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ELECTING

CONSTITUTIONALISTS



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The Guilty Go Free, While Others Suffer

Being an average U.S. citizen, I cannot help but wonder where “the rest of us” stand in this muddle we now call the U.S. government. When the likes of Lois Lerner and Hillary Clinton commit several crimes against the government (that would be against us, the citizens) and one guy who told one lie (former National Security Advisor Michael Flynn) is fed to the lions, we can only wonder if the government has any remaining scruples. The crimes committed and federal statutes violated by Hillary Clinton have been very well documented and enumerated by several sources in articles in papers and magazines. So why is she still out and about and making money, which in part really comes from her transgressions?

I ask this question as we read about censorship and government control in other countries. China has an ironclad lock on its citizens, as do many other countries. We would like to imagine that we are a “free” country and immune from such government control, but are we really? The scandal that the Mueller investigation has become clearly shows the amount of political prejudice that goes into many of our government’s legal actions.

The misuse and abuse of civil asset forfeiture is another area that highlights the dictatorship-like qualities that have befallen our government. I hope the rest of you are also concerned about these issues. Only by electing leaders who are free of these prejudices can we free ourselves from continuing the march toward a constitutional dictatorship. We only have to find these people and get them to run for office.

We will need some luck on that one.

WILLIAM F. HINESER, DPM
Arvada, Colorado

Ending Millennial Madness

Robin Kinderman is to be commended regarding her two feature articles in TNA for March 5 on why millennials are the way they are, and how we can fix them. She, like the author of the book *Selfie* that she cites in one article, thought outside of the box that she was raised and educated in. Instead of blindly defending her “Spe-

cial Self,” she educated herself and saw the larger picture.

There is hope yet. But it requires a return in our schools to a regard for the history of this nation, teaching it fairly with an eye to education, not indoctrination. We have certainly had enough of the latter to last us at least a couple of lost generations.

STAN STANFIELD
Sent via e-mail

Military and Societal Fixes for School Shootings

To me it is abundantly clear that we do need to have defenders in our schools — retired military or maybe retired policemen. Plus it would be great to have some teachers (purely voluntary) who will carry concealed. A sheriff in Cincinnati let it be known (after the school shooting in Florida) that his office would train any teachers who came forward and wanted to get a concealed-carry permit. He thought maybe 20 would be interested. Three hundred applied right away, and the registration had to be closed. It was all they could handle.

Until we can “fix” the underlying problem with what has happened to our culture, we would be wise to take this needed precaution. Mental illness is a problem, and I think it stems from no moral grounding — which is where we get our love for our fellow man — and a lack of appreciation for ourselves and our lack of appreciation of goodness.

In fact, the concepts of right and wrong are thoroughly dismissed in our schools today.

That all things are relative is now taught. This trend started in the ’60s and now has reached a crescendo. In the ’50s and prior to that, kids in some school districts carried rifles in their trucks in the rack behind them for target practice after school. Why were there no school shootings before the ’50s?

ROBERTA SUTTON
Evergreen, Colorado

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Reviews

4.5 ★★★★★



Joan Brown

★★★★★ July 10, 2017

I have had nothing but satisfaction and praise for this very unique organization



Allen Banks

★★★★★ March 30, 2016

They have always told the truth and have in almost every prediction been right on the money with world events

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The John Birch Society

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IRS Begins Revoking Passports of Americans Owing Back Taxes

Not only does the Internal Revenue Service have the power to seize your property, put liens on your property, and criminally prosecute you for your failure to “consent” to the federal tax on your income, it now has the authority to disapprove your travel outside of the United States.

Three years ago, the Republican-controlled Congress gave power to the IRS to revoke passports; it seems the agency is beginning to exercise that unconstitutional authority. Although it was given this weapon three years ago, it has only recently begun to wield it widely, blocking Americans from obtaining a passport, or revoking those already in the hands of those to be kept from leaving the country.

The IRS reports that 362,000 Americans with “seriously delinquent” tax bills will be refused passports or passport renewals if they do not pay the money they owe, according to a July 6 report in the *Wall Street Journal*. As for how delinquent is “seriously delinquent,” the authorizing legislation indicates that any debt over \$51,000 will trigger the rejection.

The long and short of it is if you owe money to the IRS — or if the IRS says you owe them money, regardless of whether you do or not — the agency can direct the U.S. State Department (the federal agency that issues passports) to revoke your current passport. If you don’t have a passport, the IRS will direct the State Department to reject your application, should you be suspected of being in arrears on your federal taxes.

How can the damage be undone? Our unique political structure suggests a few remedies. First, Congress created these monstrous agencies and, as such, it may destroy them. Second, the president, as the head of the executive branch, could abrogate these agencies, too, as they fall under the executive aegis. Third, the president and Congress could work together, the former folding the agencies and the latter refusing to fund them.



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School Board Votes to Arm and Train Teachers



RichLegg/Stock/GettyimagesPlus

The Lee County, Virginia, school board has unanimously approved a proposal that would pay for the arming and training of schoolteachers in the county.

The vote, which took place July 12, makes Lee the first of the Old Dominion’s 95 counties to pursue this path toward protecting its students from armed violence. According to reports in the local media, teachers will begin receiving their weapons and training in their use as early as October.

The measure met with the approval of the public, as well, ac-

ording to WJHL TV in Johnson City, Tennessee, a town on the border of Tennessee and Virginia.

“At least it gives us a chance. If we sat there and did nothing, I couldn’t sleep at night. At least we’re trying to do something,” says school board member Rob Hines, the TV news station reported July 12. “The only way to fight a gun, if somebody comes through these doors with a gun to shoot our students, is with another gun,” says Michael Kidwell, Lee County School Board chairman.

There are some in the school district who worry that an increase in the number of weapons will result in an increase in the number of gun-related incidents. For their part, the school board responds that arming teachers is a fiscally sound plan, cheaper than alternatives such as on-campus resource officers or metal detectors. Not surprisingly, several teachers have stepped forward, volunteering to be the first to carry a gun at school.

According to WJHL, “Many Lee County teachers have already volunteered to be considered for the role of being armed at their school. One former teacher tells News Channel 11 that most teachers would be willing to go face-to-face with a gunman if it meant saving one of their students. ‘Sooner or later, it could happen. And like some of the board members said tonight, we need to be prepared if it does,’ says Ronald Earley, former Lee County schools teacher and principal.”

Does Democrat Registration Lead Spell GOP Trouble?

The Democrats' huge lead in party registration figures could spell trouble for the GOP in the fall, say "experts." As the *Washington Examiner* reported July 13: "Democrats hold a massive voter lead in states that require party registration, a gap of 12 million that could be key to whether the party takes control of the House and Senate in the fall midterm congressional elections, according to a new analysis."

So is it midterm game over, GOP? Not so fast. Most party-registration states are found in more Democratic terrain, such as the Northeast and the West. For instance, California, New York, Maryland, Massachusetts, and New Jersey account for approxi-

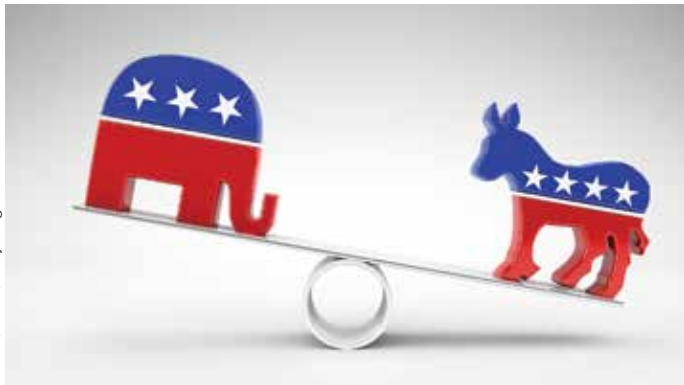
mately 9.8 million of the 12 million overall Democrat registration advantage — more than 81 percent of it. Add in solidly Democrat Connecticut, Delaware, and D.C., and the figure rises to 10.5 million — based on just eight states.

The Democrat registration advantage in these populous states is largely attributable to lopsided numbers in their big cities, which no one expects Republicans to win, anyway.

The point? This blue-zone advantage certainly means Democrats will win many urban districts by 60-plus percent, but it's still only one congressional seat. As for Senate races, the seven states (D.C. has no Senate representation) already have only Democrat senators — the GOP has nothing to lose.

A Democrat registration advantage also supposedly exists in very red Kentucky, Louisiana, and West Virginia. This is probably owing to people who registered Democrat based on family tradition, but who now vote consistently Republican. There won't be any "blue wave" in these states, and adding their numbers to those of the aforementioned blue states brings the total to more than 11.3 million — *almost all* of the nationwide "advantage" of 12 million.

These realities, along with the advancing radical wing of the Democrat Party encouraging socialism, violence, and the abolition of ICE, may very well mean it'll be the Democrats singing the November blues.



Silver/Stock/GettyImagesPlus

Clinton: Trump Wants to "Rip The Heart Out of America"

Hillary Clinton spoke to the worthies of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) on July 13 and received the leftist union's Women's Rights Award.

The former secretary of state delivered a harrowing message: A dark night has descended upon her beloved land, and the only way to stop the evil Trump administration from plunging the nation even further into the abyss is to vote in November.

Joining Clinton at the convention, which appeared to be a battle call for the 2020 campaign, were Senator Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.) and elderly socialist Senator Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.). Clinton's message to the gathering of teachers was, apparently, one of anger and despair, TribLive reported July 13:

"They are trying to rip the heart out of America," she said. "They want to turn us into transactional units, where I get this and you get that and it's like a man-eat-man, woman-eat-woman society. They want to turn us against each other. They want to divide and conquer."

Clinton reminded the teachers why they must vote: "I used to worry that they wanted to turn the clock back to the 1950s; now I worry they want to turn it back to the 1850s.... After the 2016 election, I kept running into people who would burst into tears and often they would say to me, 'I'm so sorry I didn't vote. I didn't think you needed me,'" she said.



Hillary Clinton with AFT president Randi Weingarten

AP Images

The union called Clinton their "hero and champion." "Hillary Clinton is a role model for women in politics, in the workplace and in society as she strives to make our democracy equitable for all people, especially women and girls," the union's website says.

"Keep going. Keep protesting. Keep speaking out for public education. Keep speaking out against gun violence," Clinton told the teachers, some of whom were crying.

As a possible presidential candidate, Clinton sounded one personal note of interest, at least to her opponents: "I'm so exhausted. I can barely stand here." ■

Senator Had a Religious Test for One Supreme Court Candidate

“You have a long history of believing that your religious beliefs should prevail. The dogma lives loudly within you.”

During a previous confirmation hearing when Judge Amy Coney Barrett won acceptance as an appeals court judge, Senator **Dianne Feinstein** (D-Calif.) pointedly challenged the propriety of Judge Barrett because of her religious views. Senator Feinstein ignored the Constitution’s Article VI, which states, “No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.”



Dianne Feinstein

AP Images

Senator Totally Opposed to Cancellation of *Roe v. Wade*

“A candidate for this important position who would overturn *Roe v. Wade* would not be acceptable to me because that would indicate an activist agenda that I don’t want to see a judge have.”

A judge who supports abortion on demand supposedly does not possess an “activist agenda,” according to Senator **Susan Collins** (R-Maine), though nowhere is abortion or healthcare mentioned in the Constitution.

Inflation’s Next Victim Could Be Turkey

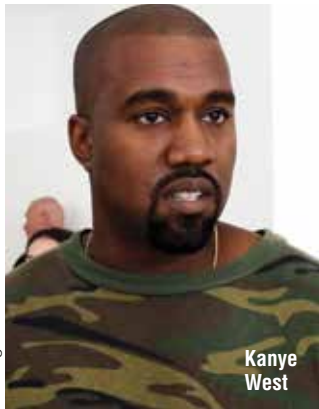
“The Turkish lira is like ice in hot water. The second you take it out [to use it], it starts to melt.”

Recently reelected President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has continued to flood the nation with currency, which amounts to a path toward repudiation of the currency. Shopkeeper **Zaki Uckardes** must pay his rent in foreign currency while he sells his wares for the Turkish lira.

Hip-hop Star Wants Fellow Blacks to Break Free of Democrats

“See, that’s the problem with this nation. All blacks gotta be Democrats. Man, we ain’t made it off the plantation.”

Not afraid to cite historical truth, **Kanye West** even quotes economist Thomas Sowell, who maintains: “Socialism in general has a record of failure so blatant that only an intellectual could ignore or evade it.”



Kanye West

AP Images

Democrat Congressman Fears the Sanders Message

“Bernie is fighting for his principles on what direction the party should go. But we don’t really have anybody doing it on behalf of moderates and other Democrats. It has become a one-sided conversation.”

Wishing his party had a moderating influence to counter Bernie Sanders’ socialism, Representative **Cedric Richmond** (D-La.) sees trouble ahead for the Democratic Party.

Congressman Questions the Character of a Top FBI Official

“I can’t help but wonder when I see you looking there with a little smirk how many times did you look so innocent into your wife’s eyes and lie to her.”

During a congressional hearing examining the possibility that the FBI sought to impede Donald Trump’s run for the presidency, FBI deputy assistant director Peter Strzok was questioned by Representative **Louis Gohmert** (R-Texas), not only about his stated intention to prevent Trump’s possible victory in 2016 but also about his affair with a female FBI agent.

Democrat Urges People to Harass Trump Administration Officials

“[Those who defend Trump] won’t be able to go to a restaurant; they won’t be able to stop at a gas station, they’re not going to be able to shop at a department store. The people are going to turn on them.”

Representative **Maxine Waters** (D-Calif.) also wants President Trump impeached and removed from office. ■

— COMPILED BY JOHN F. MCMANUS



Maxine Waters

AP Images



ELECTING CONSTITUTIONALISTS

With President Trump's efforts to "drain the Swamp" in Washington being stymied by both Republican and Democratic liberals, election support for constitutionalists is necessary.

by Charles Scaliger

It has been said that you cannot change your destination overnight, but you can change your direction overnight. This observation applies to nations at least as much as to individuals, and never more so than with the approach of national elections. No one election and no one candidate can possibly be a cure-all for national ills, any more than the outcome of a single election can necessarily change the destination toward which a country is headed. But elections sometimes do change our national direction, and, if the new momentum conferred by one electoral shake-up is sustained in succeeding elections, our national destiny can be changed — for better or worse.

For many decades, the direction dictated by election after election in the United States was clear: more and more government; higher and higher taxes, debt, and inflation; and weaker and weaker constitutional restraints on the exercise of federal government power. This trend has been very clear since at least the 1930s, and despite the occasional blip — a Reagan presidency, a “Republican revolution” in Congress in 1994 — none of these trends have shown any sign of changing. Today the national debt is higher than ever and the federal government enjoys immense ascendancy over nearly every facet of American life, in raw contrast to what the Founders intended. Thanks to an entrenched, inflationary central bank (the Federal Reserve), America’s money has been stripped of much of its value, the cost of living has risen vertiginously, and debt both public and private threatens to completely overwhelm our society.

In such a secular crisis, politicians who advertise themselves as candidates of change have not been in short supply; yet real change — change pointing to a different long-term outcome — has failed to materialize.

