now the U.S. is predominantly an urban country. Almost

63 percent of the population lives in incorporated areas: cities, towns, and incorporated suburbs. Thus, municipal government is a major part of the lives of most Americans.

The Nature of City Government

State legislatures incorporate or officially organize villages, towns, and cities as legal bodies. Thus cities are to a degree dependent on the state government. However, they generally operate as autonomous units of government and do not carry out the functions of the state the way that county governments do. Municipalities govern, protect, and provide services for the people within their boundaries.

The state constitution or state law sets forth guidelines for how the legislature is to create a city. When the legislature incorporates a locality, the city receives a charter. The city charter is something like its constitution. To amend a charter (for example, to change the way the city fills the office of mayor if it becomes vacant between elections), the city has to ask the state government for permission to change it. Some cities receive the power of home rule. A municipality with home rule can amend its charter through local action, such as a referendum or a simple vote of the city council, however the state government and the city's charter allows. If a city government functions poorly—for instance, if it gets too deeply in debt because of bad management—the state can revoke its charter and the city has to start all over again to reconstruct its government.

The state expects the city to maintain a government and to provide certain services for the people according to the provisions of its charter. The state does not expect a village or a town to provide the same level of services that a city must offer.

Forms of City Government

The first form of city government in America was the democratic town meeting. The adult male residents who owned property or paid taxes met regularly to decide issues that they needed to address. They sometimes elected a board of supervisors to oversee the operation of the city government between meetings and to hire people to carry out the work of the city. Because of city growth, such town meetings are rare today.

A second form of city government, which at one time was the most common form, is the mayor-council arrangement. In this plan a mayor, who is elected city-wide, and a council of representatives (sometimes called aldermen) elected by districts, govern the city. Four-year terms for mayors and city council members are common. The mayor is the city's chief executive. He oversees the operation of the city's employees. The council is the legislative body that considers the annual budget and new ordinances or laws for the city. As cities grow larger, the position of mayor often becomes a full-time position. In smaller cities, he might be a local businessman who holds the position of mayor on a part-time basis. Just under forty percent of American cities have a mayor-council government.

The third form of city government is the commission plan. City voters elect commissioners, and they form the city commission. However, they also each head one or more departments of city government, such as public safety, finance, parks and property, and street maintenance. Sometimes candidates run for specific posts, while in other places commissioners divide up the responsibilities

New York City Mayor-elect Rudolph Giuliani meets with President Bill Clinton, 1993.

City Hall in Savannah, Georgia

once they take office. The mayor might be the commissioner who gets the most votes, or the commission might choose one from among themselves to serve as mayor.

The first U.S. city to use the commission plan was Galveston, Texas, in 1901, after a hurricane and tidal wave the year before almost destroyed the city. The mayor-council city government there had become corrupt and was unable to cope with the massive devastation, so the city instituted the commission approach to provide more accountability for what the city government did.

The commission system combines the legislative and executive functions into one body. While this streamlines government operations, it does not maintain the principle of separation of powers. A commission government can devolve into five or seven little governments, each competing for more of the city's limited budget. Today, only a small percentage of municipalities use the commission form.

The most common form of city government today, which just under sixty percent of American municipalities utilize, is the council-manager plan. In this arrangement voters elect council members by districts, and the council has the primary responsibility for city government. Voters might also elect a mayor, while in some cities the council candidate who receives the most votes becomes mayor.

However, the mayor does not really run the city government in this plan. The mayor chairs council meetings, signs proclamations, and fills other formal roles. Running city government as the chief executive is the job of a professional city manager, whom the council hires and who answers to it. College courses of study and professional training programs have helped people learn the work of managing a city. The goal of the city manager plan is to raise city government above petty politics and to enable city employees to do their jobs well.

These basic forms of city government can have many variations. For instance, cities that use the mayor-council form, which has often allowed politics as usual to hold sway, have become more accepting of professional public administrators or managers. On the other hand, the supposedly professional and scientific approach of the council-manager form can have its share of petty politics. The city manager might believe that city worker Good Ol' Bob isn't doing his job and terminates his employment; but if Bob is the nephew of one of the council members, the city manager's days in office might be numbered also.

Three-fourths of American cities elect their officials on a non-partisan basis. In other words, candidates run on their own merits and not as candidates of political parties.

Special Boards and Franchises

City governments sometimes appoint special boards and commissions to handle particular needs. The beer board, for instance, reviews applications from retailers for permission to sell alcoholic beverages and considers accusations against retailers who have allegedly violated city ordinances governing such sales. A large city might organize a stadium authority to plan, finance, construct, and operate a major sports facility. The airport authority oversees the operation and expansion of the city's airport. Such issues as these could dominate a city council's time, so the special authority provides government oversight while enabling the council to maintain perspective on all of the issues facing the city.

City governments can give permission for private companies to provide services to the population in an action called franchising. For instance, cable television companies might bid to receive the contract to offer this service to people living in the city. It is sometimes not profitable for several cable companies to compete for customers in the same municipality. If one company can get the exclusive franchise for a city, however, they are more likely to make a profit. In exchange for this monopoly on a service, the city examines the company's operations; and rate increases must receive the city government's approval. If customers complain about poor service or too many price increases, the city council might decide to award the contract to another company.

However, cities can decide to allow competition for services. For example, in Urbana, Illinois, the city does not provide garbage collection. Several private companies offer the service to city residents. This competition can hold down prices, but it also means that heavy garbage trucks from several companies rumble down the same streets almost every day of the week.

Weak Mayor, Strong Mayor

The traditional understanding of city government is that the mayor is the head of government like the president is head of the country and the governor is head of a state. However, the office of mayor can be strong or weak depending on the makeup of a city's governing structure. A strong mayor can push for his agenda and has considerable influence on the votes of council members and on what happens in city government on a day to day basis.

In the commission form of government, the mayor is fairly weak. His main function is to chair the meetings of the council. The council-manager form also tends to have a weak mayor. The real power is vested in the council, and the city manager has the most authority over the daily operation of the municipality. If a city has many administrative boards and commissions, this can limit the ability of the mayor to influence what happens.

In a city whose charter calls for a mayor to be more than a figurehead, he or she really is the chief executive of the city. The mayor in such a city can hire and fire the heads of city departments. Some mayors can veto the actions of the city council. Strong mayors are usually full-time positions, while council members in such situations usually serve on a part-time basis.

Of course, even though the formal structure of a municipal government might call for a weak mayor or strong mayor, the informal structure might enable just the opposite. If the people have a

City Hall in Alexandria, Virginia

great deal of respect for the mayor and he has a great deal of personal influence in a city, he or she can lead the city government in the direction he wants, even though his official position does not give him much power in the practical operation of the city. On the other hand, even if a mayor holds a strong official position, someone else in city government, such as a long-serving council member or a powerful businessman in the community, might hold the real power in the city and can thwart the mayor's plans.

Consolidated Governments

Of the over three thousand counties in the United States, about thirty-three have a consolidated or metropolitan (metro) city-county government. In these places, the county is considered to be the city and vice versa, though in some of these counties small communities continue to function as independent entities. Lexington-Fayette County, Kentucky; Denver-Denver County, Colorado; and Jacksonville-Duval County, Florida, are examples of consolidated governments. In these places, the same government entity handles the functions of a city in governing the locality and the functions of county government on behalf of the state.

The idea of consolidating city and county governments generates arguments both pro and con. Supporters say that a consolidated government eliminates duplication of services, provides better coordination of services, and enables more effective planning for growth. It also eliminates the adversarial positions that cities and counties sometimes take. Opponents claim that consolidation does away with smaller communities and their cherished identities. They also say that city dwellers and the rural population will likely not share the same needs and expectations of government. In the ongoing contest for every government dollar, opponents say that the demands of the city will drown out the needs of the county, which might include better roads in less-populated areas and better rural law enforcement.

The residents of a city often develop a clear self-identity and dominant culture. The Lord told Jonah to preach to the great city of Nineveh because He loved them but they had lost their way spiritually.

Should I not have compassion on Nineveh, the great city in which there are more than 120,000 persons who do not know the difference between their right and left hand, as well as many animals?
Jonah 4:11

Assignments for Lesson 52

We Hold These Truths	Read the State of the City Address by Kasim Reed, pages 144-148.
Literature	Continue reading *Born Again* by Charles Colson.
Project	Continue working on your project for Unit 11.
Student Review	If you are using this resource, answer the questions for Lesson 52.

Chicago, Illinois

Lesson 53

Using Urban Spaces

Make no little plans. They have no magic to stir men's blood and probably themselves will not be realized. Make big plans; aim high in hope and work, remembering that a noble, logical diagram once recorded will never die, but long after we are gone will be a living thing, asserting itself with ever-growing insistency. Remember that our sons and grandsons are going to do things that would stagger us. Let your watchword be order and your beacon beauty. Think big.

—Thoughts attributed to Daniel Burnham, Chicago architect and city planner (1846-1912)

It is easy to talk and think about government at any level as "the way it is"; for instance, to think about a city as being of a certain population and covering so many square miles. But government is not this way because life is not this way. Things are always changing. With a city, the population increases and decreases. Businesses open, close, grow, and decline. Developers establish new subdivisions with new houses. Older homes become run down, their owners can abandon them, and eventually new property owners might tear them down and replace them. While the idea that "the way things are" in a town or city might be comforting to many, the reality is that government must change as people's lives change.

This lesson examines four ways that cities deal with change: planning, zoning, annexation, and eminent domain.

Planning

Population growth in a city, county, state, or region presents many challenges. One challenge is to balance individual freedom with what is best for the community as a whole. We live in a free country that gives individuals the opportunity to enjoy their personal endeavors; but if the community through the government does not guide growth in some way, the result can be detrimental to personal, family, community, and business success.

Urban planning is a profession that helps communities, counties, states, and regions anticipate (as much as possible) what growth a region can expect and what is the best way to plan for and handle that growth. Urban planners study long-range population and business trends, predict what the impact of growth might be, and advise communities on what steps the government can take to maintain and improve the quality of life for the

residents. Several universities have developed degree programs in city planning.

Planning involves data collection, goal setting, and creating guidelines for government policies. Planners study the impact of population and economic growth on people, the land, the water, and the air. Planning requires both expert perspectives and input from the public who pays the bills and has to live with the outcomes. Planners often develop a master plan for a neighborhood, a city, a county, a metropolitan area, or a region.

Archaeology indicates city leaders have planned for growth since ancient times. In America William Penn laid out an orderly plan of streets for the city of Philadelphia in 1682. Pierre L'Enfant developed a plan for the new city of Washington in the District of Columbia in 1791. His plan celebrated the new nation with beautiful buildings and park areas. Frederick Law Olmstead designed Central Park in New York City in the 1850s.

The profession of urban planning developed in the late 1800s as cities faced the disorder of unplanned growth that resulted from increasing industrialization and growing populations. The development of mechanized transportation, such as trolley lines, enabled many people to live outside of inner cities and commute to and from work. This expanded the areas of cities and increased traffic congestion. Many planners sought to create an ideal city, as in the City Beautiful movement that culminated in the plan for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition (the Chicago World's Fair); but urban planning also had to confront practical realities of providing sanitation, transportation, and other services, balancing appearances and realities.

Planning can involve many areas of community life. Land use planning considers what tracts of land would be best suited for commercial, residential, or public uses (the latter involving, for example, parks and schools), how to use and how to protect open land, and how and whether to revitalize already developed parts of a city. Transportation planning examines traffic patterns and addresses such topics as road improvement (Should this road be widened to four lanes or kept to two? Do we need to build a bypass around the city?). Larger cities might have to consider beginning or expanding mass transit lines such as buses, subways, or commuter trains.

Miami Beach, Florida

Water use planning looks at whether a city will be able to provide clean water to a growing population: what is the city's current water source, are additional sources available, and can the city afford a new water treatment plant? Planning must take geography into account in determining what are the best areas for residential and industrial development. A city on a river or seacoast might study the best way to expand its port facilities. Natural resources planning might consider how best to utilize minerals, lumber, and other natural resources while protecting the environment.

Smaller cities might utilize the services of a private planning consulting company. As municipalities become larger, they are more likely to need a full-time city planner. County governments also need the services of planners. A planning commission is a board whose members are citizens appointed by the city council or county commission and who recommends a course of growth for a unit of government.

While recognizing the limitations of top-down decisions by city officials on how an area should develop, planners help community residents see the good that is possible from giving thought to the best way a community can grow.

Zoning

Ken and Nancy Greene purchased a ten-acre tract on a county road twelve years ago. Their dream was to build a home there someday and move out of the city. By careful saving, they were finally able to accomplish their dream. They built a home just like they wanted, with a pretty yard and a beautiful view. One afternoon, as they were sitting on their front porch, a pickup truck drove past their house and stopped just down the road. A man got out and erected a sign on the neighboring tract of land. The sign said, "Coming soon: Bob's Auto Salvage Lot. Pick a wreck and find the part you need." As the pickup drove back by their house and the driver gave a friendly wave, Ken and Nancy looked at each other in horror. Their twelve-year dream had suddenly become a nightmare.

This is a free country. What is to prevent such a scenario from happening? Why can't someone build a convenience store in the middle of a residential subdivision? What prevents a large, smelly factory from going up next to an exclusive golf course that has large, expensive homes surrounding it? What keeps these things from happening is the process called zoning, by which a city or a county regulates how people use various areas of land.

The zoning commission is another appointed board that oversees the zoning process. The city planner or other official might chair the commission. Typical zones are residential, commercial, and industrial. These are subdivided into more specific kinds of use. A residential zone might be restricted to single-family dwellings, or it might allow two-family dwellings (duplexes), mobile homes, or multi-family dwellings in the form of apartments. Commercial zones might allow certain kinds of businesses but forbid others; for instance, a city might allow a bookstore on the town square but not a lumber yard. The government might designate industrial zones as light industrial or heavy industrial. A small tool and die shop would be in a different zone from a large auto parts manufacturer.

Zoning regulations create a pleasant and coordinated community environment and help to maintain property values. For instance, it is difficult for a homeowner to sell a house located next to a factory. Many people would be reluctant to buy a home if a businessman could build a liquor store next to it. Zoning separates business areas, industrial areas, and residential areas to help with traffic flow and personal safety. In addition, when a property owner sells a piece of land, the seller can impose covenants and restrictions on how future owners can use the property for a certain period of time into the future.

Few cities had zoning from the time they were established. As a result, when zoning does begin it has to pick up with the status quo and go on from

there. In addition, zoning is not a one-time process. Localities can change zoning designations. A county might change a farm or residential zone to industrial if it wants to create an industrial park. A property owner can petition to have the government rezone his or her site to another designation. If the owner of an empty warehouse wants to build apartments on the site, he can apply for a zoning change. The government must give public notice on the proposed change, and a public hearing allows citizens to give input on the proposal.

Zoning and planning have been used longer for cities than for counties. More counties are seeing the need for staying ahead of growth and avoiding problems before they surface. Those who oppose zoning want the freedom to do what they want with their property. Those who support zoning want to regulate growth and development and want to avoid the situation that Ken and Nancy Greene faced.

Annexation

Cities do not grow merely by residents having children or new residents moving into the city. A municipality can also grow by annexing or taking in areas adjacent to the city and thus expanding the city limits and the city's population.

The process of annexation involves trade-offs for all parties involved. As a city grows, many people want to live near but not in the city in order to be close to shopping, health care, and other benefits of city life while avoiding the taxes, traffic, and other problems that come with living in a city. A family might want to live in an unincorporated area in order to have a yard and access to county schools, while Dad drives into the city to work. However, along with these advantages, those who live outside of the city might not have access to garbage pickup, fire protection, sanitary sewer service, and other services that the city provides within the city limits. People who live outside of the city use city streets, for which they pay no city taxes; and they will probably want to use the city library, also funded by taxes, as well as other city services.

A city government might want to annex a growing area into the city to increase the area on which it can collect property taxes. At the same time, with annexation the city has to provide more services to a larger number of people. Residents who live in an area that the city is considering for annexation might want additional services, but they might fear the commercial development that might come into what had been an exclusively residential area. They might also wonder whether the increased services will be worth the increased taxes they would have to pay. As a compromise arrangement, residents might form a special water services district or a fire service district to provide those services to the homes and businesses in the outlying area rather than becoming part of the city itself.

State governments have established guidelines for how annexation is to happen. Cities have the right to annex adjacent land, within the restrictions that the state has set. For instance, the boundary of a growing city might get close to a small town a few miles away; but a city cannot annex another incorporated area without that other area's permission. Some states do not let a city annex vacant land so that a city will not control large areas of land that could go to other uses. In such a situation an area has to have a certain population density before a city can annex it. A city must provide certain services if it annexes

Center Grove, Tennessee

land. It cannot just make a vague promise that it will provide services someday.

Some residents of an area that a city is considering for annexation might want to be annexed and can petition to be annexed. On the other hand, other residents might fight annexation by submitting a petition against it to the planning commission or hiring an attorney to initiate legal action against the city. The city government then has to decide whether the benefits to the city from annexation will outweigh the ill will that the effort to annex might generate. Sorting out the tradeoffs involved in annexation is one of the challenges of governing a city.

Eminent Domain

Eminent domain is the power of government to use or take private property for public purposes without the owner's permission. It is a right that governments have claimed since kings considered themselves to be owners of all the property in their realms.

Typical examples of government projects that involve the exercise of eminent domain are the building of a road and the creation of a city park. To acquire the land that such a project needs, the government will condemn the land and offer what officials believe is just compensation to the owner. Negotiations and sometimes legal actions often follow the condemnation until the government agency and the property owner are both satisfied with the purchase price.

The government's power of eminent domain is a limitation on the right of private ownership of property. A property owner usually cannot stand in the way of a government project merely because he does not want to sell his land. However, in the United States certain safeguards have kept a check on the process. The Fifth Amendment says that the government must want the land "for public use" and that it must provide "just compensation" to the owner. This is often called the takings clause of the Fifth Amendment.

Dinosaur, Colorado

People have generally understood eminent domain to apply to the government acquiring land for public use and not for private development. A highway or a park is clearly a public project. However, the definition of "public use" has gradually expanded to include "public benefit," including economic development by a private entity that will supposedly benefit the public at large. For instance, a private developer who wants to build a factory, office complex, or shopping complex with the stated intent of bringing economic benefit to a community might ask the government to exercise eminent domain so that he can acquire the land for the project. Governments have used eminent domain in this way many times. This is how private railroad companies built the transcontinental railroad: the government transferred land that it controlled into the hands of the private companies that built the lines. The project was for the public to use and it was for the public benefit, but private companies owned it. In the 1920s, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the condemnation of urban slums to allow private developers to use the land for their projects, reasoning that such projects would benefit the public. In 1981, the Michigan Supreme Court,

using the same reasoning, upheld the condemnation of slum property in Detroit for General Motors to build a factory.

In a 5-4 decision announced in 2005, the U.S. Supreme Court in *Kelo, et al. v. City of New London, et al.* ruled against property owners in New London, Connecticut, who objected to having to sell their land to private developers because a city agency had decided that developing the land would bring greater economic benefit to the community than would be derived from the land remaining as it was. The decision created a firestorm of controversy. The Court majority encouraged people concerned about the issue to petition their state legislatures to develop strict guidelines about using eminent domain. To date forty-five states have enacted new regulations that limit or carefully define how governments in those states can exercise eminent domain without forcing a transfer of property from one private owner to another.

Ironically, the proposed development that prompted the Supreme Court's *Kelo* decision did not happen. The company withdrew from the project; and ten years after the Court's decision, the land where private homes once stood was empty lots that hosted no economic development and generated no revenue for the city. The home that the lead plaintiff, Susette Kelo, owned was moved to another part of New London. Kelo herself moved to another part of Connecticut.

Governing a city well requires great character. Proverbs says that a city is blessed by the upright and torn down by the wicked.

By the blessing of the upright a city is exalted,
But by the mouth of the wicked it is torn down.
Proverbs 11:11

Assignments for Lesson 53

We Hold These Truths	Read the excerpts from *Kelo v. New London*, pages 149-153.
Literature	Continue reading *Born Again* by Charles Colson.
Project	Continue working on your project for Unit 11.
Student Review	If you are using this resource, answer the questions for Lesson 53.

Red Foxes Near Williston, North Dakota

Lesson 54

Governing a Growing Community

"They come here thinking the streets are paved with gold. They have all these pipe dreams in their head and then they come in here and I give them a realistic picture."
—Kyle Tennessen, manager at a temporary employment agency, Williston, North Dakota

Governing any locality involves challenging issues. City and county governments have to provide such services as police protection, roads, water, sewers, schools, and parks. A growing city has an increasing need for these services, but the increasing population and business activity usually provide the greater tax revenue that is needed to pay for them.

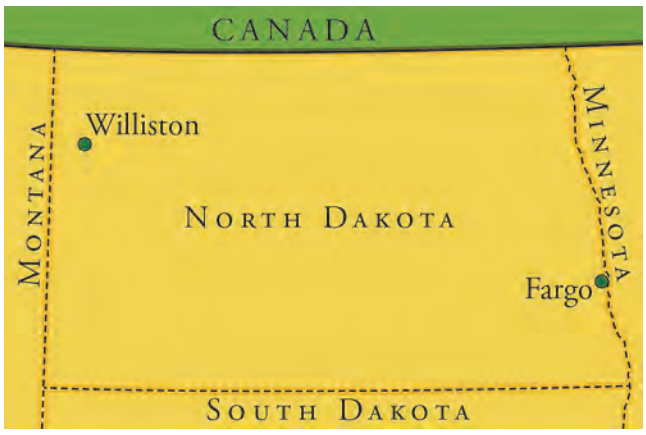
Sometimes, however, growth is explosive. Some suburbs near large cities more than double in a decade. This was true, for instance, in the area around Los Angeles, California, during the 1950s. When a major manufacturing facility, such as a large automobile plant, opens somewhere, the cities and towns nearby experience rapid growth as workers move in and new businesses open.

Williston, a small town in northwestern North Dakota, experienced this kind of rapid growth in the early 2000s as a result of an oil boom in the region. The city has confronted major issues that have challenged the city's people and government.

The Setting

Williston is located in Williams County, about eighteen miles from the Montana border and sixty miles from the Canadian border. James J. Hill, owner of the Northern Pacific Railroad, founded the city in 1887. He named it for Daniel Willis James, a friend of Hill and a member of the railroad's board of directors.

The economy of the Williston area has been based on agriculture for many years. A major business activity has been tourism. Williston is



Fort Union Trading Post Near Williston, North Dakota

near the Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site, a reconstructed fur trade-era fort. On their Voyage of Discovery, Lewis and Clark noted that the confluence of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers would be a good place for a fort. The Army built Fort Union there in 1829, and it became an important site for the fur trade.

Hunting and fishing are popular activities around Williston. The city is near the upper end of the manmade Lake Sakakawea, and is also near Theodore Roosevelt National Park.

Williston State College, a two-year institution, opened its doors in 1961.

The average January temperature is 11° F, and the average July temperature is 70°. The city experiences an average of 42 days per year when the low is below 0°, and it receives about 45 inches of snow annually.

The 1990 census of Williston showed 13,131. By 2000 the population had dipped slightly to 12,579.

Discovery of Oil

Geologists discovered oil in the area of Williston in the early 1950s on land that Henry Bakken owned, but the petroleum industry did not have the technology to extract the oil and natural gas that were present. The petroleum reserves extend into Montana and Canada. The deposit has different names, depending on the specific location and formation being discussed, including the Williston Basin, the Bakken Oil Fields, the Bakken Formation, and the Parshall Oil Fields.

Petroleum geologists developed an oil extraction process called hydraulic fracturing or fracking in the late 1940s. The process involves injecting water and chemicals at high pressure into underground rock formations. The column extends down into the earth and then moves horizontally. The process breaks up the rock and releases the oil and natural gas lying there. The oil industry developed and expanded the use of fracking over the next several decades.

By the mid-1970s, some scientists began to believe that the United States was running out of oil. This belief, coupled with increased tensions in the Middle East, led to widespread concerns about whether the United States would be able to obtain enough oil to meet its demand.

Oil companies began developing the Bakken deposits around 2006 using fracking technology. As exploration continued and fracking technology improved, geologists' estimates of the amount of recoverable oil deposits kept increasing. At the same time that North Dakota oil fields began showing great promise, gasoline prices began to rise. In 2008, the average price for a gallon of gas in the U.S. passed $4.00 for the first time. This price increase caused a demand for domestic oil in order to bring down prices, and production in the Williston Basin began to boom.

North Dakota Oil Boom

During the last half of the first decade of the 2000s, North Dakota oil production skyrocketed. Thousands of workers moved to Williston and other nearby towns. Companies hired workers to work a two- or three-week shift, then the workers went to their homes elsewhere for a few days while others came to take their place. Production continued around the clock, seven days per week.

New housing sprang up. Builders constructed many apartments and houses, but the most identifiable housing was "man camps," pre-fab dormitory-like structures where men slept and showered, rested, and then went back to work. Demand for housing outpaced supply. As salaries for oilfield workers hit $75,000-100,000, rent for a two-bedroom apartment reached $4,000 per month. The median per capita income in Williston rose from $29,962 in 2000 to $78,600 in 2013. The median home value more than tripled, from $56,600 in 2000 to $174,179 in 2013. By February 2014 rent in Williston was the highest in the nation.

Oil companies paid landowners for the right to drill on their property, and many landowners became millionaires. Unemployment fell to 2.2 percent in the Williston area and 2.7 percent in North Dakota, the lowest of any state in the union (economists generally consider an unemployment rate of 3 percent to be full employment). Jobs included not only oil field work but many other kinds of labor, from construction to oil and gas well maintenance to restaurants and retail.

The state of North Dakota receives 11.5 percent of the gross value of the oil recovered through a severance tax the state charges oil companies. The state awards leases to mineral rights by competitive bidding, which brings in more revenue. When producers bring out oil from federal lands, the federal government passes 48 percent of the revenue it receives to North Dakota.

In 2009 North Dakota produced more oil than Oklahoma. In 2012 the state passed Alaska and became second only to Texas as the state reached peak production.

The population of Williston rose to 14,716 in 2010 and to 20,850 in 2013. In 2014 the census estimate was 24,562; but an exact count was difficult to obtain with so many temporary residents there. Some city officials believe there were as many as 30,000 to 40,000 people living in the city.

The oil boom caused a huge crisis in government services, including roads, water, sewer, electricity, schools (many company officials brought their families), and health care. The large influx of workers also challenged law enforcement as crime increased. Government officials found it difficult to maintain services that the rapidly growing population demanded. The city had to make long-term plans while scrambling to keep up with current needs. Williston took on significant debt to expand its services quickly before it had the tax revenues to pay for everything it needed.

The Williston airport became a busier place. Long used only for private planes, regional commercial carriers began making daily fights to Denver and Minneapolis-St. Paul and also regular flights to Houston. About 6,000 passengers came through the airport in 2005; but about 100,000 passengers used the facility in 2016. Officials began planning a new airport that could handle the increased traffic. Amtrak passenger trains came through twice daily, one heading east to Chicago and another west to

Oil Rig Near Williston, North Dakota

Seattle-Portland. During the oil boom, trains carrying hundreds of oil tanker cars left Williston every day.

The Bust

By 2015, less than a decade after the oil boom began, oil prices fell. Fracking is more expensive than traditional drilling methods, so when prices fell production declined. Companies laid off workers, many of whom went home or went to oil fields elsewhere. Contractors had built too many houses, and prices began to fall. The population declined. The city decided to close the man camps and encourage permanent residents, but now it needs work for permanent residents to perform.

Drilling slowed but did not stop. City and business leaders hope for a rebound and for a restructuring of the economy that will lead to permanent jobs and more stable growth.

How Would You Govern Williston?

Oil production has brought great wealth to the Williston area and all of North Dakota, but the economic boom has had negative as well as positive consequences.

How would you diversify the economy of Williston so that the people would not be so dependent on the ups and downs of the oil industry?

What services should the government, churches, and businesses provide to displaced persons who left everything to go there, then lost their jobs, and have no way to go elsewhere? Some churches provide weekly meals. Some helping agencies provide one-way bus tickets to people wanting to head out and start over.

How should the community deal with conflict between long-time residents on the one hand, who have followed a way of life for decades if not generations, and new residents on the other hand who are tied to the oil industry and have new ideas?

What responsibility do the city, county, and state governments have to address environmental issues as a result of fracking? Some scientists believe that chemicals and pulverized rocks are contaminating ground and surface water. Methane gas is definitely becoming a factor, as is an increase in noise and air pollution. Spills and drilling waste are becoming problems. Some believe that fracking causes earthquakes and negatively affects pregnant women and their babies.

What will happen if and when oil companies no longer find production in the Williston area economically feasible?

Oil Fields Near Williston, North Dakota

Dealing with Decline

Williston has experienced growth and decline. Communities hope for growth, but communities do not always grow. New Orleans and Louisiana lost significant population after Hurricane Katrina struck in 2005. The city of Detroit, Michigan, was once a thriving industrial center; but it is a shell of its former self. Some small cities as well as counties are shrinking in population and business output. When a factory or military base closes, the tax base and the economy of the locality can suffer significantly.

Dealing with decline can be a difficult problem for governments to handle. Closed factories and empty apartment buildings generate no income for the city and can become locations of criminal activity. A city will sometimes try to recruit families and businesses to move into the community, but revitalization can be a long process that requires widespread community commitment to the goal of renewal.

You can find good people and opportunities for personal growth and service to others anywhere. However, experience teaches us that governing any city—whether growing, declining, or stagnant—has its challenges.

During a period when the Israelites were being unfaithful to God, He described a decline similar to ones that have happened in many urban areas throughout history.