Until 2016. In November of that year, ordinary American voters shocked the world by electing a new type of president, a man who had never held political office or worked in any government post. Although he ran as a Republican, many in his own party, comfortable with America’s direction, worked against him and continue to do so. His efforts to “drain

For many decades, the direction dictated by election after election in the United States was clear: more and more government; higher and higher taxes, debt, and inflation; and weaker and weaker constitutional restraints on the exercise of federal government power.

the Swamp” have been met with the most savage and relentless political attacks ever endured by any American president. And while President Trump’s track record so far is a somewhat mixed bag from a constitutionalist perspective, he has certainly proven friendlier to the Constitution and to limited government than any other president in living memory. His efforts to appoint constitutionalist Supreme Court justices, to completely repeal ObamaCare, to defend our national borders, to stand firm in defense of the Second Amendment, and to massively roll back the unconstitutional “fourth branch of government” — the regulatory regime — are without parallel in modern times. By every indication, President Trump is trying to change the destination by changing the direction.

But he will not succeed without support from Congress. So far, many congressmen, including a significant number from his own party, have resisted any change of direction. With this year’s mid-term congressional elections, whether or not America can

truly change direction for generations to come may well be decided. On the one hand, should significant numbers of pro-Constitution, pro-limited government representatives and senators be elected, our political leadership may truly be able to make America great again, by massively cutting government spending and by revitalizing our Constitution — by draining the swamp, in other words. On the other hand, should significant numbers of Trump’s antagonists be elected, he would, at the very least, be completely stymied and government would continue its reckless expansion and out-of-control borrowing and spending. Moreover, Trump’s foes have made no secret of their intention to impeach him should they attain a congressional majority — for what, they have declined to clarify.

No informed American can fail to be aware of the stakes in the upcoming elections. The destiny of our nation may well depend on the outcome of a handful of significant House and Senate races in which there is a clear-cut choice between a



Matt Rosendale (R)

AP Images



Jon Tester (D)

AP Images

VS.



Eric Brakey (R)



Angus King (I)

VS.

constitutionalist candidate and something very different. Here are thumbnails of a few such critical races that bear scrutiny. The list is restricted to candidates who have already won their primaries and will be on the ballot in the general election. We do not cover any candidates from states — such as Arizona — where primaries have not yet been held, although those states, too, will have pivotal races.

Senate Races

Matt Rosendale (R) vs. Jon Tester (D): Rancher and Montana State Auditor Matt Rosendale is running for the Senate seat held by Montanan Jon Tester, considered by many to be a vulnerable “Red State Democrat” in a state carried by Trump by a 20-percent margin in 2016. Rosendale is a staunch supporter of the Second Amendment, a vociferous opponent of ObamaCare, an unapologetic pro-lifer, and a strong advocate of border security. If the polls are any guide (and they often are not in these tumultuous times), Rosendale is going to have a tough contest, despite support from President Trump that recently included a raucous in-state rally. While his opponent, Jon Tester, is often portrayed by the mainstream media as a

moderate red-state Democrat who does what he has to in conservative Montana, THE NEW AMERICAN’s Freedom Index tells a different story, assigning Tester a cumulative Freedom Index score for the current Congress of 27 percent. Tester may not be in the same leftist big league as extremist ideologues such as Chuck Schumer and Elizabeth Warren, but his voting record establishes him as a Big Government tax-and-spender, a supporter of ObamaCare, and a swamp dweller who seldom, if ever, saw a new government regulation he couldn’t support. While Rosendale is a potential newcomer to Washington for whom campaign talk must always be regarded as cheap until backed by legislative action, there seems to be little doubt that he would be a strong ally of President Trump in his efforts to repeal ObamaCare, protect our borders, and rein in government spending. Few people understand better the malign and deceitful ways of Big Government than our Western ranchers, and a Senator Rosendale would bring that much-needed perspective to the Swamp.

Eric Brakey (R) vs. Angus King (I): The state of Maine is shaping up to be a pivotal battleground in this year’s Senate races, with Brakey vs. King one of

the more intriguing contests anywhere in the country. If elected, Brakey will be a newcomer to Washington, but he is an experienced political operative at the state level, with a crystal-clear set of convictions that ought to stir the hearts of constitutionalists everywhere. In 2012, Brakey chaired Ron Paul’s presidential campaign in Maine and proved an effective organizer after the Maine GOP convention elected a majority of Ron Paul supporters as delegates to the Republican National Convention. This event, called by one local newspaper “the most successful coup in recent Maine political history,” sent shockwaves through the GOP establishment nationwide. In hindsight, this extraordinary episode was one of the major harbingers of the electoral revolt of 2016 — and now Brakey wants to bring his political skills to the U.S. Senate in support of constitutionalism and Ron Paul-esque views on limited government. Brakey has already served four years in the Maine State Senate, and has put together a solid legislative record. It was Brakey who sponsored successful legislation to eliminate the legal requirement for a concealed-carry permit. Brakey has also consistently opposed corporate welfare measures and was the only Maine senator to vote against the creation of the Maine Capital Investment Fund, a program to use taxpayer money to subsidize loans incentivizing out-of-state investment in Maine. He has also worked to eliminate Maine’s business income tax. He opposes civil asset forfeiture laws, and introduced a law (which did not pass) prohibiting state seizure of private assets in criminal cases until a conviction is obtained. Brakey also favors “right to try,” the right of terminally ill patients to try new drugs not yet approved by the FDA; thanks to his successful legislation, “right to try” is now legal in Maine. On foreign policy, Brakey led an effort to include in the GOP national platform a condemnation of the intervention in Libya and of the U.S. policy of deposing Middle Eastern leaders. Brakey is an actor by profession, and has appeared in a number of commercials.

His opponent, Angus King, is an independent, but caucuses with the Democrats. A former Maine governor, Senator King is a master at cultivating a folksy image

Politicians who advertise themselves as candidates of change have not been in short supply; yet real change — change pointing to a different long-term outcome — has failed to materialize.

that plays well in Portland. However, as his 23-percent Freedom Index score discloses, King is among the more liberal members of the Senate. Like his Democratic colleagues whom he professes not to embrace, King opposes the repeal of ObamaCare. He votes consistently for tax increases and government regulation, maintaining nominal independence from the Democratic Party for cosmetic reasons, but being in lockstep with the agenda of the radical Left at every turn.

Other potential constitutionalists and principled conservatives running for the Senate this year include Arizona's Kelli Ward and Mississippi's Chris McDaniel. However, as the Arizona GOP primary does not occur until the end of August (and Ward is running against two other candidates, including "America's Sheriff" Joe Arpaio), and the Mississippi race is a non-partisan special election featuring another Republican, Cindy Hyde-Smith, who was appointed to fill the vacancy left by the sudden resignation of Thad Cochran, and two Democrats, Tobey Bartee and Mike Espy, none of these candidates is profiled here.

House Races

Thomas Massie (R) vs. Seth Hall (D): Massie has represented Kentucky's District 4 since 2012, and has made a name for himself as one of the most reliable constitutional conservatives in the House. Holding both a bachelor's and master's in engineering from MIT, Massie is also a successful entrepreneur, having started with his wife a tech company called SensAble Devices (later SensAble Technologies), a company that secured more

than 20 patents and employed 70 people. Nowadays, Massie runs a cattle farm and lives with his family in a solar-powered house that he designed and built himself. As a legislator, Massie's cumulative Freedom Index score of 97 percent in the current Congress speaks for itself; perhaps more than anyone else in Congress, Massie has staked a legitimate claim to Ron Paul's mantle as "Constitutionalist Conscience of Congress." Like former Congressman Paul, Massie is very popular among his constituents, even if his unwavering commitment to principle does not always endear him to his congressional colleagues. After defeating Democrat William Adkins in 2012, Massie cruised to reelection in 2014 and 2016 by 68- and 71-percent margins, respectively. This year, his challenger, Seth Hall, hopes to blunt Massie's electoral momentum. Hall has a bachelor's degree in marketing from the University of Kentucky and has spent his career in healthcare policy, including stints as national director of 1-800-Medicare with Anthem and vice president of information technology at MedAssist. Not surprisingly, Hall is a strong advocate of both Medicare and ObamaCare, and is also pro-abortion. From his detailed campaign platform, it is evident that Hall is an ardent supporter of every conceivable priority of the Left, from raising the minimum wage to more environmental regulations to amnesty for illegal immigrants. It is doubtful that a starker electoral choice will present itself anywhere in the country this fall than that between Massie and Hall.

Russ Fulcher (R) vs. Cristina McNeil (D): Idaho's District 1 has been reliably

represented since 2011 by Raúl Labrador, another of the House's most reliable constitutionalists and conservatives and a close colleague of Thomas Massie. But Labrador chose not to seek reelection in 2018, and instead ran for the Idaho gubernatorial primary, however, and will be hard to replace in his district. Russ Fulcher, who has been endorsed by Labrador, is bidding fair to fill the former's large shoes. Fulcher, a former Idaho state senator, holds bachelor's in both business administration and electrical engineering, as well as an MBA. He has worked in both real estate and in the tech sector, and has received high praise from Labrador for his business acumen. "I will fight to ensure the government fills its proper Constitutional role!" proclaims Fulcher in his campaign website, and his articulated positions strongly back that promise. Fulcher is strongly pro-gun and pro-life, for example, having received an A+ rating from the NRA and a "Friend for Life" award from Idaho Chooses Life for his respective legislative efforts in these areas during his tenure in the state senate. Fulcher supports border protection. As a businessman, he is particularly concerned about America's disastrous federal debt and spending levels. He pledges to work to reform and cut taxes and regulations, while reining in wasteful spending. He also appreciates strongly the need to restore balance between state and federal power. According to Fulcher:

Currently, about 36% of Idaho's state budget is funded with federal dollars. We have become a subsidiary of the federal government, a funding source



Thomas Massie (R)

AP Images



Seth Hall (D)

Twitter



Russ Fulcher (R)

AP Images



Cristina McNeil (D)

Twitter



that is both broke and broken given its unsustainable borrowing. Our state's dependence on Washington, D.C. must be reduced. That means reducing costly federal mandates and taxes that soak up scarce state resources in compliance. That is the first step we can take to empower Idahoans to provide them with more opportunities to thrive and prosper.

Fulcher's opponent, Cristina McNeil, is a native of Mexico and holds dual citizenship. A single mother and successful real estate broker in Boise, McNeil holds an MBA and runs her own brokerage. Her campaign website's "Issues" page is rather opaque and sparse on details, mentioning only three general issues: infrastructure, education, and "common ground" (i.e., bipartisanship). She advocates more funding for drinking water and road repair in Idaho, as well as increased funding in Idaho for teacher's salaries and other local educational programs. Admirably, McNeil pledges to "seek common ground and build coalitions across party lines and across state borders for the benefit of Idaho and America. I value common ground, common sense solutions and common courtesy." While McNeil appears to lack the rabid leftist dogmatism evident in so many Democratic politicians nowadays, Fulcher is a known quantity with a reliable track record and a string of endorsements from conservative politicians and organizations who know him well.

Michael Cloud (R) vs. Eric Holguin (D): Michael Cloud won a special election in June to fill the House seat in Texas 27th Congressional District left vacant by the resignation of Blake Farenthold. Cloud has enormous shoes to fill, inasmuch as parts of his district were once represented by Ron Paul. Former Congressman Paul has given Cloud a hearty endorsement in his run for reelection this November, and with good cause. Cloud, a small-business owner and graduate of conservative Christian Oral Roberts University, served for seven years as the chairman of the Victoria County Republican Party, in which capacity he oversaw dramatic growth in party numbers and electoral success of GOP candidates — all, he tells us in his campaign website, "without compromising our shared conservative values." Cloud's campaign is solidly constitutionalist in outlook, and he appears not to be deceived by false partisan dichotomies. For example, concerning the national debt, he observes,

The debate between Republicans and Democrats in Congress seems to be over whether it is better to go bankrupt in 10 years or 20 years. Without a serious congressional commitment to responsible spending cuts, our country will remain on a path to fiscal ruin. We need people of courage in Washington if we are going to bring spending under control.

Most of Cloud's position statements are brief and to the point, suggesting a confidence in principle not occluded by rhetoric. Concerning the Second Amendment: "Our Founding Fathers knew that the only defense against tyranny was an armed citizenry. Michael Cloud will protect your right to keep and bear arms." Concerning healthcare: "The federal government has made a wreck of our health insurance system, and Texans are now experiencing skyrocketing premiums with less coverage. Obamacare must be repealed, and health care must be driven by a market-oriented approach that brings down costs and expands access to quality care. We must also ensure taxpayer dollars are not spent on abortion." Concerning our borders: "Our immigration system is in desperate need of reform, beginning with securing the border and upholding the rule of law." Concerning religious liberty: "The Constitution is clear that the free exercise of religion shall not be prohibited. Michael will stand strong against government attempts to discriminate against people of faith." And concerning "family values": "The essential building block of a healthy, productive society is the family. Yet political forces are at work to discriminate against and destroy this sacred institution. We need Representation that recognizes the essential role of the family — and works to enact policies that recognize parental rights, respect marriage and protect life." Such statements, often supported by pithy quotes from the likes of Samuel Adams and George Washington, evince genuine regard for our hallowed Constitution, traditional Judaeo-Christian moral values, and limited government.

His opponent, Eric Holguin, a proud Tejano, has a range of political experience, including a stint working for a U.S. congresswoman and a job working for the comptroller of New York City. His credentials as a liberal Democrat are impeccable; his campaign website is very forthcoming on a range of issues, and Holguin is in complete agreement with the liberal establishment on nearly all of them. For example, on civil rights, he is a strong advocate for greater LGBTQ rights, and favors passing the Equality Act "so that everyone is protected in all



Michael Cloud (R)



Eric Holguin (D)

VS.

AP Images

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REPUBLICAN

VS.

DEMOCRAT



Matt Rosendale

MONTANA



Jon Tester



Eric Brakey

MAINE



Angus King



Thomas Massie

KENTUCKY



Seth Hall



Russ Fulcher

IDAHO



Cristina McNeil



Michael Cloud

TEXAS



Eric Holguin

key areas of their life from housing to employment to credit and public services.” On healthcare, he proclaims confidently that “healthcare is A RIGHT and NOT a privilege.... I believe in a single-payer healthcare system that works for the people.” On jobs, he recommends, among other things, “fight[ing] for equal pay for women by strengthening equal pay laws & eliminat[ing] ‘previous salary’ questions from the hiring process.” Just where the federal government might derive the constitutional authority to impose such strictures he does not make clear. In fairness, Holguin is also a staunch opponent of the TPP and favors renegotiating NAFTA “to better serve Americans.”

In these and many other House races that space will not permit us to cover (including some, such as constitutionalist Justin Amash’s district in Michigan, where primaries have yet to be conducted), the direction and perhaps the destination of America will be determined in this year’s elections. It is important to emphasize that this is not a partisan issue. Indeed, many conservative Ameri-

cans are as dissatisfied with the establishmentarian leadership of GOP House Speaker Paul Ryan and GOP Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell as they are with liberal Democrats. The issue is not Republicans versus Democrats — although, in recent years, it cannot be denied that, to the extent that constitutionalists and conservatives have any home in Washington, they have found it in the GOP. Indeed, the GOP is now riven by a struggle for ascendancy between elements of the old GOP establishment and an emerging populist, Americanist, and constitutionalist wing.

But the great sticking point is always fealty to the constitutional oath of office, which many Republicans are as culpable as Democrats of violating on a regular basis. At the moment, the politics of the Democratic Party are rigged to exclude outright any candidate whose views violate the orthodoxy

of the radical Left, but that has not always been so and may change in the future (see accompanying article).

Regardless, adherence to the Constitution is the major metric used in the Freedom Index, and in that, a great majority of Washington politicians from both parties are deficient. This will change only as the electorate becomes more informed — which it shows every evidence of becoming.

There is no lack of outstanding constitutionalist, Americanist, and anti-Big Government candidates in this year’s field; all that remains is to send as many of them to Washington as possible, and hope that they, along with President Trump, can right the course of the ship of state. ■



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DONE WITH CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRATS

Once upon a time in the Democratic Party, there were conservative Democrats — politicians and voters who cared about the country and its inhabitants as well as about right and wrong.



AP Images

by Charles Scaliger

What did Congressman Larry McDonald have in common with writers John T. Flynn and Albert J. Nock? For one thing, all three were prominent 20th-century opponents of Big Government. John T. Flynn's *As We Go Marching* and Albert J. Nock's *Our Enemy, the State* were two of the last century's most important critiques of government power, while the Americanist conservative Georgia congressman was, until his untimely death in 1983, the president of The John Birch Society.

For another thing, all three men were Democrats.

From targets to perps: Once targeted by radical leftists such as these rioters swarming over a statue of a Civil War general in Chicago's Grant Park during the 1968 Democratic National Convention, many modern Democrats have become supporters of, and even participants in, the mob violence perpetrated by the radical Left since the election of Donald Trump.

Hard as it may be to believe in the Trump era, there was a time in the not-too-distant past where "conservatives" — including some very principled constitutionalists, paleo-conservatives, and the like — were lodged firmly in the Democratic Party, and were just as vexing to that party's establishment leadership as today's Liberty Caucus is to the GOP House leadership.

Even among many Democrats with more Big-Government, welfarist inclinations, it was once not uncommon to find influential politicians who were strongly pro-life (former Pennsylvania governor Bob Casey comes to mind) or pro-gun.

But something has happened to the Democratic Party, something whose roots lie decades in the past, but which has come to fruition over the past 30 years or so. That something is the movement of the Democratic Party far to the left, such that it has come to view what were once partisan squabbles with Republicans as an ideological death struggle with a foe that it has come to regard as its mortal enemy: the so-called Right.

Since the time of the Great Depression, the Democratic Party has been the party of Big Government, although in FDR's time, a number of conservative Democrats, mostly though not exclusively from the South, such as Harry F. Byrd, Rush D. Holt, and Josiah Bailey, formed a coalition in opposition to the welfarist programs of the New Deal. At the same time, some conservative journalists and writers, such as the aforementioned Flynn and Nock, lent credence to the "big tent" appearance of the Democratic Party. This Democratic "Big Tent" continued all the way into the Reagan era, when the "boll weevil" Democrats — also from the South — made political careers out of supporting Reagan's policies against the wishes of the liberal-leftist Democratic establishment, mostly made up of East and West Coast liberal elites.

Because it was Democratic presidents who embroiled the United States in the Vietnam War, the emerging radical Left of the '60s initially targeted the Democratic Party, famously turning Chicago upside-down with rioting during the Democrats' 1968 presidential election.

But after the upheavals of the '60s and early '70s had run their course, the radical leftists who had inspired them began to see the Democratic Party as their more natural home. It was, after all, the party of labor unions and welfare programs such as the New Deal and the Great Society. Unions and welfarism were two of the most

Because it was Democratic presidents who embroiled the United States in the Vietnam War, the emerging radical Left of the '60s initially targeted the Democratic Party.

important concerns of the radical Left; there remained only to recondition the party to support radical social views as well.

Already in the 1970s, the Democratic Party had welcomed homosexual activists such as Harvey Milk in the San Francisco Bay area. Milk became the first openly “gay” elected official in the United States, with the support of many in the local Democratic establishment, including a young Dianne Feinstein. Unbeknownst to millions of blue-collar unionists in the factories of the Midwest and the coal mines of Appalachia, their Democratic Party was beginning to come under the control of a rising generation of cunning leftist radicals, whose Saul Alinsky-inspired vision of America’s future contemplated the complete overthrow of traditional moral values.

The antagonism of the radical Left for religion and traditional morality is perhaps the least-understood aspect of “progressivism,” and it dates to the very beginning of the modern socialist movement. Socialism, after all, seeks to become the sole mechanism for social order, supplanting not only all other forms of government,

but also other social structures competing for men’s allegiance, chief among them family and religion. Thus all early forms of socialism sought to subvert religion and traditional morality in one form or another. Strict Marxists tried to eradicate family and church by force, while many early socialist communes in the United States and Europe in the first half of the 19th century practiced what now might be called “free love” and sought to eliminate traditional family ties. Contrary to popular views, socialism has never been purely, or even primarily, about economics. It has always been first and foremost about breaking down traditional morality and transforming itself into a veritable secular religion. This is why the Left seems so peculiarly fixated on social issues such as birth control, abortion, education reform, and same-sex “marriage.”

As the '70s gave way to the '80s and '90s, the young radicals of the '60s and '70s, including the Clintons and many of their generation, found their natural political habitat in the party that had already embraced economic socialism wholeheartedly.

As the remaking of the Democratic Party proceeded apace, conservative Democrats who died off or retired were permitted no successors. For the gimlet-eyed radicals who took over the party machinery, policy disputes were less about budgetary matters and more and more about the very moral makeup of American society. Every single issue became a life-and-death struggle for the very soul of America, because the socialist program brooks no competitors in its quest to overturn every aspect of Judaeo-Christian morality.

This is the reason that radical leftist Democrats have, starting with Robert Bork and Clarence Thomas, transformed Supreme Court justice confirmation hearings into sordid spectacles of partisanship. Of particular concern are always the candidate’s views on certain linchpin moral issues, such as abortion, that are sacrosanct to socialists.

This transformation of the Democratic Party was greatly accelerated during the Obama presidency, when Barack Obama, a leftist radical from the Alinskyan tradition, took the reins of the presidency and proceeded to guide America very close to socialist nirvana, enacting several major planks of the socialist program, including socialized medicine and same-sex “marriage.”

This is the reason for the savage, even violent, opposition to President Trump, his agenda, and Republicans generally. For modern Democrats-turned socialist radicals, any who represent a potential change back to what used to be called “traditional family values” and all that those values embody, are not merely political opponents; they are bitter enemies who threaten to undo the work of decades of leftist subversion.

This, unfortunately, is the state of the Democratic Party in 2018. Most of its leadership are invested in a radical, secular, post-Christian vision of America that they have come tantalizingly close to achieving (indeed, with the election of Hillary Clinton and a Democratic majority in Congress, they probably would have achieved). And suddenly, thanks to Trump and the Make America Great Again campaign, their decades-long climb to sociopolitical ascendancy is threatened. It remains to be seen how this struggle for America’s very soul will be played out. ■



Radical legislation: The signing of ObamaCare into law was a watershed event in the history of leftist subversion. It created for the first time full federal government control over healthcare, a major plank of the radical Left for generations. It was supported primarily by Democrats.



AP Images

THE RUSSIAN CHURCH as Putin's Weapon of Influence

In the aftermath of the communist revolution in Russia in 1917, the Russian Orthodox Church made a deal to survive communist rule: push propaganda. It's still a party organ.

by *Tatiana Christy*

From the Middle Ages to the Bolshevik Revolution, the Russian Orthodox Church served the country's monarchs, playing an active role in state governance. Today the situation is little different, although Russia is a secular state, according to its constitution. The church in Russia got resurrected after it was all but destroyed by the communist revolution of 1917 and the subsequent years of totalitarian rule. Now religion has become relevant once again, and after the fall of the communist regimes all across Europe in 1989, it has been rehabilitated. Religious faith has begun to matter, and the religious institutions have been given an important status in the post-totalitarian societies.

However, the newly reborn religious freedoms in Russia came with the legacy of the KGB. After 1917, the whole church was brutally repressed and purged. It was portrayed as evil — a symbol of capitalism, imperialism, and the “opium of the

people,” according to the Marxist ideology. The church as an institution was nearly annihilated by the Bolsheviks. They, however, had too many battles to fight at the time, and could not focus their full attention on the church and its followers. Also they realized they could not expect people to become devout atheists overnight. Generations were needed to eliminate faith and religious beliefs, which were deeply rooted in the Russian psyche prior to the revolution.

Instead, the Bolsheviks offered the Russian Orthodox Church a choice to collaborate with the regime, which in return would ensure its survival, despite the fact that the Bolsheviks did not recognize it. “You had to reach certain compromises, especially, if you wanted to move up in the Russian church hierarchy,” says Yuri Felshtinsky, a U.S.-based Russian author who specializes in intelligence issues. The communists used the church as a KGB tool for spying and reporting on people. “After seeing three-quarters of its monks and priests purged after the Revolution,

Authoritarian ruler or Christian

conservative? Many conservatives in the West believe Vladimir Putin is now a Christian, but the evidence of his conversion is less than convincing.

the church needed little prompting from the KGB to serve it. For the church, there was indeed no alternative. They had to be friendly with the KGB,” says former KGB officer Oleg Gordievsky.

Former *Reader's Digest* senior editor John Barron, in his 1974 book *KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents*, noted that by 1939 the Russian Orthodox Church had virtually disappeared in the Soviet Union. “However,” Barron wrote, “in the extremity of war Stalin recognized that the church could help rally the people to the defense of Mother Russia. On September 4, 1943, he received the three ranking Russian Orthodox leaders in a private audience and consummated with them a deal that has governed church-state relations ever since.” The deal? The communist state would allow the church to survive in return for the church's unwavering political support.

Barron, who was a former U.S. Navy intelligence officer and Russia specialist, wrote: “To control the churches and guarantee they kept their bargain, the Party established the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Council for the Affairs of Religious Sects, responsible for all other denominations.” These councils were reorganized in 1966 and placed under the direction of G.G. Karpov, who had been a general in the NKVD (forerunner of the KGB). “Ever since, the regulatory councils have been dominated by the KGB,” Barron noted. “Whenever it wants the council to order the church to do something, it can count on an obliging response.”

For more than 70 years, the Russian Orthodox Church was in the grip of the communists. In fact, it became a massive tool for spying, and high clergy were awarded high ranks in the KGB hierarchy. Such priests were often sent abroad under the cover of their cassocks to attend religious events. In reality, they were used mainly for spying. What did they do? What one would expect Soviet spies to do: They



Patriarch, or KGB plutocrat? Patriarch Kirill, the immensely wealthy Putin pal, heads the Russian Orthodox Church, which has been an arm of the NKVD-KGB-FSB since the days of communist leaders Lenin and Stalin.

gathered information, recruited, and projected the Kremlin's propaganda line. One of the tricks of the KGB was to invite potential recruits selected by the clergy to come to Russia for a briefing. The clergy were an important part of the KGB's oppressive apparatus.

In 1992, with the opening of some of the KGB archives by the Russian Parliamentary Commission on the Work of the KGB, it became clear that practically all Russian dioceses were connected to the KGB. Thanks to these archives, the public was informed that today's Russian patriarch — Kirill Gundyayev — was a KGB agent with the rank of general, who operated under the spy name "Mihaylov." According to the same sources, the patriarch before him — Alexei, now deceased — was also a KGB operative. Although there are no official KGB dossiers on the work of the Orthodox clergy, the commission easily determined which agent code names represent which priests, connecting biographic details and foreign travels of the agents with KGB aliases to the professional resumés and bios of acting priests.

Russian investigative journalist and radio host Yevgenia Albats is one of the few who has had access to the KGB archives. In her book *State Within a State: The KGB and Its Hold on Russia — Past, Present, and Future*, Albats quoted Konstantin Kharchev, the former chairman of

the Soviet Council on Religious Affairs, as stating: "Not a single candidate for the office of bishop or any other high-ranking office, much less a member of Holy Synod, went through without confirmation by the Central Committee of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] and the KGB." The post-Soviet KGB was renamed and split into the FSB, which is the domestic secret police, and the SVR, which is in charge of foreign espionage and active measures.

Thus, the problem with today's Russian clergy (and that of the other post-communist states) is that most of today's leaders have been literally made and trained by the KGB, and continue to be directed by its successors. The church, as an institution, has never had the opportunity to reform itself so that it serves society rather than the people in power. All of that comes in very handy to authoritarian leaders such as Putin, who sees in the church yet another tool to serve his regime. In fact, during Putin's stay in power, the church has been integrated into the government far more profoundly than during the Soviet era. In order to create an image of himself as a "true democrat" who allows spiritual freedoms and religious expressions, Putin turned the church into a huge propaganda machine that uses religion to exploit patriotism, to promote Russian "greatness and exclusivity," to justify Russian territorial

expansions, to batter government critics, and to propagandize against the "horrible influence of the West."

The church is also used to spread Russian foreign policy through priests as emissaries to foreign countries — where they are used as diplomats, negotiators, or extortionists, twisting arms on issues that concern Russia. Putin often uses Patriarch Kirill Gundyayev to project influence outside Russia. For example, in a recent visit to Bulgaria, Gundyayev was openly insolent to the Bulgarian president, Rumen Radev, blaming Bulgaria for not being "thankful enough" to Russia for liberating it from the rule of the Ottoman empire in late 19th century. The patriarch's outburst came after a traditional ceremony where Bulgarians acknowledge the fallen heroes from all nationalities that fought in the Russian-Turkish war 1877-1878. Not surprisingly, in view of the current Russian-Ukrainian tensions, Russia was unappreciative of praise for Ukrainian soldiers who fought alongside Russian soldiers against the Turks. This illustrates how Putin's government is ready to go back centuries to try to find reasons to impose its dominance, regardless of the relevancy to present realities.

To be religious in Russia has become an inseparable part of supporting government policies. Although it was clear that Russians couldn't become atheists overnight after 1917, a reverse miracle happened after 1989: Politicians and the newly rich business elite (all connected to the previous communist *nomenclatura*) miraculously became religious with the snap of a finger. Those were the same people who propagated atheism, who repressed churchgoers, and who forbade young people to attend church services. It was the same people who wrote schoolbooks defaming religion. It was impossible, before 1989, to be officially religious in Russia and have a career — you could not become a party member, study at a university, or be a part of the Komsomol (the Communist Youth Organization). Openly devout Christians were fired from their jobs and ridiculed. Incredibly, after the wall came down, the same people who were saying that religion is a retrograde anachronism literally became the most devoted believers overnight! They understood that religion was needed to legitimize their power in the context of "new democratic values."

“It is absolutely ridiculous to even suggest that these people have anything to do with religion,” says Irina Ivanova, a Russian historian and theology scholar who lives in the United States. “These people haven’t read the Bible, they never attended church services, they do not know Christian holidays and customs, apart from Christmas and Easter. They can’t have Christ in their heart! They even don’t know how to cross themselves in a church — many confuse the Orthodox way of crossing: Instead of touching the right shoulder first, they touch the left, like the Catholics do,” says Ivanova.

Even Putin himself recently crossed himself like a Catholic in an improvised baptism in freezing water — at one of his regular shirtless photo ops. And many people showed their outrage at the staged spectacle. “What kind of an Orthodox Christian are you, when you don’t even know how to cross yourself?” critics were saying. But for Russian politicians and business elite, it has become very fashionable to parade their religiosity and churchgoing by diligently documenting it with photo selfies and posting them on social media. Showing “religiousness” gives these people bragging rights to be seen as “righteous.”