Woe to those who add house to house and join field to field,
Until there is no more room,
So that you have to live alone in the midst of the land!
In my ears the Lord of hosts has sworn,
"Surely, many houses shall become desolate,
Even great and fine ones, without occupants . . ."
Isaiah 5:8-9

Assignments for Lesson 54

Literature Continue reading *Born Again* by Charles Colson.

Project Continue working on your project for Unit 11.

Student Review If you are using this resource, answer the questions for Lesson 54.

Entrance to Saguaro National Park in Arizona

Lesson 55

Three Levels Working Together

All politics is local.

—Common saying, often attributed to former House Speaker Thomas P. ("Tip") O'Neill (1912-1994)

The individual American is responsible to many different levels of government at the same time. He is subject to the federal, state, and county governments. He might also be subject to a city government, a township government, and one or more special service districts. All of these governments offer certain services and make certain demands on the individual. In addition, all of them want some of his money, usually in the form of taxes.

We might think of the three levels of government—federal, state, and local—as distinct. In reality, however, they interact with each other a great deal. Sometimes this interaction is for good, while in other situations it is a source of conflict. In this lesson we outline some of the ways that federal, state, and local governments interact and the results of those interactions.

Above all else, what binds the country together on all levels is the provision in Article VI of the Constitution that all government officials, whether federal, state (or by extension, local) "shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution." Despite the different areas of sovereignty, and despite the occasional times of conflict, we share this commitment to the Constitution and to our one republic.

Interactions in History

Interactions—and conflicts—among the different levels of government are nothing new. Under the Articles of Confederation, the national government was weak and the state governments had almost all political power. The Constitution changed that, and states had some difficulties adjusting to the new arrangement.

One question that arose more than once in the early years of the republic was whether a state could ignore or nullify a federal law. When the Federalist-led Congress passed the Alien and Sedition Acts in the 1790s, the Kentucky and Virginia state legislatures passed resolutions suggesting that those states did not have to enforce those laws because state leaders (who were Republicans) believed the laws were unconstitutional. South Carolina took a similar position in 1832, when the legislature

declared that the state would not collect a federal tariff that state leaders believed was harmful to its economy. President Andrew Jackson insisted on the state's submission, and the legislature withdrew its threat to nullify the tariff.

Sometimes federal policy hurt local governments. In the early 1800s, in response to British harassment of American shipping, President Thomas Jefferson encouraged Congress to pass an Embargo Act that forbade any American ship from leaving port. Jefferson hoped that this move would pressure Britain into ceasing its actions because of the embargo's negative effect on British business. The immediate victims of the embargo, however, were the American port cities that suffered because of a serious loss of business. In this case, federal policy had a negative effect on local communities.

Positive Interactions

One way in which the federal government has impacted even small communities in a direct and positive way has been through local post offices. Historically, post office jobs were rewards that the postmaster general gave to political allies in appreciation for their support of presidential candidates; but in a non-political sense, postal service brought the world to just about every rural community. Before 1896, farm families had to pick up their mail at the town post office or pay someone to bring it to them. In that year Congress created Rural Free Delivery (RFD), which established rural mail routes that delivered mail to farm homes. Parcel Post service began in 1913, which helped the mail order industry and also further connected rural residents with the rest of the country.

Another major way in which the federal government has helped state and local governments has been through the funding of road construction. The Cumberland Road or National Road was the first federal highway. It connected Cumberland, Maryland, near Baltimore, to Vandalia, Illinois. Construction lasted from 1811 to 1837. From 1833, the states through which the road passed had to pay for the road's maintenance. The Cumberland Road encouraged settlement in states west of the Appalachian Mountains.

The United States Post Office in Ochopee, Florida, is the smallest in the country.

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers manages Carlyle Lake in Carlyle, Illinois.

In response to the rapidly growing number of automobiles on the road, Congress created the U.S. Highway System in 1926. This system of numbered federal highways crisscrossed the country and made automobile travel more common and more enjoyable. Then in 1956 Congress created the Interstate system. Currently, the federal government provides 90 percent of Interstate funding and 80 percent of the funding for non-Interstate federal roads, with states providing the rest.

The federal Interstate program has had a huge impact on localities. Route planning involved selection and purchase of land. Payments to road construction companies have pumped billions of dollars into local economies. Cities along the Interstate routes have grown, while many cities not on the Interstate have shrunk.

State highway construction projects also have an impact on local communities. For instance, when a state highway needs to be widened, state highway officials meet with local officials and with property owners along the route to discuss their plans. State civil engineers and the construction company pack up and go home when they finish the job, but the residents of the local community feel the impact of the project—for good or ill—for many years to come.

Federal and state grants can affect local communities. A local police department might receive a grant to upgrade its equipment, a city might receive a grant to build a community center, or a federal grant might fund a large research project at a local university. In another funding issue, federal officials use the ten-year federal census to allocate some $400 billion each year in funding to state, local, and tribal governments.

States (and therefore counties) oversee elections, including elections for federal offices; but the Federal Election Commission reviews election activities involving campaigns and voting related to federal offices on the state and local levels.

Federal installations such as national parks, wildlife management areas, and military bases affect local governments. Tourists, new residents, and those on temporary assignments who come as a result of these facilities add to the local economy, but they also add to transportation, law enforcement, education, and other expenses in those communities. These federal facilities also affect how and where a local community can plan for growth. State and local governments cannot levy property taxes on federal lands. Therefore, the federal government makes payments in lieu of taxes (PILT) to states

and communities where large federal facilities are present. PILT helps to ease the financial burden that local governments bear.

Federal and state governments fund the Medicaid health care program for low-income persons. States administer the program and have a fair degree of freedom in setting guidelines for the program.

Since the federal government is sovereign, federal laws and regulations outweigh state and local laws and regulations whenever a question exists. For instance, rules that the National Register of Historic Places set up affect what owners of property on the register can do with their property in terms of remodeling or upgrades, regardless of what local codes might allow or require. A local port authority has to bow to U.S. Navy, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, or U.S. Department of Commerce rules.

Sources of Conflict

Federal, state, and local governments do not always cooperate well. States sometimes complain about "unfunded mandates" that the federal government issues (see page 135).

Local and state governments deal in practical ways with the federal government's enforcement of or failure to enforce immigration laws. When federal agencies do not arrest and deport illegal immigrants, state and local officials have to provide education, health care, law enforcement, and other services for those individuals. On the other hand, in a few cities the local government has decided not to cooperate with immigration officials in identifying illegal immigrants. These cities are sometimes called "sanctuary cities."

Management of emergencies can be an opportunity for governments to rise to the occasion, or it can reveal a lack of government preparedness. When Hurricane Katrina hit New Orleans and the surrounding Gulf region in 2005, federal, state, and local officials did not work together well. The crisis revealed their preparations to be inadequate, and thousands of people suffered as a result.

States Rights and Civil Rights

The Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution guarantees all Americans equal protection of the laws. However, Supreme Court decisions in the last half of the 1800s limited the amendment's reach only to actions of the federal government. The result was that states could deny equal protection without consequences. This happened especially with regard to discrimination against African Americans. Many states both north and south routinely subjected blacks to unequal treatment, including segregation in housing and schools.

In the early 1920s, Supreme Court decisions began applying the Fourteenth Amendment to some state actions but not with regard to the civil rights of blacks. This began to change with decisions in the late 1940s and early 1950s. However, states continued to resist extending equal treatment to blacks. When the Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 that states had to integrate their public schools, many states responded with a policy of "massive resistance" and refused to comply with the decision. Schools and other public facilities remained segregated into the 1960s. For instance, when two black students, accompanied by a deputy U.S. attorney general, attempted to enroll in the University of Alabama in 1963, Alabama Governor George Wallace stood in the doorway of the building the students were attempting to enter

Vivian Malone, center, enters the University of Alabama to register for classes, 1963.

and refused them admission. After Wallace made a speech, he stood aside and the students were able to enroll. Violence broke out in Boston in 1974 when officials implemented busing in order to integrate schools.

Many believed that, with the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the federal government went too far and encroached on areas that were traditionally, properly, and constitutionally reserved to the states. These opponents appealed to the doctrine of states rights, which had a basis in the Tenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The problem was that in their assertion of states rights, the states were denying to American citizens basic human rights and the basic civil rights that the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed to all Americans.

The United States has a good system of government. The founders showed great wisdom in creating a system with three levels of government and three branches of government. We can see the wisdom of this arrangement in many practical ways.

Every citizen, functioning well and responsibly at every level, can contribute good to the community, the state, and the country as a whole. Families, the church, as well as communities, states, and countries, function best when all work together for a common good, as Paul taught about the church:

. . . but speaking the truth in love,
we are to grow up in all aspects into Him who is the head,
even Christ, from whom the whole body,
being fitted and held together by what every joint supplies,
according to the proper working of each individual part,
causes the growth of the body for the building up of itself in love.
Ephesians 4:15-16

Assignments for Lesson 55

Project Finish your project for Unit 11.

Student Review If you are using this resource, answer the questions for Lesson 55 and take the quiz for Unit 11.

Literature Finish reading *Born Again* by Charles Colson. Read the literary analysis of the book beginning on page 27 in the *Student Review* and answer the questions over the book.

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

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We Hold These Truths

We Hold These Truths
Edited by Ray Notgrass and John Notgrass

ISBN 978-1-60999-101-2

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Cover design by Mary Evelyn McCurdy
Interior design by John Notgrass

Printed in the United States of America

Notgrass Company
975 Roaring River Road
Gainesboro, TN 38562

1-800-211-8793
www.notgrass.com

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Introduction

We Hold These Truths gives you handy access to significant original documents and provides the opinions and ideas of others so that you can develop your own informed thinking about government. This compilation includes ancient, medieval, and America colonial documents; foundational documents of American government; letters, speeches, and opinions by political figures; and finally modern essays and commentaries on government.

We created *We Hold These Truths* for students to use in conjunction with the text *Exploring Government*. The student who is using that text will find each of these readings assigned at the end of the appropriate lesson. The order of the documents reflects the order in which they are assigned in *Exploring Government*.

Several entries are taken from *Imprimis*, the monthly speech journal published by Hillsdale College. The title is pronounced im-PRY-mis. It comes from Latin and means "in the first place." Hillsdale is a private, liberal arts college in Michigan that accepts no government money of any kind, not even federal loans and grants to students. The college decided some years ago that it did not want to deal with the strings that come with accepting federal money. Each month *Imprimis* presents the essence of a speech given at a recent Hillsdale-sponsored function. The publication is available free of charge, and it is also available on the Internet at www.imprimis.hillsdale.edu. The website has an archive of several years of *Imprimis* issues.

Hillsdale provides a valuable service with *Imprimis* by presenting thoughtful, relevant, conservative thinking; by offering the publication free; and by generously giving permission for the material to be reproduced without charge provided that the publication using it includes the appropriate credit line. The *Imprimis* material is copyrighted as of the date of original publication by Hillsdale College and is used here by permission of Hillsdale. Occasionally a speech will include a few comments that are inappropriate; but generally *Imprimis* is worth reading every month. I strongly encourage anyone who is interested in government and politics to subscribe to it or to read it online.

We have used excerpts of some documents, indicated by ellipses. Our explanations are enclosed in brackets. For the most part, we have left variations in spelling and the citations of other works as they appear in the originals.

You will probably read some documents in *We Hold These Truths* by people with whom you have strong disagreements, and you will likely read some ideas with which you disagree. Notgrass History does not endorse every idea included in this volume. The documents we have included provide good food for thought to accompany the lessons in *Exploring Government* and encourage you to firm up and clarify your own beliefs.

Soon you will be able to vote and even run for office yourself. You will influence our political process and our government. Our aim in *Exploring Government* and in this collection is to help you prepare for that right and that responsibility. We pray that you will discharge your duty in light of God's truth.

Ray Notgrass
John Notgrass
June 2016

English Bill of Rights

(1689)

When the Catholic King James II fled from England, Parliament declared that he had abdicated and offered the throne to William and Mary. The next year, the new monarchs signed a Bill of Rights, guaranteeing certain protections to individuals and ensuring that a Catholic could not assume the throne. Here are some excerpts.

This Dutch stamp from 1988 commemorates the 300th anniversary of William and Mary assuming the throne of England.

[. . . *Parliament hereby declares:*]

That the pretended power of suspending the laws or the execution of laws by regal authority without consent of Parliament is illegal;

That the pretended power of dispensing with laws or the execution of laws by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal;

That the commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious;

That levying money for or to the use of the Crown by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal;

That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal;

That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law;

That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defence suitable to their conditions and as allowed by law;

That election of members of Parliament ought to be free;

That the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament;

That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted;

That jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders;

That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void;

And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening and preserving of the laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently. . . .

And whereas it hath been found by experience that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince, or by any king or queen marrying a papist, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons do further pray that it may be enacted, that all and every person and persons that is, are or shall be reconciled to or shall hold communion with the see or Church of Rome, or shall profess the popish religion, or shall marry a papist, shall be excluded and be for ever incapable to inherit, possess or enjoy the crown and government of this realm and Ireland and the dominions thereunto belonging or any part of the same, or to have, use or exercise any regal power, authority or jurisdiction within the same. . . .

Map of London published in the Netherlands (c. 1690)

Two Treatises of Government

John Locke (1689)

John Locke originally published this work anonymously in London. A Boston printer released an abridged version in 1773. This excerpt is from Chapter IX of Book II.

Of the Ends of Political Society and Government.

Sec. 123. If man in the state of nature be so free, as has been said; if he be absolute lord of his own person and possessions, equal to the greatest, and subject to no body, why will he part with his freedom? why will he give up this empire, and subject himself to the dominion and controul of any other power? To which it is obvious to answer, that though in the state of nature he hath such a right, yet the enjoyment of it is very uncertain, and constantly exposed to the invasion of others: for all being kings as much as he, every man his equal, and the greater part no strict observers of equity and justice, the enjoyment of the property he has in this state is very unsafe, very unsecure. This makes him willing to quit a condition, which, however free, is full of fears and continual dangers: and it is not without reason, that he seeks out, and is willing to join in society with others, who are already united, or have a mind to unite, for the mutual preservation of their lives, liberties and estates, which I call by the general name, property.

Sec. 124. The great and chief end, therefore, of men's uniting into commonwealths, and putting themselves under government, is the preservation of their property. To which in the state of nature there are many things wanting. First, There wants an established, settled, known law, received and allowed by common consent to be the standard of right and wrong, and the common measure to decide all controversies between them: for though the law of nature be plain and intelligible to all rational creatures; yet men being biased by their interest, as well as ignorant for want of study of it, are not apt to allow of it as a law binding to them in the application of it to their particular cases.

Sec. 125. Secondly, In the state of nature there wants a known and indifferent judge, with authority to determine all differences according to the established law: for every one in that state being both judge and executioner of the law of nature, men being partial to themselves, passion and revenge is very apt to carry them too far, and with too much heat, in their own cases; as well as negligence, and unconcernedness, to make them too remiss in other men's.

Sec. 126. Thirdly, In the state of nature there often wants power to back and support the sentence when right, and to give it due execution. They who by any injustice offended, will seldom fail, where they are able, by force to make good their injustice; such resistance many times makes the punishment dangerous, and frequently destructive, to those who attempt it.

Sec. 127. Thus mankind, notwithstanding all the privileges of the state of nature, being but in an ill condition, while they remain in it, are quickly driven into society.

Hence it comes to pass, that we seldom find any number of men live any time together in this state. The inconveniencies that they are therein exposed to, by the irregular and uncertain exercise of the power every man has of punishing the transgressions of others, make them take sanctuary under the established laws of government, and therein seek the preservation of their property. It is this makes them so willingly give up every one his single power of punishing, to be exercised by such alone, as shall be appointed to it amongst them; and by such rules as the community, or those authorized by them to that purpose, shall agree on. And in this we have the original right and rise of both the legislative and executive power, as well as of the governments and societies themselves.

Sec. 128. For in the state of nature, to omit the liberty he has of innocent delights, a man has two powers. The first is to do whatsoever he thinks fit for the preservation of himself, and others within the permission of the law of nature: by which law, common to them all, he and all the rest of mankind are one community, make up one society, distinct from all other creatures. And were it not for the corruption and vitiousness of degenerate men, there would be no need of any other; no necessity that men should separate from this great and natural community, and by positive agreements combine into smaller and divided associations. The other power a man has in the state of nature, is the power to punish the crimes committed against that law. Both these he gives up, when he joins in a private, if I may so call it, or particular politic society, and incorporates into any commonwealth, separate from the rest of mankind.

Statue of John Locke at University College, London
Sir Richard Westmacott (English, c. 1808)

Sec. 129. The first power, viz. of doing whatsoever he thought for the preservation of himself, and the rest of mankind, he gives up to be regulated by laws made by the society, so far forth as the preservation of himself, and the rest of that society shall require; which laws of the society in many things confine the liberty he had by the law of nature.

Sec. 130. Secondly, The power of punishing he wholly gives up, and engages his natural force, (which he might before employ in the execution of the law of nature, by his own single authority, as he thought fit) to assist the executive power of the society, as the

law thereof shall require: for being now in a new state, wherein he is to enjoy many conveniencies, from the labour, assistance, and society of others in the same community, as well as protection from its whole strength; he is to part also with as much of his natural liberty, in providing for himself, as the good, prosperity, and safety of the society shall require; which is not only necessary, but just, since the other members of the society do the like.

Sec. 131. But though men, when they enter into society, give up the equality, liberty, and executive power they had in the state of nature, into the hands of the society, to be so far disposed of by the legislative, as the good of the society shall require; yet it being only with an intention in every one the better to preserve himself, his liberty and property; (for no rational creature can be supposed to change his condition with an intention to be worse) the power of the society, or legislative constituted by them, can never be supposed to extend farther, than the common good; but is obliged to secure every one's property, by providing against those three defects above mentioned, that made the state of nature so unsafe and uneasy. And so whoever has the legislative or supreme power of any commonwealth, is bound to govern by established standing laws, promulgated and known to the people, and not by extemporary decrees; by indifferent and upright judges, who are to decide controversies by those laws; and to employ the force of the community at home, only in the execution of such laws, or abroad to prevent or redress foreign injuries, and secure the community from inroads and invasion. And all this to be directed to no other end, but the peace, safety, and public good of the people.

Wesberry v. Sanders

(1964)

For many years, federal courts did not want to become involved in what they called "political questions" regarding state legislatures and Congress. The Court set aside this principle in Baker v. Carr *(1962), in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Tennessee state legislature had to reapportion its seats in keeping with population changes so as to make the legislative districts as nearly equal in population as possible. The state legislature had not redrawn its districts in some sixty years, and the state's growing urban areas were grossly underrepresented in the legislature.*

The principle used in that decision and confirmed in Wesberry v. Sanders *was "one man, one vote"; that is, the value of one person's vote should be as nearly equal as possible to every other person's vote. A failure by a state to do this prevented citizens from receiving equal protection under the law and thus violated the U.S. Constitution. This made malapportionment a constitutional issue and not simply a political question. Two years after* Baker, *the Court applied the same principle in* Wesberry, *which dealt with congressional districts in Georgia that the state legislature had not reapportioned in thirty years. Justice Hugo Black delivered the opinion of the Court. Here is an excerpt.*

Appellants are citizens and qualified voters of Fulton County, Georgia, and as such are entitled to vote in congressional elections in Georgia's Fifth Congressional District. That district, one of ten created by a 1931 Georgia statute, includes Fulton, DeKalb, and Rockdale Counties and has a population according to the 1960 census of 823,680. The average population of the ten districts is 394,312, less than half that of the Fifth. One district, the Ninth, has only 272,154 people, less than one-third as many as the Fifth. Since there is only one Congressman for each district, this inequality of population means that the Fifth District's Congressman has to represent from two to three times as many people as do Congressmen from some of the other Georgia districts.

Claiming that these population disparities deprived them and voters similarly situated of a right under the Federal Constitution to have their votes for Congressmen given the same weight as the votes of other Georgians, the appellants brought this action . . . asking that the Georgia statute be declared invalid and that the appellees, the Governor and Secretary of State of Georgia, be enjoined from conducting elections under it. The complaint alleged that appellants were deprived of the full benefit of their right to vote, in violation of (1) Art. I, 2, of the Constitution of the United States, which provides that "The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States . . ."; (2) the Due Process, Equal Protection, and Privileges and Immunities Clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment; and (3) that part of Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment which provides that "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers . . . ."

The case was heard by a three-judge District Court, which found unanimously, from facts not disputed, that:

> It is clear by any standard . . . that the population of the Fifth District is grossly out of balance with that of the other nine congressional districts of Georgia and in fact, so much so that the removal of DeKalb and Rockdale Counties from the District, leaving only Fulton with a population of 556,326, would leave it exceeding the average by slightly more than forty per cent.

Hugo Black served as a U.S. senator from Alabama before President Franklin Roosevelt appointed him to the Supreme Court in 1937. Black served on the court until a few days before his death in 1971.

Notwithstanding these findings, a majority of the [District] Court dismissed the complaint, citing as their guide Mr. Justice Frankfurter's minority opinion in *Colegrove v. Green*, an opinion stating that challenges to apportionment of congressional districts raised only "political" questions, which were not justiciable. . . . We noted probable jurisdiction [and thus agreed to hear the case. We believe] that in debasing the weight of appellants' votes the State has abridged the right to vote for members of Congress guaranteed them by the United States Constitution, that the District Court should have entered a declaratory judgment to that effect, and that it was therefore error to dismiss this suit. The question of what relief should be given we leave for further consideration and decision by the District Court in light of existing circumstances.

Baker v. Carr considered a challenge to a 1901 Tennessee statute providing for apportionment of State Representatives and Senators under the State's constitution, which called for apportionment among counties or districts "according to the number of qualified voters in each." The complaint there charged that the State's constitutional command to apportion on the basis of the number of qualified voters had not been followed in the 1901 statute and that the districts were so discriminatorily disparate in number of qualified voters that the plaintiffs and persons similarly situated were, "by virtue of the debasement of their votes," denied the equal protection of the laws guaranteed them by the Fourteenth Amendment. The cause there of the alleged "debasement" of votes for state legislators— districts containing widely varying numbers of people—was precisely that which was alleged to debase votes for Congressmen in Colegrove v. Green and in the present case. The Court in Baker pointed out that the opinion of Mr. Justice Frankfurter in Colegrove, upon the reasoning of which the majority below leaned heavily in dismissing "for want of equity," was approved by only three of the seven Justices

sitting. After full consideration of Colegrove, the Court in Baker held (1) that the District Court had jurisdiction of the subject matter; (2) that the qualified Tennessee voters there had standing to sue; and (3) that the plaintiffs had stated a justiciable cause of action on which relief could be granted.

The reasons which led to these conclusions in Baker are equally persuasive here. . . . [N]othing in the language of [Article I of the Constitution] gives support to a construction that would immunize state congressional apportionment laws which debase a citizen's right to vote from the power of courts to protect the constitutional rights of individuals from legislative destruction. . . . The right to vote is too important in our free society to be stripped of judicial protection by such an interpretation of Article I. This dismissal can no more be justified on the ground of "want of equity" than on the ground of "nonjusticiability." We therefore hold that the District Court erred in dismissing the complaint.

This brings us to the merits. We agree with the District Court that the 1931 Georgia apportionment grossly discriminates against voters in the Fifth Congressional District. A single Congressman represents from two to three times as many Fifth District voters as are represented by each of the Congressmen from the other Georgia congressional districts. The apportionment statute thus contracts the value of some votes and expands that of others. If the Federal Constitution intends that when qualified voters elect members of Congress each vote be given as much weight as any other vote, then this statute cannot stand.

We hold that, construed in its historical context, the command of Art. I, 2, that Representatives be chosen "by the People of the several States" means that as nearly as is practicable one man's vote in a congressional election is to be worth as much as another's. This rule is followed automatically, of course, when Representatives are chosen as a group on a statewide basis, as was a widespread practice in the first 50 years of our Nation's history. It would be extraordinary to suggest that in such statewide elections the votes of inhabitants of some parts of a State, for example, Georgia's thinly populated Ninth District, could be weighted at two or three times the value of the votes of people living in more populous parts of the State, for example, the Fifth District around Atlanta. We do not believe that the Framers of the Constitution intended to permit the same vote-diluting discrimination to be accomplished through the device of districts containing widely varied numbers of inhabitants. To say that a vote is worth more in one district than in another would not only run counter to our fundamental ideas of democratic government, it would cast aside the principle of a House of Representatives elected "by the People," a principle tenaciously fought for and established at the Constitutional Convention. The history of the Constitution, particularly that part of it relating to the adoption of Art. I, 2, reveals that those who framed the Constitution meant that, no matter what the mechanics of an election, whether statewide or by districts, it was population which was to be the basis of the House of Representatives. . . .

[*Here follows a review of the debates in the Constitutional Convention regarding the election of members to the U.S. Congress.*]

The debates at the Convention make at least one fact abundantly clear: that when the delegates agreed that the House should represent "people" they intended that in allocating Congressmen the number assigned to each State should be determined solely by the number of the State's inhabitants. The Constitution embodied Edmund Randolph's proposal for a periodic census to ensure "fair representation of the people," an idea endorsed by Mason as assuring that "numbers of inhabitants" should always be the measure of representation in the House of Representatives. . . .

It would defeat the principle solemnly embodied in the Great Compromise—equal representation in the House for equal numbers of people—for us to hold that, within the States, legislatures may draw the lines of congressional districts in such a way as to give some voters a greater voice in choosing a Congressman than others. The House of Representatives, the Convention agreed, was to represent the people as individuals, and on a basis of complete equality for each voter. The delegates were quite aware of what Madison called the "vicious representation" in Great Britain whereby "rotten boroughs" with few inhabitants were represented in Parliament on or almost on a par with cities of greater population. Wilson urged that people must be represented as individuals, so that America would escape the evils of the English system under which one man could send two members to Parliament to represent the borough of Old Sarum while London's million people sent but four. . . .

While it may not be possible to draw congressional districts with mathematical precision, that is no excuse for ignoring our Constitution's plain objective of making equal representation for equal numbers of people the fundamental goal for the House of Representatives. That is the high standard of justice and common sense which the Founders set for us.

Sticker given to voters in Georgia

Election of Hattie Caraway

(1932)

Senator Thaddeus Caraway of Arkansas died in 1931, and the governor appointed his widow, Hattie Caraway, to fill the seat. Mrs. Caraway won a special election on January 12, 1932, to finish the term. She is pictured at left in the Senate chambers that year.

Carway surprised many when she decided to run for a full six-year term. While she was working in Washington, D.C., Caraway wrote a letter to her friend Griffin Smith in Arkansas for an update on the political situation.

May 27, 1932

Hon. Griffin Smith,
Marianna, Arkansas.

Dear Mr. Smith:

I will appreciate it greatly if you will write me frankly what the political situation is there relative to the Senatorial race. In order to map out a campaign, one requires all possible data.

I have to depend upon my friends to tell me what the real situation is, and if you can give me this information at once, it will be appreciated.

Thanking you in advance for the favor, I am,

Sincerely yours,
Hattie W. Caraway

Smith replied with discouraging news, referring to some of her opponents in the Democratic primary.

June 1, 1932

Senator Hattie W. Caraway,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Caraway:

Referring to your letter of May 27th, let me say that the political situation is in a nebulous state.

Vint Miles and Doctor Brough are making close campaigns, while our antiquated jurist-friend hangs around the lobby of the Marion Hotel and tells smutty jokes that he thinks are funny. It is an exclusive opinion.

I hear very little said, other than that Doctor Brough seems to be making considerable headway. Unless there is an expensive organization set up for you, I am frank to say that the chances of your success are negligible. I take it that what you want is a reflection of the conditions as I see them, and not as I would have them.

I have spent considerable time in Little Rock during the past two or three weeks, and think that I have gotten a cross-section of political opinion, if there is any such thing at the present time. Nobody is excited about anything except taxes, and in view of the pauperized condition of those who are victims of excessive assessments, the excitement doesn't amount to very much in a financial sense.

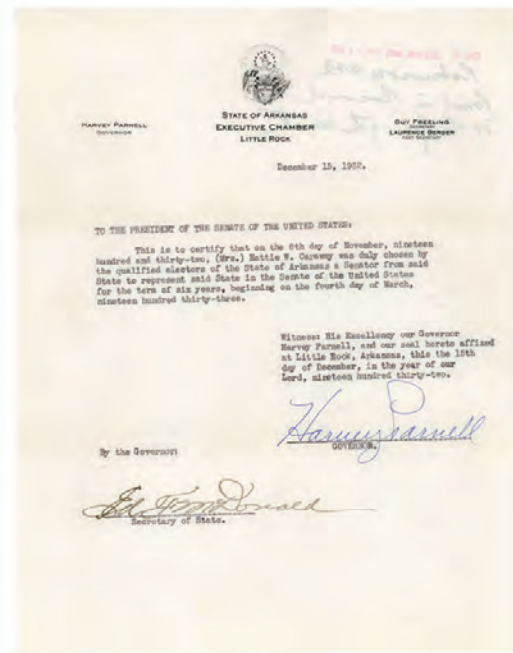
I will be tied up in Little Rock on occasional days in Futrell's headquarters for the next few weeks, but shall always have time to respond to any request from you.

Sincerely your friend,
GS:WV

With support from Louisiana Senator Huey Long, Caraway went on to win the Democratic primary and the general election. She was the first woman elected to serve in the U.S. Senate. Her election certification, signed by Arkansas Governor Harvey Parnell, is shown at right.