However, such behavior has turned many people away from the church. To a great number of Russians, the church never became a true spiritual refuge. It is considered more as a business corporation, glued to the government, which serves people in power. “The church is viewed as part of the government and to many it lacks its appeal and spiritual guidance,” says Aleksei Makarin, a Russian political analyst.

According to journalist Ksenya Kirilova, the Russian Orthodox Church is part of the political process and a government instrument. It plays a supporting role to the regime.

Numbers show that since Putin took power in 1999, the percentage of people who consider themselves religious and Christian Orthodox rose dramatically. The Pew Research Center reported that in 1991 only 38 percent of Russians claimed to believe in God. The most recent surveys by Pew show that in 2015, 71 percent of the population of Russia declared itself Eastern Orthodox. Some speculate

that people in the surveys say they are religious only because the government wants them to be, and that the actual number of atheists has not changed much since the fall of communism. This is supported by the Russian Center for Public Opinion Research (an independent research center with which the official church disagrees), which says that no more than five percent of Russians regularly go to church and attend services. According to the center, most Russians, if they go to church at all, do it no more than two times per year — for Christmas and Easter services. This would seem to indicate that the attachment to religion in Russia is not strong. Also, the Russian Orthodox Church is not particularly known for conducting humanitarian activities, such as helping the poor, running hospitals and shelters, giving money to education, or supporting charitable causes that are not directly connected to the government.

The church in Russia is a megaphone for Putin’s domestic and foreign policy, backing him openly in all elections. Thanks to the church, Putin is being portrayed almost as a deity with superhuman powers, a savior of Russia and the world.

Russian priests across the country take

part in the political discourse and enjoy enormous media attention. There are many videos on social media with Russian priests threatening the West, and the United States in particular, with war and annihilation. Recently, a very disturbing video surfaced on YouTube in which Russian military personnel train priests, dressed in religious attire, how to use different military weapons in modern combat. They are shown firing not only handguns and rifles, but also large anti-tank weapons. This is not simply “a day at the gun range” that one can readily experience at private ranges here in the United States. This is an official training session by military instructors of Putin’s KGB-FSB state. It is clear also that this is not a single session of training because the military instructor says (in Russian) at the beginning, “Today we are going to learn how to use...,” which implies that such trainings are regular and routine.

The Christian Orthodox nations in Europe — Ukraine, Romania, Serbia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Belarus — are especially important to Russia since they are all part of Russia’s former sphere of influence. Ukraine and especially the Balkans are the Russian church’s targets to prolifer-

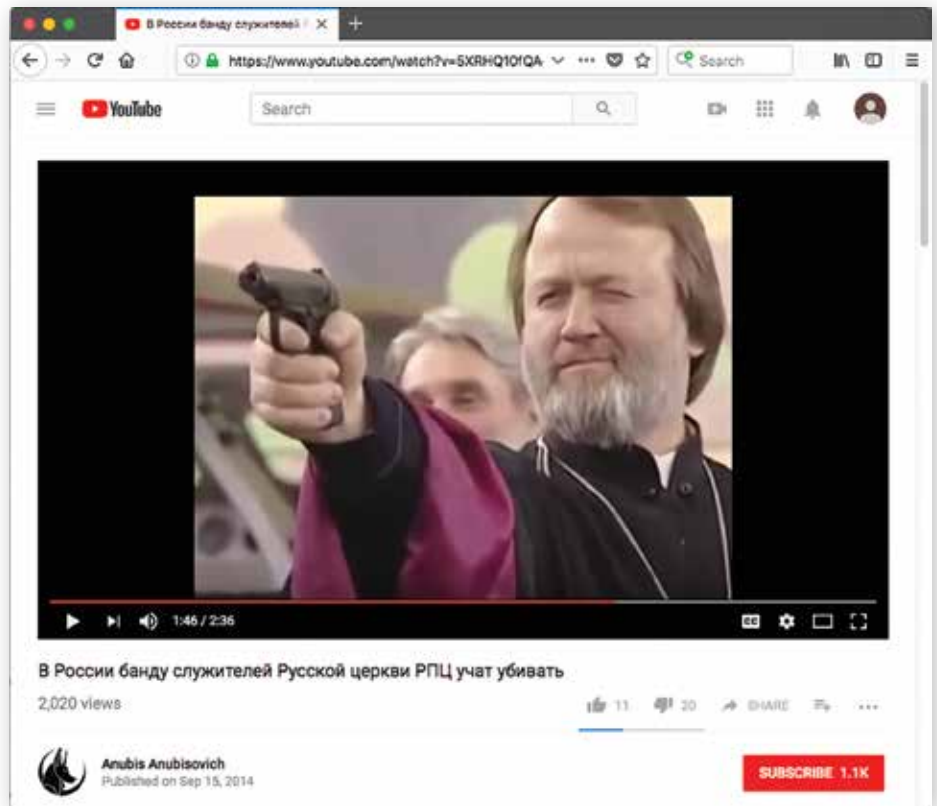


Saint Vladimir? Putin’s propagandists market him and project him as the savior of Russia, placing him in religious iconography and photographing him in church ceremonies.

ate Russian policies under the pretext of “brotherly love” and “common Slavic and religious heritage.” In Serbia, the Russian church focuses on the sacralization of Serbian nationalism, constantly referring to NATO as a destroyer of its “Orthodox shrines.” The church also plays the role of an antagonist among surrounding nations. It follows the Russian doctrine of divide and conquer — putting a wedge between nations, stirring up ethnic, nationalist, and religious rivalries — between ethnic Albanians in Macedonia, Serbia, and Montenegro and Christians there, opposing vehemently any closer relationship of these countries’ governments with the EU and NATO. Russia wants to keep these regions under its influence and uses the Orthodox Christianity card as a bargaining chip. It also antagonizes Serbs and Croats (who are Catholic and therefore hostile to the Orthodox religious doctrine). It antagonizes Macedonians and Bulgarians because Russia does not want Macedonia to become a part of the EU. In his recent visit to Macedonia, Putin said on purpose that the Cyrillic alphabet comes from Macedonia, whereas historically it originated from Bulgaria. This may seem like a small matter to outsiders, but it was clearly calculated by Putin to stir up longstanding ethnic, linguistic, nationalistic, and territorial divisions between the Macedonian and Bulgarian populations within the region, a tactic the communists have used effectively not only in the Balkans but throughout the world.

The case of the Balkan country of Bulgaria is especially interesting because it is the country in the European Union that has the strongest pro-Russian lobby, controlled directly by Russia through business corporations, blackmail, and Russia-sponsored politicians and media. When the Russian patriarch visited this country in March of this year, he ordered the Bulgarian government (through Russian

For more than 70 years, the Russian Orthodox Church was in the grip of the communists. In fact, it became a massive tool for spying, and high clergy were awarded high ranks in the KGB hierarchy.



Ministers of the state: This screenshot from a Russian video shows a Russian Orthodox priest being given handgun training by Putin’s agents. The video also shows priests training with rifles and large anti-tank weapons.

security services) to monitor and harass citizens who wrote posts on Facebook disapproving of his visit and Russian policy in general. Scores of people were visited by the police and issued warnings for expressing their disdain for the patriarch. Especially harassed were Bulgarian priests who disagree with the Russian church and its propaganda.

Other emissaries of the Orthodox Church and Putin are the government-sponsored bikers calling themselves “Putin’s Wolves.” They crusade every year across Europe, on the pretext of celebrating “Slavic cultures, history, religion, and victory over Nazi Germany.” In reality, this group is nothing more than a tacky, noisy nuisance, dressed in black leather

jackets, decorated with crosses and religious symbols, and waving Russian flags. This is why some European countries refuse these “wolves” an entry and turn them back. Others that are more vulnerable to Russia put up with them every year.

An interesting fact about the Russian patriarch is that despite his appeals to the nation to live a life of piety and humility, he himself is not an example of religious righteousness. Patriarch Kirill leads the lavish lifestyle of a billionaire, possessing mansions, palaces, expensive yachts, and cars; and he has a longtime lover, a woman he never married. This former KGB agent emulates the lifestyle of the richest aristocracy and makes no effort to hide it. Not long ago there was a huge scandal involving the patriarch wearing a Breguet watch that cost more than \$30,000. These high-end Swiss luxury watches are symbols of European aristocracy — worn by Marie Antoinette, Czar Alexander I, and others. Although at first the patriarch denied that he knew that this was an expensive watch and claimed that it was a “present,” this story

made international news and was a huge embarrassment to the Russian church and government.

In reality, Patriarch Kirill Gundyayev is mostly a businessman, known by the nickname "The Tobacco King," who earned his first several hundred millions in the '90s importing tobacco from Switzerland under the cover of "humanitarian help" and not paying import taxes as a member of the church. Then he was just a metropolitan bishop. But he reached the status of a billionaire when he started exporting petrol in 1997. Among his business enterprises are stakes in the automobile industry, in the production and export of expensive seafood such as caviar, in the banking industry, and in other areas. He seems to be an omnipresent businessman in Russia, but his multiple business dealings would never have been possible without the protection of government throughout the years.

However, officially Patriarch Kirill Gundyayev does not own much. His real-estate portfolio boils down to one apartment in Moscow. The church in Russia is

under information curfew, and everything about it is classified. Because of this lack of transparency, it is very hard to find out what exactly Gundyayev owns, but thanks to independent investigative journalists and bloggers in Russia, his wealth (or some of it) is being exposed by the media.

The Russian church, as an extension of Putin's government, impacts Americans in many ways, but one that is rarely mentioned is the importance of Moscow's dominion over the Russian Orthodox Church here in America. KGB defector Konstantin Preobrazhensky has been warning about this for more than a decade. "On May 17, 2007, Russia has gained a historical victory over America," he wrote in his blog in September 2007. "It has opened its province here, which is called the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Of Russia (ROCOR). On this day it has recognized Moscow's superiority over itself by signing an Act of Canonical Community with the Moscow Patriarchate (MP). But in Russia, the Church and state are separated only on paper. In fact, the Moscow Patriarchate

(MP) is controlled by the Russian neo-KGB state and has always been the pawn of the Russian intelligence."

Preobrazhensky, a former lieutenant colonel in the KGB, operating mostly in Japan, China, and Korea, was granted political asylum in the United States in 2006. He writes: "Though a part of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Of Russia (ROCOR) has refused to come under Moscow's rule and retained independence, many thousands of Russian Americans and their children are now nourished in the spirit of loyalty to authoritarian Russia, which is becoming hostile to America day-by-day. Government-backed priests with Russian passports are replacing local clergy. Their churches have become insidious fronts for Russian state interests no matter how our relations evolve in the future."

Today's Russian church hierarchy is more of a business enterprise and propaganda organ tied to the government than a spiritual center. Putin needs the church to sanctify his power, and so far he is succeeding. ■

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The Freedom Index

A Congressional Scorecard Based on the U.S. Constitution

Our third look at the 115th Congress shows how every member of the House and Senate voted on key issues such as the \$1.3 trillion omnibus spending bill, warrantless surveillance, raw milk (House), and illegal immigration (Senate).

House Vote Descriptions

21 Warrantless Surveillance. During consideration of the bill (S. 139) reauthorizing the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), Representative Justin Amash (R-Mich.) introduced an amendment to end NSA collection of communications data that is neither to nor from an approved foreign target, but rather communications “about” a foreign target entirely between American citizens. It would prohibit the FBI and intelligence agencies from searching the NSA database for information on U.S. citizens without first obtaining a warrant, except in certain circumstances. The amendment would also end “reverse targeting,” in which an American citizen communicating with a foreign target is also subject to surveillance.

The House rejected Amash’s amendment on January 11, 2018 by a vote of 183 to 233 (Roll Call 14). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because this amendment



Hear all, see all: The NSA Data Center in Bluffdale, Utah, stores on its supercomputers massive amounts of information secretly collected from e-mails and phone calls.

is an attempt to limit NSA surveillance of U.S. citizens. Warrantless surveillance of U.S. citizens is unconstitutional, and NSA surveillance certainly falls under this category. Amash’s amendment would require the FBI to obtain a warrant, rather than merely FISA Court approval, in order to access the NSA’s database.

22 Warrantless Surveillance. This bill (S. 139) would reauthorize for six years, through 2023, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), which governs electronic surveillance of foreign terrorism suspects. The bill would require the development of procedures for searching the NSA database that would protect

About This Index

“The Freedom Index: A Congressional Scorecard Based on the U.S. Constitution” rates congressmen based on their adherence to constitutional principles of limited government, fiscal responsibility, national sovereignty, and a traditional foreign policy of avoiding foreign entanglements. To learn how any representative or senator voted on the key measures described herein, look him or her up in the vote charts.

The scores are derived by dividing a congressman’s constitutional votes (pluses) by the total number he cast (pluses and minuses) and multiplying by 100. The average House score for this index (votes 21-30) is 36 percent, and the average Senate

score is 46 percent. Three representatives and one senator scored 100 percent. We encourage readers to examine how their own congressmen voted on each of the 10 key measures. We also encourage readers to commend legislators for their constitutional votes and to urge improvement where needed.

This is our third index for the 115th Congress. Our first index (votes 1-10) for the current Congress appeared in our August 7, 2017 issue, and our second index (votes 11-20) appeared in our February 19, 2018 issue. An online version of the “Freedom Index” is also available (click on “Freedom Index” at TheNewAmerican.com). ■

the Fourth Amendment-guaranteed rights of U.S. citizens, while allowing the FBI to access information with an order from the secret FISA Court, in certain cases.

The House passed S. 139 on January 11, 2018 by a vote of 256 to 164 (Roll Call 16). We have assigned pluses to the nays because FISA, while supposedly put in place to gather intelligence on foreign targets, has been used to spy on U.S. citizens. While the bill does provide provisions to, ostensibly, protect the privacy of U.S. citizens, given the track record of intelligence agencies, it is unlikely that they would actually follow these rules. The FISA Court gives a green light to just about any surveillance request that comes its way, and FISA-approved NSA warrantless surveillance of American citizens has become common knowledge.

23 World Bank. The World Bank Accountability Act (H.R. 3326) would authorize \$3.29 billion in U.S. contributions to the World Bank's International Development Association, which discharges concessional loans known as "credits" and economic grants to the world's poorest and most underdeveloped countries.

The House passed H.R. 3326 on January 17, 2018 by a vote of 237 to 184 (Roll Call 24). We have assigned pluses to the nays because authorizing such funds to the WTO's IDA is foreign aid, which is a form of international welfare and completely unconstitutional, and most World Bank "aid" further enriches plutocrats in Third World countries, at the expense of the poor.

24 School Violence. The STOP School Violence Act of 2018 (H.R. 4909) would authorize \$75 million a year through fiscal year 2028 for the Justice Department's Secure Our Schools grant program. SOS is a grant program of the Justice Department's Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, which has been instrumental in laying the foundations for nationalizing local police by providing federal "assistance" in the form of funds, equipment, training, and development of guidelines to local law-enforcement agencies.

In a podcast interview with *Conservative Review*, Representative Thomas Massie (R-Ky.) said the "STOP School Violence Act was bad enough for nationalizing defense of our schools," but he further revealed,

"There is money in that bill that is going to go to gun control groups. It literally says in there you can give it to the 501-C3s, and then it also says in there it can't go to train anybody on gun safety. It's got to go for all the liberal sort of agendas."