Senator Caraway served two full terms in the Senate. During the Great Depression, she supported Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal programs. She sided with other southern senators in opposing anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislation. During World War II, she worked to locate military bases, war-related factories, and two Japanese internment camps in Arkansas.

Caraway lost her re-election bid in 1944. President Roosevelt appointed her to a federal commission, and she continued to work in civil service until 1950, the year of her death.



STATE OF ARKANSAS
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
LITTLE ROCK

December 15, 1932.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES:

This is to certify that on the 8th day of November, nineteen hundred and thirty-two, (Mrs.) Hattie W. Caraway was duly chosen by the qualified electors of the State of Arkansas a Senator from said State to represent said State in the Senate of the United States for the term of six years, beginning on the fourth day of March, nineteen hundred thirty-three.

Witness: His Excellency our Governor Harvey Parnell, and our seal hereto affixed at Little Rock, Arkansas, this the 15th day of December, in the year of our Lord, nineteen hundred thirty-two.

By the Governor

Secretary of State.

On a Visit to the Senate When He Was Twelve

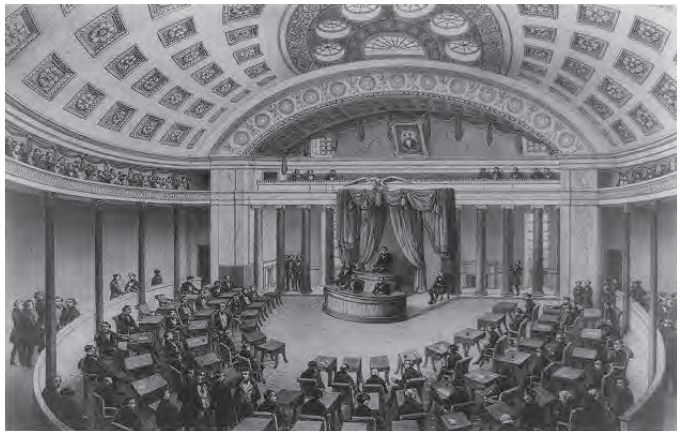
Henry Adams (1907)

Henry Adams was the great-grandson of John Adams and the grandson of John Quincy Adams. His family was prominent in Massachusetts and American government and politics for well over a century. The Education of Henry Adams *was his autobiography. It was completed in 1905 but only published after his death in 1918. Adams had a skeptical perspective about many things, including religion; but he also shared some wise insights. The following excerpt is his recollection of being taken by his father (a prominent figure in his own right) onto the floor of the U.S. Senate in 1850 when Henry was twelve years old. The book is written in the third person.*

His father took him to the Capitol and on the floor of the Senate, which then, and long afterwards, until the era of tourists, was freely open to visitors. The old Senate Chamber resembled a pleasant political club. Standing behind the Vice-President's chair, which is now the Chief Justice's, the boy was presented to some of the men whose names were great in their day, and as familiar to him as his own. Clay and Webster and Calhoun were there still, but with them a Free Soil candidate for the Vice-Presidency had little to do; what struck boys most was their type.

Senators were a species; they all wore an air, as they wore a blue dress coat or brass buttons; they were Roman. The type of Senator in 1850 was rather charming at its best, and the Senate, when in good temper, was an agreeable body, numbering only some sixty members, and affecting the airs of courtesy. Its vice was not so much a vice of manners or temper as of attitude. The statesman of all periods was apt to be pompous, but even pomposity was less offensive than familiarity--on the platform as in the pulpit--and Southern pomposity, when not arrogant, was genial and sympathetic, almost quaint and childlike in its simple-mindedness; quite a different thing from the Websterian or Conklinian pomposity of the North.

An engraving of the Senate chamber from 1850



The boy felt at ease there, more at home than he had ever felt in Boston State House, though his acquaintance with the codfish in the House of Representatives went back beyond distinct recollection. Senators spoke kindly to him, and seemed to feel so, for they had known his family socially; and, in spite of slavery, even J. Q. Adams in his later years, after he ceased to stand in the way of rivals, had few personal enemies. Decidedly the Senate, pro-slavery though it were, seemed a friendly world.

Congressional Government

Woodrow Wilson (1900)

Woodrow Wilson is the only president to have earned a Ph.D. His degree was in political science. He published his dissertation in 1885 as Congressional Government. *Wilson dedicated the book to his father, whom he called "the patient guide of his youth, the gracious companion of his manhood, his best instructor and most lenient critic." Wilson wrote this preface to the fifteenth edition of his book in 1900.*

I have been led by the publication of a French translation of this little volume to read it through very carefully, for the first time since its first appearance. The re-reading has convinced me that it ought not to go to another impression without a word or two by way of preface with regard to the changes which our singular system of Congressional government has undergone since these pages were written.

I must ask those who read them now to remember that they were written during the years 1883 and 1884, and that, inasmuch as they describe a living system, like all other living things subject to constant subtle modifications, alike of form and of function, their description of the government of the United States is not as accurate now as I believe it to have been at the time I wrote it.

This is, as might have been expected, more noticeable in matters of detail than in matters of substance. There are now, for example, not three hundred and twenty-five, but three hundred and fifty-seven members in the House of Representatives; and that number will, no doubt, be still further increased by the reapportionment which will follow the census of the present year. The number of committees in both Senate and House is constantly on the increase. It is now usually quite sixty in the House, and in the Senate more than forty. There has been a still further addition to the number of the "spending" committees in the House of Representatives, by the subdivision of the powerful Committee on Appropriations. Though the number of committees in nominal control of the finances of the country is still as large as ever, the tendency is now towards a concentration of all that is vital in the business into the hands of a few of the more prominent, which are most often mentioned in the text. The auditing committees on the several departments, for example, have now for some time exercised little more than a merely nominal oversight over executive expenditures.

Since the text was written, the Tenure of Office Act, which sought to restrict the President's removal from office, has been repealed; and even before its repeal it was, in fact, inoperative. After the time of President [Andrew] Johnson, against whom it was aimed, the party in power in Congress found little occasion to insist upon its enforcement; its constitutionality was doubtful, and it fell into the background. I did not make sufficient allowance for these facts in writing the one or two sentences of the book which refer to the Act.

Neither did I give sufficient weight, I now believe, to the powers of the Secretary of the Treasury. However minutely bound, guided, restricted by statute, his power has

proved at many a critical juncture in our financial history—notably in our recent financial history—of the utmost consequence. Several times since this book was written, the country has been witness to his decisive influence upon the money markets, in the use of his authority with regard to the bond issues of the government and his right to control the disposition of the funds of the Treasury. In these matters, however, he has exercised, not political, but business power. He has helped the markets as a banker would help them. He has altered no policy. He has merely made arrangements which would release money for use and facilitate loan and investment. The country feels safer when an experienced banker, like Mr. Gage, is at the head of the Treasury, than when an experienced politician is in charge of it.

All these, however, are matters of detail. There are matters of substance to speak of also.

It is to be doubted whether I could say quite so confidently now as I said in 1884 that the Senate of the United States faithfully represents the several elements of the nation's makeup, and furnishes us with a prudent and normally constituted moderating and revising chamber. Certainly vested interests have now got a much more formidable hold upon the Senate than they seemed to have sixteen years ago. Its political character also has undergone a noticeable change. The tendency seems to be to make of the Senate, instead of merely a smaller and more deliberate House of Representatives, a body of successful party managers. Still, these features of its life may be temporary, and may easily be exaggerated. We do not yet know either whether they will persist, or, should they persist, whither they will lead us.

A more important matter—at any rate, a thing more concrete and visible—is the gradual integration of the organization of the House of Representatives. The power of the Speaker has of late years taken on new phases. He is now, more than ever, expected to guide and control the whole course of business in the House,—if not alone, at any rate through the instrumentality of the small Committee on Rules, of which he is chairman. That committee is expected not only to reformulate and revise from time to time the permanent Rules of the House, but also to look closely to the course of its business from day to day, make its programme, and virtually control its use of its time. The committee consists of five members; but the Speaker and the two other members of the committee who represent the majority in the House determine its action; and its action is allowed to govern the House. It in effect regulates the precedence of measures. Whenever occasion requires, it determines what shall, and what shall not, be undertaken. It is like a steering ministry,—without a ministry's public responsibility, and without a ministry's right to speak for both houses. It is a private piece of party machinery within the single chamber for which it acts. The Speaker himself—not as a member of the Committee on Rules, but by the exercise of his right to "recognize" on the floor—undertakes to determine very absolutely what bills individual members shall be allowed to bring to a vote, out of the regular order fixed by the rules or arranged by the Committee on Rules.

This obviously creates, in germ at least, a recognized and sufficiently concentrated leadership within the House. The country is beginning to know that the Speaker and the

Committee on Rules must be held responsible in all ordinary seasons for the success or failure of the session, so far as the House is concerned. The congressional caucus has fallen a little into the background. It is not often necessary to call it together, except when the majority is impatient or recalcitrant under the guidance of the Committee on Rules. To this new leadership, however, as to everything else connected with committee government, the taint of privacy attaches. It is not leadership upon the open floor, avowed, defended in public debate, set before the view and criticism of the country. It integrates the House alone, not the Senate; does not unite the two houses in policy; affects only the chamber in which there is the least opportunity for debate, the least chance that responsibility may be properly and effectively lodged and avowed. It has only a very remote and partial resemblance to genuine party leadership.

Much the most important change to be noticed is the result of the war with Spain upon the lodgment and exercise of power within our federal system: the greatly increased power and opportunity for constructive statesmanship given the President, by the plunge into international politics and into the administration of distant dependencies, which has been that war's most striking and momentous consequence. When foreign affairs play a prominent part in the politics and policy of a nation, its Executive must of necessity be its guide: must utter every initial judgment, take every first step of action, supply the information upon which it is to act, suggest and in large measure control its conduct. The President of the United States is now, as of course, at the front of affairs, as no president, except Lincoln, has been since the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when the foreign relations of the new nation had first to be adjusted. There is no trouble now about getting the President's speeches printed and read, every word. Upon his choice, his character, his experience hang some of the most weighty issues of the future. The government of dependencies must be largely in his hands. Interesting things may come out of the singular change.

For one thing, new prizes in public service may attract a new order of talent. The nation may get a better civil service, because of the sheer necessity we shall be under of organizing a service capable of carrying the novel burdens we have shouldered.

It may be, too, that the new leadership of the Executive, inasmuch as it is likely to last, will have a very far-reaching effect upon our whole method of government. It may give the heads of the executive departments a new influence upon the action of Congress. It may bring about, as a consequence, an integration which will substitute statesmanship for government by mass meeting. It may put this whole volume hopelessly out of date.

Woodrow Wilson (c. 1908)

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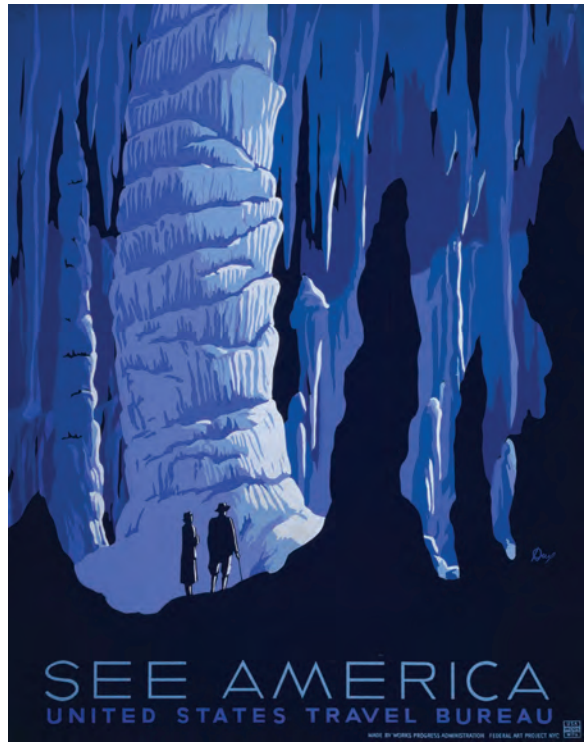
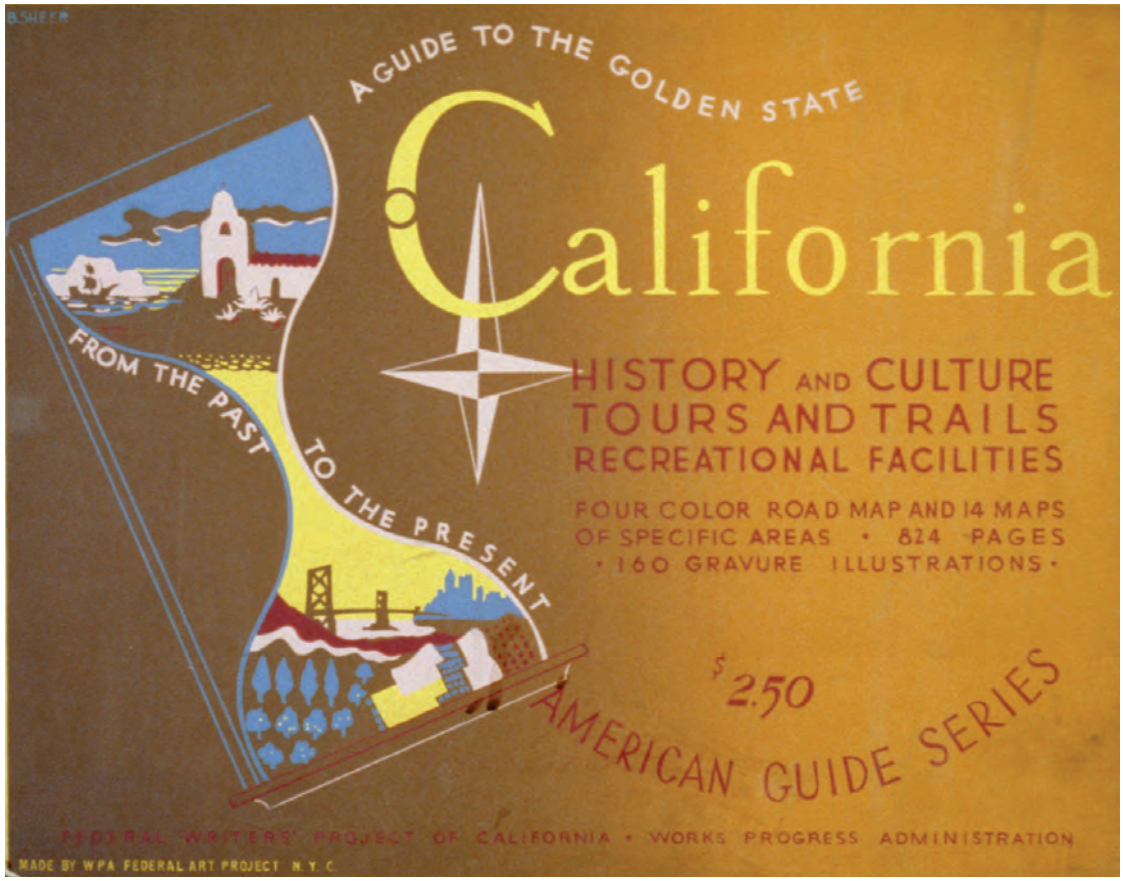
(1930s)

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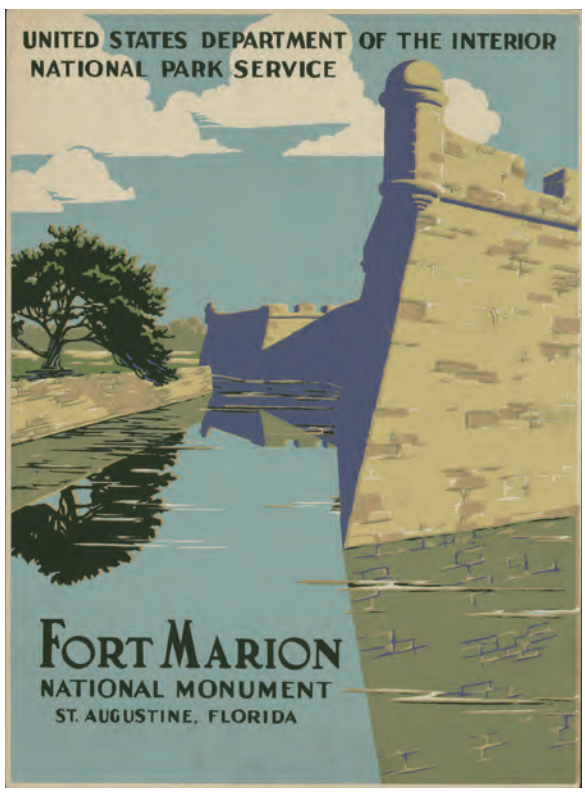
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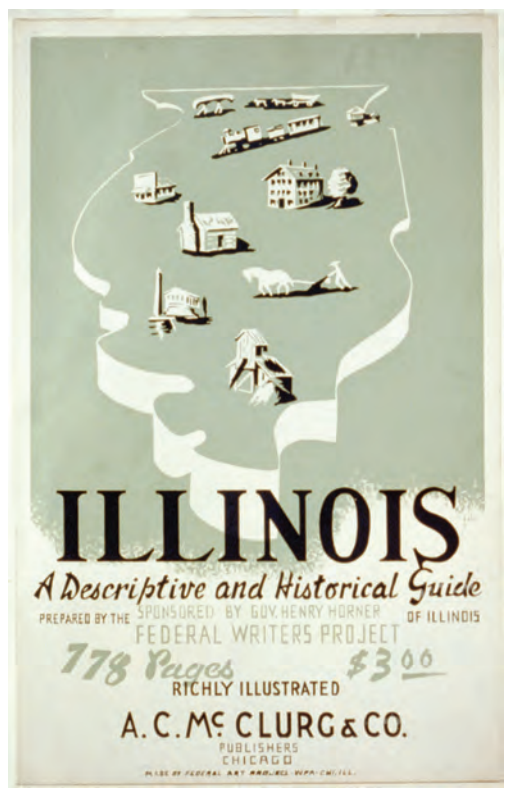
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State of the City Address

Kasim Reed (2016)

Mayor Kasim Reed

After serving in the Georgia House of Representatives and State Senate for a decade, Kasim Reed (b. 1969) was elected Mayor of Atlanta in 2009. He was re-elected in 2013. These excerpts are from remarks Mayor Reed delivered on February 4, 2016.

It is my high honor to be here, as it is every year, to reflect on and recommit ourselves to the great responsibilities we have to our citizens, to our city and to one another. It is an honor to serve today, as it is every day, as your mayor.

It was in the time of Ambassador Andrew Young, Robert Woodruff, and Reverend C.T. Vivian that Mayor Hartsfield called us "the city too busy to hate." Today that is still true—and it is also true that our city is too busy to listen to long speeches, so I promise to keep my remarks shorter than last year's.

By any measure—citizens' safety, financial strength, the rate at which we're attracting businesses—we have accomplished as much as any administration in 40 years. After every milestone, after every success, we turned to the next challenge. We've turned back into the fire and kept pushing. Because we pushed together, we've known success together.

I want to thank some of my partners in that success, many of whom are here today: the Atlanta City Council, led by President Ceasar Mitchell; Chief Judge Christopher Ward and members of the city's judiciary; the City's Consular Corps; Paul Bowers, Chairman of the Atlanta Committee for Progress; all the local elected officials with us this morning, and members of my cabinet and senior staff. Thank you for your teamwork. I cannot do this without you. I also want to thank each and every employee of the City of Atlanta. Thank you for your hard work.

I'd like to recognize my wife, Sarah-Elizabeth. My parents, Junius and Sylvia Reed. My stepmother, Dr. Rogsbert Phillips-Reed. My mother-in-law, Susan Pease Langford. And my brothers and their better halves: Charles, Carlton and Joyce, and Tracy and Crystal. My family's support makes all the difference to me.

By any measure, our city is safer. With 2,000 police officers on the street, thousands of families feel safer in their neighborhoods. Crime is down 24 percent since the start of our first term, even after a very tough summer, and I know that number will be even better before we are done.

By any measure, our city is financially stronger. In partnership with the Atlanta City Council and our employee unions, the City of Atlanta carved out a new path for pension

reform, saving the city $270 million over ten years. This reform has withstood two legal challenges and was upheld by a unanimous vote of the Georgia Supreme Court.

On my first day in office, we had just $7.4 million in the bank. Today we have $150 million.

We have balanced the budget six consecutive times without any increase in property taxes—in fact, we've kept the rate flat or rolled it back. And the major credit rating agencies have taken notice, upgrading our credit seven times in a row.

By any measure, our city is a more desirable destination, with more than 50 million visitors making us one of the four most visited cities in America, we have re-asserted our position as the dominant economy of the Southeast. Our housing market is rising again. We've created more jobs in this city's limits and attracted more companies to relocate here than at any time in the past 30 years. Unemployment in the region was 10.2 percent when we started. It is less than 5.5 percent today. And Hartsfield Jackson Airport stands alone as the busiest passenger airport in the world handling 100 million passengers last year. Thank you, Delta. And thank you Richard Anderson.

In 2015, we celebrated thirteen companies either moving their headquarters to Atlanta or making significant corporate expansions in the city. Two years ago, it was Coca-Cola that led the way, moving hundreds of tech jobs back to North Avenue and to Peachtree Street. I want to recognize the Coca-Cola Company and its Chairman and CEO, Muhtar Kent, for believing in us, because when Coca-Cola leads, others follow.

Business after business is choosing to make our hometown theirs.

As they move in, jobs continue to grow. Our development authority, Invest Atlanta, had hoped to create 6,100 jobs last year. Well, we hit that number—by July—and then we exceeded it. By the end of the year we had created more than ten thousand new jobs. In fact, over the course of my Administration, our efforts have created 23,855 new direct jobs, with a total capital investment of $3.6 billion. And last year we had $2.9 billion worth of building and new construction permits, the highest in the City's history.

Now, it's great to have companies choose the hub of the Southeast as the headquarters of their operations. But my friends, the question now is: What are we going to do with that success?

Where do we steer this momentum to make ourselves worthy of it?

How can we ensure that everyone shares in Atlanta's prosperity?

It's not enough to cut ribbons if we're not also continuing to cut crime, in every part of our city.

It's not enough to break ground on new buildings if we're not also shattering glass ceilings and breaking barriers to opportunity.

It's not enough to see companies set up shop here if we don't also set up the next generation for success.

Atlanta doesn't want just to be the place where our children grow up proud that their city has the busiest passenger airport in the world. We want that child to be proud that his city is too busy to let the block he grows up on determine whether his dreams can take flight.

We don't want to just be the place where a child grows up hoping to work at the great company in her hometown. We want that child to also dream about starting her own, at places like Switchyards and Tech Square Labs and Atlanta Tech Village.

In my view, we need to take four steps to create a more inclusive and broader city and economy.

First, we need to ensure that Atlanta prospers in the economy of the future.

Second, we need to open access to higher education.

Third, we need to keep our neighborhoods affordable and vibrant.

Fourth, we need to support our city's families. . . .

Since this city is my home, her citizens are also my family. And when I hear the story of one of our neighbors who's making it, that is what makes our accomplishments meaningful. When I meet our smart, striving and promising young Atlantans, I'm as gratified as if their successes were Maria Kristan's.

Young women like Tynesha Anderson, who grew up surrounded by crime on Campbellton Road. Her father's heart gave out when she was just 12, and her mother's path was derailed by drug abuse. But Tynesha studied, worked and saved. The Mayor's Youth Scholarship Program helped her focus on her books more than her bills. By her sophomore year, Tynesha had five scholarships offering her more than $50,000 to pay for her studies.

Today she's not only the first in her family to graduate high school—and the first in her family to graduate college—but she did it with honors.

I'm inspired by young men like Lance Bennett, who left Morehouse at the end of freshman year not knowing if he'd be able to afford to go back for his sophomore year. His parents stretched and made it possible until he, too, found the Mayor's Youth Scholarship Program. Now he's on the dean's list, in an honor society, and getting ready to graduate this spring.

If we really believe that the City of Atlanta is a special city, and a different kind of city, we need to make sure they have a fair shot and a fair shake.

All my life I've met people who just wanted a fair chance. They never begrudged other people's success. What they've always wanted is an equal opportunity, not a

First Lady Michelle Obama speaks at Booker T. Washington High School in Atlanta in 2014.

guarantee of an equal outcome. We're going to do our part to make sure they have an equal opportunity.

Because if you're willing to study, we should put a book in your hands. If you're willing to work, we'll put some work and a job in your hands, we'll put a paycheck in your hands. And if you stick with it, we will work with you to put your future back in your hands. To put a dream back in your hands. . . .

I'm also inspired by those among us who know it's never too late to learn in this life. We're familiar with the story of someone who goes to a great Atlanta university and then maybe they end up in City Hall—trust me, I'm lucky to work with a lot of them. Well, Darryl Moore did it the other way around.

He worked in the kitchen at City Hall—I would see him there all the time. He got there through the Atlanta Workforce Development Agency, which connects businesses with hard workers looking for jobs. And in the course of doing his job, Darryl realized that what he really wants is a career. Today, he is enrolled in a bachelor's degree program after earning his certification in project management from Georgia Tech.

Believe me, our city can be full of inspiring stories like Darryl's. We just have to keep helping. . . .

Today, others from around the world have taken note of our leadership. We're not just a destination for businesses from around the country—but also for immigrants from around the world, with the second fastest growing foreign born population in America. Here in the cradle of the Civil Rights movement, we have to recognize that our city's strength comes from our diversity and resist the plagues of fear and division. And act against and stand up to those who have amnesia and refuse to recall a time when "we were them."

Our Welcoming Atlanta initiative appreciates the entrepreneurial spirit many immigrants bring with them to our city. They become deeply involved in our community, investing their time, money and hopes where they live.

The excitement of the future is knowing that it looks different from the past—and that we have the power to shape it. We certainly shouldn't fear it. I believe our immigrant community is essential to building the Atlanta of the future, rooted in our unique and deep history. . . .

When we work together, we can do more. Community matters. These are the values that drive me to strengthen our neighborhoods by creating spaces where kids can keep active and healthy outside of school. We've re-opened 33 recreation centers and 16 Centers of Hope in my administration that support them academically, strengthen them physically, and help them develop character and leadership skills. Last year, we provided 65,000 hot meals that our young people might not get at home.

It's no coincidence that as the doors to these centers opened up, teen crime rates went down. The Centers of Hope aren't just serving our youngest—they're also helping save some of them.

Before we are done we'll reopen the new Martin Luther King Natatorium in the Historic Old Fourth Ward—a world-class facility that also will ensure more spaces bearing Dr.

King's name are positive places that appropriately honor his legacy. And I will make sure that the M.L. King Drive in the City of Atlanta is the best M.L. King Drive in the country. To back up my words, we are launching a $40 million effort to improve the corridor. . . .

I'm pleased to announce that within the next 120 days, the City of Atlanta will launch a Comprehensive Center for Fathers that mentors young men, helps them grow their strengths in parenting, math, reading and other life skills, offers individual counseling and support groups, father-child activities, and job services.

Our community and our country need this. One in three children in America grows up without a father in their home, and those children are four times more likely than their peers to live in poverty.

This is an investment worth making to ensure there will be more dads, like the one I'm blessed to have, who know the pride of watching promise meet achievement.

When our daughter was born, I saw firsthand how important it is for a newborn child to have a loving parent with her for the first weeks and months of her life. So as a city, we also need to bring our leave policies in line with good parenting.

That's why I was so proud to make Atlanta the first local government in Georgia to offer six weeks paid parental leave for mothers and primary caregivers. I am going to push and I hope others will encourage other governments and private businesses follow suit. Because if we want families to be proud to call Atlanta home their entire lives, we have to do right by them from the earliest days of their lives.

We can stand up for families by standing up for our women workers. This year, we will achieve our goal of making sure every woman employee of the City of Atlanta receives equal pay for equal work. It's 2016, Atlanta, and it's time.

Atlanta, our city is ascendant. But we should not be surprised. My friends, our great city was built on ashes—and not once, but twice. So imagine what we can do when we build on this success, now that the state of our city is strong again.

Every day, I draw hope from all of you.

That's why I'm as energized and optimistic today as the day you gave me the gift of the public trust and made me your mayor.

That's why, after 2,222 days in this job, I still believe in Atlanta and I believe in all of you.

Reverend C.T. Vivian said once that each great achievement demands an even greater achievement. That's why we have such great plans for this city this year, building on all that has been accomplished until now. That's why we have no plans to stop.

That's how we'll make ourselves worthy of our progress. It's what we owe our future and those who will inherit it.

Four years ago, I asked you to come with me. Today, I ask you to stay with me as we keep moving forward in this most promising journey, in this most promising moment.

I hope you're still ready to go.

I am.

Thank you, and God Bless you.

Kelo v. New London

(2005)

In 2005 the U.S. Supreme Court issued its opinion in the case of Kelo, et al. v. City of New London, et al. *regarding the application of eminent domain in a proposed economic development project in New London, Connecticut. We quote excerpts from the majority opinion and from dissents that the minority of the Court wrote. We have omitted legal footnotes and most citations of other cases to make reading easier.*

Majority Opinion by Justice John Paul Stevens

In 2000, the city of New London approved a development plan that, in the words of the Supreme Court of Connecticut, was "projected to create in excess of 1,000 jobs, to increase tax and other revenues, and to revitalize an economically distressed city, including its downtown and waterfront areas." In assembling the land needed for this project, the city's development agent has purchased property from willing sellers and proposes to use the power of eminent domain to acquire the remainder of the property from unwilling owners in exchange for just compensation. The question presented is whether the city's proposed disposition of this property qualifies as a "public use" within the meaning of the Takings Clause of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution . . . .

Petitioner Susette Kelo has lived in the Fort Trumbull area since 1997. She has made extensive improvements to her house, which she prizes for its water view. Petitioner Wilhelmina Dery was born in her Fort Trumbull house in 1918 and has lived there her entire life. Her husband Charles (also a petitioner) has lived in the house since they married some 60 years ago. In all, the nine petitioners own 15 properties in Fort Trumbull—4 in parcel 3 of the development plan and 11 in parcel 4A. Ten of the parcels are occupied by the owner or a family member; the other five are held as investment properties. There is no allegation that any of these properties is blighted or otherwise in poor condition; rather, they were condemned only because they happen to be located in the development area. . . .

Two polar propositions are perfectly clear. On the one hand, it has long been accepted that the sovereign may not take the property of A for the sole purpose of transferring it to another private party B, even though A is paid just compensation. On the other hand, it is equally clear that a State may transfer property from one private party to another if future "use by the public" is the purpose of the taking; the condemnation of land for a railroad with common-carrier duties is a familiar example. Neither of these propositions, however, determines the disposition of this case. . . .

[T]his is not a case in which the City is planning to open the condemned land—at least not in its entirety—to use by the general public. Nor will the private lessees of the land in any sense be required to operate like common carriers, making their services available to all comers. But although such a projected use would be sufficient to satisfy the public use requirement, this "Court long ago rejected any literal requirement that condemned property be put into use for the general public." . . . [W]hen this Court began applying the

Fifth Amendment to the States at the close of the 19th century, it embraced the broader and more natural interpretation of public use as "public purpose." . . .

The disposition of this case therefore turns on the question whether the City's development plan serves a "public purpose." Without exception, our cases have defined that concept broadly, reflecting our longstanding policy of deference to legislative judgments in this field. . . .

Those who govern the City were not confronted with the need to remove blight in the Fort Trumbull area, but their determination that the area was sufficiently distressed to justify a program of economic rejuvenation is entitled to our deference. The City has carefully formulated an economic development plan that it believes will provide appreciable benefits to the community, including—but by no means limited to—new jobs and increased tax revenue. As with other exercises in urban planning and development, the City is endeavoring to coordinate a variety of commercial, residential, and recreational uses of land, with the hope that they will form a whole greater than the sum of its parts. To effectuate this plan, the City has invoked a state statute that specifically authorizes the use of eminent domain to promote economic development. Given the comprehensive character of the plan, the thorough deliberation that preceded its adoption, and the limited scope of our review, it is appropriate for us, as it was in Berman, to resolve the challenges of the individual owners, not on a piecemeal basis, but rather in light of the entire plan. Because that plan unquestionably serves a public purpose, the takings challenged here satisfy the public use requirement of the Fifth Amendment.

To avoid this result, petitioners urge us to adopt a new bright-line rule that economic development does not qualify as a public use. Putting aside the unpersuasive suggestion that the City's plan will provide only purely economic benefits, neither precedent nor

Susette Kelo stands in front of her little pink house in the Fort Trumbull neighborhood. After the Supreme Court decision, the house was dismantled and moved to another location in New London so it could be preserved. Ms. Kelo moved to another nearby town. Photo courtesy Institute for Justice, www.ij.org.

logic supports petitioners' proposal. Promoting economic development is a traditional and long accepted function of government. There is, moreover, no principled way of distinguishing economic development from the other public purposes that we have recognized. . . .

Dissenting Opinion by Justice Sandra Day O'Connor

Over two centuries ago, just after the Bill of Rights was ratified, Justice Chase wrote: "An act of the Legislature (for I cannot call it a law) contrary to the great first principles of the social compact, cannot be considered a rightful exercise of legislative authority. . . . A few instances will suffice to explain what I mean. . . . [A] law that takes property from A and gives it to B: It is against all reason and justice, for a people to entrust a Legislature with such powers; and, therefore, it cannot be presumed that they have done it." *Calder v. Bull* (1798).

Today the Court abandons this long-held, basic limitation on government power. Under the banner of economic development, all private property is now vulnerable to being taken and transferred to another private owner, so long as it might be upgraded—i.e., given to an owner who will use it in a way that the legislature deems more beneficial to the public—in the process. To reason, as the Court does, that the incidental public benefits resulting from the subsequent ordinary use of private property render economic development takings "for public use" is to wash out any distinction between private and public use of property—and thereby effectively to delete the words "for public use" from the Takings Clause of the Fifth Amendment. Accordingly I respectfully dissent. . . . Petitioners are not hold-outs; they do not seek increased compensation, and none is opposed to new development in the area. Theirs is an objection in principle: They claim that the NLDC's proposed use for their confiscated property is not a "public" one for purposes of the Fifth Amendment. While the government may take their homes to build a road or a railroad or to eliminate a property use that harms the public, say petitioners, it cannot take their property for the private use of other owners simply because the new owners may make more productive use of the property.

The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, made applicable to the States by the Fourteenth Amendment, provides that "private property [shall not] be taken for public use, without just compensation." When interpreting the Constitution, we begin with the unremarkable presumption that every word in the document has independent meaning, "that no word was unnecessarily used, or needlessly added" *Wright v. United States* (1938). In keeping with that presumption, we have read the Fifth Amendment's language to impose two distinct conditions on the exercise of eminent domain: "the taking must be for a 'public use' and 'just compensation' must be paid to the owner" *Brown v. Legal Foundation of Wash.* (2003).

These two limitations serve to protect "the security of Property," which Alexander Hamilton described to the Philadelphia Convention as one of the "great obj[ects] of Gov[ernment]." (Records of the Federal Convention of 1787, page 302, M. Farrand ed.

1934). Together they ensure stable property ownership by providing safeguards against excessive, unpredictable, or unfair use of the government's eminent domain power—particularly against those owners who, for whatever reasons, may be unable to protect themselves in the political process against the majority's will. . . .

New London does not claim that Susette Kelo's and Wilhelmina Dery's well-maintained homes are the source of any social harm. Indeed, it could not so claim without adopting the absurd argument that any single-family home that might be razed to make way for an apartment building, or any church that might be replaced with a retail store, or any small business that might be more lucrative if it were instead part of a national franchise, is inherently harmful to society and thus within the government's power to condemn.

In moving away from our decisions sanctioning the condemnation of harmful property use, the Court today significantly expands the meaning of public use. It holds that the sovereign may take private property currently put to ordinary private use, and give it over for new, ordinary private use, so long as the new use is predicted to generate some secondary benefit for the public—such as increased tax revenue, more jobs, maybe even aesthetic pleasure. But nearly any lawful use of real private property can be said to generate some incidental benefit to the public. Thus, if predicted (or even guaranteed) positive side-effects are enough to render transfer from one private party to another constitutional, then the words "for public use" do not realistically exclude any takings, and thus do not exert any constraint on the eminent domain power. . . .

[W]ho among us can say she already makes the most productive or attractive possible use of her property? The specter of condemnation hangs over all property. Nothing is to prevent the State from replacing any Motel 6 with a Ritz-Carlton, any home with a shopping mall, or any farm with a factory.

The Court [in its majority opinion] suggests that property owners should turn to the States, who may or may not choose to impose appropriate limits on economic development takings. This is an abdication of our responsibility. States play many important functions in our system of dual sovereignty, but compensating for our refusal to enforce properly the Federal Constitution (and a provision meant to curtail state action, no less) is not among them. . . .

"[T]hat alone is a just government," wrote James Madison, "which impartially secures to every man, whatever is his own."

Dissenting Opinion by Justice Clarence Thomas

Long ago, William Blackstone wrote that "the law of the land . . . postpone[s] even public necessity to the sacred and inviolable rights of private property." The Framers embodied that principle in the Constitution, allowing the government to take property not for "public necessity," but instead for "public use." Defying this understanding, the Court replaces the Public Use Clause with a "Public Purpose" Clause, (or perhaps the "Diverse and Always Evolving Needs of Society" Clause, capitalization added), a restriction that is satisfied, the Court instructs, so long as the purpose is "legitimate"

and the means "not irrational." This deferential shift in phraseology enables the Court to hold, against all common sense, that a costly urban-renewal project whose stated purpose is a vague promise of new jobs and increased tax revenue, but which is also suspiciously agreeable to the Pfizer Corporation, is for a "public use."

I cannot agree. If such "economic development" takings are for a "public use," any taking is, and the Court has erased the Public Use Clause from our Constitution, as Justice O'Connor powerfully argues in dissent. I do not believe that this Court can eliminate liberties expressly enumerated in the Constitution and therefore join her dissenting opinion. Regrettably, however, the Court's error runs deeper than this. Today's decision is simply the latest in a string of our cases construing the Public Use Clause to be a virtual nullity, without the slightest nod to its original meaning. In my view, the Public Use Clause, originally understood, is a meaningful limit on the government's eminent domain power. Our cases have strayed from the Clause's original meaning, and I would reconsider them. . . .

The Takings Clause is a prohibition, not a grant of power: The Constitution does not expressly grant the Federal Government the power to take property for any public purpose whatsoever. Instead, the Government may take property only when necessary and proper to the exercise of an expressly enumerated power. . . . In other words, a taking is permissible under the Necessary and Proper Clause only if it serves a valid public purpose. [Justice Thomas then cited state and federal precedents that support the limited and careful application of the Takings Clause and questions the reasoning used in the earlier Supreme Court decisions.] . . .

For all these reasons, I would revisit our Public Use Clause cases and consider returning to the original meaning of the Public Use Clause: that the government may take property only if it actually uses or gives the public a legal right to use the property.

The consequences of today's decision are not difficult to predict, and promise to be harmful. So-called "urban renewal" programs provide some compensation for the properties they take, but no compensation is possible for the subjective value of these lands to the individuals displaced and the indignity inflicted by uprooting them from their homes. Allowing the government to take property solely for public purposes is bad enough, but extending the concept of public purpose to encompass any economically beneficial goal guarantees that these losses will fall disproportionately on poor communities. Those communities are not only systematically less likely to put their lands to the highest and best social use, but are also the least politically powerful. If ever there were justification for intrusive judicial review of constitutional provisions that protect "discrete and insular minorities," surely that principle would apply with great force to the powerless groups and individuals the Public Use Clause protects. The deferential standard this Court has adopted for the Public Use Clause is therefore deeply perverse. . . .

Ironically, after the Supreme Court decision, plans for development on the property taken from the New London residents fell apart. It remains unused as of 2016.

From Homeschool to County Commission

John Notgrass

Jordan Iwanyszyn, pictured on these two pages, is the oldest child of Joe and Joan Iwanyszyn. The Iwanyszyn family was part of our local homeschool group when the Notgrass family was homeschooling in the 1990s and have remained friends of our family. After graduating from homeschool, Jordan attended and graduated Tennessee Technological University. Jordan became involved in local politics and now serves on the county commission in Putnam County, Tennessee. This article is the result of an interview John Notgrass conducted with Commissioner Iwanyszyn.

Jordan Iwanyszyn's parents began homeschooling him in the third grade while their family lived in Pennsylvania. They moved to Tennessee that same year. Jordan believes that homeschooling gave him the opportunity to develop critical thinking skills and to take on some of the responsibility for his own education. He worked on improving his writing and public speaking ability. Jordan enjoyed the opportunity to learn about our country's history, but he was discouraged to compare that history with some of the things going on today.

Jordan Iwanyszyn during his campaign

Jordan's grandfather was a powerful influence on him. His grandfather gerw up in the Ukraine while it was under the control of the Soviet Union. He also saw the devastation that Naziism brought on Germany. Jordan learned from his grandfather what happens when the government has large amounts of power. This influenced Jordan's understanding of freedom and motivated him to want to help preserve that freedom.

Jordan took to heart the idea that "with knowledge comes great responsibility," and he decided that he wanted to contribute what he could. In 2010 after he graduated from homeschooling and started college, Jordan ran for the school board in Putnam County, Tennessee. Some voters did not understand or approve of a homeschool graduate serving on the school board, while others thought that Jordan would bring a different and valuable perspective to the board. He ran a competitive race and narrowly lost the election.

In 2014 Jordan ran for a seat on the Putnam County Commission. He won, joining the commission as one of two members from his district and one of 24 total in the county of about 75,000 citizens.

During Jordan's first year in office, he worked on the budget committee. Jordan was pleased that they passed a responsible budget that paid for necessary services without raising taxes. Also that year, the state of Tennessee voted on a pro-life constitutional amendment. Jordan was also pleased that the commission voted unanimously to pass a resolution expressing support for the amendment.

Running for and serving in public office has given Jordan a first-hand understanding that all politics is local. Many voters pay more attention to national elections, but local government is where many decisions are made that most directly affect our lives. Jordan likes the opportunity to have personal contact with constituents and to see ways he can serve people in the community. In addition to serving on the county commission, Jordan works at a credit union and frequently preaches at local churches. By taking what he learned as a homeschool student and putting that into practice as a young man, Jordan is setting a great example for other homeschoolers coming after him.

Jordan is sworn in as a Putnam County commissioner.

Jordan with his parents, Joe and Joan, and his wife, Rachel

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Exploring Government
Student Review

Student Review Material Prepared by
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Literary Analysis by Ray Notgrass and Bethany Poore

Exploring Government Student Review
ISBN: 978-1-60999-104-3

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Cover design by Mary Evelyn McCurdy
Interior design by Charlene Notgrass

Printed in the United States of America

Notgrass Company
1-800-211-8793
www.notgrass.com

A Note to Parents

The *Exploring Government Student Review Pack* is a tool to measure your student's progress as they study *Exploring Government*. It includes three books: the *Student Review*, the *Quiz and Exam Book*, and an *Answer Key*. This material is intended to enhance your student's study of government. Please do not let it become a burden. Students should focus on learning about government, as they enjoy the literature and the primary documents and grow in their understanding of God's will concerning government and the way government is and has been practiced, especially in the United States. We pray you and your student have a successful study of government!

Student Review

The material in the *Student Review* is arranged in the order in which a student will come to it as they study the course. The assignment box at the end of each lesson in Exploring Government prompts your student as to when to complete the material in this book.

Review Questions. The *Student Review* includes review questions on each lesson, plus questions over each of the four literature titles we suggest students read as they study Exploring Government. Many parents require their students to write out answers to these questions on paper or on a computer; however, that is certainly not required. Other parents and students discuss the questions orally, and some parents use them for family discussion. If your student writes the answers on paper, we suggest that he or she answer them in a spiral notebook or on notebook paper which he keeps in a three-ring binder. These answers will be helpful for studying for quizzes and exams.

Literary Analysis. We love good books. We have carefully selected the literature titles that are assigned with this course. If you want your student simply to read and enjoy the books, we think that is wonderful. If you would like them to dig a little deeper and analyze the literature, you can have your student read the literature questions and literary analyses we have include in this book. The activities at the end of the lessons in the *Exploring Government* text will tell the student when to answer the questions and read the analyses. As we said above, please do not let any of this material become a burden.

After this Note to Parents, we have included "What Do You Think About What He Thinks? A Primer for Analysis of Non-Fiction" (to be read after Lesson 1). Your student will be given a reminder when it is time for him or her to read this section.

Quiz and Exam Book

The *Quiz and Exam Book* contains a quiz over each unit and also comprehensive exams that cover five units each. The assignment box at the end of each lesson in *Exploring Government* prompts your student to take a quiz at the end of each unit and to take the comprehensive exams after every five units. Each of these exams includes material from the previous five units. The quizzes and exams have been designed so that you can tear out one at a time and have your student write directly on that piece of paper.

Preparing for Quizzes. To prepare for a unit quiz, the student should look back over the review questions for the lessons from that unit.

Preparing for Exams. To prepare for the comprehensive exams, the student should review the quizzes and answers from each of the previous five units.

Answer Key

The *Answer Key* contains the answers to the review questions, quizzes, and exams, as well as the answers to questions about the literature. The number in parentheses after an answer indicates the page number on which that answer is found in *Exploring Government*.

What Do You Think About What He Thinks? A Primer for Analysis of Non-Fiction

A non-fiction article, essay, or book will likely make an argument, teach, or convey information. Of course, a work of fiction might also be an attempt to make an argument, teach, or convey information; but a non-fiction work presents the information and the author's perspective in a straightforward manner. The non-fiction piece might be in the form of a story; but it is a story from real life, as with a biography.

Part of education is considering perspectives other than your own and developing your response to them. In a persuasive work, a writer has something to say that he hopes others will at least consider and perhaps agree with. Even the author of a biography writes for a purpose, not only to inform but perhaps also to convince readers about something regarding his subject: that he was instrumental in a war, or influential in Congress, or had some other significant impact.

By reading a work of non-fiction, you might be confirmed in what you believe about something or you might be convinced that you need to change your opinion. You might obtain more information that helps you have a more realistic perspective on an issue. You shouldn't fear this process. You don't want to cast aside basic truth and fall for every new idea you hear, but part of growing and maturing is gaining a more complete understanding of truth. No one has a grasp of all truth or the perfect application of that truth in every situation. Everyone can grow in some areas of life, whether that means learning more truth or learning how to apply the truth you know to more situations. This process is part of growing in what the Bible calls discernment (see Hebrews 5:13-14).

A text can be any written material. We analyze every text that we read, whether it is an encyclopedia article, a book of political commentary, or an advertisement, even if only briefly and subconsciously. We don't want to lose the joy of reading by over-analyzing, but it is good to do serious and conscious analysis for several reasons. Analysis will help you understand the meaning and purpose of a text; you might even discern a meaning beneath the surface. It can help you connect the text with its background, such as the time in which it was written or something about the author. You can profitably compare the text with other texts to see which are more consistent and believable. Analyzing a text can help you prove a thesis. A summary of a text is a report of its content, but an analysis of a text is an evaluation of its meaning and significance.

In analyzing a work of non-fiction, you want to ask questions of the text. You probably won't address every question below about every text, but here are things to consider when analyzing non-fiction:

- What is the author's point or purpose?
- What is the argument he is making?
- What is the motivation for the piece? What problem does it address?
- What evidence or logic does he use to support his thesis?

- What is the context from which the author writes (time, place, point of view, background and experience)?
- What assumptions does the author bring to writing this piece?
- What words or ideas are repeated? These will often be clues to the author's point.
- What word choices seem significant? Does the author use any figures of speech to make his argument more persuasive?
- What is the structure of the text (for example, autobiography, memoir, or examination of a particular subject)? How does the author build his argument through the work? How does the structure help make the author's point?
- What are the key passages in the work, and why are they important?
- What is surprising, odd, or troubling in the text? (These parts are likely challenging your current understanding.)
- What contradictions and inconsistencies do you find in the text?
- What assumptions do you bring to the text?
- Is the text convincing to you? Why or why not? (It is entirely likely that you will agree with some things and disagree with other parts.)
- What questions do you have after reading it? What further study do you need to do?

When you write an analysis of a non-fiction work, gather your information, impressions, and answers to these questions, then write a coherent essay that responds to the piece. Depending on the length of your essay, you will probably want to summarize the author's purpose and argument, emphasize the central points as you see them, note where you think the author is correct and where he is mistaken, and where he is effective and where he could have expressed his ideas differently. Keep in mind the nature of your assignment, what the teacher expects from you, and what the reader of your analysis needs to understand about the work you are analyzing and about your response to it.

The author whose work you have read wants you to think. Show that you have thought. Expressing your thoughts on paper indicates how well you understand what he has said and, more importantly, how well you understand your own thoughts about the subject.

Unit 4

Lesson 16

1. Why is such a large portion of the Constitution devoted to Congress?
2. What are the constitutional qualifications for serving in the House?
3. What is the length of a congressman's term in office?
4. How is a House seat filled that is made vacant by death or resignation?
5. The number of congressmen a state sends to the House of Representatives is based on what?
6. The permanent size of the House of Representatives is how many members?
7. What is apportionment and how often does reapportionment take place?
8. Who is responsible for drawing the district lines for a state?
9. What is gerrymandering and what is the origin of the term?
10. Name at least two guidelines that Congress and the courts have established for how legislatures should pursue redistricting.

Lesson 17

1. Why is the Senate considered the upper house of Congress?
2. What are the constitutional qualifications for serving in the Senate?
3. Why is the Senate considered to be a continuing body?
4. How were senators chosen in the original Constitution?
5. How did this change on a national basis?
6. How has the popular election of senators affected the power of state legislatures?
7. What is the most common way for a Senate seat to be filled when it is made vacant by death or resignation?
8. What is meant by the advice and consent role of the Senate?
9. Does the president have the right to remove an appointee without the Senate's approval?
10. What is a recess appointment?

Lesson 18

1. In what two ways is the word Congress used in American government?
2. The meetings of Congress in a given year are called a what?
3. In the original Constitution, when did Congress convene; and what are the modern dates for the convening of Congress and the president's inauguration?
4. When does a lame duck session of Congress occur?
5. What happens when a senator or a representative requests a quorum call?
6. What publication reports the proceedings of the House and the Senate?
7. What did C-SPAN begin telecasting in 1979?
8. Define franking privilege.
9. When Congress votes itself a pay raise, when can it go into effect?
10. When is a senator or representative immune from being arrested?

Lesson 19

1. Why is it unusual for a salaried or wage-earning man or woman to be elected to Congress?
2. What is a safe seat?
3. What is a freshman member of Congress?
4. Define term limits.
5. What is the most obvious work that a senator or congressman does?
6. Name two things a senator or congressman might do for a constituent.
7. What is a junket?
8. What is a congressional delegation trip?
9. What former president sold his extensive library to Congress?
10. Where must applicants for official copyright send copies of their work?

Lesson 20

1. What type of faction or group did many of the Founding Fathers fear?
2. Early representatives and senators who favored a strong central government took what name?
3. Those who favored limiting the central government and who promoted the power of the states took what name?
4. What two political parties that formed before the Civil War continue to be the most powerful today?
5. Name the four political party leaders in both the House and Senate.
6. How is the speaker of the House chosen?
7. Who is the official president of the Senate?
8. What office did the framers of the Constitution create to preside in the Senate in the absence of the vice president?
9. What do House and Senate committees do?
10. Who chooses all of the committee chairmen?

See page 10 for literary analysis of and questions over *Mornings on Horseback*.

Literary Analysis
Mornings on Horseback
by David McCullough

A person is shaped by a complex set of influences that begins even before he or she is born. Ethnicity, faith, culture, economic status, education, birth order, health, values, parents, siblings, grandparents, and family history impact a person's life in a complex way that is somewhat impossible but entirely fascinating to explore. Who are your influences? What shapes you?

A standard biography includes the entire life of the subject, from birth to death. Why does *Mornings on Horseback* conclude just as Theodore Roosevelt really came into his own?

David McCullough's purpose in writing *Mornings on Horseback* was not to produce a biography of the 26th president, but to show how Roosevelt came to be who he was. The book's subtitle says it: "The Story of an Extraordinary Family, a Vanished Way of Life, and the Unique Child Who Became Theodore Roosevelt." This is a worthwhile task because Roosevelt was such a fascinating and complex person. *Mornings on Horseback* is a book about influences.

The expectations, standards, and values of the privileged, aristocratic Roosevelt clan and the well-established, highly respected Bulloch family were the foundations of influence in Theodore Roosevelt's life. The fact that the Roosevelts were longtime New Yorkers while the Bulloch family came from Deep South Georgia brought complex influences to Roosevelt's life.

Theodore Roosevelt's immediate family shaped one another. The Roosevelt siblings were close as children and into adulthood to an uncommon degree. His long-unmarried sister Bamie felt she had a special claim and a special responsibility on her famous brother. How do you think she influenced his decisions? Roosevelt's sister Corinne, his brother Elliot, and he were the best of friends and companions. How did they help to make him into the man he became? How do you think Elliot's waywardness and failures in his adult life influenced his brother?

The Roosevelt children had few influences from outside their "set," not even from a school setting. They were surrounded by extended family, even within their home. Their playmates and friends were relatives and other members of the wealthy class. How did these people shape them?

Though raised in the city, Roosevelt was well-informed and enthusiastic about the natural world. How did his family provide for and encourage this passion? The very different locations in which young Roosevelt lived—New York, his family's vacation spots away from the city's bustle, the wilderness of Dakota Territory—each deeply influenced the values and priorities of Theodore Roosevelt. How would the family's long leisurely tour of Europe's great cities and later the Nile shape a young man?

Wealth and privilege influenced Roosevelt's life. He never wondered where a meal was coming from. He probably never worried about his father losing his job. His world was soaked in luxuries. What perspective does that upbringing give a person?

Roosevelt was forever changed by his battle with asthma. His intermittent but intense asthmatic flare-ups were traumatic. As a boy he was small and sickly. He wanted to take his place in the world as a strong, healthy, capable man; but for years his physical weakness held him back. His father exhorted him and gave him the tools and opportunity to do all he could to improve his health. How do you think Theodore Roosevelt was different as an adult because of these struggles when he was young?

Theodore's desire to make his father proud shaped his entire life well beyond wanting to follow his father's instructions for building up his body. Theodore Sr.'s influence reached to

every corner of his son's world. The entire family adored Theodore Roosevelt Sr. They regarded him as a truly great man, almost as one regards a "saint." Theodore Sr. had every success that their privileged set desired, yet he had uncommon drive, intelligence, and kindness to those in need. After Theodore Sr. died when the younger Theodore was still in college, the son longed to live a life that would have made his father proud.

These complex influences poured into one man's life and changed history. From fighting in the Spanish-American War, the building of the Panama Canal, the creation of national parks, a long and eventful presidency, and the raising of a large, boisterous family, Theodore Roosevelt led "the strenuous life" he desired. He is known for his energy, passion, and strong opinions. He is one of the most interesting and colorful characters in American history.

Note about the Author

David McCullough is the most widely-read historian of our day. His books have sold millions of copies, have remained in print for years, and have been the basis for television programs and miniseries.

McCullough majored in English literature, not history, at Yale. He originally wanted to be a novelist, but he found his passion in writing history. He decided that he wanted to write books that he would enjoy reading, on subjects he wanted to learn about. He grew up in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, so his first book was about the Johnstown, Pennsylvania, flood of 1889. McCullough then became interested in how the Brooklyn Bridge was built. McCullough had walked across the bridge many times when he lived in New York.

His editor suggested a book on the Panama Canal, which was his next project. An offshoot of his study of that period was this book about Theodore Roosevelt. Moving to other presidential biographies, McCullough wrote *Truman* and then spent seven years writing *John Adams*. McCullough won the Pulitzer Prize for biography for both of these books. His research into John Adams helped lead to his book *1776*, which focused on George Washington and the difficult early days of the American Revolution. McCullough also wanted the book to encourage the nation after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. He has written several other books.

McCullough has composed his books on a 1941-vintage typewriter that he bought second-hand in 1964. He likes to say that he is not working on a book, but he is working in a book: getting to know the people and places, entering as personally as possible into the story he wants to share with others. He loves to do research, and he visits places he writes about so that he will have a better feel for his subjects.

Questions on *Mornings on Horseback*

Write about one page total to answer questions 1-3:

1. What are other influences in Theodore Roosevelt's life that we did not mention in the literary analysis?
2. What influences in Theodore Roosevelt's life can you relate to? How do similar influences impact your life?
3. List five values of Theodore Roosevelt's family that you think shaped him into a passionate leader.

Write about one-half to one page:

4. Write a summary and review of *Mornings on Horseback*.

Lesson 49

1. What is meant by the term "red tape"?
2. What is the job of the secretary of state of South Dakota?
3. Who chooses department secretaries in South Dakota government?
4. What South Dakota official examines how state government spends funds in order to assure the process is accurate and efficient?
5. What is the role of the South Dakota Department of Corrections?
6. What is the purpose of the South Dakota Department of Public Safety?
7. What is the purpose of the South Dakota Department of Tribal Relations?
8. The Texas state supreme court has final appellate jurisdiction in what two types of cases?
9. What Texas court holds final appellate jurisdiction in criminal cases?
10. How do people become judges in Texas?

Lesson 50

1. Why do state governments try to encourage economic growth?
2. Most job growth within a state comes from what types of businesses?
3. What kind of tax incentives do states sometimes offer a business?
4. What types of infrastructure can state governments provide in order to help businesses be successful?
5. What is the most important asset for any company?
6. In what two ways do governors and other state officials help state economies by making official trips to foreign countries?
7. How many dollars are estimated to be spent by tourists in the United States each year?
8. How do states promote tourism?
9. What growing tourist industry is mentioned in the lesson?
10. What business would you like to start to benefit your state?

Unit 11

Lesson 51

1. What is the historic background of American county government?
2. Why do counties exist today?
3. County courthouses and county government offices are located in what city?
4. What is the most common form of county government in the U.S.?
5. What are the two other most common forms of county governments?
6. What is a township?
7. How many states have townships?
8. What kind of government do people form to provide a specific function?
9. What body usually oversees a special district?
10. Would you like to be part of your county or township government some day? If so, in what way would you like to serve?

Lesson 52

1. America has become more urban than it once was. List five advantages to living in an urban area and five advantages to living in a rural area.
2. What government entity incorporates villages, towns, and cities?
3. A city charter compares to what?
4. What was the first form of city government in America?
5. What is the most common form of city government today?
6. When candidates run on their own merits rather than as the candidates of a political party, they run on what basis?
7. What might a stadium authority do?
8. Give an example of a type of business that might receive a franchise from a city.
9. What are some advantages of a consolidated government?
10. What are some disadvantages of a consolidated government?

Lesson 53

1. What do urban planning professionals do?
2. Who made the orderly plan for Philadelphia?
3. Who made the plan for Washington, D.C.?
4. What planning movement culminated in the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago?
5. What is a planning commission?
6. What is zoning?
7. Who oversees the zoning process?
8. What does zoning separate?
9. What happens when a city annexes property?
10. What is eminent domain?