The House passed H.R. 4909 on March 14, 2018 by a vote of 407 to 10 (Roll Call 106). We have assigned pluses to the nays because school safety is not a proper function of the federal government, and no action the federal government has ever taken would actually make schools safe. School safety should be addressed at the local level. Furthermore, the nationalizing of local police and school security, as well as any other gun-control measures contained in the bill, are all strictly unconstitutional.

25 Omnibus Appropriations. This bill (H.R. 1625) would provide \$1.3 trillion in discretionary appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2018 for federal government operations and services. This represents an overall increase in discretionary spending of 12 percent over the 2017 level. The big winner was the Department of Defense, with an increase of 10 percent over last year's appropriations. Democrat nego-

tiators on this bill successfully fought off many Republican riders, such as a rider that would have permitted the Trump administration to withdraw the Waters of the United States (WOTUS) rule. Pro-life Republicans were saddened to learn that the omnibus bill continues the more than \$500 million in taxpayer dollars Planned Parenthood receives each year.

The House passed the omnibus spending bill on March 22, 2018 by a vote of 256 to 167 (Roll Call 127). We have assigned pluses to the nays because with this omnibus bill, members of Congress are failing to address their fiscally and constitutionally irresponsible budgeting and appropriating process that is currently yielding annual federal deficits measured in the hundreds of billions of dollars, as well as minimizing their accountability to the voters by combining all discretionary federal spending for fiscal 2018 into one gigantic "take it or leave it" bill.

26 Agricultural Crop Subsidies. During consideration of the farm bill (H.R. 2), Representative Tom McClintock (R-Calif.) introduced an amendment that would have phased out agricultural crop subsidies by fiscal year 2030.



AP Images

Pay now or pay later: Crop subsidies may reduce prices at grocery stores — but they inflate the tax bill. An attempt to phase out the subsidies was overwhelmingly defeated in the House.

The House rejected McClintock's amendment on May 17, 2018 by a vote of 34 to 380 (Roll Call 194). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because no warrant for the appropriation of crop subsidies is found in the Constitution, and subsidies disrupt the free market economy.

27 Raw Milk. During consideration of the farm bill (H.R. 2), Representative Thomas Massie (R-Ky.) introduced an amendment to prohibit federal interference in the interstate transportation of unpasteurized milk and milk products between states that allow for the distribution of such products for direct human consumption.

The House rejected Massie's amendment on May 18, 2018 by a vote of 79 to 331 (Roll Call 201). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the U.S. Constitution does not give the federal government any authority over what foods a person chooses to consume. In other words, it is illegal for the federal government to make raw milk illegal. While the federal government does have authority to "regulate Commerce ... among the several States," there is no reason for federal interference in a scenario such as this, where a product is legally sold in each of the states in question. Massie's amendment would have limited federal overreach and should have been supported.

28 Waters of the United States. During consideration of the farm bill (H.R. 2), Representative Jim Banks (R-Ind.) introduced an amendment to repeal the Environmental Protection Agency's 2015 "Waters of the United States" rule. On the floor of the House, Banks called this rule "the poster child of government overreach during the Obama administration," noting that it gives "unelected bureaucrats at the EPA the power to broadly interpret what is a navigable waterway" under the Clean Water Act — so broadly that "even a puddle in a farm's drainage ditch could be subjected to Federal regulation."

The House adopted Banks' amendment on May 18, 2018 by a vote of 238 to 173 (Roll Call 203). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because both federal water regulations and the EPA are unconstitutional, and if the rule were allowed to stand, activities such as farming and real



AP Images

What's wrong with raw milk? Federal intervention against its sale suggests there's plenty wrong, but proponents say it's healthier than pasteurized milk. Shouldn't consumers be able to decide which milk to buy?

estate development would be greatly hampered, since farmers and developers would be subject to increased unconstitutional permit requirements and fines concerning their treatment of almost any body of water, no matter how small.

29 Experimental Drugs. This bill (S. 204) would allow patients with life-threatening diseases or conditions who are not participating in clinical trials to seek access to experimental and investigational drugs directly from a drug manufacturer, without approval by the Food and Drug Administration. It would require that in order for the patient to be eligible, the patient must first try all approved treatment options and be unable to participate in a clinical trial. Only drugs that have completed phase 1 clinical trials, that have not been approved or licensed for any use, and that are currently under an active FDA application or are undergoing clinical trials would be eligible for use under the bill's provisions.

The House passed S. 204 on May 22, 2018 by a vote of 250 to 169 (Roll Call 214). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the federal government, under the Constitution, has not been given authority over what medical procedures U.S. citizens choose to engage in. If a person wants to try an "unapproved" treatment, he should be

able to do so with no interference from the government. In fact, since the Constitution gives the federal government no authority whatsoever over any aspect of healthcare, the FDA should not even exist. Any law that lessens government overreach into the personal medical decisions of citizens is a step in the right direction.

30 Appropriations Cuts. This bill (H.R. 3) would cut nearly \$15 billion from previously approved, unspent spending, including \$7 billion from the Children's Health Insurance Program and \$4.3 billion from the Department of Energy's Advanced Technology Vehicles Manufacturing Loan Program.

The House passed H.R. 3 on June 7, 2018 by a vote of 210 to 206 (Roll Call 243). We have assigned pluses to the yeas not only because the spending falls outside the scope of constitutionally authorized federal powers, but also because the federal government needs to start reining in ballooning federal spending (and debt) somewhere in order to avert fiscal disaster. The cuts in this bill comprise only a fraction of one percent of total federal spending, and according to the Congressional Budget Office, most of the funding targeted by the bill would not be spent anyway. Yet modest cuts are better than none at all. ■

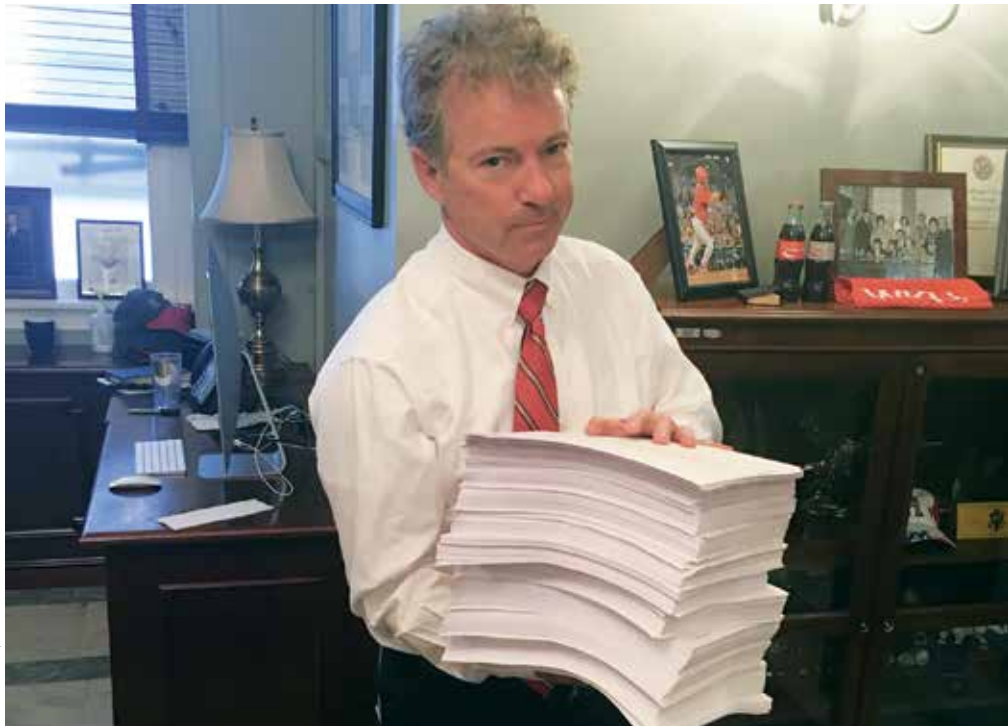
Senate Vote Descriptions

21 Warrantless Surveillance. This bill (S. 139) would reauthorize for six years, through 2023, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), which governs electronic surveillance of foreign terrorism suspects. The bill would require the development of procedures for searching the NSA database that would protect the Fourth Amendment-guaranteed rights of U.S. citizens, while allowing the FBI to access information with an order from the secret FISA Court, in certain cases.

The Senate passed S. 139 on January 18, 2018 by a vote of 65 to 34 (Roll Call 12). We have assigned pluses to the nays because FISA, while supposedly put in place to gather intelligence on foreign targets, has been used to spy on U.S. citizens. While the bill does provide provisions to, ostensibly, protect the privacy of U.S. citizens, given the track record of intelligence agencies, it is unlikely that they would actually follow these rules. The FISA Court gives a green light to just about any surveillance request that comes its way, and FISA-approved NSA warrantless surveillance of American citizens has become common knowledge.

22 Immigration (DACA). During consideration of the immigration bill (H.R. 2579), Senator Christopher Coons (D-Del.) introduced an amendment to provide “conditional permanent residence” (i.e., amnesty) to the unaccompanied minors who illegally entered the United States before turning 18 years old and have been recipients of President Obama’s unconstitutional Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program.

The Senate did not vote directly on Coons’ amendment, but on a motion to invoke cloture (and thus limit debate) so the amendment could come up for a vote. The motion to invoke cloture was rejected on February 15, 2018 by a vote of 52 to 47 (Roll Call 33; a three-fifths majority of the entire Senate is required to invoke cloture). We have assigned pluses to the nays because Obama’s executive action creating DACA was an unconstitutional usurpation of legislative power belonging to Congress, and because granting amnesty



Budget buster: “Shame shame. A pox on both Houses — and parties,” Senator Rand Paul tweeted regarding the \$1.3 trillion, 2,232-page omnibus spending bill lawmakers had “just hours to try to read” prior to voting.

to illegal immigrants will, as has been the case with past amnesties, encourage even more border jumping.

23 Immigration (Sanctuary Cities). During consideration of the immigration bill (H.R. 2579), Senator Pat Toomey (R-Penn.) introduced an amendment to prohibit the disbursement of federal development grants to cities, states, or other political subdivisions that harbor or provide sanctuary for illegal immigrants.

The Senate did not vote directly on Toomey’s amendment, but on a motion to invoke cloture (and thus limit debate) so the amendment could come up for a vote. The motion to invoke cloture was rejected on February 15, 2018 by a vote of 54 to 45 (Roll Call 34; a three-fifths majority of the entire Senate is required to invoke cloture). We have assigned pluses to the yeas because the flood of illegal immigrants into the United States has risen to the level of an invasion swamping our Republic, and political

entities that provide sanctuary to illegal aliens in contravention of federal immigration laws should not expect to do so while receiving federal aid.

24 U.S. Military Intervention in Yemen. This resolution (Senate Joint Res. 54), according to the text, would “direct the removal of United States Armed Forces from hostilities in the Republic of Yemen that have not been authorized by Congress.”

The Senate agreed to table (kill) a motion to discharge this resolution from the Foreign Relations Committee (so that it could be considered by the full Senate) on March 20, 2018 by vote of 55 to 44 (Roll Call 58). We have assigned pluses to the nays because only Congress is vested with the power to declare war. A foreign military intervention is an act of war, and Congress has not authorized any intervention or war in Yemen. Nor should Congress do so, since the civil war in Yemen does not threaten the United States.

Senate Vote Scores ✓

	Votes: 21-30	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	1-30
ALABAMA												
Shelby (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	50%
Jones (D)	30%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	30%
ALASKA												
Murkowski (R)	40%	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	40%
Sullivan (R)	70%	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	57%
ARIZONA												
McCain (R)		?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	35%
Flake (R)	70%	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	70%
ARKANSAS												
Boozman (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	47%
Cotton (R)	60%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	60%
CALIFORNIA												
Feinstein (D)	40%	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	20%
Harris, K. (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	23%
COLORADO												
Bennet (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
Gardner (R)	70%	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	57%
CONNECTICUT												
Blumenthal (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
Murphy, C. (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
DELAWARE												
Carper (D)	30%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	13%
Coons (D)	30%	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	17%
FLORIDA												
Nelson (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	3%
Rubio (R)	50%	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	55%
GEORGIA												
Isakson (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	48%
Perdue (R)	60%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	57%
HAWAII												
Schatz (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	17%
Hirono (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
IDAHO												
Crapo (R)	70%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	67%
Risch (R)	70%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	67%
ILLINOIS												
Durbin (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	21%
Duckworth (D)	25%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	?	-	?	14%
INDIANA												
Donnelly (D)	20%	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	13%
Young, T. (R)	50%	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	53%
IOWA												
Grassley (R)	50%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	53%
Ernst (R)	70%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	60%
KANSAS												
Roberts (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	47%
Moran (R)	60%	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	57%
KENTUCKY												
McConnell (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	47%
Paul (R)	100%	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	97%
LOUISIANA												
Cassidy (R)	70%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	57%
Kennedy, John (R)	60%	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	60%

	Votes: 21-30	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	1-30
MAINE												
Collins (R)	40%	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	33%
King, A. (I)	30%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	23%
MARYLAND												
Cardin (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
Van Hollen (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
MASSACHUSETTS												
Warren (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	23%
Markey (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	23%
MICHIGAN												
Stabenow (D)	40%	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	17%
Peters, G. (D)	30%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
MINNESOTA												
Klobuchar (D)	30%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	17%
Smith (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	40%
MISSISSIPPI												
Wicker (R)	50%	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	50%
Hyde-Smith (R)	60%						+	-	-	+	+	60%
MISSOURI												
McCaskill (D)	60%	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	27%
Blunt (R)	50%	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	50%
MONTANA												
Tester (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	27%
Daines (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	73%
NEBRASKA												
Fischer (R)	70%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	60%
Sasse (R)	60%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	62%
NEVADA												
Heller (R)	70%	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	62%
Cortez Masto (D)	10%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	7%
NEW HAMPSHIRE												
Shaheen (D)	25%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	?	?	11%
Hassan (D)	30%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	13%
NEW JERSEY												
Menendez (D)	30%	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	15%
Booker (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	23%
NEW MEXICO												
Udall (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
Heinrich (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
NEW YORK												
Schumer (D)	30%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	17%
Gillibrand (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	23%
NORTH CAROLINA												
Burr (R)	33%	-	+	+	-	?	+	-	-	-	-	45%
Tillis (R)	50%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	50%
NORTH DAKOTA												
Hooven (R)	50%	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	50%
Heitkamp (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	20%
OHIO												
Brown, S. (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
Portman (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	43%
OKLAHOMA												
Inhofe (R)	50%	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	53%
Lankford (R)	70%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	67%

	Votes: 21-30	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	1-30
OREGON												
Wyden (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
Merkley (D)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	23%
PENNSYLVANIA												
Casey (D)	30%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	13%
Toomey (R)	56%	-	+	+	-	?	+	-	-	+	+	61%
RHODE ISLAND												
Reed, J. (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	10%
Whitehouse (D)	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	10%
SOUTH CAROLINA												
Graham, L. (R)	30%	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	48%
Scott, T. (R)	50%	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	57%
SOUTH DAKOTA												
Thune (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	47%
Rounds (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	47%
TENNESSEE												
Alexander (R)	50%	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	47%
Corker (R)	56%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	?	59%
TEXAS												
Cornyn (R)	40%	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	47%
Cruz (R)	70%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	63%

	Votes: 21-30	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	1-30
UTAH												
Hatch (R)	50%	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	50%
Lee, M. (R)	90%	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	87%
VERMONT												
Leahy (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
Sanders (I)	50%	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	31%
VIRGINIA												
Warner (D)	20%	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	7%
Kaine (D)	30%	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	17%
WASHINGTON												
Murray (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
Cantwell (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
WEST VIRGINIA												
Manchin (D)	30%	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	20%
Capito (R)	50%	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	47%
WISCONSIN												
Johnson, R. (R)	60%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	57%
Baldwin (D)	40%	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	20%
WYOMING												
Enzi (R)	70%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	60%
Barrasso (R)	70%	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	60%

The scores are derived by dividing the constitutionally correct votes (pluses) by the total number of pluses and minuses and multiplying by 100. (A “?” means a senator did not vote; a “P” means he voted “present.” If he cast fewer than five votes in this index, a score is not assigned.) Match numbers at the top of the chart to Senate vote descriptions on pages 31, 33, and 34.