Lesson 54

1. The economy of Williston, North Dakota, was once based on what?
2. What two national tourist sites are near Williston?
3. What is another term for fracking and how is it accomplished?
4. What type of tax does North Dakota charge oil companies?
5. What does North Dakota award oil companies through competitive bidding?
6. The oil boom caused a crisis in government in what service areas?
7. Why did Williston take on debt?
8. How did mass transportation change in Williston?
9. What services do you believe the government should provide to displaced persons in a place like Williston?
10. What services do you believe churches should provide to displaced persons in a place like Williston?

Lesson 55

1. What binds the country together on all levels of government?
2. What legislation did Thomas Jefferson encourage Congress to pass that had a negative effect on American port cities?
3. What is RFD?
4. What federal government program helped the mail order industry?
5. What were the two names of the first federal highway?
6. What is the system of numbered federal highways begun in 1926?
7. What is the system of roads begun in 1956?
8. What do federal officials use to allocate funding each year to state, local, and tribal governments?
9. How does illegal immigration affect state and local governments?
10. How did many states respond to the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*?

See page 27 for literary analysis of and questions over *Born Again*.

Literary Analysis
Born Again
by Charles Colson

Born Again is a book about power: the power of a president to do good and to do evil, the jockeying for power among his aides, the utter powerlessness that Charles Colson felt as the weight of his wrongs descended on him, his powerlessness in the world of prison life, the power of Christ to change a person's life, and the power of the fellowship of believers to help a struggling brother through the most difficult period in his life.

Colson achieved a high political position and had great influence in a presidential administration, but he lost all that and as a result took a very different course with his life. He went from working in the White House as a close adviser to the president to serving time in a federal prison with hardened criminals. Yet God used his life to accomplish much good after he lost worldly power and gained Christ.

The book is something of a history of the Nixon Administration. It describes the web of advisers who served under a complex man, who was capable of gentle kindness, brilliant diplomacy, visionary leadership, sheer dishonesty, dirty politics, and paralyzing paranoia.

When the book was published in 1976, the great majority of Americans knew about the trials of the Vietnam War followed by the catastrophe of Watergate. These events and many of the names of the people involved had been in the news every day for months. The narrative of *Born Again* had great immediacy for its first readers. They would have absorbed the detail of Colson's memories and his perspectives on the Watergate situation. He did a good job in the book of untangling the complex story. The people involved in the disasters of the Nixon Administration have faded from public awareness as a new generation has arisen; some details are not so important now. However, the central message of *Born Again*—in Christ is the power of salvation—is timeless. The setting of that message within a specific historic context demonstrates its vibrancy and credibility.

Colson's narrative begins with the 1972 election, with Nixon at the pinnacle of power and Colson about to leave his position as special counsel to the president. The scene sets the tone for the narrative that follows. Colson then uses flashback to tell about his earlier years and the pridefulness that guided his life. At one point he says that he didn't think he had failed at anything.

After serving in the Marines, Colson became an attorney and got involved in Republican politics. At the age of 38 he took the position of special counsel in Nixon's White House. This meant that he carried out various assignments for the president. He was what some people (including Colson himself) called Nixon's hatchet man. This meant that he used his position to get things done, sometimes hurting other people in the process. In print, Colson was described as being willing to run over his grandmother to get Nixon re-elected. Many people assumed that Colson himself had actually made that statement.

During his years with Nixon, Colson was involved in an attempt to discredit Daniel Ellsberg, who had made public secret documents known as the "Pentagon Papers." These documents showed a pattern of deceptive government practices from before Nixon became president. Colson's actions were all part of the dog-eat-dog political climate Colson knew well.

In the last year of Colson's service in the White House, the Watergate burglary took place. The men who broke into Democratic Party headquarters worked with contacts in the White House and on Nixon's re-election staff. Colson did not have anything to do with Watergate, but what he had done reflected the same kind of corrupt politics. Colson left the White House in early 1973 to return to private law practice. His ruthless actions and tense experiences in the Nixon Administration had left him empty and searching.

Back in legal practice, Colson became reacquainted with Tom Phillips, president of Raytheon Company and a legal client. Tom had changed since Colson had last seen him—he had come to faith in Christ. Phillips gave Colson a copy of *Mere Christianity* by C. S. Lewis, which convicted Colson of his pridefulness and pointed him toward the loving Savior and Lord. Colson soon accepted Christ.

An important theme in the book is the support Colson found in the fellowship of other Christians who stood by him in his newfound faith and through the trials he endured. Senator Harold Hughes became one of his best friends and staunchest supporters. Politically, Hughes had been a sharp critic of Nixon and Colson, but their brotherhood in Christ transcended the past.

Colson's conversion to Christ shocked many and met with widespread skepticism. Many didn't know what to make of it. Imagine hearing about someone famous for dirty political tricks (supposedly willing to run over his own grandmother) suddenly confessing faith in Christ. You might feel skeptical, too. Colson endured much ridicule in the press. He made headlines for his involvement with Nixon (including false charges regarding Watergate) even as he made headlines about his newfound faith. (Remember: just because you read or hear something in the media doesn't mean it is true.)

The Nixon Administration fell apart. Many advisers went to prison, the vice president resigned because of a different scandal, and Nixon himself resigned in August of 1974. Colson's attorney believed that he could get Colson off without going to prison, but Colson's great crisis of conscience occurred when he became convinced that he had to confess his guilt in the Ellsberg case and take whatever consequences came. His punishment was harsher than he expected, but he accepted it and went to prison.

Colson's fall from power was complete; but in prison he found strength in his faith and in the fellowship of other believers, and he tried to help other prisoners. The harsh conditions, the hardened attitudes of many inmates and jailers, and the trials of his fellow prisoners broke his heart and led to his founding Prison Fellowship, a discipleship ministry that brings help and hope to thousands of prisoners who want to start over.

Colson's later life demonstrated the genuineness of his conversion. He gave himself to Prison Fellowship, reaching out to people few others in society cared about. *Born Again* was the first of over thirty books that Colson wrote about faith, the Christian life, and apologetics. Reading any of his other books will be a blessing also.

Colson had a significant influence on evangelical Christianity and in encouraging a Christian worldview. Colson's personal and professional downfall led to his giving his life to the service of God and helping others in immeasurable ways. His life is an example of God's power to bring good out of something bad.

Note: A handful of times in *Born Again*, Colson refers to African Americans in a way that could be taken as demeaning. These references have no bearing on the story. We find these references offensive and unfortunate. Charles Colson genuinely embraced fellowship with other people, regardless of color. His narrative reflects a different time in American history, though that does not excuse disrespect. Hopefully Americans have made progress in attitudes and understanding toward people who are different, and in using respectful, honoring language. We should be sure that our references to a person's race or ethnicity are appropriate and do not come from an attitude of prejudice.

Questions on *Born Again*

Write about one page total to answer questions 1-3:

1. What did you learn about the political realm in *Born Again* that surprised you?
2. After reading about Colson's prison experiences, what do you think about the prison system? Do you think prison is effective as a punishment for crime?
3. What do you think Colson wanted the reader to come away with after reading his story?

Write about one-half to one page:

4. Write a summary and review of *Born Again*.

Exploring Government
Quiz and Exam Book

Ray Notgrass, Charlene Notgrass, and Nate McCurdy

Exploring Government Quiz and Exam Book
ISBN: 978-1-60999-102-9

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Cover design by Mary Evelyn McCurdy
Interior design by Charlene Notgrass

Printed in the United States of America

Notgrass Company
1-800-211-8793
www.notgrass.com

Unit 4 Quiz

Write the letter of the correct answer in the blank.

_____ 1. The permanent size of the House of Representatives is how many members?

a. 100
c. 435
b. 50
d. 13

_____ 2. Determining how many congressmen each state has based on census results is called:

a. legislative
c. congressional
b. apportionment
d. lobbying

_____ 3. A district drawn with an unusual shape can be an example of:

a. pandering
c. hankering
b. meandering
d. gerrymandering

_____ 4. Because it has fewer members and they serve six-year terms, the Senate is considered:

a. the upper house
c. the executive house
b. the judicial house
d. the lower house

_____ 5. The Senate's role in approving treaties and presidential appointments is called:

a. fair and square
c. advice and consent
b. wise and acceptable
d. true and just

_____ 6. The period between an election and when the new Congress begins is called:

a. a quorum call
c. a do-nothing Congress
b. a lame duck session
d. a roll call

_____ 7. The many benefits of serving in Congress include:

a. salary
c. franking privilege
b. limited immunity from being arrested
d. all of the above

_____ 8. Having a maximum number of terms or years than an elected official can serve is called:

a. session limit
c. term limit
b. voting limit
d. privilege limit

_____ 9. A junket is:

a. an international trip
c. a committee assignment
b. a political appointment
d. a majority leader

_____ 10. The vice president is the official president of the:

a. House of Representatives
c. Senate
b. Supreme Court
d. State Department

Unit 11 Quiz

Write the letter beside the correct answer in the blank.

_____ 1.	The historic background of American county government is _____ county government.	a. state legislature
_____ 2.	A _____ is a level of government for an area larger than a city but smaller than a county.	b. town meeting
_____ 3.	The _____ incorporates villages, towns, and cities.	c. eminent domain
_____ 4.	The first form of city government in America was the _____.	d. fracking
_____ 5.	_____ is the process by which a city or a county regulates how people use various areas of land.	e. English
_____ 6.	_____ is the power of government to use or take private property for public purposes without the owner's permission.	f. oil boom
_____ 7.	In _____ or hydraulic fracturing, workers inject water and chemicals at high pressure into underground rock formations.	g. census
_____ 8.	An _____ caused a crisis in government in Williston, North Dakota.	h. zoning
_____ 9.	The federal government's _____ service helped the mail order industry.	i. parcel post
_____ 10.	Federal officials use _____ data to allocate funding to state, local, and tribal governments.	j. township

Third Government Exam — Units 11-15

For questions 1-10, choose from letters a-j and write the correct answer in each blank. (4 points each)

_____ 1.	What level of government is for an area larger than a city but smaller than a county?	a. census
_____ 2.	The Hyde Amendment prevents the federal government from funding what?	b. zoning
_____ 3.	What data do federal officials use to allocate funding to state, local, and tribal governments?	c. the conflict between good and evil
_____ 4.	Chief Justice Rehnquist wrote that the Pledge of Allegiance is what kind of exercise?	d. sales tax
_____ 5.	In what kind of economy do private individuals and companies own the means of production?	e. patriotic
_____ 6.	What is the process by which a city or county regulates how people use land?	f. township
_____ 7.	An immigrant must apply for what if he or she wishes to live in the United States?	g. green card
_____ 8.	What is the governmental power to use or take private property for public purposes without the owner's permission?	h. abortions
_____ 9.	Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of the United Kingdom said that she was in politics because of what?	i. free market or capitalist
_____ 10.	What tax do state and local governments impose on routine purchases?	j. eminent domain

Third Government Exam — Units 11-15 continues on back of this page.

For questions 11-20, choose from letters k-t and write the correct answer in each blank. (4 points each)

_____ 11.	A _____ was the first form of city government in America.	k. income
_____ 12.	The phrase "wall of separation" originated in a _____ written by Thomas Jefferson to a Baptist Association.	l. asylum
_____ 13.	The proper purpose for _____ is raising revenue for proper government functions.	m. town meeting
_____ 14.	The total debt of the federal government is approaching twenty _____ dollars.	n. property
_____ 15.	The United States, United Kingdom, Russia, France, and China are permanent members of the U.N. _____.	o. ambassador
_____ 16.	The major portion of a county's revenue comes from _____ taxes.	p. taxation
_____ 17.	Political _____ is an official status that a person can request from a receiving country if he is persecuted.	q. letter
_____ 18.	The greatest source of revenue for the federal government is the _____ tax.	r. trillion
_____ 19.	America's founders believed in God, personal freedom, the rights and worth of humans, and _____.	s. Security Council
_____ 20.	An _____ serves as the highest ranking representative of one nation in another nation.	t. the rule of law

For questions 21-25, choose from letters u-y and write the correct answer in each blank. (4 points each)

_____ 21.	The conduct of formal relations among nations	u. Tariffs
_____ 22.	Taxes on imported goods	v. Medicare
_____ 23.	Key alliance formed after World War II	w. Diplomacy
_____ 24.	A program that began in the 1960s	x. Heaven
_____ 25.	The location of our most important citizenship	y. NATO

If you are a parent or teacher who needs quick access to the answer key, this is the file for you!

However...

If you are a student using this to cheat on a quiz or exam, stop!

Cheating won't help you in the long run.

Exploring Government

Guide for Parents and Answer Key

Ray Notgrass, Charlene Notgrass, and Nate McCurdy

Exploring Government Guide for Parents and Answer Key
ISBN: 978-1-60999-103-6

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Cover design by Mary Evelyn McCurdy
Interior design by Charlene Notgrass

Printed in the United States of America

Notgrass Company
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Guide for Parents Using *Exploring Government*

Exploring Government is a one-semester course on American government that fulfills the high school requirement for government. It also provides a one-semester credit in English. In states where a year-long course is considered one high school credit, the government and English components count as one-half credit each. In states where a year-long course is considered two high school credits, each course is counted as one credit.

To complete both courses, the student should:

- Read the lessons in the text.
- Read the assigned documents in *We Hold These Truths*.
- Complete a project for each unit (see explanation below).
- Read the four assigned books.
- Read the literary analysis for each book in the Student Review.
- Complete the assignments found at the end of the literary analysis for each book.
- Optional: Complete daily review questions, quizzes, and exams in the *Student Review Pack*.

If you do not wish to use *Exploring Government* for English credit, you can omit half of the projects and the four assigned books, but we encourage you to include them because they greatly enhance your student's understanding of government.

Unit Projects. Our design for students earning one-semester credits in both government and English is for the student to complete one project per week as suggested in the unit introductions. The student can choose to do *either* a writing assignment or a project as the parent decides. For students completing the one-semester English credit, we recommend that the student choose the writing assignment at least six times during the semester.

Time Required. A student should complete each day's assignments, listed at the end of each lesson, on that day. The actual time a student spends on a given day might vary, but you should allow your student about one hour each day for government and one hour for English. If you are using the *Student Review* material, the work for the last day of each unit should include the unit quiz, which will require a few more minutes that day. Three days in the semester will include taking an exam over the previous five units, so you should allow some more time for this activity.

We Believe in You. We believe that you are in charge of your child's education and that you know how best to use this material to educate your child. We provide you with tools and instructions, but we encourage you to tailor them to fit your child's interests and abilities and your family's situation and philosophy. Being able to do this is one of the benefits of homeschooling!

Course Descriptions

You can use the following course descriptions as you develop your school records, produce a high school transcript, or report grades.

Government (or American Government). The student will study Biblical teachings about government and leadership, definitions and historical examples of different forms of government, and the background to the American constitutional system. The course provides a thorough study of the U.S. Constitution and the workings of the federal government today. The student will also study state and local government, the revenue and budgeting process, international relations, specific issues that government faces today, and ways that the individual citizen can be involved in government. The student will read a significant number of original source documents and essays about government while studying the narrative of lessons. The student will also complete a project each week, either an essay or another creative project related to the study of government.

English (American Biography and Composition). The student will read two biographies and two autobiographies/memoirs of important American political figures. The student will read literary analysis of the books and discuss them in writing. The student will also complete a project each week, either an essay or another creative project related to the study of government.

Student Review Pack

The *Student Review Pack* has material that you might find helpful for increasing your student's understanding of the course and for giving you a way to know and grade your student's grasp of the content. It is an optional supplement that contains the following three components.

The *Student Review* includes review questions on each lesson and literary analysis of the books assigned in the curriculum (the literary analysis is also available on our website at www.notgrass.com).

The *Quiz and Exam Book* has a quiz to be taken at the end of each unit that is based on the lesson review questions. In addition, after every five units, it has an exam that is based on the quizzes from those five units. This makes a total of fifteen quizzes and three exams over the course of the semester. The lesson review questions can serve as a study guide for the quizzes, and the quizzes can serve as a study guide for the exams.

The questions at the end of the literary analysis for the four books provide the material needed for grading English.

The *Answer Key* contains answers for the lesson review questions, literary analysis questions, and the quizzes and exams.

Suggestions for Grading

To earn credit in both government and English, the student should complete the assignments listed on the second page of each unit introduction and at the end of each lesson (completing the *Student Review* and *Quiz and Exam Book* assignments is up to your discretion as parent/teacher). A weekly assignment checklist is available on our website.

You can give equal weight to each assignment, or you might choose to give different weight to each component. Grades are usually assigned on a percentage basis for an individual assignment and as letter grades for a semester on the basis of the cumulative assignment grades.

We recommend giving an A if the average weighted grade is 90% or above, a B for 80-89%, a C for 70-79%, and a D for 60-69%.

If your child consistently gets grades lower than 60%, you might need to evaluate his readiness to study a course with this level of difficulty. On the other hand, you might need to adjust your expectations. You might consider an additional grading element based on your perception of your child's overall grasp of the material. This is another advantage of homeschooling: you can judge how well your child understands the material and how he or she is growing from the study in ways that test and assignment scores do not reflect.

We designed this curriculum to cover our best understanding of what a high school student should learn about government. Helping a student pass a CLEP or AP test was not our primary goal. However, this course provides a good foundation for preparing for those tests, when combined with one of the test preparation books that are available.

Teaching Writing

The three most important activities to help a student write well are reading good writing, writing as frequently as possible, and having his or her writing critiqued.

You can find many aids to help you in teaching writing. The Online Writing Lab from Purdue University is an excellent source that is available on the Internet. We have found *The Elements of Style* by William Strunk Jr. and E. B. White to be concise and helpful. This book is available from Notgrass Company and many other sources.

Other resources that people have recommended to us include *The Elegant Essay* by Lesha Myers, *Format Writing* by Frode Jensen, *Writing Skills* by Diana Hanbury King, and *Teaching the Essay* and *Teaching the Research Paper* by Robin Finley. The Institute for Excellence in Writing offers comprehensive instructional courses, and Reconciliation Press offers writing instruction services. We offer these as suggestions which you can investigate. We do not endorse one program or publication over another.

Grading Writing Assignments

Teaching writing skills can sometimes feel more like an art than a science. We know good writing when we read it, but trying to explain why we like it is like trying to explain why we like a particular flavor of ice cream. Good writing engages the reader and makes him or her want to keep reading. It covers the subject well and uses proper mechanics (spelling, grammar, and punctuation). Good writing informs, inspires, and sometimes challenges the reader. Above all, good writing says something of significance.

Because defining good writing is difficult, giving a grade to a writing assignment can be somewhat subjective. What is the difference, for example, between an A paper and a B paper? One student might write the best that he or she can, and it still might not be as good as what another student produces with less effort. What grade should you assign to each student's work? In addition, how can the grades you give reflect a student's improvement over the course of a semester? After all, we hope that the student will be writing better at the end of the semester than at the beginning.

A grade for a writing assignment usually has two elements: one is mechanics, and the other is coverage of the subject matter. Noting errors in spelling and punctuation is relatively easy. Misused words and awkward sentences might be more difficult to detect. The most difficult part of grading is determining whether or not the paper is organized well and covers the topic adequately.

Beginning with the highest possible grade of 100, you might want to take a point off for every misspelled word, punctuation error, or grammatical error. An awkward sentence might count two or three points off. A paragraph that does not flow well or have a clear purpose might cost five to eight points. You can also consider whether the paper is well-expressed but has mechanical errors as opposed to its being poorly expressed but mechanically good.

We suggest not giving a grade on the writing assignment until the student submits the final version of the assignment. Use the rough draft as a teaching opportunity. It is fair to have higher expectations later in the course. Also, if a student has numerous mechanical or grammatical errors in a paper, covering the paper with red ink might do more harm than good. Instead, focus on what appear to be the three most serious or common mistakes and don't worry about the rest at that point. When the student has corrected these problems, move on to other problems to correct in later papers.

The website of the College Board, which administers the SAT and CLEP examinations, has an Essay Scoring Guide that its graders use. On their website, you can read this guide and also read sample essays and see why those essays received the scores they did. In addition, the National Assessment of Educational Progress program of the U.S. Department of Education has information available online about its writing assessment.

You may find it helpful to have someone outside your family read one or more of your student's essays and give constructive feedback at some point during the school year.

Notes About the Literature

We scoured many possible titles to suggest literature that is quality and upbuilding and that won't assault your faith or sense of decency. Some of the books we included have words or ideas with which you will be uncomfortable, as we are. We want to let you know about them in case you want to do some editing before your child reads the books or in case you want to substitute another book. You might want a parent to read a book aloud to the student and skip over inappropriate words. However you decide to use them, we believe that the overall impact of these books for good outweighs their use of inappropriate words. The editions listed below are the ones that are available from Notgrass Company.

These are the four books we chose for the English component of *Exploring Government*:

Mornings on Horseback

Mornings on Horseback is David McCullough's highly-acclaimed account of Theodore Roosevelt's youth and early adult life. It tells the story of the fascinating and close-knit family into which he was born and the influences that helped him become the man and president he was. The book concludes as Roosevelt is poised to enter politics again in earnest. Roosevelt was a remarkable man and a pivotal character in American history. David McCullough's masterful storytelling helps the reader understand Roosevelt and his times. There are a few elements in the book that we want you to know about before your child begins reading:

- There is a brief description of Theodore's uncle who reportedly had many "lady friends" and had a secret second wife and family (page 22).
- Theodore Roosevelt Sr. visited an Irish regiment during the Civil War and drank with the officers "nearly until dawn" (page 61).

- [in a discussion about asthma, not related to Theodore Roosevelt] ". . . French novelist Marcel Proust (1871-1922), . . . thought his asthma, like his homosexuality, was rooted in the unconscious and was part of a price he had to pay for his creative gifts" (page 107).
- Brief mention of Senator Roscoe Conkling's long-term extra-marital affair (pages 153-154)
- Theodore's affectionate talk to a sister in a letter would raise eyebrows in today's world (pages 164).
- A Boston paper angrily denounces Harvard students "gazing with watery eyes upon half-clad ballet girls and burlesque actresses . . ." (page 202).
- Theodore gets "high" on wine at his initiation to a Harvard club, followed by a mention that afterward he drank sparingly if at all (page 204-205).
- "d---ed" (page 214)
- Mild references to affection between Theodore and his first wife Alice during their engagement: "kiss her," "hold her in my arms," ". . . yet when we are alone, I cannot bear her to be a minute out of my arms" (page 223-224, 230).
- References to Theodore's brother Elliott drinking too much (page 227 and a few times following)
- Years after the fact, Theodore's second wife described her brother-in-law Elliott: "He drank like a fish and ran after the ladies. I mean ladies not in his own rank which was much worse" (page 247).
- There is a summary of a short story written by Elliott that concludes with the main character "about to pull the trigger in front of a mirror" (page 248).
- "d---" page 271
- A canyon is described as "the work of millions of years" (page 321).
- "By Godfrey . . . " (page 323)
- Referring to isolated ranchers, "A few who could not wait [for the end of a bad winter] blew their brains out" (page 345).
- "d---ed" (page 363)
- There is a brief synopsis of Elliott's adult life following the period covered in the book. He struggled with alcoholism, was involved in a paternity suit, and when he died at 34 he was living with a mistress (pages 368-369).

The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge

Calvin Coolidge is one of our great American success stories. He was raised in rural Vermont and instilled with humble, sincere Christian values. He was an attorney who gradually and unassumingly climbed the political ladder from local office to the White House. Sadly, he is remembered in history almost exclusively for being "Silent Cal," a man of few words. But there is much more to this man, who served his country with wisdom, commitment to doing the right thing, and humble honesty.

Born Again

Charles W. Colson first became famous as a top adviser to President Richard Nixon, whose presidency was beset by controversy and scandal, culminating in the Watergate investigation. As a mover and shaker in politics, Colson often tried to blur the line between right and wrong as he worked for a candidate and an agenda he believed in. But after years of pursuing power and influence, he felt an emptiness that wouldn't go away. The meaning in what he had worked for evaporated.

Into that emptiness, Christ came and changed his life. Colson became a believer and a new creation, but his past still haunted him. Following his conscience at facing up to his past, Colson pled guilty and was sentenced to serve time in prison for wrongs he committed during his tough-guy political past. Through prison, God led him to service in His kingdom. *Born Again* is Colson's memoir of that story. There are a few elements in the book that we want you to know about before your child begins reading:

- A handful of times, Colson refers to African Americans in a way that could be taken as demeaning. These references have no bearing on the story. We find these references offensive and unfortunate. Charles Colson genuinely embraced fellowship with other people, regardless of color. His narrative reflects a different time in American history, though that does not excuse disrespect. We hope that Americans have made progress in attitudes and understanding toward people who are different, and in using respectful, honoring language.
- Throughout the book, there are mentions of people drinking alcoholic beverages.
- The book contains many quotations of actual dialogue. Where expletives were used in these conversations, a blank has been inserted.
- While working for a campaign, a young woman threatened to expose a phony ploy, and Colson ordered another political worker, "Take this girl out tonight and get her loaded. Keep her diverted, whatever you have to do until Election Day" (page 34).
- A paragraph about the element of physical danger in prisons concludes, "Stories of homosexual rape in the D.C. jail appeared regularly in the press" (page 247).
- Colson's friend, after serving a prison term, described for him life inside a prison, including, "A guy once had his skull crushed changing a TV station in the middle of a program" and "I slept on the floor right next to the toilet and one night a dude urinated all over me" (page 265).
- An inmate points out to Colson another inmate, reputed to be a "hit man" who had killed 28 people (page 278).
- Describing the setting inside the prison, Colson mentions "tables piled high with girlie magazines" (page 290).
- Colson describes the emptiness of one prisoner's daily routine, including, "Then he might spend an hour or two reading pornographic magazines before dozing off for the night" (page 312).

God and Ronald Reagan

Paul Kengor is a Ronald Reagan scholar who has written several books on the 40th president. This book focuses on Reagan's faith: the influences in his youth, how he lived out his faith, and how his faith influenced his political career, especially as president. A particular emphasis is how Reagan's faith affected his view of Communism and influenced his relations with the Soviet Union. There are a few elements in the book that we want you to know about before your child begins reading:

- Reagan believed that he heard comforting words from his deceased father at his father's funeral (page 44).
- Harry Truman refers to Alger Hiss as an SOB (page 78).
- Reagan speaks of mankind rising or climbing "from the swamps." This sounds like a reference to evolutionary ideas, even though Reagan had doubts about evolution (pages 94, 97).
- Chapter 13 deals with Nancy Reagan's interest in astrology and how she tried to influence her husband's schedule based on what she heard from a so-called psychic. No credible evidence exists that President Reagan gave any credence whatsoever to astrology (begin page 183).
- On one occasion Reagan suggested that being an American meant being a member of the kingdom of God (page 226).
- After the death of Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, Reagan said that he and Nancy said a "prayer for the repose of the soul of Chairman Brezhnev" (page 272).

Alternative Literature

If you choose not to use one or more of the books that we suggest for this curriculum, here are some other titles for you to consider:

- *Reimagining Greenville: Building the Best Downtown in America* by John Boyanoski with Knox White (The History Press, 2013). This book recounts the remaking of downtown Greenville, South Carolina, from a typical rundown inner city to a beautiful and popular setting. It is a great case study that shows how state and local officials and private citizens worked together to bring the renewal about. If you are ever anywhere near Greenville, you will enjoy a visit to experience the transformation yourself.
- *Democracy in America* by Alexis de Tocqueville (any unabridged edition) is a classic study of American government and society written by a French sociologist after his visit to America in the 1830s. He has amazing insight into American life, much of which is still applicable today. The book is fairly long, but it is a standard work that students of American government should know.
- *The Faith of Ronald Reagan* by Mary Beth Brown (Nelson Current, 2005). This book is similar to *God and Ronald Reagan*, but it has important differences. It includes more about Reagan's personal life and relations with his children as well as his movie career. The book also includes the eulogies that various people delivered at Reagan's funeral.

Presidential biographies are numerous and vary widely in quality. Many are quite long and contain bad language, while others are simplistic and general. The field is too large for us to offer specific suggestions; but if you have an interest in a particular president or a particular book, you can email ray@notgrass.com and we will be happy to share what we know.

For links to other resources,
a unit assignment checklist, and
ideas for using this curriculum in a co-op
or other group setting, visit:

notgrass.com/egov

The number in parentheses after an answer indicates the page number on which that answer is found in the text.