25 Omnibus Appropriations. This bill (H.R. 1625) would provide \$1.3 trillion in discretionary appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2018 for federal government operations and services. This represents an overall increase in discretionary spending of 12 percent over the 2017 level. The big winner was the Department of Defense, with an increase of 10 percent over last year’s appropriations. (See House Vote 25 for more information.)

The Senate passed the omnibus spending bill on March 23, 2018 by a vote of 65 to 32 (Roll Call 63). We have assigned pluses to the nays because with this omnibus bill, members of Congress are failing to address their fiscally and constitutionally irresponsible budgeting and appropriating process that is currently yielding annual federal deficits measured in the hundreds of billions of dollars, as well as minimizing their accountability to the voters by combining all discretionary federal spending for fiscal 2018 into one gigantic “take it or leave it” bill.

26 Net Neutrality. This bill (Senate Joint Resolution 52) would nullify and disapprove of the new Federal Communications Commission (FCC) rule that seeks to deregulate the Internet. In 2015, as a result of fears that providers would

“throttle” customers’ Internet connections and charge higher rates for certain times and/or services, the Obama-era FCC imposed common-carrier mandates on broadband Internet service providers, essentially regulating the Internet as a public utility. The Trump FCC under Chairman Ajit Pai overturned this rule, allowing the Internet to be more or less unregulated — as it had been before the rule.

The Senate passed Senate Joint Resolution 52 on May 16, 2018 by a vote of 52 to 47 (Roll Call 97). We have assigned pluses to the nays because regulation of the Internet is not a proper function of the federal government under the Constitution. The new FCC rule under Commissioner Pai was more of a hands-off approach to the Internet, allowing service providers to set their own rules. This is the correct approach, as any provider “throttling” service or overcharging customers will lose business to more competitive providers in a free market setting. Government, in scenarios such as these, will nearly always cause more problems than it claims to attempt to solve. Case in point: Regulations are not always applied equally, as under the Obama FCC rule some sites were forced to “play fair,” while some of the big guys, such as Netflix and Google, could still set their own rules.

27 Haspel Nomination. In March 2018, President Trump nominated Gina Haspel to be director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Senator Rand Paul (R-Ky.), who opposed Haspel’s nomination, explained why in a *Politico Magazine* article: “Haspel ran a secret [CIA ‘black site’] center in Thailand where prisoners were tortured”; “Haspel participated in and helped develop the program that our own government has labeled torture”; and “she helped destroy the very evidence of this program.” Regarding the latter, Haspel ordered the destruction of videos documenting the torture.

The Senate confirmed Trump’s nomination of Haspel on May 17, 2018 by a vote of 54 to 45 (Roll Call 101). We have assigned pluses to the nays because of Haspel’s complicity in the use of torture, including waterboarding, a violation of U.S. law as well as the U.S. Constitution’s Eighth Amendment prohibition against “cruel and unusual punishments.”

28 Indefinite Detention. During consideration of the National Defense Authorization Act (H.R. 5515), Senator Mike Lee (R-Utah) introduced the Due Process Guarantee Act amendment to uphold the right to due process for U.S. citizens and permanent residents on

American soil. “This amendment ... simply says that if you are a U.S. citizen or a lawful permanent resident, you may not be indefinitely detained on U.S. soil without trial, without charge, without access to a jury or to counsel,” Lee said on the Senate floor. His amendment would negate language in the fiscal year 2012 NDAA that purportedly authorizes the U.S. military to indefinitely detain American citizens accused of being terrorists, without habeas corpus and without being tried and found guilty in a court of law.

The Senate rejected a motion to table (kill) Lee’s amendment on June 13, 2018 by a vote of 30 to 68 (Roll Call 122). We have assigned pluses to the nays because the war on terror must not be allowed to destroy constitutionally guaranteed legal protections.

29 Appropriations Cuts. This bill (H.R. 3) would cut nearly \$15 billion from previously approved, unspent funding, including \$7 billion from the Children’s Health Insurance Program and \$4.3 billion from the Department of

Energy’s Advanced Technology Vehicles Manufacturing Loan Program.

The Senate rejected a motion to discharge H.R. 3 from the Senate Budget Committee (so that it could be considered by the full Senate) on June 20, 2018 by a vote of 48 to 50 (Roll Call 134). We have assigned pluses to the yeas not only because the spending falls outside the scope of constitutionally authorized federal powers, but also because the federal government needs to start reining in ballooning federal spending (and debt) somewhere in order to avert fiscal disaster. The cuts in this bill comprise only a fraction of one percent of total federal spending, and according to the Congressional Budget Office, most of the unspent funding targeted by the bill would not be spent anyway. Yet modest cuts are better than none at all.

30 Waters of the United States. During consideration of a minibus appropriations bill (H.R. 5895), Senator Mike Lee (R-Utah) introduced an amendment to repeal the EPA’s 2015 “Waters

of the United States” rule, which allows federal bureaucrats to broadly interpret the meaning of “navigable waters” under the Clean Water Act. This rule, Lee opined on the Senate floor, “effectively dramatically expanded the jurisdiction of the Federal Government over land in the United States, in some instances saying that if a plot of land is wet some of the time, some of the year, during any particular year, you can be subject to massive fines totaling millions of dollars if you do anything on that land, subject to the arbitrary determinations of Federal bureaucrats.”

The Senate tabled (killed) Lee’s amendment on June 21, 2018 by a vote of 62 to 34 (Roll Call 138). We have assigned pluses to the nays because both federal water regulations and the EPA are unconstitutional, and if the rule were allowed to stand, activities such as farming and real estate development would be greatly hampered, since farmers and developers would be subject to increased unconstitutional permit requirements and fines concerning their treatment of almost any body of water, no matter how small. ■

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Long Way From Home

When 67-year-old Belinda Whitaker's wheelchair broke down on the road in Smyrna, Georgia, she was lucky enough to be graced by the presence of 24-year-old Bilal Quintyne, who pushed her and her heavy wheelchair all the way home, the *Washington Post* reported.

Whitaker recalls that the wheelchair battery had died, and she was stranded on a road relatively close to a busy area, but no one stopped to help her for 45 minutes, except for one passerby who helped her back into her wheelchair after she was thrown from it by the initial jolt of the wheelchair's sudden stop. Thankfully, Quintyne happened upon the scene.

Quintyne was preparing to go for a run with his trainer when he noticed Whitaker and approached her to ask what was wrong. Whitaker explained and asked if he could call someone for help. Quintyne did more than that, though. "I'll do you one better," he said. "God blessed me with an able body. I'll push you home."

He pushed her all the way back to her senior living home, which was no small feat. The chair alone is 360 pounds and the walk was approximately 30 minutes.

Quintyne's trainer captured a video of his good deed and posted it on Facebook, where it has been viewed millions of times.

Amazingly, Quintyne and Whitaker did not exchange information during their journey home. Neither knew who the other was until a friend of Quintyne's recognized Whitaker at a local gas station from the Facebook video. In the same week, Whitaker's pastor, Stephan Bell, saw the video on Facebook and recognized his parishioner. He contacted her to tell her about the video, and eventually, Whitaker and Quintyne reconnected.

Whitaker invited Quintyne to join her at church, and Quintyne was surprised to be presented with a plaque, a t-shirt, and a \$25 restaurant gift card after the sermon.

"I just felt so much love," Quintyne told the *Post*. "I don't see myself as no superhero, I don't see myself as no great guy. I'm just a moral man doing what I was put on this Earth to do."

But Pastor Bell felt it was important to recognize Quintyne for his actions. "As I

look at America, there are so few stories that say there are still such things as being a good neighbor, there are still such things as sacrifice, there are still such things as caring, there are still such things as sending a message out saying, 'I'm not too busy,'" he said. "I thought that message was worth sharing with our congregation — that there are still these belief systems that America was built on."

Pastor Bell thought it was a particularly valuable story to share because Quintyne is a young black male. "It shifts the paradigm from African American males hurting each other and hurting other people," Bell said. "This story is a little bit different. The world should know that Bilal Quintyne exists, and that might spur people to pay it forward, to say, 'Hey, I want to do that for someone else.'"

Backpacks

In her death, Tammy Waddell of Forsyth, Georgia, proved once more her love of children. Her final wish was that guests at her funeral bring backpacks filled with school supplies in lieu of flowers.

Waddell was a paraprofessional and teacher at several schools in the Forsyth County school district throughout her 30-year career. Day after day she showcased her commitment to children and to their learning, and was even recognized as teacher of the year in 2003. She passed away on June 9 after a long battle with stomach cancer, ABC News wrote.

It came as no surprise to anyone who knew her that Waddell's final wish would have something to do with a show of generosity to benefit children in need. "My cousin, a teacher, wanted backpacks with supplies brought to her funeral instead of flowers for needy students," Waddell's cousin, Brad Johnson, posted on Twitter on June 16, along with a photo of the rows of backpacks at Waddell's funeral. "Serving others to the end."

According to Paul Holbrook, a spokesman for McDonald and Son Funeral Home and Crematory, approximately 130 backpacks were brought to Waddell's June 13 funeral.

The backpacks are being donated to

Project Connect, which connects the region's neediest students with items they may need.

And when the nonprofit organization Tes — which helps teachers around the world — learned of Waddell's final wish, the organization decided to honor her by donating thousands of school supplies to students in Forsyth County.

Waddell served the students in her community until the very end.

"Those around her recognized Tammy by her generosity, selflessness and unconditional love," her obituary read. "Though her achievements and accolades are numerous, none are greater than the many lives that she changed over the course of her three decades in education."

Counter to Selfishness

When an unnamed Walmart customer in Houston passed out from a diabetic episode just after completing his food shopping on June 11, someone stole his groceries. Fortunately, Police Officer Kirsten Koryciak was there to show him that there is still goodness in the world.

After learning that the man was on a fixed income, Koryciak decided to buy him some more groceries with her own money. Fox News reported that she spent roughly \$25 on vegetables, medication, and meals.

"I just didn't want to see that young man suffering," Koryciak said at a press conference. "It's part of my job to care about people."

"He wasn't having a great day. He wasn't feeling good," she added. "If you see somebody being mistreated or taken advantage of, say something. You have to treat people like they were your own family... how you want to be treated."

The Houston Police Department shared the video of the press conference on Facebook. The video was shared more than 100 times, viewed 25,000 times, and prompted hundreds of comments from well-wishers.

One user remarked, "Back the blue. God bless our peace officers."

Another said of Officer Koryciak, "She is AMAZING! God always has many Angels walking this earth. Great Job Officer!" ■

— RAVEN CLABOUGH

HISTORY of IMPEACHMENT

It seems that a political constant these days involves one party calling for the impeachment of the president of the other party, but what can presidents really be impeached for doing?



AP Images

Get him: In the hyper-partisan atmosphere of 21st-century politics, threats of impeachment are made on a daily basis, whether by those today who oppose President Trump or those from a few years ago who wanted Barack Obama removed from office.

by Joe Wolverton II, J.D.

“There is no evil under the sun but what is to be dreaded from men, who may do what they please with impunity: They seldom or never stop at certain degrees of mischief when they have power to go farther; but hurry on from wickedness to wickedness, as far and as fast as human malice can prompt human power.”

“It is nothing strange, that men, who think themselves unaccountable, should act unaccountably.”

— Thomas Gordon, *Cato’s Letters* No. 33 (1721)

Every day an article is published calling for the impeachment of President Donald Trump. Many desired the same fate for Trump’s White House predecessor, Barack Obama.

Apparently, we live in a day much like that in which the eminent jurist Samuel Pufendorf lived, a world so full of distrust and disorder in politics that he described all government officials as being “led away by a private Interest, which

is opposite to that of the State; or else, being divided into Factions, they are more concern’d to ruin their Rivals, than to follow the Dictates of Reason.”

Of course, it is the likelihood of such abuse of power and position that impeachment was included in our governing document and in the constitution of Great Britain, from which the Framers took many of their constitutional cues. Accordingly, our review of the history of impeachment will begin with a quick trip across the pond, where the power of impeachment was established in order to protect the people from the dangers of despotism. Much of the form and function of the British version of impeachment will seem very familiar to American readers.

English Origins of Impeachment

During the days of the so-called Good Parliament of 1376, several important and influential men in the household of Edward III were tried and convicted by the two houses of Parliament working together. William Latimer, Richard Lyons, and many of their fellow advisors were sub-

jected to the jurisdiction of Parliament and tried on charges of being corrupt courtiers. This is believed by most scholars and historians to have been the first impeachment carried out in Parliament.

After Latimer, Lyons, and company were charged, tried, and convicted by joint jurisdiction of the Houses of Commons and Lords, impeachment was used to punish perfidy of royal counselors during the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI. The tactic was slowly transforming into an effective restraint on usurpation. As Henry VI’s reign ended, however, many other methods of maintaining constitutional purity developed alongside impeachment. These other remedies — attainder, for example — were so often used, in fact, that impeachment fell out of regular use.

Impeachment as a tool to thwart would-be tyrants did not make a constitutional comeback until the reign of James I, over 140 years after its last use by Parliament.

Going forward from 1621, impeachment re-emerged as what one writer described as “a potent means of attacking its [Parliament’s] enemies.” The English Civil War was a watershed era in British history that fomented the fear of tyrants and royal overreach in the men who would become American colonists. The lessons learned from the execution of republican heroes Algernon Sidney and Henry Vane the Younger, for example, served as a warning to early Anglo-Americans about the chaos and cruelty that rained on the people during the reign of a monarch mad with power.

During the 18th century in England, republicans known as “Commonwealth men” printed page after page of polemical attacks on the perversions of royal prerogatives committed by kings and their courtiers. Two of the most influential of these enemies of tyranny were John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon. It has been said that without the words of these two now-forgotten men, our Founding Fathers would not have so quickly and thoroughly developed their

own concept of constitutionally protected liberty. Working as partners, Trenchard and Gordon wrote the inimitable *Cato's Letters*, published from 1720-1723. Each essay featured scathing and unflinching attacks on the crescendo of kingly corruption and aristocratic wickedness, as well as humble and heartfelt calls to return to the virtue that is the *sine qua non* of self-government.