Unit 1

Lesson 1

1. With whom did the idea of government originate? *With God (3)*
2. Why did Claudius order all Jews to leave Rome? *Because of a disturbance in the Jewish section over "Chrestus" (probably the teaching of Christ) (4)*
3. How does Paul describe human rulers? *Servants of God (4)*
4. Since government authority is from God, how does Paul instruct Christians to relate to government? *Christians are to be in subjection to the governing authorities. (5)*
5. What does Paul say in Romans 13 are two important functions of government? *To preserve order and to provide physical security (5)*
6. According to 1 Peter 2:11, how do Christians live in this world? *As aliens and strangers (6)*
7. What does Daniel 2:21 teach about God's rule over the whole world? *He removes kings and establishes kings. (5)*
8. What did Mary say about rulers in Luke 1:52? *God has brought down rulers from their thrones. (5)*
9. When government issued ungodly directives, what did Peter and the apostles say they must do? *We must obey God rather than men (6)*
10. According to Titus 2:14, what are Christians to do; and according to Matthew 5:13-16, what are Christians to be? *Zealous for good deeds; salt and light (8)*

Lesson 2

1. What did John Adams say free government rests upon? *Public and private morality (9)*
2. What is the most important form of human government? *Personal government, governing ones own heart and mind (9)*
3. What is the basis of the immense worth of every individual? *Being created in the image of God (10)*
4. The lesson names what principle of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s? *Government should protect the innate value of individuals regardless of race. (10)*
5. The Bible says that government leaders have a responsibility to see that the government does what? *What is right and just (10)*
6. What did the prophet Amos tell the people of Israel to do? *"Hate evil, love good, and establish justice in the gate." (11)*
7. We learn from Amos that justice is above what? *The whims and personal preference of those in power (11)*
8. Why did Israel and Judah fall? *Sin and idolatry were rampant in their cultures. (11)*
9. What did the concept of the divine right of kings hold about the power of a king? *That they were absolute and thus no one should challenge his decisions (11)*
10. What does Proverbs teach about the permanence of dynasties? *They are not permanent. (12)*

Lesson 3

1. What are the basic principles of the Law which God gave to Moses? *The Ten Commandments (13)*
2. According to the Ten Commandments, who or what is the basis for life? *God (13)*
3. What does the word holy mean? *Special or set apart (13)*
4. Why should Christians be holy in their lives? *Because God considers them holy (13)*
5. The weakening of what, either by accepted practice or by law, will weaken society and its government? *The family (14)*
6. What character trait is essential for society to operate well? *Truthfulness (14)*
7. How are God's people to view life? *As sacred (14)*
8. How should God's people view the property of others? *With respect, not coveting it or stealing it (14)*
9. The Law of Moses considered a person to be innocent until what? *Until proven guilty (15)*
10. What punishment common in American justice is absent in the Law of Moses? *Imprisonment (15)*

Lesson 4

1. People in positions of leadership carry great what? *Responsibility (17)*
2. What kind of men was Moses to appoint to hear disputes among the Israelites? *"Able men who fear God, men of truth, those who hate dishonest gain" (17)*
3. Why did Moses need to appoint men with these characteristics? *So that their judgments would be just and so that the people would respect their judgments (17)*
4. Why was a king not to acquire many horses, wives, or much wealth? *They would corrupt him and turn him away from God. (18)*
5. How was a king to show his dependence on the Law? *By making his own personal copy of the Law and reading it every day (18)*
6. Who was the person described as the "man after God's own heart"? *David (18)*

7. What does Proverbs say about the mouth of a king? *His mouth should not err in judgment.(19)*
8. What does Proverbs say about the influence that a king and his advisers can have on each other? *Each can be an influence for good or evil on the other. (20)*
9. In what ways does Ezekiel say that the shepherds of Israel had failed their sheep? *The shepherds had fed themselves instead of the flocks, they had taken the best of everything for themselves and ignored the needs of the sheep, and for lack of leadership the sheep had scattered and become victims of attackers. (21)*
10. If you were a governmental leader, what Biblical principles would you use in your position? *Answers will vary.*

Lesson 5

1. As best we can tell, what was the pattern of government in the ancient world? *Local kings ruling over city-states (23)*
2. What was the pattern of community leadership in Israel? *Elders (23)*
3. Whom did God want to rule over Israel? *God Himself (24)*
4. How did God plan to provide leaders for Israel? *He would raise up judges when they were needed.(24)*
5. What motivated the Israelites' desire for a king to rule over them? *To be like the nations around them (25)*
6. What revolt gave the Jews a measure of freedom and self-government? *The Maccabean Rebellion (26)*
7. Of the three branches of government (legislative, executive, and judicial), which did the Sanhedrin fulfill? *All three (27)*
8. From where did the members of the Jewish Sanhedrin come? *From prominent families (27)*
9. Why were the leading officials of Philippi deferential to Paul and Silas? *They were Roman citizens. (28)*
10. Who blamed Christians for the great fire in Rome in 64 AD and began active persecution of the church? *Nero (29)*

Unit 1 Quiz

1. F - The idea of human government originated with God.(3)
2. T (5)
3. T (9)
4. F - Sin and idolatry caused Israel and Judah to fall. (11)
5. T (13)
6. T (15)
7. F - The king was to show his dependence on the law by making his own personal copy of the Law and reading it every day (18)
8. F - The pattern of community leadership in Old Testament Judah and Israel was elders.
9. F - The ruler that God wanted to have over Israel was God Himself.
10. T

Unit 2

Lesson 6

1. state—*a sovereign country which has people living within a defined territory and which has power to make and enforce laws (33)*
2. government—*the institutions and laws, along with the people who make up the institutions and who enforce the laws, which have authority to direct and control a state (33-34)*
3. sovereignty—*supreme authority (34)*
4. dictatorship—*a government in which one person leads and his word is final (34)*
5. oligarchy—*a government in which a small group of people leads (34)*
6. constitutional monarchy—*a government that has a monarchy but that also has a constitution or laws that are sovereign over the monarchy (34)*
7. republic—*a government with elected representatives and no monarch in which the voters have sovereignty (35)*
8. democracy—*government by all of the people (or all who can vote), all of whom take part in passing laws and carrying out other functions of government (35)*
9. state religion—*a religion or denomination that is the official religion of a state and has certain privileges (37)*
10. limited government—*government that is allowed by law or constitution only to perform specifically prescribed powers (38)*

Lesson 7

1. Throughout history, who has been the most common head of government for almost every culture and ethnic group? *A king (40)*
2. List five ways in which a man became a king. *A wealthy man might be deferred to as ruler by others who lived near him; a military hero might be recognized as a king by his fellow warriors; a wealthy man might buy the services and loyalty of other lords; sometimes a person seized control by force; tribal leaders might select one of their group as king.(40)*
3. What was commonly demonstrated by the amount of land a king owned? *His power (41)*

4. List four reasons a king might go to war against another land. *To get more land; to acquire additional food, natural resources, or living area; because his people saw themselves as superior to others; and because of a perceived insult from another monarch (41)*
5. Who made up the king's council of advisers? *People whom the king considered wise or influential and whom he trusted to give him advice (41)*
6. With what two things did lords and barons support a king they trusted? *Financial assistance and military aid (42)*
7. What individual was a major influence on kings during the Middle Ages? *The pope of the Roman Catholic Church (42)*
8. What was the greatest threat the pope could use to influence a king? *Threat of excommunication (42)*
9. Who was usually a king's heir? *His eldest son (43)*
10. Would you want to be an absolute monarch? Explain your answer. *Answers will vary.*

Lesson 8

1. What ancient Greek city-state developed the form of government we call democracy? *Athens (44)*
2. What was the name of the law-making meeting of Athenian citizens? *The Assembly (44)*
3. What was the meaning of the Greek word *idiotes* from which we get our word idiot? *Someone who kept to himself and did not participate in civil and political life (44)*
4. In general, individual rights in Athens had less value than what? *The public good (45)*
5. What was the result of the practice of Athenians selecting leaders by lot? *It kept the same people from holding power for a long period of time. (46)*
6. What was the ruling body in the Roman Republic? *Senate (47)*
7. Define patrician and plebeian. *Patricians were wealthy landowners in Rome and its environs; plebeians were farmers, artisans, small merchants, traders, and other working people.* (47-48)
8. How did plebeians change government over time in the Roman Republic? *The plebeian class demanded and received increasing power and influence. (48)*
9. The Senate's recognition of whom as emperor is seen as beginning the Roman Empire? *Octavian (Augustus) (49)*
10. Rather than ensuring popular control of government, what was the purpose of the Roman Senate? *To protect the interests of the wealthy and to make sure that the patrician class maintained control of government (49)*

Lesson 9

1. What was a witenagemot? *A council of nobles and church leaders (50)*
2. How did English government change after William of Normandy invaded in 1066? *Norman forms of government were imposed (51)*
3. What did the English barons force King John to sign in 1215? *Great Charter or Magna Carta (51)*
4. What did the council meeting that was formed when Henry III repudiated this agreement come to be called? *Parliament (51)*
5. Why do historians refer to the meeting called by King Edward I in 1295 as the Model Parliament? *Because it set the pattern for two groups—lords and commons—that came together to meet with, advise, and sometimes oppose the king (52)*
6. Where did most government functions that affected most of the people take place in the 1630s in England? *At the county or shire level (53)*
7. The theory of royal authority believed in by James I of England was called the what? *Divine right of kings (53)*
8. Who abolished the monarchy after Charles I was executed in 1649? *Oliver Cromwell (55)*
9. In effect, Robert Walpole began to serve in what role in 1721? *Prime minister (55)*
10. What three things did English colonists in America see in the government of the United Kingdom that they did not want to repeat in America? *Instability of royalty, harmful role that religion could play in political conflicts, and how everyday people got caught in the middle of factional disputes (56)*

Lesson 10

1. What philosophical movement helped to mold the thinking of the men who shaped our American system? *The Enlightenment (57)*
2. What did the Enlightenment exalt as the best basis for understanding life and the world? *Human reason (57)*
3. Scholars see the period of the Enlightenment beginning with the publication of what in 1687? *Isaac Newton's* Mathematical Principles *(57)*
4. What did Enlightenment writers start questioning about kings? *Whether kings had a divine and unquestioned right to rule. (57)*
5. What term did John Locke use to describe how people associate with each other? *A social contract (58)*
6. What did John Locke believe was the reason people decided to associate with each other in a social contract? *To preserve their God-given rights,*

freedoms, and possessions (what he called life, liberty, and property) (58)

7. What kind of government did Locke believe produced the most freedom for people? *A limited government with checks and balances on its powers (58)*
8. What did Locke say that people have a right to do if government threatens their rights? *To change their government (59)*
9. Baron de Montesquieu wrote that government should be divided into what three branches? *Executive, legislative, and judicial (59)*
10. How do you believe the Enlightenment fostered the idea of "self-evident truths"? *Answers will vary.*

Unit 2 Quiz

1. d (34)
2. a (34)
3. c (40)
4. b (42-43)
5. b (45)
6. d (47)
7. a (50)
8. c (51)
9. b (53)
10. d (58-59)

Unit 3

Lesson 11

1. What were three common elements of colonial government? *A governor, a small council of advisers, and an elected assembly (63)*
2. Who chose the elected assembly in a colony? *Property-owning males (63)*
3. How did George III respond after the French and Indian War? *With more taxes and a more oppressive presence in the colonies (64)*
4. Why was the New England Confederation formed in 1643? *To defend against Indian attacks (64)*
5. What was the purpose of the Albany meeting in 1754? *To encourage greater unity among the British colonies (64)*
6. When colonial representatives met in New York in October 1765, they protested what they saw as unjust taxation without what? *Representation in Parliament (65)*
7. Why did the First Continental Congress meet in 1774? *In response to the Coercive Acts (65)*
8. What had happened by the time the Second Continental Congress met in 1775? *Fighting had occurred in Lexington and Concord (65)*
9. In 1776 Richard Henry Lee of Virginia proposed a resolution in the Continental Congress that the colonies ought to be what? *Free and independent states (65)*
10. The Declaration of Independence states that government derives its power from what? *The consent of the governed (66)*

Lesson 12

1. What new institution did many states convene after they became independent? *A constitutional convention (68)*
2. What is the world's oldest founding document still in use? *The state Constitution of Massachusetts (69)*
3. What was the main purpose of the Articles of Confederation? *To create as limited a central government as possible (69)*
4. How many votes did each state have in the Confederation Congress? *One (69)*
5. What provision did the Articles make for a national executive and a national court system? *None (69)*
6. What did the Northwest Ordinance do concerning territories and new states? *Establish a pattern for organizing territories and admitting new states on an equal footing with the original thirteen (70)*
7. What was the result of the Articles of Confederation requiring nine votes to pass significant laws? *Political paralysis that prevented almost all meaningful change (70)*
8. What realities caused concern about the strength of the United States in relation to foreign countries? *British outposts on the Great Lakes and in Canada and the Spanish presence in the south (70)*
9. What meeting proposed a revision of the Articles? *Annapolis Convention (71)*
10. Where did most Americans want political power to remain? *At the state and local levels (71)*

Lesson 13

1. In what year did the Constitutional Convention meet? *1787 (72)*
2. What policy did the delegates follow regarding publicity? *They agreed to keep their deliberations secret. (72)*
3. What was the compromise reached about the make-up of Congress? *The number of representatives from the House would be based upon population, but each state would have two senators (73)*
4. What did the compromise regarding the office of president involve? *Strictly enumerating and limiting his powers, allowing Congress to override his veto, and making him subject to impeachment and removal from office (74)*
5. What was the compromise reached about slavery? *Three-fifths of the number of slaves would be counted for both direct taxes and for apportioning seats in the House. In addition, the importation of slaves could*

continue for twenty years, but then it could be ended at that point. (74)

6. What did most Americans believe about the strength of the central government? *It should be strong enough to do what it needed to do, but not so strong that it threatened the rights and freedoms of the states and of individual Americans. (75)*
7. What is the meaning of the term "delegated powers"? *The idea that a government does not have unlimited powers but only those powers that are specifically delegated to it. (77)*
8. Explain how the Constitution separates powers in relation to the military. *The president is the commander in chief, but Congress has the power to declare war. (77)*
9. What have the newspaper articles James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay wrote to encourage that the Constitution be adopted come to be called? *The Federalist* or *The Federalist Papers* (78)
10. What are the four reasons the lesson lists to explain why the Constitution has been successful? *The framers tried to create a document that would continue to work in changing circumstances; they tried to make the will of the people paramount and to limit the powers of government; they based it on ideals of fairness and equality; it has flexibility and can be amended when needed. (79)*

Lesson 14

1. What did the Founding Fathers want and expect to be a vital part of American life? *Acknowledgment and worship of God (80)*
2. Freedom of religion is guaranteed in which amendment to the Constitution? *The First Amendment (81)*
3. Describe the role of religion in the founding of the United States. *America was founded on belief in God, but the founders did not want an officially established religion. (80-81)*
4. What two principles did the new nation follow in matters of religion? *Religious freedom with no established religion, and an official, stated recognition of and dependence on God (82)*
5. What did Congress call for immediately after passing the First Amendment in 1789? *A day of thanksgiving to God (82)*
6. Where does the lesson mention that both Presidents Thomas Jefferson and James Madison attended church services? *In the chamber of the House of Representatives (82)*
7. What are some examples of the beliefs of the Founding Fathers? *Washington, Adams, and Jay were strong believers; Jefferson questioned orthodox doctrines; Franklin was a skeptic and was sometimes immoral. (83-84)*
8. In what founding documents is God mentioned? *The Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation (82)*
9. What did most people in the new nation believe about God? *Most believed in the God of the Bible; few were Deists or atheists. (84-85)*
10. Which colony did Rogers Williams found with the purpose of having more complete religious liberty? *Rhode Island (83-84)*

Lesson 15

1. The Preamble of the Constitution states that American government begins with whom? *The people (86)*
2. How does the Preamble express the idea of a covenant? *It is a solemn commitment among the people and between the people and those who serve in government.(86)*
3. How many of the writers of the Constitution were immigrants or descendants of immigrants? *All of them (87)*
4. How did the Constitution form a more perfect union? *By creating a stronger government than existed under the Articles of Confederation (87)*
5. How did the Constitution establish justice? *It called for a national system of courts not previously provided for in the Articles of Confederation. (88)*
6. Why did the Constitution need to ensure domestic tranquility? *A civil society needs domestic order. (88)*
7. What is the meaning of the phrase "provide for the common defense"? *Defense of the homeland (88)*
8. What is the meaning of the phrase "the general welfare"? *What will help the people as a whole, not specific groups (89)*
9. What two specific applications have been made of the Preamble's reference to "our posterity"? *To suggest that abortion affects our posterity, and to encourage wise environmental policy (89)*
10. The people of one generation have what responsibility to those who come after them? *Answers can vary, but the lesson mentions to teach, guide, and bless them. (90)*

Unit 3 Quiz

1. f (65)
2. b (65)
3. i (69)
4. a (69)
5. e (71)
6. j (73)
7. c (78)
8. h (81)
9. d (86)
10. g (89)

Unit 4

Lesson 16

1. Why is such a large portion of the Constitution devoted to Congress? *Because it was the closest to and most representative of the people and the most important and most powerful part of the new national government (93)*
2. What are the constitutional qualifications for serving in the House? *25 years old, a citizen for seven years, a resident of the state he or she represents (94)*
3. What is the length of a congressman's term in office? *2 years (94)*
4. How is a House seat filled that is made vacant by death or resignation? *The governor calls a special election (94)*
5. The number of congressmen a state sends to the House of Representatives is based on what? *Population (95)*
6. The permanent size of the House of Representatives is how many members? *435 (95)*
7. What is apportionment and how often does reapportionment take place? *The process of determining how many congressmen each state has, based on the census results; every ten years after the U.S. census is taken (95-96)*
8. Who is responsible for drawing the district lines for a state? *The state legislature (96)*
9. What is gerrymandering and what is the origin of the term? *Drawing oddly-shaped district lines for political advantage; a district created in Massachusetts while a Governor Gerry was in office (97)*
10. Name at least two guidelines that Congress and the courts have established for how legislatures should pursue redistricting. *Answers may include two of these: Districts should have as even a population distribution as possible; be contiguous; have compactness; maintain community identity (97)*

Lesson 17

1. Why is the Senate considered the upper house of Congress? *It has fewer members; senators serve six-year terms (100)*
2. What are the constitutional qualifications for serving in the Senate? *Thirty years old, an American citizen for nine years, a resident of the state he represents (100)*
3. Why is the Senate considered to be a continuing body? *Only one-third of the Senate is up for re-election every two years. (100)*
4. How were senators chosen in the original Constitution? *By state legislatures (100)*
5. How did this change on a national basis? *With the Seventeenth Amendment, although many states had moved toward it already (101-102)*
6. How has the popular election of senators affected the power of state legislatures? *It has meant less political power for state legislatures at the national level. (102)*
7. What is the most common way for a Senate seat to be filled when it is made vacant by death or resignation? *The governor appoints someone to fill the seat until the next congressional election. (102)*
8. What is meant by the advice and consent role of the Senate? *Approving treaties and presidential appointments (103)*
9. Does the president have the right to remove an appointee without the Senate's approval? *Yes (103)*
10. What is a recess appointment? *An appointment that the president makes while Congress is in recess (103-104)*

Lesson 18

1. In what two ways is the word Congress used in American government? *America's two legislative bodies and a particular two-year period in which Congress meets (105)*
2. The meetings of Congress in a given year are called a what? *Session (105)*
3. In the original Constitution, when did Congress convene; and what are the modern dates for the convening of Congress and the president's inauguration? *Congress originally convened on the first Monday in December (105); now Congress convenes on January 3 and Inauguration Day is January 20 (106)*
4. When does a lame duck session of Congress occur? *The period between an election and when the new Congress begins (106)*
5. What happens when a senator or a representative requests a quorum call? *If a senator makes a quorum call, senators must come to the Senate chamber; if a representative makes a quorum call, representatives must come to the House chamber.(107)*
6. What publication reports the proceedings of the House and the Senate? *Congressional Record* (108)
7. What did C-SPAN begin telecasting in 1979? *Proceedings of the U.S. House of Representatives (108)*
8. Define franking privilege. *A congressman's privilege of sending mail at government expense (109)*
9. When Congress votes itself a pay raise, when can it go into effect? *After the next election (109)*
10. When is a senator or representative immune from being arrested? *While attending a session of Congress or while going to or returning from such sessions (110)*

Lesson 19

1. Why is it unusual for a salaried or wage-earning man or woman to be elected to Congress? *They usually don't have the time or money to conduct a long campaign. (112)*
2. What is a safe seat? *A House or Senate seat in which one political party almost always wins (113)*
3. What is a freshman member of Congress? *A senator or representative who is serving his first term (113)*
4. Define term limits. *A maximum number of terms or years that an elected official can serve (113)*
5. What is the most obvious work that a senator or congressman does? *Consider and vote on legislation on the chamber floor (114)*
6. Name two things a senator or congressman might do for a constituent. *Help with a problem involving a federal agency; provide passes to the visitor gallery if the constituent is planning to visit Washington (115)*
7. What is a junket? *An international trip (115)*
8. What is a congressional delegation trip? *Several members of Congress traveling together (115)*
9. What former president sold his extensive library to Congress? *President Thomas Jefferson (116)*
10. Where must applicants for official copyright send copies of their work? *Library of Congress (116)*

Lesson 20

1. What type of faction or group did many of the Founding Fathers fear? *Political parties (117)*
2. Early representatives and senators who favored a strong central government took what name? *Federalists (117)*
3. Those who favored limiting the central government and who promoted the power of the states took what name? *Republicans 117)*
4. What two political parties that formed before the Civil War continue to be the most powerful today? *Republicans and Democrats (118)*
5. Name the four political party leaders in the House and Senate. *Majority leader and minority leader and their assistants the majority whip and the minority whip (118)*
6. How is the speaker of the House chosen? *He or she is elected at the beginning of every new Congress. (118)*
7. Who is the official president of the Senate? *The vice president of the United States (119)*
8. What office did the framers of the Constitution create to preside in the Senate in the absence of the vice president? *The president pro tempore (119)*
9. What do House and Senate committees do? *Study bills, conduct investigations, and hear testimony. (120)*
10. Who chooses all of the committee chairmen? *The majority party (122)*

Unit 4 Quiz

1. c (95)
2. b (95-96)
3. d (97)
4. a (100)
5. c (103)
6. b (106)
7. d (109-110)
8. c (113)
9. a (115)
10. c (119)

Questions on *Mornings on Horseback*

Answers to the first three questions should total at least one page. None of these questions involve "right or wrong" answers. Our suggested answers to questions 1 and 3 give possible themes and main points for their answers, but the student should have written at greater length than these answers.

1. What are other influences in Theodore Roosevelt's life that we did not mention in the literary analysis? *Other influences on Theodore Roosevelt include: his Harvard years; his first wife and later her loss; his father's role in politics; his involvement with his father's and his own efforts on behalf of the poor; his friends in the West; other answers possible*
2. What influences in Theodore Roosevelt's life can you relate to? How do similar influences impact your life? *Answers will vary.*
3. List five values of Theodore Roosevelt's family that you think shaped him into a passionate leader. *Possible answers include: hard work, commitment, duty toward the less fortunate, intellectual curiosity, loyalty, willingness to initiate/take action; other answers possible*
4. Student is to write a one-half to one page summary and review of *Mornings on Horseback.*

Unit 5

Lesson 21

1. Where must revenue bills originate? *The House (125)*
2. What four steps does the clerk perform when a representative puts a bill in the hopper or when a senator hands a bill to the clerk or makes a formal announcement to introduce it? *Assigns it a number, labels it with the name of the sponsor(s), sends it for printing, and lists it in the Congressional Record. (125)*
3. What are the four forms that legislation may take? *A bill, a joint resolution, a concurrent resolution, a simple resolution (126)*
4. What is the difference between an authorization bill and an appropriation bill? *An authorization bill establishes a program, while an appropriation bill assigns funding for the program. (126)*

5. Give two examples of programs Congress considers to be mandatory. *Social Security, Medicare (127)*
6. Who has the most power in deciding which bills a committee will consider? *The committee chairman (127)*
7. What happens in a markup session? *Committee members go over every aspect of a bill and mark it up with proposed changes. ((128)*
8. What does it mean for a bill to be "voted out"? *A majority of a committee has approved it and it goes to the entire House or Senate (128)*
9. *Who are lobbyists and what do they do? Lobbyists are representatives of groups. They seek to influence laws and policies. (128)*
10. If you could work as a lobbyist in Washington, what group would you want to represent? *Answers may vary.*

Lesson 22

1. Name three ways that one of the houses of Congress can vote on a bill. *Voice vote, physically go to different sides of he chamber, roll call (131)*
2. When either the House or the Senate passes a bill, what happens next? *It goes to the other chamber where the entire process begins again. (133)*
3. Where does a bill go if the second chamber makes any amendments to it? *A conference committee (133)*
4. What is a conference committee and what happens there? *A conference committee is made up of members of both houses. They come up with a final version which must be voted on again by both houses. (133)*
5. What happens when a bill passes in the same form in both the House and the Senate? *Congress sends it to the president. (133)*
6. What is a filibuster? *An attempt by a minority of senators to delay action by holding the Senate floor and talking (133)*
7. What is cloture? *A rule that allows for a vote to end a debate (134)*
8. What is an unfunded mandate? *A law that requires states and localities to do something but does not provide funds for them to carry it out (135)*
9. How do political observers use the terms right and left when describing citizens who are conservative or liberal? *A person who is conservative and defends traditional ways is said to be on the right; a person who favors change from traditional ways is said to be on the left (135)*
10. What are the three options that a president has when Congress passes a bill and sends it to him? *(1) To sign it, (2) to veto it and return it to Congress, (3) a pocket veto, which is to hold it for ten days without signing it (135-136)*

Lesson 23

1. What are duties and imposts? *Taxes on items being imported into the country (137)*
2. Give three examples of items an American may have to pay an excise tax on when they purchase them. *Answers will vary but may include: tobacco, the manufacture of alcoholic beverages, jewelry, expensive boats (137-138)*
3. What is the difference between the terms annual budget deficit and national debt? *When the federal government spends more than it takes in through revenues in a given year, this creates an annual budget deficit; the accumulation of deficits over the years has created the national debt. (139)*
4. In what realms is Congress authorized to regulate commerce? *With foreign nations, among the states, and with Indian tribes (139)*
5. What body has the power to declare war? *Congress (139)*
6. Why must military appropriations last no more than two years? *The framers of the Constitution did not want to fund a standing army that could be a threat to domestic or international peace (140)*
7. What are state militias now called? *National Guard (140)*
8. What federal district does Congress govern? *The District of Columbia (141)*
9. What major role has the Supreme Court played in relation to the "Necessary and Proper" clause? *Deciding whether laws Congress has passed are within the bounds of its constitutional authority. (142)*
10. Who makes up the federal bureaucracy? *Unelected officials and employees who work in the federal government (142)*

Lesson 24

1. What did the Constitution forbid before 1808? *Congress could not ban the slave trade before 1808. (143)*
2. What is a writ of habeas corpus? *A statement by an arresting authority telling why a person is being held (144)*
3. What president suspended writs of habeas corpus in the name of maintaining order? *Abraham Lincoln (144)*
4. What is a bill of attainder? *A law that declares a person to be guilty without giving him a trial (144)*
5. What is an ex post facto law? *A law declaring an act to be a crime after it has already happened (144)*
6. What amendment changed the taxes that Congress could impose? *Sixteenth Amendment (144)*

7. What must happen before any money can be spent from the federal treasury? *Congress must enact specific appropriations (145)*
8. Why did the framers of the Constitution forbid office holders to accept gifts, titles, offices, or money from foreign rulers or states? *They saw the problems associated with these practices in Europe and they wanted those in government not to become beholden to foreign powers. (145)*
9. What limitation does the Constitution place on states in regard to money? *States may not coin money or print paper money (145)*
10. What limitation does the Constitution place on states in regard to foreign governments? *States may not make a treaty with a foreign government, or engage in war (unless invaded or threatened by a foreign power and then only until the national government can respond). (145)*

Lesson 25

1. What does the term impeachment mean? *To accuse of wrongdoing (147)*
2. The Constitution's framers were familiar with the impeachment found where? *The British Parliament (147)*
3. What is the role of the House in an impeachment case? *The House brings articles of impeachment by a simple majority vote. (148)*
4. What is the role of the Senate in an impeachment case? *The Senate sits as the jury in an impeachment trial. (148)*
5. What does the phrase "high crimes and misdemeanors" mean? *This is a matter of debate. Some say it means any indictable offense, while others say it means wrongdoing specifically related to the office being held. (148)*
6. What is the limit of penalty for being found guilty of impeachment charges? *Removal from office and disqualification from holding any other public office (148)*
7. What kind of officials have been impeached or investigated for impeachment? *Presidents, a senator, a Cabinet member, federal judges, an associate justice of the Supreme Court (148)*
8. What was the result when the Senate tried President Andrew Johnson after the House impeached him? *The Senate fell one vote short of the two-thirds majority needed to convict him. (150)*
9. What president was impeached in connection with how he handled an investigation into his immorality? *President Bill Clinton (150)*
10. What did President Richard Nixon do to avoid being impeached? *He resigned as president. (151)*

Unit 5 Quiz

1. f (125)
2. e (126)
3. j (126)
4. a (133)
5. h (133)
6. b (139)
7. i (139)
8. g (144)
9. c (150)
10. d (148)

First Government Exam — Units 1-5

1. d (11)
2. g (100)
3. j (71)
4. a (3)
5. b (81)
6. i (106)
7. f (15)
8. c (103)
9. e (95)
10. h (65)
11. n (53)
12. p (51)
13. m 45)
14. s (40)
15. t (65)
16. r (126)
17. k (34)
18. l (139)
19. o (125)
20. q (86)
21. w (9)
22. y (13)
23. u (150)
24. v (119)
25. x (133

Unit 6

Lesson 26

1. What are the qualifications in the Constitution for becoming president? *Thirty-five years old, a natural born citizen, and a resident in the U.S. for at least fourteen years (155)*
2. What is the difference between a primary and a caucus? *Primaries are statewide elections overseen by state election officials; caucuses are local meetings overseen by a political party. (156)*
3. Who is appointed at state conventions? *Delegates to the national party conventions (156)*
4. What two main things are decided upon at a national party convention? *A party platform and nominee for president and vice president (156-157)*
5. What is the intended purpose of the Presidential Campaign Fund? *To limit the influence of money in presidential campaigns (157)*
6. What was the original plan for how the electoral college was to work? *Each elector was to vote for two people. The person who got the most votes would be president; the person with the second-highest total would become vice president. (158)*
7. How did the 1800 election show the weakness of this approach? *Jefferson and Burr got the same number of votes, even though Burr was the vice presidential candidate. The House had to decide the election. (158-159)*
8. How did the Twelfth Amendment change the system? *Electors vote separately for president and vice president.(159)*
9. What do critics say about the electoral college? *At times it has defeated the will of the majority of voters. (161)*