Cato's Letters Number 33 is an excellent example of the series and will serve as an able segue into the history of impeachment in America. Here are a few key selections from that denouncement of despotism that formed some of the earliest lessons taught to our Founding Fathers at their mothers' knees:

"Considering what sort of a creature man is, it is scarce possible to put him under too many restraints, when he is possessed of great power: He may possibly use it well; but they act most prudently, who, supposing that he would use it ill, inclose him within certain bounds, and make it terrible to him to exceed them."

"However the world may be deceived by the change of names into an abhorrence of the one, and an admiration of the other; it is all one to a nation, when they are to be slaughtered, whether they be slaughtered by the hangman or by dragoons, in prison or in the field; nor is ambition better than cruelty, when it begets mischief as great."

"And thus men quitted part of their natural liberty to acquire civil security. But frequently the remedy proved worse than the disease; and human society had often no enemies so great as their own magistrates; who, where-ever they were trusted with too much power, always abused it, and grew mischievous to those who made them what they were."

Impeachment in America Before 1787

Almost immediately, the Englishmen who colonized America established colonial governments that governed with very little oversight from the mother country. Legislatures were created whose lawmaking authority came from consent of the governed, rather than the permission of Parliament. And each of the colonies drafted a constitution.

These state constitutions were immeasurably influential on the men who, having lived under the state constitutions for

decades, were tasked with writing a constitution for the union of sovereign states.

In their book *Impeachment in America, 1635-1805*, Peter Hoffer and Natalie Hull described the relationship between state constitutions and the constitution of 1787, including in the latter's dependence on the former for the definition and deployment of the power of impeaching government officers. Hoffer and Hull wrote:

The transformation of impeachment from a check against monarchical misdeeds to an instrument of republican government was first explored in state governments before 1787.... Between 1776 and 1787, state politicians drafted and tested various provisions for impeachment. Delegates to the federal convention — Madison, Randolph, Paterson, Mason, and Hamilton — supported by the voices and votes of other knowledgeable state leaders, fashioned national impeachment provisions along lines laid down in the states' constitutions.

In every state constitution in force at the time of the calling of the Convention of 1787, the lower branch of the legislature possessed the authority to impeach officers of the state government, though the

trial of the impeached magistrate was handled differently in the several states.

In Virginia and Maryland, the state courts tried the impeached. In New York and South Carolina, the state senate and state judiciary joined together as a special court. In Pennsylvania, the General Assembly could impeach, and trials were conducted by the president of that body and the executive council. In the remaining eight states, the upper branch of the state legislature was the body responsible for trying the impeached state official.

It is worth noting, though, that in Virginia and Delaware the executive was immune from impeachment during his term of office.

It's no wonder that these state constitutions were so influential on the federal constitution, as many of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1787 took leading roles in the writing of their state constitutions.

Impeachment in the U.S. Constitution

The Virginia Plan — written by James Madison and presented by Virginia governor Edmund Randolph — included a provision granting to the national judiciary the power of "impeachment of all national officers." It is important to note, however, that that provision did not



Models: In every state constitution in force at the time of the calling of the Convention of 1787, the lower branch of the legislature possessed the authority to impeach officers of the state government.

Apparently, we live in a day much like that in which the eminent jurist Samuel Pufendorf lived, a world so full of distrust and disorder in politics that he described all government officials as being “led away by a private Interest.”

specifically name the executive as one among those “national officers.”

On June 2, the venerable John Dickinson of Pennsylvania proposed placing the power of removing the executive in the hands of Congress. His provision required that a majority of the legislatures of the states call for impeachment before the process could begin in Congress.

As recorded by James Madison, here is how Dickinson explained his position on impeachment:

It was necessary, he said, to place the power of removing somewhere. He did not like the plan of impeaching the great officers of state. He did not know how provision could be made for removal of them in a better mode than that which he had proposed.

Roger Sherman of Connecticut rose and spoke in support of Dickinson’s motion, adding that in his opinion, “The National Legislature should have power to remove the Executive at pleasure.”

George Mason of Virginia — the universally admired co-author (along with the much younger Madison) of that state’s Declaration of Rights — also backed Dickinson’s proposal.

“Some mode of displacing an unfit magistrate is rendered indispensable by the fallibility of those who choose, as well as by the corruptibility of the man chosen. [I oppose] decidedly the making the Executive the mere creature of the Legislature, as a violation of

the fundamental principle of good government,” Mason declared.

Mason’s fellow Virginian, James Madison, joined with James Wilson in speaking against Dickinson’s motion. In his *Records of the Debates of the Federal Convention of 1787*, Madison recorded the reasons for his and Wilson’s opposition. Madison wrote that he and Wilson observed in Dickinson’s proposed impeachment process:

that it would leave an equality of agency in the small with the great States; that it would enable a minority of the people to prevent the removal of an officer who had rendered himself justly criminal in the eyes of a majority; that it would open a door for intrigues against him in States where his administration, though just, might be unpopular; and might tempt him to pay court to particular States whose leading partizans he might fear, or wish to engage as his partizans. They both thought it bad policy to introduce such a mixture of the State authorities, where their agency could be otherwise supplied.

Always wary of weakening the union, Madison saw the mixture of state and federal authority in the impeachment process placing too much power over the president in the hands of state legislators.

Ultimately, both Dickinson’s proposal and Madison’s amendment to it were rejected by a majority of the delegates. Near the end of the day, delegates agreed that the executive “be removable on impeachment and conviction of malpractice or neglect of duty.” Noticeably absent from the agreed process was just which body was to be authorized to do the impeaching!

There were, however, those delegates who thought the executive should not be impeachable while he was in office (as was the case in the state of Virginia). Speaking for those in favor of an unimpeachable executive, Gouverneur Morris said, “This is a dangerous part of the plan. It will hold him [the federal executive] in such dependence that he will be no check on the Legislature, will not be a firm guardian of the people and of the public interest.”

Charles Pinckney echoed this opinion, asserting that impeachment of the executive by the legislature “would in that case hold them as a rod over the Executive and by that means effectually destroy his independence.”



Subservient president? James Madison, the “Father of the Constitution,” worried about making the executive too dependent on the legislature, which would possess the power to get rid of any president who was obstructing the will of Congress.

Rufus King agreed, too, explaining that he thought it necessary that the people could rely on the “vigor of the Executive as a great security for the public liberties,” adding that impeachment by the legislature would defy the “primitive axiom that the three great departments of government should be separate and independent; and that an Executive should not be impeachable unless he held office during good behavior [that is, for life, so long as he did not engage in bad behavior].”

Here again, George Mason rose and reminded the convention of a more fundamental political precept: equality under the law. “Shall any man be over justice?” Mason asked.

Benjamin Franklin, Elbridge Gerry, and James Wilson pounded their desks in agreement.

The debate continued off and on for nearly three months. On September 4, delegates agreed to the following language: “He shall be removed from his office on impeachment by the House of Representatives, and conviction by the Senate, for treason or bribery.”

Pinckney and others restated their opposition based on their perception that the legislature would hold the possibility of impeachment over the president, and he would be afraid to veto a bill lest the legislature begin impeachment proceedings.

George Mason suggested adding the language “high crimes and misdemeanors against the state,” abandoning his earlier suggestion that the executive be impeachable for “maladministration.”

With his typical foresight, James Madison objected to the “maladministration” standard, insisting that it would introduce imbalance into the three branches of the federal government by making the executive too dependent on the legislature, who would possess the power to get rid of any president who was obstructing the will of Congress.

On September 12, the convention approved the version of the process we have.

Finally, while the *Federalist Papers*



Narrowing the noose: George Mason, coauthor of Virginia's Declaration of Rights, suggested that the president be impeachable for “high crimes and misdemeanors against the state,” abandoning his earlier suggestion that the executive be impeachable for “maladministration.”

and other essays written by advocates of the proposed Constitution promoted that document's impeachment process, there were opponents — the so-called Anti-Federalists — who predicted that impeachment would be so rare as to serve as no real check on a president bent on usurping unconstitutional powers.

Luther Martin, a delegate to the Convention of 1787 who wrote a series of essays opposing the Constitution called “The Genuine Information,” summed up the suspicions of those who foresaw futility in the co existing constitutional provisions that gave the president power to appoint many federal officers — many of whom would likely be former legislators — and gave legislators the power to impeach the president.

Here's the problem as Martin, and most of the Anti-Federalists, saw it:

The president ... cannot be impeached but by the house of dele-

gates, and that the members of this house are rendered dependant [sic] upon, and unduly under the influence of the president, by being appointable [sic] to offices of which he has the sole nomination, so that without his favour [sic] and approbation, they cannot obtain them, there is little reason to believe that a majority will ever concur in impeaching the president, lest his conduct be ever so reprehensible, especially too, as the final event of that impeachment will depend upon a different body, and the members of the house of delegates will be certain, should the decision be ultimately in favour [sic] of the president, to become thereby the objects of his displeasure, and to bar to themselves every avenue to the emoluments of government.

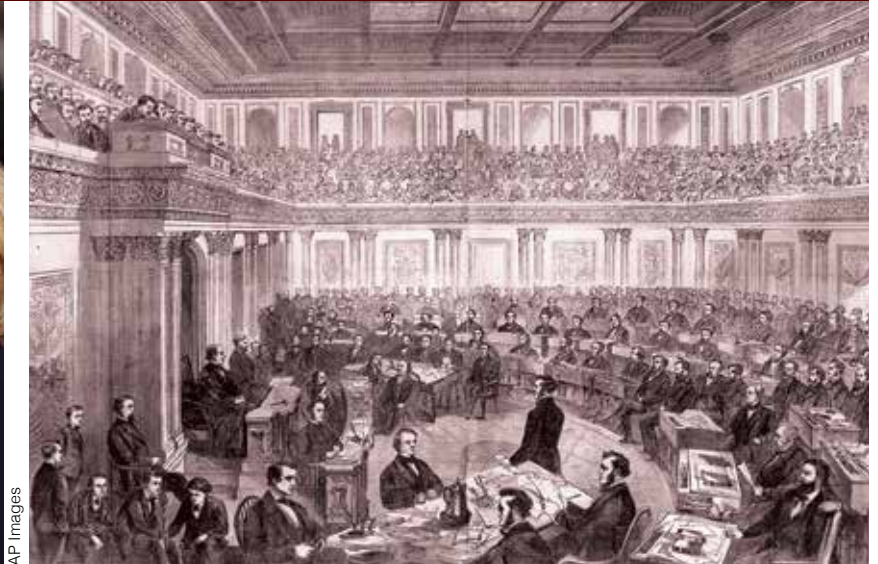
“High Crimes and Misdemeanors”

When viewed in hindsight, it appears that Martin and the Anti-Federalists accurately pre-

dicted the rarity of impeachment, even of presidents who egregiously abuse their office. Donald Trump is the 45th president under the Constitution, and only eight of them have faced impeachment and only two (Andrew Johnson and Bill Clinton) were actually impeached.

Furthermore, not a single president has been impeached, convicted, and removed from office. Not one in nearly 230 years of presidents of the United States.

Perhaps part of the problem is that “high crimes and misdemeanors” are not defined by the Constitution. To supply the missing meaning, we'll have to turn once again to the pages of history written at the time of the Founding. As with so many key terms contained in the Constitution, “high crimes and misdemeanors” was not defined because it didn't need to be. If your employer told you that you'd be fired if you took a day off in the summer, you wouldn't go looking in the employee



Little danger for dolts: Donald Trump is the 45th president under the Constitution, yet only eight of them have faced impeachment, and only two — Andrew Johnson and Bill Clinton — were actually impeached.

handbook for a definition of “summer.” Here’s a brief rehearsal of the universal understanding of “high crimes and misdemeanors” provided by the Constitutional Rights Foundation:

The convention adopted “high crimes and misdemeanors” with little discussion. Most of the framers knew the phrase well. Since 1386, the English parliament had used “high crimes and misdemeanors” as one of the grounds to impeach officials of the crown. Officials accused of “high crimes and misdemeanors” were accused of offenses as varied as misappropriating government funds, appointing unfit subordinates, not prosecuting cases, not spending money allocated by Parliament, promoting themselves ahead of more deserving candidates, threatening a grand jury, disobeying an order from Parliament, arresting a man to keep him from running for Parliament, losing a ship by neglecting to moor it, helping “suppress petitions to the King to call a Parliament,” granting warrants without cause, and bribery. Some of these charges were crimes; others were not. The one common denominator in all these accusations was that the official had somehow abused the power of his office and was unfit to serve.

For further enlightenment, we turn to the seminal scholarly analysis of the his-

tory of impeachment, Raoul Berger’s *Impeachment: The Constitutional Problems*. Berger’s in-depth historical analysis of the impeachment reveals that “high crimes and misdemeanors” were political crimes against the state as a political entity, whereas “misdemeanors,” when used as a term by itself, was the traditional designation for criminal actions involving individuals.

“In sum, ‘high crimes and misdemeanors’ appear to be words of art confined to impeachments, without roots in the ordinary criminal law and which, so far as I could discover, had no relation to whether an indictment would lie in the particular circumstance,” Professor Berger adds.

Both accounts of the provenance of “high crimes and misdemeanors” as justifications for impeaching an executive — be he king or president — speak of “political crimes.” Accordingly, in order to complete the inquiry into the history of these terms, “political crimes” must also be defined. During the impeachment hearing for Richard Nixon, the House Committee on the Judiciary defined “political offenses” as “constitutional wrongs that subvert the structure of government or undermine the integrity of office and even the Constitution itself.”

In light of even this cursory recitation of the history of “high crimes and misdemeanors,” it is a mystery why that standard is so rarely applied to those federal officials whose behavior has seemed to satisfy those requirements for removal from office.

In order to determine the appropriate standard that should guide the process from beginning to end, here are the words of Alexander Hamilton:

The subjects of ... [an impeachment court’s] jurisdiction are those offenses which proceed from the misconduct of public men, or, in other words, from the abuse or violation of some public trust. They are of a nature which may with peculiar propriety be denominated POLITICAL, as they relate chiefly to injuries done immediately to the society itself. [Emphasis in original.]

As laid out in the history above, the critical question is not so much which acts qualify as high crimes or misdemeanors; the most important inquiry is whether the president is suspected of abusing the trust placed in him by the people and whether that abuse injures the people or the Constitution that binds them in a union.

The answer to that question can only be determined by the people, acting through their elected representatives in the House of Representatives and the Senate, who must be candidates committed to protecting the public from tyranny, protecting the Constitution from tyrants, and impeaching anyone — from president to Supreme Court justice — who threatens the liberties of the people or the Constitution written to protect those liberties. ■

Man's "Best Friend"

While this column sometimes uses the term “animal” to refer to the criminals who are shot while in the commission of a crime, a news story out of Palm Coast, Florida, reminded us that citizens also need to be armed to defend themselves from actual animals! News4Jax.com reported on July 1 that a 69-year-old man who was out walking his dog was forced to shoot another dog in self-defense.

The Flagler County Sheriff's Office is still investigating the incident, but it has determined that the man had a valid concealed-carry permit and the shooting appeared to be justified. The man was walking his dog when two dogs got loose from a nearby property and became very aggressive toward him and his dog. The man tried to leave, but one of the dogs, a German shepherd, became increasingly violent and tried biting both the man and his dog. That's when the dog owner felt he was left with no other option but to use deadly force. He pulled out the pistol he was carrying and fired at the snarling animal.