10. What do supporters of the electoral college say? *It maintains the importance of the states; it can provide a clear winner even if no candidate receives a majority of votes; it maintains the two-party system and usually prevents third parties from influencing the election. (161)*

Lesson 27

1. What is the average age of a president at the time of taking office? *About 54 years and 11 months (162)*
2. What fraction of presidents have served in the military? *About half (163)*
3. What phrase did George Washington add when he took the oath of office? *"So help me God" (164)*
4. What was the salary set for the president as of 2016? *$400,000 per year (165)*
5. About how often between 1841 and 1963 did a president die in office? *About every twenty years (166)*
6. What was a big question when William Henry Harrison died and John Tyler took the office? *Was Tyler really president or only acting president? (167)*
7. Who is next in the line of succession after the vice president? *Speaker of the House (167)*
8. What prompted adoption of the Twenty-Fifth Amendment in 1967? *The death of John Kennedy and a vacancy in the vice presidency for fourteen months. (167)*
9. What provision does this amendment have for a president being disabled? *The president can notify the speaker of the House and the president pro tempore of the Senate; or the vice president and a majority of Cabinet heads can notify them. If there is any disagreement, Congress must decide the issue. (168)*
10. How often has a vice presidential vacancy been filled by a nomination by the president? *Twice (168)*

Lesson 28

1. Why is civilian oversight of the U.S. armed forces important? *So that a powerful standing army is not answerable only to itself and in a position to compete with the civil government. (169)*
2. How is the war-making authority of the federal government an example of the separation of powers? *Congress has the power to declare war, but the operation of the armed forces is under the oversight of the president. (169)*
3. How many times has Congress declared war? *Five times (169)*
4. What did the Tonkin Gulf Resolution authorize the president to do? *To use military force to support South Vietnam and other countries with whom the U.S. had treaty obligations (170)*
5. In recent times, how has Congress authorized the president to deploy troops? *Authorizations for Use of Military Force (AUMF) (170)*
6. What law did Congress pass to limit a president's ability to deploy troops? *The War Powers Act (170)*
7. What U.N. action prompted President Truman to send American troops into Korea in 1950? *A United Nations Security Council resolution* (172)
8. What was significant about the targets of attack authorized by the passing of the AUMF in 2001? *For the first time, a congressional resolution named organizations and persons in addition to nations as legitimate targets of attack. (173)*
9. What are two types of documents that a president might sign with leaders of other countries? *Treaties and executive agreements (174)*
10. What is the term that describes the president's role in carrying on diplomatic relations with other countries? *Head of state or chief of state (173)*

Lesson 29

1. How many federal civilian employees work in the executive branch? *Over 2.66 million* (175)
2. Once Congress establishes a program is it easy or difficult to end it? *Extremely difficult (176)*
3. How is the Pendleton Civil Service Act a double-edged sword? *It protects federal employees from being fired for political reasons, but also makes it difficult to fire them for incompetence. (176)*
4. What is the size of the president's personal and official staff? *About 4000 (176)*
5. Which president created the Executive Office of the President? *Franklin Roosevelt (176)*
6. What three-member panel reports, reviews, and makes recommendations about the economy? *Council of Economic Advisers (177)*
7. What body, made up of the vice president and some Cabinet officers, advises the president on foreign relations and other matters regarding safety for our country? *National Security Council (177)*
8. What tool can a president use to implement an agenda without waiting for Congress? *Executive order (178)*
9. How might a president's agenda affect the way federal laws are executed? *Federal laws that pertain to a president's agenda might take priority with increased enforcement, while enforcement of other laws might be lessened. (179)*
10. What power of the president might be considered judicial? *Presidential pardon (180)*

Lesson 30

1. What happens when there is no majority in the electoral college? *The House of Representatives selects the president. (181)*
2. How do the president and Congress work together to create laws? *The president recommends legislation. Congress passes laws. (181)*
3. What are the roles of Congress and the president in concerning war? *Congress declares war, while the president is commander in chief of the military forces (181)*
4. What can Congress and the president do when Congress sends the president legislation he does not approve? *The president can veto legislation passed by Congress, but Congress can override a veto by a two-thirds majority. (181)*
5. How has the initiative for legislation changed since the first years of the country? *At first the president was satisfied with simply enforcing what Congress enacted. From the time of Theodore Roosevelt, presidents have usually actively promoted their agenda. (182)*
6. What is the president's annual message to Congress? *The State of the Union address (183)*
7. What historic event in the mid-1800s resulted from a State of the Union address? *The California gold rush (183)*
8. What might a president do to help his proposals get passed in Congress? *Make speeches to influence public opinion, issue statements to the press, use his influence with individual members of Congress (184)*
9. What is the term for when Congress and the president are hardened in their opposition to each other? *Gridlock (185)*
10. What is the idea of a presidential line-item veto and what happened after Congress passed a law giving that power to the president? *It is the power of a president to veto certain portions of a law without vetoing the entire law. The Supreme Court struck it down. (186)*

Unit 6 Quiz

1. b (155)
2. d (156)
3. c (167)
4. d (164)
5. b (169)
6. d (170)
7. c (178)
8. c (181)
9. a (183)
10. a (180)

Questions on *The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge*

Answers to the first three questions should total at least one page. None of these questions involve "right or wrong" answers. Our suggested answers here give possible themes and main points for their answers, but the student should have written at greater length than these answers.

1. Why do you think the perception of Coolidge is so different from how he reveals himself in this book? *He was not flashy, so people tend to ignore him. People are quick to make assumptions. People do not give a lot of attention to what he actually thought or said. He is overshadowed by more dramatic presidents and administrations. People who don't say much are often misjudged. Other answers possible.*
2. What contrasts do you see between Coolidge and the popular mindset of the 1920s? *Coolidge was conservative, content with a simple life, trying to do his duty, interested in serving others. The 1920s are known for excess, the accumulation of wealth, the pursuit of the flashy, sophisticated, and fast-paced life. Other answers possible.*
3. What messages other than the ones we listed do you think Coolidge wanted the reader to take away? *Belief in God and respect for the Bible. Hard work brings rewards. Greatness requires sacrifices. There is much joy in the simple life. Other answers possible.*
4. Student is to write a one-half to one page summary and review of *The Autobiography of Calvin Coolidge.*

Unit 7

Lesson 31

1. The Constitution mentions heads of executive departments. What term do we use for that group of people today? *The Cabinet* (189)
2. What department handles our relations with other countries? *State Department (190)*
3. Who was America's first secretary of State? *Thomas Jefferson (190)*
4. What are the two common ways that average Americans interact with the state department? *Passports and visas and travel advisories (190)*
5. What was the Marshall Plan? *A plan proposed by Secretary of State George Marshall to fund the rebuilding of Europe after World War II (191)*
6. What department oversees the economic life of the nation? *Treasury Department (191)*

7. What two entities does the Treasurer of the United States oversee? *The U.S. Mint and the Bureau of Engraving and Printing (191)*
8. What agency collects taxes within the United States? *The Internal Revenue Service (191)*
9. What was the original name of the Defense Department under George Washington? *War Department (192)*
10. The highest ranking members of the U.S. military are called what? *Joint Chiefs of Staff (193)*

Lesson 32

1. What is the title given to the head of the Justice Department? *Attorney General (194)*
2. Who serves as the government's representatives before the U.S. Supreme Court? *Solicitor general and his assistants (194)*
3. What do the letters FBI stand for and what is the responsibility of this agency within the Department of Justice? *Federal Bureau of Investigation. It investigates threats of terrorism and foreign intrigue against the country and alleged violations of federal law. (195)*
4. What are the main functions of the Interior Department? *Protecting the country's environment, developing of our natural resources, and managing national parks (196)*
5. What is the purpose of the Bureau of Indian Affairs? *Maintain the federal government's relations with over 500 tribes (196)*
6. What is a controversial aspect of the Interior Department's responsibilities? *Management of federal mineral reserves—whether to protect them or to allow private companies to develop them (196)*
7. What does the Department of Agriculture do to food that U.S. farmers produce and that importers bring into the country? *Inspects and grades it (197)*
8. What agency within the Department of Agriculture administers the 4-H program? *Cooperative Extension Service (197)*
9. What is a controversial area regarding work of the Department of Agriculture? *Farm subsidies and price supports (197)*
10. Define parity. *Parity is the minimum price farmers receive which is based on the price farmers received in a good previous year adjusted for inflation. (198)*

Lesson 33

1. What does the Commerce Department gather and publish? *Census data (200)*
2. What is the purpose of the National Institute of Standards and Technology? *To establish accurate weights and measures and make sure businesses follow these standards. (200)*
3. What are the purposes of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration? *Issue weather forecasts, disseminate weather data, and conduct research in the seas and skies. (200)*
4. What is the main mission of the Labor Department? *To protect the rights of American workers (200)*
5. Why did Congress create the Department of Housing and Urban Development? *To help people have safe, affordable housing and to help cities have more attractive and functional downtowns (201)*
6. What is the belief behind HUD's mission of encouraging home ownership? *That people who own their homes will maintain their property and have a major investment that will help them financially. (202)*
7. List the nicknames of the three federally-chartered investment corporations involved in helping more money be available for home mortgages. *Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac, and Ginnie Mae (202)*
8. How is HUD involved in making rental property more available to the poor? *It provides rent subsidies to apartment owners who rent to low income families. (202)*
9. What is an infrastructure? *The basis or foundation upon which a system operates (203)*
10. What percentage of highway construction costs does the federal government pay? *Up to 90%. (204)*

Lesson 34

1. What federal department accounts for about one-fourth of federal spending? *Department of Health and Human Services (205)*
2. What are Medicare and Medicaid? *Medicare funds health care for elderly Americans; Medicaid helps states pay for health care for low-income families (205)*
3. Who is the surgeon general? *The head of the Public Health Service (206)*
4. What situation in the 1970s preceded the creation of the Energy Department? *The Arab oil embargo and the resulting energy crisis (206)*
5. What special interest group did politicians try to please by the creating the Department of Education? *National Education Association (NEA) (206)*
6. How has the Department of Education changed the oversight of the field of education? *The federal government is involved in an area where states had sovereignty for many decades. (206-207)*
7. What are some examples of benefits provided to military veterans? *Health care, mortgage loans, education benefits, pensions (207-208)*
8. What disaster prompted a rearranging of the federal government in 2001? *The September 11 terrorist attacks. (208)*

9. What are some agencies now in the Department of Homeland Security that had once been in other departments? *Secret Service, Coast Guard, Customs Service, Immigration and Naturalization, and FEMA (208-209)*
10. What agency leads the federal government's response to natural disasters? *Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) (209)*

Lesson 35

1. What independent agencies are under the oversight of Congress? *Library of Congress, Government Printing Office, Government Accountability Office (210)*
2. What was the first independent agency created by Congress? *Interstate Commerce Commission (210)*
3. What is America's central bank? *The Federal Reserve System (211)*
4. What independent agency insures the deposits that people have in banks? *Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) (211)*
5. What independent agency provides start-up loans for new businesses? *Small Business Administration (211)*
6. What three kinds of benefits does Social Security provide? *Retirement, disability, and survivor benefits (213)*
7. What independent agency oversees America's national space exploration program? *National Aeronautics and Space Administration (213)*
8. What is the function of the Central Intelligence Agency? *Finding out information that the government needs to maintain our security. (213)*
9. What independent agency maintains America's historic documents? *The National Archives and Records Administration (213)*
10. Give four examples of semi-private government corporations mentioned in Lesson 35. *Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), United States Postal Service (USPS), National Railroad Passenger Corporation (Amtrak), Conrail (215-216)*

Unit 7 Quiz

1. e (189)
2. i (190)
3. h (194)
4. b (196)
5. j (200)
6. g (202)
7. d (205)
8. f (208)
9. c (211)
10. a (215)

Unit 8

Lesson 36

Define each term:

1. Magistrate—*Official who has limited judicial authority to issue search warrants, set bonds, and hear initial pleadings from suspects (220)*
2. Bond money (bail money)—*Money to guarantee a suspect will not run away if released and will appear at future court proceedings (220)*
3. Grand jury—*A specially-called group of private citizens who decides if there is enough evidence to justify holding a trial (221)*
4. Indict—*To formally charge with a crime (221)*
5. Plea bargain—*To plead guilty or to give testimony or some other concession in exchange for a lesser sentence (221)*
6. Acquittal—*Being found not guilty (221)*
7. Pre-trial discovery—*Period before the trial when lawyers gather evidence and interview witnesses and other people who might testify (222)*
8. Peremptory challenge—*An attorney's rejection of a potential juror without giving a reason (223)*
9. Parole—*When authorities release a convicted person from jail, but continue to monitor his activities to make sure he does not continue illegal activity (223)*
10. Appeals court—*A court which decides if there was a problem with the trial in the lower court and if the verdict should be upheld or if the case should go back to the lower court (223)*

Lesson 37

1. What country's legal system was the primary basis for the American system? *England (225)*
2. What court did the Constitution establish? *Supreme Court (226)*
3. What other federal courts has Congress created? *District courts, circuit courts of appeal, and specialty courts (226)*
4. How are federal judges placed on the bench? *Nominated by the president and confirmed by the Senate (226)*
5. How long may federal judges serve? *For life, with good behavior (226)*
6. In 2016 what was the salary of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court? *$260,700 (227)*
7. What is the difference between criminal law and civil law? *Criminal law involves crimes against the people in general; civil law involves disputes between two individuals or parties (227)*

8. Why do federal courts hear cases involving ambassadors, ministers, and consuls? *The framers did not want the representatives of foreign governments harassed by state courts. (228)*
9. How is treason defined? *Making war against the United States or giving aid and comfort to the enemy (229)*
10. How many treason trials have taken place in the United States? *About 30 (230)*

Lesson 38

1. What is the lowest court of the federal legal process? *District courts (231)*
2. What Senate committee holds hearings when a president nominates a federal judge? *The Senate Judiciary Committee (231)*
3. How has politics affected Senate confirmation of judges? *When the Senate majority is of a different party from the president, the Senate sometimes stalls the president's nomination and the office is left vacant for a long time (231)*
4. What are four kinds of specialty federal courts? *Court of International Trade, federal bankruptcy courts, Court of Federal Claims, U.S. Tax Court (232)*
5. The losing party in a federal district court case can appeal the verdict where? *A federal circuit court of appeals (233)*
6. Who heard appeals of cases in federal courts before Congress established the federal appeals court system? *Supreme Court justices (233)*
7. How many justices usually hear a case in a federal circuit court of appeals? Three (234)
8. What courts hear appeals cases involving the military and veterans? *Court of Appeals for the Armed Forces, Court of Appeals for Veterans' Claims (234)*
9. What is a senior federal judge? *A semi-retired judge (235)*
10. Where can parties who have lost their appeals in the federal circuit courts of appeal file a further appeal? *With the Supreme Court (235)*

Lesson 39

1. Why can it be said that the members of the U.S. Supreme Court are the most powerful persons in the federal government? *Their decisions cannot be reversed except by a constitutional amendment or a later Supreme Court ruling; a decision can wipe long-established laws off the books; our entire society can be changed by the decision of five persons; a justice can never be forced to retire. (236)*
2. How many persons sit on the Supreme Court? *Nine (236)*
3. What was the average age of justices when *Exploring Government* was published? *Seventy (236)*
4. Why are Supreme Court nominations so pivotal and so hotly debated? *The justices serve for long tenures, they play a pivotal role in the law, and both political parties want to control the Court. (237)*
5. What has come to be the primary function of the Supreme Court? *To determine whether federal and state laws are within the scope of the Constitution (238)*
6. About how many appeals of cases does the Supreme Court receive each year? *7000 (238)*
7. About how many of those cases does the Court accept? *100 (238)*
8. When does the Court's term begin? *The first Monday in October (239)*
9. What is the "conference handshake"? *Before appearing for a public session and when they begin their Friday conferences, each justice shakes the hand of every other justice to indicate they all share the same purpose. (239)*
10. What is the most important principle that guides the Court's deliberations? Stare decisis—*letting a precedent stand* (240)

Lesson 40

1. What did Franklin Roosevelt propose doing after the Supreme Court struck down several laws? *To increase the number of justices on the Court to a maximum of fifteen (243)*
2. On what basis did the Supreme Court uphold the Social Security law in *Helvering v. Davis*? *They found the Social Security law to be constitutional under the "general welfare" clause of the preamble. (243)*
3. How did Supreme Court decisions during the Great Depression expand the areas in which Congress passed laws? *The Court upheld many New Deal laws.* (243)
4. What phrase came out of the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision that upheld racial segregation? *"Separate but equal" (243)*
5. Why did the Court rule in favor of Brown in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education*? *Segregated public schools violated the fourteenth amendment's guarantee of equal protection under the law. (243)*
6. How did the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision reverse *Plessy*? *It held that separate schools for African Americans and whites were inherently unequal. (243)*
7. In what case did the Court say that certain procedures and safeguards for accused persons had to be in place? *Miranda v. Arizona (244)*
8. Why did the Court rule in favor of Hobby Lobby in *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby Stores, Inc*? *The requirements of the ACA created an undue religious burden on the owners and the Hobby Lobby company. (245)*

9. What did the four dissenting justices say in response to the same-sex marriage case of *Obergefell v. Hodges*? *The majority engaged in judicial law-making by ruling on an issue the Constitution does not address and that marriage is a matter that should be left to the states (245)*
10. How do you think Christians should respond to Supreme Court decisions that challenge and demean the Christian faith? *Answers will vary.*

Unit 8 Quiz

1. F - Bail (or bond) money is money paid to guarantee a suspect will not run away and will appear at future court proceedings. (220)
2. T (221)
3. F - The American legal system is largely based on that of England. (225)
4. T (226)
5. F - The president nominates federal judges. (231)
6. F - The loser in a federal district court can appeal the verdict to a U.S. circuit court of appeals. (233)
7. T (236)
8. T (240)
9. T (243)
10. F - The Supreme Court ruling that set forth proper procedures for law enforcement to use with accused persons was *Miranda v. Arizona*. (244)

Unit 9

Lesson 41

1. What does it mean for a state to extend "full faith and credit" to the other states? *To recognize and not disallow the laws, records, and court actions of the other states (249)*
2. What are some limitations to the "full faith and credit" clause? *States do not have to follow the laws of other states; states can have their own standards of professional licensure. (250)*
3. What does the guarantee of privileges and immunities mean? *A state cannot discriminate against citizens of other states in terms of the legal rights and protection afforded to them. (250)*
4. What restrictions did the Constitution place on territories concerning their becoming states? *No new state could be formed within an existing state and no new state could be formed by joining two or more states or portions of states, unless Congress and the state legislatures involved agreed to it. (251)*
5. What document set the pattern for territories becoming states? *Northwest Ordinance (251)*
6. What condition did Congress place on Utah Territory before it could become a state? *Utah had to outlaw polygamy. (252)*
7. What provision in its state Constitution did Arizona Territory have to remove before it could become a state? *Arizona had to rescind its provision calling for the popular recall of judges. (252)*
8. What area of the country became a state in spite of the restrictions the Constitution placed on territories before they became states? *The counties in northwest Virginia that became West Virginia (252)*
9. List the five U.S. territories named in the lesson. *Guam, American Samoa, U.S. Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, Northern Mariana Islands. (252)*
10. What form of government is guaranteed to the states? *Republican (253)*

Lesson 42

1. The power to amend the Constitution rests where? *With the states (254)*
2. What majority of both houses of Congress must approve an amendment before Congress submits it to the states? *Two-thirds of both houses of Congress (254)*
3. What portion of the states must ratify an amendment before it becomes part of the Constitution? *Three-fourths (254)*
4. What are the two most recent proposed amendments that did not receive enough state approval to become part of the Constitution? *The Equal Rights Amendment; an amendment proposing the rights of statehood for the District of Columbia (255-256)*
5. Would you have supported the Equal Rights Amendment? Why or why not? *Answers will vary.*
6. What is the purpose of the supremacy clause? *The Constitution is the supreme law of the land, superceding both state laws and treaties (256)*
7. Why is an oath of office important? *There must not be any question regarding the loyalty of those who fill government positions. (256-257)*
8. Most people taking an oath for a federal position add what phrase to the oath of office? *So help me God. (257)*
9. Office holders in what three levels of government must take an oath or affirmation that they will uphold the Constitution? *Federal, state, local (256)*
10. How many states had to ratify the Constitution for it to take effect? *Nine (257)*

Lesson 43

1. What congressman edited proposals state conventions made and put them forward as twelve amendments for Congress to consider? *James Madison (258-259)*
2. What does the Bill of Rights limit? *The power and intrusiveness of the federal government. (259)*
3. What kinds of expression does the First Amendment not protect? *Libel, slander, and speech that presents a clear and present danger to national security or public safety (259)*
4. What agency did the federal government create to regulate broadcasting? *Federal Communications Commission (260)*
5. Do you believe that the federal government should regulate radio and television broadcasts? Explain your answer. *Answers will vary.*
6. What was the FCC's Fairness Doctrine? *Broadcast stations had to devote some time to a discussion of public issues and had to make a reasonable attempt to present varying viewpoints. (260)*
7. Why was the Fairness Doctrine dropped? *The FCC decided that the increasing number of cable and satellite broadcast outlets made the Fairness Doctrine obsolete. (261)*
8. In 1989 the Supreme Court declared an action to be protected as a First Amendment right. What was that action? *Burning an American flag (261)*
9. What is your opinion of that Supreme Court decision? *Answers will vary.*
10. What issues are raised when the Ku Klux Klan applies for a permit to hold a rally? *Officials usually approve the permit in the name of freedom of speech, but local governments can limit the place, time, and activities involved. Officials can schedule a public hearing if legitimate safety and security concerns are present. (261-262)*

Lesson 44

1. What did Thomas Jefferson say about the importance of the right to own and use guns? *"No free men shall ever be debarred the use of arms." (263)*
2. What is the historical context for the second amendment? *European kingdoms routinely took guns away from the populace, which gave the government the upper hand. (263)*
3. Describe a twentieth century example of a government taking guns away from private citizens. *Adolph Hitler confiscated guns, including hunting rifles. (263)*
4. What is your personal position concerning gun control and the right to bear arms? *Answers will vary.*
5. What is the historical context for the Third Amendment? *The British practice of requiring colonists to house British troops. (265)*
6. Why is it important for every citizen, even those with criminal records, to be considered innocent of a crime until proven guilty? *Because someone could be accused falsely, the police or the justice system might feel pressure to obtain a conviction, or officials might bring the weight of the system to bear on an individual unfairly (265)*
7. Amendments Five through Eight protect the rights of whom? *People accused of a crime. (265)*
8. Do you believe that the death penalty is "cruel and unusual punishment"? *Answers will vary.*
9. What did Alexander Hamilton fear about the Bill of Rights? *He was afraid that government in the future might assume that if the Bill of Rights did not specifically list a particular right, the people did not have that right. (267-268)*
10. What does the Tenth Amendment say? *That powers not specifically delegated to the federal government by the Constitution nor specifically denied to the states by the Constitution remained with the states or the people (268)*

Lesson 45

1. What did the Thirteenth Amendment do and which states did Congress require to ratify it? *It abolished slavery; the former Confederate states which wanted to be readmitted to the Union (269)*
2. What are the main provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment? *It defines citizenship on both the state and national levels and forbids states from denying anyone life liberty, or property without due process of law. (270)*
3. What did the Fourteenth Amendment forbid former federal and state office holders who had participated in the rebellion of the Confederacy from doing? *Holding office on either the federal or state level. (270)*
4. List two examples of ways states hindered African Americans from voting even after the Fifteenth Amendment became part of the Constitution. *Literacy tests and poll taxes (271)*
5. What political movement promoted the income tax as a way to generate government revenue and distribute wealth equally? *Progressive Movement (271-272)*
6. The only amendment ever to be repealed concerned the prohibition of what? *The production, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages (272)*
7. What is your opinion about Prohibition? *Answers will vary.*

8. Would you have supported or opposed the Nineteenth Amendment? Why or why not? *Answers will vary.*
9. What discriminatory practice did the Twenty-Fourth Amendment outlaw? *Poll tax (273)*
10. Which amendment passed more quickly than any other and what did it do? *Twenty-Sixth Amendment; lowered voting age to eighteen (273)*

Unit 9 Quiz

1. h (251)
2. e (252)
3. j (254)
4. a (256)
5. b (258-259)
6. i (259)
7. d (265)
8. c (268)
9. f (272)
10. g (273

Unit 10

Lesson 46

1. Which level of government has the most authority about education issues? *State governments (277)*
2. In early state constitutions, why was most of the power vested in legislatures? *In reaction to negative experience with colonial governors appointed by the king (277)*
3. Which was the only original state to elect a constitutional convention? *Massachusetts (278)*
4. All state constitutions establish what three branches of government? *Executive, legislative, and judicial (278)*
5. Whom does every state constitution mention? *God (278)*
6. What are two times in American history when states had to write new constitutions? *After independence from Britain and after the Civil War (278)*
7. What are the major differences between state constitutions and the U.S. Constitution? *State constitutions are generally longer and have been amended or rewritten more frequently. (278)*
8. What state has the longest constitution at over 376,000 words? *Alabama (278)*
9. In almost all states, the legislature may place amendments before whom? *The voters (279)*
10. Are voters more likely to vote on amendments to their state constitutions or to vote to elect officials? *To elect officials (279)*

Lesson 47

1. Where do state constitutions vest the law-making power of state governments? *In the legislature (281)*
2. What is every upper house in the state legislatures called? *State senate (281)*
3. State senators generally serve a term of how many years? *Four (281)*
4. State representatives generally serve a term of how many years? *Two (281)*
5. What is the most representative body in the world based on population? *New Hampshire House of Representatives (281)*
6. What is unusual about the Nebraska state legislature? *It has one house instead of two (and the elections are non-partisan). (282)*
7. How can citizens of some states bypass the typical legislative procedure to enact laws? *By mounting a petition drive to get a proposal on the ballot and then voting on that proposal in a referendum (283)*
8. What is the most obvious difference between sessions of state legislatures and sessions of Congress? *State legislature sessions are typically shorter and in a few cases less frequent (283)*
9. What issue did the Supreme Court cases *Baker v. Carr* and *Reynolds v. Sims* address? *Apportionment of state legislative districts* (285-286)
10. What do you think are the pros and cons of low pay for legislators versus high pay? *Answers will vary.*

Lesson 48

1. Who is the chief executive of a state? *The governor (288)*
2. A governor serves as the head of what military organization? *National Guard (289)*
3. What official holds the number two position in most states? *Lieutenant Governor (290)*
4. How do length of term and the presence or absence of term limits affect the power of a governor? *Governors who can serve longer are able to exert more influence. (290)*
5. How does the length and frequency of legislative sessions affect the power of a governor? *The governor has more power when the legislatures meet less frequently and for shorter sessions. (290)*
6. What roles do governors fill that prepare them well for serving as president? *Overseeing a large bureaucracy, dealing with a legislative body, and trying to put forth a vision for what is best for the people. (291)*
7. Who are four recent governors who have gone on to become president? *Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush (291-292)*

8. How many terms had Jimmy Carter served as governor of Georgia before he became president of the United States? *One (291)*
9. Who was the first governor of Texas to win election to consecutive four-year terms? *George W. Bush (292)*
10. Do you think governors should have the ability to exercise a line-item veto? Explain your answer. *Answers will vary.*

Lesson 49

1. What is meant by the term "red tape"? *Complicated channels of procedure (293)*
2. What is the job of the secretary of state of South Dakota? *Maintain official records, oversee elections, handle applications for business licenses (293)*
3. Who chooses department secretaries in South Dakota government? *The governor nominates them and the legislature confirms them (295)*
4. What South Dakota official examines how state government spends funds in order to assure the process is accurate and efficient? *State auditor (294)*
5. What is the role of the South Dakota Department of Corrections? *Manage state prisons and parole systems, guide juvenile offenders, and provide rehabilitation for offenders (295)*
6. What is the purpose of the South Dakota Department of Public Safety? *Oversee highway safety, driver licensing, homeland security, the state fire marshal, and other similar matters (295)*
7. What is the purpose of the South Dakota Department of Tribal Relations? *To provide services for the nine Native American tribes that live in the state and encourage positive relations between the tribes and other South Dakota residents. (296)*
8. The Texas state supreme court has final appellate jurisdiction in what two types of cases? *Civil and juvenile. (299)*
9. What Texas court holds final appellate jurisdiction in criminal cases? *The court of criminal appeals (299)*
10. How do people become judges in Texas? *All judges are elected except municipal judges. (299)*

Lesson 50

1. Why do state governments try to encourage economic growth? *In order to generate more revenue for the state and create more and better paying jobs for its citizens (301)*
2. Most job growth within a state comes from what types of businesses? *Small companies with fewer than twenty employees and new businesses (301)*
3. What kind of tax incentives do states sometimes offer a business? *No business or property tax for a few years (302)*
4. What types of infrastructure can state governments provide in order to help businesses be successful? *Roads, bridges, utilities, and other services (302)*
5. What is the most important asset for any company? *Its people (302)*
6. In what two ways do governors and other state officials help state economies by making official trips to foreign countries? *By recruiting businesses and by opening new markets for products produced in their states (302)*
7. How many dollars are estimated to be spent by tourists in the United States each year? *1.5 trillion (303)*
8. How do states promote tourism? *Internet marketing; print marketing such as road maps, vacation guides, brochures, and advertisements in magazines; billboards and other signs; etc. (303)*
9. What growing tourist industry is mentioned in the lesson? *Agritourism (303)*
10. What business would you like to start to benefit your state? *Answers will vary.*