Authorities were soon called to the scene, where they discovered the deceased pet. The sheriffs interviewed the owners of the rampaging dogs, who admitted that the dogs did have a habit of escaping the property. The sheriff's office acknowledged that this incident involved the death of a beloved pet but that the circumstances might have forced the man to defend himself: “This is an unfortunate tragic neighborhood situation. While we never want to hear about the killing of a pet, pet owners must be responsible and watch over their animals.”

Mother Shoots Carjacker to Protect Kids

A woman's maternal instincts and firearms training can be a very deadly combination for criminals, as a would-be carjacker in Texas recently found out. Fox 4 reported on July 5 that a woman in Dallas was driving her SUV with her two- and four-year-old sons inside when the incident took place.

The mother drove to a gas station, filled her tank, and went inside to pay when she witnessed a stranger climb into her vehicle.

The mother, Michelle Booker-Hicks, told Fox 4 about the terrifying ordeal. Hicks immediately ran to her vehicle, jumped in, and demanded that the suspect get out. She told Fox 4, “I proceeded to jump in ... and asked the gentleman to stop, to get out the car.... He would not get out of the car.” She said the suspect's eyes were bulging, and he looked crazed and refused to listen to her. So she reached into her glove compartment, where she kept a loaded pistol and fired it at the man. “I'm not a killer, but I do believe in defending what's mine,” Booker-Hicks explained to Fox 4.

The bullet hit the man in his face. The carjacker had gotten the vehicle in motion by this point, but his injury was too great, and he crashed the SUV into a nearby telephone pole. Police were called to the scene, and the suspect was transported to a nearby medical facility for treatment.

Authorities expect to charge the suspect with kidnapping and carjacking. The mother stood by her actions and stated that she hopes the suspect learned from his encounter and will now straighten his life out. “I hope that woke him up,” Booker-Hicks told Fox 4.

Shootout in Off-duty Cop's Home

KFDI reported out of northwest Wichita, Kansas, on July 3 that an intruder broke in to an off-duty police officer's house and engaged in a shootout with the cop while his family was home. The officer was shot in the leg and received medical treatment, but is expected to make a full recovery. The intruder was shot multiple times and died from his injuries.

Police Chief Gordon Ramsay told the news that the suspect entered the house through an unlocked door, and was armed with what was later determined to be a stolen gun. “The two had engaged in a gun battle.... Both the suspect and the off-duty officer were shot,” Chief Ramsay told the news. “We're still putting the pieces of this together.... There is no relationship between the two. It doesn't appear that they know each other.” Ramsay told the news that this appears to just be “a case of an

intruder in the home.” The investigation is ongoing, but authorities are looking into whether the intruder is linked to break-ins of vehicles in the neighborhood.

Internet Stalker

Newsweek reported on June 26 that a deranged lunatic traveled all the way from New Zealand to Goochland, Virginia, to stalk a 14-year-old girl he had been communicating with online. The suspect, 25-year-old Troy Skinner, met the girl on an online chat service and then became obsessed with her. When the parents became aware of Skinner's online contact with their young daughter, they told him to leave her alone and not contact her any further. The man did not listen, though, and instead flew to America, where he stopped at a Walmart and bought duct tape and a knife. He then went to the girl's house and tried forcing his way in.

The girl's mother discovered the man, dressed all in black, trying to smash his way into the rear of the house with a brick. The mother armed herself with a .22-caliber pistol and warned him to stop. The stalker then went around to the front of the house and smashed the glass on the front door with a concrete slab.

When the mother witnessed this relentless man reach through the broken glass to unlock the door, she had seen enough. In fear of what may happen next, the mother fired at Skinner, hitting him twice in the neck. The Goochland County Sheriff soon arrived on the scene, where they found the injured Skinner laying on the lawn of a nearby house. Skinner was taken for medical treatment and was charged with breaking and entering with a deadly weapon, with the intent to commit a serious crime. The New Zealand news site stuff.co.nz reported that Goochland County Sheriff James Agnew praised the mother's actions and explained how much of a threat Skinner posed: “All I can say is the manner in which he attempted to enter that home in the face of a firearm pointed at him and the implements we recovered from him — the only inference is that he had very bad intent.” ■

— PATRICK KREY



Correction, Please!

Climatistas Inflamm Campaign of Fear

ITEM: A New York Times article for June 13 reported in its lede that between “60 and 90 percent of the world’s fresh water is frozen in the ice sheets of Antarctica, a continent roughly the size of the United States and Mexico combined. If all that ice melted, it would be enough to raise the world’s sea levels by roughly 200 feet. While that won’t happen overnight, Antarctica is indeed melting,” said the paper, citing a Nature study that “shows that the melting is speeding up.”

ITEM: “More than 20 nations ranging from Germany, France and Britain to Pacific island states said on Thursday they planned to ‘lead from the front’ in setting new, tougher goals by 2020 to cut greenhouse gas emissions under the Paris climate agreement,” according to Reuters for June 21.

ITEM: A piece by Justin Gillis in the New York Times for June 23, entitled (online) “A Prophet of Doom Was Right About the Climate,” sang the praises of James Hansen, the former director of NASA’s Goddard Institute for Space Studies in New York, who testified 30 years earlier in Washington. At the time, Hansen warned that global warming — subsequently dubbed “climate change” — was here and would get worse.

Commented Gillis: “His near certainty that human emissions were already altering the climate caught the attention of a sweltering nation, catapulting Dr. Hansen to overnight fame.” The Times writer conceded that “his temperature forecast was not flawless,” but insisted that “in a larger sense, Dr. Hansen’s 1988 warning has turned out to be entirely on target.”

Gillis, a former Times environmental reporter, maintained: “If his [Hansen’s] warning in 1988 had been met with a national policy to reduce emissions, other countries might have followed, and the world would be in much better shape. But within a few years after he raised the alarm, fossil-fuel interests and libertarian ideologues began financing a campaign of lies about climate research.”

CORRECTION: The climate of fear, engen-



AP Images

Antarctic breakup? The *New York Times* cited a *Nature* article in claiming that the Antarctic is melting away — proof of dangerous climate change — yet there is “overwhelming agreement” that the Antarctic ice cap has been growing for the past several decades, according to geologists.

dered by certain officials and politically motivated scaremongers, is more disturbing than the amount of climate change actually caused by industrial man. Leftist climatistas want to terrify us so they can restrict our property and economic choices — seeking to control how we live.

Is that an exaggeration? Well, just consider a few examples of the scaremongering. Former President Barack Obama insisted that climate change represented humanity’s greatest threat. (Step aside nuclear war and plague.) The solons on the city council in Berkeley, California, in June declared a “climate emergency,” alleging that it could affect the Earth more than World War II. This led to their demand: an immediate effort to “humanely stabilize population” and “reverse ecological overshoot.”

Anxieties are omnipresent. A piece in *Foreign Affairs* noted that a support group in Salt Lake City provides “a safe space for confronting” what it calls “climate grief.” Folks are even being panicked out of procreation. One *Guardian* (U.K.) article asks, “Does Climate Change Make It Immoral to Have Kids?” National Public Radio had a similar rant: “Should We Be Having Kids in the Age of Climate Change?”

Naturally, progressives have a cure for the planet’s ills: international controls, such as kowtowing to the UN deal in Paris. (President Obama knew he could not get that passed as a treaty even in a Democrat-controlled Senate, thus his executive action.)

Other than pressing for expensive controls, what would the Paris agreement do for global warming (assuming all countries met their commitments)? It would make an infinitesimal difference. That was noted earlier this year by Benjamin Zycher in *Investor’s Business Daily*. Zycher is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, where he works on energy and environmental policy. He wrote:

The Paris agreement with full U.S. participation would reduce temperatures by 2100 by seventeen one-hundredths of a degree. The U.S. contribution would be fifteen one-thousandths of a degree. Add another one one-hundredth of a degree if you believe that the Obama pseudo-agreement with China is meaningful. (It is not.)

Then there are our putative allies and international partners, who relish blasting the United States as a carbon “polluter.” (Back in the day, most high-school science

pupils knew that carbon dioxide is necessary for photosynthesis, sustaining plant life. Somewhere in their classes, before studies became propaganda, they might have glommed onto the fact that the use of fossil fuels largely made possible the Industrial Revolution. These days, however, “experts” seek to deny the poor in the Third World similar opportunities.)

Never mind that many of these international sages are also hypocrites. In June, a report was issued by Climate Action Network Europe revealing that all 28 member nations of the European Union are failing to meet their obligations to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions under the Paris agreement. On the other hand, last year, according to InsideClimate News (March 22, 2018): “The biggest decline in absolute [greenhouse gas] emissions came in the United States.”

Nonetheless, non-complier EU members Germany, the United Kingdom, Denmark, Spain, Sweden, and the Netherlands were among those who boasted (see the Reuters excerpt above) that they “planned to lead from the front” by setting *new, more ambitious* goals to reduce emissions.

What about Antarctica’s supposed “melting”? A *Nature* study (see above) differed from previous research that showed

that continent had been consistently gaining ice volume in recent decades. As author Gregory Whitestone has clarified, this only demonstrates “two camps of climate scientists arguing over [an] extremely small adjustment made to sensitive data.” Yet, as the geologist also stressed, there is

overwhelming agreement that this ice has been steadily increasing for the last several decades. In fact, the very study that recently reported ice volume losses admits as much in its introduction by stating, “...maximum extent of the sea ice has increased modestly since the 1970s...”

The evidence of increasing Antarctic ice is clear, stark and overwhelming. The National Snow and Ice Data Center (NSIDC) manages data for NASA and NOAA and reports an increase of 1.8% of sea ice extent per decade. The most recent monthly data (May 2018) from NSIDC showed that during the early Antarctic winter, sea ice increased by 47,000 square miles per day, “somewhat faster than the 1981 to 2010 average growth rate.”

Rest easy, Antarctica isn’t melting away, and you aren’t going to drown because of it.

Nor have the dire projections of vaunted alarmist James Hansen (above) proven accurate. Some details can be found in the *Wall Street Journal* (the exposition in the June 22 print edition was called “A Hot Summer on Capitol Hill”); the article was written by Patrick Michaels and Ryan Maue of Cato Institute’s Center for the Study of Science. As they said, three decades of data has been collected “since Mr. Hansen outlined his scenarios — enough to determine which was closest to reality.” The winner is this:

Global surface temperature has not increased significantly since 2000, discounting the larger-than-usual El Niño of 2015-16. Assessed by Mr. Hansen’s model, surface temperatures are behaving as if we had capped 18 years ago the carbon-dioxide emissions responsible for the enhanced greenhouse effect. But we didn’t.

And it isn’t just Mr. Hansen who got it wrong. Models devised by the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change have, on average, predicted about twice as much warming as has been observed since global satellite temperature monitoring began 40 years ago.

Another expert, Roy Spencer, is a principal research scientist at the University of Alabama in Huntsville who directs climate-research projects. In his blog, he explains that early June’s excessive heat in parts of the United States was “regionally isolated, which is exactly what we expect for weather ... not for climate change.”

Spencer, for his part, believes that carbon dioxide released into the atmosphere does cause some warming, while maintaining that it is uncertain how much is the result of human activity. He also insists that he is not a climate-change “denier,” but rather a “lukewarmer.” His enemies don’t buy that, of course. Moderation raises the ire, and temperatures, of apocalyptic ecological extremists. ■

— WILLIAM P. HOAR



Trump vs. the “Shadow Government”

President Donald Trump’s recent excursion to Europe (July 10-16) sent the Deep State’s operatives into non-stop apoplectic overdrive. In addition to the usual insults claiming that the president is stupid, ignorant, arrogant, boorish, bigoted, etc., his incessant critics escalated their charges, claiming his words and actions on the foreign policy tour were “disgraceful,” “shameful,” “appalling,” “dangerous” — and even “treasonous.” Yes, more than a few politicians and pundits invoked the T-word. Talk of treason is in the air, and it’s not only Representative “Mad Maxine” Waters and



on behalf of a hostile power.” Boot, who also provides “analysis” at the 24/7 Trump-hate channel known as CNN, is a perfect fit at the *Post*, which has been a chief voice in the CFR globalist choir for nearly a century, as well as being deeply embedded with the Deep State’s CIA.

“If anyone is ‘the enemy of the people,’ it is Trump himself,” Boot says in his *Post* tirade, before going on to declare, “Those are words I never thought I would write about an American president.” “Some — including former CIA director John Brennan — now dare call it treason. That conclusion was once unthinkable. No longer.”

the usual ultra-Left crazies that are hurling the treason epithet. CNN analyst Philip Mudd, a “former” CIA/FBI agent who is virulently anti-Trump, went so far as to suggest it is time for the “shadow government” operating inside our official government to initiate a coup to remove President Trump.

Following the Trump-Putin summit in Helsinki, Finland, Mudd’s former boss, ex-CIA Director John Brennan, declared that “Mr. Putin now is the master puppeteer of Donald Trump.” Then, in a Twitter rampage, Brennan blasted: “Donald Trump’s press conference performance in Helsinki rises to & exceeds the threshold of ‘high crimes & misdemeanors.’ It was nothing short of treasonous... he is wholly in the pocket of Putin. Republican Patriots: Where are you???”

Patriot call? Now, that is interesting coming from Brennan, who (among many additional dishonorable mentions we could cite) lied under oath to Congress and on national TV to the American people. He even admits to lying on his entrance polygraph for employment with the CIA. (Note: The man who would become the head of the CIA, the man who impugns President Trump’s integrity and patriotism, now admits he lied to cover up the fact that he supported and voted for the Communist Party USA candidate for president.) Instead of being prosecuted and sent off to prison for these misdeeds, as would be the fate for ordinary mortals, Brennan is given a sweet contract as an “expert” contributor for NBC/MSNBC to dispense his nonstop toxic barbs aimed at Trump.

Next, enter Max Boot, a resident senior fellow (and venomous Never-Trump hatchet man) at the Council on Foreign Relations, who quotes Brennan’s treason charge in a July 16 column for the *Washington Post* entitled “We just watched a U.S. president acting

On the same day as Boot’s treason post at the *Post*, CIA/FBI deep-stater Philip Mudd let loose with his “shadow government” comment at CNN. Responding to CNN anchor Anderson Cooper’s comment that Trump’s meeting with Putin was “disgraceful,” Mudd said: “My question would be: when do members of the president’s inner circle say, ‘we have an overseas dilemma where you are portraying us, in terms of the American government, as worse than a tyrant?’” Mudd continued: “Curious point in American government: when do we see almost a shadow government come out and say ‘we cannot side with the government.’” Now, that sounds to this observer like an endorsement of, and encouragement of, a coup, an overthrow and replacement of the duly-elected president of the United States. Is that not treasonous?

This is the same Philip Mudd who last November stated on CNN, “Let me give you one bottom line as a former government official. Government is going to kill this guy.” The “guy” to whom he was referring is President Donald Trump. And the “government” that he said is going to “kill” the president is the “shadow government” that Mudd served, and that Mudd described as “State Department and CIA officers coming home, and at Langley and Foggy Bottom, CIA and State.” This sure seems to be a not-so-veiled threat issued in prime time.

However, the Deep State need not resort to outright assassination to “kill” the president. There’s “death by a thousand cuts,” which is what we are witnessing with the drawn-out Mueller “investigation,” the unceasing media attacks, and the internal sabotage by the thousands of swamp creatures that are still burrowed within the federal bureaucracy. Treason? Yes, but by the president’s most vitriolic accusers. ■



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