Unit 10 Quiz

1. executive, legislative, and judicial (278)
2. voters (279)
3. senate (281)
4. Nebraska (281-282)
5. lieutenant governor (290)
6. president (291)
7. auditor (294)
8. prisons (295)
9. infrastructure (302)
10. trillion (303)

Second Government Exam — Units 6-10

1. f (167)
2. j (278)
3. b (190)
4. h (211)
5. i (281-282)
6. c (169)
7. a (220)
8. g (290)
9. d (205)
10. e (236)
11. o (156-157)
12. r (178)
13. t (221)
14. l (240)
15. k (183)
16. s (254)
17. p (208)
18. n (256)
19. m (189)
20. q (303)
21. w (259)
22. u (251)
23. x (244)
24. y (170)
25. v (268)

Unit 11

Lesson 51

1. What is the historic background of American county government? *English county government (307)*
2. Why do counties exist today? *To serve the purposes of state government (307)*
3. County courthouses and county government offices are located in what city? *The county seat (308)*
4. What is the most common form of county government in the U.S.? *Commission or board of supervisors (308)*
5. What are the two other most common forms of county governments? *Commission-administrator and commission-executive/mayor (309)*
6. What is a township? *A level of government for an area larger than a town or city but smaller than a county (310)*
7. How many states have townships? *Twenty (310)*
8. What kind of government do people form to provide a specific function? *A special district (311)*
9. What body usually oversees a special district? *An elected board (311)*
10. Would you like to be part of your local government some day? If so, in what way would you like to serve? *Answers will vary.*

Lesson 52

1. America has become more urban than it once was. List five advantages to living in an urban area and five advantages to living in a rural area. *Answers will vary.*
2. What government entity incorporates villages, towns, and cities? *State legislatures (313)*
3. A city charter compares to what? *A constitution (313)*
4. What was the first form of city government in America? *A town meeting. (313)*
5. What is the most common form of city government today? *Council-manager (314)*
6. When candidates run on their own merits rather than as the candidates of a political party, they run on what basis? *Non-partisan (314)*
7. What might a stadium authority do? *Plan, finance, construct, and operate a major sports facility (314)*
8. Give an example of a type of business that might receive a franchise from a city. *Cable television company (315)*
9. What are some advantages of a consolidated government? *It eliminates duplication of services, provides better coordination of services, and enables more effective planning for growth. (316)*
10. What are some disadvantages of a consolidated government? *Consolidation does away with smaller communities and their cherished identities; city dwellers and the rural population likely will not share the same needs and expectations of government; the demands of the city may drown out the needs of the country. (316)*

Lesson 53

1. What do urban planning professionals do? *Help communities, counties, states, and regions anticipate what growth a region can expect and what is the best way to plan for and handle that growth. (317)*
2. Who made the orderly plan for Philadelphia? *William Penn (318)*
3. Who made the plan for Washington, D.C.? *Pierre L'Enfant (318)*
4. What planning movement culminated in the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago? *City Beautiful Movement (318)*
5. What is a planning commission? *A board whose members are citizens appointed by the city council or county commission and who recommend a course of growth (319)*
6. What is zoning? *The process by which a city or a county regulates how people use various areas of land (319)*
7. Who oversees the zoning process? *A zoning commission (319)*
8. What does zoning separate? *Business, industrial, and residential areas (319)*
9. What happens when a city annexes property? *It takes areas adjacent to the city. (320)*
10. What is eminent domain? *The power of government to use or take private property for public purposes without the owner's permission (321)*

Lesson 54

1. The economy of Williston, North Dakota, was once based on what? *Agriculture (323)*
2. What two national tourist sites are near Williston? *Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site and Theodore Roosevelt National Park (324)*
3. What is another term for fracking? *hydraulic fracturing; injecting water and chemicals at high pressure into underground rock formations (324)*
4. What type of tax does North Dakota charge oil companies? *A severance tax (325)*
5. What does North Dakota award oil companies through competitive bidding? *Leases to mineral rights. (325)*

6. The oil boom caused a crisis in government in what service areas? *Roads, water, sewer, electricity, schools, and health care (325)*
7. Why did Williston take on debt? *To expand services quickly before it had the tax revenues to pay for everything it needed. (325)*
8. How did mass transportation change in Williston? *Air and rail transportation increased dramatically. (325-326)*
9. What services do you believe the government should provide to displaced persons in a place like Williston? *Answers will vary.*
10. What services do you believe churches should provide to displaced persons in a place like Williston? *Answers will vary.*

Lesson 55

1. What binds the country together on all levels of government? *The Constitution (328)*
2. What legislation did Thomas Jefferson encourage Congress to pass that had a negative effect on American port cities? *Embargo Act (329)*
3. What is RFD? *Rural free delivery (329)*
4. What federal government program helped the mail order industry? *Parcel post service (329)*
5. What was the name of the first federal highway? *Cumberland Road or National Road (329)*
6. What is the system of numbered federal highways begun in 1926? *U.S. Highway System (330)*
7. What is the system of roads begun in 1956? *Interstate system (330)*
8. What do federal officials use to allocate funding each year to state, local, and tribal governments? *Census data (330)*
9. How does illegal immigration affect state and local governments? *They must provide education, health care, law enforcement, and other services for illegal immigrants. (331)*
10. How did many states respond to the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*? *They responded with a policy of "massive resistance" and refused to comply with the decision. (331)*

Unit 11 Quiz

1. e (307)
2. j (310)
3. a (313)
4. b (313)
5. h (319)
6. c (321)
7. d (324)
8. f (325)
9. i (329)
10. g (330)

Questions on *Born Again*

Answers to the first three questions should total at least one page. None of these questions involve "right or wrong" answers. Our suggested answers for question 3 give possible themes and main points for their answers, but the student should have written at greater length than these answers.

1. What did you learn about the political realm in *Born Again* that surprised you? *Answers will vary.*
2. After reading about Colson's prison experiences, what do you think about the prison system? Do you think prison is effective as a consequence for crime? *Answers will vary.*
3. What do you think Colson wanted the reader to come away with after reading his story? *Christ is Savior. God can do miracles. Fellowship in Christ brings unlikely friendships. God brings good out of bad situations. Other answers possible.*
4. Student is to write a one-half to one page summary and review of *Born Again.*

Unit 12

Lesson 56

1. What is a budget? *A plan of income and expenses, usually for a year (335)*
2. What do you believe should be the most essential spending priority for the federal budget? *Answers will vary.*
3. What do you believe should be the most essential spending priority for your city or county's local budget? *Answers will vary.*
4. What office holder proposes the federal budget to Congress? *President (336)*
5. What conflicts do conservatives and liberals often have concerning budgets? *Each side points to waste in the programs they don't like and defends the excesses in the ones they support. Conservatives tend to support spending on defense and liberals support spending on social programs. (337)*
6. What is a sunset law? *A law that states that the funding for a project will end at a certain date (337)*
7. Why do government agencies try to spend all of the money in their budgets? *In order to prevent their budget from being cut the next year (337)*
8. What are capital projects? *Large projects like roads, schools, etc. (338)*
9. What spending restriction do most states have that the federal government does not? *A requirement to have a balanced budget (337)*

10. What can result from a government printing money to make up a budget shortfall? *Inflation (338)*

Lesson 57

1. The total debt of the federal government is approaching how many dollars? *Twenty trillion (339)*
2. What is the greatest source of revenue for the federal government? *Income tax (339)*
3. Most Americans pay their income tax through what process? *Withholding (339)*
4. What is a progressive tax? *A tax for which the tax rate is greater on higher incomes (341)*
5. The top one percent of Americans pay what percentage of the total income tax that the IRS collects? *38% (341)*
6. What are some items on which the federal government collects excise taxes? *Alcohol, tobacco, gasoline, jewelry, furs, and guns (342)*
7. What does the government do when Social Security revenue exceeds benefits paid out in one year? *The government purchases U.S. Treasury bonds in the amount of the difference. (343)*
8. What is a government bond? *A loan that the government promises to pay back at a specific time in the future with interest (344)*
9. What is the relationship between a borrower and a lender? *The borrower is the lender's slave. (344)*
10. Do you think something needs to be done about the national debt? If so, what? *Answers will vary.*

Lesson 58

1. Do states or the federal government have lower income tax rates? *States (345)*
2. What is a sales tax? *A tax governments charge when a person makes a routine purchase. (345)*
3. What are items that are exempt from sales tax, or taxed at a lower rate, in certain states? *Food and prescriptions (346)*
4. What groups generally don't have to pay sales tax on purchases they make? *Churches and charitable organizations (346)*
5. On what is the *ad valorem* tax based when registering a vehicle? *The current fair market value of the vehicle (347)*
6. What two taxes have become popular with state and local governments in recent years? *Amusement tax and hotel/motel tax (347)*
7. Why have governments found these taxes attractive? *Because tourists from out of state and business persons on expense accounts pay most of them (347)*
8. What is a federal categorical grant? *A grant with specific guidelines about how a state or local government can spend the money (347)*
9. What is a biennial budget? *A two-year budget (348)*
10. In 2015 each adult resident of Alaska who had lived there at least one year received a dividend of $2,072 from the sale of what? *Oil transported through the Trans-Alaska Pipeline (350)*

Lesson 59

1. The major portion of a county's revenue comes from what? *Property taxes (351)*
2. Who determines the appraised value for this? *County tax assessor (351)*
3. When are property taxes collected? *In arrears, or at the end of the period in question (351)*
4. Do businesses or individuals generally pay higher property tax? *Businesses (351-352)*
5. What fee does Lexington, Kentucky, impose that is similar to an income tax? *Occupational license fee (352)*
6. What three sources of city revenue does the lesson list? *Property taxes, business taxes, license fees (352)*
7. List in order the top three budgeted expenditures for Fairfax County, Virginia, in 2016. *Schools, public safety, health and welfare (352)*
8. What does Fairfax County's public safety budget item include? *Fire and police departments, the sheriff's office, juvenile and domestic relations, district court, emergency management, and other programs (352)*
9. What must people involved in collecting and spending public money be careful to do? *Use this powerful position only for good and ensure faithfulness in handling other people's money (354)*
10. What is Tax Freedom Day? *The date when the average American has worked enough to pay all the taxes he owes that year. (354)*

Lesson 60

1. Why was chartering a national bank controversial? *Because the Constitution did not authorize it (355)*
2. When the government under the Constitution first began, citizens assumed that the federal government would exercise only what? *Specific, delegated powers (355)*
3. Though President Grover Cleveland believed that the people should support the government, what did he say that the government should not do? *Support the people (356)*
4. What happened when President Cleveland vetoed a congressional appropriation of $10,000 to help farmers in Texas? *The farmers received ten times as much from private sources. (356)*

5. What is the proper purpose of tax policy? *To raise the revenue that government needs to carry out its proper functions (356)*
6. Some people believe that governments should use taxes to influence what? *Behavior (356)*
7. Some people believe that governments should use taxes to redistribute what? *Income (357)*
8. Which generally helps the economy more, raising taxes or lowering taxes? *Lowering taxes (357)*
9. Describe two situations the lesson mentions that might justify a government borrowing money. *To provide funds to fight an enemy who has attacked or to stimulate the economy during a recession or depression (358)*
10. What do think about government taxation to redistribute income? *Answers will vary.*

Unit 12 Quiz

1. T (335)
2. F - When government prints money to make up a budget shortfall, it can cause inflation. (338)
3. F - The total debt of the federal government is approaching twenty trillion dollars. (339)
4. F - The greatest source of revenue for the federal government is the income tax. (339)
5. T (345)
6. F - Federal categorical grants have specific guidelines for state and local governments. (337)
7. T (351)
8. T (354)
9. T (356)
10. T (356)

Unit 13

Lesson 61

1. What does the word diplomacy mean? *The conduct of relations among nations (361)*
2. The Constitution assigns the role of head of state to what person? *The president (362)*
3. What is the role of an ambassador? *An ambassador serves as the highest-ranking representative of one nation in another nation. (362)*
4. What is the role of a consul? *A consul is a government representative who works in another country and assists individuals and businesses from his or her home country. (362)*
5. What term describes a government in one country believing that the government of another country is legitimate? *Diplomatic recognition (362)*
6. For what political reason did the United States send aid to smaller countries during the Cold War? *To win their support or to keep those countries from officially aligning with the enemy. (364)*
7. What happened at the U.S. embassy in Tehran, Iran, in the late 1970s? *Iranian militants took it over and held Americans hostage for over a year. (364)*
8. How and why did U.S. relations change with Iran after the crisis at the U.S. embassy in Tehran? *The U.S. supported Iraq and Saddam Hussein in its war against Iran until Iraq drew closer to other enemies of America in the Middle East. (364-365)*
9. Why does the United States encourage freedom and democracy in other countries? *Because of an American belief that freedom and democracy are basic rights of every human being (365)*
10. If you could serve in an American embassy abroad, in what country would you like to serve and why? *Answers will vary.*

Lesson 62

1. What does America's participation in international trade involve? *Private American companies providing goods and services to other countries and American companies receiving goods and services from companies in other countries (367)*
2. What was the major U.S. trade policy before World War II? *Setting tariff rates for imported goods (367)*
3. What are GATT and the WTO? *The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the World Trade Organization (367)*
4. What is a country guaranteed if it has Normal Trade Relations status with the U.S.? *Trade considerations that are the best that the U.S. gives to any country (368)*
5. What are NAFTA and CAFTA? *North American Free Trade Agreement and Central American Free Trade Agreement (368-369)*
6. What has happened to the economies of the U.S., Mexico, and Canada since the passage of NAFTA? *All have grown. (368)*
7. What are some negative consequences of NAFTA? *Some American workers have lost their jobs. Mexican farmers and farm workers have been hurt. (368)*
8. What changed in American trade with China between 1985 and 2015? *U.S. exports and Chinese imports were about the same in 1985, but in 2015 the U.S. exported about one-fourth as many goods to China than it imported from China. (369)*
9. What do opponents of trade with China fear about this trend? *That it puts the U.S. at an economic disadvantage which might develop into a political and military disadvantage (369)*
10. What are two ways in which governments work against free trade? *Tariffs and government subsidies to an industries (370)*

Lesson 63

1. One terrorist attack triggered a war on terrorism in Afghanistan and Iraq. When did it take place? *September 11, 2001 (371)*
2. That event triggered a war on the forces of terrorism in what two countries? *Afghanistan and Iraq (371)*
3. Define state sponsors of terrorism. *Governments that aid and protect terrorists (372)*
4. What illegal activity does the lesson suggest might fund terrorism? *Drug-trafficking (372)*
5. Why does the U.S. government engage in diplomacy to fight terrorism? *To encourage the governments of other nations to join with us in working against terrorism (372)*
6. What does the lesson mention as purposes of secret operations? *Finding out where underground cells are located and who the specific individuals are that are involved (373)*
7. What international organization gathers information about terrorists? *INTERPOL (373)*
8. How might the U.S. government invade the privacy of American citizens to obtain information about possible terrorists? *Intercepting mail, phone calls, emails and other data (373)*
9. Federal officials working against terrorism must investigate the transfer of what? *Money and weapons (373)*
10. What is the real answer to terrorism and hatred? *Hearts changed by the gospel of Jesus (374)*

Lesson 64

1. What did George Washington believe was a "baneful foe of republican government"? *Foreign influence (375)*
2. Washington said that if a nation has habitual hatred or habitual fondness for another nation, it is in some degree a what? *Slave (375)*
3. What international organization did President Woodrow Wilson promote after World War I? *League of Nations (376)*
4. What international body did the United States help to create after World War II? *United Nations (376)*
5. What five countries are permanent members of the U.N. Security Council? *United States, United Kingdom, Russia, France, and China (376)*
6. The lesson mentions three of the U.N.'s many agencies. What are they? *United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), World Health Organization, International Court of Justice (377)*
7. Name two times when the United Nations has helped the United States with an international problem. *Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 and conflicts with Saddam Hussein in 1990-1991 and 2003 (377)*
8. What key alliance did the U.S. and eleven other countries form after World War II? *North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) ((377)*
9. When and where did NATO military forces first enter combat? *In 1994 on the Balkan peninsula (378)*
10. Do you favor U.S. isolationism or major involvement in the affairs of other nations in the world? Why? *Answers will vary.*

Lesson 65

1. How are human rights defined in the lesson? *Rights and freedoms that most countries recognize as being what every person deserves, including life, freedom from slavery and torture, freedom of religion and expression, adequate standard of living, freedom of movement, and the right of political self-determination (381)*
2. What are three negative consequences of boycotting countries which violate human rights? *The oppressive leader may portray himself as a victim; the offending government can find other countries with which to trade; the people might suffer while the leadership elite do not. (381)*
3. What did Presidents Reagan and Bush do as they carried on talks and engaged in relations with the Soviet Union? *They negotiated from a position of American strength, and they were willing to point out the failings of the Communist system. (382)*
4. What term is often used for racial segregation in South Africa? *Apartheid (382)*
5. When did America restore diplomatic relations with Cuba? *2015 (382)*
6. The lesson mentions three types of human rights violations in China. What are they? *Suppression of political opposition; imprisonment and torture of Chinese Christians; a lack of freedom of expression (382)*
7. What should be the response of a Christian who learns that an American company is purchasing products from factories where people work in terrible conditions? *Answers will vary.*
8. What was the term once used to describe what is now called human trafficking? *Slavery. (383)*
9. How does Christianity differ from religions that teach people to hate their enemies? *Answers will vary.*
10. If you were appointed to work on the federal level in a position that involved human rights, what would be your first priority? *Answers will vary.*

Unit 13 Quiz

1. f (361)
2. c (362)
3. h (367)
4. a (368)
5. j (372)
6. d (373)
7. b (377)
8. e (376)
9. g (382)
10. i (383)

Unit 14

Lesson 66

1. What is an economy? *The way people produce, distribute, and use goods and services. (387)*
2. Define a free market economy. *Private individuals and companies own the means of production (387)*
3. Define a command economy. *The state owns the means of production. (387-388)*
4. A free market economy is sometimes called what? *Capitalism (387)*
5. Describe a regulated free market economy. *The private sector owns the means of production, but the government taxes and regulates those businesses. (388)*
6. Why do capitalists need regulation? *Because people are sinful and selfish. Regulations limit pollution, protect workers, and protect consumers. (389)*
7. Who operates the Amtrak passenger rail service? *The U.S. government (389)*
8. What two large industries does the British government control? *Mining and health care (389)*
9. What are three failings of a command economy? *They are given to inefficiency, offer no incentive to do better, and encourage the development of a black market (389)*
10. What has history demonstrated time and again about economic freedom? *Economic freedom produces a stronger economy while too much government causes problems. (392)*

Lesson 67

1. The lesson states that illegal immigration is a crisis in what four areas? *Security, economy, law, and justice (393)*
2. List three types of visa. *Tourist, student, work (394)*
3. What must an immigrant apply for if he or she wishes to live in the United States? *Permanent Resident Card, often called a Green Card (394)*
4. The 675,000 legal immigrants allowed to come to the United States each year are in what three categories? *Family-sponsored, employment-based, and diversity admissions (394)*
5. What is the country of origin for most legal permanent resident applicants? *Mexico (395)*
6. Underground networks apparently exist to recruit whom? *Undocumented workers (395)*
7. What are some reasons refugees leave their homes and seek asylum in another country? *War, political oppression, religious persecution, famine, or other natural disasters.(396)*
8. What is political asylum? *An official status that a person can request from a receiving country if he or she is being persecuted or fears persecution because of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular group, or political opinion (396)*
9. List the countries from which your ancestors immigrated to America. *Answers will vary.*
10. Do you think a better wall on the U.S./Mexico border is a worthwhile investment? Why or why not? *Answers will vary.*

Lesson 68

1. What two federal government programs started paying for health care costs for some Americans in the 1960s? *Medicare and Medicaid (400)*
2. Federal, state, and local governments pay for what portion of all health care costs in America? *One-half (399)*
3. What is Medicare? *A government health insurance program for people over 65 (400)*
4. What is Medicaid? *A government health insurance program for those with low income or who can not otherwise obtain health insurance (400)*
5. What has happened to health care costs since the federal government began to pay a large percentage of those costs? *They have skyrocketed.(400)*
6. President Obama proposed and Congress passed what health care legislation in 2010? *The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (400)*
7. How have health insurance premiums changed since Congress passed this legislation? *They have increased. (401)*
8. What is a single-payer health care system? *Socialized medicine, where the government pays the medical bills (401)*
9. How do government limits on medical costs affect availability of health care? *If suppliers can not make a profit, they will stop making those services available. (402)*
10. What health care changes do you think would benefit American society? *Answers will vary.*

Lesson 69

1. In *Pierce v. Society of Sisters*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a child is not a mere creature of what? *The state (404)*

2. What were the earliest organized schools in the U.S., and how were they funded? *Local community schools, funded by local taxes or fees (404)*
3. What early educational leader in Massachusetts encouraged removing religious instruction from public schools? *Horace Mann (404)*
4. What did Mann and others see as the purpose for education? *To create citizens who fit in with social expectations and were trained to work in the growing number of factories (405)*
5. What two factors decreased parental influence in children's education? *Compulsory attendance laws and state funding of education (405)*
6. What event in 1957 prompted the federal government to assume greater control of education? *The Soviet Union launching* Sputnik (405)
7. How much does government currently spend on education in the U.S.? *Over $600 billion per year (405)*
8. What has been the trend in federal court decisions regarding the rights of parents to influence their children's education in public schools? *The trend has been toward diminishing the rights of parents whose children attend public schools. (407-408)*
9. What law passed in 2002 gave the federal government more control over public education? *The No Child Left Behind Act (409)*
10. Homeschooling is legal in how many states? *Fifty (409)*

Lesson 70

1. President Ronald Reagan said that abortion is supported by whom? *Persons who have themselves been born (411)*
2. How many babies have been aborted in the United States since 1973? *Over 58 million (411)*
3. A 2015 video revealed Planned Parenthood officials talking flippantly about what? *The sale of body parts from unborn babies (411)*
4. How is abortion a spiritual issue? *It involves the worth, value, and identity of an unborn child whom God created in His image. (412)*
5. What 1973 Supreme Court decision declared that a woman had the right to obtain an abortion? Roe v. Wade *(412)*
6. What later Supreme Court decision, while upholding the right to an abortion, upheld all of the Pennsylvania restrictions except the requirement that a married woman had to notify her husband? Planned Parenthood v. Casey *(412-413)*
7. The Hyde Amendment prevents the federal government from doing what? *Funding abortions (413)*
8. In 2007 the Supreme Court upheld what ban enacted by Congress in 2003? *The ban on partial birth abortion (413)*
9. How are abortion laws an example of legislating morality? *By allowing abortion, the message is that abortion is morally acceptable. (414)*
10. How can you help influence the moral perceptions of others? *Answers will vary.*

Unit 14 Quiz

1. free market or capitalist (both answers are acceptable) (387)
2. command (387-388)
3. green (394)
4. asylum (396)
5. Medicare (400)
6. one-half (399)
7. attendance (405)
8. legal (409)
9. legal (412)
10. funding (413)

Unit 15

Lesson 71

1. What is the origin of the phrase "wall of separation"? *A letter by president Thomas Jefferson in reply to the Danbury (Connecticut) Baptist Association (417)*
2. What was Jefferson's thinking about that "wall of separation"? *The wall was to protect the church from the state. The state was not to interfere with the activities of a church. (417)*
3. What characteristics of the American people have the Supreme Court recognized? *Their essential religious nature and religious needs (418)*
4. What is the policy called release time instruction? *A school policy allowing students to go off-campus to receive religious instruction during school hours (418)*
5. The Supreme Court has made a distinction between what two ways that the state could give assistance that relates to religion and schools? *The state can help students who go to a religious school but it cannot help the school directly. (418-419)*
6. What practices in New York and Pennsylvania public schools did the Supreme Court declare to be unconstitutional? *Required prayer and required Bible reading (419-420)*
7. What did Chief Justice William Rehnquist write regarding whether the phrase "one nation under God" in the Pledge of Allegiance is patriotic or

religious? *That it is a patriotic exercise, not a religious one (420-421)*

8. Judge Roy Moore has twice served as chief justice of the Alabama Supreme Court and has twice been suspended. What were the two religious freedom issues involved? *A display of the Ten Commandments and his refusal to enforce the U.S. Supreme Court's decision allowing same-sex marriage (421)*
9. The Supreme Court ruled that Bob Jones University was not entitled to tax-exempt status because of what policy? *Not admitting students in an interracial marriage or who supported interracial dating and marriage (423)*
10. Do you think the Supreme Court erred in any of the rulings mentioned in this lesson? *If so, name one and tell why. Answers will vary.*

Lesson 72

1. Make a list of five ways you would work to reform government if you were elected as a senator or Congressman. *Answers will vary.*
2. List five things you would like to hear a presidential candidate propose in relation to reforming government. *Answers will vary.*

Lesson 73

1. Choose one topic that is important to you and write a draft of an email you would like to send to your congressman or to one of your senators. If your parents approve, send it. *Answers will vary.*
2. If the president appointed you to be in his Cabinet, in which department would you like to serve? *Answers will vary.*
3. If you could serve as an employee in government, what job would you like to have? *Answers will vary.*
4. Write a slogan you could use in a campaign to be elected as mayor. *Answers will vary.*
5. If you run for public office, people have to learn about you. Make a list of five things you stand for that you could use in campaign advertising. *Answers will vary.*
6. If you decided to join a political party today, which party would you choose to be in and why? *Answers will vary.*
7. If you would rather not join a political party, explain why you would rather be an Independent. *Answers will vary.*
8. If you were working behind the scenes in a political campaign, what job would you be most comfortable doing? *Answers will vary.*
9. List three ways someone could destroy his or her reputation. *Answers will vary.*
10. Write two sentences explaining why it is important for someone who works with people to have wisdom. *Answers will vary.*

Lesson 74

1. The lesson lists four things America's founders believed in. List them. *God, personal freedom, the rights and worth of humans, and the rule of law (433)*
2. Because our country is not perfect, what is the responsibility of each generation? *To make our nation more of what it can and should be (433)*
3. Americans have the freedom to educate children as they think best. Tell one reason you are thankful that your parents have chosen the method they have for your education. *Answers will vary.*
4. What is one way you could have a better influence on others for good? *Answers will vary.*
5. What is one way you could do a better job of not allowing the world to influence you for evil? *Answers will vary.*
6. What is one way you could improve on the way you show respect to leaders? *Answers will vary.*
7. Why did Henry David Thoreau refuse to pay taxes? *He was protesting against the Mexican War. (435)*
8. What did Jeremiah tell the exiles in Babylon to do in the city in which they lived? *Seek its welfare and pray to the Lord on its behalf. (436)*
9. In Matthew 5, Jesus tells us to let our light shine before men for what reason? *So that men may see our good works and glorify our Father who is in heaven (436)*
10. Where is a Christian's most important citizenship? *In heaven (436)*

Lesson 75

1. Why did Margaret Thatcher say she was in politics? (2 points) Because of the conflict between good and evil (437)
2. Answer this question the lesson poses: If people cannot be trusted, why should you trust bureaucrats who get paid the same regardless of what happens to you? (4 points) Answers will vary.
3. Which do you prefer: security or freedom? Why? (4 points) Answers will vary.

Unit 15 Quiz

1. d (417)
2. h (418)
3. i (418)
4. j (419-420)
5. a (420-421)
6. e (433)
7. f (435)
8. c (436)
9. g (436)
10. b (437)

Third Government Exam — Units 11-15

1. f (310)
2. h (413)
3. a (330)
4. e (420-421)
5. i (387)
6. b (319)
7. g (394)
8. j 321
9. c (437)
10. d (345)
11. m (313)
12. q (417)
13. p (356)
14. r (339)
15. s (376)
16. n (351)
17. l (396)
18. k (339)
19. t (433)
20. o (362)
21. w (361)
22. u (367)
23. y (376)
24. v (400)
25. x (436)

Questions on *God and Ronald Reagan*

Answers to the first three questions should total at least one page. None of these questions involve "right or wrong" answers. Our suggested answers here give possible themes and main points for their answers, but the student should have written at greater length than these answers.

1. How would you describe Reagan's faith? *Heartfelt, practical, the result of conviction, firm but loving, dependent on prayer, confident that God has a plan, wanting to do God's will; other answers possible.*
2. Describe the ways you think Ronald Reagan is a positive example for those in public office. *He wanted to make a difference in the big issues and not just keep house. He stayed true to his convictions regardless of criticism. He made a clear distinction between good and evil. He had a genuine concern for everyday people and their hurts. He was eloquent in leading the charge for important basic principles. He was willing to stand for freedom. Other answers possible.*
3. Reagan saw the Cold War primarily as a spiritual conflict, not a political, economic, or military conflict. Do you think this applies to issues in our world (such as the war on Islamic terrorism, the decline of marriage, and the acceptance of same-sex relationships) in the same way--as at root spiritual issues that require spiritual answers? *Answers may vary. Reagan was correct about the conflict with Communism being primarily a spiritual issue. The Islamic terrorists see their conflict with Israel and the West as a spiritual issue; so should we. The other issues mentioned above are at root spiritual issues, with people rejecting God's standards. Probably our struggle with these issues comes from not seeing them as primarily spiritual issues.*
4. Student is to write a one-half to one page summary and review of *God and Ronald Reagan.*

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